

## **FROM COLONIAL ROOTS TO POST-INDEPENDENCE REALITIES: THE EVOLUTION OF GOVERNANCE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB**

**Abid Momand<sup>1</sup> & Aamir Saeed<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> Afghanistan Civil Service Institute, Kabul, Afghanistan

<sup>2</sup> Professor, Institute of Administrative Sciences, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan

### **ABSTRACT**

This study examines the governance, objectives, and academic priorities of the University of the Punjab (1882–2022) through the theoretical lenses of historical institutionalism, path dependency, and postcolonial critique. It investigates how colonial-era governance structures and educational priorities have persisted despite post-independence reforms and regulatory interventions. Addressing the research questions, *how have colonial structures perpetuated institutional governance, and what role have post-1947 reforms played in reinforcing or challenging these legacies?* the study employs qualitative document analysis of government reports, peer-reviewed articles, university archives, and international agency publications.

The findings reveal that the university's founding vision of promoting vernacular education under British rule shifted toward Western-centric curricula, a trajectory entrenched by bureaucratic path dependencies. Post-independence reforms, particularly the Higher Education Commission's (HEC) neoliberal policies (2002–2022) and international donor-driven agendas, have exacerbated epistemic colonialism by prioritizing English-medium research outputs and market-driven metrics, marginalizing indigenous knowledge systems. Despite the university's physical expansion, governance remains centralized under colonial-era frameworks, with the Punjab Higher Education Commission (PHEC) replicating British audit cultures.

By embedding its analysis within broader organizational theory and change management literature, this research contributes to decolonial theory by demonstrating how institutional layering sustains colonial hierarchies while practically underscoring the need for grassroots policymaking to dismantle bureaucratic inertia. These findings challenge the alignment of Pakistan's higher

education objectives with postcolonial ideals, urging a critical reevaluation of donor-driven reforms in Global South contexts.

**Keywords:** Colonial Legacies, Higher Education Governance, Historical Institutionalism, Path Dependency, Postcolonial Critique, University of the Punjab

## **Introduction**

The University of the Punjab, located in Lahore, stands as Pakistan's largest and oldest university, with a rich history and a profound impact on the educational landscape of the country. This study addresses: *How have colonial legacies shaped the governance, objectives, and academic focus of the University of the Punjab from 1882 to 2022? What role have post-independence reforms, particularly under the HEC and international donors, played in reinforcing or challenging these legacies?*

The journey towards establishing the University of the Punjab is a captivating tale of collective aspirations and visionary efforts. It all began with the formation of Anjuman-i-Punjab, a significant precursor to the university, driven by the fervent desire of the local community to promote education and provide opportunities for learning. Over time, this grassroots movement evolved into a more structured educational institution, known as Punjab University College, which eventually transformed into the renowned University of the Punjab. The establishment of universities in British India held multifaceted aims that aimed to shape the educational landscape of the region. Exploring these aims sheds light on the broader context within which the University of the Punjab emerged. Moreover, a thorough examination of the objectives and functions of the University of the Punjab under the British Raj provides valuable insights into its early years and its contribution to education during that period.

During the British Raj, the University of the Punjab encountered challenges in maintaining academic freedom and autonomy. The evolving political and societal context significantly influenced the institution's vision, as it had to navigate the fine line between meeting the educational needs of the local population and adhering to colonial agendas. Understanding these contextual factors helps to unravel the complex dynamics that shaped the university's trajectory.

The year 1947 marked a turning point in the history of the University of the Punjab as Pakistan gained independence. The partition brought about significant changes, and the institution had to adapt to the new political and social landscape. This study delves into the key issues, events, and

happenings during this crucial period, examining how the university navigated the challenges and contributed to the educational landscape of the newly formed nation. Moreover, the post-independence era from 1947 to 2003 witnessed further transformations and reforms in higher education. The University of the Punjab, as a leading educational institution, played a vital role in responding to the changing national and international dynamics. Governance and administration changes within the university post-partition/independence further influenced its trajectory and shaped its objectives.

Analyzing the changes in objectives, the outlook of the university, and the broader societal and political influences provides a comprehensive understanding of the institution's growth and development. It raises questions about the alignment of the university's goals with the ideals of an independent Pakistan and the enduring impact of the country's governing structure, which remains rooted in the British colonial model.

### **Theoretical Framework and Research Rationale**

In order to frame the evolution of governance at the University of the Punjab within a broader academic discourse, this study adopts the perspectives of historical institutionalism (Pierson, 2000; Thelen, 1999), and path dependency (David 1985, 2007; Arthur 1989, 1990). Historical institutionalism explains how decisions made during the colonial era have generated enduring governance practices through institutional inertia, while path dependency illuminates the constraints that limit transformative change despite subsequent reform efforts. Complementing these, a postcolonial lens is applied to critique the persistent privileging of Western education and to assess the influence of international donor agencies and regulatory bodies such as the Higher Education Commission (HEC) on contemporary governance structures.

Despite the detailed historical narrative presented, the study previously lacked a clearly articulated research rationale. To address this gap, the present research asks:

*“How have colonial legacies and subsequent reform initiatives—including the roles of international donor agencies and the HEC—influenced the evolution of governance at the University of the Punjab from its inception to the present?”*

*Drawing on historical institutionalism (Pierson, 2000; Thelen, 1999), this study examines the enduring influence of colonial governance structures on the University of the Punjab. Path dependency theory elucidates why post-independence reforms, despite intentions to decolonize, retained colonial bureaucratic frameworks. This lens highlights institutional inertia, where initial*

### **Historical Context and Objectives of British Colonial Education in British India**

The British colonial authority created universities in India in 1858 in order to generate learned Indians to assist the burgeoning bureaucracy. Since administration and security were the colonial authority's primary objectives, they prepared bureaucrats (ICS) and the military prominent and effectual institutions while keeping higher education subservient, state-controlled, and poor. Due to their lack of appeal, universities were unable to attract the best-qualified students and continued subpar academic organizations with essentially no research (Rahman, 1993). Many British colonels believed that the expense of operating the administration will be reduced if lower level jobs were handed to Indians, which was one of the motivations for the establishment of universities. In addition, as James Sullivan took the stand before a Parliamentary Committee in 1832, the Indians are isolated from British raj due to their exclusion "from all offices of trust and emolument, and from that position in the administration of the country, civil and military, which they occupied under their own princes." (Sullivan, 1832). In a letter sent to Bengal on September 29, 1830, the Directors of the East India Company stated that they wanted Indians to be able to hold more important and trusted jobs. A large number of contenders approved that, Indians ought to be educated for a myriad of purposes, taught to be more like Westerners, and work for colonial bosses. Moreover, the objective was to rely mostly on their understanding of European literature and science and to give them the thoughts and sensibilities of the enlightened Europe (Basu 1952: 303). Likewise, earlier to the Macaulay's famous Minute came out in year 1835, the British goal was to civilized and westernize the Indian elites (Bruce, 1933).

