

THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION REFORMS

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Abstract

Pakistan's education system has seen numerous structural and cosmetic reforms ever since the newly born state inherited an inadequate system from its colonial heritage. This paper attempts to probe into the nature of these successive reforms in order to assess how far these reforms attained their avowed objective of devising a modern teaching-learning scenario suited to the academic and socio-economic milieu of the independent nation. The paper adopts a chronological perspective to investigate the influence of political motives, ideological slant and vested interests of various regimes behind these attempts at modifying the education system. It is a qualitative analysis by the author in the light of his personal experience of more than a decade with educational policy and planning. It observes that Pakistan's numerous education reforms are mostly motivated by political considerations and objectives instead of aiming at a didactic process for meaningful and utilitarian transfer of knowledge to succeeding generations, without taking into view the evolving socio-economic needs, modern educational environment, internationally prevalent best teaching practices, futuristic curricular designs and modules, consistency, uniformity and progression of syllabi, provision of requisite infrastructure and resource allocation and pragmatic need analysis on the basis of economic or technological transformation of the client society. It also identifies radical but realistic steps needed to suit the existing educational practices and infrastructure with the modern pedagogy and highlights the key considerations lacking in the prevalent mechanism which hinder its universal, uniform and optimal utility in the light of the country's special cultural and economic needs.

Key Words: Education reforms, Socio-economic, Chronological, Environment, Knowledge-based

Introduction

The whole paradigm of development squarely hinges upon education leading to social capital formation and holistic human development. Education plays a decisive role in building human capabilities to accelerate economic growth through knowledge, creativity, innovation and skills. It helps in creating knowledge-based societies and knowledge-based learning organizations. Education is not just preparation for life but life in itself and education reforms are at the central point since it has to be a continuous process to accommodate the ever expanding frontiers of knowledge.¹

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This paper attempts to undertake a brief overview of successive educational policies and reforms carried out in these policies over the past two centuries with a view to analyze how far governmental interests, ideologies and involvement have shaped, transformed and effected the scenario of education in Pakistan. A quantitative discourse and statistical analysis on a socio-political theme like education falls short of taking into consideration the social, psychological, ideological, motivational and idealist aspects of the topic. The paper, therefore, adopts a historical approach towards evolution of educational environment and takes into account state and regime interests influencing the creative and intellectual capabilities of the masses whose socio-economic efficacy relies upon the skill set imparted through organized and institutional transfer of knowledge over generations. Curricular content, ideology, teaching methodology, teachers' training, budgetary allocation for education, physical infrastructure provided for this purpose during various eras and, most importantly, the extent and intensity of political will in the support of such reforms have been briefly discussed with a view to presenting a comparative index on which to judge the intent and effectiveness of education reforms. Recommendations have also been intermittently interspersed at appropriate intervals in the light of qualitative inferences and deductions drawn from the success or failure of various initiatives in the education sector.

Education being the most powerful instrument for promotion of development economics in a society, the politics of education reforms has immense significance, not only for development economics but for a vibrant political economy. The process of reformation permeates and has linear relationship with holistic development and equitable progress in a country. The politics of education reforms is deeply ensconced and ensnared in the education policies formulated and implemented by policy-makers and ruling political economy. The education reforms have direct impact on the economics and politics of development.² The facets of education reforms in Pakistan have been multi-dimensional and multi-variant. Over the years, due to sheer lack of strong political will and perpetual inconsistencies in education policies, the important segment of education reforms remained highly neglected and at times dormant in Pakistan. In order to focus on the political aspects of education reforms, the analysis and evaluation of education policies is a quintessential pre-requisite.³ It will be an endeavor to probe the rationale for

the reforms in pre-and post-independence eras and analyse their qualitative outcomes.

