



An analytical review of Pakistan's educational policies and plans

Muhammad Ahsan

To cite this article: Muhammad Ahsan (2003) An analytical review of Pakistan's educational policies and plans, *Research Papers in Education*, 18:3, 259-280, DOI: [10.1080/0267152032000107329](https://doi.org/10.1080/0267152032000107329)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0267152032000107329>



Published online: 01 Dec 2010.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 1200



View related articles [↗](#)



Citing articles: 8 View citing articles [↗](#)

An analytical review of Pakistan's educational policies and plans

Muhammad Ahsan

ABSTRACT

After more than a half century of independence, nearly half of Pakistan's population is still illiterate. There are various factors responsible for this sorry state of affairs. In this context, this paper attempts to analyze the situation of national educational policies and plans. The overall outcome of this discussion reflects that poorly produced and inadequate implementation of education policies and plans were major hurdles in the development of the education sector in Pakistan. The analysis also highlights that throughout the history of this country, new policies and plans were often prepared without giving due consideration to the causes of failure of previous policies and plans. The practice of extending the time period for the unmet targets of previous policies can also be seen on a number of occasions in the history of Pakistan. This situation highlights the need for the formulation of rational policies and plans as well as an adequate system for their implementation. In conclusion, the paper suggests some measures for improvement.

Keywords: policies; plans; Pakistan; education sector; basic education; primary education; literacy

INTRODUCTION

Should Pakistan have celebrated or mourned the dawn of the new millennium, the birth of the new century? On the one hand, according to official estimates, the country managed to double its literacy rate during the last two decades (Pakistan, 1995, p. 135; Pakistan, July 2001)¹ while on the other, it entered the new millennium with half of its population illiterate (Pakistan, July 2001). According to a World Bank report, Pakistan's literacy rate is still one of the lowest in South Asia, a region which itself is by far the most illiterate part of the world. Pakistan's female literacy rate is also one of the lowest in the world (World Bank, 2000, pp. 276–77). International comparisons show that at the eve of the millennium, Vietnam, India

Muhammad Ahsan is an independent research analyst and has extensive experience in research and teaching in the areas of Pakistan studies and the Muslim World.

and Pakistan had almost the same GNP per capita (i.e. US\$1860, 2148 and 1834, respectively, measured at PPP) but greatly differed in literacy rates (UNDP, 2001, pp. 141–44). Since the war, Vietnam has attained a 93% literacy rate, even though it had to virtually start from scratch. This compares very favourably with Pakistan's literacy rate of 45%. India showed better performance, and with its 56% literacy rate, it held 115th position in world ranking with respect to HDI, as opposed to Pakistan which held 127th position (UNDP, 2001, pp. 141–44). These indicators make it abundantly clear that there was not much to celebrate. This paper attempts to analyze educational policy and planning in Pakistan, particularly with reference to basic education. The first sections focus on the historical analysis of various policies and plans while the later sections explore the current situation in the country (i.e. the Eighth Five-Year Plan 1993–98 and the *National Education Policy 1998*). However, it should first be mentioned that an important characteristic of this study is that in addition to various published sources, the analysis is also based on unpublished records of the Government of Pakistan. I collected the unpublished information during various visits to Pakistan, particularly during March 2002. It is quite common in Pakistan, due to the lack of research activities and scarce financial resources, to find that extremely important information has remained unpublished, lying in office files of various government departments.² In the case of Pakistan's peculiar situation, unpublished records are the original source of information, and any analysis based on this source reflects the inside story of the situation.³

THE EARLY PERIOD (1947–93)

Before proceeding it is appropriate to mention that: 'the term planning refers to a series of operations, whose actual extent varies in accordance with a given country's own rules and practices, within the continuous sequence of the decision making process' (Malan, 1987, p. 11). Therefore, in this context, planning is a rational, integrated and technical process with many interconnected and interdependent stages. It is an act of preparing a set of decisions or choices for future action in such a way that the available resources (human and material) will be used properly to achieve desired goals. It is important that planning differs from policy, decision-making or administration. Policy is a general statement to guide decision-making. Decision-making is about choosing from among alternatives, while administration means using appropriate procedure to carry out decisions already made. Hence, planning covers: what is to be done, when, by what means, by whom and for what objectives. It is a comprehensive activity, which uses systematic methods to reconcile the goals with the resources available and the procedures most desirable (Farooq, 1993, p. 71).⁴

Pakistan started its development planning soon after independence in 1947. However, the desired objectives have never been achieved. The first Education Conference, held in 1947, strongly recommended the promotion of primary education and adult literacy, however, the necessary infrastructure and institutional development was not provided to implement the policy recommendations. In January 1952, the Six-Year Development Plan was prepared with the intention of achieving the objectives set out in the First Education Conference. The Plan stated the need to provide financial support for literacy programmes but no allocations were made in this regard. Moreover, without providing the required resources, emphasis was also placed on the universalization of primary education (UPE) because the first Conference set 1967 as the target date for the universalization of primary education. The fate of the Six-Year Plan was no better than the First Education Conference. The issue of implementation was

diffused in subsequent years as a result of the inability to change the existing system so as to implement the policy goals and plan objectives. One interesting outcome of the First Conference and the First Plan was that it became a tradition to have a new education policy with the change of government and a development plan. In these circumstances, it is not difficult to imagine the outcome of these efforts. Here, with regard to the earlier education policies and plans, first the situation of primary education is discussed, and this is followed by adult literacy.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

The first Education Conference in 1947 recommended that primary education should be free, compulsory and universalized by 1967 (Pakistan, 1947, p. 21). However, more than three decades after 1967, this target has yet to be achieved. This gives rise to questions as to why Pakistan has lagged so far behind in improving primary education facilities. Have there been inherent problems and defects in the various policies and plans since 1947?

Education Policies

An important point throughout the educational history of Pakistan is that unrealistic targets have been set which have then changed in future policies. New targets and deadlines have been just as unrealistic as the old (Bray, 1989, pp. 167–78). The UPE is a good example of this as it has been the main objective of every government, but instead of formulating rational policies, previous targets have always been extended. The UPE target of 1967 was changed in the *New Education Policy 1970* and a new target of 1980 was fixed. A further change was laid-down in the 1972 Policy, when 1979 was fixed as the target year for UPE for boys and 1984 for girls. When it was seen that these targets had not been achieved, the *Education Policy 1979* set new dates of 1986–87 for UPE for boys and 1992 for girls. Having arrived at 1992 with still no UPE, a new target date of 2002 was set.

