

**Management of Higher Education
Reforms in Pakistan: An
Implementation Perspective**

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Management of Higher Education Reforms in Pakistan: An Implementation Perspective

Management van hervormingen in het hoger onderwijs in Pakistan

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

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Kamran Jahangir

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Promotor: Prof. Dr. P. Verweel

Contents

Acknowledgement	9
Dedication	10
1 Introduction	
1.1 Research Questions	11
1.2 Significance of the Study	12
1.3 Background	13
1.4 Preliminary Considerations	16
1.5 Some Social Considerations	17
1.6 Preliminary Remarks on Methodology	20
1.7 Breakdown of the Study	22
2 Methodology	
2.1 Background	29
2.2 Methodology	30
3 Constitutional Provisions	
3.1 Background	37
3.2 Bodies Formed Under Acts of Parliament	40
3.2.1 University Grants Commission (UGC)	41
3.3 The Place of Education	43
4 Educational Policies and Plans	
4.1 Background	47
4.2 First Education Conference (1947)	47
4.3 First Five Year Plan 1955-60	49
4.4 Report of the National Commission on Education (1959)	50
4.5 Second Five Year Plan 1960-65	51

4.6	Third Five Year Plan 1965-70	52
4.7	National Education Policy of 1970	53
4.8	Education Policy (1972)	54
4.9	Fourth Five Year Plan 1970-75	55
4.10	Fifth Educational Plan 1977-83	56
4.11	The National Education Policy of 1979	57
4.12	Sixth Five Year Plan 1983-88	58
4.13	Seventh Five Year Plan 1988-92	59
4.14	National Education Policy (1992)	60
4.15	Eighth Five Year Plan 1993-98	63
4.16	National Education Policy (1998-2010)	64
4.17	Education Sector Reforms, Strategic Plan 2001-2004	66
4.18	Brief Analysis of Policies and Five-Year Plans	66
4.19	Conclusion	70
5	Effects of the Past	
5.1	The Effects	75
5.2	Degree Programs	83
5.3	Problem of Affiliation	84
5.4	Input & Output	86
5.5	Quality and Research	87
5.6	Financing	89
5.7	Examinations	90
5.8	Admissions	91
5.9	Curricula	92
5.10	The Private Sector	94
5.11	Failure of the University Grants Commission (UGC)	96
5.12	Conclusion	99
6	The New Strategy	
6.1	Task Force on Improvement of Higher Education	105
6.2	Recommendations of the Task Force (2002)	106
6.2.1	University Governance and Management	106

6.2.2	Central Coordination and Support for Quality	107
6.2.3	Funding	108
6.2.4	Faculty and Staff	109
6.2.5	Research	109
6.2.6	Curriculum	109
6.3	Steering Committee on Higher Education (2003)	110
6.4	Establishment of Higher Education Commission (HEC)	110
6.5	Vision and Strategy of HEC	113
6.6	Faculty & Human Resource Development	116
6.6.1	Promoting Research for Development	117
6.6.2	Scholarships & Fellowships	121
6.6.3	Incentives and Motivation	125
6.6.4	International Collaboration and Linkages	127
6.6.5	Bridging the Gap (Faculty Hiring)	127
6.7	Infrastructure Development	128
6.7.1	Financing the Universities and Degree Awarding Institutions	130
6.7.2	Pakistan Education & Research Network (PERN)	131
6.7.3	Digital Library Program	132
6.7.4	University Computerization & Networking	133
6.7.5	Centralized Instrumentation Facility	134
6.7.6	Curriculum	134
6.7.7	Bricks and Mortar	135
6.7.8	Establishment of New Institutions	135
6.8	Focus Area Support	135
6.9	Industrial Linkages	136
6.9.1	Technology Parks	137
6.10	Quality Assurance	137
6.10.1	Performance Evaluation and Monitoring	140
6.11	Higher Education Sector Reforms	141
6.12	Conclusion	144

7	Implementation	
7.1	Implementation	150
7.2	Theories of Implementation	154
7.2.1	Top-down	154
7.2.2	Bottom-up	164
7.2.3	The Synthesizers	169
7.3	Evaluation	171
7.4	HEC's Implementation Plan	174
7.5	Theoretical Framework	177
7.6	Concluding Remarks	180
8	Analysis, Findings and Recommendations	
8.1	Overview of Question One	187
8.2	Overview of Question Two	196
8.2.1	Hierarchical Complexity	197
8.2.2	Complexity of Joint Action	203
8.2.3	Clarity of Goals and Objectives	205
8.2.4	Difference of Opinion on Leadership and Proper Organizational Roles	210
8.2.5	Time Duration and Availability of Resources	216
8.2.6	Consensus	220
8.2.7	Evaluation	222
8.3	Findings	224
8.4	Recommendations	226
	Samenvatting	235
	Bibliography	241

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Dedication

The researcher dedicates this work to the living memory of his parents who did not live long to see this work complete and to the cause of higher education in Pakistan.

1

Introduction

The researcher's broad area of study relates to higher education especially in the backdrop of rapid increase over the last few years in sheer numbers of institutions of higher learning and their effects on education in general and higher education in particular. The main thrust of the study will take into account the strategies adopted by Higher Education Commission (HEC) for bringing about reforms in this vital area which, it is hoped, will contribute to the country's development. The Higher Education Commission is an autonomous body formed by the Government of Pakistan to (1) provide funding to public universities and degree-awarding institutions, and (2) ensure the implementation of the Government's policy by formulating a number of strategies centered on human resource development, infrastructure development and the maintenance of quality, among others.

By examining past and present strategies the researcher will try to give a comparative position of higher education and the need for establishing the HEC.

For this the researcher will look at the following research questions.

1.1 Research Questions

In the light of the introductory remarks given in this chapter the following broad questions become relevant:

1. ***What were the factors responsible for the establishment of HEC?***

This area of enquiry implies a discussion of past efforts and antecedents and a study of the factors responsible for establishing the HEC. It will be seen that a number of interlocking social, bureaucratic and educational factors have to be explored.

2. *Will HEC succeed in reforming Higher Education without an explicit implementation plan?*

The second question will explore how will the present strategies of HEC succeed. An assessment of the past efforts which form answer to question one lead us to the recommendations of the task force which lead to the establishment of HEC. The core areas identified by the task force will be compared with the present strategies of HEC. After this their implementability will be judged against a theoretical framework derived from leading theories on implementation especially the top down.

1.2 Significance of the Study

Since the independence of the country a number of attempts have been made to reform the higher education sector of the country. This was primarily done through policies and plans with little political will yielding meager financial resources. Now for the first time in the history of this country a serious effort is being made which conforms to the present Government's policy on higher education and has the necessary resources to carry out the task.

A lot of literature is available on past efforts but literature covering this transitional period from past to present is hardly available. The present study is an attempt to cover this transitional phase with some recommendations for future course of action. This study may serve as a base for future studies of this nature. However, the researcher has not come across a study covering the present strategies of HEC as it is only 5 years old(2002-07).

The title of the study "Management of Higher Education Reforms: An Implementation Perspective" suggests four major terms viz management, higher education, reform and implementation.

The term 'management' has been used in its most common connotation "the ability to work through others to accomplish goals that might not be achievable by an individual".¹ Moreover in this study this definition also includes resources other than human as well. The prime among them are the financial resources. Management operates through various functions, often classified as planning, organizing, leading/motivating and controlling.² Primarily this study deals with all these functions from the particular perspective of implementers of higher education reforms in Pakistan.

'Higher education' on the other hand represents tertiary education. In Pakistan this education is dispensed at 3 levels-degree colleges operate at provincial and federal level. They are affiliated with general universities in the public sector for award of degrees. Secondly, degree awarding institutes, which can award degrees but their area of academic activity in terms of number of disciplines taught, is restricted. Finally, universities both public and private with a larger scope for academic activities as they can institute as many disciplines as possible. For the present study the researcher will focus on universities and degree awarding institutes in the public sector, as this forms the core area of HEC's activities.

The word 'reform' in this study holds literal meanings of "to make something better by correcting or making improvements".³ The present endeavour of Government of Pakistan to improve higher education sector through HEC is the central theme of this study.

Finally the word implementation stands for "putting something into effect or to carry out something".⁴ In the present research it means to "effectively manage higher education reforms through appropriate and judicious use of both human and financial resources made available to the policy makers".

1.3 Background

Before going ahead with this study the researcher would like to familiarize the readers with the country about which this study is being undertaken. Pakistan is a country with an estimated population of 163.655 million people spread over an area of 796,096 sq k/m.⁵ It is made up of four main provinces, namely, Sindh, Balochistan, North Western Frontier Province and Punjab, plus territories in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) and the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA). Situated in South Asia, it shares borders with Afghanistan to the north west, China to the north east, India to the east and Iran to the south west.. Only 51.60% of its population (10 years and above) is literate (defined as having an ability to read and write in any language)⁶. Over 35 million of its population comprises youth in the age bracket of 15 to 29 years⁷. There are 149,085 primary schools with a total enrollment of 17,529,000 students. The total intake of primary schools does not make it to the middle school i.e. (from grade 6 to 8th) and only 3821000 reach 26790 middle schools. Only 1574000 reach 15051 high schools in the country (9th and 10th grade)⁸. However, at this point a very small segment of students opt for O level and the Junior Cambridge system of education offered by a few private schools. Those who opt for O and A levels or junior and senior Cambridge stay at the school and complete their 12th grade whereas the majority who enroll at the Matric

level (9th & 10th) grade offered by all government and a large number of private schools make it to the college for 11th & 12th grade.

There are two tiers of college education. Intermediate colleges offer only 2 years of study at the 11th & 12th grade (also called 1st and IInd year and taken as equivalent to the A level or Senior Cambridge). The other tier comprises degree colleges which offer courses of study ranging from an intermediate certificate for the eleventh and twelfth grade to either the Bachelor's degree at the 13th & 14th grade (14 years of formal education) or in a few cases for a selected number of courses at the Master's level. There are 1313 degree colleges in Pakistan with an annual enrollment of well over nine hundred thousand students⁹. These colleges are affiliated with a University for awarding degrees and with a Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, which conducts examinations, and awards certificates to Matric and Intermediate students.

Although it is not really possible to introduce sharp divisions in education, as all levels dovetail (or should do) with one another, the researcher's primary area of focus is the top rung of the ladder, the tertiary level comprising universities and degree awarding institutions. The administrative control of these institutions is at two levels. For universities and institutes at the provincial level the respective provincial Governors are the chancellors, whereas the President in most cases and the Prime Minister in a few cases are the chancellors of public sector universities established by the federal government. For all financial allocations and distribution of resources the Higher Education Commission is responsible.

For a better understanding of this study the researcher would like to briefly explain the forces that have had an influence on the educational system.

Since its inception Pakistan's educational system has been unstable. The reasons for this can be attributed to lack of political will, language problems, frequent policy changes, obscurantism, conservative attitudes of religious leadership, poor financial resources, a weak structure and ignorance on the part of the masses, whose literacy and educational accomplishments have remained consistently low since the beginning, and whose work is associated directly or indirectly with agriculture. What we call 'leadership' should, in theory, introduce upward, modernizing suction forces for the society. All too often it has proved to be self-serving and ineffectual, so that hardly any impact is noticed. And, all too often, a promising vision has been lost in a fog of clerical negativism compounded by bureaucratic and social indifference. The researcher will have more to say about these crucially

important matters in the chapter on Implementation. The researcher after studying various schools of thought on implementation and evaluation has selected a 'top down' approach for this particular study instead of 'bottom up'. The main framework has been taken from Pressman and Wildavsky's book on Implementation. The researcher finds it relevant to the present study. Ideally, there ought to be a *conceptual* center, a *planning* center, a *logistics* center, an *implementation* center and an *evaluation* center, and each of these ought to be in close harmony with every other component of the venture if it is to take off. They include the reality on the ground that tends to be very different.

The country came into being as a result of an ideology based on the Islamic system of values and culture. Urdu was adopted as its national language and therefore became the medium of instruction in most of the public schools. However, at the time of independence there was a considerable presence of missionary schools and colleges in which the medium of instruction was English. It was primarily from these institutions that the future leadership including the civil bureaucracy came from. In fact, the defining qualification of employment in the civil services, regardless of the candidate's other attainments or qualities, used to be, and still is to a considerable extent, an ability to speak and write English. The other power center in policy making is the Army. Once a candidate is selected for military training, greater emphasis is given to the spoken aspect of English and proficiency in it is one of the pre-requisites for career progression.

Times and attitudes keep changing, but as far as the researcher can see, English has become more and more important both nationally and internationally with the passage of time. This statement might be displeasing to speakers of other important world languages, but the rush of events is overwhelming. Those who use computers and the internet will support this view. The international dimension has become dominant in recent years as the world progresses towards some kind of viable globalization, which presupposes a progressive diminution of jealously guarded sovereignty within narrow definitions of territoriality, linguistic demarcations or political nationalism. The need for a common communicational system is growing in direct proportion to the increase in trade, international mobility and political compromise that we are witnessing today. The experiments with Urdu in education in the seventies and eighties were linguistically and philosophically defensible from a narrowly patriotic or nationalistic point of view, but proved to be an impediment for many people in higher studies both within the country and abroad, and a hindrance in national development and international exposure and

participation. We notice that the majority of subjects and courses at both degree and non-degree levels are in English. The development of the Urdu language stands no comparison with the amount and quality of academic material produced in English. Hence if our youth have to obtain advanced degrees they need to improve their skills in English rather than Urdu. This will enable them to benefit from modern research, and will also help them form part of a global workforce.

1.4 Preliminary Considerations

The researcher is witnessing a large-scale change in higher education, as its benefits accrue to the social, economic and cultural life of different communities, and as more and more people are encouraged to remain in education. He considers himself privileged to be a part of the social experiment in human development in a country that is not famous for its achievements in this field. During the six decades of its existence, Pakistan has witnessed many political storms and reverses. It has not been able to establish a stable idiom for itself, and in consequence has tended to swing from one extreme to another. Some of its problems are unique. It is what is called an ideological state, founded on a vision of spiritual growth that in its extreme manifestations denies the worth of this world, yet striving for a position among nations that have set high standards in scientific, technological, social and human development. It has many internal tensions and problems, being somewhat medieval at heart but contemporary in hopes and expectations, with internal, regional and international eddies and crosscurrents always threatening to deflect it from its goals.

The events of 11 September 2001 in New York brought this country face to face with compelling new challenges, and it decided on a course of modernization for itself in accordance with contemporary definitions of the concept. Whereas previously the country was largely content to drift along with marginal acquisitions in education, there is now a strong realization that education must be improved in quality and made available to greater numbers of the society than before. The focus of this study is higher education, especially the rapid increase over the last few years in raw numbers of institutions of higher learning, not all of which are universities. Of course, it is not possible to compartmentalize education, and what happens at school is bound to affect what happens at college. An overall vision is indicated so that there is an integrated progression from one stage to another. Even more important is the establishment of career paths for motivated and capable students so that debilitating and demoralizing job uncertainties are at least reduced, if they cannot be removed altogether. Emotions cannot be measured or categorized, which is why administrators tend

to ignore them. Yet it would be shortsighted indeed to overlook the emotional basis of learning. This society should not only offer rewards to its talented citizens, it should also be seen to offer such rewards. However, a survey of the whole field is outside this study's terms of reference, and the researcher has confined his observations to the field of higher education.

The results of this experiment will, of course, manifest themselves much more fully in the future, but it is desirable to periodically monitor the current program's successes and failures, its effects and setbacks and its performance in general as it goes along, so that minor corrections, or even major revisions if so merited, can be made as required. For this particular purpose a framework of implementation has been adapted from Pressman and Wildavsky's book Implementation so that a system of monitoring can be suggested. If this system is followed by an evaluative process there is every likelihood of producing data which could serve as a bench-mark for future planning. Frequent applications of this process will ultimately lead to some of the best planning yielding the much desired results. This study should be among the first of several similar ones in the future. The whole thing needs to be watched closely to determine whether the experiment is fulfilling its own objectives or, like many other well-meaning initiatives introduced with much fanfare in the past, liable to rebound on itself by worsening the situation, or (as has happened often enough) simply fading away into history without even producing logical data for future planners. It is intended as an interested observer's commentary on the experiment, and not as a replacement for official analyses or documents. However, for obvious reasons, in-house analyses tend to be subjective and self-laudatory, and there is always a place for outside opinions.

1.5 Some Social Considerations:

We must look for motives. At the back of this educational movement is the desire to modernize Pakistan, to make it economically more viable than it is now, to bring it at par with some middle-level countries in the West and Far East. That is at the material level. A less obvious motive is to temper medieval dogma by scientific thinking, so that this region no longer breeds mindless literalism or destructive fanaticism. It has been accused of doing this by a number of concerned nations in the recent past. There is considerable international support for the present initiative. *One constant refrain in the Higher Education Commission's manifesto is the need to inculcate the habit of scientific thinking, to create a research culture based on inductive thinking, evidential validation, the careful collection and analysis of reliable data*

and international cross-referencing. This, clearly, requires large inputs of rethinking in current social attitudes, which till recently tended to be characterized by deductive approaches, prejudice, shibboleth, intolerance and dogma. These are still in evidence in some parts of the country and in some segments of society more than in others, but their influence tends to be much greater than their numbers would ordinarily merit.

At an informal level, the researcher sometimes encounters expressions of fear that the experiment is too radical, that it is trying to transform an old, static, traditional and deeply conservative society into a poor and unconvincing imitation of modern Europe, America or Japan. This fear is not entirely misplaced. Demonstrably workable practices built up over centuries of trial-and-error should not be scrapped too readily in a wild rush to modernize the country¹⁰, nor is it possible to sweep away old ideas so readily. Sustainable development requires recognition and development of the primary building blocks already present in a given society, rather than contemptuous rejection of traditional practices. No society, medieval or modern, is without them. For example, the way some farmers have supported themselves and their immediate communities for centuries through sensible rotation farming and water management in certain arid, hilly areas of the country, or the cheap but functional village technology of some rural areas for cooling and storing water—these work, and it might be more sensible to look for improvements in their working than to abandon them altogether in favour of wholly different approaches that demand huge inputs of money, training and expertise.

People must feel the need to improve their lot, otherwise very little is likely to happen. In trying to reform a slow-moving, traditional society, cognizance must be taken of the several elements likely to work against that reform. Among them, perception is also important. The chances for success are greater in an atmosphere of general approval. Any challenge to orthodox practices, no matter how dysfunctional, is likely to stimulate opposition. One would like to believe that people can see how ineffective the old practices are and that a new vision should receive the general approval of those who matter in the system, but it is not so. The researcher has encountered, in informal discourse, quite a bit of irritable resentment among colleagues at the HEC's objectives and workings.

Educational practices as they have grown up in this country cannot be abandoned immediately. It is possible to find some good in them as they stand. All is not wrong or bad. Standards are reasonably good, and quite a few Pakistani students coming out of this system

move on successfully to higher things in developed countries. This would not be possible if their educational base were hopeless. However, it is not enough to be reasonably good. The effort should be towards excellence. Many people resist change for a number of reasons--instinctive retention of the known no matter how faulty; resentment at outside interference; fear of the unknown; loss of comfortable routine; suspicion of possible cultural erosion; unpredictability; and, above all, several examples of well meaning but disastrous initiatives littering the historical landscape of the nation. This is one factor that needs reiteration. Pakistan has never been short of resounding plans, and some of them bear the stamp of hard, realistic thinking. However, in the past, outcomes have fallen far short of expectations with such predictable regularity that a kind of helpless, disbelieving cynicism now paralyzes the population. Initiatives, some very good ones, are greeted with derision and are immediately eroded by a combination of bureaucratic obfuscation and public non-cooperation. In a later chapter the researcher has focused his attention on the all-important area of implementation. There is little point in talking about theories or desiderata if nothing can be done to bring them to the light of day.

However, there are many compelling reasons for a massive reconstruction of the system, the strongest being that traditional practices have generally failed in developing the human capital of the country, which still ranks very low among nations of the world in human development. The proof of a system is in its application, not in its rhetoric.

In a conservative society like Pakistan's one comes across such patterns of thinking¹¹. Both kinds of thinking are encountered in this society. There are those¹² who think poverty is actually a blessing and wealth a curse, and those who feel that education, especially at advanced levels, is simply a waste of time because the nation has no worthwhile jobs on offer and cannot make appropriate use of its highly educated members. Such people¹³ point out that many Master degree holders are found in low-paid clerical jobs, medical doctors are found selling drugs in chemists shops and engineers are found working as mechanics in workshops, not because they want to but because they have to. Some of this society's least educated people are among its most prosperous and influential, simply because of good luck, or because of political, familial or tribal antecedents in what is still an essentially feudal set-up (see **Note** at the end of this chapter). It would be difficult to sell the 'education first' vision of development to such people, who would probably feel that the horse comes before the cart, that macro social development precedes micro individual development,

that the normative precedes the atomistic and that perimeters and outer shapes have to be delineated before the inner workings of the society can be tackled meaningfully. You need a plentiful, sustained and assured supply of money before you can do anything on this scale.

The researcher's current position is that, while money and infrastructure are important, we cannot wait any longer for windfall wealth. Unless some basic resources are discovered that attract the attention of the world market, *the social development of this nation will depend on individual development*. The term 'society' is itself an abstract idea, incapable of precise definition. A nation is merely an aggregate of individuals, usually with some common mode of communication, possessing vague conformities of outlook and culture, and living in some kind of loosely agreed formula in one internationally recognized, demarcated area of the world. There is nothing mystical or mysterious about it, as though it were some kind of near-living entity. A society does not exist outside the lives of its members. The development of a society's members should, logically, lead to some kind of general development.

The researcher has undertaken this study in the belief that dynamic applications of higher education can accelerate the process of development considered from as many angles as possible, material and conceptual. Individuals are affected by what happens to aggregates of people and aggregates of people are affected by what happens to individuals. This study will also attempt to delineate the contemporary upsurge of interest in higher education in Pakistan, its viability and its likely effects on society both for the immediate and distant future. This country has too long delayed its bid for a better vision of life than the one it has at the moment¹⁴. However, it is making another attempt in the present movement, which is a rapid one compared to what has happened in the past.

1.6 Preliminary Remarks on Methodology

The researcher's methodology will be described in greater detail in Chapter Two. However, he feels that some difficulties need to be noted and some factors clarified here. He has derived the bulk of his data from related material in recent publications from different parts of the world, the Internet, government documents, commentaries within the country, newspapers, and personal observation. He has supplemented his sources through questionnaires and interviews with people engaged in planning and implementing various facets of higher education, both in the administrative set-up and educational institutions round the country. This effort has been made to acquire additional dimensions on the questions raised here. However, the sampling is not

wide enough to provide unchallengeable data for the ensuing study. It should be seen for what it is, an attempt to reinforce or test his own ideas through the ideas of others.

By their very nature social studies of this nature are likely to suffer from imprecision. Because of the size and factorial complexity inherent in the subject, relationships between dependent and independent variables cannot be presented as unchallengeable certitudes. There might be dozens or scores of intervening factors that are not immediately visible in observing apparent relationships. A cause might be spatially remote from its effect, rendering the link uncertain. Temporal interventions also exist--an effect might follow a cause after the lapse of so many decades and with so much happening in between that all sight of the cause is lost. The same cause might have one kind of short-term effect, another kind of medium-term effect and yet another completely different kind of long-term effect, introducing a subset of time-dependencies that is difficult either to observe or to control. One cause might have several effects, just as one effect might be the outcome of several scattered causes, introducing a whole set of complexities and uncertainties into the exercise. Briefly, what seems to be workable in one part of the world might be calamitous in another, and what seems beneficial today might be catastrophic ten years down the line.

In a humanistic, sociological study of this nature, criteria would also need to be established if the results of its findings are to have any validity. How, for example, can we decide that the society has 'progressed' after so many years of a given experiment unless we fix a measurable starting point, a measurable ending point and a reliable method for determining losses and gains in between? If we see an apparent link between A (the apparent cause) and B (the apparent effect), say, 60 per cent of the time, but not during the remaining forty per cent of the time, is this enough to establish a valid causal link between the two? If we see an effect that is somewhat useful but somewhat deleterious, say 55 per cent useful and 45 per cent harmful, should we recommend it or condemn it? In many social activities we find that what benefits one segment of the population harms another. Arbitrary lines and cut-off points have to be drawn somewhere, but it is good to remember that they are arbitrary. By their very nature some things cannot be measured. If the criteria for a 'variable' require that it be concrete, observable and measurable, then a lot that takes place in sociological speculation of this nature does not and cannot fulfill those criteria. The variables given in this study are 'approximants' rather than 'absolutes', and represent the considered judgement not only of the researcher, but also of important decision-makers who are actually

engaged in planning and implementing the new vision for higher education in the country.

1.7 Breakdown of the Study

Chapter one, *inter alia* research questions, describes the country in terms of its area and population, and current facts and figures about schools, colleges and universities. It also touches briefly upon the country's history from colonial times, the conservatism which it held in high esteem and the use of English first as the language of colonizers and now as a tool for survival in the present-day world. A brief introduction to the Higher Education Commission sensitizes the readers about this organization and the place that it holds in this study. This chapter also highlights a few development strategies which this country underwent, and finally the importance of change for growth and development.

