

Impact of Globalization and the Role of International Agencies in Education Policy Making Process of South Asian countries – a Case of Pakistan

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Abstract

Globalization as the greatest influential prodigy of the present time is extensively arguable for its constructive and detrimental outcomes. This study differentiate between economic, cultural and political globalization and contends that process of globalization is mostly directed and acknowledged by the developed nations to achieve their desired goals, whereby South Asian nations are precipitated into this process. The case of Pakistan has been taken to study the impact of globalization on education policies by using dependency paradigm. By using content analysis, the study asserts that various international organizations demonstrate the globalization process complicated the education policy formation process. Given this context, the study tries to explain the courses through which globalization influences the educational policies in Pakistan.

Key words: education policy, globalization, neo-liberalism, policy analysis

Introduction

In recent years, one of the most widely discussed issues related to changes in formation of state, has been the globalization process. The globalization process implies the incorporation of national economies, cultures, political systems and various identities of capitalist system which require the removal of all hurdles to cross-national interaction and exchange often created earlier by protectionist states (Kouzmin& Hayne, 1999). On the other hand, in order to alleviate such globalization, different global actors and forces including transnational corporations, networks of world media, international institutions, and regimes of neoliberalism have prescribed, advocated and imposed reforms for policy.

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Specifically, the Bretton Wood institutions such as IMF and the World Bank have used both covert and overt influence on South Asian nations to adopt their own policy reforms (Martin, 1993; McGowan, 1994). Given this complicated context, the situation of Pakistan is not different from other South Asian countries. The educational policies of Pakistan, respond more to the globalization process rather than national needs. This study tries to explain the globalization phenomenon with respect to educational policy of South Asian countries by taking the case of Pakistan and then examines the ways through which globalization influences national educational policies.

According to Malik (2008) the nation states have to acquiesce to the pressures exerted by both international organizations and other influential states, which seriously halts the capacity of states to develop its policies independent of any external influence and in favor of its citizens. Given this tangled context, keeping in view the importance of education in the growth of any economy, educational policies like other policies formed in South Asian nations respond more to process of globalization rather than local needs.

In the wake of globalization, the policy of EFA calls upon the universalization of education standards. International organizations have dictated it. Comprehensively, EFA is a composition of various policy guidelines initiated by several external actors. The EFA enforces decentralization of powers and affirms the interconnectedness of planning of education with strategies of poverty reduction by South Asian a PRSP (UNESCO, 2002). The international agencies have been considered as primary stakeholders in the EFA. The goals of Dakar conference for EFA have been followed stiffly in Pakistan and it is also among the first countries that develop their national plan of action to gain financial assistance from international organizations (Ministry of Education, 2003b).

General Context of Education sector

According to Winston (2008), during the 1500s and 1600s the Europeans were able to take control of the international trade of Asia, thereby diverting the profits from this trade to Europe. As a result, the Europeans became stronger while Asian empires and kingdoms became weaker. By the 1800s the Europeans were in a position to establish their authority over much of Asia, particularly the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia. The Cold War era emerged out of the end of the World War II. The competition between US and USSR had affected the rest of the world as well. South Asia, too, suffered the effects of this war. South Asia has been a region of great importance to the industrialized democracies and specifically the United States. The region has been recognized as a geographical area of major strategic significance through, which the routes are connecting to Europe, Africa and Asia.

The involvement of United States in South Asia has fluctuated, depending upon intensity of competition at global level with other great powers. At the end of

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World War II, the super power status of Britain shifted to US in the wake of its use of superior nuclear technology which ended the war to its advantage and with this shifted the responsibility to stop Russians to reach the warm waters. The history of European influence in Southeast Asia is similar to the history of British influence in subcontinent. According to Umar (2008) the US government and giant partners of global capitalism, such as the World Bank and IMF, directed and dominated by the US and Europe increased their influence on South Asian economies.

Pakistan was created in the aftermath of World War II and is located at the juncture of great powers. Its strategic location played the most dominant part in its creation. The two main US interests in the region are security and business. Cohn (2011) describes this importance "while history has been unkind to Pakistan, its geography has been its greatest benefit. It has resource rich area in the north-west, people rich in the north-east." Its colonial role to watch and ward then or then frontiers of the British colonial empire was ensured to be continued in the Cold War era, which began after World War II. Saif (2006) asserts that the decision that Pakistan had to be the part of the emerging American Power System in the region was taken before its creation.

