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Revisiting the links
between education equality
and inclusive citizenship:
Proposals for educational
reform in Pakistan

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Revisiting the links between education equality and inclusive citizenship: Proposals for educational reform in Pakistan

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Abstract. Pakistan is currently home to three parallel yet starkly unequal systems of education – the dominantly privately owned English medium, the state run vernacular Urdu medium and religious seminaries or Madrassah education systems. This paper demonstrates how socioeconomic class as a set of social relations permeates education provision in Pakistan to promote a passive and exclusionary form of citizenship by resulting in the current three-tier, apartheid-like structure. Establishing the links between education, capabilities and citizenship, the paper develops three evaluative criteria- individualization, socialization and qualification – to apply to key instruments- medium of instruction, curriculum content and styles of

teaching and learning- across the three systems of education and show how each produces a distinct cohort of individuals with varying economic, social and political opportunities. Based on the findings, the paper proposes the development of an equal, unified system of education, the procedural implications of which are addressed using the Web of Institutionalization. While sustaining change at scale is never easy, this study demonstrates how enforcing a horizontal view of citizenship i.e. influencing and bringing about change through new forms of organization and active involvement amongst citizens in the Citizen, Policy, Organizational and Delivery Spheres of the Web can institutionalize equality for diverse social groups.

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List of acronyms.

- AKDN – Aga Khan Development Network
CLC – Community Learning Centre
CQE – Campaign for Quality Education
CSO – Civil Society Organization
ECE – Early Childhood Education
EMIS – Education Management Information System
ESR – Education Sector Reforms
GoP – Government of Pakistan
ICG – International Crisis Group
ICT – Information and Communications Technology
MoE – Ministry of Education
PETF – Pakistan Education Task Force
PPP – Public Private Partnership
PTA – Parent Teacher Association
RECOUP – Research Consortiums on Educational
Outcomes and Poverty
SMC – School Management Committee
SPARC – Society for the Protection of the Rights of
the Child
TCF – The Citizens Foundation
UNDP – United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific
and Cultural Organization
UNICEF – United Nations International Children
Emergency Fund
WB – The World Bank
WSIP – Whole School Improvement Program

1. Introduction

This paper derives its motivation, in part, from recent postmodernist planning approaches which articulate that for planning to result in progressive social change, issues of cultural diversity and power relations must be addressed in increasingly dynamic, complex, multiethnic and multicultural communities. Included in the postmodernist agenda, according to Sandercock, is addressing social justice with regards to inequalities, oppression and domination rooted in social relations, acknowledging a politics of difference, and, what particularly becomes the focus of this paper, creating an inclusionary form of citizenship (Allmendinger, 2009, p.182-3).

Employing a simple definition to begin with, “citizenship in a democracy (i) gives membership status to individuals within a political unit (ii) confers an identity on individuals (iii) constitutes a set of values, usually interpreted as a commitment to the common good of a particular political unit (iv) involves practicing a degree of participation in the process of political life, and (v) implies gaining and using knowledge and understanding of laws, documents, structures and processes of governance” (Abowitz and Harnish, 2006, p.653). As it appears, citizenship is a grand unifying concept that allows individuals within a political unit to enjoy a common identity, membership status, some shared values and common political knowledge. Adopting such a universal perspective on citizenship, however, runs the risk of conveniently ignoring the particularistic aspect of it i.e. citizenship resides in the legal, social and political standing of individuals (Kiwani, 2008, p.64) and unless addressing power relations and the needs of diverse social groups, it remains ineffective in empowering individuals and encouraging active citizenship. Citizenship and consequently citizenship education, therefore, are not all about an ‘integration agenda’ but about overcoming structural barriers to equality and justice. The challenge, however, remains “to find or restore a common sense of citizenship secure enough to find a place for plurality of nations, cultures, ethnic identities, religions”, races, ages, genders, classes and the disabled

1.1. Study objectives

According to Lister (2008, p.13), plurality in relation to citizenship is often purely discussed in terms of social and cultural divisions like ethnicity, race, religion and less often, gender. However, this ignores differences that ema-

nate from class and socioeconomic inequality, barring a conceptualization of citizenship as inclusive of those living in poverty and treating the affluent and deprived alike. The first objective of this study, therefore, is to primarily employ socioeconomic class as a set of social relations and argue how it permeates education provision in a developing country like Pakistan to promote a passive and exclusionary form of citizenship. It demonstrates how the country’s prevalent education systems: English medium, Urdu medium and Madrassahs, corresponding to socioeconomic divisions of class, widen social inequalities by reserving privileged English medium education for a privileged class of people while poorer individuals obtaining Urdu medium and Madrassah education struggle in their capacity to exercise agency in different social, economic and political spheres of life as ‘full’ citizens.

While the Constitution of Pakistan formally entitles citizens to equal education and advocates educational and economic interests of lower socioeconomic classes, they enjoy little substantive citizenship in obtaining the same from the state. If education is to contribute to socioeconomic equality and an inclusive form of citizenship, however, it cannot remain an unequal experience. The paper’s second objective, therefore, is to propose educational reforms in Pakistan establishing an equal, unified system of education as a basic constitutional right of Pakistani citizens. It advocates a democratic curriculum, representative of the rich, diverse heritage of Pakistan alongside language teaching in English and regional languages at par with Urdu to bridge the gaps in socioeconomic inequality promoted by the current three tier education structure. It also advocates a pedagogy emphasizing active communication, critical thinking and problem solving for individual and social development of children, enabling them to participate in a broadened set of social, political and economic opportunities (see Sen’s Capabilities in Chapter 2) and consequently contributing to inclusive citizenship.

1.2. Significance of the study

In his categorization of civil, political and social rights, T.H. Marshall identified educational systems and social services as institutions closest to social rights i.e. “the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized

being according to the standards prevailing in the society" (Marshall, 2009, p. 149). This is not to say, however, that education does not enjoy a strong presence in the other two realms. Regarding civil rights, for instance, "the right to freedom of speech has little real substance if, from lack of education, you have nothing to say that is worth saying, and no means of making yourself heard if you say it" (Marshall, 2009, p. 151). It, therefore, becomes evident that education as a basic capability is a gateway to different social, political and economic opportunities and that who is taught what, how and for what purpose automatically becomes a crucial determinant in shaping the rights and responsibilities accruing to any individual citizen. This paper, therefore, derives its significance from emphasizing the crucial links between education equality and inclusive citizenship by answering 'what kind of educational arrangements best enable Pakistani citizens to lead "collective and individually fulfilling and worthwhile lives"?' (Walker, 2003, p.179).

In particular, the study's crucial importance accrues to the nature, intent and timing of the educational reform it proposes in the context of Pakistan. Whenever the country's governments had contemplated the idea of a 'unified' education system in the past, they had more than often pitched it against fear of parochial prejudices. In other words, 'unified' did not connote equality for individuals belonging to diverse social groups but instead represented forced homogenization guising diverse ethnic, regional, linguistic, religious etc identities into a single monolithic entity under state sanctioned nationalism, often guided by powerful elements like religion (Islam) or the national language (Urdu) (see Chapter 3). The proposed unified system differs in character as it challenges underlying structures of inequality in education provision based on socioeconomic class and other social relations like religion, ethnicity, culture etc. In other words, differences in origin under the proposed system flourish because of it, not in spite of it.

Given that the recently established PETF declared an Education Emergency both in terms of education access and quality, educational reform remains the need of the hour in Pakistan. Also, if allowed to persist in the face of already soaring unemployment and inflation in the country, socioeconomic inequalities resulting from education inequity can seriously undermine its social fabric by con-

juring illicit activities and menaces like crime. Lastly, the ongoing devastating effects of America's War on Terror and the recent floods' aftermath in Pakistan have necessitated the reconstruction and rehabilitation of schools across most parts of the country. But more importantly, they have impregnated citizens with a unique feeling of solidarity and tolerance, in the spirit of which, the proposed educational reform has a brighter chance of thriving and weaving an inclusionary form of citizenship.