Furthermore, the primary objective of promoting education in Punjab was initially aimed at establishing colleges that could provide a level of education comparable to that of a university degree. However, resistance from the people was encountered due to their attachment to the University of Calcutta. The issue was not the distance but the curriculum, methods, examination, and medium of instruction used in the University of Calcutta which was merely in English language. The concerns were the little number of prescribed books in a course, motivation for rote, ill-digested, and superficial learnings that resulted in the diversion of the students from their vernacular language and culture towards their Western knowledge which was embedded in their

classic literature (P.U.C.-1933-34, p.31). So, it was felt that the students have remained suspended between the two different worlds with too little regarding the indigenous cultural understanding and literature (P.U.C.-1933-34, p.31). This opinion of Dr. Leitner has been generally entertained and it was vigorously expressed in a report of 13<sup>th</sup> December 1867 by the Principle of Government College, Delhi. He proposed that “the general bulk of our scholars never attain to more than a superficial knowledge either of English or of those subjects they study in that language, while the mental training imparted is as a general rule of a purely imitative character, ill-calculated to raise the nation to habits of vigorous or independent thought” (Willmot, 1867). He furthered that the main cause of this issue is the University of Calcutta. The curriculum of the University of Calcutta from Matric to Honors except for Mathematics is entirely based on rote learning and can be crammed only. And same is the case with teachers and masters who can only pave the way for cramming (Ibid, n.d p.21).

### **Introduction and Background of the Organization**

University of the Punjab is historically old and largest university in the Pakistan. In the Indian subcontinent, under the British colony, being the fourth university to be established. Through the call up of the first meeting of its Senate on October 14, 1882, this university is founded. The universities of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras were the first three universities to be established under British colonial authorities. Moreover, the long-drawn efforts of the people of Punjab made possible the establishment of this university right after the War of Independence in 1857 (Bruce, 1933). Initially, it was the part of the British plan to develop higher education in India. which resulted to set up the Government College in Lahore on January 1, 1864. Later on, the college was renamed as the Lahore University College in 1869 and after this, it became the Punjab University College. Though there were other universities providing education but were not regarded the vernacular education like the University in Calcutta where the only medium of instruction was English. Furthermore, it did not match the requirements of the people of Punjab by being entirely based on Western education. Therefore, with initial funding issues and hurdles, and through systematic struggles and campaigns to extend the level of education the Lahore University College turned into the University of the Punjab on 14 October 1882 (Bruce, 1933).

The creation of this university was greatly aided by Dr. G. W. Leitner, a renowned Hungarian and naturalized British resident. He was the first Registrar. Prof. A. C. Woolner, who served as Vice-

Chancellor of this university from 1928 to 1936, had a significant impact on its development in the early decades of this century (University of the Punjab, 2022).

### **Research Methodology**

This study employs a qualitative document analysis approach to investigate the historical trajectory and contemporary governance of the University of the Punjab. Secondary data were collected from a wide range of sources—including scholarly publications, government reports, archival documents, and international agency reports—with data updated to include information available through 2022.

A purposive sampling strategy was adopted to select documents that offer comprehensive insights into the university's governance, reforms, and policy changes. The inclusion criteria mandated that each document provide relevant details regarding institutional structure, reform initiatives, or external influences (e.g., from donor agencies and the HEC). Each document's credibility and authenticity were confirmed by cross-referencing with multiple sources, ensuring representativeness across historical periods.

The analysis was conducted using thematic coding. This entailed multiple rounds of coding to identify recurrent themes such as the persistence of colonial governance practices, shifts driven by international donor influence, and regulatory changes introduced by the HEC. To minimize researcher bias, coding decisions were cross-validated by independent peers, and any emerging discrepancies were discussed until consensus was reached.

Limitations of the study include a reliance on secondary data and potential gaps in archival records; however, these were mitigated through rigorous triangulation of sources.

### **The University of the Punjab in the Time of British Colonialism- Tracing the Key Events**

#### **Foundation of Anjuman-i-Punjab**

Keeping in view the aforementioned problems, on 21<sup>st</sup> January 1865, Dr. Leitner initiated the Anjuman-i-Punjab which served as a literary society. The vision of the society was the restoration of ancient Oriental Learning, the progression of knowledge and science through the vernacular, the development of Industry and Commerce, the discourse of important social, literary, scientific, and political issues, and the alliance of the knowledgeable and notable people of the province with

## ***Governance and Management Review (GMR)***

***Volume 9, No. 1, 2025***

officials of the state (Bruce, 1933). Concerning the accomplishment of this vision, Anjuman-i-Punjab was serious however, in regards to the promotion of industry and commerce, no record is existing. In the first year of society's existence, they established a Free Public Library and a Reading room where some treatises and translations in native, as well as classical languages, were placed (Report of the Calcutta University Commission). Meanwhile, the society extended its efforts to establish an Oriental School in Lahore during its first year. Moreover, real interest has been evoked in these objectives when Lieutenant-Governor Donald McLeod appreciates these efforts. Later on, Leod ordered the Director of Public Instruction to provide suggestions and recommendations regarding the collection of vernacular literature (Secretary to Government, Punjab, 1865). The transfusion of the Western literature and science into the language of the province. With the acceptance of McLeod's order, Dr. Leitner summoned a meeting where chiefs, raises, notables, and the general public were included and forwarded the proposal before them for the establishment of Oriental University at Lahore to promote the Oriental languages and learning of vernacular literature (Report of Anjuman-i-Punjab). The Viceroy, John Lawrence, and the Raja of Kampurthala have pledged to contribute Rs 2,000 annually to the oriental university plan, while D. McLeod will contribute Rs 1,000 annually (P.A.R.-1906-07 cited by Bruce, 1933). Though the Lieutenant Governor was interested in this plan, he naturally desired that it be scaled down to a level that would guarantee success and acquire the permission, sanction, and financial support of the Government of India. Due to the lack of funding, the project was not accepted by the Indian government. To establish the University, the public and Chiefs of States were solicited for generous contributions. Ultimately, it was concluded that an Oriental College would serve the same purpose as an Oriental University.

The concept of Punjab University was postponed for the near future. However, the Punjab University College was formally announced on December 8, 1869. The goals were to foster the spread of European science through Punjabi's indigenous languages, to stimulate the enlightenment study of Eastern classic languages and literature, and unite the educated and prominent elites of the Province with government officials in supporting and supervising public education. Punjab University College and Oriental College Lahore were both founded in 1870. Through this college, the goal of establishing an Oriental University was to be accomplished. It was once known as Oriental School until March 1872, when it was renamed Oriental College. According to Bruce, (1933), Oriental College offered Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit as main

languages, along with Arithmetic, Algebra, Euclid, the History of India, and Geography. A few years later, Hindi and Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script were added to the curriculum.

