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SOCIAL STRUCTURE, EDUCATIONAL DISPARITIES AND ELITE SCHOOLING IN PAKISTAN

By

Sadrudin S. Juma

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF Master of Education

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ABSTRACT

Pakistan inherited a colonial educational structure and system that reflects a trend of inequality in relation to the social structure. The educational structure and system that emerged in the subcontinent of India during the colonial regime were characterised by two types of schooling, private fee-charging high quality schools often subsidised by the government, catering to the needs of the privileged group, and free government owned substandard schools, open to all children.

Furthermore, Pakistan is a class structured society, wherein, the conflict and struggle for political, economic and social domination are prevalent. The inequality in income between the privileged and disadvantaged groups is increasing and is giving rise to a dual structure in the economy.

After Independence, Pakistan desired to promote economic and social development for the people. The expansion of education at all levels was encouraged, but the country failed to provide universal primary education as targeted (in the Second Five-Year Plan--1960-65), by 1975. Besides, there are disparities in educational distribution based on gender, urban-rural, regional and socioeconomic status. The private elite schools established during the colonial regime continued to serve the ruling group and

middle and high income families. With the exception of Bhutto's regime, which attempted to introduce an egali[illegible]rian educational system, the other regimes have encouraged elitist education in the country. Forty years after Independence, inequality in education persists in Pakistan.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Problem

This study makes an attempt to discuss the relationship between the educational inequality and the social structure in Pakistan. In order to understand this relationship it is essential to examine the historical forces that contributed to the development of these inequalities in the subcontinent of India and specifically in Pakistan. A hierarchical social structure had always existed in this region, wherein there was a dominant and a subordinate group.

The dominant group was comprised of the ruling elite who formed a small minority and possessed power by virtue of their social positions and by property ownership. The dominated group that formed the majority, did not have any access to property nor did they occupy any high social positions: They provided labour in return for a subsistence or meagre income. This situation continues today. There is a struggle between the two groups, the subordinate group tries to overcome their oppressed conditions by making efforts to engage in activities that will liberate them from oppression. These activities are mostly related to the economic and social or educational endeavours that would provide them with means and skills to enhance their positions and enable them to compete with the dominant

group. The ruling elite, on the other hand, tries to maintain and exert its position by thwarting the activities of the oppressed or by channelling them along ways that would eventually benefit their oppressors. Hence, the dominant group continues to be advantaged or privileged controlling the social, economic and political conditions while the dominated group remains unprivileged, and disadvantaged because it does not control the forces and conditions that promote changes in the society which will be beneficial for them. However, the existence of these two groups does not exclude the possibility of intermediary groups who may have emerged from the subordinate group but their role is minimal in promoting any changes for the betterment of the oppressed.

The educational system has played an important role in promoting disparities in the social structure in India from the pre-colonial period until the present. In pre-colonial India, the system of education reflected social stratification based on religious ideology. In those days, the priestly class or the traditional religious leaders formed the dominant groups. They monopolised the educational system while their followers; namely Hindus and Muslims learned to read their holy books by rote, and were not allowed to question the tenets of the aforementioned religions. The legitimation of the educational system was based on religious ideology and the followers were required

to practice their religions in order to enjoy benefits in the afterlife.

In the late eighteenth century, Europeans entered the subcontinent of India and the British established political supremacy in that region. The main purpose of the Colonial government was obviously to exploit the resources of India on behalf of the metropolitan country. Therefore, in order to carry out this function without too much confrontation and with more economic returns, the colonial regime felt it necessary to educate and train local manpower to promote their economic interests. They established an educational system which was imported from Britain and which, by the instructional program which was offered insured continuance of their political and economic powers. Besides, it was more economical for them to train indigenous manpower to work at the junior administrative levels than to attract people from overseas. The senior and top positions in the Colonial government were obviously reserved for the British. These rulers realised that the maximum benefit would be accrued if some local Indians would be trained in an European oriented educational system. Consequently, these indigenous students were introduced to the British oriented culture and adopted a life-style that was alien to the people of India. The purpose of the educational system was therefore to serve the colonial interests rather than advancement of the masses.

However, a few patriotic, educated Indians raised concerns for the "Indianisation" of the educational system and demanded education for the masses. These concerns did not have many fruitful outcomes but some provision was made by the Colonial government for minimum primary education for the public. In the process, two types of educational institutions were introduced: one that provided education to the elite and the other providing education for the general public. However, the majority of the population remained uneducated.

At the time of Independence in 1947, both India and Pakistan embarked on development programs in their respective countries. The main objectives were to achieve rapid economic and social development for their citizens. This development entailed expansion, as rapidly as possible, of educational facilities for the masses. While the senior positions occupied by the British during colonial rule were now occupied by the local educated elites, these countries required manpower to fill some higher positions vacated by colonial officers and also the positions created as a result of the expansion of the political, economic and social organisations of these nations. The manpower, at the junior and senior level positions such as administrators, executives and managers as drawn from those who were educated at the exclusive private schools that catered to the high income status groups.

The proposed educational expansion indicated in the national goals of these countries and the general popular demand for education, resulted in the expansion of education at all levels, but was however greater at the higher than at the primary level. This partly occurred because the public observed that higher education appeared to be an avenue for upward social mobility. But, the rapid expansion at this level of education promoted surpluses of educated workers compared to the expansion in the employment sectors. This situation raised further competition with the elites who tried to reinforce the exclusiveness of the educational institutions which were serving their interests. The ruling elite also provided some education for the masses to meet the popular demand for education. Thus, they reinforced two types of educational institutions: a) one that facilitated their interests, and b) the other to meet the popular demands. Furthermore, the elite private schools were legitimised for providing manpower of higher occupational status because of the expertise required in selected high level occupations. These questions therefore arise: a) Who obtained benefits from these exclusive, educational institutions? b) What was the justification for having two types of schooling when equality of educational opportunities was being promoted by Pakistani officials?

In Pakistan, the problem of educational inequality has been one of the greatest concerns since Independence. The issue of equality of educational opportunity even

appeared in the constitutions of the country and the educational goals were set out in Development Plans to reduce the inequality in the distribution of educational opportunities. During Bhutto's regime (1971-77), attempts were made to introduce an egalitarian system of education, whereby, all the private schools and colleges would be nationalised and free education provided to all children in the age group of 5-14 years, that is to Class X. This reform was deliberately undertaken so as to provide equal opportunity in education to all children irrespective of their social and economic backgrounds. However, the educational reforms introduced by this regime were not achieved because of political and economic reasons. In spite of these attempts to reduce the inequality in education, the disparities continued to increase in Pakistan.

The question therefore is: Why have educational inequalities persisted in Pakistan in spite of the attempts made to reduce them?

The rapid expansion in Pakistani education was planned to assist the masses who previously had not had an oppportunity to benefit from education. The expansion of education at all levels promoted by the state did not show any positive signs towards equalising opportunities among different groups in Pakistan. Instead, the problem of dropouts among the socially and economically unprivileged groups, such as: a) rural children, b) females, and c) children of low income family backgrounds in urban areas;

continued to ensure further inequalities in the distribution of education.

Some of the issues to be discussed in this study relate to the problems of social stratification in Pakistan and will attempt to answer questions such as: a) Who drops out of the school system and why? b) Why different types of schools exist and provide education to different social groups? c) Why a dual education system has continued to exist, in spite of, the attempts made by Bhutto's regime to eliminate it? This study will attempt to examine the relationships between: a) the 'dual economic', and b) the dual systems of education; in connection with the class structure in Pakistan.

1.2 The Statement of the Problem

Pakistan inherited the colonial educational structure and system which reflected a highly underdeveloped primary enrolment and a very high illiteracy rate. The dual system of education: a) one catering to the elite, and b) the other for the masses; was also inherited from the colonial regime. Higher education was provided for the selected few, who had survived the primary and secondary stages. It is difficult to examine the socioeconomic backgrounds of children attending higher educational institutions but there is every likelihood that these children are mainly from middle and high income groups.

Pakistan has the tremendous task of providing equal opportunity in education to children from rural areas and low income families and to promote access to elite schools which previously catered only to the dominant group. The central problem addressed in this study is the examination of the structure of educational opportunity as it has evolved since 1947. Specific questions addressed in the study are: a) Has Pakistan achieved its goal of providing education to all children of the school age group 5-11 years? b) What changes has Pakistan introduced into the educational system affecting the structure of inequality, specifically educational inequality.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework which is used in this study is related to the problems of educational inequality and the social structure in Pakistan. This has been drawn from the explanation offered by Williamson in his extensive and important research on educational development and social structure in various countries.[1] In this study, he examines the patterns of development in education in different societies such as Britain, Germany, China, Cuba, Tanzania, and Ghana, but in order to understand the pattern of development in education it is necessary first to review briefly the role of education in developing societies.

It was widely claimed in the 1960s that education played an important role in bringing about economic growth

in the developing societies. However, educational expansion during this decade did not necessarily contribute much to the growth of the economy of most of these societies. Williamson has attributed this failure to three main defects. According to him, the educational systems in these societies: a) are elitist, b) have failed to match the kinds of people they produce to the needs of the society in which they function, and c) they offer resistance to change. Moreover, these defects reflect a broader social structure in which educational systems function. [2]

Williamson has raised an important question, that is: What kind of changes in education ought to be brought about to better realise development? Similar questions were also raised by the World Bank report of 1974, such as: a) Who shall be educated? b) How? c) For What? d) At whose expenses and what cost? These questions raise a deep conviction that investment in, and growth in education, in developing societies has not brought the benefits it was supposed to have. [3]

The question of investment leads to the issues of manpower training and the importance of human capital in developing societies. Referring to the above issues, Williamson has argued that if education is instrumental in providing manpower that would promote economic growth, then the question is related to investment in education. It is observed that societies in Third World countries require massive changes in the pattern of educational research and

training if they are to generate the expertise to explore new technology for the development of societies".[4] What has happened to these societies which have attempted to expand education in order to grow economically? But the growth of the trained and educated manpower has not automatically ensured economic development. Nevertheless, the importance given to the training of manpower has effected the growth pattern of educational systems in these societies.[5]

Williamson has presented evidence of the pattern of underdevelopment by referring to three main issues: a) rural-urban imbalance, b) relevance in the curriculum and c) equality and inequality. A brief account of his observations is presented to understand these patterns of underdevelopment in education.[6]

a) Rural-urban imbalance

In poor societies the educational facilities are mostly concentrated in urban areas. "Rural areas typically remain underresourced educationally".[7] They have fewer schools and teachers and lack other educational facilities. Both illiteracy and school dropout rates are very high. An example of the imbalance between rural and urban educational development, in terms of school dropout, are shown in Table 1.1 in Latin America.

Table 1.2 shows that the availability of all grades in schools varies directly with the wealth of the country. The poorer the society, the poorer the system of rural education and the greater is the discrepancy between rural

TABLE 1.1

Comparision of education efficiencies in urban and rural areas in Latin America: Successful completers and dropouts in primary education

	Successful completers as per cent of entrances		
	Total	Urban	Rural
Colombia	27.3	47.3	3.7
Dominican Republic.	30.4	48.1	13.9
Guatemala	25.4	49.6	3.5
Panama	62.3	80.7	45.3
Average percentage completers	39.0	51.0	22.0

(Source: Based on the Unesco report, The Statistical Measurement of Educational Wastage and quoted in the World Bank Report on Education (1974:70)

TABLE 1.2

Availability of complete primary schools in urban and rural areas: Percentage of the total number of primary schools in each category (rural and urban) which offer the complete number of grades

	Number of Countries	Complete urban schools as per cent of total urban schools	Complete rural schools as per cent of total rural school
(a) Countries by per capita GNP			
I- Up to $120 (excluding India)	9	53	36
India		57	49
II-$121-250	7	72	32
III-$251-750	16	77	62
IV-$751-1500	2	89	56
V-Over $1500	6	100	99
(b) By major regions			
Africa	16	79	54
Asia(excluding India)	9	94	66
India		57	49
South and Central America	10	88	34
Europe	5	98	99

(Source: Based on data in Unesco Statistical Yearbook 1972 and quoted in World Bank report on Education (1974:70)

and urban areas. (These societies need to devise a radical educational program to overcome the problem of inappropriate rural education, e.g. Cuba and China.) Moreover, the disparities in education between the rural and urban populations has continued to grow in these countries.

b) Relevance to the curriculum

The education provided to students in rural areas does not prepare them for the type of skills required in a rural economy. For instance, Tibor Mende has argued:

> As a matter of fact, much of education now dispensed in poor countries is not only irrelevant to the solution of the problems they face but tends to be positively harmful. It perpetuates contempt for menial tasks, and widens the gulf between the privileged minorities and the under-educated or illiterate masses. Sometimes, with substantial foreign aid in the form of technical assistance, it stamps alien attitudes and values on minorities who, because of their foreign education, are destined to become members of the ruling groups (1973:101).

Two major problems have arisen as a result of this issue; a) a high dropout rate in the rural and among the poor urban children, and b) unemployment among the high school and college graduates. Too many students receive education which does not prepare them for the type of skills required in these societies whose economy is underdeveloped. However, the demand for education as inherited from a colonial regime is for an education giving access to urban based jobs in the government, commerce and administration. This had provided an opportunity for social mobility during the colonial days for those who had received education. Williamson has commented:

> ...Such demands, or expectations for academic education have thus become firmly rooted and threaten to subvert any attempt to restrict academic education in favour of technical studies aimed at rural change or low level technology (Williamson,1979:19-20).

The educational structure has remained unchanged since colonial days and academic education has continued to be considered important.

c) Equality and Inequality

The third issue is that of inequality which is maintained and legitimated through education.

The World Bank report of 1974 has described the broad patterns of inequality in this way:

> The regressive character of educational systems and policies is a prevailing feature in most cases, irrespective of the level of development of countries. Educational systems not only fail to ensure mass participation, as discussed in the previous section; they also practice discrimination in their process of selection, promotion and future determination of careers. They show an elitist bias, favoring urban upper- and middle-income groups at the expense of the rural and urban poor.... Students of higher-income origin have a greater chance not only of access to education, but also of promotion withing the system. This is seen in the socioeconomic profile of the dropouts, repeaters and successful students, and in the fact that middle- and upper-income groups are particularly over-represented in higher education. In some countries, other factors, such as sex, ethnic origin or religion, play a role which is frequently combined with the effect of income levels. These inequalities are aggravated by differences in the quality of teachers, educational facilities and other inputs between schools serving different geographic areas and income groups.

The problem of inequality prevails in all societies but it is sharply marked in poorer societies. It is generally observed that access to education gives further

access to higher income, authority and power, but with a surplus of educated people especially in developing societies, the above trend is no longer perceived. Besides, the privileged groups use education as an instrument in training their children for jobs in the government, and business organisations, whereas the unprivileged groups, because of their underdeveloped economic conditions, are eliminated from schooling in the early stages. The lack of education also inhibits the occupational opportunities of a large number of people. Williamson makes the following comment on the plight of the poor resulting from this social process as:

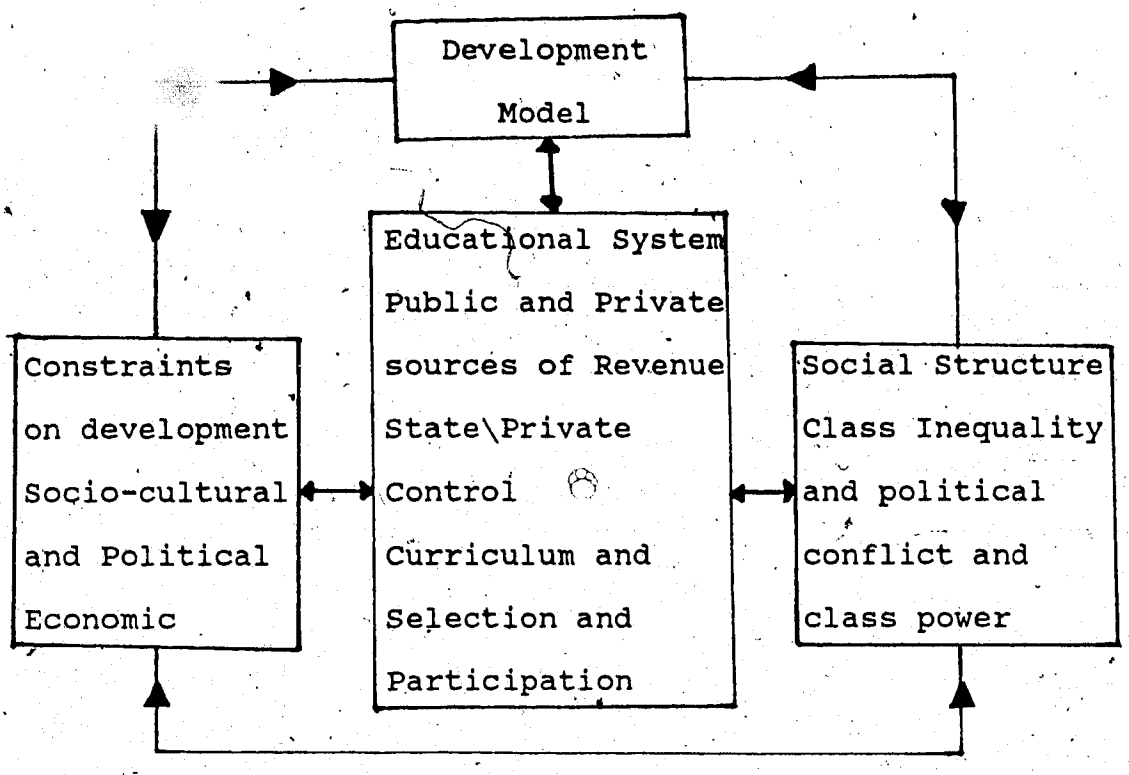
> ...The social processes which allow those with power to appropriate educational resources for themselves leave the poor not only poor but unable to perceive the structures which cause their poverty (Williamson,1979:22).

Consequently, the poor are oppressed and denied their rights to raise their concerns and consciousness against their oppression.

According to Williamson, the patterns of educational underdevelopment that were discussed above are the outcome of particular models of development. A model of development (see figure I) according to him, defines the type of society that is being prepared for the future. A ruling group in society uses models of development to manage and to direct economic and social changes which embodies the kind of values which they would like to see in a society. So the model of development as used by him in his study expresses

FIGURE I

MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT



Social Structure of Development and Education

(Adapted from: Williamson, B. Education, Social Structure and Development, London, Macmillan, 1979, p.8.

the direction and manner of changes in a society; "it is the legitimating code of political practice formulating the sense of where a society or its dominant groups wants to be in future".[10] The ruling group uses political formulae such as "Freedom and Economic Growth", "Socialism and Education for Self Reliance" and "Planned Socialist Industrialisation" which become political slogans in the societies concerned.[11] However, while the developmental plans of these societies set targets that reflect the social justice and economic growth for the total population, these plans really serve the interests of the dominant group in societies. The overall problems are: a) How to reduce poverty, and b) the gap between the rich and the poor. The common view is that economic backwardness is not a phenomena instrinsic to pre-modern societies. Rather, it is historical and externally imposed conditions which are reinforced internally by the willing compliance of political and commercial elites.[12] This means that poor societies are forced into poverty by external economic forces combined with an alliance from the local ruling groups.

Referring to the inequalities in education in poor societies, Williamson has remarked:

> ...inequalities in education and western forms of education help to fashion the identity of dominant groups and convince them of the essential rightness of a dependency strategy of development (1979:41).

The preceding remarks made by Williamson apply to those countries that had undergone colonial rule, but in his case studies, he included neither India nor Pakistan, which

is unfortunate. Therefore, this study makes an attempt to explore the problems of educational inequality and social structure in Pakistan.

In the light of the above discussion, it can be argued that Pakistan, like many other developing countries, made attempts to provide equality of educational opportunities, by proposing changes in the educational plans of the country. However, the educational outcome in the country reflected a negative result, especially revealing the fact that children from backward areas and unprivileged groups were not able to continue with their schooling and avail themselves of the opportunities provided to them.

Pakistan is a class structured society and the class formation reveals that the disparities in income and education have been increasing. This has been further promoted by the existence of a dual system of education wherein the ruling elite have been able to train their children for high status jobs which command high incomes. The majority of the children from disadvataged groups continue to obtain low quality education through state owned schools and over 80 percent of them do not complete five years of primary schooling. Since, the state serves the interests of the capitalist class in promoting economic and educational activities in Pakistan, it does not concentrate its major resources on improving the social conditions of the unprivileged groups and thereby improve the conditions that would reduce the dropout rates. Moreover, the

capitalist class is not interested in promoting universal primary education because it fears that the educated masses are likely to strengthen these social forces which are demanding, not only equal rights in the production system but also major changes in the political order. This problem is a continuing one, and the question still remains: How can Pakistan overcome this problem?

1.4 Methodology

The information collected for this study has been mainly derived from secondary sources. One important source of information was government publications such as "National Five Year Plans", educational reports and "National Statistical Survey Reports". Other information was obtained from daily and monthly publications in Karachi and personal interviews with teachers and administrators whom the author met during a brief visit to Karachi. In addition, a limited number of scholarly publications also proved a good source of data, especially related to the structure of general inequality in Pakistan. The information on the graduates and results of elite schools has been extracted from the daily newspaper but is confined to a few schools in Karachi.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

In the absence of extensive research on the socioeconomic backgrounds of students in different types of schools in Pakistan which is the focus of this study it has relied on information from secondary sources. Since the

secondary sources provide information that are not directly related to the issue, the study has a major shortcoming. For example, the data concerning educational growth in Pakistan extracted from the government publications does not incorporate information concerning the dual system of education in Pakistan. Thus, it has been difficult to provide quantitative evidence in support of the claims that elite schools have been exclusive and catered to children from certain socioeconomic backgrounds in Pakistan.

1.6 The Organisation of the Study

The study begins with the introductory chapter that gives an overview of the problems of educational inequality in relation to the social structure in Pakistani society.

An overview of the educational changes and system that emerged in the subcontinent of India, covering the pre-colonial and colonial periods is described in Chapter II. The emphasis is on the development of the dual system of education initiated during this period by the colonial rulers.

Chapter III discusses the class structure and formation in Pakistan. An attempt is made to elaborate on the relationship between the 'dual economic' and the dual systems of education.

In Chapter IV, an effort is made to demonstrate the patterns of educational growth in Pakistan in the post-independence period. An attempt is made to demonstrate the persistence of inequalities in educational disparities, in

spite of, the radical educational reforms introduced by the state.

Chapter V examines the emergence and contribution of private schools in Pakistan and their role in perpetuating the position of the elite in Pakistani society.

In the concluding chapter, this study evaluates the role of private schooling in promoting class structure in Pakistan. The study concludes with the possible remedies to improve the educational system, thereby reducing the class differences.

NOTES

1. Williamson, B. Education, Social Structure and Development London, Macmillan, 1979. pp.1-210.
2. Ibid., p.1.
3. Ibid., p. 13
4. Ibid., p.12.
5. Ibid., p. 16.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Mende, T. From Aid to Recolonisation (London, Harrap, 1973). p.101, as quoted in Williamson, B. op. cit., pp.18-19.
9. World Bank Education Sector, Education 1974. pp. 33-34.
10. Williamson, B. op. cit., p.28.
11. Ibid., p.29.
12. Ibid., p.31.

CHAPTER II

2. SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH ASIAN COUNTRIES

2.1 A Historical Background to the Study of Educational Changes in Pakistan

This chapter is concerned with educational development and social and economic changes that affected the class structure of societies in the subcontinent of India. This region is comprised of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, the last named country being the specific focus of this study. Historically, Pakistan was part of India and emerged as an independent, sovereign state when India gained Independence in 1947. Bangladesh was part of Pakistan from 1947 until it won its freedom from that country in 1971. These countries had undergone domination by Moslem monarchs under the Mughal rule, prior to colonisation by the British. They also went through a fairly long period of colonial and/or feudal rule and thus were subjected to political and economic exploitation that affected subsequent developments.

The social, economic and educational development that subsequently took place in Pakistan were marked by the legacy of the Mughal and British colonial domination in the Indian subcontinent. In order to understand the structure and the pattern of society that has been developing in

Pakistan, it is necessary to examine the effects of political, economic and educational changes introduced during the above two empires. Having recognised the significant roles these two empires played in creating the social structure in Pakistan, this study first examines, in brief, the changes that occured Mughal, and the colonial periods along with their effects.