It is followed by chapter two which describes the methodology adopted to carry out this study.

Chapter three gives an overview of the constitutional efforts made, since the country came into being, in the sphere of education in general and higher education in particular. It also brings to light the first consolidated effort to reform higher education through the establishment of the University Grants Commission.

The fourth chapter starting from the colonial era takes into account the colonial education legacy, and then goes on to briefly outline various policies and plans this country had from 1947 to date. It attempts to describe factors and personalities that were fundamental in the formation of each policy and plan. It also comments on the absence of proper implementation strategies followed by analyses leading to evaluation, which are critical for judging the effects and outcomes of a policy or plan. We also learn that political instability and incessant changes in the governments each coming up with a short term strategy to win its political agenda were some of the causes for not committing the kind of resources this long term strategy required. Hence the proliferation of plans with no significant change.

The fifth chapter then brings us to the sad aftermath of the failure of the various plans and policies. It attempts to bring to light the effects of the poor educational planning by successive governments to manage this important public duty. The chapter tries to paint a holistic picture of the pathetic condition our education in general and higher education in particular were in at the advent of the new millennium. This includes degree programs, admissions, finances, curricula and

infrastructure of both public and private sector institutions. This chapter, in this study, sets a sense of urgency for change without which things would not get better.

It also takes into account factors which led to the failure of the University Grants Commission, a constitutional body tasked to bring about improvement in the higher education sector of the country. The World Bank report of 1992 and UNESCO's Task Force Report on Higher Education in Developed Countries: Peril and Promise (2000) brought to light the critical situation that the Pakistan's higher education sector faced. The concluding part of this chapter also answers the first research question.

At various points in the course of this study, right up to the fifth chapter, it has been repeatedly mentioned that one attempt after the other without carrying out detailed analysis of the causes of the failure of previous plan, were arrows in the dark. None of the governments or plans was in continuation of the previous one. Had there been a proper implementation analysis of each plan followed by an evaluative study it certainly would have helped future policy makers overcome earlier weaknesses and build on whatever short run gains the previous plan or policy had achieved. This separation of policy from implementation and evaluation for new learning led to a system-wide failure which not only resulted in the disbandment of the UGC but also left the higher education sector in the doldrums of uncertainty.

Chapter six starts with the setting up of a Task Force on higher education. Taking stock of this situation in April 2001 the Government of Pakistan set up a task force to carry out an in-depth study of the higher education sector in the country and put up recommendations for improvement. The force comprised leaders of higher education and other stakeholders from both public and private sectors. In January 2002 it submitted its recommendations to the President of Pakistan. It recommended changes in the governance and management of universities and better central coordination and support for quality. It also recommend enhanced budgeting with an annual increase of Rs. 5.000 billion and suggested better pay packages for teachers to attract the best talent. It laid greater stress on research and curriculum revision. Consequently a steering committee was formed to develop an implementation plan to carry out recommendations of the Task Force on Higher Education. This led to the establishment of the Higher Education Commission tasked to bring about the desired changes.

The chapter then discusses in detail various strategies being adopted by the HEC to reform higher education in Pakistan.

Chapter seven has therefore been given over to a discussion of the central (and peripheral) role of implementation for better execution of policies, and the role of evaluation for learning from this process for better future planning then again followed by better implementation, thus forming an implementation cycle whereby improvement becomes an ongoing process. Works of major writers on implementation have been discussed in detail followed by an introduction to evaluation as an important part of successful implementation. The HEC's implementation plan has also been introduced so that a better understanding of the present situation could be developed. This chapter also provides a theoretical framework for analysis of the present strategies of the HEC. The six point framework is based on a top down model rather than bottom up.

The last chapter will give a detailed analyses of UGC's failure as an organization and establishment of HEC. The chapter further analyses the working of HEC in the backdrop of a theoretical framework drawn in chapter 7. This yields answer to the second research question. In the end the researcher will conclude the study with findings and recommendations.

The present attempt, is either the first of its kind or one of the very few, which aim at the present effort of the Government and provides a guideline to future researchers. Most of the Commission's strategies are in their formative phase and do not provide adequate data for a detailed analysis leading to further learning for future policies.

In this chapter the researcher has tried to show some important factors for consideration in subsequent parts of the dissertation. He has already given preliminary ideas for delineating and approaching the study and has indicated in which areas worthwhile conclusions might emerge, and in which areas precision is unlikely. In the next chapter he will discuss in greater detail modalities in approaches and methods made by him in tackling questions related to this study.

Note: For example, concentration of wealth in the hands of a decision-making minority might result in extreme poverty for the majority. This would enable the minority to implement its schemes and ideas, but would put too much power, importance and authority in its hands. In the interests of the minority the latent abilities and talents of the majority would remain underutilized and undervalued. This would not be good for the society in general. To some extent this is visible in Pakistan. In the past (and even today in some pockets in the country, especially in remote areas) the ruling class has tended not to encourage advanced education in the masses, partly because it is not renowned for its own levels of education, and partly because it finds or

thinks it finds it easier to 'control' a dependent, poverty-stricken, unthinking majority than a fairly prosperous, thinking one. Rulers of this kind are more concerned with the perpetuation and enhancement of power than with the welfare of the populace. Education might be seen as a threat to the power structure. These are entrenched attitudes that come down to us from monarchical and feudal times. If it is to implement its manifesto, the HEC will have to contend with some of these factors.

References / End Notes

¹ Siddiqi, Asrar. H. Principles and Practices of Management (2003) Royal Book Company Karachi Pakistan. P.1

² www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Management

³ Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. OUP. 1998. p. 980

⁴ Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. OUP. 1998. p. 595-6

⁵ www.statpak.gov.pk

⁶ The State of Education in Pakistan 2003-2004, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan
March 2005

⁷ Pakistan 2004 Statistical Pocket Book, Government of Pakistan, Statistics Division, January 2004

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ An opinion sometimes voiced by colleagues in informal discussions is that the HEC is too enamoured of American methods and procedures, and that Pakistan is not ready to absorb them. It is unlikely that Pakistan will ever become a 'little America.' It might not want to become so. The wholesale importation of American methods and standards might prove unworkable or self-defeating at some stage in the future. One sometimes hears a justification for Americanizing the Pakistani system in the assertion (made mostly by Americans themselves, or by people who have received their own higher education in America) that American educational approaches are the 'best' in the world, and should therefore become models for other countries aspiring for similar norms of development. This assertion can certainly be challenged. In making value judgments and (largely subjective) comparisons about things, 'best' or 'worst' judgments of this nature are tricky things, even with sophisticated instruments of evaluation. It is perhaps mistakenly argued that because of America's indubitable pre-eminence in science (and even more, in technology) this must be because of certain factors in its educational output. However, an element of *cum hoc ergo propter hoc* can probably be detected in such an observation, the fallacy of correlation, or of arguing from concomitancy to causality. Good social development and good educational facilities do seem to go hand-in-hand, but as to which factor *causes* which, much can be said on either side. The reductionist fallacy might underscore the observation. Looking for some single central factor (or some manageably small set of factors) which supposedly affects other developmental factors in the society might seem to be

a worthwhile exercise. However, it might also lead to simplistic judgments about these matters.

¹¹ These are the researcher's own observations and are based on informal talks with colleagues. The researcher feels that they are so common that they do not need documentation.

¹² These ideas are the outcome of informal talks with colleagues. They are not documented

¹³ These are the researcher's own observations based on informal talks with colleagues.

¹⁴ How much the nation is in tune with the new set-up, still remains to be seen. In informal discussions, the researcher has encountered murmurings that important stakeholders in this society were never consulted, and that the new dispensation was thrust upon them willy-nilly as a sure remedy for the nation's chronic backwardness without taking cognizance of this society's aspirations or competencies. The researcher would like to point out that education exists (or should do so) for the collective betterment of people living within a given society. Part of the researcher's effort will be to determine if the following by Barry Munitz, "Managing Transformation in an Age of Social Triage" in *Ibid*, p.39 is true of Pakistan as well:

...parents, employers, patrons and politicians are seeking, and usually insisting upon, verifiable indices of performance and success...

In Pakistan the approach thus far has tended to be high-handed, with little scope for questioning by either students or parents. A greater quantum of accountability is indicated. Courses of study offered by institutions of higher education must (1) take cognizance of this society's needs in a practical sense, (2) act as agents of change by introducing the possibility and desirability of change, and (3) be accountable not only to their own students, but also to society at large. However, greater accountability means a reduction in autonomy. Under the new dispensation the age-old right of each university to decide things for itself has been called in question, and this is a cause for concern in some quarters. However, the term 'performance' is subject to many misgivings. To a large extent the performance of students is dependent on the performance of teachers. More and more, teacher performance is being measured by 'countable' definitions of the term, namely, how many research papers has s/he written, or how many conferences has s/he attended, and not by the slow and less visible or definable aggregates of his/her daily contact with students. We would not like this to happen here (see Sean C. Rush, *Ibid*, p.16—talking about American universities, Rush states):

...many universities have become academic condominiums where individual faculty members pursue their disciplines to

enhance their professional standing without regard to the institutions in which they work...

Which can lead to a double disconnection, the first of the teacher from his students, and the second of the institution from the society it is supposed to serve.

2

Methodology

2.1 Background

The researcher's focus is primarily on higher education, with special reference to the policies of the present government and the implementation of those policies. At the same time, the ripple effect through society is likely to be wide, and many aspects of living will certainly be affected by it.

In informal discussions with people, the researcher has encountered the following broad perceptions as to what constitutes 'education.' For some it is first and last a 'moralising' function, and such people would judge its suitability in terms of its religious content. For others it is primarily a 'citizenizing' function, the job of which is to inculcate civic virtues in coming generations. For most middle-class families it is a preparation for some kind of white-collar government job, small or large, for which fairly advanced literacy might be considered enough together with a working knowledge of the English language—for such people the humanities might seem more productive than the sciences, and this would explain the continuing, relatively low enrolment witnessed year after year in science and engineering subjects.

Most past policies have advocated a fair distribution for the sciences as well, but the fact is that Pakistan is still underdeveloped in science and technology in comparison with some other countries with similar backgrounds and histories. One might find many reasons for this, a continuing feudal structure, conservative attitudes, a dominantly agricultural ethos, the continuing popularity of 'government' jobs, the generalist rather than the specialist mind-set of the population, frequent political crises, economic and national upheavals and a tendency to maintain known traditions and norms however obsolete, unworkable or debilitating they might prove to be, in preference to exploration and experimentation with unknown ones.

This is not a society of natural explorers—other people might come from thousands of miles away to climb its famous mountains, but very few locals will venture forth. Likewise, it is not a society of natural

experimenters. Local initiatives are few and far between and generally pass unnoticed. Hardly any local inventions have been generated by this society for the amelioration of its own problems. There is a tendency to look abroad for solutions, not least because of a deep suspicion of all local things coupled with a tendency to overvalue foreign things. This is a particularly debilitating tendency. It might be in part a product of colonisation, the after effects of which have not yet worked themselves out of the society's system, even after six decades¹.

One of the Higher Education Commission's avowed purposes is to change this static, hypercautious, backward-looking social vision into a dynamic, forward-looking, exploratory one by inculcating the 'habit' of scientific research, so that the society's creative potential in social reconstruction and technology can be realized.²

This is easier said than done. Science is basically inductive in that it looks for reliable evidence before it asserts or denies the validity of its own hypotheses—it is *exploratory* in character and *evidence* driven. *Exploration tends towards continuity, lateral thinking and movement*. Against this, we find that the dominant outlook of this society is fundamentally deductive in its norms and assumptions, deriving many of them from textual authority or from long-cherished tradition—it is *expository* in character and *hearsay* based. *Exposition tends towards social stagnation and mental stasis*. Some merit might be found in both modes of thinking, and there is certainly a fair degree of complementation between the two, but their outcomes are different. Science deals in the concrete, ideology in the abstract.

This is not to suggest that it is impossible to bridge the gulf. It can be done if there is sustained pressure, and it is hoped that the Higher Education Commission will continue to exert this kind of pressure over a number of years, until some modalities are accepted and put in place. As against *imparting* knowledge, *generating* knowledge presupposes large readjustments in methods and attitudes.

2.2 Methodology

In the light of the foregoing general observations, the researcher decided to undertake an exploratory, mainly qualitative, descriptive, analytical study of the Higher Education Commission's planning and working. His reasons for opting for a qualitative study were (1) that the implications were very wide, (2) that the human element was pervasive and unpredictable, and (3) that the modalities of the initiative were too vague and indeterminate for a valid quantitative

study. The danger of quantification lies in the tendency to delimit things to an unrepresentatively narrow frame of reference.³

His approach contained the following elements:

- a. He engaged in extensive library research in order to develop a theoretical framework and background in the subject of higher education and its effect on a backward, struggling society such as that of Pakistan. He also used the internet for some of his source material:
- b. He consulted books and documents relevant to his purpose, part of which was to look at the historical background of reform in higher education in Pakistan. These included Government publications and reports in an effort to understand the thinking that led to the present initiative, and newspaper articles and letters in order to form an idea of contemporary opinions and the public reaction to that initiative:
- c. He made judgments based on his reading and personal observation as one closely associated with the day-to-day administrative and academic workings of a large, public-sector university based in Islamabad (National University of Modern Languages), and considerable interaction with the Higher Education Commission:
- d. Faced with a paucity of reliable data for testing the validity of his observations, the researcher decided to mount a small opinion-gathering exercise with the purpose of indicating directions for his research. For this a short question-list was used. The material gathered from this part of the exercise has not been included in this study. However, it is available with the researcher:
- e. Some ideas and attitudes were picked up from informal discussions with colleagues, parents, teachers and senior students associated with the process of higher education, and this enabled the researcher to proceed with some confidence. This aspect of the study is important because it supplies the perceptual and attitudinal ambience of the study, but it is the least documented from a research point of view, mostly because it represents the sum total of his own impressions, and of informal discussions spread over a number of years. Despite this shortcoming from a formal research point of view, the researcher considers this

aspect of the study to be important. It sets the tone and attitude of the whole exercise. At this point the researcher would like to note that among *administrators*, he encountered considerable suspicion and resistance. They tended to measure the new vision in frames of reference derived from older ones. This might not seem very fair, but it is such a common phenomenon that it hardly deserves comment. Reform is a very difficult thing--people are generally reluctant to abandon the known, no matter how wretched, for the unknown, no matter how plausible. Among *academics*, the researcher encountered some dissatisfaction, together with a belief that basic weaknesses of concept and character in our society would vitiate the whole thing before long, an unhappy attitudinal legacy of repeated failures with earlier initiatives in the past. Among *students and parents* he encountered resentment and cynicism to a level likely to affect the proper working of the new dispensation in higher education, and this must be taken into account. These negative attitudes might represent the first reaction of people to anything new, especially in a society plagued by false promises, such as this one. They cannot be ignored because they might affect outcomes. Strategies of implementation have to take cognizance of such incommensurable factors, otherwise they might fail:

- f. The exigencies of the study suggested the need for a fairly broad sampling of public opinion, including those of parents and students, but this would have made the exercise unwieldy. The researcher did not think that widening the set of interviews to include representatives of the public would materially alter the direction of his findings, and in any case he found written material for assessing the public pulse from newspaper articles, editorials and letters. For his opinion gathering exercise, therefore, the researcher restricted his field to primary stakeholders engaged in planning and implementing the Higher Education Commission's policies, and to a select number of key personnel in opinion forming and decision-making positions in some important institutions affected by its actions. He used relatively free-ranging interviews for this purpose:
- g. Loose 'opinion gathering' through informal discussions does not lend itself to concrete, measurable research. However, it can provide starting points. The researcher has

derived some of his ideas for the ensuing study from it. To provide parameters of reference, the researcher engaged in a small number of unstructured interviews with key personnel described above. No limits were placed on the observations of the respondents if they wanted to roam outside the question list. The opinions of some people obviously carry more weight than those of others, so the analyses presented here are more qualitative than quantitative, though some quantification has also been introduced. The researcher finds himself in agreement with the observation that both qualitative and quantitative elements can be used in a fruitful interplay when engaging in studies of this nature.⁴ This is a predominantly qualitative study, but with a little stiffening from quantitative elements. The researcher endeavoured to work the two approaches into an acceptable framework:

- h. The study is conceived in two phases (encapsulated in the two research questions stated in Chapter One) which overlap at several points and which are considered together in the researcher's findings in the final chapter. (a) The first phase is historical, to do with the factors and failures that led to the establishment of the Higher Education Commission. This is the diachronic phase of the study. An attempt to answer the first research question is made in Chapter Five, but, of course, the implications of the first question continue to permeate the study till the end. The Higher Education Commission should not be seen as an entity in isolation, but as a continuation of (and improvement on) what took place before, in reference not only to the now defunct University Grants Commission (although this is its immediate predecessor), but also other government mechanisms for higher education dating back to the beginnings of this country. This framework is necessary⁵. For his historical elements, the researcher looked at different education policies, plans, documents and reports offered by successive commissions and agencies since the inception of the country. There is probably nothing 'wrong' with these documents—the sentiments and principles upon which they were formulated are impeccable—but an ongoing shortfall in implementation can be observed. Weaknesses in this area are discussed in the chapter on Implementation. (b) The second phase is contemporary. It has to do with the initial and present vision of the Higher Education Commission and with factors likely

to lead to its success in comparison with what went before. While the implications of this phase are found at several points in the early part of this dissertation, it is taken up in greater detail after Chapter Five, and considered together with the first phase in the researcher's final findings:

- i. Throughout the exercise, the researcher was conscious that the basic area of failure, especially in past initiatives of this nature, was less in conception and planning and more in implementation. He therefore looked at the various issues involved in the current initiative from the all-important angle of implementation as well, and attempted to make educated forecasts based on contemporary principles of implementation. For this purpose the researcher consulted well-known publications on translating ideas into practical outcomes, such as Implementation and Public Policy by Mazmanian and Sabatier, and Implementation by Pressman and Wildavsky, among others. The reader will note the main theme running through this study, namely, that modalities of implementation tend to be deficient in this kind of planning in Pakistan. In fact, he identifies these as the weak links in the chain, and as the primary causes of failure in the past. The real fear here is that many of those weak links exist even now, and that these might neutralize the present initiative, consigning it to the scrap heap of history, like many before it:
- j. In continuation of 'i' above, the researcher adapted the theoretical framework developed in Implementation by Pressman and Wildavsky for evaluating the probable outcomes of the current initiative. His main reasons for this are (1) the similarities observable in the operation described in this book and the initiative under discussion in this study, and (2) the fact that this theoretical framework is underscored by practical elements — it is derived from real events in the real world:
- k. For his synchronic elements the researcher consulted the present plan for higher education in the country and related documents on education, training and human development emanating from agencies such as the United Nations. He also spoke to key figures engaged in implementing the plan at the 'giving' end, and to important personages in some institutions of higher learning at the 'receiving' end:

- l. It might be mentioned that there is very little literature to be found on these matters, and that the researcher was forced to rely on his own powers of observation and judgment for many assertions and statements in this work:
- m. From the tone of the selection of letters and comments culled from newspapers, it will be seen that public documents tend to be critical and that, in voicing their grievances, people tend to ignore an agency's successes. On one side the public response is negative and disbelieving in tone. On the other side it is observed that official documents tend to be self-justifying or self-laudatory in tone, cataloguing the agency's successes and ignoring its shortcomings. It is difficult for either side to be objective. There is always room for non-official, neutral studies such as the present one, especially where a matter as obtrusively 'public' as higher education is involved. Unfortunately, official organizations tend to ignore the findings of studies of this nature, because they lie outside the normal routine of government offices or of government-supported initiatives. However, the researcher feels that the public is the primary stakeholder in this kind of initiative, so such considerations should not be allowed to inhibit the all-important process of evaluation.

The study, therefore, focuses on questions of why was the Higher Education Commission established, what is the current initiative in higher education, how it is setting about meeting its own objectives, what tools and methods it is using, how well it is funded, conceptualised and administered, what are its ramifications for this society and (based on current and future projections) how far it is likely to succeed in its objectives with regard to this society within the next five years or so.

The proceeding part of this study will focus on various constitutional development policies and plans regarding higher education, and their failure leading to a host of problems justifying the establishment of the HEC and disbandment of the UGC. The present initiative will be discussed in detail in the light of this background and an attempt will be made to answer the research questions in reference to implementation strategy.

References / End Notes

¹ See Riaz Hassan, "Neither Civil nor Military" in The Kipling Journal, London, Volume 88, December 2006. pp 47-53. This author describes the period just before Pakistan's independence in 1947:

'...There was a lot of racial comparison going on then...The social mantra was (repeat after me), "English *good*, Indian *bad*." This became more strident as the local British realized that they might have to go before long. One can understand at least two colonial compulsions behind it. First, the British had to convince the Indians that they were by definition a bunch of incompetents. Second, they had to convince themselves that they were something special. No occasion, no matter how trivial or untimely, was passed up to reinforce this double message...' (Ibid, 47)

² As pointed out by this author (Ibid, 53) the psychological inhibitions generated by this kind of propaganda have not disappeared from this society, even after sixty years of independence.

³ See Maxwell, J.A., Qualitative Research Design, P. 73, quoting Tukey, Maxwell writes:

Far better an approximate answer to the right question, than an exact answer to the wrong question, which can always be made precise...

⁴ This approach is recommended by some writers. See Strauss, A., and Corbin, J., Basics of Qualitative Research, SAGE publication, 1990, p. 4, quantification is not in any way inimical to qualification. In fact they should support each other.

⁵ See decisions of the HEC steering committee meeting as reported in "Substandard Institutes have Last Chance for Up-gradation," The News, February 11, 2007 p 11:

...the then University Grants Commission...(which) was just like a postal service and body for distributing funds among public sector universities in the country, was converted into Higher Education Commission in 2002...

3 Constitutional Provisions

3.1 Background

According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, fifth edition, 1998, Constitution means a system of laws and principles according to which a state or other organization is governed.

Since its independence in 1947, Pakistan, in common with many other contemporary nations of the world, has had to develop almost all its infrastructure from the point of view of a respectable independent sovereign state. There had to be planning both short term and long term. For this purpose certain key areas were targeted by the early planners. Agriculture, industry, defence, communications, finance and trade were given greater importance than health and education, which serve as core factors in human development. Today, the social and economic well being of a nation is gauged through Human Development Index (HDI) and a specific rating is assigned to a country. This system takes into account factors like literacy, public health facilities, life expectancy, per capita income and so on. Owing to our neglect of education, Pakistan after 60 years of independence ranks 135th with an HDI of 0.527 out of a total of 173 nations of the world.¹ This is an unhappy situation. Against this background the researcher will explore and discover efforts made by various governments, in the form of constitutional provisions, policies, commissions' reports and public organizations, in shaping the edifice of education in general and higher education in particular in the country.

At the time of independence Pakistan worked in accordance with an Interim Constitution based on the Government of India Act of 1935 taken with the Indian Independence Act of 1947.² Under the Act of 1935 education was placed in the Seventh Schedule (Legislative Lists) under the Federal Legislative List and the Provisional Legislative List. The Federal Legislative List, entry No. 12 describes, "Federal agencies and institutes for the following purposes, that is to say, for research, for professional or technical training, or for the promotion of special studies". Entry No. 13 contains references to "The Banaras Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University". Under the Provisional Legislative List, entry No. 17 mentions Education including

Universities other than those specified in paragraph No. 13 of Federal Legislature List”.³

From the foregoing one can observe that the British rulers gave education its due place under the legal cover of legislation both at Federal and Provincial levels given the fact that these were laws meant for a colony and not for a sovereign state. However, within two years, in 1949, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan adopted what was known as the ‘Objectives Resolution’ as the operative precursor of the 1956 Constitution. This set of objectives made no mention of the word ‘education’ at all, either as a fundamental right or otherwise. This studied neglect of a vital factor in human development found its way into the first constitution in 1956, after 9 precious years from 1947 to 1956 had elapsed. The constitution of 1956 only mentions the word ‘Education’ in article 29(d) and that too pertaining to only those citizens of the federation who are permanently or temporarily unable or incapacitated to earn their livelihood and not to the entire nation as its fundamental right.⁴ However, it does find a place in items No. 20 and 23 of the provincial list, thereby making Education a provincial subject rather than a national or state concern.⁵

The Constitution of 1956 was an incomplete blueprint for development, and, as with education, failed to incorporate other vital functions of the state. These omissions forced successive military government to frame another constitution for the country. After 15 years of independence characterized by neglect of the key developmental factor of education, the government of that time gave the nation a new manifesto, the Constitution of 1962.

In the new document education was enumerated in Chapter 1, article 12 (3) and Chapter 2 article 7. It also suggested the elimination of illiteracy and making primary education compulsory as soon as practicable, but without giving a definite time frame or making adequate resources available for the purpose.⁶ The policy makers not only deprived the nation of the fruits of education but also failed to integrate the two distinct provinces of East Pakistan (now the sovereign state of Bangladesh) and West Pakistan (now the Republic of Pakistan).