### **From the Punjab University College to the University of the Punjab**

The Punjab University College was founded as the university's forerunner. It was to serve as a teaching institution, examination entity and learned society. It took about fifteen years to accomplish the dream of establishing a fully-fledged University of Punjab till the end of 1979, but additional obstacles had to be overcome. The Lieutenant Governor, Sir Robert Egerton, called the Registrar of Punjab University College's issue to the Secretary of State that the Schools of Medicine and Law lacked the necessary qualifications to confer degrees. Similarly, the situation was identical with regard to engineering education in Punjab (Bruce, 1933). Therefore, it was agreed that the Punjab University will not provide degrees in these fields until the education and test standards are improved. On November 13, 1880, Lord Ripon, Viceroy of India, visited Lahore. He was greeted by Lieutenant Governor Robert Egerton and the Maharaja of Kashmir, who reminded him of Lord Lytton's commitment to furnishing Punjab with a university of national importance. The delegation stressed upon the progress the Punjab University College has accomplished during its existence. Lord Ripon voiced his support for establishing a university in Punjab to encourage Vernacular languages and literature and a combination of Oriental and English education (Panjab Education Report, 1883 p. 26). He was shown the Rs. 3,75,000 endowment money that Maharajas of Patiala, Kashmir, Jind, Nabha, and Nawab of Bahawalpur had contributed in order to establish the University. Lord Ripon admired the Punjabi government's support of higher education. On the other hand, the nationalists strongly opposed the university campaign, calling the campaigners outdated and easily influenced. Some newspapers expressed concerns that the proposed university would harm English education. The Anglicists asked the Secretary of State to protect English education from the perceived threats of the Punjab University. Critics questioned the academic achievements of the University College, highlighting the limited number of textbooks and doubting their quality. Leitner faced harsh criticism from publications, with some calling the demand for the university a fabrication by the government (Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers of Punjab, 1882, pp. 3, 17).

The Anjuman-i-Punjab responded to the critics by calling them a small party who wanted to undermine the institution. The residents of Gurdaspur presented a counter memorial challenging



## ***Governance and Management Review (GMR)***

### ***Volume 9, No. 1, 2025***

the Indian Association's representative status. Some defended the English language by referring to Macaulay's Minute, while others highlighted Charles Wood's despatch of 1854, which emphasized the development of Western knowledge in vernacular languages. The Viceroy, Lord Ripon, expressed sympathy with the campaigners. During the meeting, Leitner honored the courageous Punjabi soldiers who fought alongside the British in the Afghan war of 1878. He specifically recognized the number of Punjabi soldiers who lost their lives in that conflict, emphasizing their significant sacrifice. Leitner proposed the creation of the university as a way to pay tribute to their bravery and provide them with well-deserved recognition for their service (Zahid, 2009).

Following this, on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1881, the Government of India asked the Government of Punjab (Lieutenant Governor) that the proposed legislation to upgrade Punjab University College to Punjab University and give it the authority to bestow degrees had been approved. The bill was introduced in the Council of Governor General Lord Ripon on June 14, 1882. It was submitted to a powerful Selection Committee, which proposed revisions and finally the approval from the Governor General has been received on October 5, 1882. The Gazette of India on 7<sup>th</sup> October, 1882 published The Punjab University Act (No. XIX of 1882) whereas Sir Charles Aitchison, Governor General of Punjab, released a Notification on October 14, 1882, establishing Punjab University (Gazette of India, 1882) p. 1311.

### **Objectives and Functions of the University of the Punjab under the British Raj**

Since the university was established before the independence, the objectives were set by the British authorities. The newly formed college was authorized to confer proficiency certificates, but not degrees. The Government of India stipulated predefined conditions. For example, the learning of English language must be the most fundamental aspects of the curriculum, and instruction and examination in subjects that cannot be conducted effectively in the local language must be conducted in English. In all vernacular instruction, effective measures must be taken to ensure that modern educational techniques and standards are prescribed and maintained (Bruce, 1933).

The Punjab university college being the forerunner of the University of the Punjab was established with the objectives:

- To foster the dissemination of European science through the vernacular languages of Punjab

- To stimulate the enlightened study of Eastern classical languages and literature, and
- To unite the educated and influential classes of the Province with the officers of the government in promoting and supervising popular education (Ibid, n.d p.31).

Through this college, goals of establishing an Oriental University were to be accomplished. It was once known as Oriental School until March 1872, when it was renamed Oriental College. Oriental College offered Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit as the main languages, along with Arithmetic, Algebra, Euclid, the History of India, and Geography. A few years later, Hindi and Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script were added to the curriculum.

University of the Punjab was to function as a teaching body, examination institution and learned society. It began operations in one of the rooms of the Government College in Lahore. In October 1871, the inaugural examinations for the awarding of certificates of Matriculation, FA in Arts, Maulvi, Munshi, and Pundit were held. All of the students received Stipends or Scholarships from the donors. The Senate and Syndicate managed Punjab University College as if it were a Mini-University. However, it lacks the authority to grant degrees, which was a significant disadvantage for students. They were required to take two exams; the Punjab University College test was required for scholarships, while Calcutta University degrees were required for other jobs.

### **Academic Freedom and Autonomy of the University under the British Raj**

In British India, academic freedom was viewed with suspicion (Richey, 1922). Similarly, universities were not autonomous, lacked academic freedom, and were controlled by the government or its higher bureaucracy. With the foundation of the first university, Calcutta, an act was adopted designating the Governor-General and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, among other officials, as the university's chancellor and vice-chancellor, respectively (Act No. 11 of 1875 cited by Richey, 1922: 410- 411). In case this wasn't sufficient to fully put the colleges under government control, there weren't any instructors or students at first. In addition, colleges were only responsible for administering examinations and were only affiliating institutions; however, teaching was restricted to affiliated colleges (Rahman, 1993). It was modeled after the University of London. Teachers were recruited from the civil service without benefiting from their position as civil servants. For example, the advantages enjoyed by the civil service, such as power, high salary, benefits, and reputation, were prohibited. To support this assertion, Gilbert (1972) and Shils

(1970) point out that academics in India lack autonomy and foster a subservient mentality. According to Rahman (1993), the government-controlled affiliating universities prevented academics from challenging the state. Mentally, they accept the authority of the elitist bureaucracy, and according to Shils (1970), the state cautioned them to avoid politics. Even though the universities turned into teaching institutions, university recruitment was flawed. The British bureaucracy governed or at least affected nearly all jobs and power. Therefore, it can be argued that the colonial government established a colonial university that lacked the intellectual, financial, social, and legal strength to challenge the powerful and the University of the Punjab is not an exception.

### **Contextual Factors and Influence on the Vision of the University of the Punjab**

Punjab University was originally designed as an Oriental University, but it evolved into a Western institution. The supporting argument was that higher education in India must be and remain bilingual. However, Mr. A.Yusuf Ali, the member of the University Enquiry Committee and syndic of the University wrote a striking note to the University Enquiry Committee: “Indeed, the use of English is perhaps the greatest bond which has linked together Indians of all provinces and communities. Without this bond, the federation of India will be an idle dream” (cited by Singh Virk, 2021).