Saeed (2012) stated in his research that the political culture of Pakistan has a strong influence of its history under the British Raj. Although British handed over powers to local people but their everlasting impacts have their deep entrenched impacts on the society, culture, state and even on the minds of people. Moreover, Javaid (2010), states that Pakistan, as a Muslim country proved to be a bulwark against Soviet aggression. In fact, situation is same even till today. In the same vein Saeed (2012) argues that impacts of colonialism on modern day South Asian countries can be analyzed from the fact that all its political, social, legal and administrative structure of the state and society have either remained unchanged or altered slightly from original outlines given by the colonialists.

Specific Context of Education Sector

The colonial system was elitist as it was aimed to educate a small part of the population in order to run the government. Despite changes since independence, the colonial elitist character got retained in Pakistani educational system, which proved to be a major factor preventing the removal of illiteracy.

Structure

There are three major sectors of education system in Pakistan.

1. Formal education
2. Religious education
3. Informal education

1.1.1. Formal Education:

There are number of stages in formal education system, which are illustrated in the diagram and are described briefly below:

Table 1: Number of Mainstream Institutions, Enrolment and Teachers by Level

Year	Enrolment			Institutions			Teachers		
	2011-12	2012-13 (P)	2013-14 (E)	2011-12	2012-13 (P)	2013-14 (E)	2011-12	2012-13 (P)	2013-14 (E)
Pre-Primary	9513.5	9284.3	9468.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary*	18667.4	18760.1	18756.3	154.6	158.6	159.0	427.4	427.7	423.1
Middle	6020.2	6188.0	6444.1	41.9	42.1	42.4	351.4	362.6	373.9
High	2753.0	2898.1	3015.7	28.7	29.8	31.9	458.7	489.6	505.1
Higher Sec./ Inter	1294.1	1400.0	1493.7	4.5	4.9	5.6	97.6	130.1	159.8
Degree Colleges	497.1	634.8	773.1	1.4	1.5	1.5	40.2	47.9	56.8
Technical & Vocational Institutes	289.8	302.2	313.2	3.3	3.3	3.3	15.8	16.1	16.4
Universities	1319.8	1594.6	1969.1	0.139	0.139	0.141	70.0	77.6	86.4
Total	40354.9	41062.1	42233.8	234.539	240.339	243.841	146.1	1551.6	1621.5

*Source: Ministry of Professional & Technical Training, AEPAM, Islamabad
E: Estimated, P: Provisional: Including Pre-Primary & Mosque Schools, Values
in thousands.*

The overall budget of Higher Education Commission (HEC) has been increased since 2001, as shown by below table in a comparative view.

Table: 2

Fiscal Year	Recurring Grant(Rs.Billion)		Development Grant(Rs.Billion)	
	Allocated	Released	Allocated	Released
2009-10	21.50	21.50	22.50	11.30
2010-2011	29.05	29.05	15.76	14.06
2011-12	31.50	28.88	14.00	9.76
2012-2013	36.27	36.27	15.80	12.01
2013-2014	39.00	34.11	18.49	11.65

Source: HEC, *: The releases are till April, 2014

A brief view of historical background about the connectedness of foreign assistance in Pakistan is required in the context of education system in Pakistan. There are various forms of foreign assistance which include grants, loans and technical expertise. It is an effective medium to bring reforms, foreign innovations and ideas in the space of national policy. The following table depicts the extent of foreign economic assistance to Pakistan over the years:

Table 3: Foreign Economic Assistance to Pakistan (\$ million)

Period	Committ ed Loans	Disburse d Loans	Committ ed Grants	Disbursed Grants	Total Commitments	Total Disbursed
	A	B	C	D	a+c	b+d
1951-1960	618	192	794	650	1412	842
1960-1965	1805	1232	1106	1162	2911	2394
1965-1970	2233	2324	704	719	2937	3043
1970-1978	6152	5096	815	634	6967	5730
1978-1983	5667	-	1566	-	7233	-
1983-1988	9130	5158	2777	2025	11907	7183
1988-1993	11736	9540	2177	2541	13913	12081
1993-1997*	9183	9214	928	1008	10111	10222

Source: Pakistan, Federal Bureau of Statistics (1998), 50 years of Pakistan.

According to Carnoy’s analysis (2006) these developments show an increased influence of globalization on education, and also hint at the process of education policy borrowing in Pakistan.

In order to analyze education policy formation process in Pakistan, it is important to understand objectives of making them and how these policies are supportive to achieve those objectives, as Kenway (1990) argue that an absolute examination is necessary in which the channels of decision making are reviewed and the policy formation process is evaluated which provides an intuitive view of “why” and “how” policies are formulated. In this form of policy inquiry, researchers have added “who” for this particular study. As it is pertinent to recognize whose concerns have been served and whose not.

In this regard, EFA is a major global instrument for influencing education policies.