1.3. Methodology and organization of study

This paper proceeds in the following manner: after providing a brief literature review on citizenship and Sen's Capabilities Approach, Chapter 2 establishes the linkages between education, citizenship and capabilities aiding the development of an evaluative framework for the three education systems in Pakistan. The framework derives significance from the various functions education is meant to serve in society and establishes three main evaluative criteria: individuation, socialization and qualification. Chapter 3, then, applies these criteria to three key instruments: medium of instruction, curriculum content and styles of teaching and learning across Pakistan's education systems. Based on the findings, it proposes the development of a unified education system, the procedural implications of which are discussed at length in Chapter 4. Chapter 4 employs the Web of Institutionalization as an operating tool to gauge the strengths, opportunities and weaknesses the current system poses for proposed educational reform. While the proposed reforms' procedural implications in the Web largely derive examples from class related issues, the intersectionality between class and cross cutting social identities like gender, language, religion, ethnicity etc must never be forgotten. In fact, as reflected at various points throughout the following text, the very motivation behind this study is to bring attention to, and signify the importance of diverse social entities in shaping an inclusionary form of citizenship. Time and space constraints may limit analysis to issues of socioeconomic class but the paper, however, aims to guide future research towards addressing the needs of various other social groups in relation to education service delivery and citizenship in Pakistan. The paper finally closes with concluding remarks.

2. Conceptual framework

2.1. Literature review

Discourses around citizenship. According to Kiwan (2008, p.49), the evolution of citizenship dates back to Aristotelian/Platonic times when human beings were considered social animals and citizenship, a privilege reserved for men of decent occupation, socioeconomic status and age. While highly exclusive in nature, citizenship then paradoxically came about to characterize the common good- since human nature was inherently social, what was optimal for the state was also optimal for its citizens. Remnants of this tradition may be traced to one of the two dominant discourses on citizenship today i.e. the civic republican (opposed to classic liberal). According to Abowitz and Harnish (2006, p.658), civic republican discourse focuses on values like commonality, consensus and unity, where citizenship requires identification with, and commitment to, the political community's goals through education and active engagement in the democratic process. This discourse often sets up responsibilities against rights, articulating that a selfish focus on individual rights rather than collective responsibilities, along with growing cynicism and apathy leads to the ultimate breakdown of democracies. Civic republican discourse also maintains exclusivity, sometimes sharply condemning multiculturalism and accusing it of having a balkanizing effect on society (Abowitz and Harnish, 2006, p.660). It, therefore, does little to address inequalities based on social diversity and instead advocates a strong, harmonious, communal identity and commitment.

Classical liberal theories, on the other hand, consider the individual as "conceptually and ontologically superior to society and the ultimate bearer of rights, regardless of his/her status in society" (Kabeer, 2005, p.2). "The embodiment of the moral person in the liberal democratic society is the citizen who is free, self-originating, and responsible in exercising rights and discharging duties" (Abowitz and Harnish, 2006, p.662). Classical liberals lay much greater emphasis on individuals' ability to exercise freedom in society, including marginalized and oppressed groups. Political liberalism, the dominant thread in this discourse, advocates there is less agreement on social values and chosen identities and focuses on procedures that ensure fair, inclusive deliberation about governance and policy (Abowitz and Harnish, 2006, p.663). Critical thinking, reasoning abilities, debate and deliberation are, therefore, much valued in the liberal school than an often narrowly defined focus on unquestioned obedience and

commitment to some 'shared' communal values under the civic republican school.

While largely inclined towards the classical liberal chain of thought, this study advocates a third and perhaps much more meaningful discourse labeled critical citizenship by Abowitz and Harnish. The concept of citizenship in recent times has come to broaden liberal agendas of human freedom and specifically focus on exclusions based on socioeconomic class, gender, culture, ethnicity, religion, race, sexuality etc. Feminist discourses have challenged gendered constructions of citizenship while cultural and reconstructionist discourses have respectively questioned the role of ethnicity, language minority and other cultural groups in defining citizenship and active, critical participation in democratic societies (Abowitz and Harnish, 2006, p.666). In a similar thread, Lawy and Biesta have advocated the idea of citizenship-as-practice; as an inclusive and relational concept necessarily located in a distinctive socioeconomic, political and cultural milieu. They argue that citizenship is "not a status or a possession, nor it is the outcome of a developmental and/or educational trajectory that can be socially engineered. It is a practice, embedded within the day-to-day reality of people's lives, interwoven and transformed over time in all the distinctive and different dimensions of their lives" (Lawy and Biesta, 2006, p.47). It is in this spirit that the concept of citizenship is employed throughout this paper – by striking at inequality and its manifestation in the deeply dissected education system in Pakistan, this paper hopes to improve the unfortunate 'reality' of the masses, and by proposing democratic reforms for educational trajectories with a pre-determined agenda, it promotes an education system that is more reflective of, and closer to, the day-to-day lives of people and what they value.

Discourses around capabilities. If citizenship is a practice embedded in day-to-day realities, the freedoms encouraging or restraining individuals to exercise agency as a consequence of those realities become intrinsically important. This view of development as freedom was first advanced by Amartya Sen in the 1980s/1990s and generously adopted by the 1990 Human Development Report. Stating that "People are the real wealth of a nation" (Klugman, 2010, p.1), the Report drifted development discourse from a passive basic needs perspective of "What can be done for the individual?" to the powerful notion of "What can the individual do?" (Alkire, 2002,

p.167). According to Sen, the central theses of the human development approach lies in the twin recognition that human beings are able to fare better and can do much to bring that about (Klugman, 2010, p.12). Emphasis should thus be laid on enhancing substantive freedoms that help individuals improve overall well-being alongside removing unfreedoms like poor economic opportunities and lack of organized arrangements for education, health etc.

Sen's Capabilities Approach is a 'concentration on freedom to achieve in general and capabilities to function in particular' (Saito, 2003, p.21). Functionings reflect the achievements of an individual, what he/she manages to do or be whereas capabilities represent a derived notion, reflecting the various combinations of functionings he/she can achieve (Sen, 2003, p.5). For instance, despite having an encouraging teacher and learning environment, Student A may still fail a Science exam as she spends her time studying Art instead out of personal choice and interest in aesthetics. Student B, on the other hand, faces an incompetent teacher and a harsh classroom environment, severely impacting her performance in the exam. While both girls end up scoring fairly low i.e. the same functioning, their capabilities differ in that Student A possessed the option of preparing well (better teaching and classroom arrangements) but chose otherwise (Unterhalter, Vaughan, & Walker, 2007). It is this idea of choice that holds a special place in Sen's approach. An individual may be unaware of the significance or relevance of options available to him/her to achieve a certain functioning or may deliberately not value them, yet their absence is a kind of deprivation regardless. As evident in the following chapters, education is not experienced as a choice in Pakistan- children belonging to lower socioeconomic classes are somehow destined to attend Urdu medium and Madrassah education, with no flexibility in language of instruction, a decidedly undemocratic curriculum, limited subjects and unproductive pedagogy.

Sen's Capabilities Approach presents a major breakthrough from earlier resource or commodity centered approaches in welfare economics (e.g. utilitarian, Rawlsian etc) in reflecting an individual's real deprivation or real freedom. The Rawlsian principle of equality of primary goods, for instance, fails to acknowledge that equality of resources does not guarantee equality of outcomes. Individuals differ fundamentally in their ability to convert resources into outcomes so that while primary goods may be the means to achieving certain freedoms, they cannot replace capabilities in valuing freedoms as ends in themselves (Sen, 2003, p.7).

Conceptualizing human development as sets of capabilities and functionings lures one into enquiring the kind of freedoms and capabilities individuals have reason to value. For Sen, however, listing down capabilities as such runs the risk of rendering the approach prescriptive and passive. Martha Nussbaum, on the other hand, specifies

a list of ten capabilities (of which some will be referred to at a later point in this paper) which she believes are essential to experiencing life as full social beings. In a similar thread, Alkire (2002) stresses the need for identifying and prioritizing certain capabilities to operationalize the capabilities approach while still respecting Sen's position on context-specificity. The challenge, therefore, remains to simplify the capabilities approach without introducing distortions that would render it just as ineffective in valuing human freedoms as previous approaches in welfare economics.

