

EDUCATION AS A PARADIGM IN DEVELOPMENT THEORY: A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN¹

Development can be understood as an activity, a condition, an event, or a process. In natural science, it unfolds according to principles that humans do not control, but in social science, development is entirely the product of human decisions. The concept of Development has transformed over the last sixty years or so. The concept of Development emerged soon after the Second World War with the initiation of decolonisation process throughout the globe. The Development Theory from the perspective of International Relations, broadly has two views. The first one deals with the Orthodox View and the second is called the Alternative View. The Orthodox View comprises of issues like superiority of the Western economies, economic growth, Gross Domestic Product (GDP), per capita income, industrialization. The critics of this model- Andre Gunder Frank and Raul Prebisch talked about Core (Developed Countries) and Periphery (Developing Countries) relation. According to them, the Periphery can only develop with the help of Core. The Orthodox View also laid emphasis on the 'trickle-down' of economic growth. On the other hand, the Alternative View deals with the concept of Sustainable Development, Self-Reliance, and dependence on local knowledge rather than 'imported' Western comprehension. The parameter of development in this case is not only economic growth, but at the same time stress has been

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given to environmental degradation, adult literacy, status of women, quality of life. Importance is given to the 'bottom-up' approach rather than the above mentioned 'trickle-down'. The above explanation gave importance to adult literacy, as an important element of Development, according to the Alternative Model. Adult Literacy emanates from the Educational setup in its entirety of any country. As a result, when we talk about Adult Literacy, the importance of education comes to prior notice. In 1990, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) developed the Human Development Index (HDI) to measure the development achievements of individual countries. The HDI comprises per capita income, health and education parameters. Education becomes a pertinent component of Development as it helps individual to seek for better choices that eventually reflect the non-material needs. Pakistan, being a part of the so-called Peripheral set-up is no different from any other Developing country, when the question of education arrives. The lack of information about the (long-term) benefits of education act as deterrents to human capital investment's among the poor and vulnerable in Pakistan. In addition many poor families lack the resources to send their children to school. Moreover, being a predominantly feudal country, there is a problem of stark gap in the educational structure. Only a handful of its population mainly urban, defence and landed elites have the privilege of modern education. The rest of the population suffers from acute illiteracy. The educational problem of Pakistan is typical of a country where democracy has always been challenged. Democracy is an important component of the Alternative Concept of Development. The government in Pakistan keeps on shuffling between civilian and military, but the qualities of life (comprising education) of the common people do not change. While myriad efforts have been made by governments over the years to fulfill the educational obligation, success has been highly limited.

Introduction

Providing educational facility to its citizens is a very important responsibility of any state. The level of education is an

important indicator of any country's development. A state cannot be called 'developed' until it has a viable education policy. So, it becomes the task of every government to offer an educational policy for its populace. The concept of 'education policy' is a part of Welfare State's activities. Apart from providing the basic needs (food, cloth and shelter); the state should involve itself in developmental sectors like health, education etc. In this case, it will be apt to say that education is a very important facet of development.

Framework

The paper shall integrate the concept of Development Theory from the perspective of International Relations with the education scenario of Pakistan. Accordingly, stress will be laid on the concept of development and education as one of its important parameters (as promoted by the alternative model). The paper has been divided into five sections. The first segment will deal with the theoretical aspect of development. The orthodox as well as alternative model will be mentioned. The ideas of W.W. Rostow, Raul Prebisch and A.G. Frank will be discussed. The second part will enclose the importance of education in the development theory. The third part will discuss how education is perceived in Pakistan or in other words, the educational backdrop of the Pakistan state. The fourth component of the paper will throw light on the Governmental initiatives in the field of education. The era wise analysis of the educational policies will be present in this part followed by the final segment containing concluding remarks.