The economic and educational changes have played a vital role in the production of an elite class in these societies. This elite has not only accumulated wealth but has acquired power and influence that helped them to maintain their dominant positions. An important social agency that this elite used in reinforcing and perpetuating its dominant position has been the educational institutions.

Educational changes and reforms were introduced by the respective governments of these new nations and attempts were made to distribute educational benefits equally to the masses. However, the educational outcomes resulting from these changes have not demonstrated that these desired goals have been achieved. Instead, a dual system of education, introduced during the colonial period, was reinforced, whereby, the masses were provided with some basic education while a better quality education, mostly offered in elite private schools, was provided to the privileged and well to do classes.

2.2 Social and Educational structure--Pre-Colonial Period

Prior to colonisation, the sub-continent of India was fairly advanced in local textile and cottage industries and the artisans' productive skills were fairly well developed. During the sixteenth century, the country was ruled by the Mughal Empire but the ultimate outcome of this Empire to govern ended in warfare, chaos and decline, as a result of the disputes with Hindu chieftains and local zamindars. Bureaucratization was a central feature of this administration with most of the bureaucratic power being concentrated in the hands of the Mughal emperors who controlled the trading and other merchantile activities. The surplus production of the peasants was appropriated directly by the state through the revenue officers, zamindars and other noblemen. The wealth was concentrated in the hands of ruling monarch who did not favour the amassing of wealth by the local leaders and nobles. Since these emperors had access to wealth, they lived pompously and did not invest in development of the land. The officials were constantly squeezing the peasants, taking away from them all their surplus agricultural products, so much so, that it was difficult for the peasants to survive. This intolerable exploitation led to massive and bitter revolts. Such disputes weakened the bureaucratic organisation and eventually facilitated the entry of Western European

nations, who were on trading terms with India and especially the British who dominated the seapower of that region.[1]

2.3 The Traditional Educational Structure.

The traditional educational structure was dominated by the two great religious groups that prevailed in India, namely Hinduism and Islam. The educational structure promoted by Hinduism has been vividly described by Myrdal as follows:

> ...According to Hindu tradition, education was exclusively or mainly the prerogative of one social group, the Brahmans, who were the highest ranking caste according to the Vedas. In essence, education was the instruction of successive generations of religious functionaries. Knowledge was sacred and was held secret from non-Brahmans. The sacred scriptures, hymns, and incantations had to be recited until learned by heart. The method of education within the bounds of Hinduism was individualistic: each guru had his personal disciples. Although occasionally several teachers came to cluster around the main temples or in ashramas and gurukulas, which were still larger centers of education, a close relation traditionally existed between the individual teacher and his pupils. This individual teaching, with its emphasis on the memorizating of sacred texts, has remained characteristic of Brahman education until the present day (Myrdal,1968:1627).

The Brahmans had occupied a dominant position in the traditional educational structure through a group of non-Brahmans' elite which was comprised of princes, feudal chiefs, noblemen and merchants. They had acquired sufficient power and wealth, and demanded education for their children, especially for the purpose of obtaining employment as military officers, managers, architects, etc., in the government. There was a gradual growth of higher education

outside the religious fields but this type of education affected a very small elite class.

The religious educational structure among the Moslems was dominated by the teaching of the holy scripture, as found in the Koran. According to this book, it is a religious duty of the faithful Moslems to educate the young members of the community, but this duty was not carried out on a large scale. Mosque schools were established where elementary education was provided, and their main task was the provision of religious instruction and ensuring the memorization of verses from the holy book. Madrasahs were also established where advanced studies relating to Islamic theology were imparted.

Since Mughal rule required officers, administrators and architects, the education provided in the madrasah was directed towards science, technology and the language arts. The emphasis of various activities related to the elite Moslem culture included in this type of education has been described by Myrdal in the following statement:

> '...But an interest in art for arts' sake also developed in Mogul times, leading to an enthusiasm for history, philosophy, literature, music, and dance. Even if a major objective was to preserve and extend the Persian heritage and the Moslem faith, a trait of syncretism became visible, particularly once Akbar the Great came to power. The Moslem authorities engaged non-Moslems along with Moslems as administrators, tax collectors, and clerks, as professionals of all sorts, and as scholars and teachers. They accepted Hindu children and youths in the schools and colleges; at the higher level the Persian language--but not Arabic, the sacred language of Islam--was the medium of instruction. Reading and writing took precedence over oral methods of instruction in institutions of higher

> education, which were directed according to the secular and the utilitarian interests of the regime (Myrdal,1968:1631).

However, the education referred to above, was not widely spread and many children who had attended mosque schools regularly, had learned only to memorise the Koran. These were not effective institutions of learning. The elite were able to obtain benefits from the education provided in the Madrasah that trained selected Moslems to become scholars and professionals required under Mughal rule. The Moulvis still dominated these institutions. Myrdal has referred to the above Moslem culture as an 'elite culture'. In the pre-colonial period, a traditional and rigidly hierarchically structured, social and educational pattern was in existence in India. The Brahmans amongst the Hindus and the Moulvis amongst the Moslems had monopolised whatever education was available in these societies. The colonial rule that was established subsequently imposed social and educational changes that were meant to replace this traditional educational structure. The British colonial rulers established their supremacy by imposing on these societies, social, economic and educational changes which promoted their interests and facilitated them in maintaining their dominant positions in the Indian subcontinent.

2.4 Social and Educational Structure--Colonial Period

The British established their rule in the late eighteenth century and set up, a political organisation that was to gain control over India. The Governor-Generals and

later on the Viceroys became heads of the Colonial government of India, representing the British Empire in the subsequent years. The purpose of the Colonial government was to strengthen its political power by controlling the economic activities and introducing changes in the social structure of the societies through educational policies and practices.

Economically, India was drained of the surplus that was being produced locally. The capitalist class that had arisen at that time in England, demanded changes in the terms of trade with India, primarily to promote their own interests. They did not want goods imported from India as this posed obstacles to their internal production and accumulation process. They wanted to sell their finished products in India and to obtain Indian raw materials. Carnoy has described this relationship by remarking:

> ...The native Indian industry had to be destroyed (which it was) and the monopoly powers of the company as well. This battle took place in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the industrialists eventually won. India became a free-trade area for British export... (Carnoy,1974:87).

This led to dependency and underdevelopment on the part of India. Local production suffered and ultimately was minimised. Wealth moved away from the Indian traders to the metropolitan merchants. The Indians became dependent on the manufactured goods imported from Britain in exchange for the raw materials which earned them a negligible income. The

cottage industry suffered and the artisans became jobless seeking employment in the rural agricultural sector.

Carnoy has suggested these economic measures which were introduced by the Colonial government had far reaching social, political and economic consequences for the colonized Indian society. He remarks:

> This is the basic imperialist relationship that developed. From an exporting country India became an importing one; from a budding manufacturing potential she retreated into a pure agricultural nation, cities depopulated, peasants falling back on small plots with low productivity, barely above starvation. The surplus from all this was utilised to build "liberal" Britain. By 1850 the Indian market took up one-fourth of Britain's entire foreign cotton trade: the cotton industry employed one-eighth of England's population and contributed one-twelfth of the national revenue (Carnoy,1974:88).

The political and economic changes that were introduced in the early period of colonisation had been instrumental in the changes that occurred in the social structure of India. The merchants and traders were diverted from their productive activities to the promotion of importing foreign goods, thereby increasing their dependency on foreign capital. The self employed and the artisans whose products could not compete with the foreign produced goods were forced to move to the rural areas to join the already impoverished peasant population, thereby reducing their status to serfdom. The traditional religious Hindu and Moslem leaders who had initially offered resistance to the social changes that were imposed by the Colonial government were manipulated by the colonialists in the interests of the

colonial rulers. The landlords who controlled agricultural production became progressively dependent on the Colonial government for the export of their crops and had to work in close compliance with the British local merchants and rulers. Furthermore, the Colonial government reinforced these activities by introducing educational policies that would strengthen its political and economic domination.

2.4.1 The Colonial Educational System and Policy

The educational system in any society is influenced among other factors, by the types of culture that society develops and perpetuates. The traditional society in India had a social structure that reflected its ethnic, caste and cultural differences. The education system that was introduced in India by the Colonial government, affected the traditional pattern and culture of the society in India. Colonial education in India was introduced with the purpose of introducing changes that would facilitate and contribute to political and economic domination by the colonialists. This has been related by Carnoy:

> British educational policies in India were designed to control politically the Indian subcontinent and to keep its people economically dependent on Britain...(Carnoy,1974:83).

The colonial educational system was introduced deliberately to replace the traditional educational structure. Initially, the Hindu and the Moslem elites resisted the changes that were introduced but British rule

eventually destroyed the traditional power structure and replaced it with an European oriented hierarchy.

European missionaries as well as lay organisations and groups, began to introduce the western type of educational system into the country. They received the protection of the Colonial government who also wanted them to provide information about the social, cultural, economic production and traditional habits of the people. They were also interested in carrying out certain social reforms, such as eliminating the customs and habits that had formed the basis of the caste system and thereby 'civilising' Indians.

The missionaries were the only Europeans at that time, i.e. during the early eighteenth century, who were setting up schools for Indian children, using their native languages and also teaching them English in order to facilitate the teaching of European culture.[2] The primary purpose of the missionaries was to propogate their religion by converting the natives to Christianity. This they were able to do with the protection of the Colonial government. In the process of teaching their religion and introducing social reforms, they came into conflict with the traditional Hindu and Moslem leaders. The Colonial government resolved this conflict by confining the Christian missionaries to teaching religion only in the churches. Besides this, the Colonial government established secular education in collaboration with Christian missionaries, who in turn, initiated the convent schools in India.[3]

Nevertheless, the missionaries had established a few educational and social institutions, such as, schools, health centres and places of worship to offer services to the local people using the vernaculars. The missionaries had introduced these activities to promote their interests in converting more natives to Christianity. But most of them were not favourably considered by the Hindu and Moslem traditional leaders and this further strained the relationship between the Christian missionaries and these traditional religious leaders.[4]

In response, the Colonial government adopted the "orientalist approach" to gain loyalty and support of these Hindu and Moslem leaders. It began to give financial support on a small scale to Hindu and Moslem institutions of higher learning. Myrdal has elaborated on this issue by stating:

> ...Also, the government press, established in 1824, printed books in the classical languages, Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic. Behind this policy was a genuine respect for India's rich cultural heritage--unmatched in any other colony in South Asia--and a political desire to win friends among the Indian upper strata...(Myrdal,1968:1638).

Brahmin (Hindu leaders) and Moslem scholars were involved in 'codifying' the Hindu and Moslem laws required for the British administrative use in the colony. These laws were based on extreme religious separatism and orthodoxy and were translated into the English language. Carnoy made the following references to these laws:

> ...The Hindus got the Gentoo Code in 1776. Later came a separate Mohammedan Code. In 1781 the Act of Settlement proclaimed the legitimacy of the two

> codes in all family and religious matters... (Carnoy,1974:93).

By introducing this measure, the Colonial government had achieved two purposes which strengthened their political domination. First, by giving recognition to the religious traditions and the services rendered by the leaders, they were able to gain the loyalty and support of these leaders. Secondly, the insertion of these codes into the administrative practices of the colonial state gave traditional leaders new opportunities of obtaining employment with the Colonial government. Thus, as a result of a series of accommodations and adjustments made by the colonial rulers relative to the sentiments and interests of the traditional elites in India, the colonial system of education began to take shape.

2.4.2 The Educational Function and Purposes.

However, the primary objectives as set out by the colonial rule, remained unchanged and were:

a) To establish supremacy over the Indians by imposing on them western culture.
b) To educate small numbers of Indians by inculcating skills and values of the colonial politico-economic system and to make them suitable to man the administrative apparatus of the colonial government.
c) To win the confidence of these educated Indians and to make them loyal citizens of the colonial regime.[5]

With these objectives in mind, the British introduced education in India, in order to serve the Colonial government rather than initiating development for the people of India. These objectives can broadly be classified into two categories, the first one has been referred to by Carnoy

as 'cultural imperialism' and the second, is related to the training of manpower required by the Colonial government to serve them.

2.4.3 The Colonial Educational Development.

The above two objectives determined the subsequent educational activities brought about by the Colonial government. The objective of "cultural imperialism" was to impose an educational policy through promotion of the following activities: a) by introducing anglicised educational institutions, especially at secondary and higher levels, b) by using English as a medium of instruction in these institutions and making English the official language of the Colonial government, c) by transforming the attitudes and life-style of the upper class Indians into that of the life-style of the British.

The government proceeded to achieve the goal of cultural subjugation by initiating the anglicisation of the educational institutions. This was evident from the action taken by them in assuming full control over the Oriental colleges, namely Vidyala in Calcutta in 1824, the Sanskrit College in Poona in 1827, and also Oriental College in Agra in 1827.[6] The English pattern of education was introduced for which staff was recruited from England. Besides, at the secondary level, schools similar to the public schools in Britain were introduced and supported by the government.

2.4.4 Establishment of the Public Schools in India

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, elite secondary schools were introduced by the Colonial government following the pattern of the public schools founded in Britain. These schools were especially introduced for the purpose of providing education for the sons of the Princes, Nawabs, Sardars, Taluqadars and Jagirdars. De Souza has listed these schools in the early development of elite education in the subcontinent:

> ...These Chief's Colleges were located in the former princely States which, after Independence, were merged in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Saurashtra and Andhra Pradesh. Rajkumar College, the first Chiefs' College, was founded in 1868 at Rajkot (Saurashtra); Mayo College at Ajmer (Rajasthan) in 1873; The Sadul School at Bikaner (Rajasthan) in 1893;...Scindia school at Gwalior (Madhya Pradesh) in 1897; Daly College at Indore (Madhya Pradesh) in 1898...(De'Souza,1974:21).

During the same period, Aitcheson College in Lahore and Lawerence College in Gora Gali (in Punjab), were established. Pakistan inherited these colleges after Independence.[7]

These schools were established to transform the so-called indigeneous leaders, nearly all of whom came from India's upper classes and castes, into 'Brown Sahèbs' and to train them to abhor their own traditions and culture, but to take pride in adopting western civilisation. The first few public schools opened in the subcontinent were under the political department of the Government of British India and were known as Chiefs' Colleges. Initially, these schools

were used exclusively to [illegible]ate the children of Indian princes and noblemen and were staffed by British teachers and administrators. By the 1930s, admission was also diversified to include the sons of big industrialists and highly paid government officers. These schools were few in number, socially exclusive, and were meant to train the children of the most privileged in colonial India in order to produce in them an European cultural orientation and a general loyalty to colonial rule.

2.4.5 Towards Anglicism [8]

Although the missionaries introduced the vernaculars into educational institutions, they promoted the English language as well. This was done with the intention of establishing a communication process with the former ruling elites. Again, the traditional leaders (both Hindus and Moslems) learned the English language for the purpose of translating the traditional religious literature and laws. They were also required to act as intermediaries between the masses who could not communicate with the colonial rulers and the Colonial governmental officers. Both Charles Grant[9] and Macaulay,[10] were strongly in favour of education in the English language. They wanted English to be the language in administrative courts, revenue departments, etc., and the basis for teaching European culture and science. The British created a demand for English language education by hiring English trained Indians to serve as low-level bureaucrats in the Colonial government. Indians

could not obtain jobs with the government unless they were able to communicate in English.

Besides, the introduction of English language education, it was decided by the Colonial government to westernise the upper strata of the Indian population by inculcating in them those attitudes and aspirations which would result in their emulating the British life-style. One of the outstanding examples of an anglicised person who has been referred to by Nurullah and Naik as 'the father of modern India', was Raja Rammahon Roy:

> ...who accepted British rule as a good thing and the British as an ally in an attempt to reform the Hindu traditions in a more secular and Western direction. He fought for Western schools, for the abolition of customs like widow-burning, for property rights for women, and for the use of English in the law courts...(Carnoy,1974:99-100).[11]

Macaulay further pressed the issue of anglicisation as he asserted in his minutes that:

> ...We must...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 colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect...(Naik & Nurullah,1974:101).[12]

These efforts of the colonial educational system resulted in the transformation of selected Indians into 'Brown Sahebs' who had adopted the British life-style. Besides, they felt themselves superior to the illiterate masses and closer to the British rulers. They even took pride in learning foreign culture and literature and wanted their sons to follow in their footsteps. However, it has been observed that these westernised and educated Indians not only maintained their

superior positions but reinforced them by creating exclusive opportunities for their offspring to obtain equivalent benefits, also.[13] Since the positions available in the government employment sectors were limited, they were monopolized by this group by maintaining their monopoly of access to the westernized and exclusive English educational system.

Besides advocating an anglicised educational policy, Macaulay was in favour of providing education to a small number of elite. By proposing this policy of education, he was suggesting a "downward filteration theory" approach which has been elaborated by Carnoy as follows:

> ...The "theory" was simply an elaborate rationalization for the fact that at this stage education involved very little in the way of financial expenditures and was confined almost exclusively to the instruction of a tiny elite group of future civil servants. Macaulay therefore argued that rather than the government taking direct responsibility for the education of the mass of the people, if it did a good job imparting Western values and concepts to this Indian elite, then they would in turn share their knowledge with their own people and somehow eventually it would all "filter down"...(Carnoy,1974:102).

According to the above elaboration, the responsibility for the provision of mass education was placed on the indigenous educated elite. It was expected that the educated elite would eventually spread education to the masses. However, the "downward filteration theory" was not effective as anticipated. Nail and Nurullah have given two main reasons for the failure of this approach:

> ...Firstly, almost every person educated in English schools got employment under Government; and hence

> there was hardly any occasion for him to go and teach his own countrymen. Secondly, every person who was taught in English schools was cut off from his own people in sympathy and ideology. The English knowing person became a class by himself and refused to acknowledge kinship with, or feel sympathy for, the masses who did not know English...(Naik and Nurullah,1974:102).

However, the education provided to the mass made very slow progress. Some of the social and private bodies pressed for mass education. The prominent among them were missionaries who promoted western education believing that this would help to convert the Indians to their religion. Then there were educated Indians who expressed the need of such education in order to achieve progress in the country. A small section of the Brit[illegible] administrators who also felt the moral obligation to lo[illegible]ter the colony, thought of providing education to the [illegible]genous people. But the Colonial government did not get involved actively in providing widespread primary education, instead concentrated on secondary and higher education for the few elite. Subsequently, discontentment developed among those who were in favour of education for the indigenous Indians. In 1853, the British parliament was renewing the charter of the East India Company, and during this time an inquiry was ordered into the educational development in the colony through the Wood's Education Commission. The result was the Wood Education Despatch.[14]

2.4.6 Educational Reforms and Changes

The Wood Education Despatch declared the intention of expanding education to broader categories of people. It stated its objectives clearly:

> ...Our object is to extend European knowledge throughout all classes of the people. We have shown that this object must be effected by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction, and by that of the vernacular languages of India to the great mass of the people... (Carnoy,1974:104-105).[15]

As a result of this inquiry, Education Departments were established in each province of British India. The Wood Education Despatch had expressed the desire to provide education to the masses in their vernaculars and introduced the vernaculars into 'higher educational institutions'. Despite this, the educational institutions, particularly those providing education to the selected few, continued using English as the medium of instruction. Higher education was emphasised and promoted further through the medium of English. In 1857, three universities were established in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta.[16] The only purpose these universities served was to rationalise the system of selecting educated youths for civil service appointments, that served the interests of the Colonial government. Carnoy has drawn attention to the real purpose behind the establishment of the universities:

> ...The universities simply standardised and made more selective the examination procedures, so that the number and types of labor available could be more centrally controlled...(Carnoy,1974:105).[17]

The educational reforms introduced by the Wood Education Despatch did not produce any significant increases in enrolment at the primary and secondary educational levels. By 1882, there were two million children studying in primary schools. This represented only 7 percent of the school age population. About 14 percent of the male children were in primary schools and less than one percent of the females were enroled. At the secondary level, the enrolment situation was much worse. There were only 214,000 children enroled in secondary schools. Moreover, education was unevenly spread in the various provinces of British India. Whereas, most of the provinces had very few children in schools, two provinces, namely, Travancore and Baroda had about 60 percent of school age children in primary schools in 1920.[18] Table 2.1 [19] shows growth of education in India during the colonial period between 1881 and 1937.

TABLE 2.1

INDIA: ENROLMENT BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION
1881-82 TO 1936-37

YEARS	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	COLLEGE/ UNIVERSITY
1881-82	2,061,541	214,077	-----
1901-02	3,076,671	590,129	23,009
1911-12	4,806,736	-----	-----
1921-22	6,109,000	1,106,803	66,258
1936-37	10,224,288	2,287,872	126,228

(Source: Syed Nurullah and Naik, J.P. A History of Education in India : London, Macmillan, 1951, p.107).

Since the colonial educational policy was carefully devised to meet the very limited demands for literate and educated labour, mainly for civil service jobs, public demand for education was probably very weak. The enrolment figures in the preceeding Table may reflect that fact. Furthermore, the demand for educated labour in the industrial commercial sector between 1880s & 1930s was very low. Carnoy comments on some of the reasons for the weak and very limited demand for educated labour, in India during this period as follows:

> Limited industrial growth plus small-holding plantation agriculture combined to limit the demand for primary-school-trained labor. The percentage of Indians living in urban areas remained almost constant between 1872 (8.5) and 1921 (10.2). The factory system did not get large enough to attract Indians outside the lowest castes into working in industry. Since British policy was one of limiting the growth of industries, duties, and therefore public revenue, were kept low. Since the British also had a policy of limiting the expansion of primary education, most of these revenues were spent on the military (to keep internal stability), and within the small education sector, on higher levels of schooling (Carnoy, 1974:111).

As a result of the industrial growth which was mainly concentrated in urban areas, the need for educated labor was not extensively demanded. This effected the policy by the Colonial government on the expansion of primary schooling which was not given priority during this period. Instead, secondary and higher education were expanded.

The development of secondary and higher education were encouraged for the purpose of obtaining educated manpower for higher level jobs and for westernization of the

indigenous people. Educated Indians were given opportunities to have bureaucratic positions in the Colonial government. The secondary schools were mostly preparing students for higher education. The secondary and higher education institutions were expanding rapidly, in fact, doubling the numbers of pupils every twenty years. Aparna Basu in analysing the educational growth from 1898--1920, reported the following figures:

> ...In 1898 there were five universities, by 1922 there were 12. Between 1896 and 1922 the number of arts colleges increased from 115 to 152, and pupils in them from 13,933 to 45,224. The number of English secondary schools increased from 2,760 to 4,904 and the number of pupils in them from 339,704 to 823,416 (Basu, 1974:100).[20]

The educational reform that was introduced following the Wood Education Despatch related to the introduction of grants-in-aid schools. The Colonial government decided to assist those private schools, that were charging tuition fees, by providing subsidies. In other words, by introducing this measure, the Colonial government did not have to bear fully the responsibility of meeting the total educational costs of these schools. The private or grants-in-aid schools were encouraged to flourish and consequently "only the more affluent were able to organise and pay for their childrens' education."[21] Carnoy has pointed out the negative effect of introducing the policy of grants-in-aid schools in the rural areas:

> ...By adopting grants-in-aid the government also by-passed thousands of indigenous informal village schools already in existence, most of which disappeared in subsequent years. By 1902, almost no

> village schools were left in British India... (Carnoy,1974:109).

This policy also reaffirmed the Colonial government's intention, not to develop a publically funded system of universal and compulsory schooling (even at the primary level,) in India. The Colonial government of India thus refused, or failed to accept, the responsibility of developing an educational system aimed at achieving minimum literacy for all of its Indian' subjects.

Two types of secondary schools developed as a result of Colonial government policy: a) First, those schools supported financially by the state, and b) those schools that were managed and supported by private organisations. There were also two approaches based on the usage of languages--English for the elites and vernaculars for the masses. Superior education was provided through the medium of English and was restricted to the wealthy, who could afford to pay for it, whereas, general education was available to the masses in educational institutions that were poorly staffed and equipped. In these schools, the language of instruction was mainly one of the vernaculars or the regional language of the area.

The educated people in British India were the recipients of educatonal changes introduced by the Colonial government. British rule had created a group of civil servants among the educated Indians who served the interests of the colonial rulers. This group was economically advantaged compared to those working in the other public

sectors. The local industrial production was minimised, and instead, the society relied on the manufactured goods imported from Britain. The production of selected agricultural crops was promoted for the purpose of providing raw materials for individual and other needs in Britain, while the production of food crops began to seriously decline causing severe dislocation, in the rural economy of India. The educational changes discussed above combined with the changes brought in India's economy by the colonial rule in the nineteenth century brought in their wake considerable political discontent and the small but articulate educated class was able to articulate this discontent into a nationalist movement. Many of these Indians who initiated the nationalist movement were the recipients of the educational changes that the British rule produced in India.