Politics of Education Reforms during Pre-Independence Era

The post-independence education reforms were influenced by pre-independence education reforms and policies of the British Raj. The foundations of British education system in India were laid through the Charter Act, 1813. The education reforms introduced in the early part of 19th century had very deep and direct nexus with the later reforms in the British India and post-colonial education system in India and Pakistan. The important features of the Charter Act 1813 clearly enunciated that education in India would be the exclusive domain of the East India Company, the new masters after the fall of Mughal Empire. It was also decided that Western education and the subjects of natural and social sciences would be promoted along with Arabic and Sanskrit. English was introduced as medium of instruction and the missionary organizations, whether Christian, Hindu or Muslim, working in the fields of human development were encouraged and patronized. This was followed by the famous, 'Minutes of Macaulay 1835', concentrating on European Literature and producing, '*a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in morals and intellect*'. The politics of education reforms in the British India were also influenced by education policies of the Raj. These included Wood's Dispatch 1854, Hunter Commission 1882, Sadlar Commission 1917, Hartog Committee 1929, Abbot & Wood Report 1937 and Sargent Report 1944. Due to peculiar requirements of statecraft and public policy of the British Raj, the British departed from the essentials enunciated in the first covenant on education i.e. The Charter Act 1813. The British era education system was further designed to train a workforce to promote the interests of the empire, especially after the 'Minutes of Macaulay 1835'.

The purpose of reforms by the British Raj was not to educate the people for the sake of education, enlightenment, amelioration and holistic development but to create a class of indigenous people capable of serving the vested interests of the colonial government. This can be adequately deduced from the fact that the nineteenth-century British educational institutions did not focus on science, research, local history and culture or technical education and gradually departed from the essentials of The Charter Act 1813. The religious education of

the masses was also ignored and, as a consequence, seminaries managed by religious entrepreneurs started working across the subcontinent. The British era reforms were not aimed at universal primary, elementary or secondary education. The whole concentration and emphasis was on English as the medium of instruction and ultimately national, regional and local languages were neglected and ignored. It is almost a universal truism that the ruled classes and subjects imitate the lifestyle of the rulers and, in the case of subcontinent, education system was no exception. The colonial government also ignored mass literacy, special education and non-formal education. There was a deep chasm between the societal needs and the system of education designed for the people of the subcontinent.

Politics of Post-Independence Era of Education Reform

After independence, Government of Pakistan announced several educational policies over the next seven decades. The politics of educational reforms has taken many dimensions and facets over a period of time, often influenced by political exigencies. Government of Pakistan introduced education reforms through different education policies such as Pakistan Educational Conference 1947, Report of the Commission on National Education 1959, The Education Policy 1972-1980, National Education Policy 1979, National Education Policy 1992-2002, National Education Policy 1998-2010, Education Sector Reforms 2001-2005, National Education Policy 2009 and National Education Policy 2018.

All the education reforms after independence focused on promotion of ideology, compulsory education and Islamic socio-political and ethical order in society. Teacher education, professional development and linking scientific and technical education with industrial and agrarian production were also emphasized. First Educational Conference 1947 laid-down the solid foundations of education reforms in Pakistan.⁴ Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Father of the Nation, emphasized the highest sense of honour, integrity, responsibility, character, courage and selfless service to the nation, leading to socio-economic development of the country. The emphasis was also placed on Islamic teachings, technical and vocational education and universal primary education.⁵ He further highlighted the importance of education by describing education as the matter of life and death for Pakistan. Unfortunately, allocations of resources after independence were not made according to the vision of the

Father of the Nation. This financing pattern continued during the subsequent regimes and the attempt at any significant education reforms remained stalled and ineffective.

The policy continued till the imposition of first Martial Law by General Ayub Khan in 1958 till a Commission was established by the military regime in 1959. The Commission on National Education 1959 emphasized upon character-building, research, primary, secondary and higher education with a focus on discipline.⁶ Unfortunately, the efforts failed to achieve the desired objectives of the report due to lack of resource allocation and absence of political will, integrated planning and intelligent implementation. The military regime had to face agitation due to recommendations of the Commission on account of increase in the duration of degree programmes and its implementation was later withdrawn. The military regime of General Muhammad Ayub Khan was succeeded by another military regime which announced a new Education Policy in 1970. The Education Policy 1970 was never implemented due to short tenure of the Government, separation of East Pakistan, political disorder and lack of ownership at the Government level. However, the Education Policy of 1970 repeated the essentials of earlier policies.⁷

The Bhutto regime that came into power after the turbulent secession of East Pakistan in December 1971 introduced another Education Policy in 1972. This policy laid emphasis upon universal basic education, agro-technical studies, vocational training, women emancipation and literacy and ideological orientation through curricular changes. The hallmark of the Education Policy 1972 was the nationalization of the private educational institutions including those managed by the missionaries and trust-based organizations which badly affected private sector in education that had been making a significant contribution towards offering quality education in the country. True to his party agenda and prevalent political ideals of 1970s in most of decolonized developing countries in the Third World, the policy reforms intended to standardize education system in the country along socialist policy orientation. This radical policy of aggressive nationalization, rapid expansion in education infrastructure and desired mass education at state expense put a very heavy financial burden on the national exchequer. Soon after the Bhutto government came to a violent end in 1977, the policy was substantively upturned by the succeeding military regime without it achieving the desired objectives.