Theory of Development

The phenomenal growth of the development theory is mainly a post Second World War trend, although the ideas that ultimately culminated to the development theory even existed in early sociology and anthropology (Dube 1986: 3). Since the Second World War, development has been considered synonymous with economic growth within the context of free market international economy. However, an alternative view of development has emerged from the occasional government, UN

agency, grassroots movement, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), and some academics (Thomas 2005:649). Development – economic, social and sustainable, without an effective state is impossible. An effective state is central to any economic and social development, but more as partner or facilitator and not as directors (World Bank 1997 as quoted in Brett 2001: 7). Development according to Amartya Sen means a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. Growth of GNP or of individual income can of course be very important as means to expanding the freedom enjoyed by the members of the society. But, freedoms depend also on other determinants, such as social and economic arrangements (Sen 2000: 3). The component of education is very important in such arrangements. Education is related with gaining freedom. In the following study, we shall trace the evolution of the development theory from the orthodox to the alternative model. The salient attributes of both types will be discussed and at the same time, the role of education in these systems will be analysed.

The Orthodox Model

The orthodox or mainstream model of development emerged in the post Second World War International order. The main thrust of this idea came with the surfacing of independent countries (former colonies) into the World political and economic sphere. As a result, new theories related with development were proposed by many. Among them important theory were propounded by W.W. Rostow. The purpose of the orthodox model is transformation of the traditional subsistence economy, considered as ‘backward’ into industrial, commodified economies defined as ‘modern’. The assumption was that, unlimited economic growth in a free-market system would result in a ‘take-off’ point and thereafter wealth would trickle down to those at the bottom. The model also considers western knowledge as superior (Thomas 2005: 650). In his classic work, *The Stages of Economic Growth*, Rostow outlined five stages of economic development, which all societies eventually experience as they mature into industrialized developed countries. These five stages are- traditional society, the pre-

condition for takeoff, the takeoff, the drive towards maturity, and the age of high mass consumption (Rostow 2004: 123). The main thrust of the above mentioned five stages is to convert the economy of the developing or Third World countries, into an archetype of the already existing economy of the West.

In the post-war decades, western economies were driven by industrial growth (as mentioned above) and as a result they followed a kind of interventionist approach, where the elites of both the donor (core) and the recipient (periphery) established goals and conditions of development assistance and imposed them in the recipient's social and economic systems (Tarapore 2001: 1). The orthodox model is related with concept of Dependency. It rather contributes to the process of dependency. The types of Dependencies include- Colonial, Financial-industrial and Technological-industrial (Santos 2004: 279-280). The core is a kind of benefactor, investing in the economy of the periphery through several channels like trade exports, Multi National Corporations (MNCs), investment in industrial and agricultural raw materials etc.

The Alternative Assessment of the Economic Set-Up

The critics of the Orthodox model do not believe that statistical measurements of economic growth and per capita GDP give an accurate understanding about the level of development. Raul Prebisch and Andre Gunder Frank saw through the Orthodox system and propagated the concept of 'Core-Periphery', the division of countries into two streams- developed and developing. Several synonyms have been used to describe same concepts (as we will eventually see). The concept of development theory cannot be understood without analysing the arguments put forward by the above mentioned economists. We shall now look into their line of argument.

Raul Prebisch

Prebisch is widely known for the insight that he made in the field of economics and international relations as well. He came up with what is called 'Prebisch Thesis'. The main idea

was that the global system was not uniform marketplace with producers and suppliers freely making mutually beneficial contracts but was in fact divided into powerful central economies (developed) and relatively weak peripheral economies (developing) (Preston 1996: 182). The countries of above mentioned two segments played unequal role in world's economy. The first playing an active role; the second a passive or reflexive role (Knakal 1972 as quoted in Preston 1996). Prebisch was of the opinion that, the periphery suffered from declining terms of trade, by which he meant that the selling price of primary commodities decline over a period of time in comparison to buying price of manufactured goods. Therefore, the condition worsen in the periphery (Thomas 2005: 655).

Andre Gunder Frank

Frank identified three contradictions that explain the capitalist development and development of the underdeveloped. They are:

“the expropriation of economic surplus from the many and its appropriation by the few, the polarization of the capitalist system into metropolitan centre and peripheral satellites, and the continuity of the fundamental structures of the capitalist system throughout the history of its expansion and transformation” (Frank 1967 as quoted in Preston 1996).