2.2. Citizenship, capabilities and education: Examining the links.

This section aims to capture the complexities between citizenship, capabilities and education, establishing how the presence of one is crucial to a meaningful relationship between the remaining two. Perhaps, a preliminary (yet useful) way of exploring their interrelations is imagining them as interacting in a Venn diagram where, not surprisingly, common ground all between all three remains the focal point of this paper.

For instance, when considering the links between citizenship and capabilities, it is important to note the positive contribution citizenship can potentially make to each of the five essential instrumental freedoms identified by Sen: political freedoms, economic capabilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security, all of which foster human capabilities (Sen, 1999, p.38). However, this not only requires a substantive form of citizenship whereby formal rights accruing to citizens are fairly delivered but also education as a basic capability, providing access to knowledge and information about rights and responsibilities, encouraging critical thinking, reflection and awareness and equipping individuals with the skills needed to achieve valued doings and beings. Education carries the potential to create critical consciousness about a politics of difference and actually enables individuals to pursue whatever is intrinsically valuable to their own selves.

Conversely, the relationship between education and citizenship cannot become meaningful without being linked to individual freedoms and capabilities. Education and citizenship have historically been linked largely in moral terms i.e. education serves a moral purpose by explaining what it is to be a good citizen. However, morality may be a topic in citizenship detailing common values like respect, tolerance, freedom and equality but being a citizen is not a moral universal experience (Kiwan, 2008, p. 50). Moreover, imparting knowledge about such common values only explains the outcomes they lead to with little emphasis on the actual process of achieving them. Individual capabilities, in the social, political and economic

realm emphasize the process of creating and recreating these shared values in citizenship. By determining the terms on which individuals are able to participate on their own and/or in collective associations, they emphasize individual and social action and the forms of agency they are able to exercise.

This paper reflects upon the last set of links where citizenship is a cross cutting issue in the relationship between education and capabilities. As stated earlier, education is a gateway to a broadened set of capabilities but societies that relegate individuals to a lower or secondary citizenship status by virtue of their gender, age, race, class, ethnicity, language etc can easily block this channel, essentially hampering individuals' capability to participate as active, 'fuller' citizens in social, political and economic spheres of life. In Pakistan's context, for instance, a majority of individuals find themselves excluded from their formal basic right of equal education and consequently, a range of associated educational, employment, economic, social and political opportunities only because they belong to a certain socioeconomic class.

2.3. Developing criteria for evaluating education.

While the question of a 'good' education system is largely normative, it is best answered by examining the kind of functions education is expected to deliver in society. From a capabilities perspective, a good education system must not only enhance individuals' human capital or productive potential but also human capability. This is because, by establishing what kind of girls and boys we recognize ourselves to be and what we believe ourselves as able to do, educational experiences shape our current and future choices and aspirations. A good education system must, therefore, expand the real choices individuals possess and invest them with substantive freedom and agency to lead the kind of lives they value. By achieving such individuation or subjectification (Biesta, 2009, p.7), the system produces free, autonomous, self originating individuals who alongside considerable self-belief and confidence possess the capacity to exercise their agency in different economic, social and political spheres of life. In other words, they know how to make their presence seen, felt and heard.

According to Nussbaum (2000), however, "to plan for one's own life without being able to do so in complex forms of discourse, concern and reciprocity with other human beings is to behave in an incompletely human way" (quoted in Walker, 2003, p.174). The inherent connection between the individual and the social, the per-

sonal and interpersonal, frames a 'bivalent' approach to capabilities, which like Fraser's (1997) critical theorization of recognition, argues that both individual flourishing and underlying social structures must be included in our frame of understanding (Walker, 2003, p.182). Indeed, individuals are part of existing socio-cultural, political, religious and moral orders which may be reproduced or transformed through educational experiences. A good education system, then, is that which socializes (Biesta, 2009, p.7) individuals according to established norms and values about good morals, character, religion and citizenship, for example, but simultaneously allows them to become a source of social transformation- it creates a critical/reflective form of consciousness that helps individuals participate in creating an improved and desirable form of social life than what currently exists.

Conversely, broader questions about individual and social flourishing also find expression as educational questions about the kind of knowledge, attitudes and skills that participation in an improved and more desirable form of individual and social life requires. Clearly, qualification (Biesta, 2009, p.7), or the ways in which education contributes to acquisition of knowledge, skills and dispositions crucial to achieving other desired states is an important function of education. However, a good education system does not only educate in basic reading, writing, literacy and numeracy skills but also produces better, more critical knowledge which makes a difference in practice to the education of diverse children and the conditions under which their learning takes place.

While these criteria do not represent an exhaustive and non reducible list (a task indeed difficult given the countless actors and ingredients comprising an education system), by emphasizing values like freedom, agency, recognition, diversity and social action, they nonetheless highlight the intrinsic worth of human beings and contribute to a more inclusionary form of citizenship. The given evaluative framework also envisions a more active citizen appealing to various capabilities in Nussbaum's theory like political, economic and material control over one's environment, imagination and thought, practical reason, affiliation and so on (Alkire, 2002, p.35).

The next chapter is aimed at applying these criteria to evaluate the three parallel education systems of education in Pakistan in terms of medium of instruction, curriculum content and styles of teaching/learning. Limitations on space and scope confine the analysis to the Social Studies and Islamiyat curriculum for primary and middle school students. Before detailing the analysis, however, the chapter provides essential background information on Pakistan's education sector.

3. Evaluating the education systems in Pakistan

3.1. Historical background

Pakistan is home to three parallel yet unequal systems of education- the dominantly privately owned English medium, the state run vernacular Urdu medium and largely private religious seminaries or Madrassah education systems. The State dispenses its responsibility in education through direct, decentralized service delivery as well as regulation of non-state interventions in the sector and retains the largest proportion of service. According to a national estimate, 73% of primary age school going children attend public school while contrary to popular belief, only 1% receive Madrassah education and the rest i.e.26 % attend private schools of varying quality (PETF, 2011). Lack of quality state education provision, however, has rendered education a lucrative industry for private entrepreneurship, thus witnessing growing increase and popularity in private institutes in recent years (MoE, 2011). According to a recent study, private and non-profit schools appealing to low income groups also exhibit better learning outcomes than similar schools in the public sector (CQE, 2007, p.4).

As stated in the White Paper on National Education Policy, serving political objectives like either national integration or 'refinement of spiritual lives', Pakistan has "historically failed to realize that education is both for development and social justice and there exists no choice between the two objectives" (Aly, 2007, p.2). Soon after its existence, the imposition of a Martial Law under General Ayub Khan in 1958 resulted in the foundations of a differential education system in the country, where education was emphasized only at the tertiary level, resonating emphasis on modernization and technological progress prevalent in that decade. The regime also introduced a unified curriculum for grades 1-12, establishing Islamiyat as a compulsory subject and merging History, Geography and Civics into what is now popularly known as Social Studies (Dean, 2005, p.37). Educational needs, however, were radically redefined in the 1970s when separation of East Pakistan shifted the objective of education to national cohesion and social and cultural harmony. Overthrowing Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977, the military government under General Zia ul Haq established a National Curriculum Bureau which emphasized patriotism, national unity and most of all Islamic principles in education and citizenship education in line with 'The Islamization Policy'. It also introduced separate institutes and curricula for girls based on their perceived 'Islamic role', thus introducing a new layer of

social stratification based on gender (Dean, 2005, p.38). This ideological conflict between religion and the state also victimized Madrassahs as Pakistan's foreign policy coupled with US political, economic and military support armed students and encouraged them to fight proxy wars during the 1980s Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (Thomas, 2006). Following the 9/11 attacks, however, the US government took a 180-degree turn and led the Musharraf regime to introduce the Deni Madaris Ordinance in 2002 whereby Madrassahs would register themselves with the government and follow a government-designed curriculum, promoting both philanthropic and self serving intentions of the US in including greater admiration for Western nations and their belief systems alongside ridding existing curriculum of Jihad and related elements (Thomas, 2006). Registration, however, was suspended in 2003 following a political battle between the state and the ulema, the latter's sentiments wounded and threatened by US interference and alleged conspiracy of introducing secularism in Pakistan.