One major cause of failure was the lack of implementation of these strategies. From the recommendations of the Commission on National Education 1959, to the *National Education Policy of 1992*, emphasis has been laid on the recruitment of female teachers but much still has to be done in this area. Although in the light of the *National Education Policy 1979*, the opening of Mosque schools was a commendable and successful approach to the promotion of primary school education, this should have been initiated from the start. Had policy-makers and concerned authorities grasped the nature of the problem from the socio-religious context of Pakistani society and opened a great many more Mosque schools, then perhaps many more millions of children would have received elementary education.⁵

Five-Year Development Plans

The five-year development plans followed a similar pattern to the education policies. Table 2 shows that the target for the achievement of UPE under the various plans was totally unrealistic; like the education policies, target dates were extended from plan to plan. If UPE targets in five-year plans and UPE targets in education policies are compared, interesting

Table 1: Policy strategies and targets of primary education

Policy	Targets	Strategies
1947 Pakistan Educational Conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Free and compulsory education • UPE within two decades (i.e. 1967) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Levying a special tax to finance primary education • Primary school age group between 6–11 years • Encouraging the private sector to open primary schools
1959 Commission on National Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UPE within a period of 15 years (i.e. 1974) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compulsory religious education • Female teachers for primary education • Resource mobilization for additional funds
1970 The New Education Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Universal enrolment up to class V by 1980 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attractive schools to eliminate dropout • Rapid expansion of primary schools • Emphasis on female enrolment • Female teachers for primary education
1972 The Education Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UPE for boys by 1979 • UPE for girls by 1984 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Free primary education • Priority to rural areas • Emphasis on female enrolment • Standardized low cost school buildings • Revision of curricula and text-books • Nationalization of schools
1979 National Education Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UPE for boys by 1986–87 • UPE for girls by 1992 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rapid expansion of female education • Opening of Mosque schools • Opening of Mohallah schools • Efforts to reduce drop-outs • Islamization of education
1992 National Education Policy 1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UPE by 2002 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening of 107,000 new primary and Mosque schools • Training and recruitment of 265,000 new primary school teachers • Abolition of difference in the allowances of teachers serving in rural or urban areas • Emphasis on recruitment of female teachers • Compulsory religious education

Pakistan, 1947; Pakistan, 1959; Pakistan, 1970; Pakistan, 1972; Pakistan, 1979b, and, Pakistan, 1992a.

Table 2: Comparison of various five-year plans and education policies with respect to UPE

Five Year Plans		Education Policies	
Plan Period	UPE Target Year	Education Policy (Announcement Year)	UPE Target Year
–	–	1947 Pakistan Education Conf.	1967
1st Plan 1955–60	1975	1959 Comm. on Education	1974
2nd Plan 1960–65	1975	–	–
3rd Plan 1965–70	1980	1970 New Education Policy	1980
4th/Non-plan period 1970–78	1979 (Boys) 1984 (Girls)	1972 Education Policy	1979 (Boys) 1984 (Girls)
5th Plan 1978–83	1987	1979 National Education Policy	1986–87 (Boys) 1992 (Girls)
6th Plan 1983–88	1988 (Boys) 1992 (Girls)	–	–
7th Plan 1988–93	1993	1992 National Education Policy	2002

Pakistan, 1956; Pakistan, 1961; Pakistan, 1966; Pakistan, 1971; Pakistan, 1979b; Pakistan, 1979c; Pakistan, 1984; Pakistan, 1990, and as in Table 1.

similarities arise. 1967 was set as the UPE target during the Pakistan Education Conference in 1947, which was extended to 1975 in the First Five-Year Plan (1955–60) and remained the same during the Second Five-Year Plan (1960–65). However in 1959, the Commission on Education recommended that the target year of 1975 should be brought back to 1974. These irregularities continued into the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1988–93) and the National Education Policy 1992. In the Seventh Plan, the target year was 1993 while in the *Education Policy of 1992*, it was extended to 2002. The figures in Table 2 not only show the lack of quality in educational planning in Pakistan but also highlight the lack of compatibility between the various policies and plans.

ADULT LITERACY

A literate society accelerates socio-economic development, promotes national integration, leads toward political stability and upholds individual dignity. In Pakistan, there have been two major problems regarding the improvement of literacy: (i) an appropriate definition of literacy has taken too long to develop, and; (ii) various literacy programmes have not made enough progress due to the absence of appropriate strategies (Ghaffar, 1992). In the first two policies; i.e. the Educational Conference 1947 and the Commission on National Education 1959, literacy was discussed as an important element but no targets were set. Moreover, the figures

Table 3: Literacy rates with respect to literacy's definitions in the history of Pakistan

Population census/ reference year	Literacy Rate (%)	Definition of Literacy
1951	18.9	Ability to read a clear print in any language.
1961	16.7	Ability to read with understanding in any language.
1972	21.7	Ability to read and write with understanding in any language.
1981	26.2	Ability to read a newspaper and write a simple letter in any language.
1992	32.8	-same-
1998	40.0	-same-

Pakistan (unpublished).

on literacy are not reliable in the sense that defining literacy has been a crisis in itself (Table 3). For example, in 1951, in spite of a liberal definition of literacy, i.e. 'the ability to read a clear print in any language', comprehension was not a condition. In the light of this definition, the literacy rate was estimated at 18.9% of the total population. In 1961, the parameter of comprehension was added, and the ratio went down to 16.7%. The definition in 1961 was 'ability to read with understanding in any language' writing ability was not included. In 1972, the definition was 'ability to read and write with understanding in any language'. According to this definition the national literacy rate was 21.7% in 1972. In 1981, the criterion became more precise; 'the ability to read a newspaper and write a simple letter in any language'. During the Population Census 1981 the literacy rate was estimated at 26.2%. It is observed that inter-census definitional variations have rendered the task of comparison quite complex and difficult. If the 1951 census definition is accepted and applied on the 1981 census, there is likelihood that the literacy rate may be more than 50%. Similarly, if the 1981 census definition is applied on the 1951 census, the literacy rate might have depressed further to less than 10% (Pakistan, unpublished). The continual changes in the definition of literacy have made it complicated to compare and determine the actual levels of literacy during the history of this country.