The main concern of our study is the relation between the core (developed country) and the periphery (developing country). According to Frank, the economic development and underdevelopment are opposite to one another. That means, prosperity of one will definitely have an inverse effect on the other. Andre Gunder Frank was a proponent of the Dependency Theory. Dependency model showed the flaws of previously conceived ideas of development, which was based on heavy dependence of the Third World Countries on the Developed nations. It saw metropolitan policy as maleficent, not beneficent; the earlier concept of ‘modernizing elites’ did not help the common people of periphery; world trade perpetuated the

structures of underdevelopment rather than development and above all the capitalist development offered nothing to the periphery (Leys 1996: 12).

The Alternative Model of Development

In the 1970s, the dissatisfaction with the Orthodox or Mainstream development model resulted into an Alternative approach which was 'people centric'. The concept of development was mentioned in the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation Report of 1975, "What Now? Another Development" as, 'geared to the satisfaction of needs', 'endogenous and self reliant' and 'in harmony with the environment'. This approach has been carried forward under the name of basic needs and of alternative development. It has been mainly concerned with introducing alternative practices and redefining the goals of development (Pieterse 1998: 344 and 346). The alternative conception of development argued that the process of development should be need oriented for both material and non-material, endogenous, self-reliant in terms of human, natural and cultural resources, ecologically sound and based on structural transformation of economy, society, gender and power relations (Ekins 1992 as quoted in Thomas 2005: 657).

The alternative view of development suggests the development of people and societies is an organic process of healthy growth of creative faculties and their application (Rahman 1991: 22). In 1990 the UNDP developed the Human Development Index (HDI) to measure the development achievements of individual countries. Giving equal weight to life-expectancy, adult literacy, and average local purchasing power. The assessment based on HDI is totally different from the traditional measures of development based on per capita GDP (Thomas 2005: 656).

The element of democracy becomes central to the alternative development model (which is a contested issue in case of Pakistan). The Alternative View deals with the concept of Sustainable Development, Self-Reliance, reliance on local

knowledge rather than 'imported' Western comprehension and empowerment of people. The element of education is important criteria for empowerment of people. The stress is on fulfillment of non-material needs. The parameter of development in this case is not only economic growth, but at the same time stress has been given to environmental degradation, adult literacy, status of women, quality of life. Importance is given to the 'bottom-up' approach rather than the above mentioned 'trickle-down'. The World Bank led the way in 1997-98, with the President Jim Wolfensohn and its Chief Economist, Joseph Stiglitz, designing the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF), which has since then become the foundation of World Bank policies. It accepted the 'trickle-down' economic prosperity as myth and gave importance to sustainable economic growth (Tarapore 2001: 5).

Education as a Factor in Development Theory

Education has always been conceived a part of development. In the Orthodox set-up it was linked with the idea of 'knowledge transfer' from the core to the elites of periphery. In order to expand the economy of the Third World, it was necessary to educate the elite, so that they can be beneficial for the economies of the core. The 'trickle-down' process included not only downward flowing of finances but also knowledge in the form of western education.

The Alternative Model gave importance to adult literacy, as an important element of Development. Adult Literacy emanates from the Educational setup in its entirety of any country. As a result, when we talk about Adult Literacy as a source of empowerment, the importance of education comes to prior notice. In 1990, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) developed the Human Development Index (HDI) to measure the development achievements of individual countries (Thomas 2005: 656). HDI is comprised of per capita income, health and education parameters. Education becomes a pertinent component of Development as it helps individual to seek for better choices that eventually reflect the non-material needs.

Education as seen above is important because it helps to create an environment of enlightenment for all irrespective economic or social disparity.

Education cannot be understood in isolation, an interdisciplinary approach is required to comprehend the utility of education. Development and education complement and supplement each other. Educational advancement of a country can be considered as a parameter of development. Gone are the days when only economic indicators decided the level of development. And at the same time, an educated population will be beneficial as a workforce for the development of a country. A well equipped economy requires experts who have fare educational qualification. Education and spread of knowledge will enhance the quality of the population essential for all round development. In the 21st century, with emergence of concepts like global commons, exclusive economic zones (EEZs), geo-economics, supranational culture etc. educational backwardness is not at all appreciated.