After the disintegration of East and West Pakistan the government framed a new constitution in the year 1973, which is still the legal manifesto of the nation. Chapter 2, article 37 of the 1973 Constitution reads that the state shall:

“Promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of backward classes or areas.”⁷

“Remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within the minimum possible period.”⁸

Make technical and professional education generally available and higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.⁹

Enable the people of different areas, through education, training, agricultural and industrial development and to participate fully in all forms of national activities, including employment in the service of Pakistan.”¹⁰

In order to provide greater religious freedom especially in various institutions, Article 22(1) of Chapter one guarantees:

“No person attending any educational institutions shall be required to receive religious instructions or take part in any religious ceremony, or attend religious workshops, if such instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own.”¹¹

If one compares the constitutions of 1962 and 1973, one discovers that the first undertakes to make primary education free and compulsory to all, whereas the later goes one step further and lays down that compulsory secondary education would be provided free of cost to the nation. The crucial omission is that neither constitution suggests workable time frames or fixes immutable deadlines by which free and compulsory education would become available to all. The main feature of these half-hearted commitments can be traced in the fact that in both the constitutions free and compulsory education has been mentioned under ‘Principles of Policy’, that only lay down broad policy guidelines, which are non-justiciable, and not under ‘Fundamental Rights’ which are justiciable and can be enforced through law—in other words, pious platitudes rather than expressions of serious intent. The only point which has been addressed under the ‘Fundamental Rights’ in both the constitutions is that, “No citizen shall be denied admission to any educational institution receiving aid from public revenues on the ground of race, religion, cast or place of birth”.¹²

One other aspect which stands out is that before 1973 education was primarily a provincial concern but in the new constitution the Federation also has a number of entries pertaining to education, on the Federal Legislative List and the Concurrent Legislative List contained in the 4th schedule [Article 70 (4)]. Entries 15, 16, and 17 of

the Federal Legislative List enabled the parliament of that time to pass three Acts, which in fact were the first worthwhile Constitutional Acts of Parliament directed towards the revivification of education in the country.

3.2 Bodies Formed Under Acts of Parliament

a. University Grants Commission Act 1974

Act No. XXIII of 1974 was the first constitutional step in the direction of higher education. According to section 2 of this Act, the University Grants Commission (UGC) had the following main functions:

“Promotion and coordination of University education, the determination and maintenance of standard of teaching, examination and research in Universities, the promotion of national unity and solidarity, the orientation of University programmes to national needs”.¹³

b. Centers of Excellence Act of 1974 (No. XXIV)

Realizing the need for high value research and development, which constitutes almost 50% of the productive functions of a good University the parliament passed the centers of Excellence Act in 1974. This enabled the Universities to establish centers of excellence to broaden the base of the existing stock of knowledge. Under this Act centers of excellence were established, which have contributed considerably to the spread of Research and Development (R&D) in the country.

c. Federal Supervision of Curricula, Text Books, Maintenance of Standards of Education, Act of 1976.

Act No. 10 of 1976 was an attempt to nationalize the important task of supervision of curricula, textbooks and maintenance of standards, which until then was mainly done by the provincial governments. Sub section (1) of section 3 of this Act provided for the establishment of:

National Bureau of Curriculum and Text Books (Curriculum Wing), Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan for purpose of the said Act, relating to classes I to XII and to all Certificates and Diplomas not awarded by degree awarding Institutions (DAI) and Universities.¹⁴

University Grants Commission (UGC) for education beyond class XII at the Bachelor's level and onwards, and to all Degrees, Certificates and Diplomas awarded by degree colleges, Universities and other institutions of higher learning.¹⁵

3.2.1 University Grants Commission (UGC)

Established under Act No XXIII of 1974 the UGC was set up as an Inter-University body replacing the Inter University Board of 1952 to oversee and coordinate the Higher Education System. The need for such a body had always been felt by the government for the promotion of higher education in the country. This is evident from the fact that almost all major policy documents including the first Pakistan Educational Conference (1947), Commission on National Education (1959) and the Education Policy (1972) had emphasized the need for such a body.

The UGC had some statutory functions. It also performed advisory functions to the Federal and Provincial Governments on matters pertaining to Higher Education but mainly the commission performed the following statutory functions:¹⁶

- i. to receive financial requirements from Public Sector universities;
- ii. on the basis of their need allocate and disburse grants to the Universities;
- iii. to collect data on higher education;
- iv. to institute fellowships and scholarships;
- v. to support and promote research activities of universities;
- vi. to support and promote co-curricular activities; to supervise the academic programs and development of university education;
- vii. to advise federal and provincial Governments on the opening of new universities or up-gradation of existing institutions;
- viii. to perform other functions as may be prescribed as a consequence to the above functions.

The UGC was tasked with the role of a lynchpin, to disseminate the policies of government in return for the funding provided by the government on one hand, and to sensitize relevant government functionaries to various problems and issues relating to public sector universities in the country on the other. In order to improve standards of education the UGC primarily focused on activities like faculty and human resource development, establishing teaching and research laboratories, research funding, inter-university exchange of experts, capacity building of libraries, creating linkages between local universities and foreign universities, quality assurance, revision of curricula, making fellowships and scholarships available to deserving students and determining the equivalence of degrees of local and foreign universities.

A university must perform two functions simultaneously, one of disseminating the existing stock of knowledge, and the other to add new knowledge to the existing stock through research. For the purpose of R&D the UGC published monographs on special subjects, provided travel grants to faculty for attending seminars and conferences and made recommendations for national awards for academics. Curriculum development, teacher training and holding seminars and conferences were some areas the UGC ventured into.¹⁷ For the purpose of better coordination and sharing experiences and problems, a Vice Chancellors committee was formed which was required to meet periodically to discuss important matters, thus bringing on one national platform diversified issues related to geographic, cultural, economic and social determinants in various provinces and regions. It also enabled all the vice chancellors and the UGC, and thereby the federal and respective provincial governments, to understand problems or needs faced or felt by one university in the remotest and most backward area as compared to other universities established in cities like Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. The other good thing about this high level committee was to provide the UGC with an opportunity to review its various policies and actions on the basis of feedback from vice chancellors. Moreover it also provided the vice chancellors a chance to know one another well, which would help them, share each other's views, experiences and resources in times of need on a direct basis, however attendance of all VCs in all meetings and holding meetings regularly was hardly regular and productive but the provision was made available by the UGC.

There was also an argument by various stakeholders as to whether to have a regulatory body at the federal level or not, as higher education was a federal as well as provincial subject. They argued that since most universities and degree awarding institutions were in the

provinces therefore UGC was a redundant wastage of financial resources and its job could well be performed by the respective provincial governments. According to Mr. Usman Ali Isani (one of the Chairmen) the UGC was mainly handling the budget of universities to the tune of Rs 5342 million whereas it was receiving Rs 35.310 million for its own expenses in the year 2000-2001.¹⁸ This represented a ratio of even less than 1% of the money being disbursed by the UGC to all the public sector universities of the country, and was insignificant compared to what was later assigned to the HEC. Furthermore, the funding of public sector universities was later taken up by the federal government. In order to reduce duplication and red-tape in the provincial and federal universities, the existence of a single agency supervising and monitoring the needs and growth of universities was strongly indicated.

Compared to the HEC, the UGC was more advisory, recommendatory and facilitative in nature. Moreover, it had no authority under the law to enforce decisions on the universities.

3.3 The Place of Education

The 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' of 1948 Article 26 recognizes education as one of the Thirty Basic Human Rights and stresses the need for education as a major driving force for economic and social development. Similarly the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960) Article-4, implies free and compulsory primary and secondary education available and accessible to everyone and higher education equally accessible to everyone on the basis of individual capacity. The founding father of the nation, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, had the same vision for education. It is evident from one of his messages to the Education Conference at Karachi when he said,

“...We have to build up the character of our future generations. We should try, by sound education, to instill into them the highest sense of honour, integrity, responsibility and selfless service to the nation. We have to see that they are fully qualified and equipped to play their part in the various branches of national life in a manner which will do honour to Pakistan”.¹⁹

But his unfortunate demise in 1948, less than a year after independence, left the control of the country the hands of people who could not give education its due place in the first two constitutions, namely, those of 1956 and 1962. The 1973 Constitution does admit the importance of education but fails to give a definite time frame for making free and compulsory primary and secondary education

available to the nation as its Fundamental Right, but discusses education under the Principles of Policy, which are guidelines and not an obligation on the provincial or federal governments.

On the contrary, India, which got independence at the same time as Pakistan did, has much better provisions for higher education. They appointed the University Education Commission as early as 1948-49.²⁰ The other important factor on which the two countries had a different approach was 'Rural Education'. The sub-continent is predominantly rural and agrarian. Keeping this fact in view the Government of India tasked the University Education Commission to give due consideration to 85% of its rural population. This effort was followed by Secondary Education Commission 1952-53 whereby a more coordinated and focused effort was made to bring the majority of population into the mainstream education. The Committee on Rural Education 1957, recommended greater focus on agriculture education in secondary schools for better performance of the sector.²¹ Unfortunately this was not the case with Pakistan, where education still remains a dream for the majority living in the rural areas of the country.

The summary of constitutional provision for education in general and higher education in particular gives us an idea about the Government's or law makers will on this important subject. Though in 1973 the country finally got a constitution which still provides for the legality of its various organs, it fails to force successive governments to address this important subject as a compulsion having a definite time frame. Hence a number of policies and plans followed.

Though the constitutional provisions regarding education remain inadequate and incomplete, the realization of its importance can be judged from various policies made during the course of time. The proceeding chapter will take into account various policies and their impact on higher education in the country.

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4 Educational Policies and Plans

After going through the constitutional provisions, this chapter will help us find out the policy and plan provisions for higher education. This chapter will help readers understand the dilemma of will without commitment, which leads to the persistent underperformance of this sector.

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, fifth edition 1998, defines the words 'policy' and 'plan' as;

- i. policy is a plan of action, statement of ideals, etc adopted by a government, political party, business etc;
- ii. plan is an advance decision for something.

4.1 Background

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan soon after its independence in 1947 made efforts to give a definite direction to education in Pakistan. The founding father laid down a set of aims that would serve as guidelines for subsequent educational endeavors in the country. Through the educational system he wanted to build up the character of the future generations. He desired that educationalists should instill in the students the highest sense of honour, integrity, responsibility and selfless service to the nation.¹ With this in mind successive policy makers made a number of policies. To attain the objectives laid down in these policies, plans were made on five year basis.

4.2 First Education Conference (1947)

In his message at the first education conference at Karachi on November 27, 1947, he stated that we have to equip our youth so that they are qualified to play their part in building the nation in a manner that will bring honour to Pakistan.² While commenting on the quality of education he said, "Education does not merely mean academic education, and even that appears to be of a very poor type".³

This conference was convened to reassess the colonial education system and to restructure the existing educational system

with due regard to ideological and literacy considerations. The second major area taken into consideration was the training and development of scientific and technical manpower. The third point on the agenda was to plan education in conformity with our genius and aspirations. All this was in keeping with the message of the founding father.

The plan was to build coherence between spiritual, social and vocational education and to promote democracy through universal primary education by making education free and compulsory, initially to class five and eventually to class eight. Madrassah education would be brought into the fold of formal school education. This however is still being done after 60 years. In addition to formal education at the elementary level, other areas for the promotion of Islamic education were taken into account in keeping with the ideology of the new independent state.

In accordance with contemporary perceptions with regard to developing the country, considerable importance was given to vocational and technical education, plus vocational training for women. Finally strong recommendations were made to expand higher education for raising the moral and intellectual tone of the society leading to wide-scale human development. For achieving this goal faculty development programs would be launched in which research on special problems relating to teaching would be addressed.

The aims and objectives of the policy were in accordance with the needs of the new state. If even a few of the stated objectives had been achieved, the state of affairs in the educational sector would not have been what it is today. However, due to changing trends in educational planning and inadequacies in the infrastructure, the policy could not be implemented properly. In 1959 another commission was constituted to present a report on education. Though this policy set aims and objectives relevant to the needs of new state⁴, it failed to provide a clear-cut strategy to attain them. This absence of an implementation plan reduced the policy to mere words and no concrete result could be achieved from it. From 1947 to 1955 financial planning was done on a yearly basis. From the year 1955 to 1998 this was changed to a five-year period which again reverted back to annual plans. Each plan set targets and allocated financial resources to achieve them. To find out more about their achievement we will briefly study these five year plans. Apart from objectives and achievements one purpose of this exercise is to discover the type of financial commitments made by successive governments to achieve the over all policy objectives.

4.3 First Five Year Plan 1955-60

A plan, as already defined in the opening part of this chapter, is an advance decision for something. This plan as far as higher education is concerned, earmarked Rs. 90.300 million for 6 universities of the country. This makes 16% of the total budget allocated for education and training. During this time the non-professional enrolment in Universities increased from 3,900 to 7,400.⁵ The plan envisaged the following areas among others:⁶

1. It recommended better management of institutions of higher learning with greater autonomy and accountability:
2. Recommendations were made for strengthening the Inter-University Board for better coordination, facilitation and system wide improvements:
3. It also proposed creation of a University Grants Committee in every province to work as a conduit between the institutions and the Government:
4. Greater need for research in the Institutions of higher learning was emphasized in both physical and social sciences:
5. Provision was made for sending young faculty to foreign universities to improve their expertise: and
6. Professional colleges like law, medical, agriculture and engineering be made constituent bodies of Universities.

Instead of giving boost to the logical end of the policy of 1947 the plan could not help either the policy or achieve its objectives. This is evident from the fact that a new report of the National Commission was prepared and presented in 1959. The new report instead of carrying out an analysis of the previous policy and the plan, went ahead with more recommendations. It is also worth mentioning that the first plan had a total allocation of Rs. 581 million for the overall education sector but actual releases were around Rs. 400 million, which is almost 69% of the actual amount.⁷

4.4 Report of the National Commission on Education (1959)

This Commission was appointed by a resolution adopted by the Government of Pakistan on the 30th of December 1959. Its mandate was to evolve a national system of education that would reflect the spiritual, moral and cultural values of Independent Pakistan, and enable the system to meet the growing needs of the nation in the fields of agriculture, scientific and technological development. Unfortunately no one thought of carrying out a study on the causes leading to the formulation of a new policy. Had an evaluation of the policy taken place it certainly would have rendered a clear cut vision for future strategies. Therefore, the new policy at best, was an outcome of the political agenda of the government of that time. Like the previous one this policy too lacked clarity of plan and means to achieve it. The dictatorship of that time was struggling to gain political recognition and thought of creating short-term economic gains whereby a greater number of people could find jobs and GDP could increase. Their disinterest in the long term well being of the country finds its mark in the implementation of the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1959. This led to a status quo whereby education instead of getting better and accessible remained poor and inaccessible to a large majority.

The aim of this policy was to bring about attitudinal changes among the people of Pakistan to nationhood in general, to the concept of government and to their relationship with it. It stated that higher education must be concerned with the formation and development of character along with the acquisition of knowledge.

Its vision was to strengthen the principles of social equality and democracy, to reinforce spiritual and moral values, to create awareness among individuals about their rights, to develop science and technology, and to inculcate norms of public service and nation building. This vision in turn became the main objective of the educational policy of 1959.

The recommendations were similar to those of the Education Policy of 1947, namely, emphasizing universal primary schooling, eradicating illiteracy and promoting the national language, among others. However, they also incorporated suggestions for a few basic changes in the administrative set-up, such as decentralizing the management of primary education, revamping the examination system, and envisaging a new management structure for technical education.

The report of this commission, popularly known as the Shareef Report, was comprehensive in its recommendations. However, it could

not be implemented fully because of insufficient funds and weak political will as is evident from the fact that 3 years' Bachelors program was introduced for the first time but was immediately withdrawn under student pressure. This policy survived almost a decade in which Pakistan under military rule showed progress in agriculture and industry but failed to achieve the stated objectives in education in general and higher education in particular. During this time two five year plans were executed. Brief accounts of both these plans will be discussed to present a holistic picture of this period.

4.5 Second Five Year Plan 1960-65

This plan came into force soon after the 1959 report and took into consideration a number of recommendations made in the report. It focused on the dependence of all tiers of education on each other. It laid greater emphasis on technical and vocational education.

This plan provided for an allocation of Rs. 1323 million for education and training. Out of this Rs. 135 million, more than double as compared to the last plan, was for university education. However it is interesting to note that out of an allocated amount of Rs. 1323 million only Rs. 912 million could be utilized.⁸ Among others, the plan focused on the following areas of tertiary education:⁹

1. development of physical infrastructure;
2. establishment of new institutions;
3. scholarships;
4. better access; and
5. greater need for technical education.

The plan achieved the following objectives:

- a. Two engineering colleges were upgraded to universities:
- b. Establishment of three new engineering colleges:
- c. Introduction of postgraduate courses in engineering disciplines:
- d. Construction work on 3 new universities started:
- e. Necessary physical infrastructure was provided to institutions:

f. Merit scholarships for talented students.

The increased funding to the sector helped establish infrastructure of institutions and as compared to the past some progress was noticed during this period but comparison of the plan and the Commission's Report of 1959 reveals that the plan did not take into consideration all the recommendations of the Commission but focused more on the preferences of the government of the time. The plan had a major bias for scientific education than social sciences or humanities. 3 years' Bachelor program never took off but the number of engineering graduates increased on account of up-gradation/establishment of new institutions.

4.6 Third Five Year Plan 1965-70

This plan had the following main objectives for higher education;¹⁰

- a. establishment of a University Grants Commission;
- b. uniform development of all tiers of education with special focus on quality;
- c. spread of scientific and vocational education;
- d. strengthening of infrastructure
- e. faculty development and research;
- f. scholarships and human resource development.

For achieving these objectives Rs. 2370 million were allocated to education and training. Out of this only Rs. 1328 could be utilized.¹¹ This is almost the same amount earmarked in the second plan. So what was desired in 1960 could be achieved in 1970 with a lag of 10 years. The amount allocated for universities was Rs. 278.574 out of which only Rs. 173.745 million was spent.¹² It is worth mentioning that during this period the country fought a war with India in 1965 and the allocation made to this sector was already reduced because of the war expenditure but capacity to utilize the reduced amount remained much to be desired. Another serious issue with educational sector as during the third plan was that only 56% of the allocated amount could be expended.¹³

The plan achieved the following in the field of higher education:¹⁴

1. Establishment of 2 new engineering colleges:
2. Sizeable increase in the annual intake of engineering institutions:
3. Establishment of 5 degree colleges:
4. Introduction of degree classes in science subjects in 25 existing institutions:
5. Establishment of 2 new universities in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh):
6. Significant increase in scholarships.

From the first 3 plans it has become clear that the stated amount and that utilized stand apart. This slow or poor utilization of resources owes a lot to the underperformance of this sector.

4.7 National Education Policy of 1970

The rationale behind yet another educational policy was that education had failed to promote national cohesion, especially on account of East Pakistan separatist feelings which finally lead to the sad disintegration of the country in 1971, and that it had not played its proper role in national development. There was a high rate of unemployment among the educated youth and academic standards were low. This policy visualized the promotion of a common set of cultural values based on the precepts of Islam. Creating a literate society and developing vocational and technical manpower was its focal point.

The recommendations given for changing this vision into reality were to integrate Madrassahs into the normal school system and bring the latter in line with ideological demands, to integrate primary and middle schools with elementary schools, to undertake a massive program of adult education, to decentralize educational administration and to establish the University Grants Commission.

This policy clearly shows that education was used, once again, for political purposes. By the year 1970 Pakistanis living in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) were completely frustrated with the hegemony of West Pakistan (now Pakistan). In an attempt to put blame for this political disaster, on education, the government came up with yet another policy whereby they thought they could promote national cohesion. Unfortunately like in education our previous governments never bothered to analyze the implementability of a policy, be it

educational or any other, hence there was no follow up mechanism in the shape of evaluation which could guide future policies.

4.8 Education Policy (1972)

This policy represents the aspirations of the first democratic government in Pakistan. The government lead by Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was influenced by the socialist model of Government. They thought all resources belonged to the government and in return it was the states duty to provide education along with all other services to the people. Hence, besides industry and banking, this government nationalized all private institutions as well. The leaders of this time thought that national cohesion could be sought through social and cultural harmony and equal opportunities for education. Like its predecessors the new set up failed to carry out evaluation of the previous policies and the causes of their failure and came up with a new policy. However, this government made valuable contribution to higher education by setting up new universities, increasing enrolment and by setting up the University Grants Commission, yet the dent in the private sector by nationalization and an enormous increase in the public sector remain the hallmark of this policy.

This policy made recommendations similar to the New Education Policy of 1970. What made it radical with far reaching consequences was its recommendation for the nationalization of all privately managed institutions. The implementation of the nationalization program put considerable strains on the national exchequer and raised development expenditure by a factor of six.

Most of the recommendations were similar to the previous educational policies, with a few additions addressing new issues generated by the nationalization of privately managed institutions. These areas of concern related to questions of restricting the exploitation of the private sector and developing an egalitarian society.

It visualized the achievement of national cohesion through social and cultural harmony, equal opportunities for all in education and an environment for the younger generation to acquire scientific and technical education.

Following are some of the achievements of this policy:¹⁵

- Raising the total expenditure on education from Rs 70 crores (Rs 700 million) in 1971- 72 to Rs 120 crores (Rs 1200 million) in 1972-73:

- Nationalization of privately managed institutions:
- Expansion of enrolment at all levels without achieving the goals set for universal basic education, with a shift towards agro-technical studies and ideological orientation:
- Establishing six new universities thus raising the total number of universities to twelve:
- Establishing campus colleges of engineering at Nawab Shah and Taxila:
- Increasing enrolments in universities by 56 percent.

The constitution of 1973 provided that education was the natural right of a person and therefore it was the duty of the government “to remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory Secondary Education within the minimum possible period”.¹⁶ This government’s greatest contribution was the framing of a constitution with national consensus. Education for the first time found importance in the constitution but the means adopted to implement this were not good enough. Therefore it brought to the lowest possible level the ailing structure of education in the country. Sadly no formative evaluation was carried out for learning purposes and yet another policy was given by the successive Government.

4.9 Fourth Five Year Plan 1970-75

Like the 1965-70 plan this plan was put to test on three counts, the war of 1971, the loss of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and change of government. The proposed allocation for education and training sector was Rs. 3665 million out of this Rs. 920 million were for technical education including engineering colleges and universities and Rs. 340 million for general universities.¹⁷ Since this program saw a change in the government and education policy therefore this plan is often referred to as plan 1972-77. During this plan all institutions in the private sector were nationalized hence increasing the state expenditure many times over, but since half of the country had separated in 1971 therefore the burden was relatively less as compared to the educational infrastructure of undivided Pakistan. However this was done without carrying out an analysis of the past but it was more an outcome of political expediency.

Following are some of the plan achievements:¹⁸

1. Establishment of University Grants Commission:

2. Establishment of centers of excellence:
3. Establishment of 7 new universities:
4. Expansion of scholarship program:
5. Increase in the enrolment:
6. Expansion of agricultural Education.

This plan worked until 1977 when a new plan replaced the old one. During this period the financial burden on account of nationalization remained central and worthwhile achievements in this sector could not be made. Secondly the job security provided by the Government opened the way for political appointments and politicization of the educational process.

4.10 Fifth Educational Plan 1977-83

The war of 1971, separation of East Pakistan and change in the government caused a lag of two years due to which the 4th plan was delayed by two years. This plan provided for Rs. 687 million for university education. Out of the allocation for development of the overall education sector only 55% could be utilized which meant inability of the sector to absorb the financial allocations.¹⁹

The plan objectives among others were;²⁰

1. better and balanced access to all tiers of education;
2. improvement in the quality of instruction;
3. up-gradation and improvement of existing institutions;
4. improvement of research facilities; and
5. increasing access to higher education in backward areas.

This plan came at a time when political unrest in the country paved the way for yet another martial law. The country was given a new education policy in 1979 focusing on Islamic ideology and Urdu language. Under the new setup the plan achieved the following among others:²¹

- a. Establishment of one engineering university at Peshawar:
- b. Increase in the production of engineering graduates:

- c. Establishment of two general and one agricultural university:
- d. Establishment of National Academy for Higher Education under UGC: and
- e. Strengthening of laboratory and infrastructure facilities in institutions and grant of scholarships.

It may be noted here that plans should normally follow policy guidelines. Our policies have always changed with the government, each having its own priorities and objectives. In such a situation it has been rather difficult to maintain continuation. Secondly none of the policies or plans carried out a study of the successes and failures of the previous ones. This led to a vicious circle of finding short term remedies to long term problems.

4.11 The National Education Policy of 1979

A few years of uneasy democracy were followed by another military take over. This time the new military dictator General Zia-ul-Haq thought Islamization and promotion of Islamic values was the path to national development and prosperity. Greater importance was given to Urdu as the national language. Government schools were required to impart education in Urdu.