The new military government under General Zia promulgated National Education Policy and Implementation Programme in 1979. The policy reforms focused on state promotion of the principles of Islam as a convenient rallying point offering the much needed political and diplomatic support for the regime which lacked constitutional legitimacy. The concept of Islamization, The Muslim Ummah, character building, literacy, discipline and promotion of scientific and technical education were the main features of these reforms. Due to political exigencies, Zia Regime introduced Islamization of contents of curriculum at all levels; Islamic studies and Pakistan studies were made compulsory in the professional institutions and universities, curricular interventions and revisions were made and the regime fervently promoted Madressah education without aligning it to formal education system. Urdu was declared as the medium of instruction but this edict was withdrawn later. A large number of nationalized schools/educational institutions were also denationalized.⁸ For the longevity of his tenure, Zia enforced some Shariah laws and Islamized education reforms but the policy was vastly criticized for its inherent inconsistencies and eventually the educational reforms of this era also met a failure.

National Education Policy 1992 was formulated in consultation with stakeholders for the first time in the history of the country. The bumpy return to democracy heralded a possible normalization of the state and a futuristic planning process in developmental sectors appeared to be an attainable ideal. The education reforms enunciated with the conceptual framework and the essential elements of the reform process were aimed at raising the literacy ratio to 70% by the 2002, women education, quality education, sports and games, non-formal education, incorporation of private sector, promotion of higher education, research and development and creation of an overall operational framework.

The Education Policy 1998 repeated the earlier essential ingredients. Social Action Programme (SAP) was initiated as a sequel of education reforms and enhanced role of Prime Minister's Literacy Commission. SAP introduced double shift in existing schools and expansion of basic education. Diversity in education was the most important feature of the policy and a separate stream of Matric Technical was also introduced which became dysfunctional later. The Higher Education Commission was tasked to ensure the formation of human social

capital and expansion of technical and scientific knowledge. With the nationalization of educational institutions, private sector had disappeared in 1972 but it reappeared in 1979 through an amendment in the nationalization enactment. The rise of private sector was phenomenal during this period and National Education Census 2005 recorded unprecedented increase in the enrolment in private educational institutions. Despite its ambitious goals, the policy also could not achieve desired objectives and the political upheavals soon after its promulgation sealed its fate.

Aspiring to introduce a progressive and forward-looking governance model, General Pervez Musharraf introduced Education Sector Reform (ESR) in 2001. The Reform emphasized defficiency and equity, economic revival, poverty reduction and resource mobilization from all channels. The Reform focused on decentralization through Devolution of Power plan ensuring grass-root level participation in educational planning and implementation. It encouraged and supported private sector enterprise to meet the challenges of access, equity and quality of education. Education For All (EFA) Action Plan, Ordinance for compulsory primary education, outcome-based planning, budgeting and auditing were the key pillars of Education Sector Reform. On the whole, the Education Sector Reform could not deliver on its promises and was doomed as its author lost his autocratic grip on power some years later.

Upon the revival of democratic order, the National Education Policy 2009 was ratified in September 2011 by the broad-based political leadership of Pakistan. The Policy enunciates, *“Our education system must provide quality education to our children and youth to enable them to realize their individual potential and contribute to development of society and nation, creating a sense of Pakistani nationhood, the concepts of tolerance, social justice, democracy, their regional and local culture and history based on the basic ideology enunciated in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.”*⁹ National Education Policy 2009 is a very comprehensive document with clear policy actions on early childhood education, Primary, Elementary, Secondary and Higher Education, Literacy and non-formal learning, quality education for teachers, curriculum reforms, quality of textbooks and learning material. Emphasis was laid on improving student assessment and accreditation, improvement of standards, labour markets and technical and vocational education. The major thrust of the policy is on universal primary education, adult literacy, technical and vocational

education, revamping of science education, quality assurance, mainstreaming of Madressahs, Public-Private Partnership (PPP) and higher education.