Education Policies

Although literacy is recognized as a core component of human development and has, therefore, been an integral part of the education policies, efforts have not been sustained in applying the recommendations of these policies. In fact, many literacy programmes were discontinued abruptly without any evaluation. For instance, the *Nai Roshni* schools project launched in 1987 was discontinued two years later in 1989 which was immediately after the change of government.⁶ Likewise, the Village-AID literacy component was set up during the late 1950s under the then military government, but was later closed with the change of the government during the 1960s. Examples of closure of other more minor and local projects

Table 4: Policies, targets and strategies for the improvement of literacy situation in the country

Policy	Targets	Strategies
1947 Pakistan Educational Conference	No targets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adult education by teachers in provincial government colleges • Students to participate in literacy campaign
1959 Commission on National Education	No Targets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of school children as teachers of their parents • Colleges students as adult literacy teachers • Each one teach one • Use of media for adult education
1970 The New Education Policy	5.0 (million)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Functional Education • Employer to make their employees literate • National Education Core • Non-formal education programmes
1972 The Education Policy	11.0 (million)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Massive literacy programmes • Literacy centres in schools, factories, farms, union council halls and other community places • Use of health centres for literacy
1979 National Education Policy	To raise literacy rate from 24% to over 35% by 1982–83	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Student Volunteer Corps • Use of television for literacy • Establishment of Literacy and Mass Education Commission • Islamization of education
1992 National Education Policy	To raise literacy rate to 70% by 2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of Quranic literacy • Involvement of universities • Emphasis on rural and urban slum areas • Use of electronic media • Evening shifts in primary schools

As in table 1.

abound. Such purely politically motivated decisions have been disastrous for the country. The infrastructure developed for a project had to be abolished and the assets acquired disposed of, causing substantial losses to the national exchequer. The National Education Policy of 1992 was similar to previous education policies but distinct in that it encouraged universities to play a greater role in literacy programmes by organizing a Student Literacy Corps (Pakistan, 1992a, p. 23). There was also emphasis on Quranic literacy (Pakistan, 1992a, p. 22). It was argued that, as according to the Population Census of 1981, 38.4% of the age 10 + population were able to read the Quran and 54% were learning to read it,⁷ a little effort would enable these people to be literate (Pakistan, 1992a, p. 21). Both these approaches were commendable but they were not applied to the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1993–98) (Pakistan, 1994b, pp. 299–320).⁸

Five-Year Development Plans

Unfortunately, in spite of adopting various approaches for the improvement of the literacy situation, various five-year plans have not been successful in bringing about the desired results (Table 5). Even in the Sixth and Seventh Five-Year Plan periods, when more resources were utilized than the allocated amount, the achievements were only 5.3% and 9.4%, respectively. This situation reflects that from the start, adult literacy has remained just a slogan. Each government, every development plan and all education policies were decorated with rhetoric on literacy. Needless to say that political will is an important factor for the success of any literacy programme. In Pakistan such programmes have never received due attention from political parties. Public representatives have remained indifferent, if not antagonistic. They did not take the responsibility for mobilizing the masses in their constituencies for the literacy drive, motivating the illiterate population to undertake literacy classes and supervising the performance of teachers in literacy centres. Consequently, the literacy programmes remained the assignment of only the government machinery.

THE RECENT PAST AND PRESENT

An in-depth consideration of Pakistan's educational situation reflects that possibly the purpose of the government education system is not to help children to learn but it is for politicians and bureaucrats to provide jobs for their favourites, transfer teachers on the basis of political affiliations, have political leverage in the villages and give contracts to their friends for building schools. No matter how many policies, plans and programmes have been made or discarded, the gulf between the privileged and the under-privileged has remained wide. This section attempts mainly to analyze the recent and contemporary educational situation of the country.

EIGHTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1993–98)

The Eighth Plan was launched in 1993, and was in fact, not much different from previous plans. It proclaimed once again that: 'education is an indispensable ingredient of development and a fundamental right of every individual', but stated that: 'almost half the girls and one-fifth

Table 5: Literacy, plan allocation, targets and achievements

Plan	Allocation (Rs. in million)	Target (persons in million)	Achievements (persons)	Strategies
First Plan 1955–60	Nil	Nil	Nil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Village-AID schools as community and literacy centres
Second Plan 1960–65	Nil	Nil	Nil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Village-AID schools as community and literacy centres
Third Plan 1965–70	Nil	Nil	Nil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pilot projects of intensive nature on experimental basis
Fourth/Non-Plan Period 1970–78	2.3	5.0	25,000 (0.5%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advisory council for adult literacy • National Education Corp • Armed forces to play a role • Industrial establishments to run literacy classes for workers
Fifth Plan 1978–83	50.0	8.5	40,000 (0.47%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Population 12–45 years to be covered • Pakistan Television Literacy Programme augmented
Sixth Plan 1983–88	750 (utilization 107%)	15.0	800,000 (5.33%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Population 10–24 years to be covered • NGOs and local governments to be involved • Fresh Matriculates to take up literacy work for one year • Debarring illiterates from employment
Seventh Plan 1988–93	300 (utilization 240%)	5.67	535,200 (9.43%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UPE • NGOs • Non-formal education programmes

Col. 2, 3 and 5: as in Table 2. Col. 4: Pakistan (unpublished).

of boys of the relevant age group (5–9) are not enrolled in primary schools, and the adult literacy rate is still barely 35%, far below that of other South Asian countries with similar levels of economic development. There are severe gender and rural–urban imbalances both in the availability and the quality of education’ (Pakistan, 1994b, p. 299). The Plan’s main emphasis was on: (i) UPE for all boys and girls of 5–9 years of age; (ii) enactment and enforcement of legislation for compulsory primary schooling for all children of the relevant age group; (iii) broadening the resource base for the financing of education through increased allocation; (iv) encouraging private sector participation; and (v) expansion of non-formal education facilities (Pakistan, 1994b, pp. 300–21).