Figure 1: The formulation of EFA and the characters involved(Tahir, 2007)

The above figure shows the international characters who are engaged in formulation of EFA. The arrows show the assistance of various institutions in EFA formulation. The arrows with the block of nation states depict limited participation of nation states in policy formation and conversely adoption of EFA by nation

states. In this adoption process, the process of EFA has been recognized and ratified; ultimately nation states have adapted it in their own policy lines. For this matter, international conferences play an important role. During previous few decades, conferences at international level have become major sources in contouring perspectives of education beyond countries and for the transmission of basic ideas into educational policies all over the world.

International Context of Education

The Jomtien conference of EFA marked the rise of consensus at international level that education is the sole important element in removal of poverty, protection of children from ruthless labor and advocating human rights and democracy(Wadi.D. Haddad, 1990). The conference compressed the participating countries to comply and endorse the aims and targets of conference. Furthermore, as per Samoff (2003) these conferences enforced the weak nation states to apportion more resources for educating their people. In case of Pakistan, educational expenditure have been increased incrementally to 4% of GDP by 2010-2011 and planned consistent rise at this rate till 2015-2016, resulting in the following figures:

Table: 4

Target: 4% by 2010

GDP Growth and Expenditure on Education and growth rate & projection

Years	Assuming GDP Growth @ last five years actual <i>Gross Growth Rate</i>					
	GDP (mp) (Rs. Million)	Gross Gr Rate (%)	Expenditure on Edu (Rs. Million)	Gross Gr Rate (%)	EE as % of GDP	Rise in spending on Edu @
1999-00	3,826,111		71,129,944		1.859	
2000-01	4,162,654	8.80	75,887,064	6.69	1.823	
2001-02	4,401,699	5.74	78,924,971	4.00	1.793	
2002-03	4,822,842	9.57	89,827,384	13.81	1.863	
2003-04	5,640,580	16.96	124,274,476	38.35	2.203	
2004-05	6,581,103	16.67	139,968,001	12.63	2.21324	
2005-06	7,713,064	17.20	170,708,773	21.96	2.36400	0.151
2006-07	8,733,352.19	13.228053	206,456.010	20.94	2.61600	0.252
2007-08	9,888,604.65	13.228053	258,685.405	25.30	2.97300	0.357
2008-09	11,196,674.51	13.228053	332,876.575	28.68	3.43500	0.462
2009-10	12,677,776.55	13.228053	435,480.992	30.82	4.00000	0.565
2010-11	14,354,799.56	13.228053	574,191.266	31.85	4.00000	0.000
2011-12	16,253,660.05	13.228053	650,145.592	13.23	4.00000	0.000
2012-13	18,403,702.81	13.228053	736,147.195	13.23	4.00000	0.000
2013-14	20,838,154.38	13.228053	833,525.136	13.23	4.00000	0.000
2014-15	23,594,636.48	13.228053	943,784.283	13.23	4.00000	0.000
2015-16	26,715,747.50	13.228053	1,068,628.568	13.23	4.00000	

Total 749,139.13 6,039,921.022

Source: Policy & Planning Wing, Ministry of Education (2010-2011)

However, more pressure was exerted by the second education conference on participating states in order to attain the goals. The targets set during the first world conference of education were replicated in the second world conference with revision in timelines (Samoff, 2003). The second educational conference designed a structure to attain the objectives, and nation states were held responsible for making effective planning and regular reporting on the progress towards EFA was required for accountability of nation states.

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Pakistan has expressed its strong commitment towards EFA. Moreover, education has gained more importance since the Dakar conference in 2000. This is also explained by Burki (2000) that in 2000, Pakistan has revised its areas of priority and placed education at priority. Moreover, Pakistan has agreed to modify the education governance in order to achieve the EFA targets. The Education Minister, Zobeida Jalal said at second world conference:

“We are creatively re-examining the role of the public sector in education provision within the discourse of political devolution and decentralization of services. The government of Pakistan in the last decade has experienced a shift in its role from being a provider to that of an arranger and facilitator. This has happened, perhaps not by design but by the compulsions of EFA targets and promises made to the world community at Jomtien. How do we formally recognize and institutionalize this healthy shift within our systems to reflect a truly people centered and child-centered worldview? This is our greatest challenge.” (Jalal, 2000)

Since then there has been a consistent increase in the financial allocations for education. The NEP 2009 recommends that by 2015 the budget allocation to education sector should be more than 4% of GDP, as depicted in above table. EFA Dakar goals have been pursued strictly in Pakistan and designed their national plan of action in order to gain financial assistance from international organizations. For example, financial aid was guaranteed to Pakistan from the World Bank even before estimating financial expenditures (Ministry of Education, 2003b).