While education may not be a universal experience within countries, the fact that it remains strongly dissected along socioeconomic classes in Pakistan welds it into a perpetuating cycle of inequality. Speaking a language of power, resource and prestige, both state-influenced elitist public (comprising cadet colleges, federal government model schools and schools for the armed forces) and private English medium schools provide mere passports to privilege to individuals already higher up in socioeconomic hierarchies. Charging considerably higher fee than Urdu medium schools and at the same time, trading admission and subsidized education for donations and land grants by wealthy owners, state owned and private English medium institutions exacerbate inequalities by aiding privileged education for a privileged class of people (Rahman, 2005, p.29). Despite the recent mushrooming of non elitist English schools, there is no traversing class boundary as they are English only in name, selling dreams of an English medium education to poorer parents deluded by its seemingly easy availability (Rahman, 2005, p.36). Urdu medium schools remain the educational resort of the lower middle and lower income classes for the most part while Madrassahs, that of the still poorer who seek their free boarding, food and tuition provision. The following evaluation, however, adds a unique qualitative dimension to the analysis- by establishing how starkly different Urdu medium and Madrassah trajectories are from English medium in their opportunities for individu-

ation, socialization and qualification, it exhibits how class differences are interlocked with, and amplified by other recognition-al injustices in education which impede opportunities for economic, political and social participation and consequently, individual and social development for Urdu medium schools and Madrassah school students.

3.2. Evaluating medium of instruction

Individuation. While the colonial legacy of English conflicts an individual's pride, belief and confidence in his/her own linguistic origin, its benefits as an official language of Pakistan and international recognition partly offset this position. By teaching a language prevalent in nearly all domains of power like the government, bureaucracy, military, judiciary, commerce, education and research (Rahman, 2005, p.24), English medium schools provide relatively better opportunities for individuation by not only increasing employability but also expanding the real choices students possess in terms of admission to different social, political and economic spheres. The underlying culture of schools e.g. through the promotion of student councils and extra-curricular activities also provides students with opportunities to practice their autonomy, agency and assertiveness in different capacities.

The internal colonialism of Urdu over local regional languages, on the other hand, remains less easy to defend. Urdu medium and Madrassah school students do not experience medium of instruction as a choice and instead suffer from a stereotyped, stigmatized image of serving the affluent with an "underclass of workers and literate servants" (Khalique, 2007, p.101). Not only are their capabilities restricted in terms of choice and freedom, they even lack the ability and self confidence to imagine a different future for themselves- their choices and aspirations remain deformed so that, for instance, a watchman's son or daughter enrolled in an Urdu medium school dare not aspire becoming a Professor in English at the very top rank English college or university he guards each day. Madrassahs take it a step further- by predominantly preaching Arabic without having students learn the language or be able to converse and express themselves in it, they leave absolutely no room for individuation in such a passive form of 'learning'.

The fact that none of the three systems recognizes the importance of local/regional languages in education, however, implies that emerging students not only grow up with decreasing pride in their linguistic identities but also believe that progress can only come about learning the languages their respective schools teach. By robbing students of the confidence that their own languages can broaden capabilities and improve participation in different economic, social and political spheres of life, all three systems significantly impair opportunities for individuation.

Socialization

"There are schools for the elite, and there are schools for the poor. The products of elite schools go back to elite circles, and the products of public schools go back to underprivileged classes. There is no possibility of traversing these [boundaries]" (ICG, 2004, p.13)

Students internalize the separateness, division and distance accompanying the current three tier apartheid-like education structure so that while products of English medium schools increasingly lose pride in their national language and become less tolerant of their Urdu medium and Madrassah counterparts (Rahman, 2005, p.32), the latter reciprocate sentiments through indoctrination and narrow worldviews. The introduction of English as part of the Madrassah curriculum, for instance, remains resisted by ulema in light of an alleged US conspiracy to Westernize, modernize and secularize them.

All three systems, however, lack the "need to recognize and value the variety of difference and cultural resources students bring to learning" (Walker, 2003, p.176). In their oblivion of a critical consciousness and repeated interactions with non recognition and indifference, the three education systems fail to acknowledge possibilities for change, renewal and a better social life that may emerge from mutual interactions and social-cultural exchange between their respective groups of students. The continued exacerbation of ethnic divisions through such educational arrangements is alarming to say the least, for language issues and ensuing conflicts have long plagued Pakistan's distinguished past, the secession of East Pakistan being a fatal consequence along with Sindhi-Muhajir clashes that continued to paralyze Sindh's urban centres including Karachi and Hyderabad through the 1970s, 80s and 90s (ICG, 2004, p.15).

Qualification. A proficient use of the English language in reading and writing provides a significant competitive advantage to English medium school students in entry tests when pursuing higher studies at well reputed institutes (Rahman, 2010, p.235). Interestingly, however, the recently emerging majority of non elitist low cost private English medium schools do not promote a culture of communicating in English in classrooms and outside. Spoken English skills of these and counterpart school students, therefore, may be similar.

The broader benefits of an English medium education may also include exposure to a wider array of formal disciplines like Arts and Computer Sciences, the necessary infrastructure, resources or plain willingness for which, counterpart schools, especially Madrassahs, are most likely to lack. Not only is the resulting flow of knowledge in English medium schools more meaningful and relevant

to children's learning, it also stimulates their creativity and develops critical thinking and analytical skills, all of which qualify them much better to achieve other desired states in life. As the following sections on curriculum and pedagogy make evident, English medium schools also possess the potential to impart critical knowledge, relatively tolerant towards, and receptive of diverse social groups including gender, religion, ethnicity (but not class, as stated above).

3.3. Evaluating Curriculum Content

The fusion of History, Geography and Civics into a single 'Social Studies' curriculum in 1958 implied each subject got reduced to a third of its volume and lost its importance as an independent discipline (Saigol, 2010, p.114). Compression into a smaller text and selective use of facts also meant that historical facts were omitted, twisted and rewritten "within the confines of officially sanctioned and state sponsored nationalism" (Saigol, 2010, p.114) to fit a cleansed and sanitized national narrative that did not problematize issues in terms of class, ideological polarization, ethnicity etc and the divisive potential of such variables (Rahman, 2010, p.231).

Individuation. The Civics curriculum in all three systems of education is a far cry from the democratic liberal and critical citizenship models- instead of advocating individual freedom, choice, agency, rights, equality, diversity, justice and individual and social action, it diffuses the conception of an ideal citizen with that of a good Muslim to promote piety, obedience and perseverance as core values. In fact, the need for an active citizenry and civil society is more than often sidelined in the attempts to paint a benevolent picture of the state and an ideal responsible citizen. In Madrassahs, students' worldviews about right and wrong are also carved out of their mentors' judgements on the same, thus rendering religion a unifying, overarching concept not withstanding any individuality or plurality in opinions.

The lack of attention to individuality, coupled with the fact that Geography and History under represent diverse regional and cultural entities across provinces, can seriously undermine an individual's capabilities. In the words of Nussbaum (2000), "such circumstances affect the inner lives of people: what they hope for, what they love, what they fear, as well as what they are able to do" (quoted in Walker, 2003, p.172).

Socialization. While still not factually accurate and unprejudiced, curriculum content in English medium schools is generally more tolerant of the Other. Private English medium schools usually do not prescribe Pakistan Text Book Board books, implying that decent publishing abroad coupled with less provocative vocabulary, greater exposure to international general knowledge and colourful pictures and illustrations generates broader and more tolerant world-

views (Rahman, 2005, p.32). Schools imparting education in Urdu, on the other hand, are generally considered more conservative and religious in their everyday teachings. Alongside a civic republican trend of promoting a homogenized national identity, unity and patriotism, inclusion and recurrence of words like Mujahideen, Shuhda and Jihad in Urdu Social Studies and Islamic texts is thought to result in a more intense "communal and religious interpretation of historical struggles" (Saigol, 2010, p.136). Likewise, Madrassahs socialize individuals around religious norms and values as History and Civics remain centered on glorification of Muslim heroes, Islamic historical narratives, laws, customs and worldwide movements.