In many versions of the history of Punjab University, the compromise over the ideas upon which it was initially created is ignored. Moreover, Leitner, the Anjuman-i-Punjab, and Guru Singh Sabha were among its founders who made an effort to establish Orientalism as a defining feature; nevertheless, the authorities and the English-minded educated Hindus did not share their excitement for widespread instruction in the vernacular style. Irrespective of their intentions, advocates of the Ram Mohan Roy and Macaulay schools consistently disparaged Oriental and classical subjects. Moreover, gradual fall in the amount of applicants choosing oriental studies is evidence of the utilitarian attraction of English education. The Eurocentrism of the bureaucrats and English-educated elites led to the defeat of supporters of Eastern/Oriental education. In addition, at the Oriental College, the educational curriculum and content were Eurocentric. Translations from European books were attempted for Urdu and Hindi classes specifically, in disciplines such as “algebra, arithmetic, trigonometry, psychology, political economy, chemistry,

physics, descriptive astronomy, hydrostatics, dynamics, and deductive and inductive logic” (Bruce, 1933).

In order to satisfy public demand, provisions were provided for the growing of European languages. In the year 1883, the faculty produced a substantial body of work comprising 49 publications, either completed or in-progress. These works were primarily focused on the translation of literary, historical, and scientific works from English into the languages of Urdu, Hindi, and Gurmukhi. Additionally, the faculty's output included translations of Arabic and Persian scientific treatises, as well as original writings covering a diverse range of subjects such as Hindu Law, Sanskrit Literature, Reasoning, Medical Science, Philosophy, and Grammar (Report of the Oriental College Lahore, 1883) pp.11-13.

Despite the accomplishments of some European and Indian Oriental College professors such as Leitner Aurel Stein, Maulana Muhammad Hussain Azad, Altaf Hussain Hali, Gurmukh Singh, and Sheikh Iqbal to Oriental studies, the Oriental College was not as popular as its Arts and Professional counterparts in the public and private sectors. The College predominantly attracted students from the Hindu and Muslim religious communities. The fact was that relatively few Sikh and Christian students enrolled at the college. In general, students choose programs that promoted their religious identities. Hindus avoided the Maulvi and Qazi Fazil, Munshi Alam, and Munshi Fazil exams, same as Muslims avoided the Shastras, Vishard, and Pragnya exams.

## **University of the Punjab during Independence 1947: Key Issues, Events, and Happenings**

After the country's independence in 1947, the University of the Punjab, particularly the East Punjab, undergone through horrific circumstances. At the time of partition, it was agreed that the University of the Punjab, Lahore, would administer the examination on both sides. The Registrar (Examination) of the university was assassinated by his personal assistant when he traveled from Shimla to Lahore on a university visit. In addition, a prominent economist and head of the Economics department who remained in Lahore during the split was murdered in his office (Lal, 2017).

## ***Governance and Management Review (GMR)***

### ***Volume 9, No. 1, 2025***

The government of East Punjab decided to establish East Punjab University on September 27, 1947, as a result of the escalating condition of hostility and the likelihood of many more terrible incidents. Chandu Lal Trivedi, the Governor of East Punjab, was chosen as the university's first chancellor, and Justice Teja Singh was appointed as the university's first Honorary Vice-chancellor on February 8, 1948. In essence, the destiny of the University of the Punjab was among the primary concerns of the Punjab Partition Committee, which was comprised of the Muslim League Congress and Panthic influential whereas under the leadership of the Governor of the Punjab. In a memorandum provided to the Partition Committee by Chatterji, being the first Indian Vice-Chancellor, it was said that the chancellor would not definitely be the provincial governor within which Lahore will fall. He added, "the governor of any of the partitioned provinces is not the rightful successor of the current governor of the Punjab." Since the province is being divided into two, the university he oversees should also be divided into two. If this is not the case, then the split of the province will result in the entire repeal of the university's constitution. Similarly, all vice chancellorships, senates, syndicates, and other organizations will be dissolved (Bangash, 2022).

According to Chatterji, it is impractical for a single-zone institution to function on both sides, especially from the perspective of East Punjab. Moreover, he campaigned for the rejection of any proposal for a joint university, as he considered that such an institution could only exist with mutual consent, which was not conceivable. For him, the only option to resolve this issue was to divide the institution's assets between East and West Punjab, with statutory cover provided by either the Governor as Chancellor or the Governor General in Council; if not, the university would be wind up on August 15, 1947. M.G. Singh, the Registrar of Examinations, held the same opinion; he asserted that based on the Indian Independence Act, on August 15, 1947, Punjab will cease to exist, the position of the head of the University of the Punjab should too become unoccupied, as there would no longer be a Governor of the Punjab (Bangash, 2022).

Moreover, the university's constitution shall not remain intact. He argued that there is a need for a new law and that adopting the 1882 act does not signify the end of the old University of the Punjab. As the Punjab University was formed to serve the entire province of Punjab and its residents, this should not be cramped to a single zone, according to Singh. Emphasizing the contributions of Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims to the foundation and operation of the university, the Registrar of Examinations asserted, "The assets of the Punjab University as they exist today are the result of

## ***Governance and Management Review (GMR)***

***Volume 9, No. 1, 2025***

the combined efforts of the people of the entire province, who are now, as a result of political development, divided in half. Each of these parties has a legal and moral claim to the property currently owned by the University of Punjab. Consequently, the university was a community asset that, like everything else, must be split." (Cited by Bangash, 2022 p.11). East Punjab delegates sought legal advice from R.C. Soni to help them with their appeal, and he consented with the request that the Punjab University be split between the two new provinces. He acknowledged that the University's placement in Lahore, which would fall within West Punjab, was merely coincidental, and he stated that after August 15, the selection of the location becomes less important due to changing circumstances.

Furthermore, he believed that the government should build two new institutions, one for West Punjab and the other for East Punjab prior to the August 15, 1947. It was noted in the document provided to the Central Partition Council, that the delegates of East Punjab and West Punjab had differing opinions regarding the fate of the university. Members of East Punjab desired modifications to the university's constitution, organization, and assets, whilst representatives of West Punjab did not. The university senate had voted in favor of a division, but "those in favor generally had interests in East Punjab, whilst those against were from West Punjab."

As a result, the Governor monitored the Punjab University debate, as he did not believe the university would be dissolved as a result of the province's division. However, he observed, that it is difficult to distribute its assets without legislation, and that legislation must come from the federal government. The memorandum was delivered to the Central Partition Committee prior to the Transfer of Power, however, the question of Punjab University was not discussed due to the abundance of other pressing matters.

Later, the Viceroy sent a note to Evan Jenkins, "I have asked that the steering committee obtain legal advice and then, if possible, make a recommendation. It seems apparent that the Partition Council will not be able to consider the issue until after August 15" (Bangash, 2022 p.9). And this concluded the discussion of the Punjab University. Consequently, the University of the Punjab remained in Lahore, West Punjab, together with all of its buildings, libraries, and assets, while East Punjab was forced to create a new university. Whereas the politicians and intellectual elite of East Punjab intended to follow struggling for the university's split, the lives of students were

jeopardized because academic activities ought to continue in East Punjab's several colleges, necessitating the establishment of a new university (Lal, 2017).