The Pakistan Scenario

The study of the educational set-up of Pakistan will help in understanding the importance of education in a Third World economy. Pakistan provides a classic example of a 'dependent/peripheral state' with its colonial legacy, stark variation between common public and the elites, rampant corruption, dependent economy, lack of educational facilities, deficiency of public awareness in issues like environmental degradation, women rights, sustainable development, efficacy of grassroot level politics etc. Pakistan presents a very traditional type society, with few urban centres like Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad, Rawalpindi etc. The elitist nature of Pakistani society is reflected in the educational structure of the country. The following analysis will definitely prove the importance of education in the development of a country. Educational set-up of a country can only be sound if there are effective government measures to corroborate it.

Education as perceived in Pakistan

Pakistan has all the ingredients necessary to be a peripheral country. Therefore, it becomes essential to trace the reflections of development theory and one of its component-education on the educational structure of the country. Pakistan as a state has a very peculiar feature. It is a mix of tradition and modernity a typical feature of any developing society. The country has a varied population ranging from totally illiterate rural people to westernized elites (cadet and missionary schooling background) who are not at all fluent in urdu (the national language) nor in their own mother tongue. It is an enigma for any developing nation- the existence of two parallel worlds in a single country, and Pakistan as a matter of fact is no exception. Even after more than sixty years of independence, it could not come out of the feudal set-up. The feudal setting has its own bearing not only in the culture and politics, but also same time in the economy of the country. There is a nexus in Pakistan among feudal lords, army personnel, bureaucrats and politicians, as all of them come from more or less same socio-cultural status and background. This nexus ultimately results in the discriminatory educational set-up of Pakistan.

When we study Pakistan in the backdrop of development theory, and in the special scenario of educational pattern, the study leads to a prototypical impression of any other Third World Country with severe resource allocation crisis. There is no dearth in "Official Government initiatives" (as we will gradually discuss) regarding development strategies, but the end result or actual condition does not correspond with the initial policy initiatives. Country's social and moral degeneration is mirrored in its educational system which forms a part of the culture of corruption, drugs, crime and the general absence of moral and social values. The educational system of Pakistan's society has been subjected to a steady barrage of ideological onslaught particularly by the right-wing religious parties such as Jammata-e-Islami (Ali 1992: 115). The segmented nature of the Pakistani state has caused the stunted development pattern and education

sector being a vital part of it could not avoid the not so stimulating consequences.

Pakistan's public education system has suffered from neglect and politicisation over the last 30 years. The overall adult literacy rate for the population above the age of 15 is about 43.5 percent, while the rates for Sri Lanka and India are 92 percent and 61 percent, respectively (Burki 2005 as quoted in Curtis 2007: 2).² Barely 10 percent of children complete 12 years of schooling. With a population growth rate well over 2 percent, Pakistan is set to add another 100 million people to its current population of 160 million over the next 25 years. About half of this population will be under the age of 18. These demographic trends demand that Pakistan implement significant reforms to the education system and raise literacy rates and skill levels so that these young people can play a productive role in the future economy (Curtis 2007: 2).

The education sector in Pakistan is not very impressive like many other developing countries (as briefly mentioned earlier). The low enrolment rates at the primary level, wide disparities between regions and gender, lack of trained teachers, deficiency of proper teaching materials and poor infrastructure of the schools indicate the poor performance of this sector (Memon 2007: 47). The normal trend in Pakistan is high drop-out rate at every crucial educational stage. Some quit formal education after they reach grade 5 in school. Another section leaves school in grade 10. And the process continues till the college level. The economic factor also contributes a lot in this phenomenon. Students are more inclined towards earning a living for their family rather than acquiring formal education.

The World Bank and a number of donor agencies spent billions of dollars on a "Social Action Program" for Pakistan during the late 1980s and through the 1990s. After a decade, the program failed to achieve basic objectives like increasing school

² See Table-1 for further details. The table provides extensive data regarding Adult Literacy (1995-2003) in Pakistan, along with her South Asian neighbours.

enrolment rates at the primary level and bringing education to remote parts of the country. The program failed because it did not address problems such as corruption and inefficiency within the Pakistan education bureaucracy (Burki 2005 as quoted in Curtis 2007: 2). It shows a negative impression on the part of Pakistani government officials. Rampant corruption as well as inefficiency is the answer for the abysmal educational condition (both secular and religious) of Pakistan.