2.5 The Impact of Nationalism and the Educational Changes.

The nationalist movement in India can be traced back to the nineteenth century. During this time, individual Indians had demonstrated their concerns in public discussions on educational reforms. Myrdal has made the following observation for the lack of agreement among the Indian critics and commentators:

> ...But while they spoke in terms of Indian interests, they were never united on a common front against the British,...(Myrdal,1968:1654).

The concerns raised by these educated and articulate Indians related to: a) the provision of basic primary education for the majority of the population, b) with Indianisation of the educational curricula, and c) the use of vernaculars in the educational system. Myrdal has further elaborated on this point:

> ...Voices were raised, however, demanding that more attention be paid to Indian culture and the Indian vernacular languages. Inspired by contemporary developments in Britain, individual Indians also began to agitate for compulsory, free, popular education, more technical education, and improved training of teachers, but invariably there were Englishmen who supported their cause...(Ibid, 1968:1654).

This emerging demand for changes in education was not very forceful and effective. The educational reforms introduced by the Colonial government, such as the Wood Educational Despatch of 1854, and later on Curzons' reforms did not consider any of the above concerns raised by the individual Indian nationals. On the contrary, the Colonial government's educational reforms continued to emphasize the anglicisation of the educational system and gave high priority to raising and maintaining the quality of education rather than expanding it to the masses. The use of vernaculars in primary schools was initiated by the local regions and social agencies, but they lacked support from the Colonial government.[22]

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Indian nationalist movement had become more organised and politicised. The formation of the Indian National Congress

in 1883 had given further impetus to the cause of the nationalist movement in the subcontinent of India. Even at this time, Indians had displayed little eagerness to translate their general ideas about needed educational reforms into concrete and practical proposals, or even to show readiness to fight for them politically. During this period, the British government was debating the issue of diversifying modern, academic, and secondary, education to technical and vocational education. But these measures were not effectively implemented. Subsequently, the number of technical schools that developed was much lower than that of the general, secondary schools during the period 1901--1947 (Table 2.2).

TABLE 2.2

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS 1901-1947

	1901	1921	
TECHNICAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS	94	292	665
GENERAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS	1170	1248	5297

(Source: Naik, J.P.,1975:135-138).

There were signs of an active national movement in the latter period of colonial rule. During the early years

of the twentieth century, the Indian nationalist movement was active and prominent. The reforms aimed at raising the quality of education, rather than expanding educational provisions and the strengthening of the English type of education were resented by the nationalist movement. Myrdal has explained the reason for this resentment:

> ...They were resented because they implied that the educational system would come more under the control of the British colonial authorities; in particular, the growth of educational institutions established and run by indigenous persons and organiizations would be hampered...(Myrdal,1968:1654).

Instead, 'the Indian nationalist movement emphasised: a) the use of the vernaculars, b) promotion of the national culture, and c) it strongly demanded the Indianisation of the whole educational structure and its administration. At this time, the vigorous nationalist movement was led by Gopal Krishna Gokhle. He consistently stressed the necessity of eliminating illiteracy in India. Furthermore, he advocated the introduction of universal, compulsory and free primary education to be given priority. Gandhi followed the footsteps of Gokhle and developed GoKhle's position on education further to insist on development of the concept of national education.

Gandhi was not in favour of adopting western industrialised societies as the model for development in India at that time. He initiated his own model that would suit the needs of the people of India, bearing in mind the local conditions. Gandhi had proposed a concept of 'basic education' both to overcome the high costs that would be

incurred for free, universal education at the primary level and to reform the curriculum, so as to address the basic needs of the local population.

Gandhi's notion of 'basic education' entailed a measure whereby the schools could be made more self-supporting by introducing crafts into the school curriculum. His proposal had more than economic value. It had the pedagogical bent of combining theoretical and practical training--'education through crafts'. This would also fit in well with his general concerns of vitalising the villages by raising the productivity and self-sufficiency of the villagers. It was hoped that the above notion of basic education could be used to break down the prejudice against manual work which Gandhi and others perceived as a major obstacle to development. The notion of basic education was generally adopted but was not implemented, even after Independence in 1947.

Another impact of the nationalist movement on colonial education, which is worth noting, is that on adult education. A literacy campaign for adults was inaugurated for the first time in the 1920s and by the year 1937-38, full provincial authority was granted for massive literacy programs in every Indian province. Any substantial developments in this direction were disrupted by the Second World War, and after the war, it failed to gain its earlier momentum during the rest of the colonial period, i.e. between 1945-1947.[23] In 1960, India had one of the lowest

levels of literacy in South Asia. This is shown in Table 2.3.

TABLE 2.3

LITERACY RATES IN PERCENTAGES INCREASED IN SOME SOUTH ASIAN COUNTRIES--BY YEARS AND MALE-FEMALE COMPARISON

COUNTRY	GENDER	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951
India	Males	11	13	14	15	29
	Females	1	1	2	2	8
Burma	Males	53	53	61	65	--
	Females	6	8	12	18	--
Ceylon	Males	42	47	56	--	80 @
	Females	8	12	21	--	53
		1903	1918	1939		1948
Phillipines	Males	30	53	54	--	64
	Females	11	15	41	--	56
Malaya	Males	--	--	--	41	57*
	Females	--	--	--	7	16

(Source: Adapted from --Myrdal,1966:1672-1674).

(Note: a) @ The estimate is for 1953. b) * The estimate is for 1947.)

Thus, during the last third of the nineteenth century, the nationalist movement led by individual, articulate Indians did not relax the colonial hold on education. In fact, the Colonial government continued to impose educational reforms to further its interests by transforming Indian society, particularly the upper strata of the society, in the direction of an European, western cultured pattern and life-style. However, the nationalist movement gained momentum towards the end of the colonial period, especially 1919 onwards, which led to the Independence of India. It is the post-independence era in the history of the countries which emerged from British India that have had major educational changes and developments. A brief review of these changes is undertaken in the next section.

2.6 Educational and Social Changes in the Post Independence Era.

The subcontinent of India achieved political freedom in 1947, after a long period of struggle. The Partition at Independence resulted in the birth of a new nation, namely Pakistan. Both India and Pakistan had experienced the same colonial and political domination and had the same educational legacy. The educational growth at Independence in both these countries was highly stunted. The extremely limited provision of public schooling at every level of

education, and the very stark disparities in educational distribution, for instance, between: a) males and females, b) urban-rural, and c) among the regions; were marked features of the educational system. The education provided to the masses, during colonial rule was not only negligible but also inferior compared to the education provided to the elites and the wealthy in India's society.

Table 2.4a shows the educational enrolment in 1950-51, demonstrating the low rates of participation at different levels of education in India. As indicated in the Table, only 42 percent of the pupils in the total population of the age group 6-11 years were enroled in primary schools. Moreover, at the middle level, barely 14 percent of the total population of the age group 11-14 years were enroled in classes VI to VIII. In spite of the fact, that free, compulsory, universal primary education was demanded by the nationalist leaders during colonial rule, the percentage of enrolment in the first two levels of education were very low at Independence.

Furthermore, the disparity in the educational outcome between males and females is indicated in the same Table. The enrolment percentage for females at both levels of education is much lower than for the male students. The difference is much greater at the middle level of education, i.e. 5 percent, in the case of females and 22 percent for males.

The literacy rate among the adult population in 1951, in India, was only 16.6 percent, whereas, the literacy rate for the females was only 7.9 percent, nearly one-third of

TABLE 2.4 a

NUMBER OF PUPILS AS PERCENTAGES OF NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE CORRESPONDING AGE GROUP IN INDIA 1950-51

	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
PRIMARY SCHOOL			
CLASS I-V (6-11)	59	25	42
MIDDLE SCHOOLS			
CLASS VI-VIII(11-14)	22	5	14
ELEMENTARY CLASSES			
I-VIII (AGE, 6-14)	46	17	32

(Source: SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN, p.503 and FOURTH FIVE YEAR PLAN, p.355 as indicated in Chakrabartty, S. Twenty-Five Years of Education in India, New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1973:13)

the males' literacy rate. The glaring low levels of educational participation, together with the low levels of the overall literacy rates, indicate that the Indian

TABLE 2.4 b

PERCENTAGE OF LITERATES IN RELATION TO TOTAL POPULATION IN INDIA--1951

	TOTAL	MALES	FEMALES
LITERATES	16.6	24.9	7.9

(Source: Ibid, p.7)

government had a major task before it to improve the educational system inherited from the colonial regime.

Besides, the low educational growth and development promoted during the colonial period in India, there also developed an educational system that catered to two different sections of the population. The education provided to the masses was limited to the lower levels. But the education provided to a selected section of the population, enabled them not only to attain university education, but also to obtain prestigious employment. Education was provided to a privileged group of children which facilitated them to obtain employment in the prestigious and powerful civil service of the Colonial government. Such education was provided in the elite, private schools, some of which were established by the government on the pattern of the public

schools found in England and others were created by the social and religious organisations. Hence, a dual system of education came into existence, that is, one that catered to the needs of the upper classes who were able to pay high fees and the second (of a much inferior quality) that was accessible to that small minority of the masses of the population, who for whatever reason, were able to participate in it. This dual education system continued even in the post colonial period in India.

Moreover, education in Pakistan at the time of Independence was even more underdeveloped than that in India. The enrolment rate in primary and secondary education was very low and the male-female enrolment, at all levels of the educational system reflected extreme inequality. Table 2.5 shows the population figures of these provinces, based on the 1941 census. Table 2.6, shows the students' enrolments at different levels of education for the year 1944-45, in five provinces which came to constitute Pakistan in 1947, at the time of Independence. Though, these figures relate to the year 1944-45, that is, before the Partition of Punjab and Bengal, it may be assumed that 60 percent of the educational institutions in these provinces have come under the jurisdiction of Pakistan.[24]

TABLE 2.5

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE-FEMALE POPULATION IN PROVINCES OF PAKISTAN (IN, 000'S) AS PER 1941 CENSUS

CATEGORY	NWFP	BALUCHISTAN	SIND	PUNJAB	BENGAL
MALES	1,651	294	2,494	15,383	31,747
FEMALES	1,386	207	2,040	13,035	28,559

(Source: Jeffery, G. B.,at. el. (eds.), The Year Book of Education 1949, London, Evans Brothers Ltd., 1949:524).

However, the subsequent large scale migration of population during the partititon between the two countries has greatly confused the situation and the population distribution of these provinces. The figures in Table 2.5 indicate that the ratio of males to females in the population is 1.2:1 (the number of males being slightly higher than females). In other words, there is a somewhat larger number of males than females in the percentages in the school-age population. But the male/female enrolment-ratios presented in Table 2.6 suggest that these differences are much too large to be accounted for by the small difference in the sex ratio mentioned above. For instance, in North West Frontier Province the "males number" indicate four times the "females" in the primary school enrolment, whereas, the population differences in the school-age group between them show smaller differences. Similarly, high ratios in favour of the male educational enrolment at all

levels of education can be observed in other provinces according to Table 2.6.

TABLE 2.6

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN DIFFERENT LEVELS OF EDUCATION 1944-45

TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS	NWFP	BALUCH-ISTAN	SIND	PUNJAB	BENGAL
PRIMARY STAGE					
BOYS	81,998	7,081	134,710	795,766	2,379,188
GIRLS	21,022	1,879	52,329	191,555	678,580
MIDDLE STAGE					
BOYS	13,298	1,101	19,986	181,072	233,828
GIRLS	2,106	299	5,394	23,041	15,524
HIGH SCHOOL					
BOYS	3,776	510	7,038	51,083	94,422
GIRLS	259	77	1,955	3,382	4,239
INTERMEDIATE CLASSES					
MALES	801	-	1,801	14,435	23,373
FEMALES	59	-	427	1,431	2,350
DEGREE COLLEGES					
MALES	266	-	616	5,741	7,716
FEMALES	1	-	144	709	882
PROFESSIONAL COLLEGES					
MALES	103	-	227	2,215	7,147
FEMALES	61	-	5	822	128

(Adapted from: Jeffery, G. B., at. el. (eds.), The Year Book of Education 1949, London, Evans Brothers Ltd., 1949:525).

In the absence of data on the urban and rural educational achievement in Pakistan on the eve of Independence, it is difficult to assess the disparity between the urban and the rural educational participation rates. Nevertheless, the educational facilites developed during the colonial period, were mainly concentrated in

urban centres and were far less developed in the rural areas. With 90 percent of the population residing in the rural areas in 1951, the low levels of development of educational facilites in rural areas increased further the underdevelopment of the majority of the population in rural Pakistan.

Moreover, the inequality with respect to the quality of education available to the elites and the masses was a colonial legacy and has continued to spread in Pakistan even after it had gained independence. The disparity between these two social groups has been perpetuated as a result of the continuation of the dual system of education. In this dual system of education, elite private schools coexist with the often substandard government schools and other private schools in Pakistan. Admission into these elite schools is based both on influence and wealth. The students receiving education from such schools are prepared for influential careers and they often are able to establish contact with the other elites in the society, thereby increasing their chances of obtaining high-status occupations; whereas, the underprivileged students are not able to take advantage of even the existing facilities in the non-elite schools whether state or privately operated. While the wealthy and the educated parents often take an intensive interest in their childrens' education and invest considerable resources to ensure lengthy and high quality education for their children, the disadvantaged parents often withdraw their

children from the schools. They remove their children from the schools for two main reasons: a) to avoid schooling expenses, and b) to make their offspring supplement the meagre family incomes through low paid employment. Though both Pakistan and India had experienced the same colonial legacy, each of them selected a different pattern of growth that was expressed in the development plans of these countries.

India selected secular, democratic socialism, whereby its commitments were geared towards building an egalitarian society that was based on the principles of human development, equality and justice. Its political and economic development was based on the socialistic pattern and since Independence it has attempted to create a more or less egalitarian society and in the process used educational expansion as an important instrument of public policy.

Pakistan's ideological doctrine has been different from that of India. Pakistan has adopted a social policy wherein, the official doctrine has been one of 'functional inequality'. Inequality of income has been promoted and business and private enterprises have been encouraged to operate in a virtually untrammelled fashion. The economic policies that have been persued by various Pakistani regimes over the last forty years seem to have led to educational development and growth which manifest a deeper influence of the structure of class and other social inequalities than might be the case in India. While it is naive to assume that

educational policies and development in India since 1947 have remained unaffected by the patterns of inequality integral to India's society, it must be recognised that in Pakistan similar structural sources of inequality perhaps enjoyed a freer play and therefore more directly shaped the current pattern of educational disparities. Some selected features of Pakistan's social structure and class formation since 1947, relevant for understanding the current pattern of educational changes and disparities are discussed in the next chapter.

2.7 Conclusion

The political and economic changes that were introduced by the British colonial rule in India, affected the social structure of the traditional Indian society. After undergoing political domination, first from the Mughal empire, and then the British empire, the Indian subcontinent achieved freedom, in 1947, whereby two countries--India and Pakistan emerged as independent nations.

The educational system was introduced in the nineteenth century to maintain and reinforce the political and economic domination of the Colonial government. The main purpose of educating Indians was to obtain civil servants for subordinate positions to serve the Colonial government and to transform the Indians' attitudes and culture to one which was European oriented and particularly reflected English values and ways of life. Education for the masses was neglected and ignored. Instead, education for the elite

group was enhanced, thereby strengthening the social inequalities by reinforcing the position of the elite group.

The Nationalist Movement that was introduced by educated Indians resulted in a political organisation, which ultimately led to political freedom for India and Pakistan. Each of these nations determined its own pattern of development; India opting for a secular democratic state, and Pakistan opting for a religiously oriented centralist and autocratic state. In spite of the different models of development adopted by these two countries, the subsequent educational outcome did not produce any major differences, especially in narrowing educational disparities.

Pakistan inherited an underdeveloped educational system from the colonial rule. Not only the levels of educational achievement at the primary and the secondary levels were very low, but the educational inequality was noticeable throughout the whole system. At the time of Independence, Pakistan had decided to promote "the educational and economic interests of the people of the Special Areas, the backward classes and the Scheduled Castes".[25] It had also decided to remove illiteracy and provide free, compulsory education within the minimum period of time and to enhance through education and training, the economic development by "preventing the concentration of wealth and means of production and distribution in the hands of a few to the detriment of the interests of the common man".[26] But these were the early aspirations which were to

guide the national-building efforts, some questions related to educational developments that arise from these statements are: a) Has Pakistan achieved the high levels of educational enrolments aspired to by the nation? b) What efforts have been made by the respective regimes in Pakistan in reducing the disparity in education distribution in the country? c) Has education been instrumental in promoting economic development by reducing the inequality of income in Pakistan?, and lastly, d) Who has benefitted from the educational growth in Pakistan?

NOTES

1. Carnoy, M. Education as Cultural Imperialism. (New York: David McKay Company Inc., 1974), pp. 85-87.

2. Myrdal, G. Asian Drama An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations Vol. III, (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund Inc., 1968). p.1637.

3. Singh, Nirmal., Education under Siege (New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1983). pp. 68-69.

4. Myrdal, G., op. cit., p.1638.

5. Haq, E., Education and Political Culture in India, (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Ltd., 1981), p. 29.

6. Carnoy, M. op. cit., p.98.

7. Aitchison College see Curle, A. Planning for Education in Pakistan, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1966), p.68. and for Aitchison College and Gora Gali School see Iqbal, M. Education in Pakistan. 3rd ed. (Lahore, Pakistan: Aziz publishers, 1981), p.95.

8. Carnoy, M. op. cit., p.95

9. Charles Grant, a Scotsman was a Director of the East India Company in 1797-98 and founder of the Church of Missionary Society in 1799. He had strongly argued for providing education in the English language. He wanted English to be the language of administration, courts and the basis for the teaching of European culture and the Christain religion.

10. Lord T.B. Macaulay had come to India as a Law member of the Governor General's Executive Council. He was appointed as the President of the General Committee on Public Instruction by Lord Bentick, the Governor General of India. Macaulay presented his lenghty minutes to Lord Bentick in 1835. In his minutes, he advocated strongly for English education for the upper classes and for changing the attitudes and behaviour of the local Indians. Macaulay's famous Minutes in favour of English education dated February 2nd, 1835 are extensively quoted in Syed Mahmood, A History of English Education in India 1781-1893 (Aligarh, 1895), p.1835.

11. Syed Nurullah and Naik, J. P., History of Education in India, (London: Macmillan, 1951), as quoted in Carnoy, op. cit. p.99.

Widows are known as "Suttees" and the widow burning custom relates to widows, whose husbands had died either in the war or by any other cause, were required to sacrifice their lives by burning themselves.

12. Nurullah Syed and Naik, J. P. A Students' History of Education in India, (1800-1973) 6th Edition. (Delhi, The Macmillan Company of India Ltd.,1974). p.101.

13. Haq, E., op. cit., p.36.

14. Wood Education Despatch came to be known after the name of Sir Charles Wood who was the President of the Board of Control. The need for defining educational policy had become apparent because of the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1854. It proposed to the government the task of creating a properly articulated scheme of education from primary school to the university level.

15. Carnoy, M., op. cit., pp.104-105.

16. Myrdal, G. op. cit., p.1640.

17. Carnoy, M. op. cit., p.105.

18. Ibid., p.107-108.

19. Ibid., p.107. It is presented here in a slightly modified form.

20. Aparna Basu, The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898-1920 (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 100.

21. Carnoy, M., op. cit., p.109.

22. The Curzon Education Reform was introduced by Lord Curzon who was the 24th Governor General of India. He declared at the Simla Conference in 1901 that the education system catering to the indigenous people should be placed on a sounder and firmer basis .

23. Myrdal, G. op. cit., p. 1656.

24. Haq, E. op. cit.,p. 36.

25. Maddison, A.Class Structure and Economic Growth: India and Pakistan Since the Moghuls (London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1971), p. 86.

26. Ibid., p.136.

27. Jeffery, G. B., et. al., (eds.) The Year Book of Education 1949 (London, Evans Brothers Ltd., 1949) p. 523.

28. National Planning Board, Government of Pakistan, The First Five-Year plan 1955-60 (Karachi, Government of Pakistan, December, 1957) p.1.

29. Ibid., p.1.

CHAPTER III

3. SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CLASS FORMATION IN PAKISTAN

The political and economic changes introduced by the Colonial government in British India had also affected the social structure of an area that emerged as Pakistan. The origins of Pakistan's and India's nationalism were different. The Moslems were rulers in India before the British colonised India, but British rule had changed the social status of Moslems in comparision to Hindus. They were suppressed and their traditions despised. Maddison has made this comment concerning Moslems:

> ...Their cultural life received a crushing blow in 1857 when the Moghul court was destroyed. This induced a feeling of almost total anomie, and there was a steady reversion to Islamic fundamentalism... (Maddison, 1971:73).

The Moslem League was formed in 1906 but it was more of an anti-nationalist than a nationalist movement. Its leaders were allied to the British but they feared that they would be oppressed by the Hindus at the time of independence.[1] The most important member amongst the Moslem nationalist bourgeoisie was Mohamed Ali Jinah who turned the Moslem League into a mass political party in 1940. Its policy and content were not religious. Maddison confirms this statement:

> ...However, the Muslim League was not a religious movement. The motivation was essentially bourgeois

> nationalism, its religious content was as much anti-Hindu as pro-Islamic (Maddison,1971:74).

Though Jinah had created a political system that was viceregal, nevertheless, Pakistan has emerged as an Islamic State in which the primary locus of power has been the bureaucratic military elites.

This nationalist movement did not have any program content of social reforms but the Islamic flavour was promulgated in the social and economic development of the country. The ideological framework was based on the Islamic belief of fraternity, equality and liberty. However, the class structure inherited from the colonial past, continued to grow with further complexity. Economically, Pakistan was deeply involved in the world capitalist economic system, relying heavily on foreign aid. Educational policies were introduced to try to bring changes into the social structure of the new nation.

3.1 Class Structure in Pakistan

The basic class apparatus of the capitalist system of production and political control in Pakistan has evolved in the post-1947 period. Among the elite groups, that have emerged and exercised political and economic power, are: a) the large landlords, b) the owners of large capital--both commercial entrepreneurs as well as the industrialists, c) the senior civil administrators, and above all d) the military officers in high positions.[2]

Below them is a larger, heterogenous 'middle class' which is made up of several groups, such as: a) medium and small scale businessmen/shopkeepers, b) professionals such as doctors, engineers, teachers, college/university professors, lawyers and technicians, c) mid-level rank military officials, d) mid-level civil servants labelled as 'middle class bureaucrats', e) the clerics, ulamas, mullahs, and f) other religious scholars.

At the bottom of the class structure are the masses of manual workers and peasants. The basic cleavage of orientations and interests within the class structure has been the one between the top elite and the masses of peasants and workers. The middle groups, because of their ambiguous social and economic positions, by and large have been unable to identify consistently with either the top elite or the masses of people. The complexity of the class structure can further be elaborated on by looking into the rural and urban class formations in the country.[3]

3.2 Rural Class Formation and Structure

3.2.1 Landlords and Rich Peasants

Pakistan's rural areas have been classified as demonstrating 'feudalist' and 'capitalist' forms of production. The feudalistic rural structure stressed the predominance of the landlords/zamindars. These big landlords controlled the economic, political and social life of rural communities. This control has been exercised in two ways.

first, by reinforcing a system of informal kinship which ties them to other landlords in the neighbouring villages. Secondly, by maintaining a systematic use of various coercive mechanisms, ranging from tax collection from the peasants to creating a situation whereby peasants are forced to work for meagre wages.[4]

Those owning more than 100 acres of cultivable land were usually classified as big landlords. By 1961, all such land-owning families owned about 15 million acres of the available land. This land constituted 31 percent of the total land under private ownership, whereas the number of landlords represented only 1.5 percent of the total number of landowners.[5]

The rural structure contained both: a) 'feudalist' and 'capitalist' landlords (zamindars), and b) capitalist farmers. Both a) and b) own land, but the traditional landlords are transformed into capitalist farmers when they engage in using advanced technology in agricultural production and exploit the wage labourers rather than depending on peasants' labour. In this period of transition from a feudalist economy to a capitalist agrarian economy, many traditional landlords had adopted new modes of production and new methods of accumulation.