It is noteworthy that, due to political reasons, the evaluation report of the Eighth Plan has not been published and possibly never will be. However, limited available information indicates that the achievements of this Plan have also not been much different compared to previous plans. To achieve UPE, a system of non-formal basic education was established. The Social Action Programme was launched for the promotion of primary education with special emphasis on girls’ education, good governance, community participation and public-private partnership through NGOs where the new experiments were undertaken during the Plan period. In spite of these efforts, the literacy rate, which was 35% in 1992–93 (Pakistan, 1993, p. 13), could only be raised to 40% as against the target rate of 48%. With regard to financial achievements, an amount of Rs. 69.0 billion was earmarked but only Rs. 32.5 billion were allocated, out of which Rs. 24.8 billion were utilized. A sub-sector summary of this Plan’s allocation and expenditure is given in Table 6. Data show that, except for the scholarship scheme, which was mainly a political matter,⁹ none of the sub-sectors could utilize the allocated amount. In general, higher education and bureaucracy consumed proportionately more money compared to basic education.

Table 6: Financial allocation and utilization during the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1993–98) (Rs. in million)

Sub-sectors	Allocation	Utilization	Utilization as a % of allocation
Primary	18923.8	13673.1	72
Secondary	4995.6	4112.4	82
Teacher education	530.6	298.2	56
Technical education	1754.4	1144.8	65
College education	2422.5	2056.1	85
Scholarships	1301.7	1154.6	113
University education	1405.4	1590.9	89
Literacy and mass education	187.5	140.6	84
Miscellaneous	884.2	567.9	64
Establishment Division	26.2	22.4	85
Total	32531.9	24861.0	76

Pakistan (unpublished).

In the case of scholarships, the expenditures were more than the allocated resources.

Table 7: Expenditures on human development in various five-year plans

(Rs. in billion)

Five Year Plan	Total Plan expenditure	Education	Health and nutrition	Population Welfare	Housing
First Plan (1955–60)	4.86	0.23 (4.73)	0.08 (1.64)	–	0.51 (10.49)
Second Plan (1960–65)	10.61	0.46 (4.33)	0.17 (1.60)	0.01 (0.09)	0.96 (9.04)
Third Plan (1965–70)	13.20	0.56 (4.24)	0.28 (2.12)	0.14 (1.06)	0.70 (5.30)
Non-Plan period (1970–83)	75.54	3.44 (4.55)	2.38 (3.15)	0.82 (1.08)	5.69 (7.53)
Fifth Plan (1978–83)	153.21	5.64 (3.68)	4.58 (2.98)	0.60 (0.39)	9.00 (5.87)
Sixth Plan (1983–88)	242.41	14.27 (5.88)	10.37 (4.27)	1.68 (0.69)	22.71 (9.36)
Seventh Plan (1988–93)	350.00	25.70 (7.34)	13.30 (3.80)	3.50 (1.00)	20.00 (5.71)
Eighth Plan (1993–98)	752.10	9.80 (1.30)	5.20 (0.69)	11.20 (1.48)	6.80 (0.90)

Pakistan (unpublished).

Figures in parentheses are the percentages of total plan expenditures.

The available statistics indicate that the Eighth Plan was the most ineffective compared to all the previous plans (Table 7). It is surprising that, compared to the Seventh Five-Year Plan, where 7.3% of total Plan money was spent on education, only 1.3% was spent on the Eighth Plan. With regard to the total amount spent on education, the money used in the Eighth Plan was nearly one-third of the Seventh Plan. This raises various questions about the seriousness of the government with regard to the development of this sector. Similarly, only 0.7% of the Eighth Plan was used for health and nutrition compared to the Seventh Plan where the respective figure was 3.8%. In spite of a fast growing population, the housing sector was ignored in this Plan (0.9% in allocations against 5.7% in the Seventh Plan), and more money was spent on population welfare which, in fact, was only concerned with the establishment of family planning centres. The above discussion highlights that there are missing links between various education policies and plans. It is possible that Pakistan's policy-makers and planners do not appreciate its importance in the national human developmental process. The Eighth Five-Year Plan ended in June 1998 and the Ninth Five-Year Plan (1998–2003) was to be started at its expiry. Unfortunately, this Plan was not prepared mainly due to internal and

regional politico-economic instability and the anticipated uncertain economic situation in the years to come.¹⁰

Another situation emerged in 2001 when, under the influence of the IMF and the World Bank, the government announced a three-year 'poverty reduction strategy'. Unfortunately, education was not at the top of the priority list of this strategy. In November 2001, an 82-page *Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* was published by the government which discussed various issues (e.g. growth, trade, privatization, communication and the energy sector) at length but devoted only two pages to the education sector. No new and concrete measures were proposed in this Paper except the fixing of new targets for participation rates (86%: 2001–02, 90%: 2002–03 and 94% in 2003–04) and national literacy rates (55%: 2001–02, 58%: 2002–03 and 61% in 2003–04) (Pakistan, November 2001). The quality of this document can be judged from the fact it claimed that during 2000–01 the national literacy rate was 52% (Pakistan, November 2001, p. 42), while the *Economic Survey 2000–01* (the most widely referenced official document) revealed that during this year the figure was 49% (Pakistan, July 2001).

NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY 1998

It is a coincidence that at the end of the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1998) a new education policy (i.e. the *National Education Policy 1998*) was announced and it would last for a period of 12 years, ending in 2010. It argued that: 'In Pakistan, the overall strategy, during the period from 1947 to 1997 has remained one of expansion of the existing system and effort has been directed solely to the establishment of more of the existing type of formal institutions . . . After spending scarce resources we have come to the conclusion that our approach of mere expansion has been very simplistic' (Pakistan, 1998b, p. 3). The Policy recalled provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the Convention on the Right of the Child (1989), and Pakistan's international commitments, such as the World Declaration on Education for All (1990) (Pakistan, 1998b, p. 25). The salient points of this Policy (Pakistan, 1998b, pp. 5–54) are:

- A *Jihad* against illiteracy.
- As many as 45,000 new primary and 20,000 Mosque schools will be opened.
- Initiation of 74,000 non-formal basic education schools during the first five years.
- Initiation of an evening shift in the existing 20,000 primary schools.
- The existing 45,000 primary schools will be upgraded to middle (grade-VIII) level.
- Recruitment of 100,000 new teachers for primary, middle and secondary schools.
- The existing literacy rate will be enhanced to 70% in 2003 and 85% by 2010.
- Universalization of primary education through legislation and, formal and non-formal education.
- More emphasis on female education.
- Formation and strengthening of school administrative committees, village education committees and parent-teacher associations.
- An opportunity for primary education will be provided for children aged 10–14 years who were left out. A 2–3 years comprehensive educational package will be prepared for this age group.
- The local community will be involved in school supervision.
- Investment in education from local and foreign sources will be encouraged.