Despite world educational conferences, the national and regional educational conferences have also influenced the nation states to check the advancement towards the EFA commitments. As according to UNESCO (2002), different seminars, forums and conferences at regional level make policy makers accountable for attaining EFA targets. Furthermore, in order to ensure participation of all stakeholders in monitoring, implementation and revising the EFA goals national, provincial and district level bodies have been made to meet regularly (Ministry of Education, 2002a). Hence, international conferences have an immense role in influencing education policy formation in Pakistan and dictate strategies of implementation. Moreover, these conferences also incorporate international goals and criteria for national policies.

Debt Burden

The burden of escalating debt and its accumulating interest has been on the South Asian nation. According to Haque (2000) the enhanced role of international

financial institutions in policy making enforces governments to adopt such reforms, projects and program for which these agencies are willing to provide funding. In this way, government is performing the role of facilitator. Various authors of United States aid policies have asserted that aid is “the most effective instrument for ideological indoctrination” (Deng, 1998). Aid has been used by United States to spread a belief in the benefits of capitalism, especially in cold war era.

Furthermore, aid is a tool to make South Asian countries politically and economically dependent on donor countries. Being dependent nation, Pakistan is forced to implement foreign agenda, as aid can reinforce racism and promote attitudes of superiority. According to Regan (1996), in current era, aid is used for strategic, political and economic reasons and is targeted to maintain current character of world inequality instead of changing it.

This phenomenon is also explained by Terris, (1999),

“Neoliberal policies have been exported to the entire world through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which have followed a consistent policy of demanding adherence to so-called austerity measures, austerity for the working and middle classes, and prosperity for the rich and powerful as an essential condition for receiving loans for their hard-pressed economies.”

Literature Review

According to Tahir (2007) policy is a principle or a combination of principles which develops guidelines for actions. Nation states have embedded values which are based on ideological, political and economic domains. (Tahir, 2007)

Taylor et al. (1997) gave an illustration of basic aspects of policy formation and implementation in their study about the theoretical connotations and problems of education policies. Moreover, the authors postulate that process of policy seems to be political in nature. Their framework is important as it explains historical & socio-economic policy contexts and the relations between the contexts in which these policies are formed.

The context in which the policy is formed is very necessary to understand the policies themselves as policies do not exist in a vacuum. This is also explained by Taylor et al. (1997) as, “(a)ny type of policy issues are embedded in a wider set of pressures or contexts-historical, political, economic, which would need to be understood”. Taylor et al. (1997) regarding policy formation and implementation contend that in policy analysis it is essential to shed light on the existing “connections between the micro-settings [e.g. universities], and policy-making at the macro-level”. The authors explained that these connections between micro and macro levels are not “obvious” and further exploration is required (Haque, 1998).

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Moreover, policy statements and policy documents use a language and context which is not specific rather it is usually wide and general. Hence, every stakeholder who is involved in the process could interpret and construct their own ideas and descriptions about the policies. The international context or phenomenon of globalization is necessary to understand the formation process of national policies (Islam, 2009). This is another dimension of policy making as according to Taylor et al. globalization is linked to the education policy process. The connections between global agendas and national agendas create tensions. Taylor et al. (1997) describe that these tensions add up more complicity to policy formation. A genuine and beneficial contribution of the work presented by Taylor et al. (1997) is that it proposed a series of “dilemmas” which are involved in education policy making process. These “dilemmas” comprise a valuable framework for public policies such as:

a. “Policies are beyond the text”: Taylor et al. (1997) illustrate that policies are not only a set of principles or instructions rather they are interactive and dynamic. Hence, they develop from distinctive context which gives the text [of regulations, laws etc.] proper meaning and significance. The authors argued that for analyzing policy, it is essential to “read behind the lines” of the policy texts.

b. “Policy is value-laden”: it is observed that values “penetrate policy processes”. Particular reform policies are justified in specific values.

c. “Policy exists in contexts”: it is not possible to isolate policies from the ideological, historical and political contexts in which they are embedded. Furthermore, the authors explain that the particular socio-economic contexts and agency of individuals which influence the timing, structure and outcomes of policies.

d. “Policy formation is a state activity”: As per Taylor et al. (1997), “education policy making is a state or government activity”. By concentrating on role of state in policy-making, the authors shed light on the varying nature of the state and defined that state is not a specific entity, and policies have comprise differing agendas.

e. “Policy results in unintended as well as intended consequences”: Taylor et al. (1997) defined policy formation as a “precarious business”. This is because the unpredictable outcomes of policies as they are executed under the influence of stakeholders’ actions, contextual factors and differing interests.

The characteristics and dilemmas highlighted by Taylor et al illustrate various types of policy, the tensions and misalignments of policy structure and implementation. This framework implies the importance of the study for analyzing the impacts of globalization & the role of different stakeholders such as international agencies in education policy making of South Asian countries.