All three systems, however, desperately lack (adequate) emphasis on the rich, diverse cultural heritage of Pakistan and respect and tolerance for all social entities contained within it, including regional and religious minorities. Many educators in Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, for instance, believe that despite a richly laden history, their narratives and local heroes are underrepresented in national texts (ICG, 2004, p. 16). Needless to say, Pakistani history speaks little outside the country too- of ancient India, the medieval and colonial eras and even international history whilst emphasizing glorification of Islamic struggles, movements and conquests (Usmani, 2011). Likewise, the use of vocabulary like 'our' Holy Prophet in Islamic Studies is inherently discriminatory and exclusionary towards non Muslims and non believers. Such under/misrepresentation in curriculum content rules out any potential synergy resulting from the interaction of diverse social groups for indeed, a society exhibiting intolerance, non recognition and indifference towards different entities contained within it seriously bars them from functioning and participating as both fuller individuals and collectives in society.

Qualification. As stated earlier, the reduction of History, Geography and Civics into a single Social Studies curriculum implies that students remain devoid of a large body of valuable literature pertaining to each discipline. Students, for instance, are not taught the historical evolution of, and dominant discourses in citizenship and citizenship education, their experiences in other countries, the purposes they are meant to serve in society, the kind of individuals they idealize etc. Also, under representation and misrepresentation of geographical and historical narratives implies lack of familiarity with the rich, diverse social and cultural heritage Pakistan is endowed with.

Qualitative deficiencies, however, remain more crucial than quantitative ones in that lacking a critical consciousness of plurality of opinions, multiple perspectives, controversies and debates in Civics, History and even Islamic Studies, students in all three systems of education are tamed into becoming single minded followers. Reinforcing negative individuation, the unquestioned authority of curriculum content implies that students remain unacquainted not

only with political nuances and power imbalances that permeate regions, cultures, nations etc but also the critical and reflexive thinking processes and skills crucial to a meaningful understanding of the same.

3.4. Evaluating Styles of Teaching and Learning

Individuation. Complementing better quality textbooks and curriculum content, teaching methods in English medium schools are more humane, innovative and interesting than counterpart Urdu medium and Madrassah schools (Rahman, 2005, p.31), thus providing the greatest opportunities for individuation. Quality English medium schools encourage team work, class activities and extra-curriculars including meaningful debates and discussions, all of which allow the individual to exercise his/her genius in a variety of ways. The transmission model in most public Urdu medium schools, on the other hand, is read-explain-question, where the teacher reads out text, delivers a lecture and questions students on the content to confirm transmission (Dean, 2005, p.45). Teaching in such a dull, boring and uninspiring manner, however, encourages passive learning and mere regurgitation of information fed into students. According to Dean (2005, p.49), such an authoritarian lecture style with no Q&A and oversimplified, uncritical thinking leads to single dimensional, exclusivist mindsets and close minded followers. It discourages 'out of the box' thinking and in so doing, confines individuals' choices, freedoms and aspirations. The Madrassah education system takes it a step further- according to Hoodbhoy (1998, p.6), teachers in a Madrassah system only view students as empty vessels to be filled with knowledge defined by nothing more than unchallengeable, immutable truths – that is why “the questioning of percepts and assumptions is not welcomed; the teaching style is authoritarian, punishment is common, and memorization is crucial”.

Socialization. Teaching-learning methods are the foundation supporting the organizational structure of the class, defining the authority of an individual not only in relation to his/her instructor but also his/her peers. They have the capacity to either reproduce or transform the sociability an individual grows up with. English medium schools, by providing relatively greater freedom of expression to students, socialize them to a relatively tolerant and respectful social environment. The need, together with the ability to be heard, allows individuals to realize how active engagement with teachers and peers can create positive synergy in the class (Imagine the positive contribution such an individual becomes capable of making to social and professional work environments on growing up, particularly in current times when diversity increasingly drives organizational cultures towards participatory approaches). Not only meth-

ods, teachers themselves are icons that students more than often tend to idealize and associate their personalities with. Punctual and regular attendance by teachers in private English medium schools, for instance, can teach a student how punctuality and regularity must become important traits of his personality in discharging duties not just as a student or employee but also as a responsible citizen.

High rates of teacher absenteeism, on the other hand, or “ghost” teachers as the phenomenon is often referred to, is a common feature of vernacular schools where state employees are guaranteed salaries regardless and often even employment, through resourceful contacts. Such a culture of evading responsibilities, however, together with a tense and sometimes harsh class room environment adversely influences the sociability students grow up with. While “uncritical transmission of pre packaged knowledge through standardized curricula ensures that education functions as an effective and powerful apparatus of state ideology” (Saigol, 2010, p.138) on one hand, an authoritarian lecture style coupled with a tradition of caning and beating only produces passive, fearful followers. The teaching style of a typical teacher in a Pakistani Madrassa, too, is autocratic (Hoodbhoy, 1998, p.6). Thus, students emerging from such environments cannot be imagined as pro active citizens who can lead situations and positively contribute to achievement of an improved and desirable social order.

Qualification. Middle school classes in most English medium schools prepare students for future O and A Level qualifications which emphasize analysis and evaluation in assessment examinations. Therefore, pedagogical techniques encourage the development of important skills like comprehension, problem solving, critical thinking, logic and reason through a variety of class activities like curriculum related exercises, interactive quizzes, provision of useful course material, presentation of interesting case studies etc. Active engagement with teachers and exchange of information with peers also acquaints students with an entirely different world of knowledge that may have otherwise gone unexplored.

Urdu medium schools, on the other hand, judge by quantity and not quality in written examinations as analysis and critical evaluation do not hold any place in their assessment criteria. Rote memorization and mere regurgitation of information is the norm, as is the case with Madrassah schools where students merely reproduce the religious teachings they are accustomed to, without any thorough thought process or analysis. As stated earlier, the authoritarian lecture styles in both school systems together with exposure to a narrowly defined, prejudiced curriculum hinder plurality in opinions and diversity in identities in class rooms, thus producing passive learners and not critical thinkers.

3.5. Towards A Unified Education System-Proposals for Educational Reform in Pakistan

Demonstrating how opportunities for meaningful education remain a privilege and not a basic right in Pakistan, the preceding discussion compels us to ponder “what kind of educational arrangements would best enable Pakistani citizens to lead “collective and individually fulfilling and worthwhile lives?”” (Walker,2003, p.179). This section seeks to answer the same by proposing the development of a unified education system imparting equal, quality education to citizens in all their diversity as their basic constitutional right. While overcoming structural barriers in education equality and streamlining the three systems (particularly Madrassahs) in terms of medium of instruction, curriculum content and pedagogy remains an uphill task, its consequences for education equality and inclusive citizenship render it too important to ignore. In the words of Young (1987), “consensus and sharing may not always be the goal, rather, the recognition and

appreciation of differences, in the context of confrontation with power” (quoted in Abowitz and Harnish, 2006, p.668) is rightfully prioritized. The following proposals, therefore, are made not only in the hope of achieving a true realization of the MoE’s aim of “transforming Pakistan’s education system into an equal opportunity, quality education provider” (MoE, 2011) but also generating a broader wave of consciousness regarding education equality and ‘critical’, inclusive citizenship. Limitations on space, however, force a matrix representation of crucial reforms (Table 3.1). While the preceding evaluation and following proposals have been separated between individuation, socialization and qualification for clarity of information, it is important to remember that all three are mutually enhancing in character and consequently, proposals for one reinforce improvement in the others. Chapter 4, now, employs the Web of Institutionalization as an operating tool to gauge the strengths, opportunities and weaknesses the current education system poses for the introduction of the afore-mentioned educational reforms.