With 166 million inhabitants in 2006 and a population growth rate 2.4 percent, Pakistan is ranked as the seventh most populous country in the world. 97 percent of the population is Muslim. The country ranks 135 out of 173 countries on the Human Development Index. After a protracted downturn in the economy during the 1990s, recent development in macroeconomic fundamentals has resulted in improvements in the industrial sector. While the country has made significant progress in achieving development milestones in recent years, lack of attention to the social sector by consecutive governments in the past has led to vast economic disparities and widening social abyss (Shaikh 2006: 6).

The extreme low level of public expenditure is the cause behind poor education standard of Pakistan. Public expenditure on education remained less than 2 percent of Gross National Product (GNP) before 1984-85. In recent years, this figure has increased to 2.2 percent. In addition, the allocation of government funds is skewed towards higher education, so that the benefits of public subsidy on education are largely reaped by the upper income class. The products of these educational institutes go to abroad for never coming back. This occurrences result in large public loss (Memon 2007: 48).

The Constitution of Pakistan places responsibility for the provision of basic education to its citizens on the state. While myriad efforts have been made by governments over the years to fulfill this obligation, success has been highly limited. Progress on educational indicators have been hampered by a range of issues such as negligible budgetary allocations to education, low

literacy and enrolment rates, significantly high dropout rates, and acute regional and gender inequalities (Shaikh 2006: 7). Compounding the situation are issues of disparity in access and participation 'by social class (the rich versus the poor), are of residence (rural versus urban) and gender' (Zia 2003 as quoted in Shaikh 2006: 7).

Funding for education is sorely lacking and in remote parts of the country, access to education is exceedingly limited. Whatever facilities are available remain extremely inadequate, in terms of resources, inclusiveness, and the quality of education being provided, especially for the poor. Teaching in most public sector educational institutions is heavily based on repetition and rote memorization, with little or no emphasis on understanding and critical analysis. Incentives for good performance are nonexistent. Teachers often lack adequate training and in some rural areas have themselves had little more than an elementary education. They are 'hired more for their availability rather than for their expertise' (Shaikh 2006: 8-9).

Governmental Policy Initiatives

A country is considered developed politically, when its government adapts certain institutions and policies to meet society's growing needs and desires (Nester 2001: 390). In this respect, education becomes an important need for socio-political as well as economic development of a country. No problem in Pakistan casts such a long shadow over its future as the abject failure of the government to educate more than a fraction of its own people: at the moment a mere 1.8 per cent of Pakistan's GDP is spent on government schools. The statistics are dreadful: 15 per cent of these government schools are without a proper building; 52 per cent without a boundary wall; 40 per cent without water; 71 per cent without electricity. There is frequent absenteeism of teachers; indeed, many of these schools are empty ruins or exist only on paper. There is little wonder that Pakistan ranks among the very lowest countries in the UNDP's world human development index. The virtual collapse of government schooling has meant that many of the poorest people

who wish to enhance their children's hope of advancing themselves have no option but to place them in the madarsa system (Dalrymple 2007: 1-2).

Soon after the establishment of Pakistan, the then Education Minister of Pakistan, Fazlur Rahman convened a Conference of Educationists- officials and non-officials- at Karachi on 27 November 1947 with a view to reviewing the existing educational system in Pakistan and evolving a comprehensive programme for its reorganisation in keeping with the ideology and requirements of the new state. The conference discussed all aspects of education in Pakistan and adopted several resolutions. By one resolution, the Conference set up an Advisory Board of Education for the whole of Pakistan consisting of provincial education ministers, Vice-Chancellors of the Universities, Directors of Public Instruction, representatives of the Central Legislative Assembly and a number of eminent educationists to advise and assist the Government of Pakistan in the task of evolving a national system of education (Ahmad 1992: 137).