Both a) and b), as mentioned above, do not cultivate land themselves. Most of this land is cultivated by sharecroppers or poor peasants. Since, neither of the two groups of owners live in the villages, both the tenanted and

farmed lands are supervised by the owners' employees--the managers. The difference between the two is that, in the first case the tenants get paid indirectly, that is they take half or one-third of all the produce, (or whatever arrangement that the landlord makes), giving up the other half or two-thirds to the land owners; while in the other case the labourers are paid a fixed wage, usually very small, for their production.

The relationship between the traditional landlords and the tenant peasants is more 'feudalistic' in nature. Although, the tenants are exploited, this exploitation does not end in a coercive relationship between them. The traditional landlord, unsophisticated and uneducated but well versed in the customs and traditions of the area, is more concerned with the villagers' social life. He provides protection to the villagers and helps them in times of crises, whereas, a great majority of capitalist farmers tend to be urbanised, educated and unaware of village customs. Their whole life is alien to the villagers. Their method of exploitation is harsh. While a traditional landlord indulges in more feudalistic pastimes, the capitalist farmers are more westernised. Many of them were offered opportunities to obtain advanced methods of farming and farm management, in the universities of western countries. This new development has created a larger gap between the 'feudalistic' landlords and the 'capitalist' land-owners, but has not created a noticeable division in the class interests. Both the

landlords and capitalist farmers continue to exploit the villagers; to maintain their superior life-style; to entertain lavishly and to spend money on securing elected positions that lead to the attainment of authoritative positions and extended control in the society.[6]

3.2.2 Peasants, sharecroppers and landless agricultural workers

Besides the zamindars and rich peasants, there are three subordinate social classes in Pakistan's rural structures. They are: a) peasants who own land between 2.5 and 5 acres, b) sharecroppers who own land under 2 acres, but mostly rent land for cultivation, and lastly, c) landless agricultrural workers who form the majority, and live below the poverty line in the rural areas.[7] Table 3.1 shows the size distributions of operational land-holdings, in Pakistan's agricultural sector, in 1961.

1) Peasants

They own land which is not sufficient for them to make an independent living. They are forced to earn supplementary income by becoming tenants. Their ambition is to become rich peasants, like the capitalist farmers. In the villages, they are respected and called upon to settle disputes, and act as advisers in familial and communal affairs. They are also respected by the landlords and while they do not exploit they might be exploited by landlords;

TABLE 3.1

SIZE DISTRIBUTION OF OPERATIONAL HOLDINGS IN PAKISTAN AGRICULTURE IN 1960

EAST PAKISTAN SIZE RANGE OF FAMILY HOLDINGS (ACRES)	PERCENTAGE OF RURAL HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE OF AREA
NO LAND	26.0	0.0
UNDER 1	18.0	3.2
1 - 2.5	20.2	13.0
2.5 - 5	19.5	26.0
5 - 25	16.0	52.6
25 AND ABOVE	0.3	4.8
WEST PAKISTAN		
NO LAND	11.3	0.0
UNDER 1	13.5	0.7
1 - 2.5	15.6	2.8
2.5 - 5	14.7	5.9
5 - 25	37.8	47.9
25 AND ABOVE	7.1	42.7

(Source: Maddison, 1971:151).

especially in times of crises, when the land does not yield sufficient output.

2) Sharecroppers.

They form the second largest group in the rural population. They may own land under 2 acres, however, they also need rented land to have a subsistence livelihood. They depend exclusively upon rented land as their only means of subsistence. They differ in the nature of their property ownership. Their livelihood mainly depends upon rented land, from which they can be evicted any time the owner finds it profitable to do so. The artisans who have been categorised with the above group, work in close relationship with the sharecroppers and their livelihood depends upon the conditions of these tenant farmers or cultivators. When the tenant farmers were evicted, in the 1970s, because of mechanisation in farming, the artisans were affected. Though both of them shared the same subordinate positions, each one of them tried to establish a close relationship with zamindars or landlords which might give them a feeling of superiority. They are exploited by landlords who initiate the conflicts between these two groups, to promote their own interests. The mechanisation and capitalisation have worked against the artisans and tenants, and have reduced their positions to that of peasant workers or landless peasants.

3) Landless peasants

The majority of the members in this class are landless labourers, who sell their labour for a meagre unfixed income. In the 1961 census survey in Pakistan, their number had been estimated at 0.61 million households out of the total rural household population.[8] They are neither craftsman nor tenants. They do not have any fixed income but depend on job opportunities available in the rural areas. Their numbers have been increasing because of the mechanisation and capitalisation of agriculture, which is displacing the peasants and landless agricultural workers. Saghir Ahmed has elaborated on their positions in Punjab:

> ...mechanization of farms reduces the need for labor by 50 percent and that with the arrival of the green revolution--i.e., tractors, tube wells, new seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, etc.--thousands of tenants have been evicted from land (Saghir Ahmed, 1973:217).

The introduction of the use of tractors created more unemployment. It was established, that in 1973 the total displacement of jobs, due to tractors was 125,000 in Pakistan. In 1977, approximately 40,000 tractors were being used and this had caused the total displacement of 200,000 jobs.[9] As increasing incidence of unemployment began to affect the landless peasants, who moved from village to village or to cities in search of employment. They form the majority of unskilled workers in the building and the construction projects. Those unable to find work survive because of the generosity of their fellow villagers. This group is the most exploited, oppressed and alienated. They

look for better opportunities in the urban areas of the country.

3.3. Urban Class Formation and Structure

A highly stratified and authority oriented urban class structure exists in Pakistan. At the apex are: a) the landlords, b) the bureaucrats-civil servants, c) senior officers of the military, d) industrial-commercial business households and famililies, and also e) the professionals. A close dynamic relationship exists between these groups, who manage to strenghten their positions in the society by using economic and educational measures to enhance their positions. The position of the landlord class has already been discussed in the previous section. At the base of the pyramid is the urban proletariat, who form the vast majority in urban populations. This group has problems similar to those of their rural counterparts.

3.3.1 Bureaucrats-Civil Service.

The state bureaucracy was inherited from colonial rule. During that time the Indian Civil Service (ICS) was a prominent class and its members belonged to the most elite Civil Service Cadres. They were a closely knit exclusive group, who enjoyed immense power within the state and who defended their position and identity from time to time, thereby reinforcing their position. The power of this type of state bureaucratic elite in Pakistan has increased since Independence.

At Independence, there were only 95 Moslem civil servants amongst a thousand of their ICS Cadres, who opted to stay in Pakistan. During the early organization of the State of Pakistan, this elite segment of the Civil Service was renamed the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP). They continued to work in the footsteps of the Indian Civil Service formed during the colonial time. CSP members constituted the apex of the Pakistan Civil Service hierarchy. An elite group of approximately 500 CSP thus emerged as holders of nearly all of the most powerful and key positions in the state bureaucracy of Pakistan. In addition, by 1970, there were about 2500 other senior officers in the central and provincial government and adminstrative agencies. Altogether, there were more than 500,000 civil servants employed by CSP, by the early 1970s, in different categories, from the Secretary in the Ministry to the peons and manual workers in the offices. The overall size of the civil service, thus, grew rapidly and began to represent an important element in the state structure of Pakistan.[10]

The power of the top bureaucrats lies in the authority bestowed upon them by the government organisation. They are sometimes accused of suppressing official reports of the parliament, especially those which may show them in an adverse position. The bureaucratic power is heavily concentrated in the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP). Entry into the service is by competitive examination at an early

age of 24 or 25 years. Selection into the CSP is followed by rigorous training in matters of state administration before actual assignments to particular positions in the state bureauracy are made. Thus, the members of the CSP, by the end of this training develop a strong identity and esprit de Corps and an elite consciousness.

The CSP occupy most of the politically strategic positions in the central and provincial ministries, though there are now a substantial number of non-CSP-personnel in senior positions, who do good work in the Planning Commission of Pakistan. These civil servants may not earn high incomes but they are provided with lavish official housing at subsidized rates and all of them at the senior levels have many other privileges such as: a) subsidised household amenities, b) free medical services, c) free travel and vacation benefits, as well as, d) generous, pensions, etc. For the exclusive use of those occupying the top echelons, there are official cars, guest houses, etc. They also have job security and their employment is on permanent, pensionable terms. Promotion is usually by seniority and pension-retirement age is at the early age of fifty-five.

Some structural changes were introduced at the time of Independence in defining the power of the civil bureaucrats in Pakistan. For example, a unique post of Secretary General was created, an overlord position of the bureaucracy who was to have direct authority over every

Secretary of all ministries, independent of the cabinet. Bhutto introduced measures to break the stranglehold of this structure, including the abolition of the CSP cadre, as a special and significant stratum in the civil service. Members of all the cadre, were merged into the All Pakistan Unified Grade structure.[11] There was to be free movement of personnel within the unified bureaucracy, thus eliminating the exclusiveness of the CSP and its privileged claims to high posts in the government. However, this reorganization brought further division in the large body of civil servants, who were now divided into 13 groups. There was to be horizontal movement of officers between two or more groups. A further change was introduced, in 1973, in the form of 'lateral entry', which for the first time allowed for direct recruitment of persons from other professions or private sectors, to secure a position in the administration. These changes had one important, unintended consequence. Following the army coup in 1977, the military regime of Zia ul Huq found it convenient to use these changes to absorb the military personnel into the various positions of the civil bureaucracy. This not only changed the social composition of the state bureaucracy but, in particular, made possible its direct subordination and control by the Pakistani armed forces.[12]

3.3.2 The Military Bureaucrats

The power of the civil bureaucrats was thus superseded by military rule. This state power has been

described by one of the Pakistani scholars as belonging to the military bureaucrats. The Pakistani army itself was a part of the colonial legacy. At the time of Independence, Pakistan inherited armed forces of about 120,000 with an officer corps of about 1000. Only one hundred of the latter group held ranks of captain and above. By 1971, the number of the armed forces had risen to 300,000.[13]

The commanding ranks in the army were mostly held by British officers during colonial rule. The need to recruit natives to the officers' rank was acutely felt especially during the Second World War. These recruits were mostly from the elite groups in the colonial society, who were trained, groomed, and educated in Sandhurst-type academics, established in the subcontinent and in England. In post-colonial Pakistan, the source of inspiration, training and material help simply shifted from England to the USA. The collapse of parliamentary democracy also provided the military with the opportunity to bring the country under its rule. The civilian elite had no difficulty in forming a close alliance with the military rulers in pursuit of their mutual class interests.

The military has been a privileged group from colonial times. The social life of the officers was a privileged one. The salaries of the officers are as high as other staff on the civil service scale. Besides the high salaries, this staff has special commissaries, where they can buy household supplies cheaply. New houses for officers

are often luxury dwellings and the military have their own schools, sewerages, hospitals and dairies, which are generally at higher standards than those available for civilians. Furthermore, most of the military staff live in special cantonment areas, which were created by the British, in selected residential areas.

Hamza Alavi has shown the dominance of military supremacy in Pakistan whereby the military has established power in all sectors of life:

> ...They have made major inroads into the bastions of the bureaucracy. In early 1981, for example, seven Ministers were retired Generals, and there were four retired Generals who held posts of Secretaries of the Central Government, in charge of Ministries. Ex-army officers have been appointed to numerous posts at lower echelons of the government too, the most critically placed of them being Joint Secretaries in charge of the establishment in virtually all Ministries, with control over appointments and transfers. These powers are used to give preferential treatment in those matters to ex-army or army-related personnel. In fact, these ministerial jobs are not the most preferred jobs. Rather than the posts of Secretaries to the Central Government, most retired Major Generals seem to prefer appointments as heads of state corporations, of which there are very many; these are more lucrative appointments with much greater scope for patronage and nepotism...(Alavi,1983:67).

Appendix I, reflects the positions these retired and senior army officers have occupied in various industrial and business organisations of the country.[14]

3.3.3 The Professionals and Petty Bourgeoisie

The professional class came into existence at the time of partition when the Hindus and British left the country and their numbers have grown faster since

Independence. There are several other groups who together with the professionals make up the present intermediary class, or so called 'middle class', in Pakistan.

Professionals such as doctors, engineers, teachers, college/university professors and mid-level civil servants constitute this class. Hamza Alavi has used the term 'petty bourgeois' for them. The biggest group among this category is that of teachers who numbered 350,000 in 1971. However, the teachers' status is considered lower than that of other professionals. There were 16,000 doctors in 1971, practising in Pakistan as compared to 6,000 at the time of Independence. [15] The professionals mostly work in urban areas and have gained prominence in the last decade. Presently, Pakistan has 10,000 unemployed doctors.[16] Engineers and lawyers form another large group of professionals who enjoy a similar status but one a little lower than that of doctors. Recently, the professionals with MBA's have entered into management and administrative services. All the professionals are products of higher educational institutions that have been promoted in the country. They earn relatively more than the middle-level civil servants and industrial workers.

Many professionals have emigrated to the western industrialised countries as a result of conflict between themselves and the political rulers. This professional group has raised concerns about the class structure and between their own group and the elite groups. Their main grievances

have been directed at political and economic issues and their concern is with the usurpation of positions by the military rulers and the elite civil bureaucrats. The malpractice, corruption, and abuse of power by the above mentioned groups, are resented by them. Moreover, the levels of earning and the participation provided to this group has been minimized by the personnel of the military regime who rule by cannons or guns.

3.3.4 National Bourgeoisie

In Pakistan, the national bourgeoisie are relatively inexperienced and came into existence at the time of Independence. In comparision to the landlord class, the indigenous bourgeoisie have always been weak, both politically and economically. In the pre-independence period trade and commerce were in the hands of Hindus or other non-Moslem groups, who fled the country at the time of partition. Their places were taken by Moslem businessmen who came from India, Burma and East Africa. A substantial number of them were Gujarati-speaking whose links with the Urdu-speaking political, bureaucratic and military elites and functionaries were essentially one of the cash nexus, through bribery.[17] Another section of the local bourgeoisie which was less developed and politically not strong enough to form its own party, consists of Punjabi and Urdu-speaking businessmen from northern Pakistan. Their close ethnical/cultural links with the landowners and their

position in the bureaucracy gave them a higher status in the society than that of the Gujarati-speaking bourgeoisie.

In the post colonial period, Pakistan encouraged industrial development and the bourgeoisie were given massive support, both financially and institutionally. The initiatives and the choices in the establishment of industrial/business enterprises for amassing industrial capital came from the state rather than from the bourgeoisie. The feudal ruling class lost no time in searching for ways and means to turn the indigenous merchant capital into industrial capital.

These national bourgeoisie have been tied to both American and British financial capital. While the near-monopoly positions of the big businessmen enabled them to obtain well over 100 percent profit, their links to, and dependence on, relations to foreign capital was an essential prerequsite for economic growth. The total capital inputs and dependence have been increasing and more than 30 percent of the development expenditure is entirely dependent on foreign aid.[18]

While there has been undoubtedly an increase in the rate of industrialisation, this has not resulted in an increase in the standard of living for 90 percent of the population in Pakistan. The industrialisation has been supervised by the agencies giving the foreign aid and has been accompanied by tax exemptions, tariff protections and export bonus schemes. The Pakistani capitalists, have in

addition, enjoyed the right to charge the highest possible prices for the goods sold in the domestic market.

Between the years 1950 and 1966, production in the modern industrial sector had increased by 15 percent a year. However, the concentration of ownership of these industries was confined to a very few families. In 1968, the chief economist of the Planning Commission revealed that "the top twenty industrial families control about 66 percent of the total industrial assets, about 79 percent of the insurance funds and about 80 percent of the total assets of the banking system".[19]

3.3.5 The Urban Proletariat

This group is comprised of all the wage labourers in the major urban centers of the country. Relatively, their numbers and proportion in the urban labour force, compared to western industrialised nations, is small. The working class in Pakistan, as in most other peripheral countries, is not well organised and has weak trade unions which are mostly manipulated in the interests of the national bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats. This has resulted in underemployment and low wages for most of these labouring classes. This class is mostly concentrated in manufacturing industries, mining, communication and transportation. The city with the largest concentration of this class is the former capital Karachi, though the cities of Lahore and Lyallpur are also developing quickly, and therefore are

experiencing rapid growth in the size of the working class. The wage earners in Pakistan, are more advantaged economically, compared with the peasants in the rural areas, because they have fixed incomes in the form of monthly wages.

The industrial working class which was extremely small at the time of Independence has grown in size. In 1950, there were only 1.6 million workers (6 percent of the labour force). But by 1971, there were 4.5 million workers in industry and construction which formed about 11 percent of the labour force. By 1979, the percentage of the labour force employed in the industrial sector was 20.[20] They had developed a certain degree of militancy and organisation which initiated massive upheavals against Ayub's regime in the year 1969. But trade unions in Pakistan continue to be weak and have been weakened further against the background of the decline of the Pakistani industries in the early seventies. Presently, they suffer repression under the military regime.

The working class is also divided along ethnic lines. In the first phase of industrialisation of Pakistan which was concentrated in Karachi, Urdu speaking "refugees" from India provided most of the new recruits. In the course of the later expansion, which also spread to other cities, most of the new recruits were drawn from the impoverished agrarian regions of north west Punjab and especially from the North West Frontier Province. The ethnic differences

between these groups have been exploited by the employers and by the Jamat-ul Islam, the extreme right wing political party which has been receiving active support from USA agencies, Pakistani landlords and certain sections of the bourgeoisie.

3.3.6 Conclusion

The class structure in Pakistan has grown into a complex pattern since Independence. In the rural areas, the Pakistani landlords were the dominant group who exploited the majority of the people who worked for them. The Muslim League which led the movement for the creation of Pakistan was dominated by the feudal class. The landlords continued to have dominant status even after Independence by collaborating with the political and military regimes. When capitalist farming was introduced in the sixties, it further reinforced the existing agrarian class structure and the power of the big landowners. The landless peasants remained at the lowest rung of the ladder in the rural societies. The mechanisation and capitalisation of agriculture promoted the interests of the capitalist farmers and increased the number of landlless peasants who were living below the poverty line.

The urban class structure had grown into a complex pattern during post-independence Pakistan. The civil bureaucrats who had inherited power and authority from the Colonial government continued to exert this authority and

dominance in the next two decades after Independence. Bhutto had introduced reforms intended to put some limits around the enormous power of the civil bureaucratic elite but with minimum effect. The reimposition of the military rule in the 1970s, perhaps did more to undermine the position of the CSP Cadres in the Civil Service of Pakistan. The power of the state bureaucracy, per se, was not diminished. It simply changed hands. The power previously enjoyed by the CSP has since shifted to persons with military background and connections.

One of the greatest changes in the urban class structure over the past three decades has been the emergence of the national bourgeoisie. The so called 'twenty two' families announced by the then Planning Minister, Dr. M. Huq in 1968, tend to keep a low political profile. However, their economic wealth has provided them with substantial power and their inter-marriages with landlords, military and civil service families has solidified their position in Pakistani society.

Another great change in the urban class structure over the past 25 years has been the emergence of the so called 'middle class'. The constant high rate of economic growth, i.e. 6 percent per annum, and the overseas workers' migration, whose remittances run over three billion dollars annually, have brought a boost to the economic life of the society. These have led to expansion of the size of the middle class in Pakistan, especially in urban areas.[21]

There has been, for instance, considerable expansion in the industrial and the government workers' groups. These changes both in the rural areas and urban areas, have produced in Pakistan more than ever, a "dual economy" and a corresponding social structure both of which are likely to determine, in important ways, the trend of future growth and development in Pakistan.

3.4 The "Dual Economy" and Education in Pakistan

In the dual economic system in Pakistan, where the interests of different groups are conflicting with each other in order to control the labour market, the educational system serves the interest of the capitalist class in providing, in terms of supply and demand of skilled and unskilled labour. To understand the dynamics of the dual economic system, it is essential to analyse and examine the dual economy and the major components underlying it. In the section that follows, a brief discussion of the dual economy that operates in Pakistan, will be presented and its relation to creating and sustaining the dual educational system will be considered.

3.5 The "Dual Economy" in Pakistan

Pakistan has been categorised as a peripheral capitalist society whose economic system is integrated with the world capitalistic system. It is dependent on the rich industrialised nations, that provide foreign economic aid to

support many national projects, thereby increasing the dependency of Pakistan.

The capitalist development in Pakistan has a dual character. The economy is comprised of: a) a modern or capitalistic sector, and (b) a traditional or subsistence sector. These two sectors are interrelated. The modern sector is in a better economic position than the traditional sector. Inequality of income distribution is a prominent feature among the different classes in these two sectors. The capitalists and the landlords form the prosperous groups, whereas the urban proletariat and the landless labourers form the disadvantaged groups.

At the time of Independence, Pakistan's modern sector was minimally developed. Hamza Alavi has vividly described the economic position of Pakistan at this time:

> ...at the time of independence in 1947, industrial capital was little developed in the territory that constitutes Pakistan today. There were only a handful of industrial undertakings of any significant size, such as the Dalmia Cement Factory at Karachi, Sir Sri Ram's Cotton Mills in Lyallpur (now Faisalabad) and the Premier Sugar Mills in Mardan. These were in the hands of Hindu owners who were driven out of the country at the time of Partition. Nor was there foreign capital invested in industry in the region. It too, like indigenous capital, was primarily engaged in trade, shipping and finance, with small mining interests. The largest enterprise at the time was the Moghalpura Railway Workshop in Lahore, which was in the public sector.
>
> The class that controlled the largest sector of Pakistan's economy was that of the landlords who, at Partition also took over the places left vacant by the exodus of Hindu traders in the local markets for produce (mandis) in district and sub-district towns. In due course they also expanded their interests in agro-based industries, such as cotton ginning, flour milling and rice husking as well as transport. They

> dominated the rural economy. Later some big landowners were to diversify their interests by entering the field of large scale industry (Alavi,1983:44).

However, the state policy at the time of Independence and thereafter, during Ayub's regime (1958-68), was in favour of fostering industrial development in Pakistan. The national bourgeoisie was given financial support and aid to promote industrial growth. This group obtained benefits from the opportunities provided to them and in the process accumulated large surpluses within a minimum period of time. The capitalists also were able to maintain dominant positions in the modern sector of the economy as a result of the support provided by the state.

During the first decade after Independence, a slow growth rate in industrial development was experienced in Pakistan. But in the 'Decade of Development', that is from 1959-68, a rapid growth in the industrial sector was witnessed. This rapid growth in the industrial sector promoted further inequality in the income distribution amongst: a) the two regions of Pakistan, b) the rural and urban economies, and c) the different groups--such as capitalists, landlords, the urban proletariat and the landless workers. Again, the rapid growth achieved in the manufacturing sector also affected the contributions of the industrial and the agricultural output to the Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P) of the country. However, the structure of employment in the agricultural sector did not experience significant changes. For instance:

> ...In 1949 agriculture accounted for nearly 60 per cent of G.D.P.; today it accounts for slightly more than 45 per cent. Industrial output has doubled its share and now accounts for about a quarter of G.D.P. We have less satisfactory data on the composition of employment, but it is clear from a comparison of the 1951 and 1961 censuses that the change in the structure of employment has not been as dramatic as the change in the pattern of production. Between the two census years the percentage of the labour force employment in agriculture declined only fractionally, viz., from 76.5 to 74.3...(Griffin and Khan, 1972:2-3).

Table 3.2 indicates the composition of output in these sectors, namely agriculture and industry, both in Pakistan as a whole and the two regions of Pakistan during the period 1949 to 1970. Table 3.3 indicates the composition of employment in Pakistan and the two regions of Pakistan in the years 1949-1970. The percentage of the labour force increased during this period in the industrial and the service sectors, whereas, it declined in the agricultural sector. The higher growth indicated in the industrial and service sectors, was mostly concentrated in the urban areas. Griffin and Khan have reported the changes in the labour force as follows:

> ...Between the census years the percentage of the labour force employed in agriculture increased from 84.7 to 85.3 in the East and decreased from 65.3 to 59.3 in the West. Correspondingly, the proportion of the labour force employed in industry declined by 0.6 points in East Pakistan (to 6 per cent) and rose by 8.6 points in West Pakistan (to 20.2 per cent). ...In 1949-50 per capita income in West Pakistan was 17 per cent higher than that in the East. This difference increased to 32 per cent by 1959-60 and to 60 per cent by 1969-70...(Griffin and Khan, 1972:3).