Table 3.1. Proposals for educational reform in Pakistan

Instruments	Medium of Instruction	Curriculum Content	Teaching-Learning Methods
Criteria			
Individuation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Introduce local / regional (and/or religious) languages at provincial level with democratic decision making, consultation and consensus with diverse local groups •Balance importance of Urdu and local/regional languages in schools alongside English as language subjects and correspondingly, as official languages in state services and related employment circles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Establish civic education as an independent discipline balancing existing civic republican tendencies with individual choice, freedom, agency, equality, diversity, rights, social justice and action •Eliminate prejudices based on religion, ethnicity, culture, race, class, gender, age and the disabled •Reform curriculum content with grass root representation to make it democratic, actively acknowledging and respecting diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Provide opportunities for freedom of expression and encourage interactive learning and Q&A •Encourage class room debates and discussions on relevant course material to aid the development of critical skills
Socialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Value difference in linguistic identities and develop tolerance and respect for the same •Provide opportunities both inside and outside classrooms for social-cultural exchange between students of different lingual origins 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •(repeat above) •Augment curriculum content with meaningful pictures, illustrations and good quality publishing to generate more tolerant worldviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •(repeat above) •Monitor teachers’ attitudes in class and provide training and incentives to encourage innovative, interactive pedagogy
Qualification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Emphasize ability to read, write as well as converse in policy-determined languages alongside creating critical consciousness, respect and tolerance for linguistic identities •Provide required translated course materials in agreed languages in an increasingly broadened array of subjects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Facilitate critical learning by generating textbooks including both sides of a debate in curriculum content, highlighting important discourses, debates, political nuances and controversies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Introduce comprehension, critical thinking, logic and reasoning skills as pedagogical outcomes •Reform and replace existing examination and class room assessment based on rote memorization with the stated skills

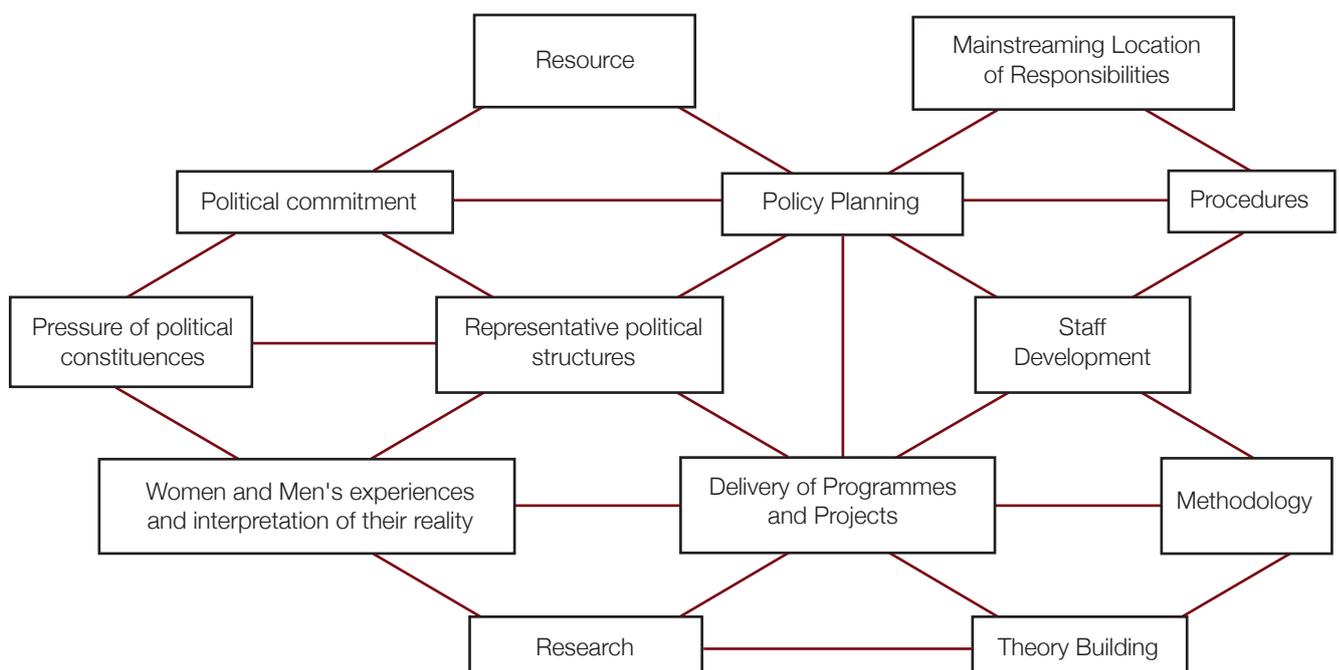
4. Towards a unified education system: procedural issues and the ‘Web’

Transforming the current three-tier, apartheid-like education structure in Pakistan implies challenging the underlying power relations and social inequity it has perpetuated on a regular and continuous basis. In other words, it is in this institutionalized system of power acquisition and social inequality that individuals and their organizations must pave their room for maneuver to generate sustained change (Levy, 1996, p.1). The following paragraphs address the procedural implications of introducing the proposed unified education system in Pakistan by employing the Web of Institutionalization (see Figure 4.1) as an operational tool, detailing the strengths, opportunities and weaknesses in the current system in each of its Citizen, Policy, Organizational and Delivery Spheres. As stated earlier, while the following sections primarily draw examples from socioeconomic class differences, the intersectionality between class and cross cutting social identities like gender, language, religion, ethnicity etc must never be forgotten. Also, as becomes evident in due course, different individuals or groups of actors possess varying capacities and power to influence one or more elements within each sphere, but knitting them all together in a Web requires “collective action through conflict resolution, co operation, consultation and negotiation” (Levy, 1996, p.5) between relevant actors at local, national or international levels.

4.1. The Citizen Sphere

While *men's and women's educational experiences* remain unreflective and un-reflexive in character, they lack a critical form of consciousness in interpreting their own individual reality and potential contribution to an improved social life on the whole. Recent anecdotal evidence, for instance, exhibits how fascination with English and English medium education and its economic, political and social benefits drives poor people's aspirations to obtain the same (Ali, 2011 and Syed, 2011). Yet, a CQE study demonstrates how teachers and students personally often use regional languages as a comfortable mode of instruction aiding comprehension in the classroom (CQE, 2007, p.19). Men and women, therefore, must be reassured that difference is a resource, not a threat and that the natural multilingualism of Pakistan makes it possible to use the most productive of languages at appropriate levels of study (Aly, 2007, p.34). They need to be made aware and conscious of the fact that belonging to poorer classes can also mean being able to offer something, and not just being deprived. Advocacy campaigns around new or existing *political constituencies* must invite consciousness, mobilization and collective action from amongst the local

Figure 4.1: The Web of Institutionalization (Levy, 1996)



people to emphasize the intrinsic worth of individuals irrespective of class, gender, age, religion, race, culture, ethnicity and disabilities and demand an education equal and sensitive to all.

Several community-based and non-profit organizations have, for instance, undertaken educational initiatives promoting the interests of underprivileged classes particularly in the economically backward areas of Pakistan. Teach for Pakistan, a fairly young, independent social enterprise, advocates how a fragmented education system provides quality education to upper or upper middle income individuals while poverty, limited social mobility and geographical limitations constrain poorer groups of children. It, therefore, attacks the dual problem of educational inequity i.e. limited access and poor quality education by recruiting outstanding university professionals and graduates in under resourced schools whose competencies improve not just educational outcomes but enhance individual and social development of students. Similarly, Care Foundation, a 23 yr old charitable trust dauntingly adopts public schools alongside building its own to provide free education to over 145, 000 underprivileged children across 192 cities in Pakistan (Care Foundation, 2010), adapting The Punjab Textbook Board syllabus employed in government adopted schools according to the Oxford syllabus taught in Care built schools and incorporating supplementary materials to close the gap in qualification. Students are also reported to have dropped out of public schools and joined Care for a better learning environment including necessary physical infrastructure and more humane, innovative teaching methods (Care Foundation, 2010). Such initiatives demonstrate how efforts for improved individuation, socialization and qualification are already under way in some areas of Pakistan but need formalization through active engagement with *representative political structures*. Presently, community participation in district and local governance and management circles is not concretely institutionalized to ensure accountability, crying for strengthening of PTAs and CSOs to contribute to a more accountable delivery system (Aly, 2007, p.7). Representation, however, does not only imply promoting the strategic and practical interests of local groups but also fairly recruiting them in educa-

tion management circles. Currently, non meritocratic recruitments based on political power and communal links obstruct the path of a large pool of deserving teachers, scholars, historians, education administrators etc in active service. CQE studies (2007, p. 16), for instance, demonstrate how local political leaders were also SMC chairmen in some schools, thus encroaching on almost all aspects of the functioning of the school while pushing the leadership and jurisdiction of school principals to a bare minimum.