Quaid-i-Azam provided the basic guidelines for future education development by stressing, inter-alia, that the system of education should suit the genius of Pakistani people; it should be constant with the history and culture and instill the highest sense of honour, integrity, responsibility and selfless service to the nation. It should also provide scientific and technical knowledge for economic uplift of the new state. The Conference therefore, made three basic recommendations: (a) education should be inspired by Islam; (b) free and compulsory elementary education; and (c) emphasis on technical education (Khan 1997: 648).

In 1952, there was a review of the situation of education in Pakistan and a National Plan for Educational Development was devised, but a comprehensive programme remained elusive. The foundations of national education in Pakistan were laid during the early period of the first military rule imposed by **General Ayub Khan** (1958-68). Prior to the takeover of Ayub

Khan, various recommendations had been put forward in conferences, meetings, and consultations, but a comprehensive national education policy was not formulated (Saigol 2007: 285).

Many of these suggestions were incorporated into the massive report prepared by the Sharif Commission, constituted by Ayub Khan's Government in 1958 and entrusted with the task of reorganising and reorienting the educational system of Pakistan. The recommendations of the Sharif Commission report of 1959 became the basis of Pakistan's educational system in the following decade. *The Report of the Commission on National Education, 1959* (hereafter Sharif report) was a detailed and comprehensive report, which can be considered the Magna Carta of Pakistan's educational system (Saigol 2007: 285-286).

The *Sharif Report* spelt out the aims of education:

'Our education system must play a fundamental part in the preservation of ideals which led to the creation of Pakistan and strengthen the concept of it as a unified nation. The desire of a homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent grew out of their wish to be in a position to govern themselves according to their special set of values. In other words our country arose from the striving to preserve the Islamic way of life... The moral and spiritual values of Islam combined with freedom, integrity and strength of Pakistan should be the ideology which inspires our educational system' (Hopkins 2005: 3-4).

The Commission's report was adopted as the National Education Policy. Responsibility for primary education was transferred to provincial governments. During the second 5-year plan (1960-65), primary and secondary curricula were revised. Promised financial allocations were severely cut due to the 1965 war with India. The New Education Policy (1969) aimed at minimizing the wide gap between the traditional madarsa system and the general system of education (Commission on Human Rights 2006).

Ayub Khan's military government accorded high priority to educational reform, because of the centrality of

education in the construction of the 'national', and its anticipated capacity to usher in 'modernity'. The two overriding educational imperatives of Ayub Khan's military regime, as manifested in his speeches and statements and the Sharif report, were: national integration and homogenisation and modernisation of the economy and society (Saigol 2007: 286-287).

The Ayub regime also faced severe criticism regarding the educational policy. The neglect of basic education in the 1960s has remained a drag on the modernization of the economy as it meant an increase of illiterate people (Hasan 1998: 175). The educational policies of Ayub Era had impact on education at various stages. The educational sector faced with the problem of resource crunch. The actual expenditure on education was much lower because of lower resource availability and higher expenditure on defence. Secondary school enrolment in West Pakistan grew at 8 per cent per annum during the 1960s, about the same rate as primary enrolment. The enrolment in colleges and universities was 13 per cent, mostly concentrated in private sector institutions. There was also intensification in the urban bias of education (Hasan 1998: 174-175).

The next policy initiative regarding education was taken by the government of **Zulfikar Ali Bhutto**. Education in Pakistan became increasingly ideological with time. Successive governments used it for their own ends. Bhutto's educational reforms were political eyewash to strengthen his rule. Education was repeatedly used to further the political aims of the military-bureaucratic oligarchy and the ruling elite. During the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto period, educational policy, planning, curricula and syllabi, centres of excellence and Islamic education were placed on the concurrent legislative list (shared legislative powers between national and provincial assemblies), an effective decentralisation of the sector (Commission on Human Rights 2006).

According to the 1973 Constitution:

“the State shall remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible

period; make technical and professional education generally available and higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.” [Article 37 (b) and (c)] (Commission on Human Rights 2006).