The Governor of East Punjab enacted the University of East Punjab Ordinance in September 1947 to assure the continuation of educational initiatives in the state. When East Punjab was renamed Punjab a few years later, the university in Chandigarh changed the name from University of the Punjab to University of the Panjab. In addition, it was claimed to have been formed in Lahore in 1882 (Sethi & Mehta, 1968).

Furthermore, due to the emigration of non-Muslim academics and scholars at the time of independence, the size of the university faculty was substantially reduced, according to the Website of the University of the Punjab (2022). Dr. Umar Hayat Malik, who became the university's first Vice-Chancellor after independence, was significantly responsible for resuming full operations. New academic departments and programs were established shortly after the independence.

### **Post-colonial Phase: University of the Punjab after Independence (1947-2003)**

#### **University of the Punjab, Reforms in Higher Education and Musharaf Era (1947-2003)**

The University of the Punjab, a prominent institution in Pakistan's educational landscape, has undergone a transformative journey since the post-independence era (Hayward, 2009). Initially, it served as the sole university across vast regions of Punjab, KPK, Balochistan, and Jammu and Kashmir (Shabir, Abbasi & Khan, 2012). Over time, the responsibility of providing education was shared with the establishment of other universities in the country (Bangash, 2022). Following the partition of India and Pakistan, the University of the Punjab faced significant challenges due to the post-conflict situation (Shah, 2009). The migration of students, faculty, and staff between the two nations disrupted the academic environment. However, the university exhibited remarkable resilience by swiftly adapting to the changing circumstances and ensuring the continuity of its educational mission (Hayward, 2009).

Despite the fact that partition has influenced the number of academics and faculty negatively, but the struggle of Dr. Umar Malik, the first Vice-Chancellor after independence, made the university fully functioning again. New academic departments and programs have been launched after 1947

## ***Governance and Management Review (GMR)***

### ***Volume 9, No. 1, 2025***

(PU Website). After Pakistan's independence in 1947, PU had only two campuses in Pakistan, and they were both located in Lahore. The original campus of Punjab University was renamed Allama Iqbal Campus in honor of Allama Muhammad Iqbal, the intellectual father of Pakistan. In September 1947, upon independence, Umar Hayat Malik became the first Vice-Chancellor (Bangash, 2022). Moreover, in 1962, the Institute of Administrative Sciences was established. Government College University, Lahore, and the Medical and Engineering Colleges are examples of prominent institutions that were previously affiliated with the university that became autonomous universities (Bangash, 2022).

This following review presents a comprehensive synthesis of diverse perspectives on the historical trajectory of the university within the broader context of higher education in Pakistan during the specified period.

During this timeframe, the University of the Punjab assumed a crucial role in shaping the country's higher education system. It emerged as a prominent institution of higher education with a firmly entrenched philosophy and organizational structure (Riaz et al., 2017). The adoption of the British education model after independence had implications for the quality of education in publicly funded institutions, including the University of the Punjab (Chauhan, 2008).

Reforms, whether in governance or administration, undergo different changes and adjustments in different historical periods and political contexts. The governance of universities has also experienced various reforms, transitioning from state-controlled governance to state-supervised governance and, eventually, to market-oriented or entrepreneurial governance, University of the Punjab with no exception.

Right after the independence of Pakistan, universities inherited a state-controlled management model, which was influenced by the colonial era. In the post-independence period, a combination of colonial and bureaucratic characteristics was observed. In the late 1970s, universities also incorporated a political model, and from the 1990s onwards, both public and private universities adopted a market-oriented approach as noted by Saeed, Shah, and Ata, (2014). They furthered the idea that presently, universities are embracing a competitive and entrepreneurial model, incorporating elements from collegial, bureaucratic, political, and entrepreneurial models. These reforms, known as New Public Management (NPM), were introduced in Pakistan in the 1990s and were influenced by the principles of the 'Washington Consensus,' which advocated for



privatization, decentralization, autonomy, and liberalization. A more recent wave of reforms has focused on policy implementation as a means of promoting socio-economic development. As a result, various agencies such as the National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) and the Higher Education Commission (HEC) have been established to improve professionalism and efficiency.

During General Pervez Musharraf's era and in the years following his leadership, the higher education sector in Pakistan, including the University of the Punjab, faced several challenges and controversies that had an impact on governance and academic practices (Bangash, 2022; Hayward, 2009). One significant issue during General Musharraf's era was the increasing commercialization and privatization of higher education, affecting the overall reputation of the higher education sector (Bangash, 2022). Furthermore, concerns about the erosion of academic freedom and autonomy of universities were raised, with the Higher Education Commission (HEC) facing criticism for its centralization of decision-making and interference in the affairs of universities (Bangash, 2022; Hayward, 2009).

After General Musharraf's era, the higher education sector in Pakistan continued to face challenges, including the politicization of universities and student unions, inadequate funding, and resource allocation for higher education institutions (Ali & Rid, 2021; Bangash, 2022). These challenges had a detrimental impact on the academic environment and overall governance of the University of the Punjab (Ali & Rid, 2021; Bangash, 2022).

However, a substantial turning point occurred with the establishment of the Higher Education Commission (HEC) in 2002 and subsequent reforms, which had a profound impact on the university and the wider higher education system. These reforms aimed to address challenges, enhance quality, and meet the demands of globalization and competition (Riaz et al., 2017). The HEC introduced standardized accreditation and quality assurance measures, while emphasizing the improvement of teaching and research standards in higher education institutions, including the University of the Punjab (Ali et al., 2018).

The implementation of the HEC reforms in Pakistan had a far-reaching influence on the University of the Punjab and the overall higher education landscape. While the reforms sought to enhance educational quality, they faced criticism and raised concerns regarding their efficacy and implementation.

Political influence persisted in decision-making processes within the higher education system, including the University of the Punjab (Ali et al., 2018). This interference undermined university autonomy and compromised the merit-based system, therefore compromising academic standards and recruitment processes (Ali et al., 2018).

Insufficient allocation of financial resources to the higher education sector posed a significant barrier to the successful implementation of HEC reforms. Limited funding constrained the capacity of universities, including the University of the Punjab, to enhance infrastructure, expand research facilities, and attract and retain highly qualified faculty members (Ali et al., 2018). The scarcity of financial resources hindered universities' ability to deliver quality education and engage in research activities, thereby affecting their overall performance and rankings.

The governance structure and organizational culture of the University of the Punjab also presented challenges to the HEC reform process. The university possessed a well-established philosophy and organizational structure, which engendered resistance to change (Riaz et al., 2017). This resistance impeded the smooth integration of new procedures and policies introduced by the HEC. Similarly, it hampered the university's decision-making capacity, resulting in delays in implementing necessary reforms and adapting to the evolving higher education landscape (Ali et al., 2018).