Asbjorn Bergan has conducted extensive surveys on personal income distribution in Pakistan in the years

TABLE 3.2

COMPOSITION OF OUTPUT IN PAKISTAN AND ITS TWO REGIONS

	1949-50	1959-60	1969-70
Pakistan			
Agriculture	59.9	53.2	45.3
Industry	12.0	17.5	24.0
Services	28.1	29.3	30.7
East Pakistan			
Agriculture	65.2	63.5	55.7
Industry	9.4	13.7	20.2
Services	25.4	22.8	24.1
West Pakistan			
Agriculture	54.5	49.1	41.6
Industry	14.7	20.7	28.3
Services	30.8	30.2	30.1

Note: 1. Industry consists of manufacturing, mining, construction and transport. 2. Estimates of regional products which form the basis of these shares do not add up to national product because some small transport and services items of national product are not distributed between the regions.
Source: For 1949-50, Khan and Bergan, 'Measurement of structural Change in the Pakistan Economy', THE PAKISTAN DEVELOPMENT REVIEW, summer 1966. For 1959-60, C.S.O., FINAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL INCOME COMMISSION, Karachi, 1966. For 1969-70, C.S.O., DRAFT MINUTES OF THE FIFTH MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE, mimeographed, Karachi, 1970.

(Source: Griffin, K. and Khan, A. (eds.), Growth and Inequality in Pakistan, (London, Macmillan, 1972). p.4.

TABLE 3.3

COMPOSITION OF EMPLOYMENT IN PAKISTAN AND ITS TWO REGIONS.

	1951	1961	1966-7
Pakistan			
Agriculture	76.5	74.3	67.1
Industry	8.7	12.0	16.5
Services	14.8	13.7	16.4
East Pakistan			
Agriculture	84.7	85.3	77.8
Industry	6.6	6.0	9.6
Services	8.7	8.7	12.6
West Pakistan			
Agriculture	65.3	59.3	53.4
Industry	11.6	20.2	25.4
Services	23.1	20.5	21.2

Source: 1951 and 1961 estimates are based on Population Censuses of the respective years. 1966-7 estimates from C.S.O., SUMMARY REPORT OF POPULATION AND LABOUR FORCE IN PAKISTAN (Labour Force Sample Survey).

Source: Griffin, K. and Khan, A. (eds.) Growth and Inequality in Pakistan (London, Macmillan, 1972). p.4.

1963-64. As a result of this research he was able to conclude the following:

a) Urban personal income in Pakistan counts for less than one-fifth of the national total. In East Pakistan, the urban share comes to only one-twelfth compared to one-third in West Pakistan.
b) The overall disparity between the provincial per capita income is much higher than any of the partial disparities shown in Table 3.4(a). There is negligible disparity between urban East and urban West Pakistan.
c) In the years 1963-64, the author has assumed that if a household income of Rs.100 per month would represent the lower limit for subsistence, the figures in the Table 3.4(b) tell that more than one-third of all households are below the subsistence level. The ratio is two-fifths in East Pakistan and one-fourth in West Pakistan. It is substantially lower in the urban areas than in the rural areas. In the top income brackets, it has been indicated that only 0.6 percent of the households with monthly incomes of Rs. 900 and above, were listed. It was 0.4 percent for East Pakistan and 0.9 percent for West Pakistan.[22]

From the above research by Bergan, it can be inferred that the personal income of the majority of the population in both regions of Pakistan in the years 1963-64 was below Rs.150 per month, whereas, less than one percent of the population earned an income of Rs. 900 or above per month. Furthermore, the disparity in the household incomes between the two regions of Pakistan and the urban-rural sectors indicated in Table 3.4(b) has been increasing, regardless, of the rapid growth in the economy of Pakistan.

Towards the end of the 1960s, Pakistan had experienced fairly rapid growth in both sectors of the economy, in spite of regional differences. However, the wealth was not distributed equally amongst the different groups in the country. In the urban areas the indigenous

TABLE 3.4 a

AVERAGE PERSONAL INCOME PER CAPITA 1963/4*

	East Pakistan	West Pakistan	All Pakistan
	(Ruppees per year)		
Rural	305	373	333
Urban	509	515	513
Combined	316	406	357

*Differences between the areas with regard to persons per household are taken care of in the computations. On the average a household stands for 5.5 persons in the rural areas of both provinces, and for 5.7 in East urban and 5.9 in West urban

	Rural areas	Urban areas	Combined rural & urban	G.N.P. per Capita 1963/4*
East Pakistan as Percentage of West Pakistan	82%	99%	78%	78%

* At 1959/60 factor cost

(Source: Griffin and Khan, (eds.) Growth and Inequality in Pakistan , London, Macmillan, 1972. pp.210-211).

TABLE 3.4 b

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY INCOME GROUP

Monthly income per household	Cumulated percentage of total number of households 1963/4					
	East Pakistan			West Pakistan		
Rs.	Rural	Urban	Combined	Rural	Urban	Combined
up to 50	9.0	5.0	8.8	5.4	1.7	4.6
up to 100	42.8	28.3	41.5	28.5	15.7	25.7
up to 150	66.7	52.6	66.0	54.0	38.4	50.5
up to 200	82.2	65.3	81.3	71.8	57.4	68.5
up to 250	90.0	73.7	89.1	82.3	69.7	79.4
up to 300	94.2	80.8	93.5	89.3	78.4	86.5
up to 400	97.2	85.7	96.6	95.2	87.0	93.6
up to 500	98.6	90.2	98.2	97.1	91.7	96.0
up to 700	99.5	94.7	99.2	99.1	95.5	98.4
up to 900	99.8	96.7	99.6	99.6	97.3	99.1
up to inf.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Adapted from: Griffin and Khan (eds.) Growth and Inequality in Pakistan, London, Macmillan, 1972. p.213.

bourgeoisie had accumulated great profits and amassed wealth from industrial production. The state had served the interests of this class by providing concessionary measures such as: a) availability of foreign exchange, b) tax exemptions or tax holidays for certain periods, c) long term loans with low interest rates, and d) maintenance of control on the importation of consumer goods. Besides, the wages of the workers were depreciated because of inflation.[23] The income disparity between the capitalist class and the working classes was increasing and the economic conditions of wage workers had worsened.

In the rural areas, the landlords and the rich farmers have benefitted greatly from the growth of agricultural production. They prospered as a result of high support prices for their crops and other forms of subsidies which they obtained from the state for their agricultural output. The mechanisation and the modernisation of farming also increased the incomes of the landlords and the wealthy farmers. Meanwhile, the economic conditions of the landless labourers was deteriorating, and many of them who were surviving on meagre incomes, were reduced to pauperization. The mechanisation of the farms displaced some of the poor peasants from their small pieces of land which they owned and they too joined the landless labouring group.

Furthermore, the disparity of income between the urban wage earners and the landless labourers was also increasing, though both of these groups were among the poor

but the rural labourers were considered to be the "poorest of the poor". In addition to this, the regional and group disparities in income distribution had become the basis for a mass political movement in Pakistan, in the year 1969-70, that split the country and, as a consequence, the military government was overthrown. The eastern region became an independent country known as Bangladesh. The shift from military power to civilian rule affected the structure of economic activities. In 1970, Bhutto was elected as the new president of Pakistan. He had obtained support from groups such as: a) urban labourers, b) petty bureaucrats, c) professionals, d) small shopkeepers, e) small farmers and f) the landless labourers. He disallowed the concentrated power of the military officers, industrialists and chief civil servants. He introduced reforms whereby the urban wage workers were provided with better wages and working conditions. He nationalised key industries, banks, insurance companies and educational institutions, but during his regime (i.e. 1971-77), the economic conditions did not reflect the same high rate of growth as was experienced in the previous period. However, Bhutto's government was overthrown by yet another military coup, in 1977.

Military rule was established, once again, under the Martial Law Administration headed by General Zia ul Huq. During his regime, capitalistic activities were restored. A gradual process of denationalisation was undertaken. The state policy favoured and encouraged private investment once

again, and economic growth has shown signs of improvement. By the year 1982-83, Pakistan's GDP advanced by 6 percent in real terms. Agricultural growth was up by 4.8 percent and the industrial output rose 8.3 percent. During this time inflation was between 3 to 5 percent.[24]

However, this rapid growth in agriculture and industry did not reduce the inequality in income between the rich capitalist cum landlords and the poor masses, that is urban wage earners and landless labourers. The disparity in income between the provinces in Pakistan was increasing. Baluchistan's economic growth was increasing at a slower pace compared to that of other provinces, especially Punjab. In such a situation: a) What is the role of education in providing equitable social and economic growth in Pakistan? b) What is the contribution of educational policy in Pakistan, in reducing the inequality, resulting from the economic growth?

3.6 Conclusion

The major feature of the dual economy in Pakistan has shown unequal distribution of income among different groups that is between the capitalist and the wage workers and between the urban proletariat and the peasant workers. The capitalist and the landlords dominate the economy of Pakistan and because of their dominant positions they have manipulated the development of education to their advantage. The inequality of income has an important bearing on educational distribution in the country. The economically

advantaged group is in a better position to provide higher education that ensures high income occupations.

The unequal income distribution also effects the inequality in educational distribution. The children in the rural areas and the poor families in urban areas are required to work in order to supplement meagre family incomes. Hence, these children initially enroled in primary schools, are seldom able to proceed beyond the first few years of schooling. The discontinuation of schooling by these children cannot be attributed to their lack of cognitive abilities but due to their disadvantaged financial circumstances. When children from poor families complete primary education, the chances of obtaining jobs are negligible. Furthermore, in Pakistan the number of educated unemployed is increasing. The chances of becoming educated in the disadvantaged groups are much lower because of competition. Children from high income families not only are able to continue with higher education but due to influence and contacts of the family, stand better chances in obtaining high income occupations.

Todaro had vividly discussed the relationship between the income inequality and educational disparities in Third World countries in the following words:

> It follows that in the Third World countries characterized by highly unequal distributions of personal income, sizable secondary school fees, and subsidized higher education, the educational system, especially at the secondary and higher levels, probably operates to increase inequality and perpetuate poverty. It should be stressed, however,

> that this outcome is not inherently the result of the educational system per se but the institutional and social structure within which that system must function. Specifically, as long as wage differentials between different workers of educational attainments are kept artificially wide in spite of rising levels of unemployment, as long as access to jobs is based almost exclusively on educational credentials irrespective of the relationship between years of schooling and job performance, and as long as a family's income serves as the basic criterion of who is able to proceed up the educational ladder to highly paid jobs, then publicly supported educational systems will merely serve to reproduce the inegalitarian social and economic structure that, at least in theory, they were devised to combat. Equality of educational opportunity can have little meaning if financial assets and income earning opportunities are very unequally distributed (Todaro, 1981:314).

Pakistan falls under similar conditions as discussed by Todaro in the above quotation. The inequality in educational distribution has been caused by income disparities within the country. The privileged classes, through continuation of a dual system of education are able to provide a high quality education for their children in elite private schools, whereas, the children of the masses attend the state supported schools that provide low quality education. Besides, the low income earning families find it difficult to keep their children in school for a long period, whereas, children of the well-to-do continue with schooling and move on to attain university education. The inequalities in education are important features of the educational system in Pakistan. In the following chapter, an analysis of the educational growth and patterns reflecting educational inequality will be attempted.

NOTES

1. Maddison, A. Class Structure and Economic Growth: India and Pakistan Since the Moghuls, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1971), p. 73.

2. La Porte, R. (Jr.) "Urban Groups and the Zia Regime" in Baxter, C. (ed.) Zia's Pakistan: Politics and Stability in a Frontline State (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press Inc., 1985). p. 8.

3. Ibid., p.9.

4. Ibid., p.10.

5. Tariq Ali, "Class Struggle in Pakistan". in New Left Review, Vol. 63, No. 4, Sept. 1970, p. 46.

6. Ahmad, S., "Peasant Classes in Pakistan" in Gough, K. and Sharma, H. P., (eds.) Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1973). p. 213.

7. Maddison, A. op.cit., p. 151.

8. Naseem, S. M. "Rural Poverty and Landlessness in Pakistan", in ILO's Poverty and Landlessness in Rural Asia, (Geneva: ILO, 1977), p. 49.

9. Ibid., p. 56.

10. Maddison, A. op. cit., p. 143.

11. All Pakistan Unified Grade was introduced by Bhutto's Government. In this new grade structure, all officers were allocated an appropriate grade within the overall grade structure. Flexibility was allowed in the free movement of personnel within the unified bureaucracy. Hence, it eliminated the exclusiveness of the CSP and its privileged class to the high posts in the Government. See Hamza Alavi, "Class and State", in Gardezi, H. and Rashid, J. (eds.), Pakistan: The Roots of Dictatorship--The Political Economy of a Praetorian State, (London: Zed Press, 1983), pp. 75-76.

12. Hamza Alavi, op. cit. p.67.

13. Maddison, A. op. cit., p. 145.

14. Kamal, K. L. "The Non Military Activities of the Pakistan Military", in South Asian Studies, Vol. 17, No. 1, January-June, 1982, pp. 28-29.

15. Maddison, A. op. cit., p. 147.

16. Manuel, Lawrence (Bro.), Education in Pakistan, Unpublished paper, Lahore, Office of Education, FABC., 1985. p.9.

17. Amjad, R. "Industrial Concentration and Economic Power" in Gardezi, H. and Rashid, J. (eds.) op. cit., pp. 228-266.

18. Hamza Alavi, "Class and State" in Gardezi H. and Rashid J. (eds.) op. cit., p.56.

19. Mahbub ul Huq, " A Critical Review of the Third Five-Year Plan" in Khan M.A. (ed.) Management and National Growth, (Karachi, West Pakistan: Management Association, 1968), p 27.
Discussion concerning the 'twenty two families' owes its popularity to a speech made by Mahbub ul Huq, the then Chief Economist of the Planning Commission, at a meeting in Karachi in April, 1968.

20. Maddison, A. op. cit., pp.158-159.

21. Tsakok, Isabelle, "The Export of Manpower from Pakistan to the Middle East, 1975-85" in Burki, S. J. and Laporte R. (Jr.) (eds.) Pakistan's Development Priorites (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp.225-227.

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CHAPTER IV

4. PATTERNS OF EDUCATIONAL GROWTH AND CLASS REPRODUCTION IN PAKISTAN

Pakistan needed to reorganise its inherited educational system in order to achieve the educational growth and expansion needed in the country. The political and economic changes that were introduced in British India during colonial rule, resulted in some important changes in the social structure of the society. Colonial rule created an educated class, which occupied junior positions in the public service during that time. Most of the staff in the civil service, including all the professionals, were educated under colonial rule and the majority of them were from high status family backgrounds. However, they were a miniscule minority, while the great majority of the masses were uneducated or had little education. Pakistan was faced with a major task of raising the educational level of the masses by promoting and expanding its educational facilities.

During the post-colonial period, attempts were made to introduce educational changes to meet the ideals proposed by the new nations, namely India and Pakistan. But it was difficult to change the educational structure that had developed during the colonial period. The educational

system continued to serve the interests of the minority, that is, the privileged sections of the population. During the first three Five-Year Plans (i.e. from 1955 to 1970), the educational expansion was geared more towards secondary and higher education than primary education. Abdur Rauf has commented:

> The educational policies pursued in the first three Five-Year Plans show a continuation of the elitist bias and a selective approach to the expansion of various levels of education. The selective approach was based on the view that the economy should evolve in a particular way, and that the task of the educational system was to supply trained personnel to fill the jobs opened up by the expansion.[1]

The funds allocated for secondary and post secondary education were higher than that to primary education. For instance, in the first Five-Year Plan (1955-60) over 60 percent of funds was spent on college/university and secondary education.[2] The expansion of primary education was not given priority and hence the masses remained uneducated and illiterate. The disparities in education along male/female, urban/rural and provincial lines had continued to increase. Children of the privileged group in the society were provided education in the elite private schools which prepared them for admission to prestigious universities.

In spite of his radical attempts to introduce egalitarian educational reforms in the year 1972, Prime Minister Bhutto did not succeed in eliminating the elitist aspects of the educational system in Pakistan. The educated elite continued to maintain and reinforce their elite

western oriented educational institutions and established a close alliance with the dominant political groups. The gap between the privileged classes and the masses deepened further and the educational disparity widened. The privileged classes not only were able to preserve for the exclusive use of their children the high quality private schools that were already in existence but also were able to expand their numbers significantly, vis-a-vis the non-elite component of the educational system in Pakistan.

4.1 Educational Structure and System in Pakistan

At the time of Independence, Pakistan had inherited the colonial educational structure which was comprised of three tiers of education, namely--primary, secondary and higher or tertiary education. Pre-primary education was not and has not been incorporated in the state educational program but is managed usually by private organisations. The above educational pattern has persisted in Pakistan until today.

Primary education consists of five years of schooling, i.e. Classes I to V. Children are admitted at the age of five plus. It caters to the age group of 5-9 years.[3] The transition from primary to secondary school is not necessarily automatic. In state owned schools, a centrally set departmental examination is conducted but the private schools are excluded from this examination. Most of the children in private schools continue with their secondary education in the same schools. The students are

promoted to the secondary section on the basis of their performance in either departmental examinations or the annual school examinations. Primary education is free in all state owned schools but the private schools charge fees. Elite schools in general control admission on the basis of academic ability of the children in this age group. (Some knowledge of the English alphabet, plus vocabulary are necessary for those seeking admission to Class I).

Secondary education is composed of two stages. The first stage has three years of middle school, i.e. Class VI to Class VIII and the second stage of two years of High school--Classes IX and X. Secondary school caters to the children of the age group 10-14 years. On completion of Class X, students are required to sit for the Secondary School Certificate Examination (commonly known as Matric.), conducted by the local Board of Secondary Education. However, there are also a few schools in the country, that cater to candidates who sit for overseas' examinations which are conducted by Cambridge or London Examination Boards.

Tertiary education is offered in colleges and universities. Admission to colleges and technical educational institutions is based on performance in the secondary school examinations and on the results of intermediate college education examinations for university entrance. Admission to the professional colleges such as Medical, Engineering and Business Administration, is highly competitive and is based on academic performance and

ability. The majority of these colleges were privately owned until they were nationalised in 1972. Presently, all of these colleges are state controlled and receive 70 percent subsidy for their budget from the government.[4] Tuition and sundry other fees are charged to raise the remaining 30 percent of their revenue. Figure II shows the educational stages in Pakistan.

At Independence, the educational enrolment in schools and colleges in Pakistan was very low. In the year 1948-49, Pakistan had less than 30 percent of the children in the age group 5-9 years, enroled at the primary level of education.[5] The enrolment level in the secondary schools was much lower compared to that at the primary level. Less than 10 percent of the students in the age group of 10-14 years were enroled in secondary education in Pakistan.[6] Table 4.1 shows the enrolment figures of the students at different levels of education and the changes in the educational enrolment in Pakistan for the years 1948-49 to 1954-55. Adam Curle, referring to these changes has remarked:

> ...During the first few years of Pakistan's existence there was a certain amount of educational expansion, exemplified by the fact that public expenditure for the year 1954-55 was two and half times as high as for 1948-49. The enrollment in primary school increased by about 25 percent, but the number of teachers more than doubled. There was a comparable expansion of secondary education, while at the higher level three new universities were established in addition to the three already in existence. At the same time a very modest start was made with technical education. On the whole, the developments taking place during this period did little more than to keep pace with the expanding population. Save in one or two areas--the training of primary school teachers, for example--little was

FIGURE II: Educational Stages in Pakistan

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The Table is from: Curle, A. Planning for Education in Pakistan, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1966. p.59.

done to build an educational system which would effectively serve the enormous needs of the country (Curle, 1966:50-51).

TABLE 4.1

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FROM 1948-49 TO 1954-55 IN PAKISTAN

LEVELS OF EDUCATION	1948-49	1954-55
PRIMARY EDUCATION		
Schools	38,122	41,862
Enrolment	3,545,000	4,338,000
Expenditure Rs.	30,600,000	60,000,000
SECONDARY EDUCATION		
Schools	6,275	5,743
Enrolment	734,000	904,000
Expenditure Rs.	12,600,000	26,000,000
TEACHERS' EDUCATION		
Annual output		
Primary	6,145	7,500
Secondary	700	1,000
COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES		
No. of colleges	90	148
No. of universities	3	6
ENROLMENT (EXCLUDING UNIVERSITIES)	36,000	64,000

(Adapted from: Pakistan Planning Commission, First Five-Year Plan 1955-60, Karachi, Government of Pakistan, 1957. p.541).

However, the educational situation remained grossly underdeveloped during the first six years of independence. Pakistan tried to raise the educational standards at the primary level and to eliminate illiteracy among the adult population.

4.2 The Educational Policy in Pakistan

At Independence, certain educational reforms and changes were proposed and introduced. Pakistan had decided on a policy aimed at achieving rapid economic growth and

development.This entailed modernisation, whereby the traditional values, beliefs and attitudes had to be transformed into modern values, attitudes and skills needed in an industrialising society. This was to be achieved through schooling. The changes introduced through education during the colonial period had mainly served the interests of the British Colonial government. Pakistan as a new nation, was determined to: a) foster further changes to improve living conditions, b) to remove ignorance; c) to introduce various economic changes and activities; and d) to promote growth and development in an attempt to eliminate poverty.

The educational goals and development in Pakistan were determined by the type of society that was desired in the country. An all Pakistani Educational Conference was convened in November, 1947 to consider the reorganisation of the educational system, wherein Mohamed Ali Jinnah, proposed these educational goals in the following words:

> "The importance of education and the right type of education, cannot be over-emphasised. Under foreign rule for over a century, sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people and if we are to make a real, speedy and substantial progress we must earnestly tackle this question and bring our educational policy and programme on the lines suited to the genius of the people, consonant with our history and culture and having regard to the modern conditions and the vast developments that have taken place all over the world." "There is no doubt that the future of our State will and must greatly depend on the type of education we give to our children and the way in which we bring them up as future citizens of Pakistan. Education does not merely mean academic education. There is immediate and urgent need for

> giving scientific and technical education to our people in order to build up our future economic life and to see that our people take to science, commerce, trade and, particularly, well-planned industries. We should not forget that we have to compete with the world which is moving very fast in this direction" (First Five Year Plan 1955-60:542).

Three major recommendations resulted from the message that was sent to the above mentioned conference. They were: a) the education system was to be based on Islamic theology, particularly emphasising the qualities of brotherhood, tolerance and justice, b) to introduce free and compulsory primary education for five years and later on increase it to eight years, and c) to re-organise technical education according to the needs of Pakistan.

In the first Constitution of Pakistan that came into force on the 23rd March 1956, the guiding principles of social improvement and economic well-being for the people, as stated in section 28, required the state to attempt to:

a) promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of the people of the Special Areas, the backward classes and the Scheduled Castes;
b) remove illiteracy, and provide free and compulsory primary education within the minimum possible period;
c) make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work, ensuring that children and women are not employed in avocations unsuited to their age and sex, and for maternity benefits for women in employment;
d) enable the people of different areas, through education, training and industrial development, to participate fully in all forms of national activities, including employment in the service of Pakistan.

Hence, development planning was meant to formulate programs and policies designed to consciously direct and

accelerate movement from a technologically backward and feudalistic stage into an era of modernised society, increasingly reliant on a rapidly expanding industrial economy. Economic development was considered an integral part of the general process of social change. The planners signified their intention to influence, regulate and adapt it along the lines as stated in the general objectives for national development as follows:

> ...to develop the resources of the country as rapidly as possible so as to promote the welfare of the people, provide adequate living standards, and social services, secure social justice and equality of opportunity and aim at the widest and most equitable distribution of income and property (FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN--1955-60,1977:1).

4.3 Educational Growth and Development in Pakistan--1947-70 Period

The educational development that followed in the subsequent years failed to achieve the targets and goals as aspired by the educational planners. The educational progress achieved by Pakistan at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels, during the period 1947-70, will be discussed in this section.

4.3.1 The Rate of Growth at the Primary Level.

As discussed earlier, the educational enrolment in primary schools in Pakistan at the time of Independence was very low. Table 4.2 indicates the educational enrolment in the year 1951, in both regions of Pakistan. The male-female enrolment is also shown for these regions. During this year,

less than 30 percent of the children in the total population of the age group 5-9 years were enroled in primary education, whereas, the female students' enrolment was nearly a quarter of the males. If one looks at West Pakistan alone--that is the territory which currently represents Pakistan--the enrolments' level was merely 18 percent. Although, it does show an increase of 8 percentage points by 1961, it remained substantially below the national average.