It needs to be emphasized that, apparently, all education policies in Pakistan were well set-out in terms of aims and objectives, but the targets usually lacked internal consistency with the performance of the economy and capacity to generate internal and external financial resources. Moreover, there has been a lack of consistency between various education policies. For instance, the education policy of 1992 was set out for ten years and was to expire in 2002. However, this policy was abandoned in 1998 when a new education policy was announced for a period of 12 years. No evaluation was carried out nor reliable statistics made available to ascertain the extent to which this Policy was (un)successful. In general, the overall performance of this Policy can be seen by the literacy rate, which rose from 34% (Pakistan, 1992a, p. 20) to 40% (Pakistan, 1998b, p. 18). This means that, according to the Policy targets, the literacy rate, which on average had to increase at a rate of 3.6% per year (i.e. 70% by 2002), only increased at a rate of 1.2% per year. In fact, low funding was one of the main reasons for its failure, and in particular the amount spent on development purposes was nearly half that of the targets.

It is important to note that in the Education Policy of 1992, the targets for allocation of financial resources were made on the basis of the projections of a 7% economic growth rate per year (Pakistan, 1992a, p. 83), while during 1992–98, the actual growth rate was only 4.2% (Pakistan, 2000, pp. 2–3). Additionally, in the education policy of 1998, the allocation of resources for the education sector were based on a 6% projected growth of the economy and the 2.5% share of GNP in 1997–98 was to be increased by 4.0% in 2003 (Pakistan, 1998b, p. 132). The estimates of the first three years of implementation of the Policy (1998–2001) showed that the per year average growth rate of the economy was only 3.5% during this period while the average expenditures on education were 2.3% of GNP (Pakistan, July 2001) which were even less than the benchmark year of 1997–98. The Policy also fixed a target of achieving a 70% literacy rate in 2002–03 and 85% in the year 2010 (Pakistan, 1998b, p. 129). Again, the government figures show that during 2001, the national literacy rate was only 49% (Pakistan, July 2001). The questions that need to be asked are how the actual target of economic growth would be achieved, and how would it be possible to divert more proportionate resources to the education sector? This policy is completely silent on these issues.

Table 8: Educational expenditures during the period of education policy 1992 (1992–98)

Year	Targets fixed by the Policy		Actual expenditure	
	As a % of GNP	Dev. exp. as a % of total	As a % of GNP	Dev. exp. as a % of total
1992–93	2.31	20.74	2.20	11.30
1993–94	2.73	23.77	2.22	12.02
1994–95	2.66	23.90	2.39	14.26
1995–96	2.60	24.00	2.42	14.26
1996–97	2.54	23.87	2.50	10.12
1997–98	2.55	23.64	2.52	12.34

Pakistan, 1992a, p. 83; Pakistan, 1994a, pp. 96–97; Pakistan, 1996, p. 68; Pakistan, 1998a, p. 72.

Another important point is that possibly this policy lacks an in-depth understanding of the problems of the national educational system. A number of examples can be quoted here (Pakistan, 1998b, pp. 21–23, 32) such as:

- The Policy suggests that Mosque schools be utilized as one of the means to provide non-formal basic education, whereas these schools are already being used for this purpose.
- Further, it says that tombs and shrines shall donate a part of their income (collection) to the literacy fund. These attempts have also been made in the past, but due the hostile attitude of the managers of these shrines, they failed.
- The Policy further emphasizes that a *Kachi* class (pre-prep) will be institutionalized in the primary cycle. In reality, this is already institutionalized and was functioning even before the creation of Pakistan.
- Similar to previous policies, here once again, emphasis is laid on teachers' salaries based on their qualifications. This would be welcomed indeed and would encourage many thousands in the profession who are over-qualified and under-paid to promote better standards of education in schools. Unfortunately, as before, no financial allocation is made in this regard.
- Also, as with previous policies, much stress is laid on the principle of character building and personality development, but, as ever, no strategies are proposed to promote this.
- There is another interesting point which reflects the contradiction of the same strategy. On one occasion it says: 'The existing Non-Formal Basic Education (NFBE) Community Schools/Centres will be increased to 82,000 (including 7000) by the year 2002 to meet the Policy targets of primary education both through formal and non-formal methods. The NFBE Community Schools will neither be a parallel nor a permanent system but will be used to accelerate universal access until formal schooling becomes available to the un-reached'. In the following paragraph the Policy contradicts its own strategy by saying: 'In the far-flung areas 25,000 NFBE Community Schools will be gradually upgraded to the Middle level over the policy period'.
- On the one hand the Policy states: 'The current literacy rate of about 39% will be raised to 55% during the first five years of the policy [growth rate 3.2% per year] and 70% by the year 2010 [growth 2.1% per year]'. In the next paragraph it says: 'National Literacy Movement will be launched on an emergency basis in every village, tehsil and district. The objective . . . will be achieved by making society free from illiteracy by the year 2010 [which means 5% per year growth rate of literacy]'.

Policy formulation is a sensitive and critical matter on the path to human development which is generally not given serious consideration in Pakistan. Policies and plans are made in Islamabad without taking due consideration of the nature of problems at grassroots level. Therefore, such an exercise does not produce the desired results. It is important to note that during 1992 and 1998, when the respective education policies were announced, the same political party (Pakistan Muslim League) was in power and headed by the same Prime Minister (Nawaz Sharif). While presenting the education policy for the period of 1992–2002, the government at the time ignored all democratic principles. Two days before the Parliament session, Fakhar-i Amam, the Federal Minister of Education, announced the Policy in a press conference. When asked why this Policy was not presented to the Parliament for discussion, his reply was that there had been no time for discussion as the policy had already been implemented (*Dawn*, 13 December 1992). In 1998, the government abandoned its own

policy (which still had four years to expire) and announced a new policy for a period of 12 years. The document of the 1998 education policy claims its uniqueness by arguing that: 'The Prime Minister for the first time in the history of the country announced the Policy in a live broadcast on television to the nation' (Pakistan, 1998b, pp. x–xi). The question arises whether such 'uniqueness' is enough to achieve the desired objectives of a policy?