While the HEC reforms aimed to elevate research standards, concerns were raised about their impact on academic culture. Critics argued that the emphasis on research quantity, incentivized by HEC policies, led to a decline in the rigor and originality of research undertaken at the University of the Punjab and other institutions (Ali et al., 2018). This raised questions about the true impact and relevance of research outputs and their contributions to knowledge advancement.

Nevertheless, despite these challenges, the University of the Punjab continued to evolve within the transforming higher education landscape. The proactive involvement of the university's management played a critical role in the reform process, enabling the streamlining of new procedures and negotiation with the HEC to address ground-level needs and demands (Riaz et al., 2017). Stakeholder engagement and effective communication among various actors were identified as crucial factors for successfully implementing reforms (Riaz et al., 2017).

In brief, the University of the Punjab, as an integral part of Pakistan's higher education system from 1947 to 2003, experienced both continuity and change. It emerged as a prominent institution

but faced challenges in governance and quality. The establishment of the HEC and subsequent reforms aimed to address these challenges and enhance the overall quality of higher education in the country, including the University of the Punjab. However, resistance to change, political interference, lack of autonomy, and inadequate financial resources remained significant obstacles. The proactive participation of the university, stakeholder engagement, and effective communication were identified as crucial for the successful implementation of reforms.

Now, let's turn our focus to the main issue: the status of the university in the post-colonial era. In the era of the British Empire, higher education was a neglected and undervalued sector that did not receive significant attention. However, with the creation of Pakistan as a predominantly Muslim nation, did the situation change? Did the governance and administrative structure of higher education witness any transformations? Furthermore, does the University of the Punjab, established during British rule, still adhere to the objectives set by the British? Has the university's outlook evolved since independence? To shed light on these questions, let's delve into some contextual facts.

### **Governance and Administration Changes at the University Post-Partition/Independence**

The rationale behind the partition of the Pakistan and India was the feeling of the Muslims being exploited and deprived of certain rights as well as due to the dominance of Hindus where Muslims were not allowed to decide. In addition, according to Shahzad, (2017), "Pakistan was formed for the sole purpose of letting the Muslims pursue their religious and cultural practices freely under a secular government, but what resulted was a state run by either a series of military dictators or a pseudo-democratic government consisting of feudal dynasties". Moreover, when the UK agreed to India being split up in 1947, Pakistan was founded on August 14, 1947. It was made up of the Muslim-majority areas of British India in the east and northwest. The concern of partition was to have an autonomous state where the people of Pakistan will decide their future without any ruler impositions. However, many things remained inherited in the newly established state due to the legacy of the colony. The same is the case with the universities and their governance and structure. As discussed previously that the governance structure in the colony was based highly on state functionary so, the same or more is the case with the current governance system of the universities as the chancellor would still be a state official of the highest rank. The governor of the province is the chancellor of the university whereas the vice chancellor is the elected person of the governor.

## ***Governance and Management Review (GMR)***

### ***Volume 9, No. 1, 2025***

Moreover, bureaucracy rules fundamentally as having a major voice in deciding who should be the person heading the university (Rahman, 1993). On the other hand, the provincial government control and exercises the university's affairs whereas financial control is exercised by the center through the University Grants Commission (now Higher Education Commission). To make it context-specific, University of the Punjab is not the exception where the Punjab University Act of 1973 governs the University of the Punjab. The Chancellor, who is also the Governor of the Province, is the University's top authority. He serves as the president over commencement ceremonies and meetings of the University Senate. If he so chooses, he also authorizes the conferral of honorary degrees, etc. In most situations, the Chancellor follows the recommendation of the Pro-Chancellor, who is the Education Minister of the province.

The Vice-Chancellor is the University's chief executive officer and oversees its academic, financial, and administrative operations. His authority is exercised through the counsel and judgments of several University officials. The Pro-Vice-Chancellor aids the Vice-Chancellor with the implementation of certain University functions. Deans of Faculties, Directors of Institutes and Centers, Principals of Constituent Colleges, and Heads of departments are accountable for academic activities at their respective academic institutions. The Registrar, Treasurer, Controller of Examinations, Chief Librarian, and other officers in charge supervise the operation of the appropriate departments (PU Website, 2022). In addition, in British times universities were responsible only to the provincial government, however, since the government influence has multiplied, red-tapism increased and control has been diversified as now three types of bureaucracy are involved; the provincial, federal, and Higher Education Commission's bureaucracy. This issue manifests in many respects, for instance, in the words of Rahman, (1993):

An application for funds for research or travels abroad to read out a paper in a seminar used to go directly from the university's bureaucracy – by itself a major hurdle -- to the relevant Ministry of Education. Now it goes from there to the UGC which sends it on to the Higher Research Wing. From there it may go to the Ministry of Finance and then back to the Ministry of Education which issues the No Objection Certificate for travel abroad when funds are involved. In the case of research, it comes back to the UGC which issues money bit by bit, in trickles

and driblets, for the project. A self-respecting academic think twice before going through this time-consuming and humiliating experience (Rahman, 1998 p.5).

The colonial bureaucracy's influence of this type resulted in the academics' powerlessness.

Second, the syndicate governs the universities. As previously mentioned, the British senate and syndicate were dominated by prominent government officials. This has not altered since a typical university decision-making board in the government sector contains the following ex-officio members: “Vice Chancellor {a nominee of the Chancellor}, one or more members of the provincial or federal legislature, one or more members of the senate, High or Supreme Court chief justice, Provincial or federal Secretary of the Ministry of Education, A nominee of the UGC (now the HEC), A Dean nominated by the Chancellor, A religious leader, a woman and two or three eminent people nominated by the Chancellor” (Handbook of the University of the Punjab). To sum it up, concerning the government control and exercise of power, nothing has changed and universities in Pakistan still function following the colonial legacy as proposed by Saeed, Shah, and Ata, (2014), that “Pakistan, universities inherited colonial model in which university management was state-controlled” (p.210). The HEC’s 2002–2022 reforms, while expanding access, replicated colonial audit cultures through quantitative metrics (e.g., HEC Ranking Criteria). This reflects historical institutionalism’s ‘reactive sequences,’ where colonial accountability mechanisms resurface in modern performance evaluations.