In keeping with the constitutional provisions of 1973, the Government of that time came up with a new policy for the state. The rationale was that the Education Policy could be considered as a tool to promote change in national objectives. The vision behind this policy was that if people received education in accordance with the rationale of the policy, it would enable citizens to develop a deep and abiding loyalty to Islam and Pakistan. It would promote the idea of a universal Muslim Umma, (an international community of Muslims) give equal educational opportunities to all citizens and promote scientific, vocational, and technological education.

The major change introduced through this policy was the use of the national language as the medium of instruction with a view to strengthening the ideological underpinnings of the nation, and to foster unity. Some of the recommendations were:²²

- No new universities would be established for the next five years, except women universities:
- Strengthening of existing and establishment of 5 new Centers of Excellence:

- A national testing system for admission to higher education would be developed and launched:
- Revision of Curriculum of higher education by UGC:
- Pre-service and in-service teachers training programmes would be organized by the National Academy of Higher Education at the UGC:
- Up-gradation and strengthening of existing facilities:
- University teachers would be allowed to render consultative services to other organizations and agencies and University Acts would be amended for better management:
- On-job training would be necessary for engineering and agriculture graduates.

One outcome of this policy was that the medium of instruction was changed to Urdu in government schools. Private schools were allowed to continue with English as the medium of instruction. This led to the operation of two different systems of education within the country, one for those who could afford private education and one for the rest of the nation. This two-tier system contributed to a widening socio-economic imbalance with consequent feelings of injustice and resentment.

The policy of nationalization was reversed and the private sector was encouraged to open schools. The funding of universities was made through the Federal Government. This policy was another U-turn like the previous one. This country's leadership came to power with the primary agenda of either undoing what their predecessors had done or at least removing it from the priority list. Each government went in for short term measures to gain political mileage but did not try to make investments for future generations. This period of so called 'Islamization' is also marked by the freedom struggle of Afghanistan against the Russian invasion. It is during this time that the madrasa schools gained importance.

4.12 Sixth Five Year Plan 1983-88

The sixth plan, allocated Rs. 2100 million for higher education out of which only 1383 million could be utilized which works out at 65% of the allocated amount.²³ The plan had the following objectives for higher education among others;²⁴

1. up-gradation of existing human and physical infrastructure of institutions of higher learning;
2. improvement in the management of institutions;
3. up-gradation of selected departments of public sector universities to centers of Advanced Studies for undertaking studies at MPhil and PhD levels;
4. to establish participation of private sector for enhanced access and healthier competition;
5. faculty development;
6. consolidation and development of existing infrastructure rather than establishment of new institutions of higher learning;
7. Improvement in access to agriculture, science and technical education.

This plan's outcomes in higher education are not impressive. The only significant development during this time was the establishment of two private universities, one at Karachi and the other at Lahore. This paved the way for the private sector to come forward and play its role. The most unfortunate part of this plan is the fact that a sum of Rs: 13.1 billion collected under the 'Iqra' surcharge (a so-called 'education' cess levied on all imports) was not spent on education at all.²⁵

4.13 Seventh Five Year Plan 1988-92

The duration of this plan saw two changes in the government. After the death of Zia-ul-Haq, Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister for 2 years and then she was replaced by Mian Nawaz Sharif in 1990. Rs. 2000 million²⁶ was allocated for university education and the following areas were identified as focus of this plan:²⁷

1. Increased access to engineering education:
2. Graduate courses in engineering to be offered by colleges and institutes whereas universities to offer post-graduate courses:
3. Establishment of one Engineering college in Punjab province:

4. Establishment of 4 commerce colleges and up-gradations of 6 training institutes into degree colleges:
5. Encouragement of private sector:
6. Establishment of 2 agriculture colleges:
7. Setting up of National Education Testing Service:
8. Award of scholarships:
9. Faculty development and research.

In this plan also Iqra surcharge (educational surcharge) was not diverted to the sector concerned. As usual an absence of will or commitment on the part of Government remained the central issue, which was further complicated by the political instability through which the country was passing. In 1992 the government of the time came up with another policy.

4.14 National Education Policy (1992)

The death of President Zia-ul-Haq brought democracy back to the country but the successive governments were very weak and their first priority was survival under trying circumstances. Their prime target was to gain public support by immediate or short term plans like giving government jobs, loans for business and so on. Education for them was not the kind of investment whereby they could get a premium for their political investment in the short run.

This policy was initiated in December 1992 with the objective of restructuring the existing educational system on modern lines, and to bring about social changes in line with the teachings of Islam. It envisaged a qualitative shift in higher education from supply to demand oriented study programmes, and placed a heavy premium upon research, community participation and student discipline.²⁸

This policy was interrupted half way due to the change in political scene in the country.²⁹ It started off realistically enough by recognizing the need to create an operational framework that could improve quality by ensuring the effective translation of policy principles into concrete action at the level of educational institutions. It was prepared for a period of ten years (1992-2002) and like the previous ones aimed at universal primary education. Some of the highlights unique to this policy were:³⁰

-
- Professional associations in various disciplines shall be encouraged and given substantial financial support for holding professional conferences and publication of research journals:
 - Competitive grants shall be provided to research institutions doing high quality basic and applied research:
 - The research fund placed by the government at the disposal of the National Scientific Research and Development Board (NSRDB) shall be gainfully used for promoting research related to the economic development of the country. For this purpose a higher research policy will be formulated:
 - An Information Retrieval System will be set up at the UGC for facilitating the flow of information to researchers:
 - Teachers shall be subjected to a strict regime of accountability through performance evaluation, on the basis of which rewards and punishments will be awarded by review boards established for the purpose:
 - Degree level education will be restructured and diversified by introducing such courses in a three years Honour's degree programme which may enhance the employability of students:
 - A National Council of Academic Awards and Accreditation may be established to regulate the academic affairs of such institutions in the private and public sectors, which are given degree awarding status:
 - Special programs to promote the entrepreneurial role of the university through enhanced industry-academia interaction should be launched:
 - National Awards will be instituted for creative research in social sciences:
 - A Dean of Students Affairs will be appointed in each educational campus for promoting and regulating the co-curricular activities of students. He or she will also act as an Ombudsman to deal with the complaints of the students:

- Placement services will be established on each campus for providing information and guidance related to job opportunities and career planning:
- A campus security force will be established at each campus:
- Teachers will be vested with powers to deal with acts of hooliganism, and impose penalties on culprits, without recourse to the discipline committee:
- Such student clubs will be encouraged which could enhance academic excellence, sharpen intellectual activities and promote creativity:
- Parents Bodies and Alumni Associations will be organized on each campus for seeking periodical advice about maintaining discipline on the campus:
- The Vice Chancellor will be vested with full authority to expel a student if he is not satisfied with his conduct and behavior. No appeal will lie against the decision of the Vice Chancellor:
- The rule of 80% attendance of class will be strictly enforced:
- Interaction between the university and community will be encouraged to identify common problems and seek assistance from the academic community for solutions:
- College and university students will be assigned, individually or in groups, community service:
- The restriction of No Objection Certificate will be lifted for the participation of teachers in international conferences.

This policy too, in many ways, was a repetition of the previous ones. 45 years of struggle i.e. from 1947 to 1992, could not even bring the realization of setting up a commission to ascertain, causes of failure of all policies made till then. None of these policies outlined 'means to achieve ends'. Each government appears to have wanted to reach the end of quality higher education accessible to majority without providing financial and administrative means with no implementation strategy no evaluation and no learning for the future. This caused irreparable loss

to the cause of education in general and higher education in particular.³¹

4.15 Eighth Five Year Plan 1993-98

Eighth 5 year plan was the last of 5 year plans. It provided Rs. 4100 million for university education.³² The government realized that making a projection for 5 years was not financially possible. Rapid devaluation of local currency and ever increasing prices of commodities were some of the impediments in long term planning. This left the government of the time with no other option but to adopt planning on yearly basis. Hence the eighth plan went as far as 1995 (3 years) and was replaced by annual programs. This plan like its predecessors laid greater emphasis on education related to engineering. It also reiterated the need for 3 years' Bachelor degree. It also suggested strengthening of the role of UGC, reforming university's management and administration, linkage with foreign universities, increase in tuition fee, better access to higher education, income generation by institutions and improvement of research in agriculture institutions.

During this plan the National University of Science and Technology was established in Rawalpindi. Evening programs in universities were started to generate funds. By this time the private sector had gained strength and education had become a viable business proposition. This lead to a mushroom growth of private universities. Some were good and some entered the arena to exploit the huge financial gains it offered.

The period from 1995 to 2000 made following allocations to universities and the percentage amount released in due course of time in the annual development program.³³

Table 1

State of Allocation, Releases and their Percentage on Yearly Basis from 1995-2000

Year	Allocation in Million	Released	Percentage
1995-96	324.720	245.029	76.2%
1996-97	310.646	243.823	75.6%

1997-98	453.911	405.351	97.1%
1998-99	273.757	240.607	87.9%
1999-2000	538.189	441.373	82%

4.16 National Education Policy (1998-2010)

This policy came from a government, which had won the elections with a very vast majority. In fact this was the second government after 1970, which could claim the trust and support of a large majority. Mr. Nawaz Sharif the Prime Minister of that time and his government gave this nation a new education policy.

Announced in March 1998, the policy acknowledged that there was an unprecedented demand for higher education, as well as the fact that higher education in Pakistan was beset with problems of a most pressing nature. These problems were identified as limited access to higher education, a tilt towards arts education, low investment, politicisation and polarisation of the faculty and students' bodies, outdated curricula, dysfunctional systems of assessment, lack of merit, low quality of students and education, inadequate student support services, deficient physical infrastructure, unresponsiveness, inefficiency, and maladministration; altogether a very strong indictment of the system.

Some of the policy objectives were: a) to achieve universal primary education, b) to diversify with a view to transforming the system from supply orientation to demand orientation, c) to prepare students for the pursuit of specialized professional education, and d) to achieve comparability with international standards by upgrading the teaching, learning and research processes.³⁴

The structural changes identified as being necessary to achieve the policy objectives were; a) private provision of higher education, b) autonomy to increasing number of institutions, c) decentralization of higher education, d) amendments in the acts of the universities and the UGC, e) development of an efficient system of cost effectiveness and responsiveness, f) public accountability, g) liaison with industry, and h) a system of accreditation for quality control.³⁵

The functional changes required include, a) faculty development, b) revision of curricula, c) academic audit, d) corruption free system of examination, e) selectivity of higher education, and, f) diversity of higher education institutions.³⁶

The policy picked up the three-year bachelor degree program recommendation of the 1959 Shareef Commission's report, but skirted the issue due to high financial costs and possible political repercussions especially at the college level. In view of the economic position of majority of population the provincial governments have so far not adopted this as an additional year will cost students more.

The policy recommendations are listed as under:³⁷

- Financial allocation to universities to be non-lapsable:
- Funding of education to be raised from 2.2% to 4% of the GDP:
- Access to higher education to be expanded by at least 5% of the relevant age group. Introduction of 3 years' bachelor (honours) degree, with honours students given preference in university admission and government recruitment:
- Provision of special funds for research:
- Strengthening of laboratories and libraries:
- Establishment of foreign linkages, and linkages with industry:
- Up-gradation of good departments to Advanced Centers:
- Modernization of curricula:
- Faculty development and incentives to teachers:
- Introduction of tenure track system of appointment of university teachers:
- Internal and external academic audit of universities:
- Revision of universities act:
- Introduction of zero based budgeting in universities:
- Universities to generate their own funds:
- Provision of guidance and counseling and career development services to students:
- Student support services to be enhanced. Scholarships to be increased. National testing service to be established:

- Exemption from tax on import of educational equipment. All quotas to be abolished:
- The policy lays down a detailed implementation strategy for carrying out the recommendations.

The current policy envisages relatively equal focus on all areas. The Higher Education Commission is doing what this policy wants (except for revision of universities' acts) to bring about uniformity in their working and greater autonomy. The Government's commitment is on board in the shape of enhanced funding and establishment of the Higher Education Commission. Luckily the present policy is being implemented at a time when international donors are active in Pakistan to help restore its economy and to help it attain a decent level of human resource development. The social implications are overwhelming. A strong need emerges for a close monitoring of its implementation procedures, so that pertinent evaluation can be carried out for future courses of action aiming at a system-wide reform.

4.17 Education Sector Reforms, Strategic Plan 2001-2004

The constitution of the Education Advisory Board by the present government, and the formulation of the Education Sector Reforms, 'Strategic Plan 2001-2004' points in the direction of a critical continuity in policy. As per the policy recommendations, the Liaquat University of Medical and Health Science has been established in Hyderabad, and a liberal policy in respect of private and public sectors to enhance access to higher education is being pursued. This is evident from HEC's attempt to double tertiary enrolment within the next five years.

4.18 Brief Analysis of Policies and Five-Year Plans

This brief overview of education policies since the inception of Pakistan clearly indicates the nation's ongoing dissatisfaction with, and a repetitive need to reform, its own modalities in education. However, implementation has not matched the many significant recommendations. While financial allocations have often been inadequate, several recommendations that were not dependent on finance were also not implemented. For example, simplification and strengthening of administrative and academic functions through a revision of the University Act was recommended by the Commission on National Education in 1959; this matter is being presented again at length in the National Education Policy (1998-1010) and the report of the Task Force on improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan in 2002. In another instance, the recommendations of the second Five-

Year Plan (1960-1965) to extend the bachelor degree programs in Art, Science and Commerce from two to three years, was implemented and withdrawn because of opposition by the academic community. Since then, the HEC has been successful in convincing universities to adopt a 4-year bachelor program. However, at the degree college level education (which forms the bulk of graduate programs) it is yet to be implemented. This will lead to serious consequences in future as there will soon be two types of graduates seeking admissions in universities, one with the 4 year bachelor requiring a 1 year master, and the other with the 2 year bachelor requiring a 2-year master which still falls short of the 4 -year bachelor.

The issue of raising the quality of education has been highlighted in all the Five-Year Plans. The plan for 1970-1975 noted that it was necessary not only to spend more money on education, training and research but also to spend it effectively. Although this need was expressed in each plan, the lack of adherence to the state discipline was not questioned. Sadly, whatever funds were available for the Education Sector were used for quantitative expansion and not for qualitative improvement. Consequently, standards of education deteriorated. Expansion in the field of education was neither guided nor planned in relation to the needs of the country for skilled human resources.

Although there has usually been a shortage of funds, this was not the only factor responsible for the non-implementation of the education policies. Governmental support was conspicuous by its absence. It failed to realize the importance of the education sector as a vital instrument for national development. This is evident from the study of policies and plans.

The Education Policy of 1972 had introduced a radical reform package, of which the centerpiece was the nationalization of private educational institutions. However, the state was ill-prepared to take on the added responsibilities. This move adversely affected the standards of education besides raising non-development expenditure six fold. In the Higher Education Sector, six new universities were established, increasing the number from 6 to 12. The enrolment of universities rose by 56 %, from 15,500 to 24,000. During 1971-1978, enrolment at all levels of education increased but the goals of universal basic education, shift towards agro-technical studies, and ideological orientation were not met due to unrest in educational institutions and unprecedented political activity in them.

The National Education Policy of 1979 introduced the use of the national language, Urdu, as a medium of instruction, partly as a

way of strengthening the ideological foundations of the nation, and partly in order to reduce the handicap faced by those coming from modest backgrounds. This handicap may have been mitigated as far as the examination system was concerned, yet it was reinforced in terms of opportunities for professional success. At the same time, the policy of nationalization was reversed and the private sector was encouraged to open schools. Private schools were permitted to use English as the language of instruction, since they intended to prepare students for foreign examinations. This policy in effect led to the operation of two different systems of education in the country, one for the elite and another for the rest of the country. The divide which the founder of the nation wanted to bridge back in 1947, widened.

It will be noted that none of these educational policies were framed on the basis of a proper evaluation study based on a sound implementation process. It is evident from the fact that there is hardly any evaluation study available which could highlight the weaknesses of the implementation process. Had this been done, a sound footing could have been provided for future policies. In addition to a number of policies the country has also seen eight five-year plans. The relevant details of these plans form a part of this chapter. The following table throws adequate light on the amount of financial commitment shown by successive governments in bringing about a qualitative change in the sector.³⁸

Table 2

Development Expenditure Allocated for Higher Education

Plan	Total Development Expenditure (Rupees in Billion)	Development Expenditure for higher education (Rupees in Billion)	Percentage of the total Development Expenditure	Percentage of Expenditure allocated for Universities
1 st	Rs. 9.3052	0.1750	1.88%	16%
2 nd	Rs. 19.000	0.1900	1.00%	10.2%
3 rd	Rs. 52.000	0.3949	0.76%	12.6%
4 th	Rs. 75.000	0.705	0.94%	9.4%
5 th	Rs. 215.000	1.4575	0.68%	5.7%
6 th	Rs. 49.000	3.4000	0.69%	10.6%
7 th	Rs. 642.000	2.415	0.37%	7.9%
8 th	Rs. 1700.500	6.6075	0.39%	5.9%

From the foregoing it is evident that from the total share for development, the education sector in general received from a minimum of 0.37 % to a maximum of 1.88 % (that, too, in the first plan). Since then the administration's grudging financial commitment to education has been in decline. Within the meager general budgetary allocations for education noted in this table, university education in particular witnessed an overall reduction in resources. It will be seen that out of the total development budget for education in the first plan, 16% was set aside for university education; and that (barring spasmodic spurts) this shrank to an all-time low of 5.7 % in the fifth plan, and then again to the almost equally low point of 5.9% in the eighth plan. Higher education was given some (though inadequate) recognition compared to other sectors of education in the first plan, but very little relative importance in the eighth plan.

This diminishing pattern of financial allocations not only affected university education in adverse terms, it also exposed the nation to exploitation by some substandard private institutions. The faculty, infrastructure, admission procedures, teaching expectations and examinations were all put to severe test, resulting in shaky learning outcomes. Simultaneously, a haphazard expansion by both public and private sectors stretched the academic resources of the nation beyond its natural limits.

The effect of frequent disappointments on the psychology of the nation can be imagined. One constant can be observed. As it has entered the portals of power, each government in turn has tried to erase the political traces of the previous one rather than build on what has gone before. Those who have made a successful scramble for power in the country have looked upon education as a tool for the dissemination of a certain political manifesto or for the reinforcement and perpetuation of a certain power dispensation, whatever it might be at the moment, civil or military, and not as a long-term agent of substantive social change and development.

This has had a double effect on ordinary people. The first is that they tend to look upon these happenings as 'palace intrigues' which have little relevance to anything they might be doing. There is a sense of exclusion from the process, so there is very little involvement in it. The people in whose name a lot of this kind of jostling for power takes place, are hardly ever recognized as stakeholders in something that affects them as crucially as education. The second is a palpable resistance to any effort for change that comes from the top. This is manifested in a kind of sneering dismissal of anything the government might try to do, because governmental credibility has suffered almost

irretrievable losses over the past few decades. It is also manifested in what minor functionaries in the administration do to delay, deform or neutralize new ideas whenever they are floated. Between widespread public indifference and subtle bureaucratic sabotage, festooned as it is in red-tape and ossified procedural complexity, not much is left of anything, and life goes on in the comfortable old patterns. Unable to alter the circumstances they find themselves in, yet still in need of their secure salaries, these functionaries do their best to do nothing while giving the impression of doing a lot, producing masses of paper as substitutes for real action.

Not least among the effects of previous policies and past derelictions are the psychological factors mentioned in the previous paragraph, because together they constitute a major impediment to change and progress. Some negative factors in social change are concrete and observable. Some are unobtrusive. The researcher will dilate on these matters in the next chapter.

However it would not be wrong to admit that the present policy i.e. (1998-2010) is being implemented in letter and spirit by the HEC. The guidelines given in the policy for strengthening the higher education structure run parallel with the recommendations made by the task force on higher education (2000). The same recommendations form a platform for the vision and strategy of the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan. There is, more than ever before, a kind of financial commitment and political will on the part of the present government. For the first time in the history of this country, the higher education sector is being run by experts in higher education. These are healthy signs for the development of higher education in Pakistan.

4.19 Conclusion

The present chapter and the one before it both make an attempt to present before the readers the efforts made by successive governments in the past to form a legal framework for strengthening this sector. We do not find worthwhile amendments in the constitution to make it more focused on this subject. Educational policies and plans were repeated in essence over and over again. Successive government felt obliged to bring in a new policy without considering the causes of success or failure of the previous one. Generally one finds a repetition of the core issues, which were identified by almost all major policies, although little was done to implement them. Among them are;

1. access to higher education;
2. issues of governance and management;

3. faculty development;
4. allocation of adequate financial resources;
5. research;
6. quality assurance;
7. enhanced participation of the private sector;
8. better service structure for teachers;
9. curriculum revision;
10. examinations system;
11. admission; and
12. linkage with industry and foreign institutions.

To materialize these policies, plans were made on a five-year basis. These plans set objectives which were difficult to achieve with the kind of financial allocation made and utilized by the institutions. The other important factor was the incapacity of institutions of higher learning to utilize the allocated funds in time. The Government's attempt to levy and collect educational surcharge on all imports and not spending it on education made the Government's credibility doubtful with regard to its claim to reform this sector. In the midst of these myriad of problems the UGC stood helpless. These plans and policies laid greater emphasis on engineering education but an analysis of future needs was never carried out. After producing thousands of engineers we still heavily rely on imported goods and technology. Our engineers are employed by the industry as elevated technicians rather than producers or manufacturers of goods, and this can be gauged from the production of indigenous goods and services.

From the contents of this chapter we learn that successive governments made good policies and plans but failed to provide the kind of financial resources required to make them yield results. Had there been a mechanism of implementation followed by evaluation perhaps the weak areas could have been identified and rectified.

The next chapter will highlight some of the problems which resulted because of the lack of implementation of a single policy and the mess created by changes made by each successive government to either suit its political manifesto or to cover up for some failure.

References / End Notes

¹ Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, speeches and statements, 1947-48: (1989), Services Book Club, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Directorate of Films & Publications Islamabad. P. 105

² Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, The Pakistan Educational Conference 1947.

³ Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, speeches and statements, 1947-48: (1989), Services Book Club, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Directorate of Films & Publications Islamabad. P. 104

⁴ The objectives of this report (Sharif Commission Report (1959), p11-12) for secondary education may be encapsulated as follows:

To develop

- a. a good worker
- b. a good citizen
- c. a good individual
- d. a good patriot

Such statements might seem unarguable, but they are more in the nature of pious sentiments than of implementable objectives. The difficulty lies in their general incommensurability. For example, how does one know when a person has become a 'good' citizen or a 'good' patriot., and how is 'goodness' in such statements defined? Is 'goodness' of workmanship (objective a) the same as 'goodness' of individuality (objective c)?

The researcher has mentioned this as an example of fuzzy planning. This can lead to confusion rather than to measurable outcomes. The assumption is that *careful planning facilitates effective implementation*, and should therefore be done with great caution. Clarity of articulation and commensurability of outcomes should define objectives in important social documents such as this one

⁵ Isani. UAG and Virk. ML, Higher Education in Pakistan: A Historical and Futuristic Perspective (2005) Islamabad 2nd ed. National Book Foundation p. 112-113

⁶ Adapted from Ibid p. 79-81

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid p. 114, 115

⁹ Adapted from Ibid p. 83, 84, & 115

¹⁰ Adapted from Ibid p. 117

¹¹ Ibid p. 114, 118

¹² Ibid P. 87

¹³ Ibid p.118

¹⁴ Adapted from Ibid p. 117

¹⁵ Adapted from Ibid p. 54-5

¹⁶ Government of Pakistan, The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973, Ministry of Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Islamabad. Article 37 (b)

¹⁷ Isani. UAG and Virk. ML, Higher Education in Pakistan: A Historical and Futuristic Perspective (2005) Islamabad 2nd ed. National Book Foundation p. 118-119

¹⁸ Adapted from Ibid p. 91

¹⁹ Ibid p. 96

²⁰ Adapted from Ibid p. 93

²¹ Adapted from Ibid p. 123

²² Adapted from Ibid p. 55-6

²³ Ibid p. 125

²⁴ Adapted from Ibid p. 99

²⁵ Ibid p. 101

²⁶ Ibid p. 127

²⁷ Adapted from Ibid p. 128

²⁸ Ibid p. 57

²⁹ Shami P.A. (2005): Education in Pakistan. Policies and Policy Formulation. National Book Foundation Islamabad p. 29

³⁰ Isani. UAG and Virk. ML, Higher Education in Pakistan: A Historical and Futuristic Perspective (2005) Islamabad 2nd ed. National Book Foundation p. 58-60

³¹ Shami P.A. (2005): Education in Pakistan. Policies and Policy Formulation. National Book Foundation Islamabad p. 122-27

³² Isani. UAG and Virk. ML, Higher Education in Pakistan: A Historical and Futuristic Perspective (2005) Islamabad 2nd ed. National Book Foundation P. 130

³³ Ibid P. 132, 135

³⁴ Ibid p. 61

³⁵ Adapted from Ibid p. 61

³⁶ Adapted from Ibid p. 61

³⁷ Adapted from: National Education Policy 1998-2010. Government of Pakistan. Ministry of Education Islamabad. Chapter 9 p. 65-86

³⁸ Isani. UAG and Virk. ML, Higher Education in Pakistan: A Historical and Futuristic Perspective (2005) Islamabad 2nd ed. National Book Foundation P. 137

5

Effects of the Past

In the previous chapters the researcher has tried to trace the history of higher education in Pakistan through the study of various constitutional provisions, policies and plans made to achieve this end. The persistent lack of will and commitment of resources made it difficult to attain the kind of quality education that some of our contemporary nations have achieved over the last few decades. In particular, the University Grants Commission and its poor performance have come under scrutiny. It does not end there. Our national negligence of this important sector produced a host of problems, which haunted us at the advent of the new millennium. This chapter will throw some light on the unsatisfactory condition of the sector as it stood at the dawn of this century.