Complexity of Politics of Education Reforms

The major issues in education reforms have been, multi-layered education system with different curriculum and a wide and deep chasm between 'haves' and 'have-nots'. The education system in Pakistan is an amalgam of different systems i.e. elite private school system, public-sector schools, elite public schools including Divisional Public Schools, Danish Schools etc., and low-fee private schools. A small population, mainly consisting of urban rich, civil and military bureaucracy, landed elite and feudal aristocracy, has the privilege to receive modern quality education. The majority in Pakistan suffers from issues of access and quality of education. Those who can afford better and quality education are the beneficiaries of this anomaly. The nation had very high hopes and aspirations from its leadership after the landmark 18th Amendment and insertion of Article 25-A, declaring education compulsory upto secondary level, as a fundamental human right and constitutional responsibility of the State but there has been a very marginal change on the actual educational landscape of Pakistan. The simmering issues of access, equity quality, governance, missing facilities, teacher absenteeism, truancy and low learning outcomes still remain huge challenges for educational managers and policy makers. These daunting and gigantic challenges urgently call for holistic approach for immediate gainful interventions.

The education reforms in the past could not achieve desired objectives for various political reasons and it is exceedingly difficult to acknowledge any one of the reform agendas as a successful intervention. The success of any reform is gauged by its outcome and, in case of education reforms in Pakistan, these reforms were, more often than not, carried out with political and ideological motives rather than reformation for the sake of improving access, equity, quality and good governance in education sector. The issues of low enrolment, teaching and learning environment and retention are still very deep-rooted in the system, overwhelmingly impacting all tiers in the sector i.e. primary, elementary, secondary, higher secondary and higher education, technical and vocational training, especially quality of professional education in medical, engineering and business schools. The system of higher education is also not much enviable since it has failed to produce adequate skilled manpower to meet the emerging

demands of national and global markets. The share of vocational education in education budget allocation is less than 1 % which is one of the lowest in developing countries. The university graduates suffer from the inadequacy of human didactic resource base and foundation skills with less than desired chances of contributing to the economic growth and holistic development. Pakistan is at serious risk of missing Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA) targets. This adequately demonstrates lack of political and professional will and inconsistency in successive policies to implement the education reforms agenda in Pakistan.

Pakistan has lagged behind even in South Asia in terms of spending on education as percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Unfortunately, change of regimes, plethora of reforms and repeated merry-go-round rides by military and civil governments in Pakistan have stalled any meaningful progress in this sector. The education reforms could not successfully take off due to variety of reasons. Firstly, Pakistan failed to allocate adequate financial resources for implementation of a reform agenda and the budget allocation for implementation of education reforms has been dismal and disappointing i.e. 2.4% in 2006, 2.5% in 2007, 2.1% in 2008, 2.1% in 2009, 1.8% in 2010, 1.9% in 2011 and 2.1% in 2012. The enormity of the situation is that due to inadequate institutional arrangements and capacity issues, even the meager resources allocated to education could not be optimally utilized. Secondly, no coherent and consistent efforts were made to address the myriad issues of access, equity, quality and governance in education sector in the country. There has been inconsistency in policies and education reforms. With a new regime in power, a new education policy with a new reform agenda was introduced. The National Education Policy 2009 is still in place and successive governments have vowed political ownership for it. Yet, the fact remains that there are still 6.1 million children out of school, which is the second highest number in the world after Nigeria. The number of illiterates in Pakistan in the new millennium is more than 50 million; a population higher than the population of many countries of the world. Thirdly, no systemic effort was made to focus at a set of areas for each sector i.e. governance, pre-service and in-service teachers' training, curriculum development, continuous professional development of educational managers and providing the missing facilities in schools. Similarly, on account of assessment and accreditation standards, the interventions and reforms have not been enviable. Fourthly, lack of implementation strategy has been the most

debilitating factor. Even in the new millennium, 75% enrolled students drop out before the completion of their Secondary School Certificate. Pakistan has moved from 58 to 60% in adult literacy rates and 68 to 72% in net enrollment ratio but the pace of progress is painfully slow and we are not even close to achievement of MDG and EFA targets. The National Education Policy Framework 2018 is the latest addition to a number of policies Pakistan has already had over a period of time. The only difference is that the new policy is developed in post-devolution scenario, when education has been devolved and National Education Policy Framework 2018 is applicable to the Islamabad Capital Territory only. Even a year after the promulgation of National Education Policy Framework 2018, none of the provinces has taken the document to the provincial cabinets, demonstrating lack of ownership for National Education Policy Framework 2018 by respective provincial governments and education departments. The provinces have serious reservations about the consultative process of National Education Policy Framework 2018. The only ray of hope in the post-devolution period is the formulation of Inter-Provincial Education Ministerial Conference (IPEMC), being convened on quarterly basis in the provinces on rotation basis to discuss the emerging issues and their solutions in education sector but with the caveat that the province of Sindh has not yet joined the new dispensation as a member but as an observer.