4.2. The Policy Sphere

If pressure from political constituencies through representative political structures is to translate into sustained change, it must be backed by strong *political commitment*. As highlighted earlier, educational policies in Pakistan have been developed on ad-hoc basis for political expediency, lacking a meaningful, comprehensive plan, clear vision and political commitment. According to Sir Michael Barber, Co-chair of the PETF, however, successful educational reform requires that “the fatalism gripping political leaders on considering Pakistan’s education sector be swept away and that political leadership persists to take “the risk of unlocking citizen pressure for reform” (Barber, 2010, p. 8). He argues political commitment concerns not just any individual political leader but ‘a guided coalition’ by people in key positions sharing commitment to reform and understanding what it requires e.g. facing home truths in terms of appointing administrators strictly on merit and tackling endemic corruption (Barber, 2010, p.7).

The extent to which political leadership remains truly committed to reform reflects in relevant development *policy/planning*, just as it does in the *resources* employed to sustain the latter’s procedures and outcomes. For example, for the first time in Pakistan’s history has ECE emphasizing creativity and critical, independent thinking skills been incorporated in the ESR and exclusive funds have been dispersed to provincial governments for the same (Aly, 2007, p.37). Also, collaborating with and gaining aid from international donors like UNICEF, teacher training and other arrangements to institutionalize ECE and Child Friendly Schools are under way. A consider-

Figure 4.2. The Citizen Sphere (Levy, 1996)

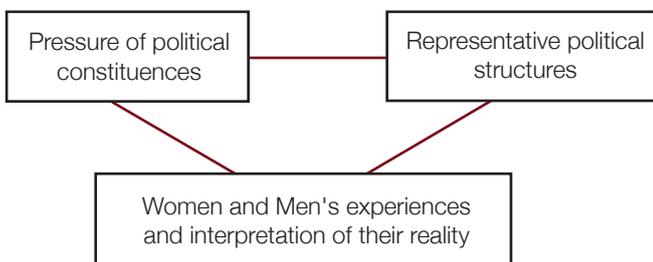
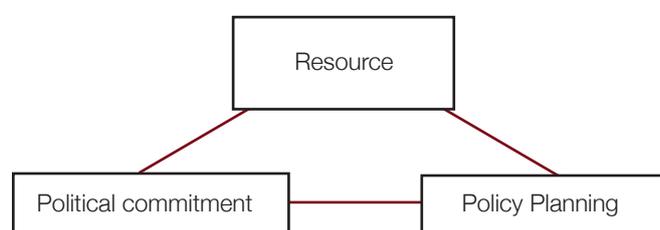


Figure 4.3. The Policy Sphere (Levy, 1996)



able proportion of Pakistan’s development budget is met through funding by international partners, however, it must increase the proportion of GDP spent on education to a much advocated 4% than 2.6% as it currently stands. It must also ensure a higher share of non salary expenditures in the recurring budget to improve teacher training, training aids and school facilities (Aly, 2007, p.12). At the same time, however, the MoE must explore new channels of PPPs to provide maximum possible students with quality education by, for instance, outsourcing activities to private schools and providing fee vouchers to pupils at standardized rates in backward areas where public schools require further development and capacity.

One key factor requiring considerable attention is the effective representation and participation of all relevant stakeholders including private entrepreneurs, public and private teachers, education administrators and religious scholars in formulating policies and planning resources. If gaps in the three systems of education with respect to stated criteria and educational instruments must be closed, policy planning and implementation would require opening up new institutional spaces for discussion between key stakeholders and networks where, for instance, teachers, administrators, historians, academic scholars, ulema etc all can advocate their views and express their reservations in guiding policy reforms and outcomes in medium of instruction, curriculum content and styles of pedagogy. Similarly, in terms of resources where schools lack basic facilities, for instance, the sun in winters, tree shade in summers, time to conduct classes in open air, space to sit on, blackboards to write on etc all become scarce and crucial resources, to a maximum use of which, teachers’ and administrators’ flexibility, adaptability, leadership and mutual understanding is absolutely vital. It is, therefore, imperative that the Policy and Planning Wing identifies them, acknowledges their expertise; actively involves them in decision making and provides them support and incentives, placing them at the heart of a long term reform effort in public sector education (CQE, 2007, p. 24). Currently, however, the sporadic, non standardized and politically driven episodes of educational reform lacking representation from key stakeholders and identified and committed resources have resulted

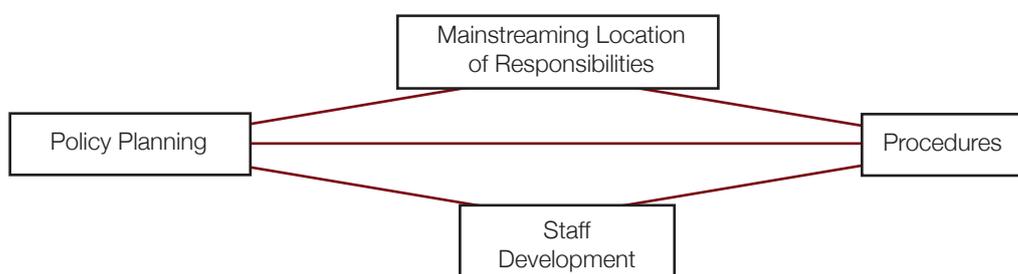
in widespread absence of genuine ownership of policy goals by majority of the stakeholders (Aly, 2007, p.2).

4.3. The Organizational Sphere

Lack of ownership of policy goals at broader provincial government tiers is reflected in the fact that most offices in provincial education departments do not even possess copies of the national education policy. This is partly attributed to the consultation disconnect between federal and provincial governments, and partly to the lack of harmonious, convergent and effective communication between the six wings of the federal MoE itself (Curriculum Wing, Planning and Policy Wing, Projects Wing, Administrative Wing, Training Wing and Monitoring Cell). Such evidence hints at the need for *mainstreaming location of responsibility* for successful education reform, as negligence regarding the same results in unequal development across the country, “creating islands of privileges in a sea of disempowerment” (Aly, 2007, p.2). Perpetual sensitization to, and institutionalization of a class perspective in education development policy and planning, for instance, requires ownership of responsibility across all Wings and government tiers e.g. the Administrative Wing in auditing finances, preparing budgets and re-appropriating funds in a pro poor manner, the Training Wing in revising quotas and disbursing special scholarships for underprivileged students and teachers alike, the Projects Wing in addressing class issues at each stage of the Project Cycle in each ongoing and future project like Early Childhood Education (ECE), Adult Literacy etc and so on.

Policies and corresponding responsibilities must be translated into clear *procedures*, “the ‘routinised’ daily activities or the rules governing actions within or between organizations and individuals” (Levy, 1996, p.9). Two elements regarding Pakistan’s education sector require emphasis here- firstly, there is a need to formalize institutional arrangements for inter-tier and intra-tier coordination between different levels of government which not only ensures cohesive policy planning and implementation but also healthy competition between them. The lack of interaction and competition between different Provincial Textbook Boards, for instance, has granted them complete monopoly over

Figure 4.4. The Organizational Sphere (Levy, 1996)



the production and distribution of course materials, with absolutely no motivation to improve quantity and quality of learning materials, their content and publishing (Aly, 2007, p.19). Secondly, there exists a dire need to develop an EMIS at devolved government tiers and units to ensure a fully integrated education network, guaranteeing responsive execution of policies and removing internal inequities, imbalances and resource wastages (Aly, 2007, p.8). Such a system must also ensure proper channelization of monitoring and feedback on implemented policies, which the education sector currently lacks. For instance, in the one or two previously occurring sporadic instances of curriculum review and development, no mechanism was in place to gain feedback from district education departments on how receptive were local groups to the new curriculum's implementation or what factors facilitated or hindered its promotion by teachers in the class (Aly, 2007, p.18).