### **Change in Objectives**

The objective of British colonial education of Indians was to make the wealthy, proud, and independent-minded Indians a means of communication between colonists and indigenous people (Shahzad, 2017). Based on the famous minutes of the so-called father of modern or Western education in British India Macaulay, “We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and intellect.” (cited in Bruce, 1033). He was responsible for creating education policy in the subcontinent. By introducing an Anglocentric perspective on education and contempt for oriental learning, he ensured the invasion of the Indians' mind process and weakened any potential for rebellion. Later, the emphasis shifted from Western education alone to a combination of Western and Eastern education, particularly in Punjab. The

reason for this combination was the threat to the British empire that Western Education through the sole medium of English would make Indians aware of what was happening in Britain, and they would eventually raise their voice in support of democracy, which posed an even greater threat to the British empire. A second important aspect of modernism in education was the secularist separation of religion from other matters (Turner, 1990, p. 6). Moreover, according to Bruce (1933), the education system was supposed to be founded on secularist beliefs; hence, the education system of the country has been separated from religious influence, with the usage of foreign languages playing the most important role. The system was truly disconnected from the lives, needs, and ideas of the public. Thus, the aims established by colonial authority remain the vision of Pakistan's universities. Due to numerous capitalists, secularist, and instrumentalist models of reforms in higher education, the same agenda is being implemented by the British in a neo-colonial form, which is considerably more dangerous than physical colonization. In support of this assertion, Saeed and Ata (2016) argued that, in order to satisfy the purposes of the British, institutions in Pakistan continued to operate in accordance with the colonial rulers' intentions for their own advantage. With the assistance of bureaucrats trained by British colonists, their colonial legacy still prevails. The function of bureaucrats at universities is comparable to what it was during the British Raj, and the University of the Punjab, as the oldest and largest university of the country, is the largest beneficiary of this legacy. Various departments at the University of Punjab continue to place an excessive emphasis on Western education. Nevertheless, there are departments for oriental studies that do not meet the true criteria. This is consistent with the earlier-mentioned fact that, after the establishment of the Oriental College in Punjab, the number of students pursuing an oriental education decreased in comparison to those pursuing a Western education.

On the other hand, so many reforms have been tried but were based on foreign models and were incongruent with public values as noted by Saeed and Ata (2016), "Though over the years, lots of changes have occurred in the systems where new laws, rules, and institutions have cropped up, they are either in line with the governance model, spirit, and objectives of the colonial state or a result of incongruity between values of the state and society" (Saeed and Ata, 2016, p.2357-58).

Moreover, the vast majority of the population is educated at the University of the Punjab, which was not the original intention of the colonial authorities, the intended goal of westernizing the mindset of the people through the dominance of modern and scientific knowledge and making the

people of the subcontinent inferior to the West are still being served, albeit, in different forms in higher educational institutions, University of the Punjab is no exception. The persistence of Western-centric curricula and bureaucratic control reflects what decolonial scholars term ‘epistemic colonialism’ (Quijano, 2000), where colonial knowledge hierarchies remain embedded in postcolonial institutions. Moreover, the sustained emphasis on Western education aligns with path dependency; Macaulay’s 1835 ‘civilizing mission’ persists in HEC’s prioritization of English-medium publications, marginalizing Urdu/Punjabi scholarship (Rahman, 2021).

### **The Outlook of the University**

The outlook of the University of the Punjab has changed since independence being physically expanded where only one campus was there during the British raj while at present time there are five campuses across the country. After the independence of the country, University of the Punjab was the only university in Pakistan. As of 2022, the HEC reports 249 universities in Pakistan, with 47% in Punjab (HEC Annual Report, 2022). The University of the Punjab now operates 13 campuses and 73 departments, yet governance remains centralized under the Punjab Higher Education Commission (PHEC), which retains financial oversight akin to colonial models. In addition, the service orientation of the university has remained the same providing higher education to a vast majority of people but the use of university as a mean of political purposes and the control of government are the factors that influenced the outlook and service orientation of the university (Ali et al, 2018) Reforms have taken place throughout the years but failed due to the disregarding of indigenous factors and local values. In addition, the models introduced after the independence are characterized by a mixture of colonial and bureaucratic nature. Universities adopted various models across the time as in 1970s political model was adopted, from the 1990s onwards, the market-oriented model was dominant and presently universities in Pakistan are based, on a competitive enterprising model. The latter is based on the combination of bureaucratic, political, and enterprising models. However, these models had not worked as expected and there is a dire need for an indigenous model and not an imported one in administration and governance with the help of political support (Virk, 1998). Post-2003, international donors like the World Bank and USAID prioritized neoliberal reforms, linking funding to metrics like publications and STEM enrollment (HEC, 2018). This exacerbated market-oriented governance, mirroring colonial utilitarian objectives while marginalizing humanities and vernacular education.

## **Discussion**

The analysis reveals that the governance of the University of the Punjab continues to be shaped by its colonial foundations, which are evident in the persistence of bureaucratic practices and state-controlled management models. However, significant reform initiatives, particularly during and after the Musharraf era, have introduced new dynamics. Notably, the intervention of international donor agencies and the regulatory oversight of the HEC have spurred a shift towards more market-oriented and entrepreneurial models in higher education governance. Drawing on organizational theory and change management literature, this study demonstrates that while such reforms introduce innovative practices, the underlying institutional inertia and path-dependent legacies substantially constrain the scope of transformation. Recent data from the Higher Education Commission (2022) further underscore that despite reforms, many public universities continue to operate under a hybrid model—a blend of colonial-era bureaucratic control and modern, competitive pressures.

These findings contribute to the existing body of knowledge by revealing the complex interplay between historical legacy and contemporary reform initiatives. The dual influence of persistent colonial models and external regulatory forces calls for a rethinking of policy frameworks that can more effectively break with the past while embracing necessary modernizations. Recent statistics from the Higher Education Commission (2022) indicate that the evolving regulatory framework and targeted reforms have begun to reshape the operational dynamics of public universities, although the deep-rooted influence of colonial governance remains evident.

## **Conclusion**

This study highlights that the governance trajectory of the University of the Punjab is shaped by an interplay of colonial legacies and post-independence reforms. Through the lens of historical institutionalism and path dependency theory, the analysis demonstrates how colonial-era bureaucratic frameworks—designed to consolidate state control and Western epistemic dominance—created self-reinforcing institutional mechanisms. These mechanisms persist today, as evidenced by the university's centralized governance, anglophilic curricula, and hierarchical administrative structures. The postcolonial critique further reveals that reforms under the Higher Education Commission (HEC) and international donors, while expanding access and modernizing



infrastructure, have paradoxically reinforced colonial logics through neoliberal metrics (e.g., publication quotas, English-medium prioritization), perpetuating what scholars' term "epistemic colonialism" (Quijano, 2000). Founded in 1882 as the fourth university in British India, the University of the Punjab initially aimed to vernacularize education but gradually aligned with colonial objectives of producing Westernized elites. Post-1947, despite symbolic shifts toward national identity, institutional governance retained colonial bureaucratic models, with power concentrated in state-appointed officials rather than academic stakeholders. The Musharraf-era HEC reforms (2002–2022) exemplified "institutional layering" (Thelen, 2004), where market-driven policies coexisted with colonial hierarchies, amplifying administrative centralization and marginalizing disciplines like indigenous languages and humanities. The findings challenge narratives of postcolonial progress, revealing that Pakistan's higher education system remains entangled in a "coloniality of power" (Mignolo, 2000), where governance structures and epistemic priorities reflect enduring imperial designs. This raises critical questions about the efficacy of donor-driven agendas, which often prioritize global rankings over pedagogical decolonization. Practically, dismantling path dependencies requires grassroots reforms: decentralizing authority, revitalizing vernacular pedagogies, and aligning policies with local socio-cultural imperatives rather than colonial or neoliberal benchmarks. Theoretically, this study advances postcolonial institutional analysis by illustrating how path dependency and external donor influence complicate decolonization. Future research should explore comparative cases (e.g., University of Delhi, Dhaka University) to identify scalable strategies for reconciling institutional legacy with transformative governance. Ultimately, this work contributes a critical framework for reimagining higher education in postcolonial contexts, emphasizing autonomy, epistemic justice, and historically grounded policymaking.