POOR STATISTICS: POOR POLICIES AND PLANS

Statistical data regarding various sectors plays a pivotal role in the socio-economic development of a country as the resource allocations are always based on this. Unfortunately, in Pakistan, national figures are usually doubtful and a source of confusion. For instance, 'according to the *Economic Survey 1998–99*, the literacy rate of the country is 45%, while other government publications give different figures. The same is also true in the case of non-government organizations. The report of the Mehabub ul Haq Centre for Human Development claims 36% literacy rate while other newspapers and journals have been quoting it as between 35–40%. Who cares which is true' (*Roznama Jang*, 17 March 2000). Similar views have also been expressed by the IMF and the London based weekly *Economist* with regard to the budget fudging and doctoring of figures (IMF, September 2000, p. 8 and *Economist*, 9 December 2000, p. 92). Table 9 is based mainly on various published and unpublished sources of the Government of Pakistan. It is interesting to note that all sources contradict each other. The 'Economic Surveys' and 'Education Policies' which are considered to be the most authentic government documents, both differ from each other. In 1997–98 (i.e. at the expiry of the Eighth Five-Year Plan), the *Economic Survey 1997–98* quotes a literacy rate of 40% while for the same year *Economic Survey 1998–99* gives the figure of 45%. This is not all; the current *Education Policy 1998* indicates 40% literacy rate in 1997–98 and fixes a target of achieving 70% literacy by 2010, which is an almost 2.3% increase per year that is slightly higher than the 2.2% population growth rate during March 2000 (Pakistan, 2000, p. xix). Another interesting point is that for the year of 1992–93, four government documents claim four different literacy rates ranging from 31–41%. A similar situation can also be seen for the year 1996–97. The Table also shows the inconsistency between the *National Education Policy 1998* and *Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* (2001). Apart from other points, the poor quality of data also reflects the poor quality of national policies and planning which results in overall negligence of the national human developmental process.¹¹

REVIEW AND REFLECTION

Educational policies and plans are key factors in the overall human development process of a country. These are even more important in the age of globalization and currently nearly half of Pakistan's population is illiterate. The discussion here reflects that: (i) unfortunately, the education sector has not been given due consideration in the human development process of Pakistan; and, (ii) this country never learnt lessons from its past failures. During the past two decades these were important reasons why the average growth rate of literacy was slightly over 1% which indicates that Pakistan still needs several decades to achieve a 100% literacy rate. This situation highlights the weaknesses of educational policies and plans, as well their implementation. A number of factors are responsible for this poor situation, for example:

Table 9: Contradictory statistics on literacy and expenditure on education during the history of Pakistan

Year	Literacy rate		Expenditure on education	
	Unpublished	Published	As a % of total	As a % of GNP
1947	–	13.0 ¹² 13.6 ¹⁸	–	–
1951	21.4 22.2 13.2 (adjusted) 15.4 (adjusted)	21.8 ¹	23.6 (unpublished)	0.4 (unpublished)
1959–60	24.3 17.1 (adjusted) 18.3 (adjusted)	–	29.3 ²	1.0 ³
1961	16.7 18.4 (adjusted) 19.6 (adjusted)	18.4 ¹	22.2 (unpublished)	1.0 (unpublished)
1969–70	22.2 23.0	21.0 ¹⁵ (1970)	29.3 ²	1.3 ²
1972	21.7 22.8	21.7 ¹	20.1 ²	1.6 ²
1979–80	30.0 34.8	–	25.5 ²	2.0 ³
1981	26.2 28.4	26.2 ¹	19.4 (unpublished)	1.9 (unpublished)
1992–93	32.8 35.0	41.3 ¹ 34.0 ⁴ 31.0 ⁵ 35.4 ⁸	18.2 (unpublished)	2.0 (unpublished)

1996–97	39.0 42.0	38.9 ⁶ 50.0 ¹⁰ 45.0 ⁸ (1996)	19.6 ⁶ 10.1 ⁷	2.6 ⁶ 2.5 ⁷
1997–98	42.2 45.0 38.0	40.0 ⁷ 45.0 ⁸ 39.0 ¹¹ (1997) 41.0 ¹⁷ (1997) 35.0 ¹⁸ (1997)	14.0 ⁷	2.3 ¹⁴ 2.2 ⁷
1998–99	45.3	45.4 ⁹ (1998) 45.0 ¹⁰ (1998) 45.0 ¹⁶ (1999)	8.9 ⁸	2.2 ⁸
2000–2001	–	49 ¹³ 52 ¹²	–	2.3 ¹³
1998–2003 <i>National Education Policy 1998</i> ¹¹	–	Targets: 40% (1997–98) to 70% (2010) ¹¹	Proposed allocations: 20.0 (1998–03) ¹¹	Proposed allocations: 2.5 (1998–99) ¹¹ 3.2 (2000–01) ¹¹ 4.0 (2002–03) ¹¹
2001–2004 <i>(Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2000)</i> ¹²	–	Targets: 55 (2001–02) ¹² 58 (2002–03) ¹² 61 (2003–04) ¹²	–	–

1 Pakistan, 1996, p. 137.

2 Calculated from Ahmed and Amjed, 1984, p. 31.

3 World Bank, 1998, p. 201.

4 Pakistan, 1992a, p. 20.

5 Pakistan, 1992b, p. i.

6 Pakistan, 1997, p. 115.

7 Pakistan, 1998a, p. 119.

8 Pakistan, 1999a, pp. 111, 114.

9 Pakistan, 1999b, p. 256.

10 Pakistan, 1999c, p. iv.

11 Pakistan, 1998b, pp. 21, 129, 133.

12 Pakistan, November 2001, pp. 41–42.

13 Pakistan, July 2001.

14 Pakistan, 2000, p. 141.

15 Haq and Haq, 1998, p. 180.

16 UNDP, 2001, p. 143.

17 Mahbub ul Haq Human Development Centre, 2000, p. 205.

18 Pakistan (n.d.), p. 7.

- Unrealistic targets were set for various policies and plans, and when these targets were not achieved during the specified period, new targets were fixed.
- After more than a half century, Pakistan has not been able to achieve UPE for its children. Immediately after independence, the country pledged to achieve UPE by 1967. However, three and a half decades after this deadline, Pakistani children are still deprived of UPE.
- Throughout the history of the country, there has been inconsistency between various education policies and five-year plans.
- Although Pakistan allocates a meagre amount of financial resources to the education sector, it is not only poor resource allocation that should be blamed for the poor performance of this sector; on various occasions the allocated amounts were not fully utilized.
- The system of policy formulation and planning is too centralized and this exercise is done without giving due consideration to the problems at grassroots level. Obviously, this situation creates hurdles in the implementation of a policy or plan.