Globalization

According to Kopweh (2011), globalization is the integration of cultural, economic and political domains among nation-states. The researchers will use the definition provided by Yang, as it will be helpful to answer the research questions and meeting the objectives of research. According to Yang (2000) “(g)lobalization is fundamentally a process of economic integration which surpasses nation-state territorial boundaries and ultimately affects the flow of knowledge, people, values and ideas”. Yang explains that the growth became uneven under the process of globalization and also notes that globalization process has promoted inequality by creating gap between poor and the rich.

The role of international organizations in South Asian countries is much stronger due to globalization. According to Wiarda (1990) South Asian nations have been left with neither the indigenous and traditional institutions which might have supported the transition to modernity, nor with new ones that have any hope of functioning efficiently in nation-states. By giving some false and dichotomous choices to South Asian countries (“traditional or modern”), policy makers have contributed to create institutional vacuum that plagues nation-states. Robertson et al.(2007), claim that international organizations have a more powerful impact on education policy of low income and South Asian countries through their practices, programs and policies such as EFA, UN’s Millennium Development Goals and the broader globalized education policy discourses of the knowledge economy and lifelong learning. Accordingly, education policy in South Asian countries is globalized.

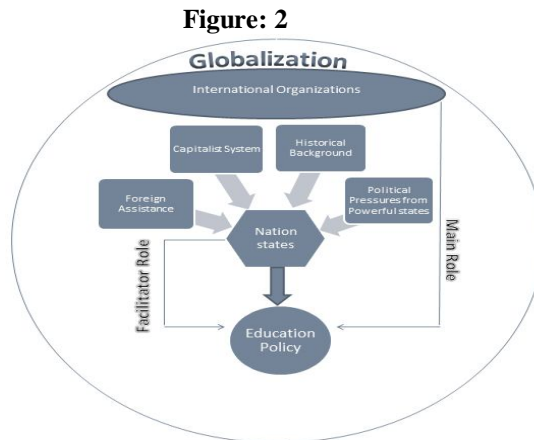
The Dependency Theory and Neo-Colonialism

According to Saif (2006), the dependency theory provides a better understanding for continuous flaws and failure of educational policies in Pakistan. It argues that the development paradigm was the child of neo- imperialism and neo-colonialism. 'It developed as part and parcel instrument of the new post-war American hegemony. At the end of the World War II, the United States ascended to ‘neo-imperial hegemony’. During this period of neo-colonialism, the United States assumed the responsibility to reconstruct the world capitalist economy aiming for integration of different regions like Europe, Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America within the emerging American System of Power. The dependency perspective attempts to explore how the different policies of development in various regions were influenced by the U.S. hegemony. This perspective argues that societies of East Asia should not be viewed successful products of the ‘modernization process. Rather, the 'success' of these societies should be viewed as rooted in their historical inclusion of American System of Power and the strategic importance of the region in which they were housed, and is not necessarily repeatable by other. This phenomenon can be examined in the perspective of dependency paradigm, which explains the interdependent nature of

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the world capitalist system in its historical dimension, focusing on the total network of social relations as they evolved in different contexts over time.

By using dependency paradigm, the following figure represents the core concepts through which the question of the research will be answered.



Research Methodology

In this research study secondary data collection tools were used such as published studies, research journal articles, books, government documents, Acts, policies, laws, reports and surveys from government websites of Pakistan and UNESCO documents on EFA. Data was collected through internet and library. Similar research methodology is adopted by Saif (2006) in his study ‘‘Authoritarianism and underdevelopment in the third world: A new colonial model Pakistan- A case study (1947-1958)’. The dependency Paradigm is used as the evaluation tool to examine international economic and political factors, which according to the interests of players of the neo-colonial world shaped the structure of Pakistani state in alliance with the local factors. An analytical study of the formative years of Pakistan in the context of ‘dependency paradigm’ provide new insights for understanding the broader issues of military intervention in politics and the authoritarian nature of the state and its links with underdevelopment in the Third World, particularly in South Asia.

Moreover, a research is also conducted by Saeed (2012), ‘‘Making sense of policy implementation process in Pakistan: The case of hospital autonomy reforms’’. The author used holistic approach to gain knowledge of Colonialism, as stated below:

‘‘Without the knowledge of the heritage of colonialism and the political power structure we know that even with the best implementation approaches top-down or bottom-up, we will fail too.

That was the situation in many processes in western countries and that is the situation in Pakistan.”

Using this evaluation framework, the researchers want to analyze the role of international agencies in making educational policies of Pakistan with the objective to evaluate how these international representatives of colonialism continued to shape the structure of the state even after the end of the colonialism and ultimately shifting the balance of power away from elected institutions.