5.1 The Effects

Owing to a weak primary and secondary education system, higher education floundered on an unstable base. Its inaccessibility to the target age group (17-23) and inability to develop effective human capital hampered the industrial, economic, technological and social development of the country. According to a World Bank Report (1992), the most pressing issues of higher education in Pakistan included, among others, a flawed institutional framework, inefficiency and ineffectiveness, problematic nature of design and delivery of service, irrelevance and wastage, under-funding and low productivity in research.¹ This effectively neutralizes the idea that through quality higher education an underdeveloped nation can be transformed into a developed nation within the lifetime of a single generation. Causative factors for this sorry situation can largely be attributed to low investment and scarcity of resources both human and physical and a lack of will on the part of governments that had affected the functioning of higher education in the country.²

This can be traced back to the time of independence when the western wing of the country (now Pakistan) had only one University, the University of Punjab (established in 1882)³. The province of Sind, which later acquired a university of its own, was initially under the academic control of the University of Bombay in India. The total

enrolment was 644 in 1947⁴. The University of Punjab at that time was primarily an affiliating and examining body for degree colleges and had limited teaching functions. There was no relation between the size of the population and the number of institutions in the country. This disparity remained unattended for the first 3 decades of independence, but from the fourth decade onwards it appeared that there grew an enormous awareness for the need for institutions of higher learning. Hence a mushroom growth, both in public and private sectors was observed during the last 3 decades. After independence during the first decade, the number of universities could only increase to **four**. From 1957-67 this number increased to **ten**. During 1967-77, **six** more Universities were added to the then existing number of **ten** Universities and the total number rose to **eighteen**. From 1977-87 this number increased to **twenty six**. Between 1987 and 1997 it went up to **forty six** and from 1997 to 2001 in just 4 years this number shot up to **fifty nine** meaning an increase of **sixteen** Universities in just 4 years. Hence from 1947 to 2001, the year preceding the establishment of the Higher Education Commission (HEC), the number of public sector universities and degree awarding institutions grew from one to **thirty seven** and the private sector universities and degree awarding institutions from zero to **twenty two**⁵. Even with this enormous increase in number, which is well above one per year, only 2.9% of the eligible age group could get admission.⁶ The following lists of universities and degree awarding institutes, along with their date of establishment both in public and private sector will throw some light on the problem of this rapid growth.

Table 3

Year	Universities				Degree Awarding Institutes			
	Public (only)		Private (only)		Public (only)		Private (only)	
	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)
1947-48	2	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1950-51	4	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1959-60	5	-	0	-	1	-	0	-

Source- www.hec.gov.pk

Table 1 shows that at the time of independence there were only 2 public-sector universities, and no private-sector universities at

all. Till the year 1960 (13 years) this number could only grow to 5, and in 1959-60 the first degree-awarding institution was established. In all there were 6 institutions of higher learning, all in the public sector. So in 13 years the pace of establishing universities and DAL's works out at one institution in 3 years. This was far below the required rate *vis-a-vis* the population.

Table 4

Year	Universities				Degree Awarding Institutes			
	Public (only)		Private (only)		Public (only)		Private (only)	
	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)
1959-60	5	-	0	-	1	-	0	-
1960-61	5	-	0	-	1	-	0	-
1961-62	6	-	0	-	1	-	0	-
1963-64	6	-	0	-	1	-	0	-
1964-65	7	-	0	-	1	-	0	-
1965-66	7	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1970-71	8	-	0	-	2	-	0	-

Source- www.hec.gov.pk

Table 2 throws light on the growth of these institutions from 1960 to 1970. During this time the number of universities in the public sector grew to 8 which means an addition of 3 and the number of degree awarding institutes grew to 2 meaning an increase of only 1. Altogether 4 new institutions were added to the public sector. However there was a complete absence of the private sector as far as higher education was concerned. Hence an increase of 1 institution in 2 ½ years was made by the public sector.

Table 5

Year	Universities				Degree Awarding Institutes			
	Public (only)		Private (only)		Public (only)		Private (only)	
	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)
1971-72	8	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1972-73	8	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1973-74	9	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1974-75	12	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1975-76	12	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1976-77	15	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1977-78	15	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1978-79	15	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1979-80	15	-	0	-	2	-	0	-

Source- www.hec.gov.pk

Table 3 brings before us an increase of 7 universities in the public sector taking the total to 15. However during this period no DAI was established, neither was there a single institute or university in the private sector. The unique thing about the period ranging from 1947-1980 is not the slow growth of institutions in the public sector but the complete absence of input from the private sector, which normally plays a vital role in the building up of national institutions. This poor progress brought about an overall neglect of this sector even from the society. Very few people opted for teaching as a career of choice, and those who could not find another good profession became teachers with neither an opportunity to develop their expertise nor motivation on the part of the candidates. Moreover, during this period a lot of the nation's human resources found opportunities in the middle east where

they were offered better salaries. A number of faculties left for gulf states leaving the national market short of faculty.

Table 6

Year	Universities				Degree Awarding Institutes			
	Public (only)		Private (only)		Public (only)		Private (only)	
	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)
1980-81	19	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1981-82	19	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1982-83	19	-	1	-	2	-	0	-
1983-84	19	-	1	-	2	-	0	-
1984-85	19	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1985-86	19	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1986-87	20	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1987-88	20	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1988-89	20	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1989-90	20	-	2	-	3	-	0	-

Source- www.hec.gov.pk

Table 4 brings us to a new phase, in which the first and second universities in the private sector were established. Even though the pace of increase in the public sector remained slow and only 5 new universities and 1 DAI could be established which works around an average of 1 institution in 20 months, this entry of the private sector marks a turning point in the history of higher education in Pakistan. Around this time the need for higher education had been fully established. Pakistanis living abroad and in the country had realized the importance of education and had become willing to make long-term investments for future generations. This alone created a greater

demand for education in general. Unfortunately like the previous governments the policy makers of this time too, failed to carry out a futuristic assessment of human resource need for this sector. The private sector during this time attracted the best teachers by paying better salaries and working environment. This led to a drain of good faculty from the public sector to the private sector. Moreover the business community realizing the profits this activity offered, rushed to make investments.

Table 7

Year	Universities				Degree Awarding Institutes			
	Public (only)		Private (only)		Public (only)		Private (only)	
	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)
1990-91	20	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1991-92	20	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1992-93	21	-	3	-	3	-	0	-
1993-94	22	-	3	-	3	-	0	-
1994-95	25	-	4	-	3	-	2	-
1995-96	25	-	7	-	3	-	3	-
1996-97	27	-	7	-	3	-	4	-
1997-98	27	-	10	1	3	-	5	-
1998-99	28	1	10	1	3	-	5	-
1999-00	31	2	13	1	4	-	6	-

Source- www.hec.gov.pk

The period from 1990 to 2000 saw a steady increase of 11 universities in the public sector and a similar number in the private sector bringing the grand total of universities to 44 from 22 in the last decade. The DAIs increased from 3 to 4 in the public sector and from 0

to 6 in the private sector. The total number of institutions rose from 25 in 1990 to 54 in the year 2000. What public sector achieved in 43 years was matched by almost 50% by the private sector in just 17 years i.e. from 1983 to 2000. Towards the end of this decade we also find that 2 women universities were also established. One in the public and one in the private sector.

By the year 2000 the situation looked reasonably healthy as far as progress in the private sector was concerned. However, it was demand-driven. There were many profit-motivated black sheep among the few good institutions that were set up. The University Grants Commission was not cognizant of the situation and did nothing to prevent it from happening. Institutions having charters and foreign collaboration but poor infrastructure exploited the volatile market, comprising as it did of those whose poor academic record prevented them from getting admission in established institutions. The better pay and prospects offered in the private sector caused a considerable brain drain from the public to the private sector. One doubts if the UGC (or the Government of that time) had any inkling of this trend, but even if it did, no workable strategies were evolved to control it. Higher education suffered severe faculty shortages.

Table 8

Year	Universities				Degree Awarding Institutes			
	Public (only)		Private (only)		Public (only)		Private (only)	
	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)	Total	Female (only)
2000-01	32	2	14	1	5	-	8	-
2001-02	36	2	20	1	5	-	13	-
2002-03	45	2	31	1	7	1	13	-
2003-04	47	3	34	1	8	1	17	-
2004-05	47	3	32	1	8	1	17	-
2004-05	47	3	33	1	8	1	19	-
2005-06	49	4	36	1	8	1	18	-

Source- www.hec.gov.pk

This period comprises the first decade of the present century. During this time the total number of public universities grew to 49 with 4 women universities and the number in the private sector grew to 36 with one women university. The total number of DAIs in the public sector rose from 4 to 8 with one for women whereas in the private sector the number grew from 6 to 19 and then back to 18. This comparison of the two sectors reveals that the private sector equalled in 23 years what the public sector managed to do in 60 years.

The reason for setting up exclusive women universities and DAIs emerges from our socio-religious environment, where social taboos and religious injunctions frown upon the unregulated mixing of men and women. This effort to have separate institutions for women is an attempt to help women of conservative families and backward areas to acquire useful education for sustainable living, and to become better mothers so that future generations might also be better educated and better attuned to the ideals of enlightened moderation.

One important corollary from the foregoing analysis of growth is that there is a considerable mismatch between institutional growth on one side, and the development of trained human resources required to run these institutions on the other. Until the year 1990 the growth was fairly steady, as very few institutions were added in each decade. However, between 1990 and 2000 the number increased by more than 100%. This uncontrollable surge in both the public and private sector was demand driven, but not at all supported by matching resources including the critical human resource.

The profitability of this activity stimulated the public sector to open up new departments to enhance their income, as the grants they received from the government were insufficient. Similarly it attracted businessmen (rather than educationists) in the private sector, seeking to maximize their profits. This brought in a number of dubious institutions, poorly equipped in infrastructure, resources and trained manpower. Many of them were temporarily housed in rented buildings.

The degrees awarded by some institutions were substandard and the learning outcomes of a large number of students of both public and private sector institutions were poor.⁷ This sizeable number of youth with paper degrees but with very little worthwhile knowledge posed serious socio-economic problems. The recommendations of the policy (1998-2010) followed by recommendations of the task force on higher education came as an eye-opener. Responding to the issue the present government established the Higher Education Commission to streamline the system and bring about the desired changes to enable our system to produce quality human resource.

We will now look at various issues and problems confronting the higher education sector which have resulted from (1) poor commitment on the part of successive governments, (2) increase in number of institutions without matching human resources, (3) poor funding, and (4) *a failure to learn from previous lapses in policy implementation and evaluation*. The last factor is of especial interest to the researcher. It highlights a common shortcoming in bureaucratic circles.

5.2 Degree Programs

Degree programs serve as the foundation of university education. For the graduate program, which also serves as the feeder institution for admission to the master program, there has always been some awareness among policy makers that the bachelor degree should entail at least 15 to 16 years of formal education, that is, the bachelor degree in 3 to 4 years. This would make our degree equivalent to that of developed countries. Australia, India, Netherlands and New Zealand give this degree at the completion of 15 years of formal education whereas Britain and the US and some other countries award it at the successful completion of 16 years of education. The National Commission on Education 1959, the Education Policy of 1972, the National Education Policy of 1992 and the National Education Policy of 1998 all emphasize the importance of a minimum three-year degree program. The only attempt made in the past was in the early nineteen sixties, when a three-year degree course was introduced following approval of the recommendations of 'Sharif Commission Report' (1959)⁸. Unfortunately the government of that time surrendered to students' protests and reverted to the two-year program. In subsequent years neither the government nor the University Grants Commission could help restore this program.

Similarly degree colleges with intermediate or higher secondary school streams could not be bifurcated. The affiliating universities were there only for conducting examinations and awarding degrees. They had no control over the teaching or research-related activities of their affiliates. On the contrary the boards affiliating these colleges for higher secondary certification were also concerned with the conduct of examinations. This problem left these degree colleges solely to the administrative control of the provincial education departments. The quality of education was compromised thereby giving a progressively poorer yield for institutions of higher learning.

5.3 Problem of Affiliation

Worth mentioning at this point is the issue of 'affiliation'. In a country like ours where education at all levels is problematic, 'affiliation' confounds the issue even more. This is well-defined in the following extract of a case study by one of the Vice Chancellors of the University of Punjab:

"A hundred and fifty years ago, there were less than half a dozen colleges affiliated with the only University this side of Delhi in British India. Today the number of affiliated colleges has risen to 257. These are not only general-education-imparting colleges, but increasingly a large number of private professional institutions are being added. These colleges are not only imparting undergraduate but also undertaking postgraduate education. Virtually the University is swamped with this enormous load of work. Added to this is the examination load the University has to cope with. The number of students taking these examinations fluctuates between 200,000 and 250,000 every year, and the problem is further compounded as nearly 200 to 225 different examinations are conducted every year".⁹

This was the state of affairs in the year 1996. In the year 2005 the number of affiliated institutions with Punjab University alone stood at 407 (see table 9), proportionately adding to the number of examinees each year.

This situation, as far as universities are concerned, is restricted to a few old Universities, that too in the provincial headquarters, where they are tasked to affiliate large numbers of degree colleges in the province. This has been rightly termed as the "Affiliation Curse"¹⁰. Where it causes havoc to the resources of the respective university, it also jeopardizes the quality of education imparted by the affiliated colleges. The universities, in view of the foregoing facts, cannot supervise or monitor the academic performance of these colleges and therefore half-educated students carrying paper degrees make their appearance either in the job market or at the admission offices of universities. This situation can be further assessed by the fact that hardly any institution has ever been de-affiliated due to bad or poor performance because no university has so far been able to mount a credible academic audit of these colleges. A lot of this also arises from the paucity of relevant human resources in these institutions, as it requires a lot of effort and time to closely supervise and monitor the

performance of affiliates. At present there are 1313 colleges.¹¹ They are located all over the country from some of the developed parts to developing and under developed parts. Their students form a heterogeneous mixture of various types. Their system of disciplines, education and examinations also varies from institution to institution and province to province. The following table gives a total of 1289 affiliated institutions with 24 universities or DAIs. In this case the average works out to be 54 affiliations per institution. This is a heavy burden for the existing academic and administrative resources of these institutions.

Table 9

State of Affiliated Institutions with Public Sector Universities and Degree Awarding Institutes.

S. No	Name of University/DAI	No of Affiliated Institutions
1	Hazara University Mansehra	23
2	Institute of Business Administration (IBA), Karachi	5
3	University of Arid Agriculture, Rawalpindi	2
4	University of Balochistan, Quetta	47
5	Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan	110
6	University of Peshawar, Peshawar	227
7	University of Engineering and Technology, Texila.	6
8	University of Sind, Jamshoro	76
9	National University of Science and Technology (NUST)	10
10	University of Agriculture, Faisalabad	33
11	Gomal University, Dera Ismael Khan	11
12	Mehran University of Engineering and Technology, Jamshoro	4
13	NWFP Agriculture University, Peshawar	10
14	NED University of Engineering and Technology, Karachi	3
15	Shah Abdul Latif University, Khairpur Sind	61
16	University of Malakand	25
17	University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore	9
18	University of Karachi, Karachi	131

19	Quaid-e-Azam University of Science and Technology, Nawab Shah	2
20	University of the Punjab, Lahore	407
21	NWFP University of Engineering and Technology	4
22	University of AJK, Muzzafarabad	41
23	University of Education, Lahore	41
24	National University of Modern Languages	1
Total		1289

* Source: www.hec.gov.pk

5.4 Input & Output

The key principle behind giving affiliations to degree colleges was to make education of all types accessible and available to aspiring students. The strong implication working behind this principle was that education helps to bring about economic prosperity. According to World Bank Study (1994) high income countries have on the average 51% enrolments in higher education while low income nations have 6%.¹² This point is further emphasized by Robertson and Hillman (1997):

...an economically competitive nation is one that maximizes the potential of its stock of human resources, and this invariably means improving the rate of participation in higher education across the social range.¹³

Unfortunately in Pakistan today only 3.6%¹⁴ of the relevant age group (17-23 years) has access to higher education This is even lower than the enrolment for low income groups according to the World Bank Study (1994) quoted above. The problem does not end here. The quality of education imparted by colleges and schools needs to be enhanced in order to get the desired level of human resource yield from higher education. Though there can be no denial of the fact that the enrolment figures of Pakistan in higher education need to be increased manifold, and that many new establishments to produce and accommodate more students are required for this. However, an increase in gross numbers with a continuing poor quality of education will pose even more serious problems than it does now. In the researcher's opinion expansion and consolidation of standards must move simultaneously if we have to increase number with quality. It is now desirable to strive to enhance access to Higher Education to at least 10% of the respective age group by year 2010.¹⁵ For this more

institutions are needed. But opening up new institutions and making education accessible to a larger number of students is not the sole remedy to the problem. The question of relevance of education is another determinant to meaningful human resource development. In the past the majority of university students opted for humanities, whereas the minority opted for science. In an international setting, where industrial growth and development is the key to economic prosperity, such a big tilt towards arts subjects means that institutions of higher learning yield human resources which are general in nature and can only perform clerical kinds of jobs.

The main input required by the industry correlates with only 29% of admissions in science, and 71% in humanities.¹⁶ This unfavourable imbalance in admissions is further aggravated by the combined failure rate of 34% at the bachelor's level and 55% at master's level in universities.¹⁷ It further suggests that the nation cannot achieve any breakthrough if it continues to spend its limited resources in accordance with this pattern. A strong base for science will have to be built if Pakistan wants to progress. Salam suggests a ratio of 50:50 for enrolment in Arts and Science for developing countries.¹⁸

With regard to the causes of failure, they have been attributed to various factors, the annual system of external examinations, lack of commitment on the part of students, the widespread practice of rote learning, the absence of meaningful learning, absence of students' advisory bodies, a serious shortage of libraries, laboratories and attendants, social pressures such as education as a status symbol or economic factors like eligibility for government jobs and restricted number of seats for science in colleges and universities and the option of private examinations for humanities group, are some of the contributing factors for this state of affairs. The average of pass candidates for bachelor and master level courses speaks volumes for the failure of the society to participate effectively in academic activities, and is a sad indictment of neglect on the part of the higher education system in general. On one hand large numbers of aspiring youth do not get admission in institutions of higher learning, and those who do, make a mere waste of resources, their own as well as those of the system.

5.5 Quality and Research

Quality is a term equally applicable to all the elements of education. Students, teachers, support services and research and development are all put to test while gauging the strength of a good educational system. A uniform curriculum manipulated by different sets

of teachers with different levels of commitment for both teachers and students, poses a serious threat to the reliability of the system.

Our policy makers have always resorted to the revision of curricula as a means to achieve effective teaching learning outcomes. In the researcher's opinion, balanced curricula, manipulated effectively by properly trained and committed teachers meaningfully received by a dedicated student followed by an effective examining system is the key to the problem. For this to happen time, training, resources, commitment and patience are required by all concerned. As already discussed in the preceding chapters there is no single authority responsible for creating and ensuring uniform opportunity and motivation on the part of teachers and students in the country. In the provinces there is an unworkable arrangement of three different power centers which have little coordination on the issue of quality: (a) the Federal Government's funding, (b) the administrative control of provincial Governors as Chancellors, and (c) the Universities themselves as autonomous bodies. The teachers have no pre-service training, and very few manage to get a training opportunity during their service. Their salary structure is inadequate to support a decent livelihood. Promotions come very slowly, more as a right by seniority in service and not by one's quality of work. In the past strong students' unions often forced the faculty and management to bow to their demands. This has wasted a lot of valuable time and has discouraged the faculty from taking the desired level of interest in students' academic activities. The libraries and laboratories are neither up to the desired standards nor exploited for the goals of research and development. The spread of private sector universities and degree awarding institutes has made the university teaching community 'busy people'. Many teachers work for public sector universities and degree awarding institutions in the morning and for monetary gains in the private sector in the evening. Lectures once prepared are repeated over and over again from semester to semester. These long working hours for monetary gains have almost incapacitated the faculty, in terms of time, to produce research work, which is the soul of a vibrant higher education system.

Other contributory factors to low research productivity can be found in the lack of travel grants to faculty who want to attend international conferences and seminars, inaccessibility to research journals for want of research publications and unavailability of adequate internet facilities until the year 2004. Another reason for poor research output was a very low number of teachers holding a PhD degree. In his doctoral thesis, Isani remarks that the shortage of qualified manpower (that is, university teachers) who hold a PhD

degree is likely to get worse if a greater number of highly qualified faculty is not inducted by the year 2005.¹⁹ Moreover, in the past, interaction among academics, researchers, universities, research and development organizations and industry was almost non-existent. The poor performance on the part of universities and lack of effort on the part of society and government failed to inculcate within the industry a need for research linkage.

Universities in Pakistan have confined their role to teaching and examinations, but have failed to perform the research function, which happens to be the hallmark of a good university. This is evident from the fact that until the year 2002 the majority of universities offered programs up to the master's level. Very few institutions offered facilities for the MPhil program (Research Masters). Engineering Universities also offered the MSc degree in a few disciplines. Similarly postgraduate studies in medicine were restricted to specialization in a limited number of fields. Over the years, agricultural universities have been more successful in running research programs than their general counterparts, but their research has not been utilized in letter and spirit by respective governments or industry thereby not making agriculture a very lucrative or profitable activity. This neglect for research by the Universities forced the nation to borrow research output from other countries at a cost much higher than reasonable. Its importance was established in 1947. The proposals of that time certainly recommended the development of a research culture: but in the absence of policy implementation and evaluation nothing could be done about it until the situation got out of hand. The following table will throw some light on the financial allocations made for research during 1995-2000.²⁰

Table 10

Research Funding in Rupees (Million)

	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-2000
Research Expense from the Total Grant	31.974	31.545	41.336	63.013	56.445
Average % of Total	1.7%	1.5%	1.8%	2.8%	2.3%

5.6 Financing

Finances play the most vital role in the effective provision of any public service. Be it health, municipal or educational services financial allocations make a difference.

The growth in population in Asia in general and Pakistan in particular also had its effects on the institutions of higher learning. An increased enrolment pressure for want of better employment opportunities, the increasing cost of books and equipment, utilities and other consumables has badly compressed the per-student-cost incurred by the government. Until budgets are also increased on the basis of number of students or keeping other variables adjusted in the funds provided each year, the situation will not change. The present set up, i.e. the HEC, has done a commendable job in trying to increase university budgets manifold. On average public sector universities in Pakistan in the past would get 50% to 75% of their budget requirement from the Government.²¹ A sizeable portion of this amount was expended on salaries and other unavoidable establishment costs like utilities, the only areas where compromise was made were the physical facilities, which included buildings, laboratories, libraries and research. These problems are further aggravated when new departments are added to the existing ones without arranging for adequate funding. While consulting financial data for higher education, variations have been observed in figures provided by the HEC, Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Education. However since the Higher Education Commission is the body tasked to oversee higher education sector in the country, the researcher has resorted to data pertaining to the Commission as well as the Federal Ministry of Education from 2001-2002 onwards. As regards data before this time, work of a researcher who also was the former Chairman University Grants Commission has been consulted.²² The previous chapter gives details of financial allocations made for education in general and higher education in particular. From figures quoted in that chapter it transpires that things would not improve if worthwhile financial allocations were not made.