Education Reforms in New Millennium

In the new millennium, there is a dire need to adhere to the directions of our forefathers. As a visionary leader, Quaid-i-Azam believed in the power of purposeful education and believed that education was the only effective mechanism to liberate the people of Pakistan and gel them into a strong and unified nation to ensure social, political and economic development. He desired that the educational policy of Pakistan should be brought on the lines suited to the genius of the nation, consonant with its history and culture and relevant to the modern needs and requirements and vast developments that had taken place all over the world.

Equity in Education Sector

The education policy-makers in Pakistan should continuously strive to create the right policy frameworks to ensure equity in education and ensure sustainable economic growth through enriched human social capital in a

skilled, competitive and innovative environment in order to eliminate mismatches between educational outcomes and skills and emerging technical and vocation needs (Malik, 2015). Education policy, therefore, must aim at devising a learning environment which provides equal opportunity to all for higher academic achievements, makes optimal utilization of the abilities and intellectual capacity of the youth and integrates the developmental needs of the society with the nature and content of the curriculum for productive transmission of knowledge.

Continuity and Consistency in Reforms

The education reforms should aim at continuous reformation and progression of national educational goals in Pakistan to address the challenges of access, quality, equity and good governance. This needs strong political will to enhance our budget allocations to a minimum of 4% of GDP. Without appropriate capital investment in education sector, the education reforms will never be successful in attaining their laid down objectives. Adequate allocation of resources with impeccable institutional arrangements to utilize the allocated resources is the only mantra for success. The continuity of education reforms has been a major issue in Pakistan. Education sector reforms in Pakistan need to be in consonance with the constitutional provisions guaranteeing the fundamental right to education. All basic education targets for primary schooling, elementary, higher, higher secondary and university education, functional literacy and gender equality are within the framework of Dakar Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals. This is high time that Pakistan plans for Education Agenda beyond 2015 and plan for effective integration of our system to harmonize with Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Education Sector Reforms should have continuum and consistency and must be based on iterative planning through consultation at sub-national and national levels, ensuring inclusion of local governments, private sector, civil society organizations and all stakeholders.

Use of Information Technology

The use of Information Technology (IT) is sine qua non in the new millennium. The potential of usefulness of IT in Pakistan is yet to be optimally exploited. The optimal use of modern information technology in education sector at all levels will help the teachers and students to form a creative and

productive approach. The use of Massive Online Open Courses (MOOCs), online student advisory, mass access to resource material and lectures through audio-visual aids can effectively address the issues of access and quality. The use of IT in education should be the central pillar of education reforms in the country.

Public-Private Partnership in Education

Government alone will not be able to accomplish the gigantic task of attaining the Millenium Development Goals and EFA targets. There is a need to involve and facilitate Non-State Providers (NSPs) for extending access, equity and quality. There is greater sensitivity to facilitate private sector by financial, administrative and management empowerment and autonomous academic leadership through Public-Private Partnership (PPP). The idea is to ensure trust-based synergy and synchronization culminating in a win-win situation. The evidence and practices from Punjab Education Foundation model have suggested that PPP is extremely successful. Efficient private sector leadership facilitated by public sector financing securely integrates and blends into an optimal level of service delivery, resulting in better learning outcomes, less drop-outs, ensured presence of teachers and no truancy. PEF, Foundation Assisted School Model is one of the replicable models for affordable quality education in Public-Private Partnership.

Education reforms should emphasize on emerging market demands in terms of skill requirement at national and international level. There has to be a close nexus and linkage among institutions of higher learning and business houses and industry. The best international practices around the globe and South East Asia have demonstrated that effective linkages of educational institutions with the market facilitates towards creation of ensured employment and provision of education according to the emerging needs, with the expansion in the frontiers of knowledge.