Analysis

By considering the globalization phenomenon, the researchers have made the following analysis for education policy making process in Pakistan.

Acquisition of EFA through Recent Policies in Pakistan

Education Policy of Pakistan which was formed in 1998 had incorporated all the targets of Jomiten conference; therefore, Pakistan did not produce list of aims for EFA program at national level. Moreover, current education policy of 2009 has brought forward the aims and targets of EFA. The NEP 2009 reflects EFA aims quite precisely.

National Education Policy 2009

The education policy of Pakistan was designed in 2006 and executed in 2009. The national education policy has been designed by considering basic principles provided by Constitution of Pakistan 1973, according to which there must be free education access to all children. On the other hand, the aims and targets are in compliance with the Jomtien conference in 1990.

Based upon the views of Anderson (1984) and other authors, education policy of 2009 has a symbolic nature and encompassing as well which provide a wider framework for action in the field of education. Being a major part of national education policy of 2009, the nature of EFA and other policies is incremental. The EFA dictate some basic elements, but it did not allocate financial resources. Moreover, NEP 2009 did not recommend arrangements regarding structure for the implementation. Hence, it is a regulatory policy from top to down.

NEP 2009 is an enforcing policy which is formulated on the basis of EFA. Furthermore, decentralization, the education sector reforms and universal primary education are integral parts of EFA policies and have been developed specifically to counter the problems raised under EFA. As discussed earlier, in all previous Pakistan's education policy documents developed during successive civilian and military governments, notably the wish-list attitude has been present. Moreover, all such policies did not comprise aims for what they were designed to attain rather than particular key areas to focus on. The NEP 2009 is not distinctive in this regard, and for that reason, the proposed suggestions and milestones seem very

unrealistic and means for political gain. The NEP 2009 thus outlines what is to be done but it does not deal with who will do what, how will something be done and when is something done.

EFA as the External Pressures and the Mediums of Influence

In Pakistan, EFA has brought upwards and downwards influences in the process of education policy. Moreover, these pressures have been institutionalized through particular measures of policy (Henry et al. 2001). However, more explicit influences are from upwards than from downwards. For more understanding of pressures of EFA, it is essential to see how these have been institutionalized in the context of Pakistan.

The second education conference in 2000 encouraged the wider participation level of international agencies in matters of policy and planning of education within the participating countries. These international organizations and other powerful bodies like developed countries have been considered as the major entities of policy South Asian & designing and they act as dictators in EFA matters.

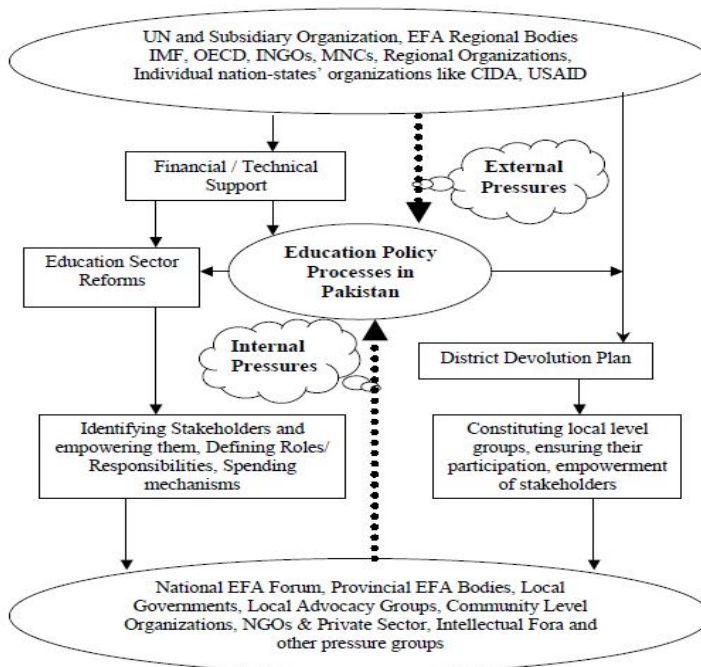


Figure3: Institutionalization of top down (external) and bottom up (internal) pressures on the policy process in Pakistan (Tahir, 2007)

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The figure illustrates the pressures coming towards the domain of education policy formation in Pakistan directly from the entities at international level. The pressures coming from top to down or external constraints are directly influencing the domain. Furthermore, the international actors have also created influence by empowering national stakeholders. This is also referred to as bottom up approach. However, institutionalization of the influence has been made from bottom and top through interventions of policy like decentralization and education sector reforms respectively. The above diagram also depicts that how these policies are developed and the actors who influence the domain related of educational policy in Pakistan from top to down and bottom to top.