At the Unesco Conference held in Karachi in 1960, it was resolved by the delegates, who were mostly Ministers of Education from Asian countries; that universal, free, compulsory, seven years of primary education should be provided to children of the age group 6-13 years by 1980.[9] However, Pakistan indicated in its Second Five Year Plan (1960-65) that universal primary education should be achieved by 1975, i.e. five years earlier than Unesco's target plan. Nevertheless, Pakistan failed to achieve universal primary education by 1980, the target year recommended at the Unesco meeting.

By 1970, the enrolment percentage for the age group 5-9, in primary education in Pakistan was less than 50 percent. The author Multi, has shown the actual achievement, in the primary education enrolments, set in various educational plans of the country as indicated in Table 4.3. Pakistan had failed to achieve the target set in these

TABLE 4.2

TOTAL ENROLMENT--PRIMARY SCHOOL STUDENTS--AGE GROUP (5-9) AND GENDER IN PAKISTAN--1951 and 1961.

(PERCENTAGE)

	1951		1961	
	TOTAL ENROLMENT	PERCENTAGE	TOTAL ENROLMENT	PERCENAGE
PAKISTAN				
TOTAL	3,072,074	30	5,036,544	31
MALE	2,501,914	47	3,755,165	45
FEMALE	570,160	11	1,281,379	17
EAST PAKISTAN				
TOTAL	2,292,760	38	3,330,582	35
MALE	1,835,244	59	2,405,194	49
FEMALE	457,516	15	925,388	20
WEST PAKISTAN				
TOTAL	779,314	18	1,705,962	26
MALE	666,670	31	1,349,971	39
FEMALE	112,644	6	355,991	12

Adapted from: 20 Years of Pakistan in Statistics 1947-1967, Karachi, Central Statistical Office, 1968, pp. 170-171).
(Note: Percentages have been calculated on the basis of the total population in the age group 5-9 years for 1951 and 1961. Ibid., p.22.)

plans. Because of the low rate of achievement at the end of the Third Plan (1970), the government of Pakistan was

required to reset the target percentage for the Fourth Plan (1970-75), which had to be lowered by 5 percentage points. The country had experienced a very slow growth rate at this level of education during this period--(1947-70).

TABLE 4.3

PAKISTAN: ENROLMENT RATIOS AT PRIMARY LEVEL

PERIOD	TARGET	ACTUAL ACHIEVEMENT
PLAN II	60% BY 1965	45%
PLAN III	70% BY 1970	46%
PLAN IV	65% BY 1975	48%
EDUCATIONAL POLICY 1972	85% BY 1980	54%(IN 1977-78)

(Adapted from: Multi,1978:23).

The low levels of achievement in the enrolment in Pakistan in primary education during this period has been further aggravated by the high dropout rates. Between the years 1951 and 1961, the percentage of enrolment at this level of education, for the age group, had risen to 32 percent from 29 percent in 1951. Hence, there was a very slow growth rate in primary education. Abdur Rauf has given two reasons for the slow growth rate at this level of education. They are:

a) ...development in Pakistan was always based on concepts and models of economic growth borrowed from industrial capitalist countries. The priority in the development plans was not given to the development of a socially just society as a whole, rather the emphasis was put on the capital-intensive developments, measured in terms of increases in the GNP. The top-heavy educational system fitted very well into the manpower needs of such developments. The masses, in the eyes of the planners, did not have much to contribute to the social construction of their own society, except as an entity to be used and exploited in the capitalist productive system.

b) ...universal education would mean a loss of the cheap child-labour at present available both to agriculturalists and industrialists.[10]

Besides the slow growth rate in the expansion of primary education in Pakistan, a high dropout rate or wastage hindered the progress of educational growth in the country. Approximately, only 20 percent of the children initially enroled in Class I were able to complete 5 years of schooling, in Pakistan. This has been stated by Adam Curle in the following words:

> ...In both India and Pakistan, the greatest rate of dropout is between class I and class II. For every 100 children who enter class I at the age (numerically) of 5 or 6, only about 50 enroll at the beginning of the next academic year. Subsequently, the rate of dropout is less extreme, but on the average only 20 children remain in class V...(Curle,1973:51).

TABLE 4.4

THE PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ENROLMENT (1955-62) BY CLASS AVERAGE--PRIMARY LEVEL--PAKISTAN

CLASS	PERCENT OF ENROLMENT	DROPOUT RATE--%
I	44.6	-
II	20.8	53.4
III	14.4	30.8
IV	11.2	22.2
V	9.0	19.6

(Adapted from: Curle, A.,1973:52).[11]

Table 4.4 indicates that only 50 percent of the children initially enroled in Class I, continued to enrol in Class II, on the average during the period 1955-62. Less than 20 percent of those initially enroled in Class I manage to complete the first five years of schooling. Thus, only one child out of every five enroled, completes primary education.

Two main reasons have been given for this wastage in the early stages of education. The first concerns the economic situation of the parents, and the second, the poor quality combined with the irrelevancy of education for rural children. Adam Curle has observed that:

> ...the two principal causes of wastage through dropout appear to be poverty and the low quality of education. Poverty affects the students at all levels, for although the incentive to remain in education increases as he goes higher, so do the costs. The issue of quality seems to affect students somewhat differently at the junior and the senior levels: At the former because schooling is so unpleasant an experience, at the latter because they fail to pass their various tests and examinations (Ibid, 1973:57).

Mostly children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds leave school at this level, because of the reasons stated above. In traditional Pakistani society, females are not encouraged to acquire education, as they are required to assist with domestic work at home. As a result, they also dropout at the early stages of schooling. In addition, parents in the rural areas do not consider formal schooling necessary for subsistence activities.

These low levels of enrolment in primary education have also affected the literacy rate in Pakistan. In the early years of post-colonial Pakistan, the growth rate in literacy was declining rather than increasing. Mahbub ul Haq reviewing the literacy development in Pakistan remarked:

> ...Pakistan slid back from a literacy level of 18 percent in 1950, which was miserable enough, to a level of 15 percent by 1970, at the same time when China progressed from a similar literacy level to almost universal literacy....not only the level but the content of education was generally wrong, focused as it was on producing a new generation of gentlemen...(Mahbub ul Haq, 1976:23).

The negative growth rate in literacy in Pakistan can be attributed to some of the following factors related to primary education: a) the low levels of enrolment in the primary education together with high dropout rates at this

level of education, and (b) the high growth rate in the population of Pakistan. To this effect, in 1966, Dr. Zaki, a Ministry of Education official, remarked:

> Every year about 3.6 million children in Pakistan are now reaching the age of 5 plus and are ready to enter school. The present school capacity can take in about 2.5 million of them, thus depriving about 30 per cent of children the opportunity of the first entry. It may be of interest to mention here that almost half of those who are fortunate enough to get admission in the First Grade drop out of school by the end of the school year. This appears to give one of the highest drop-out rates in the world (Zaki,1968:43).

The above quotation implies that every year more than 2 million children reaching the age of 5 either do not enter school at all or leave it by the time they turn six. They have no chance to become literate. Furthermore, their numbers add to the already high number of illiterates in the country. As a result, this effects the negative growth in the literacy rate in Pakistan.

Females in Pakistan comprise half the total population. The literacy rate for females was 9.3 per cent in 1961.[12] The low literacy rate amongst the females is detrimental to the social development in Pakistan for it is assumed that literate parents can assist their children by promoting skills and attitudes that facilitate their children to continue schooling.

4.3.2 Secondary Education.

The enrolment in secondary education in Pakistan was very low at the time of partition. In 1951, only 11 percent

of the students in the age group 10-14 years were enroled at this level of education. The percentage of male students enroled at this level was nine times that of female students enroled in the same age group. Furthermore, the disparity in the educational distribution is indicated between the two regions of Pakistan. Table 4.5 shows these differences, indicating a higher enrolment rate for West Pakistan compared to that of East Pakistan. The overall enrolment

TABLE 4.5

TOTAL ENROLMENT--SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS--AGE GROUP (10-14) AND GENDER IN PAKISTAN--1951 AND 1961 (PERCENTAGE)

	1951		1961	
	TOTAL ENROLMENT	PERCENTAGE	TOTAL ENROLMENT	PERCENTAGE
PAKISTAN				
TOTAL	1,140,680	11	1,493,508	17
MALE	1,028,205	18	1,254,445	27
FEMALE	112,475	2	239,063	6
EAST PAKISTAN				
TOTAL	514,512	10	532,902	11
MALE	472,241	16	466,223	18
FEMALE	42,271	2	66,679	3
WEST PAKISTAN				
TOTAL	626,168	12	960,606	25
MALE	555,964	20	788,222	38
FEMALE	70,204	2	172,384	10

(Adapted from: 20 Years of Pakistan in Statistics 1947-1967. Karachi, Central Statistical Office, 1968, pp. 172-173).
(Note: Percentages have been calculated on the basis of the total population in the age group 10-14, in 1951 and 1961. Ibid., p.22.)

percentage at this level of education increased from 11 percent in 1951 to 17 percent in 1961.

The dropout rate in secondary schools in Pakistan is not as high as in primary education, but relatively high, especially in the transition from high school to the intermediate college level. The dropout rate at this level is nearly 50 percent compared to 25 percent between the middle and the high school levels. In other words, less than 50 percent of those who complete Class X education continue with the intermediate level of Class XI education. Table 4.6 presents the percentage of the total secondary enrolment and dropout rates by class/grade levels of education, in 1961-62, in Pakistan.

In the previous section, it was pointed out that the dropout rate was highest amongst three distinct groups: i.e., a) rural children, b) urban poor, and c) females. However, the fortunate few from among these groups who are in school become vulnerable to further dropout at this level of education. One of the main causes of dropout in the enrolment rate has been the low academic performance or poor examination results. Children from low income family backgrounds lack resources that would enable them to compete with children from high income family backgrounds. Under such conditions, there are more chances that among the 50 percent dropout in the high schools, a great majority of children may be from the low income family backgrounds.

In the first few years after partition, the education provided in the secondary schools catered to general education, that is mostly concentrating on arts, humanities

and science subjects. The commission on National Education in Pakistan in 1960, recommended a program for diversifying education at this stage; preparing suitable students for

TABLE 4.6

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SECONDARY ENROLMENT BY CLASS AND LEVELS--1961-62--PAKISTAN

LEVELS	CLASS	PER CENT OF ENROLMENT	DROP OUT RATE
MIDDLE	VI	26.6	-
	VII	21.7	18.4
	VIII	19.6	9.6
HIGH	IX	14.4	26.6
	X	9.9	31.2
INTER MEDIATE	XI	4.1	58.8
	XII	3.7	9.7

(Adapted from: Curle, A.,1973:57).[13]

vocational courses in technical, agricultural and commercial subjects.[14] The program for diversification made slow progress, excepting in technical education. "Technical Education had made some reasonable progress especially in West Pakistan, where over half the Plan's (Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65), goals had been fulfilled."[15] However, technical education in Pakistan is not sufficiently developed and is inadequate to meet the needs of rapid expansion and improvement of agriculture and industries. This has been attributed to the following causes: a) lack of equipment in schools, b) non-qualified and untrained teachers, and c) the negative attitude towards technical education in comparision to general secondary education.

Referring to the last of those three factors responsible for the inadequate development of technical secondary education in South Asia, Myrdal has said this:

> ...Because the upper classes have a vested interest in maintaining the social distinction between the "educated" and the masses, they, too, are in favor of the preservation of the traditional general schools; at one time this was also true in the Western countries...(Myrdal,1968:1761-62).

Technical and vocational schools were not preferred by the parents from the upper classes because of the following reasons: a) these schools provided inadequate education for obtaining admission to university courses, b) it was assumed that children who had low academic performance were required to enrol in technical schools, and c) on completion of these courses, students were required to take employment in the relevant fields of study. Hence, the upper classes in Pakistan were in favour of maintaining and reinforcing general education.

There were two types of general secondary schools; the state owned schools and private schools. Amongst the private schools there were two categories, a) those providing high quality education, similar to that found in English public schools, and (b) other private schools that provided education similar to that found in state owned schools. Children from low income family backgrounds were excluded from the first type of schools because of high fees. Admission to these schools was controlled on the basis of high academic performance in the lower classes/grades. Children with high social status were able to obtain

admission into these institutions. The graduates from these types of schools have much better chances of attaining admission into the universities or professional colleges and also opportunities to study abroad when compared to students from other types of schools.

4.3.3 Higher Education

College and university education in Pakistan has shown moderate expansion. In the year 1960-61, there were fifty-three degree colleges in East Pakistan with a total enrolment of 43,799 students. At this level, the concentration of enrolment was in arts, rather than in subjects of more direct value to the development of the economy, (i.e. agriculture and technical education). The two universities, namely Dacca and Rajshahi had about 4,000 students enroled. Two new universities were established, namely the East Pakistan Agriculture University and the East Pakistan University of Engineering. The former had 450 students (including 2 women), and the latter had about 1,026 (including three women.).[16]

In West Pakistan, in the year 1960-61, there were 123 degree colleges, of which 26 were for women and 46 were professional. There were 56,000 students enroled in these colleges. In 1963, there were four universities in West Pakistan, namely Karachi, the Punjab (at Lahore), Peshawar, and Sind (at Hyderabad). A technical and engineering university was opened at Lahore and an agricultural

university was established at Lyallpur. The total enrolment in these universities was nearly 5,000 students working for honors degrees at the bachelor's level, and for higher degrees (i.e. Master's, Ph.D and professional degrees in Medicine, Law etc.).[17] By the year 1970, there were 150 degree colleges with an enrolment of 60,000 students in West Pakistan, whereas, in East Pakistan there were 136 colleges with a total enrolment of 58,000 students.[18]

Adam Curle has pointed out an interesting contrast in the patterns of college enrolments between East and West Pakistan as follows:

> ...An interesting contrast between the two provinces, suggesting a greater degree of educational development in West than in East Pakistan, is the fact that enrollment in science courses equals 50 percent of that in arts courses, as against 20 percent in East Pakistan. A further index of difference in quality at the college level is the pupil-teacher ratios, 21 to 1 in West and 37 to 1 in East Pakistan (Curle, 1966:117).

The growth rate in the enrolment of colleges and universities in Pakistan has created a problem of educated unemployed people. Adam Curle has observed that "the educational system is turning out too many persons having an inappropriate level and type of training."[19] There were more students graduating with arts and humanities subjects than technical and agricultural subjects. The economy in the country was not developed enough to provide necessary employment. For national development, there were very few engineers and technicians. The expansion of higher education was, thus, biased in favour of arts and humanities. The

facilities for providing science education were inadequate. Graduates from professional colleges were experiencing difficulties in obtaining suitable employment in the country and were seeking jobs overseas. Mahbub ul Haq has cited this example of the doctors' plight in Pakistan:

> ...the five-year specialized medical training courses survived, which certainly gave our doctors among the best training possible but 500 out of every 800 doctors trained every year sought employment abroad: almost none went to the rural areas!...(Mahbub ul Haq,1976:24).

The number of educated unemployed people has become a growing concern in underdeveloped countries like India and Pakistan. Muhammad Shamshul Huq has shown further concern about the alarming number of educated unemployed in South Asia:

> ...In India the educated unemployed exceeded 2 million in 1972, constituting about a quarter of the total unemployed. During 1968-69 in Pakistan 250,000 to 300,000 educated persons entered the labor market in search of jobs....A manpower study in Pakistan undertaken by a UN expert also indicated surpluses in several areas of technical skill... (Huq,1975:16-17).

One of the main causes of the educated unemployed is the lack of coordination in educational planning with manpower planning. Blaug describes the situation of educated unemployment in India, which also applies to the Pakistani unemployment situation as follows:

> ...there are too many matriculates and graduates relative to the number of job opportunities that require these qualifications,...Instead of acquiring qualifications in technical and vocational subjects, like science, engineering and medicine, they (students) pursue traditional academic subjects like law and literature, or commercial subjects like book-keeping and accounting...(Blaug,1976:236).

The over expansion of education in certain fields of study created the problem of educated unemployment, but more so, it increased the number in the educated class in Pakistan. The gap has widened between the overeducated and undereducated. Higher education in Pakistan is based on elitist ideology and has helped to strengthen and perpetuate the status quo. University educated individuals aspire to higher income jobs, but the degrees which were regarded as a passport to elitist jobs and entry into higher social status have become so numerous that they have ceased to attain their original goals. However, children from elite groups have been able to obtain prestigious jobs by way of contacts and influence.

4.3.4 Inequality in Educational Growth--Regional and Gender

The educational growth at all levels in Pakistan, though it was moderate, did not reduce inequality in educational distribution between the two regions and genders in the country. The imbalance in educational achievement between rural and urban areas continued to widen and the parallel system of education, i.e. a high quality education for the elite and a substandard education for the masses, has been reinforced.

Table 4.7 shows the educational disparities between East and West Pakistan for the years 1951 and 1961 by levels of education and by sex. The enrolment in East Pakistan in primary schools for the year 1951, indicates a higher

percentage compared with West Pakistan (38 for East, compared to 18 for the West). Ten years later, the enrolment percentage in the same level of education in the East region had declined to 35 percent. The case was different for the West region where the enrolment rate had increased by 8 percent. The rate of growth for secondary education in East Pakistan remained lower compared with West Pakistan in both years, i.e. 1951 and 1961.

Besides, the level of attainment for males and females reflected inequality whereby the males' enrolment percentage not only remained higher but increased over the females' enrolment rates in the years 1951 and 1961. Furthermore, females in the West region have higher rates of enrolment compared with the females in East regions for the above years. Females have lower rates of access to schooling at all levels of the educational system in Pakistan. Furthermore, their continuation rate has been lower compared with the male rates. Besides, a high percentage of females dropout of school with each cycle and a smaller proportion advance to the next stage. The lower rate of female participation and high dropout rate can be attributed to cultural and economic factors. Pakistan's culture restricts womens' participation in social activities. In fact, the majority of people in Pakistan live below the poverty line and the state has

TABLE 4.7

DISPARITIES IN EDUCATIONAL ENROLMENT PERCENTAGE IN PAKISTAN BY REGION , SEX AND LEVELS OF EDUCATION FOR THE YEARS 1951 AND 1961

LEVELS &REGION	1951			1961		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
PRIMARY						
PAKISTAN	47	11	30	45	17	31
EAST PAKISTAN	59	15	38	49	20	35
WEST PAKISTAN	31	6	18	39	12	26
SECONDARY						
PAKISTAN	18	2	11	27	6	17
EAST PAKISTAN	16	2	10	18	3	11
WEST PAKISTAN	20	2	12	38	10	25

(Adapted from Table 4.2 and 4.5--Twenty Years Of Pakistan in Statistics 1947-67,pp.170-173).

failed to demonstrate a political will to equalise educational opportunities. Thus the interaction of economic/political factors and the culture bias against the education of women has "conspired" to high levels of educational disparities between males and females. It is difficult for the state to allocate enough funds for education.

The economic disparities between East and West Pakistan have been discussed in the previous chapter (III). It was noted that East Pakistan's economy was less developed than the West and the composition of the distribution of population was 95 percent rural in East region compared to 77 percent in West region. The average earnings of the urbanized minority in both regions were higher than those of the rural population. Even so, the rural population of West Pakistan had better earnings compared to the rural population of East Pakistan. Moreover, the growth of industries was concentrated in the West region, thereby, resulting in a faster rise in incomes for that region while they remained more or less stagnant in the East.

These economic conditions had their effect on the educational expenditure of these regions. Less than 50 percent of the educational allocation was given to the region with close to 60 percent of the total population. This suggests that the disparity was much greater than the percentage figures on allocation on the surface would suggest.[21] The low allocation of educational expenditure seems to have had a direct impact among other things, on the salaries of teachers in the East. In 1963, the teachers' salaries in the West region were three times the salaries paid to the teachers in East Pakistan.

Though East Pakistan was poorer compared to West Pakistan, in 1961, the population was more educated at the primary level in the age group of 5-10 years. The literacy

rate in East was 21 percent compared to 16 percent in West for the same year. However, the number of schools in East Pakistan was actually diminishing. On the other hand, in West Pakistan the number of schools had trebled. Only 15 percent of the children in the age group 5-10 years initially enroled in Class I would continue to Class V in the East region, whereas, approximately 38 percent reached Class v in the West region.[22]

Maddison has attributed the economic disparities to the policy of the government:

> The disparities in income and in economic growth between East and West Pakistan are probably no greater than those between some of the states in India, but they have had greater political significance in Pakistan, because a large part of the differential was demonstrably due to the policies of a strong central government which could have followed different options...(Maddison, 1971:162-63).

Besides, the inequality in educational distribution between the regions, gender and rural/ urban disparity, the education provided in elite private schools reinforced further the inequality based on class. These schools charge high fees and control the admission which is based on academic ability and the social background of the parents. Children from low income urban families are excluded from these institutions on two counts: a) they cannot afford to pay fees, b) most of them do not meet the admission requirements based on academic ability and social economic status.

Studies on the social background of students in Pakistan confirm that children of the poor, of the uneducated and the low status occupational group have been underrepresented in the educational system.

In a study conducted by Hasan Gardezi and Masud on the social class and school attendance in the metropolitan city of Lahore in Punjab province, the authors found that the children of lower status parents are less likely ever to go to school, and if they do, are less likely to enter school at an early age than the children of high income status parents.[23] Analysing the rate of admission in relation to the family incomes and their educational backgrounds, Gardezi and Masud (1967:360-361) made the following observations:

a) ...the relationship between family income and the admission of children to school: generally, the higher the family income, the higher the school admission rate (Table 4.8a);
b) ...a relationship between the level of education of fathers or guardians and school admission: the higher the level of education, the higher the rate of admission of children to school. (Table 4.8b);
c) ...the higher the level of fathers' or guardians' education, the greater is the likelihood that children will be sent to school at an early age: between the lowest and the highest levels of the fathers' or guardians' education, the chances of a child's being sent to school by age five almost doubles (Table 4.8c).[24]

TABLE 4.8 a

CHILDREN EVER ADMITTED OR NEVER ADMITTED TO SCHOOL BY MONTHLY FAMILY INCOME

FAMILY INCOME IN RUPEES	PERCENT EVER ADMITTED n 3459	PERCENT NEVER ADMITTED n 711	TOTAL
BELOW 100	61.3	38.7	930
101-200	81.9	18.1	1048
201-300	88.4	11.6	631
301-400	93.6	6.4	425
401-500	94.5	5.5	326
501-1000	95.3	4.7	595
1000 and ABOVE	93.0	7.0	215

N=4,170

(Source: Gardezi and Masud, "Social Class and School Attendance in a Metropolitan city of Pakistan" in Sociology of Education, Fall, 1967 p.360).

TABLE 4.8 b

CHILDREN EVER ADMITTED OR NEVER ADMITTED TO SCHOOL BY THE YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY THEIR FATHERS OR GUARDIANS

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY FATHERS OR GUARDIANS	PERCENT EVER ADMITTED n 3464	PERCENT NEVER ADMITTED n 712	TOTAL
NO FORMAL SCHOOLING	65.1	34.9	1,219
1-5 YEARS	75.1	24.9	378
6-8 YEARS	86.2	13.8	491
9-10 YEARS	92.0	8.0	964
11-12 YEARS	95.2	4.8	354
13-14 YEARS	95.7	4.3	535
15 YEARS AND OVER	96.6	3.4	235

N=4,176

(Source: Ibid., p.361).

TABLE 4.8 c

DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN ACCORDING TO THE AGES AT FIRST ADMISSION TO SCHOOL AND THE YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY THEIR FATHERS OR GUARDIANS

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY FATHERS OR GUARDIANS	PERCENT CHILDREN IN AGE CATERGORIES AT THE TIME OF FIRST ADMISSION				
	3-4 YRS. n 875	5 YRS n 1167	6 YRS n 844	7 YRS AND OVER n 578	TOTAL
NO FORMAL SCHOOLING	18.2	27.6	27.4	26.3	794
1 TO 5 YEARS	21.5	31.0	22.5	25.0	284
6 TO 8 YEARS	21.7	30.0	26.0	22.2	423
9 TO 10 YEARS	26.7	35.7	24.0	13.6	888
11 TO 12 YEARS	30.0	33.5	24.3	12.2	337
13 TO 14 YEARS	30.2	39.8	23.5	6.6	512
15 YEARS AND OVER	35.7	43.6	17.2	3.5	226
					N=3,464

(Source: Ibid:362).