Right to Education

Education is of immense importance as a driver for empowerment and progress for the people. Prime Minister of Pakistan, along with the top political leadership from four provinces, Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Kashmir, resolved on September 16, 2011, *“Federal and Provincial Governments reaffirmed their commitment to education as a priority. National Education Policy 2009, subject*

to such adaptations as are necessitated in view of the 18th Constitutional Amendment, shall continue to be jointly owned national document. Each province shall develop an Action Plan which shall commit to appropriately raise allocations for education, set priorities according to provincial needs of access and quality of education and provide implementation strategies with timeframe and key indicators and ensure fulfillment of constitutional needs with respect to education and meet the international commitments including targets of Millennium Development Goals and Education for All goals". The 18th Constitutional Amendment and insertion of Article 25-A in the Constitution of Pakistan has made it the statutory and constitutional responsibility of the State to educate people of Pakistan. After 18th Amendment in the Constitution, the Joint Declaration at the highest level is a very good omen for a political resolve for the implementation of Article 25-A.

Education reforms should identify a set of innovative initiatives that will ensure access, equity, quality and good governance in education sector. The reforms agenda should essentially concentrate on an effective engine for school reforms, strong central coordination, teacher and school leader support, scripted lessons and engaging material, incentives for high performance, students-basic needs fulfillment, high-calibre management staff, universal standards and curriculum, student assessment, regular and reliable data collection and competitive compensation for teachers. The education reforms should have an implementation strategy which is the chief determinant for the success of the reforms. Analysis of the successful reforms around the globe clearly identifies that the leadership is the most important '*secret ingredient*' for translating good education policies and reforms into results. In the face of a dire educational emergency, leaders at every level will have to work in unison to create an education system that delivers. In the medium term, there is a need for the government to spend more money on education if it has to meet its education goals in the long term and maintain consistency in policies. Many critics have, however, serious reservations about the achievement of goals through previous education reforms in the past. They are of the view that institutional arrangements did not exist to accommodate all of the out-of-school children in public, private and non-formal schools. Without enhancing the capacity and infrastructure along with human resource, any education reforms will be nothing but political slogans by successive regimes.

Conclusion

The major strategic priorities of Government through education reforms in the past have been to achieve Universal Primary Education, in addition to ensure access, quality, equity and good governance in education. The strategic priorities of the Government were also to supplement the Millennium Development Goals including eradication of extreme poverty, access to education, reduction in child mortality rates, fight against disease and epidemics and develop a global partnership for development. The recent statistics show that except gender parity indices, Pakistan is at the serious risk of not achieving MDGs. Achieving other targets would also require enhanced commitment and intensive efforts. The level of intervention, however, did not match the enormity of the problem. The issue of adult illiterates (male and female) can largely be addressed by combining functional literacy with a lifelong vocational skill. The experience of functional literacy has been highly fruitful and there has not been a single drop-out in the adult literacy centres imparting literacy and vocational skills together. There is a need to scale up the programmes of adult literacy and vocational skills. A common set of problems that plague the education reforms agenda include weak planning, low budget provisions, delays in allocations, poor maintenance, low utilization, lack of trained staff, poor governance, weak monitoring and evaluation and absence of client involvement in the design of service provision. For successful implementation of organic reform initiatives in education, strong political will, stoic determination and resilient management are required. Supply-driven programmes and institutions established during one political regime have often been abandoned after change of political scenario. Consequently, the incomplete schemes become additional liability seeking solution from the planners. For providing quality education, different interventions like capacity building of teachers and managers, continued assessment of learning achievements through examinations, provision of quality textbooks, Information Technology labs, science labs and libraries have already been introduced. Moreover, up-gradation of schools from Primary to Elementary level & from Elementary to High level and provision of missing facilities will also go a long way towards attainment of policy goals.

The process of education reforms has to be consistent and continuous. There is a need to keep the reformation process on the learning curve with

continuous monitoring and evaluation of the processes, with the provision of integrating the results back in the system with a need to continuously rebalance and realign. The education reform, per se, should be apolitical in nature since it involves the process which impacts nation-building. The government must enhance the education sector allocation up to 6% of GDP now as envisaged in National Education Policy 2009 and demonstrated in the political manifestos of the political parties in power in Pakistan. It will definitely help to ensure implementation of Article 25-A of the Constitution. The process of education reforms is inextricably linked with economic growth and holistic development of the nation. It is therefore of paramount importance that secure implementation of education reforms agenda must be accorded top priority by the policymakers.

Endnotes

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