Scholars like Hallak (2000), Samoff (2003), Dale (1999) and Carrol (2004) have noticed that financial assistance is the primary source of external pressures in education policy and this pressure transfers in the form of loans or grants from developed states, multinational companies, international institutions, the United Nations and its subsidiary bodies and other arrangements at regional and multilateral level.

According to the report by UNESCO (2007) in the list of 20 countries, Pakistan is ranked at seventh in receiving the highest amounts of aid for education over the period 2003-04. Pakistan received US\$ 150.4 million as aid for its education sector in the year 2003. It is pertinent to note that although India receives more aid than Pakistan for its education sector, but still Pakistan is the more aid dependent country.

Table 5: Aid Dependency - Aid as percentage of Total Government Expenditure

	1999	2004
Ghana	..	73.2
India	2.2	0.6
Kenya	13.4	..
Pakistan	6.5	10.2
Senegal	91	..

Source: (Mullick, 2004)

After the year of 2000, the National Plan of Actions (NPAs) by Pakistan gained a handsome amount of financial assistance from the donor institutions as depicted in above figure (Dawn, 2000b, 2002a & 2004). As per Samoff (2003), apart from the financial assistance, policies of Pakistan are under the intense pressure of external actors due to the technical assistance given by international organizations, parochial entities and individual nation states.

EFA & the Internal Policy Pressures in Pakistan

The external actors have encouraged, developed and capacitated various pressure groups including nonprofit organizations, local entities, community groups, civil society organizations, private sector, district and provincial level groups for EFA in Pakistan by providing technical and financial assistance to national actors. The

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influences from internal bodies are of explicit and implicit type. The important dimensions in this regard, are: by whom and how these actors have been strengthened or empowered, what and in whose interests these influential groups are playing their role and finally how these players are influencing the practices of policy making.

As also explained by Hallak (2000) and Scholte (2000), these internal actors are the products of various interventions related to policy by external actors. For instance, the EFA emphasizes the creation of local bodies for EFA and national, district & provincial conventions of EFA. Furthermore, these local actors have been provoked and gained immense growth due to decentralization in the country. Resultantly, these entities have influenced the nation state in practices of policy formation as explained by Hallak, (2000) “(l)oss of monopoly in policy-making”. They being agents of international institutions develop into pressure groups who then influence local governments to adopt their policies.

However, besides having foreign funding in Pakistan, non-governmental organizations along with other local agencies have got very important status in other contemporary policies and EFA. Such organizations are either directly funded by the education sector reforms or affirm that the funds utilized by the government would be aligned with these agencies. Furthermore, according to Ministry of Education (2002a) these agencies play an imperative role in assessment of the measures taken by the country. Thus, these institutions are acting as watchdogs and pressure groups as well. Hence, to bring global influences at the national level, these internal actors are responsible.

Diffusion of Cultural Ideals

Social sciences were developed in the mould of natural sciences which has certain ontological and epistemological assumptions like; reality lies out there independent of the researcher; humans are like other natural objects which have fixed characteristics along time and space; humans are valueless and emotionless and don't have their own intentions; human can study humans. Such assumptions though tenable for natural objects, don't hold its water when applied to humans, and have been criticized widely by various authors including Bishop () etc.

Moreover the development of social sciences has occurred in a specific context i.e. they were developed in Europe in the era of enlightenment. Thus the content of social science has been influenced by certain philosophical, historical, geographical, social, political, and economic issues and hence cannot be called value neutral. However such concepts, developed in the domain of social sciences have been taken to be universal and objective and hence been applied through the force of globalization over all nations. One such concept is political liberalism, which contends that government should be neutral and people in society should be free to do whatever they want. It also emphasizes that economy should be run

through natural forces of demand and supply. However, by being neutral and adopting a laissez faire approach to education whereby government treats education as commodity to be sold in market, government in fact sides with the capitalists leaving poor, weaker, deprived and handicapped populace to buy basic needs of their life from market. On the contrary, Islam holds government accountable for provision of basic needs to have-nots in society.

While designing universal standards and framework for education, the uniqueness of cultures in each country has been put aside and never comes into any equation e.g. the culture of Pakistan is strongly influenced by Islam which is the religion of vast majority of its population. The constitution of Pakistan (1973) identifies Islam as official religion of country. So Islam is the compelling force for nation of Pakistan as long as it exists as an independent state as it is impossible for the body to sustain without its life blood. The western cultural ideals which are being enforced in the nation are exactly opposite to the established culture in Pakistan. It is a universal truth that ideology is essential for survival of any nation. This ideology can be 'nationalist,' 'secularist,' 'capitalist,' 'racialist,' 'communist,' or Islamic. And similarly, every nation has its own cultural ideals. So these western cultural ideals which have been enforced to South Asian nations without considering their cultural traditions and ideological basis cannot be helpful to resolve major issues like education.