Radical changes were made in Pakistan’s educational system from 1972-1977 during the regime of Bhutto. The new educational policy, announced in March 1972, outlined an ambitious programme of educational development including free and universal education up to class VIII. Among other things, the educational system was nationalised. With few exceptions, all schools from primary through college were placed under government control. Total government expenditures on education increased from Rs 0.8 billion in 1971-2 to Rs 2.8 billion in 1976-7. But in the case of Gross National Product (GNP), the share of education expanded only modestly from 1.6 per cent to 2 per cent over the period. The biggest impact of nationalization was the slow growth of enrolment in colleges and universities from 13 per cent (as mentioned above) to less than 5 per cent annually during 1972-7 (Hasan 1998: 224-225). Although himself not particularly a religious man and no exponent of religion in politics, Bhutto recognised the need to stress Islam in public affairs. Religious instruction was compulsory up to class ten for all Muslim students which, of course, mean most of the student population (Hayes 1984: 98-99).

The Zia Regime which overthrew the Bhutto government was famous or infamous for its vigorous and multi-sphere Islamic policies, and the educational sector was not an exception. Among other things **Zia-ul-Haq** used the mosques to spread literacy. In 1984-85 the Iqra Centres were launched by the Literacy and Mass Education Campaign (LAMEC). These centres, established in mosques and *madrassas*, were to teach Urdu. The teacher was supposed to be an *alim* or his delegate (Rahman 1998: 204).

The total public spending on education increased from 2 per cent of GNP in 1976-7 to 2.7 per cent of GNP by 1987-8.

The Zia government did allow new private schools but did not address the broader question of the role of private sector in education. The Sixth Plan was silent on the subject of private education. About 25 per cent of education expenditures after 1985-6 were financed from the 5 per cent *iqra* surcharge on imports introduced in the 1985-6 budget. The rise in the educational expenditure resulted in further dependence on import taxation of the country (Hasan 1998: 257-258).

Following the restoration of democracy and initiation of **Civilian Rule** in 1988, the two major political parties, the Pakistan Muslim League (under Nawaz Sharif) and the Pakistan Peoples Party (under Late Benazir Bhutto), ruled alternatively – twice each – until the 1999 military coup of General Pervez Musharraf. In early 1990s, Pakistan's human development indicators (life expectancy at birth, infant mortality, adult literacy rate, primary school enrolment) compared unfavourably with most other low income countries, including India and Bangladesh, at the beginning of the 1990s. The total government expenditure on education in 1994-5 was 2.5 per cent of GDP. The democratic governments after Zia were more sensitive to issues of basic education. More resources were released for primary sector as an effort was made to contain the large subsidies to higher education by introducing self-financing seats in public universities and in encouraging the private sector to establish quality institutions for higher education (Hasan 1998: 301-302).

The **Musharraf Government** faced a strange problem of projecting Pakistan as a modern state, devoid of any religious fundamentalism and extremism in front of the West. But being a Third World country, Pakistan suffers from the perpetual problem of 'resource crunch' (as discussed above). The decisive and dominating political role of the United States of America (USA) in the context of Pakistan arises from the above mentioned problem. Therefore, Pakistan could never detach itself from the clutches and guidelines of the USA, and Musharraf Government is not an exception for that matter (example of a dependent country). The situation becomes more

complicated due to existence of a 'second decisive factor' in the name of Islam.

The Musharraf Government embarked on the Education Sector Reform Action Plan. The administration supported the establishment of the National Commission for Human Development (NCHD) which took over responsibility for education. The Education for All targets included 86% literacy by 2015 and 100% enrollment for children aged between five and seven years. The question of quality of education has yet to be addressed. The same is true for NCHD initiatives in various districts of the country. As a result, Pakistan remains one of the 28 countries at risk of failing to achieve these goals (Commission on Human Rights 2006).

In the last few years, there has been growing agreement among Pakistan's policy-elite that stronger focus on human development is crucial for national progress. Greater attention has been focused on universalizing primary education and increasing child enrolment within key government documents such as the Medium Term Development Framework 2005-2010, Education for All-National Plan of Action 2001-2015, the National Educational Policy 1998-2010 and the Education Sector Reforms (ESR) 2002-2006. These indicate that the Musharraf government saw investment in education as a crucial means of fostering social cohesion and achieving the Millennium Development Goals (Shaikh 2006: 10).