5.7 Examinations

Examinations determine the quality of a learner's achievements for a particular program. They have to be comprehensive and must test the learner's ability to relate his or her meaningful learning to various sets of situations he or she is likely to confront in practical life. Thus they form the culmination point of the teaching/learning process. They also provide a chance to educational planners and faculty to get feedback on academic programs and their outcomes. Pakistani universities in the past had a composite system of examinations in which the material taught to a pupil was tested only once at the end of the second or last year of studies, as bachelors and masters level courses were of 2 years each. This was primarily for external candidates. Though internal candidates who enrolled in an institution were given practice tests during their course of studies, their entire

performance was gauged at the end of the course by a single examination. The other system was an annual system in which a pupil was tested twice, once at the end of the first academic year and again at the end of the second. Both these examinations were evaluated by external examiners who had neither taught nor ever known the examinees. These systems, originally introduced by the British, encouraged cramming and rote learning. In the seventies and eighties some newer universities opted for the semester system. In this system the examinees' performance was normally evaluated by the teacher who had taught that particular subject. This system also has been criticized for opening doors to student pressure and interference by influential people. Keeping these problems in view the National Education Policy of 1992 provides for a National Testing Service with the following background:

...Evaluation makes an important link in the teaching learning process. Apart from a weak delivery system, the examination system is excessively flawed on account of a variety of malpractices. Neither the semester system nor the annual system have been able to stand up to the widespread corruption in examinations. Under a variety of circumstances, the examiners, the paper setters, the invigilators, and the examination departments appear to be equal partners in maintaining the vicious circle of corruption around public examinations. Even the boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISE) have vied with one another in the award of unjustifiably inflated grades to their students. Also, in their anxiety to bring their wards to professional colleges, the parents have joined the rat race of nefarious practices. This state of affairs has caused two types of damage: (a) lack of confidence in the results of public examinations, and (b) distortion in admissions to professional colleges.²³

This is the tainted channel through which good, average and bad students are tested. Along with good ones the back door entrants also get a paper degree which makes them eligible for admission to the next class.

5.8 Admissions

In a country like Pakistan only a few would make it to a university in the past. However, over the years there has been a steady

growth in demand for higher education. In order to protect the interests of the students coming from backward areas the Government allocated specified numbers of seats to candidates from these areas. This was termed as the “Quota System” by which a student coming from a backward area would get admission in a university, even though his marks might be much lower than those of a student coming from a developed part of the country. This led to the mockery of the merit system. Teachers found it difficult to keep pace with the two distinct types of students having different academic calibers and proficiency levels in Urdu and English as these students came from both Urdu and English medium types of educational institutions. The other problem was of admission on the basis of the last result. With the kind of examination system discussed in the preceding part, it was very difficult to select the right kind of candidate for a particular discipline. Realizing this problem, institutions like Agha Khan University (AKU), Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) and Institute of Business Administration Karachi (IBA) insisted on administering their own admission tests and this innovation bore fruit as well. At present most institutions give primary consideration to the outcome of their own tests.

Last but not least was a lack of aptitude in students for various courses. Without a proper aptitude test, admission on the basis of the results of a faulty examination system would only show poor results. This has been confirmed by the low pass percentage of students in degree courses. This fact is further elucidated by the fact that unlike the developed world many decisions of the students in the developing world are made either by their parents or by other social forces. In the 70s and 80s almost every student would aspire for a degree in medicine or engineering as these were the ‘in’ disciplines of that time. Now, it is information technology and the management sciences. A student in the past, in fact, was hardly given a chance to pick up a subject of his own choice on the basis of his strengths and aptitude.

5.9 Curricula

A good curriculum provides for a logical and effective contextual framework for the teaching/learning process. It should therefore be up-to-date and relevant. In the past the University Grants Commission was tasked with periodical revision of curricula. The purpose was to keep the curricula in conformity with various, social, economic, technical, religious and cultural needs. Some of these factors keep on changing, which implies, therefore, a continuous process of revision involving all stakeholders and supplemented by

relevant books and teacher training. In this setting the UGC was required under its Act to:

- a) Supervise generally the academic programs and development of various institutions of higher learning and education in the country:
- b) Recommend to the universities the measures necessary for the improvement of university education. The UGC's role was further strengthened in 1976 when an Act empowered the UGC to play a lead role in the revision of curricula for graduate and post-graduate level courses.²⁴ Under these legal covers the UGC formed the 'National Curriculum Revision Committees' (NCRC). Experts from the relevant fields, faculty and representatives of industry were invited to analyze, discuss and thereafter prepare a draft of revised curriculum. This draft was then circulated to all the concerned institutions which presented it before their respective Board of Studies to invite comments and suggestions. The comments and suggestions provided by these academic bodies were then taken into consideration in the next meeting of the NCRC. A curriculum thus revised was required to be followed-up by teacher training and revision of text books. It is worth mentioning here that the publishing of text books is in the hands of a very strong lobby which has always been successful in manoeuvring the publication of text books of some favourite authors to its own advantage. In other cases it has also been observed that for various disciplines like management sciences purely imported books are introduced which in many cases have little or no relevance to our local conditions.

Apparently the system had a full mechanism whereby this activity was supposed to be carried out effectively. The only problem was of a genuine input by the faculty. With little emphasis on research, lack of motivation, involvement of faculty in planning of academic programs and vested interests of the power centers including students' and teachers' bodies, this activity did not bear the fruits expected from it. Another reason for the curriculum failing to play its role was the expectations of the policy makers. In the past successive governments, in order to conquer the domain of education, resorted to revision of curriculum at times for religious purposes and at times for linguistic and cultural purposes. By revising curriculum they thought that the country's educational needs would be met. They, however, failed to provide the desired financial, administrative and political support which the system needed from them. This fact has been proved and supported by the private sectors' selective educational institutions and systems which have successfully administered curriculum revision on the desired lines.

5.10 The Private Sector

The role of the private sector, especially the missionary schools and colleges, was of great importance until 1972. These schools and colleges produced some of the best leaders and policy makers of the country, including the present day President and Prime Minister. In the year 1972 the democratic government of that time following the socialist model of governance nationalized these institutions along with industry. As a result 19432 educational institutions were nationalized. These included 18926 schools 346 madrassas (religious schools), 155 colleges and 5 technical institutions.²⁵ It is worth mentioning that until 1972 there was not even one university in the private sector. This nationalization was indeed a great setback to the general quality of education. The education sector under the sole administrative control of the state machinery not only failed to deliver the previous standard of education but also led to a rapid deterioration in the entire teaching learning process. The government was heavily taxed with the additional financial burden of these institutions which increased by a factor of 6. A number of political appointments were made. These appointees were generally incompetent themselves, and their selection frustrated those who were able and competent. The military government of 1977 soon realized that government alone would not be able to carry the burden of providing education on its own and the National Education Policy of 1979, while reviewing the effects of nationalization, allowed the private sector to establish educational institutions. However it did not provide for a return to the private sector of those institutions which had been nationalized, it only allowed the establishment of new ones. In the field of Higher Education, the first private sector university was established in 1983,²⁶ the Agha Khan University Karachi. This was followed by the Lahore University of Management Sciences in 1985²⁷. After the year 1990 the government adopted a more liberal policy. 20 new universities and degree awarding institutions were established in the private sector by the year 2001, taking the total number of private universities and degree awarding institutes to 21.²⁸

This rapid growth in universities, the majority of which came into existence in the ten years between 1990 and 2000, was demand driven. The rapidly growing population, at a rate of 2.5% per annum, and 20 million youth belonging to the age group of 17-23 proved a vibrant market for the private sector in the field of higher education.²⁹ The private sector was also aware of the inability of the government to invest the desired resources in higher education. The other contributing factors included a rapidly rising middle class with growing aspiration to provide their children with degree level education. Other reasons included an ever-growing international demand for an able workforce

especially in the backdrop of a sizeable movement of labour force to the Gulf States in the 70s and 80s, and, last but not least, the promise of substantial financial rewards on investments made by the private sector in the field of education.

The total enrolment in public sector Universities in 2000-2001 was 135743 and 21491 in private sector Universities in the same years. The ratio of enrolment in public and private sector was 6:1.³⁰ Under the present circumstances the HEC has taken stock of those Universities and degree awarding institutes which are not up to the HEC's criteria. Several "Parent's Alert" notices have been published in leading dailies to inform students and parents about the real worth of institutions by grading them into categories on the basis of their physical infrastructure and academic resources. This exercise has created a controversy between some of the low categorized institutions, especially in the private sector, and the HEC. Such institutions challenge the very criteria on which the HEC judges their credentials. However this exercise, although it has created some rift, has forced many institutions to adopt proper procedures for enjoying the status of a university or DAI. A complete list of criteria is available with the HEC for those who wish to establish an institution of higher learning.

In this regard the Commission's writ can be determined by the fact that the City Administration of Islamabad closed down three private universities on the advice of the HEC. These are the American International University, Boston University and Nicon College of Computer Sciences.³¹ The Commission was of the view that these institutions were running without lawful authority and imparting substandard education. This is just the tip of the iceberg. The true situation can be analyzed from the fact that there are about 150 universities operating unlawfully in the country. Most of them are under the territorial jurisdiction of the provincial governments.³² This figure is much more than the total figure of both public and private institutions of higher learning operating lawfully. Hence it is a great challenge to sort out this menace, to help the society make right choices in selecting an institution of higher learning for its youth.

From the foregoing it can be observed that 'dubious institutions' are being taken to task. The present government and the HEC are both committed to tackle the issue of fake degrees and substandard educational institutions. This is evident from the following statement of the Prime Minister,³³ "We do not want graduates holding a piece of paper called a degree but no real knowledge". The HEC, according to its Executive Director, has embarked upon informing masses through 'Parents Alert' advertisements in leading dailies carrying names of

institutions operating unlawfully. Moreover all chartered institutions lacking requisite faculty and infrastructure have been given a deadline of February 2007 to come up to the required standard or else their charters will stand cancelled.³⁴

The sad state of affairs portrayed in the preceding part of this chapter shows inadequate efforts on the part of the government and policy makers in the past. History reveals that no policy or plan, except the first one, was made after carrying out a comprehensive study on the causes of failure of the previous one. Had that been done and impediments removed from the previous one before changing it or embarking upon a new one, things could have been far better. Some continuity of policy and system is needed for change and reform. Had this been followed, a body of reliable data would have been collected for future planning. Unfortunately this was not done, hence producing the effects already noted in this chapter.

5.11 Failure of the University Grants Commission (UGC)

After discussing the effects of the inadequate planning of the past it is worth considering the role of UGC. A central body tasked to take care of higher education in Pakistan, the University Grants Commission (UGC) was established to tackle the overall affairs of tertiary education in the country. A federal level constitutional body, the UGC, over a period of 28 years of its existence could not achieve what was expected of it. During almost three decades of its existence it could not put higher education on a path to credibility, progress and prosperity. Late and inadequate constitutional provisions coupled with a number of policies, even though realizing the importance of higher education, failed to serve as a catalyst of change. The plans to achieve policy objectives failed even to provide the meager financial resources allocated to the sector, hence exposing the lack of commitment on the part of the government.

Higher education being a concern of both provincial and federal governments had its own forces of pull and push. At the provincial level where most of the universities exist it could not establish its writ, as it should have been. Its advisory, recommendatory and facilitative role did not help when a number of universities and degree awarding institutes were established in the provinces without UGC's advice or consent. Similarly in a few cases where the UGC could exercise its recommendatory right and issued no objection certificates (NOC) to some private institutions in the province of Punjab and North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) the governments of these two provinces ignored the recommendations of the UGC and did not grant any charter. The other important area, where it failed, was in trying to

persuade teachers' bodies and universities' administrations to make PhD a minimum qualification for entry to a university teaching position. In the domain of academics the UGC could not persuade the universities and degree awarding institutes to introduce a 4-years' bachelor program in order to make 16 years of education a condition for attaining a bachelor's degree. In Pakistan a bachelor's degree is normally awarded after 2 years' of university or degree college education, making it 14 years of formal education for graduation. However in selective fields of Medical Science and Engineering it is a 4-5 years' degree course leading to a bachelor's degree. The other issue which caused considerable dissatisfaction among policy-makers at the UGC was that funds were provided to the universities by the Federal Government through UGC, but administrative authority was exercised by the provincial Governors for universities under their administrative control, and by the President over universities under the Federal Government. This division of administrative and financial authority enabled the universities' administration to enjoy a degree of autonomy to which they should not have been entitled.

The helplessness of the UGC could be gauged from the fact that it hardly ever conducted academic audits of universities or, if it did, almost never made them public. Throughout its existence there was an undercurrent of mistrust regarding the issue of university autonomy. One prime reason for this mistrust can be traced to the fact that in almost all universities the appointment of Vice Chancellors is made by either the President of Pakistan as Chancellor of the public sector universities under federal control (with two exceptions where the PM is the Chancellor of NUST and the Federal Minister for Science & Technology in the case of COMSATS) or by Governors in public sector universities in the provinces. For these appointments the UGC had no role whatsoever to play, neither did the Chancellors have a mechanism of short listing and selecting Vice Chancellors. Normally these appointments were made either under political pressure or on the basis of personal likes and dislikes as there existed no selection criteria whatsoever leaving it to the sole discretion of the appointing authority. The absence of the UGC's role in the appointment of Vice Chancellors, Rectors or Presidents rendered it as a supporting body and not as a supervisory or controlling body. On the other hand for effective capacity building of Universities it is pertinent that the faculty be fully developed, research be vigorously pursued, and Vice Chancellors be able men or women with proven academic and administrative experience and background. Last but not the least is the capacity of the universities' managements to absorb and synchronize new and innovative interventions and policy guidelines by the government and market forces. The UGC developed some programs for faculty development,

but could not do much about the selection of Vice Chancellors or Rectors, and did nothing for the capacity building of universities' management, which comprises the Registrar and his staff, the Treasurer and his staff, the Controller of Examinations and his staff and the Librarian and his staff. These people stay on these seats for longer periods than Vice Chancellors or Rectors. They are the ones who serve as facilitators or intermediaries between faculty needs and the demands of the government. The other factor which hampered the capacity building of public sector universities was a lack of provision for inter-university transfers and posting of faculty as well as the administrative staff. This was probably not possible because of the provincial governments and the administrative division of universities caused by having many Chancellors in the country.

Lastly the UGC could not take concrete steps to help universities establish Endowment Funds for the purpose of sponsoring research, writing books and articles and improving financial and physical aspects of universities. Failure to establish meaningful industrial linkages with universities and degree awarding institutions was another area where the UGC could not contribute. These incessant failures generated by perpetual weaknesses in the governing body can fairly be attributed to an absence of reliable implementation analyses to determine what went wrong and why. If regular monitoring followed by systematic evaluation had taken place UGC could have done a lot better, if not in physical terms at least in providing a solid future course of action whereby this nation could have made a successful beginning. The situation was defined well by the World Bank's Report (1992). It says,

“The higher education and scientific research sector in Pakistan manifests four institutional deficiencies. Their resolution is a necessary, although insufficient, precondition for significant and sustained improvement in the sector's performance. Ambiguous assignment of powers of governance, coordination and oversight diffuses ultimate responsibility. It is unclear who is in charge and who should be held accountable; consequently, effective planning and management are impossible. Excessive centralization of authority and bureaucratic rigidity, both within and across institutions, produces stultifying uniformity; all institutions work to the lowest common denominator of performance”.³⁵

Human beings are now considered as 'human capital' on the balance sheet of companies and corporations, and their empowerment through education and training has reached new dimensions. Developing countries now realize how important higher education is for scientific, technological and industrial progress that is vital for eradicating poverty and establishing affluent societies. Higher education is also the means of modernizing societies and for producing highly educated leaders in all walks of life.

The university structure is determined by the thinking, aims, and ambitions of its faculty, by the goals of its patrons (society and the government), by the needs of its consumers (the students), by its own inertia or resistance to change and by the inner logic or need for consistency in its curricula and programmes. The effects which have been discussed in this chapter are all independent variables, be it affiliations, admissions, examinations, curricula, faculty, research or finances. They definitely effect the dependent variable of higher education specially when the moderating variable, i.e. UGC did not perform its functions as it should have. Apparently the missing link, which let the repetition of half-baked ideas and plans take place, was Implementation study, which in the present scenario assumes the role of an intervening variable.

5.12 Conclusion

The past of higher education has been an issue of discussion among academics and the intellectuals of Pakistan. Reports by a number of world bank, UNESCO and independent think tanks have presented different weaknesses of this system and some remedies for improvement. The inability of constitutional provisions, plans and policies (chapters 3 & 4) was further complicated by a mushroom growth of institutions especially in the private sector. Lack of effective regulatory mechanisms in the UGC and the huge financial gains in an expanding market offered to the private sector in particular and public sector in general, made things even worse.

In the first place a dichotomy in the degree programs (those offered by degree colleges and those by universities having dissimilar learning outcomes and duration) provided a varying degree of input for master level courses. Though the degree colleges worked as affiliates of universities, there was hardly any effort on the part of universities to supervise and ensure quality. This unbalanced situation was further confounded by outdated, unimaginative examination procedures at colleges as well as universities.

Another contributory factor to this problem is the fact that, as in the colleges, the majority of universities had (and still have) a disproportionately large number of teachers with masters degrees rather than doctorates. This reason alone deprives institutions of research-oriented experts who could help in inculcating a culture of research and inquiry. In addition, an ever-growing demand for qualified teachers by an increasing number of institutions squeezed the working hours of faculty. Their teaching load left hardly any room for research.

These overstretched teaching resources were then expected to handle obsolete and impractical curricula inflicted on students with different starting levels and different academic backgrounds. The examination system, which marks the culmination point of the teaching/learning activity, was also faulty, testing rote learning instead of concepts. It tended to produce graduates with empty degrees rather than sound knowledge. The situation became worse after the 80's when the private sector joined in. There were some very good institutions and some satisfactory ones. However, a significant number entered the field to exploit the huge financial gains offered by a sizeable population starving for quality life through education.

With this state of affairs there was really no option for the government but to bring about change, a comprehensive change capable of transforming an educational system heavily marred with problems at the dawn of the 21st century. There was also a need to first identify core issues and then devise viable strategies in consultation with all stakeholders whereby the unsatisfactory state of higher education could be improved. *The reasons enumerated in chapter 3, 4 and 5 provide ample evidence that higher education in Pakistan needs a revolutionary change and that factors mentioned in the present chapter were responsible for the establishment of HEC.*

The next chapter will discuss in detail the identification of core issues, their remedies and means to bring about change in the desired direction.

References / End Notes

¹ World Bank. 1992. Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Higher Education and Scientific Research: Strategy for Development and Reform. Report No. 10884-Pak, Population and Human Resource Division, Country Department III, South Asian Region.

² The researcher has attempted to trace the causative factors in chapter 3 and 4 of this study. The policies have been considered key determinants in assessing the will whereas financial plans depict the amount of investment in both human and physical terms.

³ Isani U, 2001, Higher Education in Pakistan, diss, p-190 National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad. p.190

⁴ Ibid

⁵ www.hec.gov.pk

⁶ Chairman Message, HEC Annual Report 2004, p.1

⁷ Isani. UAG and Virk. ML Higher Education in Pakistan: A Historical and Futuristic Perspective (2005) Islamabad 2nd ed. National Book Foundation p 220-31.

⁸ Government of Pakistan, Sharif Commission Report, 1959

⁹ Safdar, M. (1996), "The Affiliation Curse," The News, September 27, 1996, Rawalpindi

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Government of Pakistan, Statistics Division, Statistical Pocket Book. Islamabad, January 2005, www.statpak.gov.pk/publications, p.52 & 53

¹² World Bank (1994), Higher Education, The Lessons of Experience, Washington, DC, p.1

¹³ Robertson, David and Hillman Josh (1997). Widening Participation in Higher Education for Students from Lower Socio-economic Groups and Students with Disabilities, Report 6. The National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education.

¹⁴ Ghumman.K, "Varsities told to produce quality research" Daily Dawn, Tuesday April 18, 2006, p.17.

¹⁵ Isani and Virk (2005). In their book, Higher Education in Pakistan p. 185-87 the writers have given a comparison of 16 nations in which access to higher education varies from 79.7% in USA to 20.2% in Pakistan. Having given this comparison from UNESCO's world report the writers have assumed a percentage of 10 viz a viz the growth in population. They propose a matching increase in the infrastructure of higher education as well.

¹⁶ World Bank. (1990) Higher Education and Scientific Research for Development in Pakistan (2 vols). Report No. 8231-Pak, Country Department 1. Population and Human Resources Division, Europe, Middle East and North Africa Region.

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Salam. A, Science and Education in Pakistan (1988), Third World Academy of Sciences, 1998

¹⁹ Isani U. Higher Education in Pakistan – diss, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad, 2001 p. 201

²⁰ Isani U, 2001, Higher Education in Pakistan, diss, p-190 National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad. P.257

²¹ Ibid p.209

²² Isani. UAG and Virk. ML Higher Education in Pakistan: A Historical and Futuristic Perspective (2005) Islamabad 2nd ed. National Book Foundation p.

²³ Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, National Education Policy (1992-2002), Islamabad.

²⁴ Government of Pakistan, Federal supervision of Curricula, Text Books and Maintenance of Standards of Education Act of 1976.

²⁵ Government of Pakistan , Ministry of Education, The State of Education in Pakistan 2003-04, March 2005, p. 27.

²⁶ www.hec.gov.pk

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Government of Pakistan, University Grants Commission, Universities of Pakistan(2001), Islamabad, p iv & v

²⁹ Isani U, Higher Education in Pakistan (2001) –diss, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad, p. 310

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ “ Illegal varsities closed” Daily Dawn, Islamabad, Saturday 25th March 2006, p.17

³² “Illegal Universities in Abundance”, Daily Dawn, April 14, 2006. Metropolitan p.18

³³ Ghumman. K, “HEC plans to expose dubious universities once again”, Daily Dawn, December 12, 2005 p.14.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ World Bank Report (1992), p.6

6

The New Strategy

In this chapter, why a new strategy was needed to bring about reforms in the higher education sector will be discussed at length. Failure to keep pace with the new global trends and advancement towards an education economy forced the policy makers to take stock of the deteriorating situation and strengthen the education sector in general and higher education in particular. The major source of data for this chapter is the HEC and its monthly and annual reports and website. Other sources have been consulted to find data for the task force and steering committee.

In the previous chapters the researcher tried to present a picture of the education sector of Pakistan in general and higher education in particular in the past. From 1947 till the year 2000-2001 an enormous increase in the number of universities and degree awarding institutions in both public and private sectors has been observed. This growth put the teaching resources of the country to a severe test. It also had an effect on social and educational planning in both creating new openings and stretching the existing ones. Questions of standard and general quality had also been raised. Much of this pathetic situation resulted from the failure of the University Grants Commission (UGC), a constitutional body formed to tackle the issue of higher education to the optimum use of national benefit. The UGC could not deliver what it was tasked to do. Taking stock of the worsening situation the Government took a number of steps to bring about reforms in higher education.

6.1 Task Force on Improvement of Higher Education

Following UNESCO's Task Force Report on Higher Education in Developed Countries: Peril and Promise (2000) a strong need was established to constitute a similar task force to carry out an in-depth and exhaustive study into the issues and problems faced by the higher education sector in the country and to propose remedial measures enabling the sector to prosper.

Consequently a Task Force was notified by the Federal Minister for Education on April 29, 2001.¹ The members of this task

force comprised leaders of higher education from both public and private sectors. The terms of reference (TOR) required an in-depth study of higher education and recommendations for improvement, with special reference to systems of quality assurance and accreditation, funding and financial sustainability, and effective governance and management. It also reviewed the recommendations of the seven past education commissions and policies. Taking all the stakeholders along, the task force followed a consultative process through seminars across the country. The process extended over seven months and involved more than 700 stakeholders including teachers, students, parents, alumni, employers and government officials.

The stakeholders identified a host of issues. Prominent amongst them were:

- a. Ineffective governance and management structures and practices:
- b. Inefficient use of available resources:
- c. Inadequate funding:
- d. Poor recruitment practices and inadequate development of faculty and staff:
- e. Inadequate attention to research and support for it:
- f. Politicization of faculty, staff and students:
- g. Strong skepticism about the realization of reforms.

After about 7 months of deliberations the Task Force presented its recommendations to the President of Pakistan on the 11th of January 2002.

6.2 Recommendations of the Task Force (2002)

6.2.1 University Governance and Management

Universities as pillars of higher education system must be insulated from all extraneous influences, so that they can govern and manage their academic, administrative and financial functions. Particularly universities must have autonomy to develop their academic programs, recruit, assess and develop their faculty; and select, train and educate their students. The present organizational structure, including senates and syndicates, has too many weaknesses, the

principal one of which is an inadequate separation of governance from the functions and responsibilities of management.

To ensure accountability for institutional performance, each university must have an independent governing or policy making body that may be called a 'Governing Board' (GB), to be appointed by the Chancellor from a panel of nominees nominated by a committee of the Board, and an independent system of management that is accountable to it. The Chief Executive officer of the University (Vice Chancellor) must be identified through a formal and open search process, and appointed by the Chancellor from a selection of candidates recommended by the Governing Board.

6.2.2 Central Coordination and Support for Quality

The University Grants Commission (UGC) could not perform satisfactorily the functions assigned to it, partly because of inadequate funding to Universities, over which it had no control, and partly because of other reasons relating to quality and standardization. The Task Force observed that a central body was needed for facilitating quality assurance of higher education in both public and private sectors. It also recommended that funding by the government to public universities be linked to their quality of performance, akin to the principle used by the Higher Education Funding Councils in the UK.