The above studies clearly indicate the relationship between socioeconomic status and school achievement. Thus the children from the lower socioeconomic groups are doubly handicapped as far as their entry into educational institutions and their chances of remaining in such institutions, are concerned.

In another study conducted by Korson, on the stratified sample taken of 1966 female degree holders from the University of Karachi and the University of Punjab, it was revealed that the majority of fathers of these students had university education and represented higher occupational groups. Korson illustrated that 60 percent of the fathers of students from the University of Karachi had university degrees whereas 40 percent of the fathers of

the students from the University of Punjab had attained similar educational levels. Korson also studied the occupational backgrounds of fathers of these students from two universities. For the students from the University of Karachi, the fathers' occupations represented the following: 38 percent were government administrators, 17 percent professionals, 23 percent executives and managers, and 20 percent shopkeepers. Whereas, the occupations of fathers of students from the University of Punjab were: 45 percent shopkeepers and employees, 25 percent executives and managers and 23 percent professionals.[25]

The pattern of growth and development in Pakistan during the period 1947-70 has indicated an elitist bias in educational policies. At the time of Independence, Pakistan had expressed a desire to expand primary education and extend it to children from backward areas and unprivileged groups. But the priority in educational expansion was directed to the training of manpower required in the country. Consequently, the expansion of secondary and higher education received a higher allocation of funds than primary education. The educational growth reflected a trend that was set in the colonial period, i.e. providing education to the selected few, whereas, primary education was given low priority. It has been observed that the enrolment at the primary level of education progressed sluggishly from 29 percent in 1951 to 46 percent in 1970. In other words, less than 50

percent of the children in the age group 5-9 years were not enroled at this level of education.

The problem was further aggravated by the inequalities in education which continued to increase. The majority of the children from the low income family backgrounds both in rural and urban areas could not complete five years of primary education, hence, the majority of children who continued with secondary education were from middle or high income groups. It was also observed that the female rate of participation was much lower at all levels of education than that of males. Obviously, the schooling benefitted mostly children from middle or high income groups. Thus, high quality private education from primary through university levels, whether public or private schools, has generally been a prerogative of upper class status.

Further inequality in education was also observed between the masses and the elite. The elite private schools which had the concentration from upper income groups, prepared their students for high status occupations. The opportunities for education and employment for the masses were very low. The problem of providing opportunies in education and employment for this group needed serious consideration. Bhutto's regime made an attempt to provide equal educational opportunities. How successful was his regime in endeavouring to achieve the above objectives?

4.4. Educational Changes after 1970--An Egalitarian Approach

The general election held in December, 1970, resulted in Bhutto's election as President of Pakistan. In 1971, the East region of Pakistan separated and became a new nation, named Bangladesh. With this separation, the population of Pakistan was reduced to less than half of what it was previously. Major radical changes were introduced by Bhutto immediately after he assumed office in December, 1971. Article 37 of the new constitution that was approved in the National Assembly on the 10th April, 1973 unequivocally stated that:

> ..."The state shall--(a) promote with special care the educational and economic interest of backward classes or areas; (b) remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory education within the minimum possible period; (c) make technical and professional education generally available and higher education accessible to all on the basis of merit;...(f) enable people of all areas, through education, training, agricultural and industrial development and other methods, to participate fully in all forms in national activities, including employment in the service of Pakistan...."[26]

Bhutto took radical and revolutionary measures in bringing about these changes. He undertook substantial economic and educational reforms. His party and government were based on the support of the mass of the people of Pakistan: a) urban labour, b) petty bureaucrats, c) professionals, d) small farmers, and e) the landless workers. He attacked and attempted to counteract the

concentrated power of the military, the industrialists and some of the top officials in the government; through a variety of actions. He attempted to reward his mass followers in the urban areas by changing the labourers' wages and their working conditions. Bhutto nationalised the key industries (cotton, yarn and textiles) and shifted the balance of investment from the private sector to the public sector. He also nationalised the banks, insurance companies, and the educational institutions.

The educational reforms introduced during Bhutto's regime were geared towards the construction of an egalitarian society. It was observed that the educational system in the past had promoted the existence of exclusive private schools, most of which were supported by state funds, but which offered superior education to the children of the privileged. Furthermore, these schools were inaccessible to the poorer sections of the student population and were based on their ability to pay fees rather than academic ability or merit. These schools were to be nationalised, thereby, enabling the gifted children from poor familiy backgrounds to receive a better education.

The following changes were immediately introduced during Bhutto's regime: a) School fees were abolished in all schools excepting those that were not nationalised. b) Free text books were provided to students at all levels. c) All teachers in these nationalised schools were absorbed into national pay scales and were entitled to all the benefits

that were available to middle level civil bureaucrats. d) Approximately 78 colleges were nationalised in Punjab and 97 colleges in Sind excepting one in the North West Frontier Province, which was exempted due to political reasons.[27]

As suggested above, the nationalisation policy was only partially implemented. All private schools were not nationalised. A few fee-paying private English medium schools that prepared students for overseas' examiniations were exempted. However, the state was ill-prepared to deal with administrative challenges that resulted from these reforms.

It was just as ill-equipped to meet the financial and planning requirements that were needed for the successful implementation of these reforms. In addition, the economic conditions that were prevalent during this period did not favour the promotion of these radical reforms. The social tensions related to the language situation that had developed unfavourably in the country at that time grew worse. The imposition of the vernaculars was grossly resented and resisted by the upper middle class, that ultimately ended in the language riots in 1972. The language issue had created an uproar and the governments in different provinces were required to resolve the issue, as well as, the use of the medium of instruction in the educational institutions at the provincial level.

The effects of nationalisation of the educational institutions did not bring many positive results. This was

partly because nationalisation was not preceded by adequate planning and preparation. In pursuit of the objectives of the expansion of primary education, fees had been abolished and thus raised the enrolment rate but at the same time did not make available adequate educational facilities such as--classrooms, equipment, trained teachers and sufficient adminstrative manpower. This adversely effected the quality of the education provided. The state bureaucracy and the existence and persistence of the antiquated adminstrative procedures also created frustrations and serious delays in the implementation of educational expansion.

Ishrat Hussain has commented on the effect of nationalisation in Pakistan with the following remarks:

> ...The nationalization of the majority of schools in 1972 was motivated by access and equity considerations, i.e., the rich families patronized the private schools while the poorer families sent their children to the public schools. Six years later a survey disclosed that the average benefits from educational expenditure to a household in the bottom income decile are still four times lower than the top 10 per cent.[28]

Bhutto's regime did not last long because of political reasons. His radical reforms were most unpopular with, and resented by, the bourgeoisie and the landlords.

4.5 Inequality in Educational Distribution Continues

In spite of the egalitarian educational reforms attempted during Bhutto's regime (1971-77), the educational development in Pakistan continued to reflect the disparities in educational distribution. Patterns of expansion and

growth of the educational system during this period had created further disparity along a) gender, b) urban-rural and c) provincial lines in the Pakistani society. A few English medium schools continued to promote further the class differences by maintenance of admission and recruitment policies designed to exclude children of low income classes.

4.5.1 Inequality in Education--Gender

Figures in Table 4.9 show that, in 1978, the pattern of gender disparities in enrolments remained unchanged from that of the 1960s. In Pakistan, as well as, in other developing countries, it is believed that the opportunity cost of sending girls to school may be higher than for boys because, girls can undertake more housework than boys. Taking this view into consideration, the retention rate for girls in primary school is much lower compared to boys. It was found in a recent study that 61 percent of girls compared to 28 percent of boys dropped out of school. A much higher percentage of girls dropped out of school presumably because of the demand of domestic work.[29]

TABLE 4.9

PAKISTAN ENROLMENT RATIO BY LEVEL AND GENDER--1978

LEVEL	BOYS %	GIRLS %
PRIMARY	73	33
MIDDLE	34	10
HIGH	22	6

(Source: Multi,1982:25).

In the case of Pakistan, educational reforms have benefitted males more than females and have also increased their enrolments.

> ...In 1970, two years before the reforms, 24 percent of eligible girls aged five to nine years were enrolled in primary school, while in 1976 the percentage of the age group actually enrolled stood at 26 percent of females. Comparable figures for males were 58 percent in 1970 and 69 percent for 1976....[30]

It appears that the egalitarian educational reform did not improve the disparity in the educational distribution between male and female students. Females continued to be underprivileged in obtaining equal access to education in Pakistan.

4.5.2 The Urban-Rural Educational Disparity

Further disparities in educational distribution and outcome are observed between the urban and the rural

population. In spite of the fact that the majority of the population resides in the rural areas, the enrolment rates for different levels of schooling for the rural population are much lower. Table 4.10 indicates the disparity in the rates of schooling between rural and urban population.

TABLE 4.10

RURAL/URBAN ENROLMENT RATIO IN PAKISTAN BY LEVEL - 1978

LEVEL	RURAL %	URBAN %
PRIMARY	45	77
MIDDLE	14	47
HIGH	6	38

(Source: Multi,1982:25).

The availability of the middle and high schools in the rural areas is very limited. This has effected the percentage of enrolment for rural children. During this period the expansion of schooling at these levels was not undertaken extensively in the rural areas. The elimination of school fees from private schools made primary, middle and high schools more accessible to rural families. But the parents had to spend money for books, uniforms and incur

other expenses, in order to send their children to school. Consequently, the situation concerning the enrolment pattern did not improve. The share of the rural population in obtaining educational benefits continued to remain low.

4.5.3 Provincial/Regional Educational Disparity.

Prior to 1970, discussion on the regional educational imbalance was mainly concentrated on the two regions of Pakistan, namely East and West. Very little information or data were available on the issue of inequality in the educational distribution between the other provinces of Pakistan i.e., Baluchistan, North West Frontier, Punjab and Sind. In general terms Baluchistan and North West Frontier were relatively less developed in educational growth throughout the short history of Pakistan. Most of the educational institutions of higher learning were located in Punjab and Sind. Table 4.10 shows the enrolment percentage in these four provinces at all levels of education for the year 1978. The Table demonstrates the lowest percentage of enrolment for Baluchistan.

The egalitarian educational reforms introduced during Bhutto's regime not withstanding, the disparities in educational distribution in all the three categories mentioned above did not show any signs of decrease. The education system continued to favour males; was urban based and the major educational institutions were located in big cities. Punjab and Sind were the major beneficiaries of the educational system.

TABLE 4.11

PAKISTAN ENROLMENT RATIOS BY PROVINCES AND LEVEL--1978

LEVEL	PUNJAB %	SIND %	N.W.F.P. %	BALUCHISTAN. %	PAKISTAN %
PRIMARY	56	59	52	32	54
MIDDLE	24	25	21	10	23
HIGH	15	16	13	6	14

(Source: Multi,1982:25).

Further disparity is observed in the educational distribution between the elite group and the masses. These powerful elites are western oriented, neo-colonial in their attitudes and socially alienated from the masses in Pakistan. They have gained their privileged position through an alignment with metropolitan capitalists. Membership in this group includes top politicians and civil servants who maintain their posts in the society by allying with landlords, bourgeoisie and senior military officials. To enhance their class status, they promote educational policies that uses schooling for special advantages to serve their interests at the cost of providing low quality education to the masses.

4.6 Privatisation of Educational System.

President Zia ul Huq assumed power as the consequence of a military coup in 1977 which dismantled Mr. Bhutto's regime. The present military regime's economic pronouncements were ambiguous and contradictory. There was a pledge to favour the private sector again, but there was no sharp reversal of Bhutto's nationalisation and no abandonment of large scale public undertakings. The present economic policy has taken a capitalist-Islamic, public-private sector form--simultaneously, promoting growth and distribution.

In the case of education, the regime also emphasised and encouraged the private sector to open new educational institutions, thereby, departing more radically from the policies of the Bhutto period. This policy of encouraging the private sector to open educational institutions has given opportunities to various commercial entreprenuers, interested in education to initiate and operate such institutions. An estimated number of these schools has been reported by Lalaruk Hussain of Herald Magazine in the January, 1986 edition. He writes:

> On the other hand, a recent survey of private schools conducted by the Directorate of Education, Karachi, found a total of 1132 primary and elementary schools, 137 lower secondary and 203 secondary schools. Many of these had not been registered with the Directorate. Unofficial sources, however, place the total at more than double this figure.[31]

Most of these schools had developed after 1977, as a result of the liberal policy of President Zia ul Huq in

allowing individuals to open private schools. However, most of these schools have behind them the commercial motive of profit making rather than benefaction for the students. Some of these schools charge high fees on the pretense of providing the "Cambridge type of Education" with foreign trained qualified staff, English medium instruction and fully air-conditioned, well equipped classroom facilities.

The network of the schools that has developed since 1979 on the basis of the private initiatives is known as the City Schools in Pakistan. Such schools have been established in major cities of Pakistan, namely Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad and Quetta, (see Appendix I). This type of school is typically registered with the Directorate of Education and recognised by the Board of Secondary Examination. It is also a center for Cambridge and Oxford Examination Boards.

It is considered to be a mark of prestige for these schools to be affiliated only with the foreign examining bodies while neglecting or ignoring the national curriculum. All of these four City Schools of Pakistan have been able to establish linkages with at least one British University.

> ...A link has already been established with the University College, Cardiff which is a constituent College of the University of Wales, a noted federal University of Britain.[32]

The establishment and the growth of the schools reflects the popularity they have gained during the last seven years. This type of school is managed and operated by a private organisation with minimum financial assistance from the state. It aims at preparing students to become

eligible for admission in institutions of higher learning in Pakistan and abroad. Students are encouraged to cultivate lofty values and efforts are made to train them to face life with confidence and courage.

4.7 Conclusion

The recent developments in Pakistani education, especially the growth of elite city schools briefly discussed above suggest entrenched disparities in the educational system. Related as they were to the class structure of Pakistan, these disparities have been reinforced and given fresh legitimacy and support by the state. Furthermore, the emerging educational structure in Pakistan continues to benefit the privileged and the powerful, and further widens the gap between the educationed elite and the masses. If anything, over the last ten years, the dual structure of the educational system: a) one set of schools and curricula for the wealthy and city based elites and b) another one for the mass of the people of Pakistan, has been further consolidated and extended.

NOTES. CHAPTER IV.

1. Rauf, A. "Education and Development" in Gardezi, H. and Rashid, J. (eds.) Pakistan: The Roots of Dictatorship (London, Zed Press, 1983). p.331.

2. Ibid., p. 331.

3. In Pakistan the entry age to the primary school is 5+. However, substantial numbers of children are enrolled in Class I at the age of over 5 years. The age group often mentioned for primary education varies. For instance in The Second Five-Year Plan (1960-65) of Pakistan it is indicated as 6-11; whereas, in The Fourth Five-Year Plan (1970-75), it is 5-9 years. For the sake of maintaining consistency, the writer has used the 5-9 years' age group.

4. Government of Pakistan, Planning Commission, Sixth Five-Year Plan (1983-88), Islamabad, 1983. p.349.

5. In the absence of data on the relevant age group for the year 1948-49, it has been difficult to demonstrate actual enrolment percentage of children at each level of schools. The percentage is estimated on the basis of 1951 population census and the projection presented in Bean, L.L. at. el. Population Projections for Pakistan 1960-2000 , Karachi: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1968. p.41. The estimated percentage of total population in the age group 5-9 years in 1951 was 14 percent.

6. The estimation of percentages for Secondary School enrolment has been conducted in the same manner as in No. 2. The estimated percentage of the total population in the age group 10-14 in 1951 was 15 percent.

7. Education Planning Commission, First Five-Year Plan 1955-60 Karachi, Government of Pakistan, 1957. p. 542.

8. Ibid., p.1.

9. Iqbal, M. Education in Pakistan (Lahore, Pakistan: Aziz Publishers 3rd Edition, 1981). p. 75.

10. Rauf, A. op. cit., p.336.

11. Dropout rates have been calculated from the attainment percentage of children in each Class given by Adam Curle. They are not found in the original Table.

12. Twenty Five Years of Pakistan in Statistics, 1947-72, Karachi: Central Statistics Office, 1972. p. 11.

13. The percentage of dropout rates on Secondary education for each class is calculated on the basis of the percentages given by Adam Curle in the same Table.

14. The Planning Commission Pakistan, The Second Five-Year Plan 1960-65 Karachi: Government Of Pakistan 1960. p.340.

15. Curle, A. Planning for Education in Pakistan (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1966). p. 58.

16. Ibid., 86-87.

17. Ibid., 117.

18. Planning Commissions. The Fourth Five-Year Plan 1970-75. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 1970. p. 163.

19. Curle, A. op. cit., p. 127.

20. Blaug, M. An Introduction to the Economics of Education (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976). p.236.

21. Curle, A. has indicated the discrepancies in allocation of funds between East and West Pakistan. For instance, East Pakistan's share of allocation in the First and Second Five Year Plan, i.e. 1955-60 and 1960-65 were 45 and 47 percent respectively but the actual expenditure was only 35 percent of the total allocation for this period; in spite of the fact that East region has more population. See Curle, A. op. cit., p. 75.

22. Ibid., pp. 76-77.

23. Gardezi, H. and Masud, Z. "Social Class and School Attendence in a Metropolitan City of Pakistan", in Sociology of Education, Vol. 40, No. 4., Fall, 1967. pp.358-362.

24. Ibid., p. 361.

25. Korsen, J. H. "Career Constraints Among Women Graduates in a Developing Society: West Pakistan." Journal of Comparative Family Studies 1, Autumn, 1970. pp. 87-89.

26. Iqbal, M. op. cit., p. 81.

27. Umme Salma Zaman, Banners Unfurled: A Cr[redacted]l Analysis of Developments in Education in Pakista[redacted]arachi, Royal Book Co., 1981). pp. 236-237.

28. Ishrat Husain, "Raising Resources for Development: The Challenges for the Eighties," in Burki, S. J. and La Porte, R.(Jr.) (eds.) Pakistan's Development Priorities Choices for the Future (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1984).p. 133.

29. Smock, A. C. Women's Education in Developing Countries: Opportunities and Outcomes (New York: Praeger, 1981). p. 93.

30. Ibid., p. 102.

31. Hussain Lalarukh, "Education for Sale", in The Herald January, 1986 pp. 162-63.

32. Dawn (Daily Newspaper) Karachi, November 14th, 1986.p.1.

CHAPTER V

5. EDUCATIONAL DISPARITIES; GROWING DUALISM IN EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

5.1 The Origin of Dualism: The Colonial Legacy

The emergence of the present day educational elitism can be traced back to the colonial times. The sons of tribal chiefs, nawabs and nobles from princely groups (Maharajahs) and Feudal Lords were preferably offered the opportunity to obtain a high level of education in the educational institutions established on the European colonial system.

As discussed in the previous section, the educational system during the colonial era was intended to create faithful ruling elites who would serve the interests of the colonial rulers. Evidently, "the sons of the Pakistani potentates were sent to Oxford and Cambridge universities and in many respects "were trained into 'Brown Sahebs', closer in their views to "the upper class Englishmen than to the Indian peasants."[1] Special schools were established in colonial India, including the territory which later became Pakistan, for the sons of the indigenous ruling elite, e.g. Aitcheson College in Lahore known as 'Chief's College'. Adam Curle has commented on the inegalitarian education in British India by stating:

> ...Clearly education was not thought of as a means of promoting democracy, or spreading egalitarianism, or increasing social mobility. On the contrary, its role was to maintain the status quo, to strenghten the ruling caste, to make them wiser and better rulers, to reinforce the ideology upon which their power rested...(Curle,1966:68).

The aristocratic traditions of the colonial times had survived after Independence, in spite of several attempts made by the newly formed government to introduce educational changes and reforms at different levels of education. The emerging elitist bias in the educational system has been too marked to go unnoticed even by the more conservative scholars. Dr. Ishtiaq Qureshi, one of the more traditional educationalists, for instance, has remarked on the exclusive institutions established for the privileged classes by stating :

> ...they produce a corps of privileged elite, destined, because of its Westernised training, the Public Service Commission examinations being loaded in its favour, to rule over the despised 'native Pakistani'--an elite so denationalised as to be alien in its own country with nothing but the most outragous contempt for its traditions, culture and languages (Qureshi,1975:152).

Thus, a main task of the educational system remains the production of upper class elites. Although other levels and types of education were supported by the government, they recieved relatively much less attention and inadequate funding. As in England, and so in India and Pakistan, the education of the ruling group is carried out in a virtually separate, parallel, school system from which the children of the lower orders are excluded by both social and economic sanctions. The aristocratic view of education still

pervasive in official circles ignored the importance of widespread primary education. The greatest value is placed on higher education, especially tertiary education is given the most weight.

5.2 Private Schooling in Pakistan

The establishment of educational institutions during the colonial regime that catered to the sons of aristocratic families was responsible for the production of elites that took over the task of governance at the time of Independence. Pakistan inherited some of the exclusive institutions which catered to the children of the higher status groups. Two of these exclusive institutions were boarding schools--Aitcheson College in Lahore and Lawrence College in Gora Gali in Punjab. A third, more or less similar institution was the Karachi Grammar school--a day school, which is still in existence. Some of the missionary schools, namely, St. Patrick's High School, St. Josephs Convent School, in Karachi, St. Mary's School in Lahore, St. Francis Grammar School in Quetta etc., were also established on the same patterns of private elite schools.[2] Other religious denominations and private agencies such as, the Parsi Community and the Effendy group had attempted to establish schools that catered to the children of high status family backgrounds. The military personnel had their own schools to train their children for high positions and careers. For example, the army with the cooperation of the

Sind provincial government, set up pre-cadet boarding private schools in the early 50's, one at Hasan Abdal and the other at Petaro in Hyderabad divisions.[3]

5.3 The Characteristics of Private Schools in Pakistan

The main characteristics that distinguish private schools from non-private schools in Pakistan are:

a) They provide comparatively expensive education.

b) The education provided in these schools is exclusive and caters to children from high status families.

c) The extensive use of English, both in oral and written form, is emphasised and the medium of instruction is exclusively English.

d) The curriculum is adopted from the western public educational system or is similar to that used in elite schools in England.

e) The children are required to wear uniforms during their stay in school.

f) Athletics, various clubs, hobbies and games are emphasised.

g) Those which are boarding schools operate on the house system (though day schools have some activities organised on the house system also) that provide a unique socialisation process.

5.4 Elite Schools in Karachi

In Karachi some of these elite schools have produced top civil servants and many leaders in various economic sectors, including professionals, industrialists and business entrepreneurs. Most of these schools have components whereby they are registered with overseas examination boards in England and offer 'O' level and 'A' levels courses. The examinations are marked by Cambridge and London Examination Boards. Most of these students also register for the local Matriculation Examinations conducted by the Secondary Education Board in Karachi. The schools which operate and are in both of the above categories are: Karachi Grammar School, the Convent of Jesus and Mary School, St. Patrick's High School, St. Paul's High School, St. Joseph Convent. Habib Public School, St. Peter's School and Beacon House School.[5]

By virtue of being well known elite schools, having English as the medium of instruction and catering to overseas' examinations; these schools employ highly selective criteria in their students' recruitment. Children from Urdu speaking backgrounds are at a disadvantage and are excluded. Besides, there are other elite schools in Karachi, which do not register their candidates for the overseas' examinations but nevertheless, cater to children from high status social backgrounds e.g. Mama Parsi High School and Sind Madrassah School.

h) The highest standards of secondary education have been achieved in these schools.

i) They also provide facilities for external examination-arrangements with Cambridge and London Examination Boards.[4]

These schools are preferred and favoured by the upper classes and military officers as a training ground for their childrens' future accomplishments. These schools facilitate the efforts of families from high status social and wealthy backgrounds to maintain and reinforce their positions. Although, systematic evidence is difficult to obtain which relates to this question from research done in Pakistan, some evidence for the city of Karachi is presented in the next section.

One of the most distinguishing features of private schools in Pakistan is the medium of instruction, i.e. English. Although, the use of Urdu has been emphasised because of its status as the official langauge of Pakistan, English continues to dominate in the elite educational institutions and in both private and public employment sectors. English continues to be the most prestigious language and is widely used in all official work. Students must study this language to attain university education, and subsequently to obtain good jobs. Those who are not proficient in the use of the English language cannot expect to be selected for high level occupations. Therefore, these schools are preferred by the aristocratic families.