## **REFERENCES**

- Ali, F., & Rid, S. A. (2021). Post 18th Amendment Scenario and Higher Education in Pakistan? A Case Study of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

## ***Governance and Management Review (GMR)***

### ***Volume 9, No. 1, 2025***

- Ali, M., Mahmood, A., & Mahmood, K. (2018). An instrumental perspective of higher education in Pakistan: From public good to commercial commodity. In *Education quality management through innovation in higher education* (pp. 105-128). IGI Global.
- Arthur, B.W. (1987) 'Competing technologies: An overview', in G. Dosi (ed.) *Technical Change and Economic Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 590–607.
- Arthur, B.W. (1989) 'Competing technologies, increasing returns, and lock-in by historical events', *Economic Journal*, vol. 99, pp. 116–131.
- Bangash, G. A., & Khan, H. U. K. (2023). Politics of Education Policies in Pakistan: A Comparative Analysis of General Zia Ul Haq and General Pervaiz Musharraf Eras. *The Dialogue*, 18(2), 06-25.
- Bangash, Y. K., & Virdee, P. (2022). Partitioning the University of the Panjab, 1947. *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*, 59(4), 423-445.
- Basu, A. N. (Ed.). (1952). *Indian Education in Parliamentary Papers: Part I*. Asia Publishing House.
- Bruce, J. F. (1933). *A History of the University of the Panjab*. Ishwar Das. [Pdf] Retrieved from the Library of Congress: <https://www.loc.gov/item/2021666750/>
- Chatterji, G. C. (1947, October 27). Report of Shri G. C. Chatterji, Secretary to Government of the East Panjab, Education Department.
- Chauhan, R. S. (2008). Higher education: Current status and future possibilities in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Asian Development Bank.
- David, P. (1985) 'Clio and the economics of QWERTY', *The American Economic Review*, vol. 75, pp. 332–337.
- David, P. (2007) 'Path dependence, its critics and the quest for "historical economics" ', in G.M. Hodgson (ed.) *The Evolution of Economic Institutions: A Critical Reader*. Cheltenham, U.K. & Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, pp. 120–142.
- Farhana Shahzad, Colonial impact on our mindsets, published in *The Express Tribune*, October 17th, 2017, retrieved on 13 July, 2022
- Gazette of India, Part IV, dated the 7th October, 1882, p. 1311.
- Gilbert, I. (1972). The Indian Academic Profession: The Origins of a Tradition of Subordination. *Minerva*, 10(July), 384-411.

***Governance and Management Review (GMR)***  
***Volume 9, No. 1, 2025***

Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Finance. (2021). *Economic Survey of Pakistan 2020-21*. Islamabad.

Hayward, F. (2009). Higher education transformation in Pakistan: Political and economic instability. *International Higher Education*, (54).

Ibid., p.21

Ibid., p31

Lal, C. (2022, July 12). Panjab University: Journey and evolution. *The Tribune (Chandigarh)*. Retrieved from <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/archive/features/panjab-university-journey-and-evolution-382148>

Murtaza, K. G., & Hui, L. (2021). Higher Education in Pakistan: Challenges, Opportunities, Suggestions. *Education Quarterly Reviews*, 4(2).

P.A.R.-1906-07

P.U.C.-1933-34, p.31

Panjab Education Report (PER), 1883, p. 26

Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International sociology*, 15(2), 215-232.

Qurban, S. (2020). Education Policies and Changing Trends of Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan: A Case Study of Musharraf Regime. *Asian Journal of International Peace & Security (AJIPS)*, 4(2), 48-61.

Rahman, T. (1998). Pakistani universities: The colonial legacy. *Sustainable Development Policy Institute*.

Report of Anjuman-i-Panjab.-Introduction, p.6.

Report of the Calcutta University Commission, Vol. I., Ch. III., p.66.

Riaz, Z., Khattak, S. R., & Khan, W. (2017). Study of higher education reforms in Pakistan: Key reforms and drivers. *Journal of Educational and Social Research*, 7(2), 17-30.

Richey, J. A. (Ed.). (1992). *Selections from Educational Records Part II: 1840-1859*. Superintendent of Govt. Printing.

Saeed, A., & Ata, G. (2016). Pakistan. In *Encyclopedia of Public Administration and Public Policy* (3rd ed., pp. 1-10). Taylor and Francis.

## ***Governance and Management Review (GMR)***

### ***Volume 9, No. 1, 2025***

Saeed, A., Shah, M. M., & Ata, M. G. CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF HIGHER EDUCATION REFORMS.

Schwandt, D. R. (2005). When managers become philosophers: Integrating learning with sensemaking. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 4(2), 176-192.

Secretary to Government, Punjab. (1865, June 10). Letter No. 296, from the Secretary to Government, Punjab, to the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.

Sethi, R. R., & Mehta, J. L. (1968). *A history of the Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1947-1967*. Panjab University Publication Bureau.

Shabir, G., Abbasi, S. M. U. F., & Khan, A. (2012). Reforming the madrassah system. *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, 32(1), 147-156.

Shils, E. (1970). The Academic Profession in India. In E. Leach & S. N. Mukherjee (Eds.), *Elites in South Asia* (pp. 172-200). Cambridge University Press.

Sullivan, J. (1832). Evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company. In A. N. Basu (Ed.), *Indian Education in Parliamentary Papers: Part I*.

Turner, B. S., & Turner, B. S. T. (1990). Theories of modernity and postmodernity.

University of Punjab. (n.d.). History and pride. Retrieved June 23, 2022, from <http://pu.edu.pk/page/show/historyandpride.html>

University of the Punjab, Adexen.com. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.adexen.com/company/202791>

Ur Rahman, A. (2009). Pakistan: sense of urgency powered education reforms. *Nature*, 461(7266), 874-874.

Weick, K. (1995). *Sensemaking in Organizations*. Sage.

Weick, K., Sutcliffe, K. M., & Obstfeld, D. (2005). Organizing and the process of sensemaking. *Organization Science*, 16(4), 409–421.

Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers of Punjab, January 1882, pp. 3, 17.

Zahid, M. A. (2009). Orientalism's Last Battle in the 19th Century Punjab. *Pakistan Vision*, 10(1), 27-48.