It is worth noting that although the current education policy has a few years to expire (i.e. 2010), unfortunately, at present, the country has no five-year plan in place. This situation demands that urgent work should be started to formulate the Ninth Five-Year Plan and in this process, the reasons for the failure of previous plans must be taken into account.¹² Needless to say that in the changed global politico-strategic situation, which exerted considerable international pressure and the public demand for the strengthening of the democratic system, it is to be hoped that, after the recent election in the country (October 2002), the elected government will pay due attention to the qualitative and quantitative improvement of educational facilities. As it is a huge task, work should be started immediately so that enough time may be provided to discuss it in the Parliament. The Ninth Plan should be implemented in July 2003, i.e. the beginning of the new financial year.

With meagre allocation of funds and a shortfall in the utilization of allocation for the education sector, it is imperative to ensure effective and optimum utilization of allocated resources to increase internal efficiency and cost-effectiveness of the system. Within the framework of the proposed Ninth Plan, this objective can be achieved through good governance and strengthening the accountability mechanism in the country. I believe that one of the major targets of the proposed Ninth Five-Year Plan (2003–08) should be to achieve at least 6% economic growth per year which is important in order to keep the national economy stable and healthy. Various measures at national and international levels must be adopted in this regard, e.g. liberal domestic and foreign investment policies, enhancement of industrial and agricultural productivity, encouraging agro-based industry and export promotion etc. Obviously, a healthy national economy would provide more room for educational development.

The discussion also highlights the poor quality of national statistics. There is a dire need to generate a complete and detailed database on education and other basic indicators. Although, at central level, the Federal Bureau of Statistics compiles national data, the spectrum of this institution is extremely limited and inefficient. Rather than creating a new organization it would be cost-effective if this Bureau could be strengthened and the circle of its activities expanded. A well-prepared policy or a national development plan based on reliable statistics cannot produce the desired results unless it is adequately implemented. It is difficult to achieve the desired objectives when the problem of poor implementation is too old and deeply rooted. One of the possible ways is that, under the supervision of a senior judge from the Supreme Court of Pakistan, the government may establish a special commission for the implementation of national of policies and plans. Furthermore, to review the situation at provincial level, in

collaboration with the respective high courts, the commission can also establish its branches in all four provincial capitals. The Federal and provincial ministers (particularly the finance, education, labour and manpower and population welfare ministers), representatives of donors and NGOs, and public representatives should be the members of this commission. The primary objective of this institution should be to continuously review the situation of all major national policies and development plans. The commission should have close contact with the concerned departments and the institutions responsible for the monitoring and evaluation of various plans and programmes. An important task of the proposed commission should be to publish a quarterly progress report regarding the latest situation of the implementation of various policies and plans. This report should be widely disseminated through the media. It is hoped that this report would be timely in highlighting various weaknesses with regard to implementation and would also activate government functionaries to take the necessary measures for improvement. The establishment of this commission under the supervision of the Supreme Court is essential to maintain its neutrality and effectiveness. When democracy has been established on sound grounds, this commission can be democratized.

NOTES

- 1 During 1981 the national literacy rate was 26.2%, which increased to 49% in 2001 (Pakistan, 1995, p. 135 and Pakistan, July 2001).
- 2 There are some particular characteristics of this type of information, e.g. (i) compared to published government reports, it can be considered an original and trustworthy source because here there are comparatively less chances of doctoring the figures; (ii) the importance of this record can be judged from the fact that all official published reports are also based on this source; (iii) the information in this source is highly scattered and in several cases inconsistent, incomplete, discrete and contradictory in nature; (iv) it was an extremely frustrating experience to locate, access and collate this type of information, mainly due to its scatteredness, confidentiality and red-tape.
- 3 The major problem is how to locate and access this information. In fact, I had advantages with respect to access and credibility, which several other researchers would not have had. For several years I worked in the government sector of Pakistan in the fields of education and research. This provided me with an opportunity to observe the educational system personally, research the mechanism and the constraints faced by this sector. This also provided a chance to establish personal contacts in various government departments in different regions of the country. These factors greatly helped and made it possible to access unpublished records. To collect such information, I uncovered most of the office files.
- 4 For further study regarding, definitions and other related aspects of policy, see: Dye (1985); Rose (1985); Crozier and Friedberg (1977).
- 5 The rapidly increasing population and limited facilities for primary education have created a problem of access for the primary school age group children. The scattered population in rural areas and the huge number of small settlements all over the country made it impossible to provide separate boys' and girls' schools for children. Therefore, it was decided to open Mosque schools in those villages where the population was nearly 200, thus bringing the school to the doorstep. The purpose of these schools was to reach those children who could not attend regular schools because they had to help their parents with farming and housework. The school was to remain open during the long annual vacation in the regular schools but closed during the peak of harvesting time. The children were required to spend only four hours in the school each day compared to six or seven hours in the regular schools. This approach has produced good results because of the reality that traditionally the Mosque has been a centre of learning in Muslim communities. This fact is recognized in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan which makes a specific mention of the Mosque as

a seat of learning. Mosques exist in almost every community where *Imams* (priests) are instructing children. The institution of the Mosque is supported financially by local residents. Both boys and girls go there to study the Quran and receive instruction in Islam. The *National Education Policy 1979* makes developing Mosque schools a cornerstone of expanding primary education. An important rationale behind promoting Mosque schools was that it was a cost effective approach. The expenses incurred by the government, therefore, comprise the stipend for the teacher and provision of teaching material. The government does not need to spend money on building the physical structure of the Mosque or on its maintenance. The local residents traditionally provide for the upkeep of a Mosque. In a country like Pakistan, where the expansion of primary education has been hampered by the inadequacy of resources, Mosque schools are considered a constructive approach to expanding educational facilities.