These western cultural ideals pass through to the culture of Pakistan via global education policies. For understanding the reaction of the Pakistani state towards global education policy, it is essential to understand the national backgrounds, cultures and priorities of political economic conditions that coincide with the global education policy to develop a composite policy. Above all, there is a national dignity under which nation states yearns to feel authorized and this feeling of pride do not allow to be directed by any external pressure. The following statement of the former education minister spells out the authority that state of Pakistan feels or wants to feel:

“Donors have to align with us. I’m very clear about that. We don’t align with donors; donors have to align with us. So that’s not an issue. The way things happen or should happen, and we try to make sure that it happens, is that we as a government decide. We may consult the donors, but we as government decide what we want.”(Memon, 2005)

Nevertheless, tensions are created by the interaction of global education policy field with national education policy field. The education policy of Pakistan depicts these tensions in different ways. Though there is a consistent pressure on Pakistan to attain MDG targets and EFA set for 2015, Pakistan is most likely going to miss the targets with a great margin due to its peculiar context. According to Global Monitoring Report (2009) Pakistan includes among 29 countries which are not likely to achieve EFA goals by 2015.

Impact of Globalization

Tensions prevail around the issue of ideology which is quite essential to the education policy of Pakistan since the independence of the country. The pressures on Pakistan have posed crucial challenges for education policy of Pakistan for its Islamic ideology and its inclusion in curriculum. Islamic symbolism has been used in the curriculum by the government to build a visionary community that is otherwise quite multifaceted in its ethnicity and culture. In the official curriculum, there is equality between 'good Pakistani' and 'good Muslim' (Aly, 2006). A tension has been created for national education policy by the global criticism on religious schools and overly Islamized curriculum in Pakistan, which have used Islamic rhetoric to instill nationalistic feelings.

The above discussion shows that the state of Pakistan has broadly used the negotiation and alignment as the two major strategies to deal with the preferences of global policy. For instance, in case of objectives of MDG and EFA, the prescriptions of the White Paper (2006) show that government has heavily accepted these priorities of global field and has suggested ways to attain them. The White Paper depicts a negotiating strategy in case of ideology, as it does not simply agree with the global requirements due to peculiarities at domestic level. The below statement of the White Paper (2006) attests this observation,

“The Education Policy of every State has an ideological basis at least for a predictable timeframe.... in the context of Pakistan, this ideological base is essentially and historically provided by Islam as an ideology derived from Islam the religion.... However, Islam is not and cannot continue to be treated as a static religious dogma, thriving on ignorance and nostalgia.”

This is also noticed that preferences of global policy have been used to gain acknowledgment for its own policy stance and to calm down the resistance at national level. Therefore, we need to be aware of the fact that the state's authority depends on what Bourdieu (2008) has called it as 'national capital' i.e. the whole capacity of the nation determined by a integrated effect of human, finance and political resources owned by a nation. The South Asian nations own lower amount of such resources and hence lesser 'national capital' to 'fire back'. Due to the deficient national capital the negotiation of the state of Pakistan seems to have heavily dependent on discursive resources, resulting in peculiar and negotiated priorities of national education policy.

Final Remarks

Through this discussion an attempt has been made to explore the nature and impact of globalization on national policy of South Asian countries in the context of dependency paradigm especially in the field of education. The case of Pakistan

very well explains the situation of education policies of other South Asian countries because these nations have same historical background and they are facing the same degree of global control. In regards to education policy in Pakistan, it has been found to be impacted by globalization. The research shows that education policies of Pakistan are under the great influence of globalization and responded to both EFA and the MDGs. It is also a revealed reality for Pakistan that the instruments of globalization (UN, IMF, World Bank etc.) are gaining more and more power while nation states keep losing their control within national boundaries.

Overall, researchers analyzed that, the education policies of Pakistan did not take the desires and demands of the majority of people. As mentioned earlier, as globalization seems to be the fashionable and modern wind of change, so it can be denied nor resisted in South Asian nations and same as in Pakistan.

Moreover, it is not essential that the policy which is successful in another country can be similarly successful in Pakistan's scenario because culture of different countries is different for achieving demands in education sector. Thus time is now ripe enough to revisit and turn around the policy formation procedures by policy makers of South Asian nations. It is pertinent for reform initiatives and the education policy in South Asian countries to keep a global perspective while emphasizing national policy priorities. The researchers of the study do not want to suggest that prescriptions of global organization are always wrong. Many of these prescriptions do make sense but they should always be checked in national context.

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