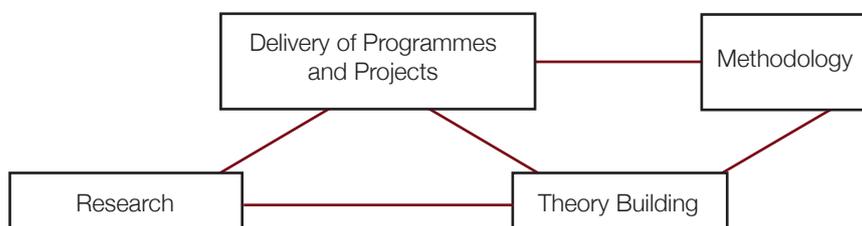
A shift in policy planning and subsequent procedures must also be mirrored by a shift in *staff development*. As matters stand, professional development in Pakistan's education sector has come to be equivalent to mere accumulation of academic qualifications (CQE, 2007, p.25), which may easily be acquired through illegal means. In fact, many believe that possessing one of the highest non teaching staff to teaching staff ratio (CQE, 2007, p.6), the education sector in Pakistan represents a large, overdeveloped bureaucratic network that influences recruitment, transfers and postings of teacher and other educational staff through political interventions. Emphasis, however, must be shifted to meritocratic recruitment and training of teachers and administrators focusing on knowledge relevant to introducing proposed changes in medium of instruction, curriculum content and teaching-learning methods. It is encouraging to note that public sector teachers number over 500,000 and even if 5% acquire the necessary leadership qualities, teaching ability and knowledge base, the number would still exceed a meaningful 25,000, given the number and capacity of functional public schools. Provincial and donor driven staff training programs, however, will require systematic continuity and alignment with class room support like teaching materials, resources, curricula etc to ensure sustained change in teaching practices and educational achievements. The MoE can also develop partnerships and coalitions with private schools and community driven projects like the WSIP and TCF which already have meaningful training under way.

4.4. The Delivery Sphere

Underlying staff development must be clear *methodology*, defining the rationale, tools and techniques for institutionalizing reform in education policy, planning and practice. Clearly, the proposed system yearns for participatory approaches in planning, formalizing, executing, monitoring and evaluating education sector reform so that diverse social entities may define meaningful educational outcomes, indicators and standards for delivery themselves. Many public schools, for instance, find current monitoring functions 'inspecting' more mundane things like teacher, student attendance records that lend little improvement to school infrastructure, curriculum and teaching learning practices (CQE, 2007, p.21). The MoE, therefore, must provide participatory monitoring and support systems that emphasize performance based accountability measures and incorporate recommendations from school councils through active communication and interaction. Methodology can also borrow from international donors' development projects like UNICEF's LIFE Skills and Child Friendly Schools Projects emphasizing critical learning and thinking skills or introduction of CLCs and ICT based learning by UNESCO.

If undertaken, appropriate staff development and methodology, coupled with a policy environment conducive to reform and effective representation in the Citizen Sphere are likely to result in successful *delivery of programmes* and projects, reinforcing linkages between key elements in each sphere (see Figure 4.1). Changes underlying the proposed educational reform like raising critical consciousness and mobilization around political constituencies in the Citizen Sphere, or meaningful, interactive policy/planning in the Policy Sphere can in turn both contribute to, and borrow from, mechanisms for public learning and knowledge creation through *applied research*, and consequently *theory building*. The interdisciplinary employment of critical discourses around citizenship and human development in this paper, for instance, potentially contributes to a more meaningful, unified education system in Pakistan and necessitates effective research around curriculum reviews, national education policy objectives, plans etc.

Figure 4.5. The Delivery Sphere (Levy, 1996)



5. Conclusion

Sustaining and intensifying both redistributive injustice i.e. inequalities in socioeconomic class, resources and opportunities, and recognition-al injustice i.e. inequalities embedded in origins, identities and cultural capital, the current three tier education structure in Pakistan pushes individuals towards a “false, distorted, reduced mode of being” (Walker, 2003, p.176) and a bottomless pit of self alienation. This study’s proposed educational reform, however, achieves more than merely appealing to moral and ethical considerations. While institutionalizing equality through a unified education system redirects the government towards meeting its constitutional obligations, the reforms proposed regarding medium of instruction, curriculum content and teaching-learning methods actively promote an inclusive form of citizenship. Who is taught what, how and for what purpose are all qualitative questions framing judgments about what is reproduced and transformed in society. If Pakistan’s apartheid-like education sector, then, continues to remain unmindful of education equality and critical citizenship’s crucial linkages, it will characterize a matter of life and death for this nation, which while being home to 173,383,000 subjects (WB, 2011) will be far from having just as many *citizens* (CQE, 2007, p.4).

But what are the crucial linkages between education equality and inclusive citizenship? What kind of society must an ideal education system foster to make citizenship more relational? What kind of educational, social and political arrangements best facilitate individual development and collective citizenry? The answer lies in emphasizing the intrinsic worth of all human beings by fostering human capabilities and substantive freedoms in providing each individual equal and ample opportunities for *individuation*, *socialization* and *qualification*. Individuation is mirroring one’s self- if an education system expands the set of real freedoms individuals possess and their capacity to exercise agency, it reinforces their self belief and confidence in achieving current and future choices and aspirations that they intrinsically value and wish to pursue. Socialization embodies a wider sense of personal and social responsibility so that a good education system not only socializes individuals in existing morals and social values but also provides a transformative space for critical/reflective practices, where knowledge sharing, deliberation and democratic dialogue enable critical reflection on one’s own positions, prejudices and ignorance with respect to the other. Building a social bases for self respect and

non-humiliation, effective socialization fosters a certain degree of willingness and 'reasonableness' towards others whose views, histories, and experiences differ from one's own and inculcates a culture of tolerance, empathy and solidarity, all of which aid the development of an improved and desirable form of social life. Qualification shares a mutually enhancing link with both individuation and socialization in imparting the knowledge, skills and attitudes crucial to desired forms of individual and social beings. A good education system, however, advances reasoning, creativity and diversity in producing *critical* knowledge which makes a difference in practice to the education of diverse children and the conditions under which their learning takes place.

Challenging exclusionary processes underlying education provision, the proposed reforms in individuation, socialization and qualification fit the broader framework of critical citizenship by concerning recognition, the intrinsic worth of all human beings and respect for difference; solidarity, the capacity to identify with others; self determination, which awards individuals control over their lives; and justice and fairness, not just in terms of being treated equally but also, differently (Kabeer, 2005). They echo what critical citizenship is, after all, all about: “a project for a new sociability, a more egalitarian framework for social relations at all levels, new rules for living together in society...and recognition of the ‘other’ as a subject bearer of valid rights and legitimate interests” (Kabeer, 2005, p.22). But the question remains: what underlying mechanisms provide the support structure for a new sociability project to build on and a more egalitarian framework to develop from? More specifically, what room for maneuver do existing structures, processes and institutions provide for generating and sustaining perspectives on equality and inclusiveness in ongoing development policy, planning and practice? (Levy, 1996, p.1) This paper partly answers the same by employing the Web of Institutionalization as an operating tool to address procedural issues in introducing educational reform in Pakistan. While sustaining change at scale is never easy, this study demonstrates how enforcing a horizontal view of citizenship i.e. influencing and bringing about change through new forms of organization and active involvement amongst citizens in the Citizen, Policy, Organizational and Delivery Spheres of the Web can institutionalize equality for diverse social groups. It also generates ideas for further research in reflecting the

potential of the Web as a diagnostic tool, testing the various permutations and combinations of social inequity based on class, race, gender, ethnicity, culture, religion, age and disability imbuing the day-to-day lives of individuals. Indeed, it is these everyday realities that weave our narrative of citizenship and identity- “we are

the story we tell ourselves” (Barber, 2010, p.9) – institutionalizing perspectives on education equality (and consequently other sectors) and inclusive citizenship, therefore, can let Pakistani citizens collectively dream of telling themselves a different tale this time- of a *different* Pakistan.

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