Furthermore, the Pakistani ministries of Education and Religious Affairs worked with the Commission on Higher Education in 2006 to compile a White Paper focusing on a national-curriculum and teacher-training programme promoting pluralism and patriotism within a framework of Islamic values for both public and private schools. For example, the mission statement declared that it is "the aim of the state of Pakistan to provide equal and ample opportunity to all its citizens ... preparing him/her for life, livelihood and nation-building". Inducements come in the form of school supplies — computers, books and more (Mullick and Ruhe 2008).

After the fall of Musharraf's regime, the present government of Yousaf Raza Gilani, should provide Pakistan with an improved educational set-up that will eventually facilitate in the economic betterment of the country. Efforts should be made by the government to formulate uniform educational policy and try to popularize secular education in the interior as well as among the financially low income group people of Pakistan.

Conclusion

The Theory of Development as perceived, with its educational imperative and a look into the educational system of Pakistan provides us with the picture that the aspect of dependency is still very much existent in Pakistan. It can be considered as a typical example with the presence of subsistence form of economy and severe educational condition. As we saw in the case of orthodox model, transfer of knowledge from core (western countries) to periphery (Pakistan) happened in the country. And this also led to the emergence of elite, controlling the politics and economy of the country. Therefore, there is no 'trickle-down' impact as obviously expected. Only a handful of people are utilizing the resources of the entire nation.

Secondly, as in the case of alternative model, where education is given importance, Pakistan provides a very sad image. According to this specific model, the development indicators like mortality rate, adult literacy rate, purchasing power parity etc. are the actual sign of development. As showed in Table-1, Pakistan does not provide a satisfying impression in the sector of Adult Literacy. While dealing with the element of education, Pakistan cannot be considered as a developed country. There is an approx 10 percent increase in the Adult Literacy from 37 percent (approx.) in 1995 to 48 percent (approx.) in 2003, which is still below 50 percent.

The education sector of Pakistan is quite complex due to the presence of large number of madarasas. In Pakistan, religion has been the most important prop of every Government, whether civilian or military. The leaders have used religion to unify the more or less diverse provinces of the country. Interestingly

enough, apart from the religious factor there is no similarity in the Pakistan state.

The regime wise analysis of government policies shows only one thing- fallacy of the state educational initiatives and its incompetence. Right from the initial years till the Musharraf regime, the government seems to be very vague about how to deal with the educational backwardness. There is a vicious cycle of underdevelopment in Pakistan prevailing since the time of independence and retarded nature of educational field is one of the vital reasons behind this sorry economic picture.

One of the major problems regarding the education set-up of Pakistan is the huge gap between 'haves' and 'have nots'. The people with better educational outlet are gaining all the advantages and on the other hand, the less fortunate ones are struggling with ignorance. The Government should formulate coherent education policies. The lack of proper education facilitates the proliferation of madarsas. In the first place, if there are good secular schools with proper geographical distribution, the need of madarsa education will be minimised. In that case, madarsas will only cater to those who are seriously into religious study. The rest (who go to madarsa only because they have no other option) will definitely decide on for secular schooling, given an option.

This shows 'lack of commitment' from the part of Pakistan as a state towards the betterment and welfare of its citizens. What is necessary is a change within the thinking pattern of the policy makers. It is high time; they should look into the matter more pragmatically and come up with innovative and feasible solutions for the education sector.

TABLE-1

ADULT LITERACY (PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION)						
YEAR	SRI LANKA	PAKISTAN	INDIA	BANGLADESH	NEPAL	BHUTAN
1995	90.2	37.8	52.0	38.1	27.5	42.2
1996	91.1	44.0	55.7	40.1	39.2	42.0
1997	90.7	40.9	53.5	38.9	38.1	44.2
1998	91.0	42.5	54.3	39.5	39.2	41.1
1999	91.4	45.0	56.5	40.8	40.4	42.0
2000	91.6	43.2	57.2	41.3	41.8	47.0
2001	91.9	44.0	58.0	40.6	42.9	47.0
2002	92.1	43.5	61.3	41.1	44.0	47.0
2003	90.4	48.7	61.0	41.4	48.6	47.0

Source: <http://hdr.undp.org>

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