The new central body, the Higher Education Commission (HEC), would replace the University Grants Commission (UGC). HEC is conceptualized as the focal component of a network of independently governed institutions that provides diversity of expertise and promotes synergy and efficient utilization of the country's resources for higher education and research. It will have the following salient features:

- a. To plan, develop and accredit public and private sector institutions of higher education:
- b. To raise funds for itself and for higher education:
- c. HEC will be governed and managed independently as an autonomous body linked to the Ministry of Education:
- d. HEC should have the capability of receiving, managing and being accountable for block grants provided by the Ministry of Finance:
- e. In order to ensure accountability for institutional performance, the HEC must have a strong Board of Governors appointed by the President from candidates

nominated by a committee of the Board, and an independent system of management that is accountable to it:

- f. The Chairman of the Board, functioning in an honorary capacity, should have the rank of a Minister of State:
- g. The appointment of the Chairman and members of the Board, as well as the Chief Executive Office (CEO), be based on merit, free from political, bureaucratic or other extraneous influence:
- h. The Chief Executive Officer (CEO), the only full time board member, must be identified through a formal search process, and appointed by the Chancellor from a selection of candidates recommended by the Board of Governors.

6.2.3 Funding

Universities in Pakistan require greater financial resources than the current allocations. In the proposed system, with improved financial management, provision for funding should be made through an annual review of a three-year rolling budget, and the development of permanent sources of support such as endowments. The task force also recommended further study to determine the financial requirements for improving the quality of higher education in colleges.

In the year 2001-2002, funding from the government to all public Universities for recurring cost was Rs. 2.9 billion. Out of this 75% was spent on salaries, 8% on utilities (telephone, electricity, gas, water etc). Rs. 0.04 billion i.e. 1.2% of the total grant was allocated for research. In addition to recurrent grant Rs. 0.4 billion was made for development work. The self generated income of Universities was approximately Rs. 3.2 billion. Therefore the total funds came to Rs. 6.5 billion.²

The Task Force recommended an enhancement of the Government's grant by Rs. 5 billion annually in order to improve recruitment and retention of competent and qualified faculty and staff; develop infrastructure for research; provide adequate libraries, electronic access to information and communication, equipment and maintenance; and refurbish the dilapidated physical facilities. It also recommended financial contributions by the respective provincial governments. The force further recommended creation of an endowment of Rs. 20 billion which will provide about Rs. 1.6 billion

annually to support research, faculty and staff development, and facilitate financial assistance to deserving students.

Tuition and fees, which currently cover a rather small portion of costs, should reflect the real cost of an educational program, but should neither be the main source of institutional funding nor an impediment to access for those who cannot afford the cost of education and subsistence. The full cost of the academic program should be stated in the student's bill, with institutional subsidies clearly indicated, so that students and parents are made aware of the extensive support they are receiving. Similarly fund raising by individual universities must take place, and the Government should provide matching grants as an incentive, as is the case in most parts of the world. In order to encourage philanthropy, tax exemptions by the Government for donations and endowments were also recommended.

6.2.4 Faculty and Staff

The Task Force recommended better pay packages for faculty and staff of public sector universities so as to recruit and retain quality professionals who at present were getting inadequate salaries under Government pay scales. It also emphasized provisions for in-service training for improved performance.

6.2.5 Research

Our seats of higher learning make very little or no provision for research. This critical activity must be assigned higher priority by making major allocations of funds, creation of endowments and an enabling environment, and thereby enhance the capacity of our faculty and students for research. Emphasis was also laid on linkages with business and industry. They were considered essential not only for employment of graduates but also for relevance of curricula and research.

6.2.6 Curriculum

The curricula should facilitate the continuous renewal of economic and social structures relevant to a fast-changing world. For international comparability, universities should aim for awarding a Bachelor's degree after 16 years of education instead of the current requirement of 14 years. Initially a 4-year Honours Bachelor's degree should be an essential requirement for admission to a Master's program.

6.3 Steering Committee on Higher Education

In consequence of the Task Force's deliberations, the President of Pakistan appointed a 'Steering Committee' to develop an implementation plan for the recommendations of the Task Force on Higher Education.

The committee was chaired by Mr. Shamsh Kassim-Lakha, President Agha Khan University Karachi (AKU). As members it included eminent educators and Vice Chancellors of public universities as well as leading scientists and professionals, including Dr Ishrat Hussain, Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan.³

The proposals included doubling the annual Government allocations to public universities over a period of 3 years to Rs. 8 billion. It also proposed a Model University Ordinance, which would provide detailed guidelines to universities for enhancing academic quality and restructuring the governance and management system. The steering committee also advised the government to abolish the University Grants Commission and establish a Higher Education Commission with the main function to support reforms in public sector universities. However the chairperson emphasized that the Higher Education Commission could only support universities that wish to reform themselves. Past experience; he noted, has proven that universities themselves must be the focal point of reform.

6.4 Establishment of Higher Education Commission (HEC)

Following proposals of the Steering Committee the Government of Pakistan vide Ordinance No. LIII of 2002, dated September 11th 2002, established the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan. Professor Dr. Atta-ur-Rahman was made the first Chairman of the Commission.

According to the Ordinance the Commission has the following powers and functions;

1. For the evaluation, improvement, and promotion of higher education, research and development, the Commission may;
 - a. formulate policies, guiding principles and priorities for higher education Institutions for promotion of socio-economic development of the country;
 - b. cause evaluation of the performance of Institutions;

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- c. prepare, through consultation with the Institutions, plans for the development of higher education and express its opinion on all matters relating thereto;
 - d. prescribe conditions under which Institutions, including those that are not part of the State educational system, may be opened and operated;
 - e. set up national or regional evaluation councils or authorize any existing council or similar body to carry out accreditation of Institutions including their departments, faculties and disciplines, by giving them appropriate ratings. The Commission shall help build capacity of existing councils or bodies in order to enhance the reliability of the evaluation carried out by them;
 - f. advise the Federal Government and the Provincial Governments on proposals for granting a charter to award degrees in both public and private sector;
 - g. submit to the Federal Government the recurring and development budgets for public sector Institutions and allocate funds to public sector Institutions out of bulk financial provision received from the government and other resources on performance and need basis;
 - h. review and examine the financial requirements of public sector Institutions; approve and provide funds to these Institutions on the basis of annual recurring needs as well as for development projects and research based on specific proposal performance and while approving funds for a public sector Institution the Commission shall ensure that a significant proportion of the resources of the Institution are allocated to research support and libraries;
 - i. approve projects within the same ceilings as are specified for Department Development Working Party;
 - j. advise Institutions in raising funds from sources other than the Government;
 - k. support the development of linkages between Institutions and industry as well as national and international organizations that fund research and development with a view to enhancing research;

- l. facilitate the introduction of educational programs that meet the needs of the employment market and promote the study of basic and applied sciences in every field of national and international importance in Institutions;
- m. advise Institutions in ensuring a proper balance between teaching and research;
- n. cause to be set up testing bodies or designate any existing body for the purpose;
- o. determine the equivalent and recognition of degrees, diplomas and certificates awarded by Institutions within the country and abroad;
- p. develop guidelines and facilitate the implementation of a system of evaluation of performance of faculty members and Institutions;
- q. provide guidelines as regards minimum criteria and qualifications for appointment, promotion; salary structure in consultation with the Finance Division and other terms and conditions of service of faculty for adoption by individual Institutions and review its implementation;
- r. take measures, including the allocation of funds, for the establishment of fellowships, scholarships, visiting professorships programs or any other program, in addition to assistance of a similar program of Institutions; and facilitate greater mobility of faculty through national and international contacts;
- s. set up committees comprising national and international experts in various disciplines to advise the Commission on its affairs;
- t. promote formal links between Institutions in the country to make the most effective use of experience and specialized equipment and promote national and international linkages with respect to knowledge sharing, collaborative research, personnel exchange and cost sharing;
- u. encourage, support and facilitate training programs, workshops and symposia;
- v. guide Institutions in designing curricula that provides a proper content of basic sciences, social sciences,

humanities, engineering and technology in the curricula of each level and guide and establish minimum standards for good governance and management of Institutions and advise the Chancellor of any institutions on its statutes and regulations;

- w. establish an endowment fund for higher education with contributions from governmental as well as non-governmental resources;
- x. collect information and statistics on higher education and Institutions as it may deem fit and may cause it published; and
- y. perform such other functions consistent with provision of this Ordinance as may be prescribed or as may be incidental or consequential to the discharging of the aforesaid functions.

6.5 Vision and Strategy of HEC

During the proceedings of the Task Force and the Steering Committee Prof. Dr. Atta-ur-Rahman, the then Federal Minister for Science & Technology, now Chairman Higher Education Commission, underlined the importance of higher education for knowledge-based economic growth.

While introducing the 'Mission Document' on 'Development Plans for Pakistan's Higher Education Sector' Prof. Dr. Sohail H. Naqvi the present Executive Director of the HEC and Prof. Dr. Atta-ur-Rahman, the Chairman HEC, out-lined the plans for future intervention strategies of the HEC and the respective implementation plans that would lead to improved quality of higher education. These interventions are directed in the following areas which also forms a major part of the independent variables this study intends to investigate:

- a. Faculty & Human Resource Development:
- b. Higher Education Infrastructure Development:
- c. Focus Area Support:
- d. Industrial Linkages:
- e. Higher Education Quality Assurance, and
- f. Higher Education Sector Reforms.

Thus the Higher Education Commission embarked upon a mission of putting the higher education sector of Pakistan on its right path leading to a 'Knowledge Based Economy'. In the preface to the first annual report the Chairman said,

“It was designed to be the body that would formulate higher education policy, plan for the improvement of higher education and research, allocate funds for operation and development of Universities, set standards for the enhancement of quality of education and research, and work with the Government to ensure harmony with the overall objective of building a prosperous Pakistan”.⁴

He further explains:

“Enhancement of the quality of education and research in Institutions of higher learning in Pakistan has been the focus of all plans initiated by the Higher Education Commission. It is clear that faculty is the heart and soul of the higher education system and the Commission has, therefore, focused on programs for the improvement of faculty and assistance to Universities for the development of an environment conducive to academic development and research”.⁵

In the same preface, while focusing on the economic and technological development, Dr Rahman says,

“Engineering and Agriculture areas have been major beneficiaries since the former is the key to industrial growth, while the latter sector is where the majority of Pakistanis are employed. Basic and applied sciences areas have also received focused attention since they are essential for keeping abreast and benefiting from the latest developments in the world of science and technology”.⁶

While talking about the economic growth of the country the Chairman said:

“...high technology--this is where the big money lies. Unless we become major players in this high technology game, we will not be able to increase Pakistan's present GDP of US\$ 67 billion to over

US\$ 200 billion. Our vision for 2020 must be to enhance our GDP to over US\$200 billion. ... The setting up of Higher Education Commission is one step on the path of double digit GDP growth”.⁷

The Chairman in one of his messages stated:

“The world has been transformed in the past several decades into one where knowledge is now the engine for socio-economic development, and the importance of natural resources has greatly diminished. The Five Year Plan for higher education sector aims at creating the necessary foundation in which excellence can flourish and Pakistan can embark on the road to develop a knowledge economy. There are three major issues which need to be addressed in the context of higher education sector development programs: (a) access (b) quality and (c) relevance to national needs”.⁸

The Chairman pointed out (chapter 6) that at present only 3.6% of our students between 17-23 years of age have access to higher education (as compared to 68% of the same age group in Korea). The present plan aims at doubling the enrolment over the five year period by increasing the capacity of existing higher education institutions and, where necessary, establishing new ones. According to the Federal Ministry of Education following are the enrolment figures of tertiary level education (especially degree programs) for the year 2003-04.⁹ So the HEC in the short run aims at doubling this figure by 2008-09.

Table 11

Enrolment	Public Sector		Private Sector		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
All BA/BSc/ BCS Programs	169698	119471	26379	10452	326000
All MA / MSc/ MCS Programs	95516	121881	15657	5549	238603
All M.Phil Programs	3856	2052	1061	398	7367
All PhD Programs	3234	1240	157	50	4681
Total	272304	244644	43254	16449	576651

Regarding quality he stated that the quality of higher education is very poor. Not a single university of Pakistan is ranked among the top 500 universities of the world. To rectify this situation a number of steps need to be taken to improve quality.

6.6 Faculty & Human Resource Development

Faculty is the centerpiece of an Institution's areas of activity. While commenting on this issue the Chairman HEC said,

“At present out of approximately 7000 faculty members in our Universities, only approximately 1700 have PhD degrees. Each of the 60 public sector Universities need to have at least 300 to 400 PhD level faculty members (at least 15 to 20 per department) before it can be regarded a genuine “university”.¹⁰

Under the Higher Education Commission primary importance has been given to the core issue of faculty development because they are considered agents of change. The Commission, for the first time in the history of Pakistan, has devised a mechanism that addresses the higher education sector as a whole. The faculty and human resource development program focuses on the issues of faculty improvement and retention and creation of an environment conducive for research and development in the Universities. In this regard special attention is being given to the fact that the present number of PhD be increased manifold so that those who enter or stay in the profession have the requisite level of academic qualification.

To overcome this major problem the HEC has in the long run developed a number of scholarship programs both within and outside the country. According to the HEC's Report,

“Nineteen scholarship projects are currently being implemented by the Higher Education Commission including nine foreign scholarships and fellowship programs and ten indigenous programs”.¹¹

These programs include disciplines from humanities to social sciences to natural sciences. In the short run, various faculty training programs have been initiated. They focus on enhancing the teaching and communication skills and subject knowledge of lectures at Universities. Special emphasis is also being laid on English language comprehension and expression skills. Until the year 2003 HEC had conducted 9 English Language Teachers Training Courses and a

similar number of curriculum based Teachers Training Courses. For this purpose National Faculty Academy (NFA) has been established which will offer training programs to faculty up to the level of an Assistant Professor. The major subjects where basic competencies will be enhanced include core sciences and mathematics, computer science and functional English up to the Master's level. These courses will be complemented by short term pedagogical training courses. The Commission considers that this will serve to stimulate a quantum leap towards quality education.

The success of HEC in improving the number of PhD faculty in universities is evident from the fact that in an interview in February 2006 he said that out of 10000 teachers in the country's universities, only 3000 possessed PhD degrees.¹² This indeed is an achievement in the overall increase in the number of faculty and specially the PhD faculty.

Research output marks the quality of both faculty and Institution. The Commission being cognizant of this fact lays special emphasis on this area.

6.6.1 Promoting Research for Development

According to World Bank report (1992),

“A nation's control of its development potential, along with its ability to exploit domestic and international markets, depends to a large extent on its scientific and technological research communities. This capacity depends on having a well-trained cadre of scientists and engineers who can use their expertise in responding to their country's social, economic and technological context. Their effectiveness, in turn, depends on an adequate, modern scientific infrastructure and a supportive policy framework for conducting relevant research and development”.¹³

The Commission also believes that a vibrant and dynamic research culture is vital for the growth and development of a country. Therefore research grants help faculty and institutions achieve this end.

National Research Grants Program for Universities (NRPU) is one step in this direction. Primarily it is for the faculty and researchers of public sector institutions, however if it requires input from the private sector then the private sector can also benefit from it. From the year

2003-2005 the following projects were received and approved under the NRPJ.¹⁴

Table 12

1	Total No. of Research Projects renewal	693
2	Total No. of Research Projects approved	191
3	Total No. of Research Projects rejected	317
4	Total No. of Research Projects under process	185
5	Total approved amount (in million)	Rs. 322.121 million
6	Total released amount (in million)	Rs. 186.653 million

Source HEC- Daily Dawn-21-09-05

In the financial year 2004-05, 74 projects were approved. In order to promote Research and Development (R&D) activity among creative researchers in the fields of Science and Technology and Social Sciences, the Commission launched a research grant program with a maximum limit of Rs. 2.00 million for each project over a period of three years. However the limit could be increased up to Rs. 6.00 million if the impact factor was 10 and above.

In the program “*Pakistan Organization for Collaborative Research*” (POCR), the local faculty and those abroad of Pakistani origin working at premier teaching and research programs will collaborate. This program will provide for travel and short-term visit grants with the help of internal and external funding agencies. The program also provides a data-base of expatriate Pakistani academics and researchers and thus serves as a contact point for Pakistani Institutions of higher learning and expatriate researchers and academics. Apart from organizing groups of experienced researchers the POCR also has a ‘core expert group’ which evaluates Pakistani Universities for future research funding and tenure evaluation of local faculty. It also arranges funds, both from the government and donor agencies, and donations from the corporate sector. From these funds POCR administers all its research activities.¹⁵ Until the year 2005 twenty four such projects were approved.¹⁶

To benefit from the research expertise of unemployed PhDs, a new program, “*Starter Support for Research Teaching Program*” was initiated for candidates below the age of 40, but no request under this program was received for the reason that there are hardly any PhDs who are unemployed.

Training Program for Technical/Scientific Staff and Researchers provides finances for short term research and equipment based training to promote research in local institutions. Launched in February 2005 the program aims to fund 66 foreign and 90 domestic trainings from (2004-2007).¹⁷

The *University Industry Technology Support Program (UITSP)* is a project which funds high value research projects in Applied Sciences which have relevance to current industrial needs. Until the year 2005, 22 proposals were submitted out of which 19 were eligible for processing and finally only 6 were approved.¹⁸

Presidential Young Innovator Program Provides research funds for innovative projects by the faculty of public sector institutions who are under 35 years of age. The capital cost of this program is Rs. 37.800 million aiming at 6 awards.¹⁹

International Research Support Initiative Program provides funding for PhD students to carry out their research in reputed universities of advanced countries for a period of 6 months. The financial size of this scheme is Rs. 39.400 million and it aims at accommodating 52 candidates.²⁰

National Technology Incubation Centers project is motivated by the successful functioning of about 4000 incubators around the world. Out of these over 500 are in Asia, 140 in China alone followed by Malaysia, Singapore and India.²¹ These centers have helped accelerate the growth and success of entrepreneurial skills in these countries. Out of over 100 Universities and degree awarding institutions in the country there are 21 science and technology and 34 agriculture establishments.²² With this intervention the HEC hopes to move a quantum leap forward in the direction of a knowledge economy and scientific and technological development. Up to the year 2004 only one center was opened at the National University of Science and Technology (NUST), Rawalpindi.

In order to promote teaching and research in life sciences a 'core group' was constituted to identify areas in Biology having a direct and major impact on the economic well being of the country. It will also prepare projects in the target field and develop human resource in Bioscience in Pakistan. Since its formation the core group has held a number of meetings, seminars and workshops for promotion of life science in public sector Universities, through teaching and research.

Social science and humanities have a major role to play in the socio economic development of a country. For this purpose the

Commission undertook a scheme to strengthen social science and humanities departments of 13 public sector Universities. The developmental activities included:

- a. Construction and equipping of seminar rooms:
- b. Development of networking:
- c. Research grants: and
- d. 300 PhD scholarships for faculty.

In order to develop a permanent forum to monitor and facilitate the timely development and updating of this sector a Research Council for Social Sciences and Humanities has been established. This council is tasked to develop networking of databases of research within and outside Pakistan. It will also hold conferences and seminars to disseminate research findings. According to Chairman HEC this council will establish 200 research chairs at public Universities and postgraduate colleges.²³

Research Grants Program for Social Sciences and Humanities helps promote research culture in these disciplines. Until the year 2005 nine research proposals were approved at a total cost of Rs. 1,747,000/-²⁴

Pak-French Research Collaboration in Social Science and Humanities is another step for strengthening the research base of social science and humanities. Under this project opportunities for collaborative research will be made available between the researchers of France and Pakistan. Since January 2004, 9 researchers from Pakistan and 9 from France have been selected.²⁵

In addition to the ones already mentioned the HEC has developed a list of 'Supervisors' (for research theses) of Social Sciences. For all other disciplines too HEC has made an approved list of PhD supervisors available especially to its own awardees. Until the year 2004, 1209 applications were received out of which 1141 were processed and the remaining 68 were under process.²⁶ *Publication of Social Sciences Report*, which is available on line²⁷, outlines all current projects, programs and initiatives taken by HEC for the promotion of social sciences and humanities in Pakistan.

Seminars, conferences, workshops, meetings and symposia not only provide an opportunity to the participants to come across each other and interact at an intellectual level but also help them share their diverse and rich experiences. The out-come of such interaction is

always quality academic material which can be published or spread around electronically. During the year 2004, 52 such events were organized by various public Universities and centers of advanced studies with a funding of over Rs. 8.00 million by the HEC.²⁸ In continuation of the support to promote research through national and international conferences, seminars, workshops, meetings and symposia the HEC offers *Travel Grant* to faculty members. Until the year 2004, 108 cases were approved with a financial commitment of Rs. 5,141,192.²⁹

A research study can only be made useful if its outcome is available to those interested in the academic growth of that area. Publication of journals is one such lynchpin which serves as a medium of communication between the researcher and the target readers. For this purpose the Commission has created an endowment and out of the earned interest 30-40 journals are partially sponsored every year.

In the present world of modern communication timely information is the key factor in success. The same applies to timely dissemination of information and timely nomination for various training programs, conferences and seminars. The HEC serves as a focal point between various foreign governments, International agencies and establishments and those interested in attending these conferences, trainings and seminars. Under this arrangement information regarding scholarships is received, disseminated, collected, processed and sent to the concerned agencies. This study helped many academics and researches in recent years.

6.6.2 Scholarships & Fellowships

When we talk about economy the first thing that comes to one's mind is the greatness of figures or numbers indicating the economic health of the nation. While thinking of a 'Knowledge Economy' once again one is forced to think of numbers and their quality preferably of those holding PhD level degrees. According to a letter to the editor, Council of Social Scientists (COSS) Pakistan, an autonomous, non-profit, service oriented organization, has created a database on PhD and MPhil theses of 15 social science disciplines written from 1947 to 2001. According to its preliminary findings, "a total of 1095 social science theses have been produced. Out of these 418 (38%) are PhD theses. The remaining 677 (62%) are for MPhil."³⁰

The situation presented by the figures in COSS's finding conforms to the situation presented by the Chairman HEC in his message. He says, "At present out of approximately 7000 faculty members in our Universities, only approximately 1700 have PhD

degrees. Each of the 60 public sector Universities need to have at least 300 to 400 PhD level faculty members (at least 15 to 20 per department) before it can be regarded a genuine 'University'³¹.

Taking stock of this grave situation the HEC introduced exclusive scholarships programs to address the issue. These programs have been carefully developed keeping the experiences of the past and the present resource constraints of local institutions in view. Areas where possibility to provide quality education exists within the country, scholarships have been made locally available. However, for other areas, where the country lacks resources, more scholarships are being offered both within the country as well as overseas. At present 17 scholarships programs are being implemented by the HEC. Out of these 17, seven are foreign scholarships and fellowships programs and about ten indigenous programs.³² Some of these scholarships are for University teachers and researchers of R&D organizations and some for students as well. The HEC is of the opinion that capacity building of the existing lot, and making eligible PhDs available in future is one method through which the country will be able to overcome the shortage of qualified human resource in education as well as other sectors of our national life. The following major programs are being implemented by the commission to overcome the shortage of able human resource for higher education and research and development organizations.

In order to make scholarship program a success, especially the indigenous one, and to ensure quality, the HEC has formed a panel of supervisors. According to its Annual Report 2004-05, the commission has set the following criteria for selection of these supervisors.

“These supervisors should have a PhD degree from any renowned international university, and those who are fresh PhDs with no publications may only supervise two researchers at a time. In addition, it was decided that the selection criteria for candidates holding PhD degrees from indigenous institutions would require that they possess international teaching/research/fellowships, post-doctoral degree, publications in peer referred journals with international citation, and or supervision experience at the MPhil level”³³

a. PhD Fellowships for 5000 Scholars: (Indigenous)

Under this program 5000 scholars will be awarded fellowships over a period of 5 years. The total approved amount for this project is

Rs. 6418.734 million. Under this program scholarships will be offered to researchers in local Universities and degree awarding institutions. Until September 2005, 2000 scholarships were awarded under this program.³⁴

b. Scholarships and Fellowships

Scholarships and fellowships are the process whereby the raw material for a 'Knowledge Economy' is produced. According to the Chairman of the HEC until the year 2004 there were approximately 1700 PhD faculty members in our universities.³⁵ This situation called for immediate action. In order to reverse this situation the Commission embarked upon an ambitious plan to produce as many PhDs as possible.