- 6 Throughout the history of Pakistan, due to internal political instability, there have been frequent changes in the government at the Federal level that have always followed respective political changes at provincial levels. This political uncertainty has generated many problems in every sphere of life, not least, the education sector. Whenever a new government came into power, its first objective was to abolish all programmes initiated by the previous government. The programme of *Nai Roshni* schools was the victim of such political changes.
- 7 Pakistan is predominantly an Islamic country and religion plays a very significant role in the daily lives of the people. Most people learn the Quran in its original Arabic language, which has almost the same characters as Urdu, the national language of Pakistan. It is interesting to note, that a large number of illiterate people can read the Quran fluently having no understanding of the Arabic language, but cannot read or write a simple text in their native or national language. In fact, the recitation of Quran has always been one of the most commonly practised religious acts in a Muslim society because this book is used as a central reference document to the Islamic code of life. It is a voluminous book, learnt by heart by hundreds of thousands of men and women in the Muslim World. Because of its religious sanctity, non-Arab Muslims have also read and recited its verses frequently, although many of them never come to know the meaning of its text. This religious injunction of recitation has also influenced Muslim society in Pakistan. Therefore, in this situation, it can be argued that due to the particular religio-cultural background of this country, Mosques and Mosque schools are important sources to promote Quranic literacy, which can be helpful to promote literacy in Urdu. With reference to the context, it may be mentioned here that the population census of 1981 particularly attempted to find out the exact proportion of population of Quranic literate in the country. The outcome of the census revealed that more than half of the urban and nearly one-third of the rural population was Quranic literate. Interestingly, even among the female population more than 41% was fluent in reciting the Quran (Pakistan, 1983, p. 33), and this was in spite of the fact that during that year the overall female literacy rate of Pakistan was only 26% (Pakistan, 1993, p. 117).
- 8 It is noteworthy that the Plan itself started in July 1993, but the Plan document was published in June 1994.
- 9 For the sake of their vote bank, most of the politicians have been keen on scholarship schemes compared to spending money on provision and expansion of overall basic educational facilities in their constituencies.
- 10 In 1998, this situation came about mainly due to the tit-for-tat nuclear tests, which caused the imposition of international economic sanctions on the country. In mid-1999, this situation deteriorated further due to the Indo-Pak conflict over Kashmir and then the military takeover in October 1999.
- 11 Several cases can be quoted in this regard. For instance, in the *Economic Survey 1996–97*, the figures for development and non-development expenditures on education are Rs. 12.7 and 51.8 billion, respectively (p. 117). However, the same figures in the *Economic Survey 97–98*, are 5.9 and 52.4, respectively (p. 122). Here, the later figures can be considered more reliable as the same were also found in unpublished records of the government.

12 It can be argued what the credibility of the proposed Ninth Plan would be when the previous plans did not produce the desired results. This argument has some validity, however: (i) previous failure does not mean that no effort should be made in future; (ii) past mistakes should provide a guideline for future success; and (iii) even a poor plan is at least better than no plan at all, although it is not recommended.

REFERENCES

- AHMED, V. and AMJED, R. (1984). *The Management of Pakistan's Economy 1947–82*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- BRAY, M. (1989). 'Universal education in Pakistan: a perpetually elusive goal?' *International Review of Education*, XXIX, 167–78.
- CROZIER, M. and FRIEDBERG, E. (1977). *The Actors and the System*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- DAWN, 13 December 1992.
- DYE, T. R. (1985). *Understanding Public Policy*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- ECONOMIST, THE, 9 December 2000.
- FAROOQ, R. A. (1993). *Orientation of Educationists*. Islamabad: Asia Society for Promotion of Innovation and Reforms in Education.
- GHAFFAR, S. A. (Summer 1992). 'Development of education in the decade 1980–90 in Pakistan', *Journal of Rural Development and Administration*, XXIV, 75–91.
- HAQ, M. and HAQ, K. (1998). *Human Development Report in South Asia 1998*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- IMF (September 2000). *Observance of Standard and Code in Pakistan*. Islamabad: IMF.
- MAHBUB UL HAQ HUMAN DEVELOPMENT CENTRE (2000). *Human Development in South Asia 2000*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- MALAN, T. (1987). *Educational Planning as a Social Process*. Paris: UNESCO.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1947). *Proceedings of Pakistan Educational Conference held at Karachi, from 27th November to 1st December 1947*. Karachi: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1956). *First Five-Year Plan 1955–60*. Karachi: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1959). *Report of the National Commission on Education*. Karachi: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1961). *Second Five-Year Plan 1960–65*. Karachi: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1966). *Third Five-Year Plan 1965–70*. Karachi: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1970). *New Education Policy 1970*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1971). *Fourth Five-Year Plan 1970–75*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1972). *Education Policy 1972*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1979a). *National Education Policy and Implementation Programme 1979*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1979b). *Fifth Five-Year Plan 1978–83*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1979c). *State of Education and Economic Development in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1983). *Report of the Population Census of Pakistan 1981*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1984). *Sixth Five-Year Plan 1988–93*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.

- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1990). *Seventh Five Year Plan 1988–93: A Glance*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1992a). *National Education Policy 1992*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1992b). *Literacy Status of Pakistan*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1993). *Economic Survey 1992–93*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1994a). *Economic Survey 1993–94*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1994b). *Eighth Five Year Plan, 1993–98*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1995). *Social Indicators of Pakistan 1995*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1996). *Economic Survey 1995–96*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1997). *Economic Survey 1996–97*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1998a). *Economic Survey 1997–98*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1998b). *National Education Policy 1998*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1999a). *Economic Survey 1998–99*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1999b). *Pakistan 1999—An Official Hand Book on Statistics*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (1999c). *Population and Housing Census 1998*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (2000). *Economic Survey 1999–2000*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (July 2001). *Economic Survey 2000–2001*. <[http:// www.finance.gov.pk/ survey/ main.html](http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/main.html)> .
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (November 2001). *Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (I-PRSP)*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (n.d.) *Pakistan 2010: A Vision for Knowledge-Led, Just, Tolerant, Enterprising & Prosperous Society*.
- PAKISTAN, GOVERNMENT OF (unpublished).
- ROSE, R. (1985). *Policy Making in Great Britain*. London: Macmillan Press.
- ROZNAMA JANG, 17 March 2000.
- UNDP (2001) *Human Development Report 2001*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- WORLD BANK (1980). *World Development Report*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- WORLD BANK (1998). *World Development Report 1998–99*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- WORLD BANK (2000). *World Development Report 2000/2001*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- WORLD BANK (January 2002). *Improving Human Development Outcomes in Pakistan*. Islamabad: The World Bank.

CORRESPONDENCE

Muhammad Ahsan, 7 Boswells Drive, Chelmsford, Essex CN2 6LD, UK. Email: MAhsan4838@aol.com