Sind Madrassah school, which completed a century of its existence in 1985, has been responsible for the education of some eminent personalities in Pakistani politics. This school was founded by a wealthy philanthropist in Sind known as Khan Bahadur Hasan Ali Effendy in 1885.[6] This institution has played a symbolic role in the political struggle which led to the birth of Pakistan. Amongst the most notable students of this school was Mohamed Ali Jinnah. Other notable dignitaries were: Sir Gulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Dr. Allama Daudpota, and Sheikh Abdu Majid Sindhi; all prominent political leaders of Pakistan.[7]

St. Patrick's High school, is another elite school of the above category, established by Catholic missionaries in 1861. The school celebrated its hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary in 1986. During the celebration, its prominence and significant services was publically acknowledged by dignitaries, both within the country as well as overseas. On this occasion, messages were received from the President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan together with the Papal Head of the Catholic church in Vatican City.[8]

This school offers courses leading to the overseas Cambridge Certificate Examinations at 'O' levels, the local Secondary School Certificate (SSC) Examination and also London 'A' levels Certificate Examinations. The majority of the students who have completed their education from this

school form an elite group who control the political and economic conditions of the country.

Over the years, the alumni from this school have achieved very high positions in both society and the government of Pakistan. Some of the former students who have achieved high status and positions are: a) The present Prime Minister of Pakistan--Honorable M. Junejo, b) the former Governor of West Pakistan Mr. Yusuf Haroon, c) a former Chief Minister of Junagadh state, d) the late Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto and e) a former Premier of Sind, the late Mohammed Ayub Khurho. It has also educated four of the mayors for the city of Karachi, namely a) the late Manuel Misquita, b) the late Gulamali Allana, c)Mr. Yusuf Haroon and d) Mr. Mahmoud Haroon.[9] It was reported in "Dawn", a daily newspaper in Karachi, in January 1987, that:

> There is hardly any cabinet at Federal or Provincial level which does not contain one or more former students of St. Patrick's School.[10]

Amongst the industrialists and leaders in business, St. Patrick's school has a long list of 'Alma Mater'. Both the national Airways and Railways are headed by former students of this school. They are: a) Air Marshall Azim Daudpota who is the managing director of Pakistan International Airline (PIA), and b) Mr.Joseph D'mello who is the Chairman of the Railway Board.

It has also produced elites from amongst the Catholic Community in South Asia. Two princes of the Roman Catholic Church, the first Asian Cardinal, the late Valerian Gracias,

the Archbishop of Bombay and the first Pakistani Cardinal Archbishop of Karachi, Dr.Joseph Cardero; completed their education at this school. Five out of nine Bishops of Pakistan studied at this school. The Archbishop of New Delhi, is also a former student of this school. This school continues to provide education to the top members of the Pakistani society.[11]

5.5 Private Schooling and Class Reproduction in Pakistan

The changes in the social structure that emerged from the colonial and the early period of post-independent Pakistan, determined the educational activities in the schools. The state schools have been passive recipients of the centrally devised curriculum. The bureaucratic structure of the school system has provided pre-determined outcomes. The state manipulates schools in the interest of the dominant group and the ruling class. The main function of schooling is to reproduce the characteristics of the social structures favoured by the elites. Private elite schools directly serve the interests of the dominant group by reinforcing their status and position.

The dual system of education in Pakistan has been the result of the peculiar class alliance which has protected the government elites in this society. The landlords, the industrialists, the national bourgeoisie, civil bureaucrats, military rulers and professionals are all interested in

promoting high quality exclusive educational institutions because this will reinforce their status by providing high quality education to their offspring. The rhetoric of the political leaders to equalize educational opportunity for all Pakistanis aside, the emergence of the exclusive educational institutions accessible only to the privileged, symbolizes the role of education in modernizing Pakistan in the preservation of private privileged power.

5.6 Conclusion

The masses are deprived of education due to their socioeconomic status. The state further deprives them by giving low priority to universal education. Why has mass primary education been given such low priority by the successive governments in Pakistan? Two main reasons can be attributed to this. Firstly, development in Pakistan has always been based on concepts and models of economic growth borrowed from the industrial capitalist countries. As Rauf has noted, the priority in the development plans was not given to the growth of a socially just society as a whole, rather the emphasis was placed on capital intensive development, measured in terms of increased GNP. The top heavy educational system fitted very well into the manpower needs of such development.[12]

"Pakistan has become a permanent market for importing machinary, technologies and even spare parts."[13] It is involved mainly in the production of consumer goods in its

industrial sector, but imports raw materials and other subsidiary manufactured goods. It did not create an indigenous industrial base. Its scientific and technical education has provided trained manpower for both the nation's bourgeoisie and the multinational agencies. Socially, economically and politically educated masses would have threatened the prospects of those who wanted to maintain a status quo through continuation of the existing social relations of production. Therefore, it appears that the masses were deliberately kept uneducated to eliminate this threat.

"Secondly, universal education would mean a loss of cheap labour available both to agriculturalists and industrialists".[14] Ikramul Huq in his study on the state of primary education reported an estimate of workers under 14 years of age to be between 3 and 3.5 million; 57 percent of them are engaged in agriculture; 13 percent in manufacturing and process services and another 20 percent in household work; while thousands more work in unregulated jobs such as construction work.[15] Universal primary education may not socially liberate individuals but certainly does provide the means for the literate population and helps to increase the number of people able to learn to perceive social, political and economic contradictions. If so, it becomes clear why the ruling classes in countries like Pakistan may have important reasons other than the scarcity of economic resources not to

implement universalisation or provision of at least primary education.

As a result, the development of education in Pakistan has been made subservient to the feudal-capitalist structure. The liberating function of education has remained an inactive part of the ideology. Passive educational strategies have been instrumental in maintaining the dominant position of this class alliance, producing and reproducing the already existing structures of the inequalities. They were aimed at creating social awareness among the masses and developing an understanding of how they themselves have become accomplices in their oppression. Education has developed the belief in the masses of their own inferiority.[16]

In conclusion, the educational policy of Pakistan, although formulated to create an egalitarian society; failed to eliminate the dual system of education, responsible for the class reproduction. After Independence, educational changes and reforms were introduced by various governments of Pakistan--Ayub's, Bhutto's, and Zia's regimes. Excepting in Bhutto's regime, that attempted to enforce egalitarian educational reforms, but failed to implement them successfully; the other two regimes promoted capitalist growth and educational development which resulted in the promotion of an inegalitarian educational system.

The educational disparity further increased between the sexes, provinces and rural-urban distribution.

Furthermore, the dual system of education reinforced the exclusiveness of private elite schools, thereby catering to the only privileged class in the society. Thus, the class reproduction which originated through a British legacy, in the current phase of Pakistan's developmental drama, is being deliberately encouraged, enhanced and maintained by the elite groups in Pakistan. Education appears to be playing a crucial role in this process.

NOTES. CHAPTER V

1. Curle, A. Planning for Education in Pakistan. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1966). p. 67

2. The Catholic Directory of Pakistan, 1985, pp. 39-40.

3. Iqbal, M. Education in Pakistan (Lahore, Pakistan: Aziz Publishers, 3rd Ed. 1981). p.81.

4. Morning News (Daily Newspaper) Karachi, August 11th, 1986. p.9

5. Star (Daily Newspaper) Karachi, September 3rd, 1986. p.2.

6. Ibid. p. 2.

7. Dawn (Daily Newspaper) Karachi, January 29th, 1987. p.1.

8. Ibid. p.1.

9. Ibid. p.3.

10. Ibid. p.2.

11 Rauf, A. "Education and Development", in Gardezi, H. and Rashid, J. (eds.): Pakistan: The Roots of Dictatorship: The Political Economics of a Praetorian State, (London, Zed Press, 1983). p.336.

12. Ibid., p.336.

13. Ibid., p.336.

14. Ibid., p.336.

15. Ibid., p.337.

16. Ibid., p.337.

CHAPTER VI

6. CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

In the preceding chapters, the educational growth and development effecting the social structure in British India and in the region that emerged as Pakistan, were discussed. It was observed that the educational system had created an hierarchical structure in the society. In the pre-colonial period, the priestly class maintained a dominant position by making knowledge sacred and exclusive. During the Mughal rule, skilled manpower required by the regime was trained in Madarassah, but the candidates were drawn from the socially and economically advantaged groups, especially the sons of Mughal princes, maharajas and the noblemen in the courts of the Mughal empire. The masses were provided instructions in religious practices but for the most part they remained illiterate and uns[redacted]ed.

The colonial regime deliberately changed this traditional religious educational structure as part of its attempt to impose its political and economic supremacy. The British colonial administration converted the existing educational institutions as wel[redacted]as established new ones, so that these would cater to the needs of the colonial rule. The colonizers needed manpower to serve their administration at the junior levels. The educational system was also used

to transform the attitudes and values of the Indians to the British oriented life-style and culture. They were required to learn English, and adopt the values and habits of British culture. Hence, these educated Indians became aliens to their own culture. When the pressure for providing education to the masses increased, especially when raised by a few educated Indians and some individual leaders from Britain, the colonial regime introduced reforms for expansion of education in a limited quantity for the masses. Consequently, two types of educational institutions developed, one that provided high quality education (mostly public school type found in Britain) and the second, low quality education. The former was reserved for the elite in the society because of the restricted selective procedures in admission followed by these schools and the latter were open to all children.

The elite educational institutions introduced by the British in India were similar to the public school system in Britain and were set up as special schools for the landed aristocracy. These schools provided comparatively expensive education and only children of the privileged groups could afford it. Besides, they had well qualified trained staff which was mostly trained in foreign countries. In the residential boarding schools, the English house system was adhered to and the students were trained to assume leadership qualities and responsibilities. Indians educated

in these schools were recruited by the Colonial government as clerks and as junior administrators.

Soon after Independence, the graduates from these educational systems experienced upward social mobility, especially in Pakistan. They climbed the social ladder, either by acquiring high positions in the newly formed government, or gained influence and power by associating with the business entrepreneurs. For example, with the departure of the colonial officers, the senior positions in the civil service were filled by personnel who were mostly educated in elite private schools. Further, the expansion in various social, economic and political organisations had created further manpower needs which were filled by graduates from these institutions. Therefore, admission to these schools became highly competitive and recruitment more exclusive even for middle income earning families.

The high positions in the civil service and other private employment sectors are mostly occupied by the educated, some of whom are graduates from elite private schools. The institutional elites in Pakistan, be they from: the military, civil service, industry or education, represent the dominant class and are in most cases educated in elite schools. These schools provide opportunities to establish friendships and contacts among future members of Pakistani elites and serve to forge institutional linkages between them and important members of governing elites

presently in control of powerful bureaucracies and corporations.

Pakistan is a class structured society in which extreme inequality in income and education between the classes is prevalent. In the post-independence period the class structure developed into a complex pattern. The urban class structure is characterised by the dominant positions occupied by bourgeosie, military officers, civil bureaucrats and the professionals; whereas the urban proletariat and the unemployed are the unprivileged and dominated class. The former are in the minority but enjoy higher percentage of the national wealth compared to the poor majority--the urban proletariat. Although, the capitalist class comprises a small minority in the country, they wield decisive political and economic power. The state serves their interests by promoting economic and educational activities, favorable to them. In the rural sector, a subsistence economy exists, side by side, a dynamic capitalist-commercial agricultural subsector. The landlords own the major share of the cultivable land and appropriate the surplus production from the sharecroppers, small peasants and landless peasants who are in the majority and whose income is meagre.

Besides the inequality in income, the educational disparities are also prominent features. The urban elite and the landlords were and are mostly educated in the selected private schools, whereas, the majority of the educated urban proletariat were and are schooled in institutions providing

low quality and low status education. The urban unemployed do not provide even the basic five years of schooling to their children. The majority of the rural population is without any schooling. Less than twenty percent of the rural children are able to complete five years of primary education. Thus, the disparities in educational distribution between the classes are not only reflected in the quantity of education but also its quality and status.

The educated and the wealthy in Pakistan are powerful and use their influence, power and education to maintain their dominant positions. They also use their positions to enhance the opportunities for their children by providing them with education in exclusive and prestigious educational institutions.

Soon after Independence (1947), Pakistan had desired and planned to provide universal primary schooling for a seven year period so as to promote equal educational distribution in the country. However, these early aspirations to democratize educational provision have eluded even a modest achievement. Referring to the educational achievement in Pakistan, the report on National Educational Policy of 1979 noted the following:

> Enrolment in primary education has increased about 7 to 8 times since Independence. This is a significant accomplishment despite severe resource constraints imposed by country's low level of economic development. However, due to rapid population growth the absolute number of children of relevant age group not enrolled in primary school has increased. Progress towards the achievement of universal primary education, though emphasised in

each successive policy and five year plan, has been slow.

> Today, nearly half of nation's children do not go to primary schools. This low level of enrolment is causing serious concern. The problem becomes more acute when disparities in the provision of educational facilities are also taken into account. ...Low enrolment is further aggravated by high drop-out. About 50 per cent of those enrolled in class 1 drop-out by class 5 (National Education Policy and Implementation Programme, 1979:5).

With such a situation prevailing in Pakistan, the goal of providing equal opportunities in education to children from different localities, social classes and gender has become progressively more elusive. The universal primary education is one of the most crucial means of providing basic education to the masses and yet forty years after the establishment of the country, Pakistan seems to lack political will to pursue this objective.

Moreover, the rate of expansion of education at the secondary and higher levels was greater than the primary level. Also, educational expansion at this level surpassed the projection of manpower required in the country. The surplus manpower trained from higher educational institutions had begun to threaten the hitherto unchallenged and privileged access to elite positions enjoyed by the graduates from the elite private schools. Besides, a small percentage of the urban workers' children had managed to filter through the higher educational system and were able to obtain employment in the goverment organisations. The elites began to perceive that their positions were threatened by the upward mobility from non-privileged groups to the high positions in the society. In order to protect

and maintain their privileged position the former group began to demand and successfully promoted the development of more exclusive educational institutions.

Popular pressures to increase educational accessibility for and to equalize educational opportunity led Butto's regime (1971-77) to renew efforts for educational reforms. Amongst the several salient features of the policy declared in this educational reform, the first three reflected the egalitarian and radical approach towards eliminating the elite educational system. They were:

a) Education to be made universal and free up to Class X, according to a phased programme.
b) Privately managed schools and colleges to be nationalised.
c) All exclusive Public Schools to be nationalised and students to be selected on merit alone.

The nationalisation of most non-elite private schools was implemented soon after it was declared, i.e. in 1972, but the elite private schools (public school type) were exempted. Umme Salma Zaman has elaborated on the process of nationalisation that did not affect these schools:

> One of the major incongruities of the educational system in the past was declared to be the existence of the exclusive Public Schools, most of which though "wholly or substantially financed by the Government", offered a "superior standard of education but were inaccessible to the poorer sections of the students, however, intelligent." These public schools were to be nationalised from a date to be worked out individually with each one of them, so that they might be open to gifted children without reference to their financial status and social background.
>
> Nationalisation put a great deal of administrative stress and financial strain on the Government. Within a few years it was realised that the emphasis should shift to consolidation rather that on expansion of educational institutions and

> on bringing all institutions under Government control.
>
> The exclusive public schools therefore were not brought under Government control (Umme Salma Zaman, 1981:239).

The exemption from nationalisation of these schools can also be attributed to the influence and power exerted by the elite who were controlling them. Moreover, these schools became more exclusive, especially when they were exempted from nationalisation. The move to bring elite schools under state control was thus defeated. Instead, they were further reinforced and encouraged in the post-Bhutto period, when the private sector was allowed to develop an educational system by opening up private educational institutions. The National Education Policy of 1979, expressed emphatically the desirability of establishment of educational institutions by the private sector. A large number of private schools mushroomed in the country, most of them with the goal of accumulating profits. Besides, while many of them charged high fees they were unable to match the high quality education that the long established elite private schools had provided during the colonial era. The exception is the emergence of elite City Schools of Pakistan which have established close links with a university in a center country, e.g. Britain. The question still remains unanswered: How can Pakistan eliminate the elite private schools or create educational facilities that will provide equal standards of education to the less privileged group?

6.2 Discussion

The elite private schools have been criticised for being elitist because they train students from socially and financially select families. Later on these students take over their parents' power and positions in various social, economic and political organisations. The key questions that have been raised in public discussion in Pakistan concerning these schools are: How can the patterns of recruitment be changed so as to provide the benefits of these schools to a less privileged section of the population?

In order to extend the benefits of the elite private schools to the less fortunate sections of the population, the following alternatives have been suggested, alt[redacted] these alternatives may not provide the final solution to the problem.

By effectively and efficiently bringing these schools under state control, the patterns of recruitment may be changed. The state may provide equal opportunities for admission based on academic merit to all children irrespective of their socioeconomic backgrounds. Pakistan under Bhutto's regime, desired to nationalise all private schools including these elite schools. But its full implementation was thwarted as elite schools were exempted from nationalisation. Direct state control of these schools, however, is also viewed with considerable alarm. It is feared that the children of the current government leaders may be preferred in recruitment to jobs compared to other

deserving students. Besides, it is observed that the quality of education in state controlled schools is low and the possibility exists that the quality of education in elite schools, under state control, will not be maintained.

It has also been observed that by raising the quality of education in the state owned schools and by making them comparable to elite schools, the state may eliminate the dominant position of these schools. In order to raise the quality of education in government schools, the state has to increase its educational expenditure on them by employing well qualified and trained teachers and by making available a sufficient and proper supply of school equipment, supplementary textbooks and adequate teacher-pupil ratios. But Pakistan, like other developing countries, has limited resources and the question of increasing the expenditure to raise the quality of education may not be feasible.

Another alternative that has been proposed by the government of Pakistan is to make entry into these schools available to a wider section of the population by providing scholarships and grants to deserving students. In 1972, at the time of nationalisation, the expensive English medium schools were exempted on conditions that they fill 20 percent of their places with scholarship pupils from poor family backgrounds.[2] It is difficult to examine the effective implementation of the above decision due to lack of data. The state may provide financial subsidy to poor well qualified students but the criteria of admission

focussing exclusively on academic achievement are likely to further block entry into these schools for children from low income families who tend to have low levels of academic achievement compared to children from high socioeconomic backgrounds. Therefore, when it comes to competing for places in elite schools, children from low income families obviously do not stand much of a chance.

The main objections raised against elite schools is that they perpetuate the class reproduction of the ruling elite. The ruling class and other privileged groups in the society educate their children in elite schools that assures them of high status occupations. These parents are prepared to use their influence, power and wealth to promote such education and in the process make these schools exclusive and restrictive in selection procedures. Furthermore, being either a product of the same school or similar educational background, they are represented on school boards and committees that determine the admission criteria.

Therefore, bearing in mind the above situation, the problem of changing the patterns of recruitment to those schools is dependent more on political and economic rather than educational factors. The privileged group has power and wealth, both of which give them dominant positions in the society. Unless the dominant position of the elite is changed, the educational reforms will not be effectively implemented. The educational system of Pakistan like other developing countries, reflects its socioeconomic system. A

class-ridden society cannot eliminate elitism in education because elitism reflects and protects the vested interests as embodied in the social structure. The radical thinkers have proposed a political and social revolution as the only way to alter the current state of affairs, that is by placing the control of the major means of production into the hands of the people. This may be the only way to bring about self-reliant development. But such an attempt needs commitments and strong political will on the part of the state which may decide to implement these measures. Pakistan, its state and society, as they are presently constituted, are far from likely to encourage and foster the growth of such a political will.

This study has identified a serious absence of research dealing with the scope and nature of educational disparities in Pakistan. It therefore seems appropriate to suggest that the scholars in and outside Pakistan need to make a special effort in the next decade or so to engage in research on the various aspects of the Pakistani educational system focusing on the evolving dual structure of the system and the patterns of participation of students from different social class, gender and ethnic background in the system. It is hoped that in addition to making a very modest start in this direction, this study has suggested at least indirectly a general theoretical approach that future studies might need to take.

NOTES

1. Umme Salma Zaman, Banners Unfuled: A Critical Analysis of Developments in Education in Pakistan, Karachi, Royal Book Company, 1981, p.233.

2. Cowen, J.C., et.al.(eds.) International Handbook of Educational System, Asia, Australia and Latin America Vol. III, Chichester, England, John Wiley & Sons, 1984. p.315.

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APPENDIX 1

THE RETIRED MILITARY SENIOR OFFICER OCCUPYING HIGH POSITIONS IN VARIOUS ORGANISATION AND CIVIL SERVICE

Some of the general occupying high positions in various corporations and other industrial establishment are:

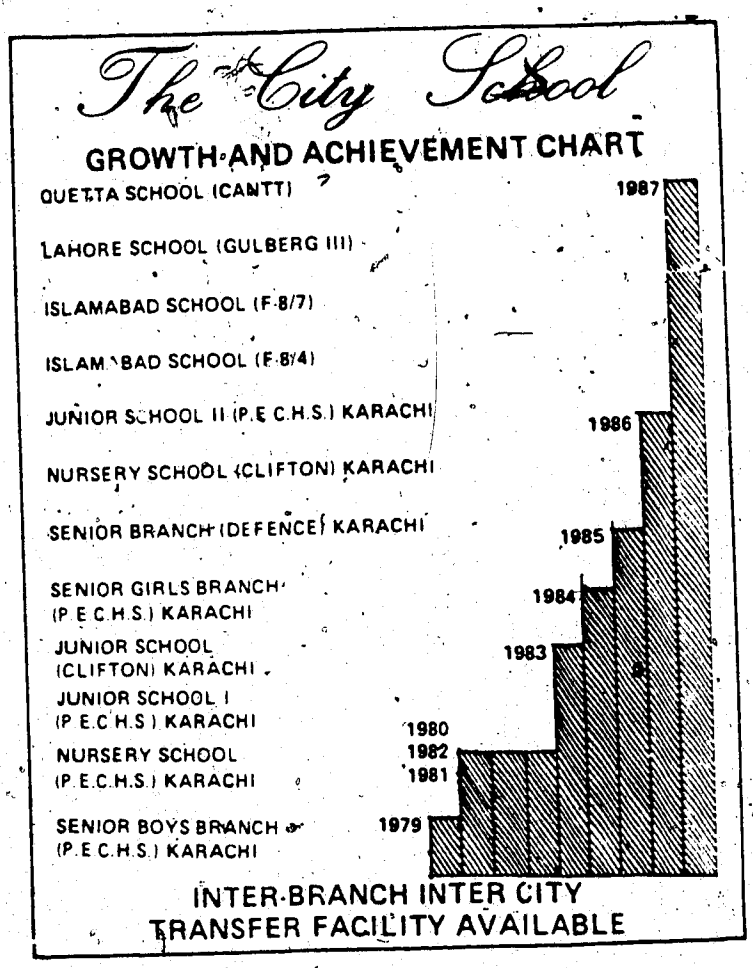
General Hazi Iftikhar Ahmed was the Chairman of the West Pakistan Industrial Corporations, Maj. Gen. Hayauddin was the Chairman of the power and Mineral resources Authorities, Maj.Gen. Umrao Khan headed the Ordinanace Factory, Maj. Gen. Shahid Hamid headed the small Industrial Corporation, Lt. Gen. Bakhtiar Baig was the Chairman of the Small Industrial Corporation, Brigadier Gulzar Ahmed was the director of the Bureau of National Reconstruction, Commodore V. A. Saeed was the Managing Director of the National Shipping Corporation, Air Marshal Ashgar Khan was the Chairman of the Pakistan Air Lines, Air MArshal Noor Khan was the Chief Adminstrator of Civil Aviation, Admiral S. M. Ahsan was the Chairman of the Land Water Transport authority. A sizeable number of retired military officers became the directors and executives of the various conerns of the Fauzi Foundations.

More ambitious military officials preffered to own their own industrial units. Particular mention is made of Gen. Habibullah Khan who became a major industrialist of the country within no time. He also had been the head of firms and director of the Mack Trucks. Captain Gauher Ayub Khan

rose to the top position among the industrialists of the country.

Civilian positions occupied by the Generals are numerous, which include ministerships, governorships, ambassadorial assignments, Chairmanships of big corporations, and many other assignment of this nature. The list is illustrative and only a few more prominent names are being mentioned here. Those who have occupied such pregtigious positions include Air Marshal Ashgar Khan, Air Marshal Nur Khan. Lt. Gen. Abdul Hamid, Maj. Gen.

APPENDIX 2.



(Source: Dawn, Karachi, November 14, 1986).

(Daily Newspaper from Pakistan)