To begin with, the Commission instituted 5000 indigenous scholarships. This indeed is the biggest of all scholarship programs. For the purpose of these scholarships the Commission has devised its own testing and selection system. Candidates once selected are required to get admission in one of the HEC approved universities and to work under the supervision of a supervisor selected by the Commission for the purpose. According to the HEC's guidelines mentioned above a supervisor can supervise from 2 to 5 supervisees, so that quality can be maintained.

c. Post-Doctoral Fellowships for University Teachers:

This program allows 100 University teachers, who hold a PhD degree, to work in some of the best research institutions and universities of the world in order to update their knowledge and skills by interacting with researchers of the developed world. The cost of this scheme is Rs. 172.872 million.³⁶ The awards are made on a sharing formula of 70-30 i.e. 70% seats are for the disciplines of science and technology, and 30% seats are reserved for social science, arts and humanities.^{37&38} A total of 100 scholarships are available under the scheme. 32 have so far completed it and have rejoined their respective institutions whereas 57 are still working on their projects.³⁹

d. Split PhD Program in Science and Technology:

Development of high-level manpower of science and technology is another field of priority. This scheme provides for training 100 teachers/researchers in science and engineering over a period of 5 years. The total cost of this project is Rs. 334.250 million. The researchers selected under this program are required to spend half of

their research time in Pakistan and the remaining half in universities of technologically advanced countries.⁴⁰

e. Foreign PhD Scholarships

i. *Germany (Engineering, Science and Technology)*

This scheme envisages PhD level training for 40 outstanding young engineers and scientists of public sector Universities, degree awarding Institutions and R&D organizations in German Universities. The capital cost for this project works out at Rs. 199.500 million to be spent in 4 years time.⁴¹

ii. *Austria (Engineering Science & Technology)*

Under Phase-1 of this project 55 scholarships in Engineering and Technology were made available to public sector Universities' teachers and employees of research organizations. The scheme is spread over a period of 4 years at a cost of Rs. 187.300 million.⁴²

In Phase-II 45 selected candidates will be awarded scholarships in *Natural and Basic Sciences*. The approved amount of this scheme is Rs. 168.78 million.⁴³

iii. *France (Natural & Basic Sciences and Other Disciplines)*

This program aims at facilitating 40 faculty members of public sector universities in 2 batches of 20 each spread over a period of 5 years. The program cost is Rs. 196.146 million.⁴⁴

Another Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) which was signed between the HEC and French Society for Export of Educational Resources allows 3 batches of 20 scholars each to pursue doctoral studies in France.

iv. *China (Engineering and Basic Sciences)*

PhD scholarships for China comprise two types. One provides for 40 scholarships to outstanding young engineers over a period of 4 years. The amount provided for this program is Rs. 180.820 million. The other scheme provides for 50 scholarships in Basic Sciences to university

teachers and researchers to R&D organizations. The cost of this program works out at Rs. 198.160 million.⁴⁵

v. *Scholarships for AIT Bangkok*

This is a split doctoral programme for technology and development at the Asian Institute of Technology (AIT) Thailand. Full time faculty members of a public sector University or degree awarding institute are eligible to apply. A researcher is required to spend 2 years at AIT and one year at the Pakistani host institution, before he or she can complete his or her degree.

vi. *Overseas PhD Scholarship Scheme in Selected Fields.*

A Rs. 4275.805 million mega project, spread over a period of 7 years provides for overseas PhD scholarship for 800 students. University teachers, researchers of R&D organization and fresh graduates are eligible to apply under this scheme.

f. Other Scholarships

i. *HEC-USAID Need Based Scholarships Programme*

This program provides for graduate and undergraduate studies in Pakistani Universities. It is a US \$ 3.7 million 4 years merit and need based program which assists and supports those needy students who qualify for admission in one of the 11 participating institutions but do not have the financial resources to pay for the tuition and living expenses.

ii. The HEC has also run BCS, MBA and MCS level courses for all 4 provinces and AJK & FATA. The aim of this program was to support meritorious students from all federating units of the country and to promote I.T based human resource. A similar program was also offered to employees of various public sector organizations for capacity building of in-service employees.

6.6.3 Incentives and Motivation

The human mind and body respond positively to encouragement and motivation. These stimulations can have different manifestations. They can be recognition, promotion, reward or a better pay package. The Higher Education Commission ever since its

inception, has given greater priority to the recommendations of the Task Force and Steering Committee on giving incentives and encouragement to faculty. *Distinguished National Professorship* is a scheme which acknowledges the services rendered by outstanding senior professors and scientists in universities and R&D organizations. These National Professors are expected to supervise research, deliver lectures, conduct workshops and training courses and write research articles.

The *Best Teacher Award* is another step to encourage them in their profession. Under this scheme the HEC invites nominations from all public sector Universities and the Commission's National Committee decides the name of the awardee who gets a certificate and Rs. 100,000/- cash prize.

The *President's Award* in the three different categories is conferred by the Government of Pakistan to outstanding University teachers for their extra ordinary contribution to their field. Upon the recommendations of an expert committee of the HEC. They are:

- a. Izaz-e-Kamal:
- b. Izaz-e-Fazeelat: and
- c. Izaz-e-Sabqat.

In addition to the above mentioned, a number of Civil Awards are also available to those Universities teachers who qualify. They include:

- a. Nishan-e-Imtiaz:
- b. Hilal-e-Imtiaz:
- c. Sitara-e-Imtiaz:
- d. Tamgha-e-Imtiaz:
- e. Pride of performance.

Towards the end of 2006 the Prime Minister of Pakistan announced one step promotion for all university faculty. (for those who do not hold a PhD vertical movement is only possible to Assistant Professor level. Beyond that a PhD with research background is essential). This has been done to acknowledge the importance of this profession and to attract better candidates to this profession.

6.6.4 International Collaboration and Linkages

In addition to incentives a number of pacts, protocols and linkages have been signed with foreign countries to facilitate academic activities. Important among these are 'South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) program, countries include Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

The Chairman HEC proposed to the delegates of SAARC countries, in a meeting held in June 2004, to identify three Centers of Excellence as focal points for enhancing cooperation in higher education between the member countries. He also offered 20 PhD scholarships and 10 post-doctoral scholarships annually for SAARC countries on a reciprocal basis every year. The HEC further offered to publish a quarterly SAARC Newsletter on Higher Education.

Another program, *Higher Education Link* between HEC and the British Council was launched in December 2003, The purpose of this program is to enhance the research and training capacity of higher education institutes of Pakistan. Under this program higher education links are being established between Pakistani and UK institutions.

6.6.5 Bridging the Gap (Faculty Hiring)

Faculty development is not a short-term undertaking. At the same time there are immediate and urgent needs if the HEC's general plans are to materialize. In the short term, conferences, seminars, refresher and other courses can be managed but creating a critical mass of highly educated and motivated faculty is a long term affair. The rapid growth of institutions of higher learning forced the HEC to come up with short term, make-shift arrangements which could fill up the present vacuum of qualified faculty and also enable the existing faculty to benefit from the rich experience of expert faculty hired under the following programs.

i. Foreign Faculty Hiring Program (FFHP)

The Foreign Faculty Hiring Program, both short term and long term, aims at hiring 300 foreign faculty members each year for 5 years, for rendering services in universities and degree awarding institutes of Pakistan. These professors are expected to bring in rich and advanced experience in teaching and research methodology and this synergy of local and foreign expertise will have a beneficial effect on the overall academic atmosphere in the field of higher learning. The project is likely to generate linkages between local and foreign institutions

thereby establishing long term sustainable collaboration. By September 2005, 354 faculty had been hired under this programme.⁴⁶

The Short-term Foreign Faculty Hiring Program (SFHP) aims at 'brain gain'. Over the past 50 years a lot of Pakistani scholars and scientists went abroad pursuing higher educational targets and due to poor career prospects at home and better ones abroad did not return home. In order to reverse this 'brain drain' the HEC offered SFHP, good and attractive future prospects at home. Through this program the HEC also wants to bring together the experience of advanced technological countries and local experience to strengthen our own system of higher education.

A similar program has also been launched for Reclamation of Talented Pakistanis working abroad for Promotion of Teaching and Research in Professional Universities of Pakistan. Under this program visiting PhD faculty is invited from abroad for a period of one to two months to come and teach, assist in laboratory development, conduct collaborative research at the host institution, coach young faculty and graduate students in advanced research techniques and provide expertise in developing curriculum.

ii. *Hiring of Eminent Educationists and Researchers*

This scheme enables the universities, degree awarding institutes and R&D organizations to hire on two years contract, active retired researchers and university teachers in the fields of natural and social sciences.

Short term faculty exchange program and transfer of know-how through expatriate national program are some of the other areas the commission has tried to explore.

iii. *Tenure Track Appointments*

To ensure long term retention of productive, competitive and able faculty in the institutions of higher learning the HEC introduced the Tenure Track System of appointment. This is a performance based system, a teacher appointed under this arrangement must hold a PhD degree and have a proven track record for research. It offers a market based pay package.

6.7 Infrastructure Development

According to the Chairman of the HEC, each public sector university will need its departments to be upgraded in terms of availability of books, journals, scientific equipment, consumables,

teaching aids and high speed internet connectivity as well as sports and other facilities to provide the requisite environment for quality education. International linkages, access to research grants and post-doctoral training programs will also help to improve quality.

Transition from a two years bachelor's degree program to a four year degree program is also important to improve the quality of the end product, governance, financial management systems, curricula, examinations system, and quality assurance systems will all need to be constantly improved in order to bring the Universities at par with international standards.

The Pakistan Educational Research Network (PERN) will be expanded and its performance will be further improved so that the materials available on the Internet can be readily accessed, and faculty resources can be shared through video conferencing.

While commenting on the issue of relevance to national needs Dr. Rahman says,

“In order to transform Pakistan from an agriculture based economy to a knowledge economy, specific projects and programs have been identified as national priority programs by experts, after careful consideration of sectorial opportunities, strengths and weaknesses. It is high time that Pakistan starts investing massively into its real wealth, its youth. The visionary decisions reached by the Chancellor's Committee to increase allocations in respect of development and recurring budgets for the higher education sector by 50% each year (till they reach 1% of the GNP for the higher education sector) must be strictly adhered to, if Pakistan is to follow the path of Japan and Korea and develop into a knowledge economy”.⁴⁷

The Executive Director HEC Prof. Dr. Sohail H. Naqvi gave this 'Mission Statement',

“The Higher Education Commission will facilitate institutions of higher learning to serve as engines for socio-economic development of Pakistan”.

While concluding his statement Mr. Naqvi said:

“... the Higher Education Commission inherited a higher education system having a myriad of

problems. While concrete progress has been made in improving the state of higher education, an impact will only be possible if the reform process that has been initiated is sustained, supported and strengthened".⁴⁸

The policy guidelines given by the Chairman and Executive Director HEC, are a continuation and reiteration of the recommendations made by the Task Force and the Steering Committee.

However all said and done the HEC has so far been very promising on the front of infrastructure development. In the financial year (1st July to 30th June) 2002-03, a sum of Rs. 3.044 billion was spent on 93 development projects. In the following year i.e. 2003-04, 154 projects were financed with a sum of Rs. 20.226 billion. In the last financial year i.e. 2004-05, 188 projects worth Rs. 23.556 billion have been undertaken by the HEC.⁴⁹

6.7.1 Financing the Universities and Degree Awarding Institutions

In a special supplement on higher education in the Daily Dawn of October 24, 2005, the Chairman HEC pointed out that Asian countries like Japan and Malaysia had invested heavily in education. He said in Japan only Tokyo had 120 universities and Malaysia was spending 20% of its national budget on education and its annual expenditure on a single university was about Rs. 25 billion, *while in comparison Pakistan spends Rs. 11.7 billion on all its 60 universities taken together and this too after a huge increase made during the last 3 years.*

Hence one major cause of underperformance by the higher education sector in the past was inadequate funding. The HEC since its inception has given greater priority to this most sensitive area. Since its creation in September 2002 one observes a huge upward trend in financial allocations to higher education. In the 1st financial year i.e. 2002-03 the commission had an approved recurring budget of Rs. 3443.393 million for universities and degree awarding institutions and it also approved 149 development projects through its Departmental Developmental Working Party (DDWP) at an estimated cost of Rs. 4564.463 million.⁵⁰

During the year 2003-04 the government through the Public Sector Development Programme (PSDP) allocated Rs. 4.477 billion to 186 developmental projects of Universities and degree awarding

institutions. This was followed by an additional allocation of Rs. 0.5 billion for 38 more projects. Thereby the sum total came to Rs. 4.968 billion for 224 projects.⁵¹

For the year 2004-05 Rs. 8.940 billion were allocated for 322 new and ongoing projects in the PSDP. This is almost double of what was allocated for the preceding year.⁵² For the next fiscal year i.e. 2005-06 Rs 11.70 billion have been allocated through PSDP.⁵³ It is worth mentioning here that the present financial year i.e. 2005-06 has seen a significant cut on HEC's demand of finances. Instead of Rs. 16.00 billion it has been allocated Rs. 10.5 billion.⁵⁴

However under the present circumstances the Commission is doing its best to help universities with better finances. To monitor financial utilization by various institutions the HEC follows up through a monitoring mechanism and supervises the timely expenditure according to rules and procedures, fulfilling all codal formalities remaining within the laid down principles of accountancy. The HEC itself maintains books of account as per Generally Accepted Accounting Principles (GAAP) and expects the same from all institutions of higher learning. While making financial allocations the Commission takes into account the level of enrollments of each institution from undergraduate to PhD level, faculty strength and research potential and output. In addition to these the HEC also encourages institutions of higher learning to generate their own income to achieve possible levels of self-reliance. The hallmark of this enhanced funding is a realization for the importance of research and development. The Commission encourages more and more research extensive activities and makes reasonable budgetary allocations directly to the teaching and research departments.

Apart from monitoring by the HEC the office of the Auditor General Pakistan also carries out its annual audit of the expenditure incurred during each financial year.

The HEC thinks that by investing in a knowledge economy the country will not only overcome its own shortage of able workforce but will also provide Pakistan a discerning edge over many other countries of the world by virtue of its large population with an even larger presence of youth between 18-23 years of age.

6.7.2 Pakistan Education & Research Network (PERN)

PERN is the highway through which the HEC plans to connect all the public and private sector universities and degree awarding institutes registered with HEC of Pakistan. This internet compatible,

high speed network, managed by the Information Technology Division of the Government of Pakistan, will allow real time transfer of audio and video teaching programs and multi-media enabled lectures from remote research partners, creating a world class distance learning platform. This project will enable institutions to pool their resources for a beneficial exchange of academic information. The HEC has also negotiated 2MB international bandwidth at special rates for institutions using this facility.

The PERN website was inaugurated by the Chairman HEC in August 2004. Since then a lot of activity has taken place in this field. *Communities of Interest* is one scheme through which communities of researchers and practitioners are being formed. Multi location video conferencing between computers has also been made possible through video reflectors. At present PERN provides access to International internet bandwidth to 58 public/private sector chartered universities and degree awarding institutes.⁵⁵ It also makes accessible 1100 scientific journals.

To supplement its efforts to overcome the shortage of qualified faculty the Commission has launched a program for setting up broadcast quality video lecturing facility at all public sector universities.

6.7.3 Digital Library Program

In the year 2004 the HEC got Pakistan included in the program for '*Enhancement of Research Information*' (PERI) of the 'International Network for Scientific Publications' (INASP). This program has provided access to our institutions of higher learning, to over 14500 full-text online international academic journals from some of the leading publishing houses around the world. It also provides access to some of the world's leading bibliographic and reference databases.

This is followed by workshops and training to make the concerned staff familiar with the facility. Until the year 2004, 88 public and private sector Universities, 14 affiliated institutions and campuses and 18 nonprofit research and development institutes were using this great facility.⁵⁶ To make the best use of this facility institutions are encouraged to develop institutional promotion and training programs with realistic and achievable objectives ensuring a wide spread use of this facility by the faculty and students. The commission in collaboration with INSAP, developed an online directory of Open Access Resources, a definitive guide to new digital literature available on the web, free of charge and free of many copyright and licensing restrictions. Through this medium of high speed retrieval of data, special focus is being

placed on information related to engineering, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biological and social sciences.

To further strengthen this system various collaborative programs are being undertaken. They are:

- a. With the National Academy of Science (USA) for enhancement of Digital library resources:
- b. Pak-US cooperation in Science and Technology Program:
- c. Master Trainer Program in (US) for Effective Use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs):
- d. Electronic Library Information Navigation System (ELIN) program in collaboration with INASP and Lund University of Sweden. This program will provide one window high speed access to a wide range of academic databases.

6.7.4 University Computerization & Networking

The Commission while taking initiatives for digitalization of information service, library service and other spheres of higher education's domain made appropriate budgetary allocations and technical know-how available to a large number of institutions of higher learning so that they have the matching infrastructure to make the best use of facilities made available by the HEC. The University Computerization and Networking scheme is basically the enabling of universities and degree awarding institutions to share the worlds most modern and up-to-date electronic data bases and to create an enabling environment for efficient office routine jobs and record keeping through automation. It also enables the faculty, researchers and students to benefit from the PERN facility.

By installing Local and Wide area networks (LAN/WAN) use of internet has been made possible. The hallmark of this scheme is the possibility of online lectures and video conferencing. On the whole this scheme will serve as access road to the universal highway of information with no geographic boundaries whatsoever. It will also help reduce the cost of purchase of library books and the area required to house them.

However it is worth mentioning that for online lectures and video conferencing most of the public sector universities will take some

time to implement this innovative facility as they need to develop the relevant human resource and establish foreign and local linkages for the purpose. Above all their existing staff will require some time to adapt to this hi-tech type of virtual teaching and learning. Moreover facilitators from among the local faculty will have to be prepared for online lectures by foreign professors. This will open up avenues for students and provide reliable feedback for planners.

6.7.5 Centralized Instrumentation Facility

There can be no doubt about the fact that during the past years higher education did not receive its due share of funding which resulted in frustrated faculty and poor physical infrastructure.

This neglect adversely affected institutions imparting science and technology education and R&D organizations. It created scattered, isolated pockets of up-to-date facilities. If one institution had a good laboratory for physics, another had the same for chemistry. Researchers working in one institution were discouraged from using the facilities of another institution.

The HEC has therefore introduced the idea of establishing central research laboratories at the premier research universities of Pakistan. These centralized facilities will have essential equipment required by researchers in a variety of disciplines. In addition to centralized facilities the commission is also providing small grants for purchasing spare parts and carrying out necessary repair and maintenance of equipment available in the universities and degree awarding institutes.

6.7.6 Curriculum

Revision of curricula is another priority area with the HEC. In a rapidly changing world with most modern communication facilities, knowledge keeps improving and growing through research and development. Responding to this fact the Commission formed committees comprising academics from both public and private sector institutions of higher learning from within and outside Pakistan. Keeping in view the importance of industrial linkages both agricultural and technology based, these committees also involve representative from the relevant industry to present their view of the real world and to help access employer's needs especially in the field of engineering and technology.

The curriculum development activity is complemented by various training courses being organized by the training division of HEC

which ensures that new ideas reach the faculty. The other advantage of these interactive trainings is to bring uniformity and standardization of contents, so that transfer of credits from one university to another is made possible. Efforts are also being made to make education more purposeful and meaningful rather than general.

The National Curriculum Revision Committee after exhaustive discussions with academia and experts incorporates new ideas into the existing curriculum which is then sent to various institutions for their comments and suggestions. The second draft is then placed before the committee for approval after incorporating input from all stakeholders.

6.7.7 Bricks and Mortar

Buildings are an integral part of a good educational institution. They often serve as a symbol for a particular institution. The revolutionary phase that higher education sector of Pakistan is undergoing could not have taken place without giving due consideration to expansion of physical infrastructure like academic buildings, laboratories, hostels, libraries and auditoriums.

The HEC has held regular meetings of its departmental development working party, which approves various developmental schemes from HEC's block financial allocation, to facilitate public-sector institutions in their efforts to develop a matching infrastructure which can house a much larger number of students and departments.

6.7.8 Establishment of New Institutions

To augment the country's requirement in the important field of engineering and technology the Government has embarked upon establishing 6 new state-of-the-art Engineering Universities. The President and the Prime Minister have agreed to provide Rs. 90 billion to setup six Engineering Universities⁵⁷

Similarly the Commission plans to set up 5 law universities in Karachi, Lahore, Quetta, Peshawar and Islamabad. Each university will cost about Rs. 1 billion.⁵⁸

6.8 Focus Area Support

While considering interventions for the sake of improvement first of all *target* or *focus* areas are determined. These are often weak areas where there is room for considerable improvement. While planning for the development of the higher education sector in the country the HEC also pin- pointed some core areas and developed programs to catalyze development in them. The importance given to

the following areas of science and technology is evident from various research scholarships and fellowships offered by the Commission. By developing these areas the Commission plans to attain a level of technical advancement required by the country to become a developed nation.

- a. Engineering Sciences:
- b. Pharmaceuticals:
- c. Biotechnology:
- d. Humanities, Social Sciences and Economics:
- e. Agricultural Sciences:
- f. Health Sciences.

The Commission is of the view that in years to come, with the completion of various research programs the scholars working on them will be able to contribute to the development of these focus areas. This development will be consolidated further, with the help of projects like digital library, science, PERN, better and improved laboratories, technology parks and incubators and other kinds of support for research and development. To create a synergy effect from the efforts being made in this sector the Commission also lays great importance on industrial linkages, as industry is not only the end user of these scientific human resources but a valuable source of feedback for the institutions.

6.9 Industrial Linkages

Pakistan primarily is an importer of technology and industrial products. Its local industry either assembles the imported parts to finish a product or initiates low-tech products. Hence it desperately needs innovative and creative knowledge and know-how to boost its local industry. The HEC is of the view that by releasing the intellectual powers of research institutions to our industrial needs we can come up with indigenous solutions.

The focus on industrial linkages will not only complement the efforts being made in the focus areas but will also turn our universities into local resource centers. For this purpose the Commission has formed a 'National Steering Committee' on university and industry linkage. In addition to this twelve sector committees have also been defined to address the individual needs of each sector, so as to cater more effectively to their needs.

6.9.1 Technology Parks

Translating ideas into products and solutions through research technology parks in the close vicinity of universities is a successful experience in many developed countries. These parks provide a dedicated, fully serviced environment to engineers and scientists to develop products, designs and solutions akin to relevant needs. National Technology Incubator (NTI) project is one step in this direction. Through this project the commission wants to create a synergy effect emanating from 21 science and technology and 34 agriculture research establishments operating in the public and private sector in Pakistan.⁵⁹

However, the role of industry in helping and promoting research and development activities through higher education has been poor. This is evident from the fact that our chambers of commerce and industry have no linkage whatsoever with our universities, specially engineering and agricultural, which can almost certainly come up with indigenous solutions to our local problems or needs. In a country like ours, there are two types of industries, national or local and multi-national or international. The first is mainly run by those whose majority hardly attends institutions of higher learning and their sole emphasis has been on relying upon imported technology and solutions for their profit maximization. The latter, having their principals in some of the technologically advanced countries, prefers finding solutions in their countries of origin or in other developed parts of the world.

This intervention, though innovative, will take some years to render yield. The HEC, understanding the situation, believes that entrepreneurship is not always a success story. For this purpose the Commission is supportive of subsidized research and development facilities through a dedicated venture capital fund so that a researcher is not worried about the commercial outcome of his research.

6.10 Quality Assurance

The mushrooming of institutions of higher learning in the country posed serious problems in managing the right number of able faculty, and raised issues and concerns in ensuring quality, especially in the private sector. The rapid growth in population and a growing business class has resulted in an increased demand for degrees. Most parents being uneducated themselves did not know what was good education and what was not. Their primary focus was on ornamenting their offspring with degrees for want of social compatibility and for being successful in the job market.

According to a newspaper article titled “HEC plans to expose dubious universities once again” by Khawar Ghuman (Daily Dawn December 12, 2005 p.14). In Pakistan barring a few private institutions, most of them in the recent past entered the field to exploit higher education as an industry and not as a service to humanity and the nation. Many of these institutions got their charters from one of the provinces, Azad Jammu and Kashmir or the federal government. After getting the same they either opened up campuses in other provinces and cities by themselves or even went to the extent of franchising (affiliating) local private institutions of other areas.

This commercial activity brought about a considerable threat to the whole process of higher education. It is worth mentioning here that some even went to the extent of bringing in foreign collaborations which were either with substandard private institutions overseas or were just in name (ghost) and the prime purpose of some of the local collaborators was to fleece money from those who could not get admission in the public or good private sector universities and from amongst the remaining private sector universities and degree awarding institutions that preferred degrees from foreign institutions having presence in Pakistan. Most of the students who got admission in these institutions had secured low grades in their previous examinations and were ineligible for admission to good ones.

In the present international scenario, where trained and educated human beings have become ‘human capital’ on the balance sheet of business concerns and where hectic efforts are being made to allow the free movement of business produce and resources around the world, a greater need for ensuring quality in education in general and higher education in particular is felt. UNESCO “Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-Border Higher Education”, Paris (2005) warn of ‘disreputable providers’ (p-39). The guidelines emphasize,

“...the need for additional national initiatives, strengthened international cooperation, and networking, and more transparent information procedures, and systems of quality assurance accreditation and the recognition of qualifications. These efforts should have a global range and should emphasize supporting the needs of developing countries to establish robust higher education systems. Given that some countries lack comprehensive frameworks for quality assurance, accreditation and the recognition of qualifications, capacity-building should form an important part of

the overall strengthening and coordination of national and international initiatives.”⁶⁰

When the Commission was formed this menace of substandard institutions and degrees was at its worst. The situation in public sector institutions had also deteriorated primarily on account of having very little budgetary allocations from the government, and also because of encouragement for raising finances from “self finance” schemes for students. Under this scheme students who could not qualify for admission in the morning shift were offered admission in the evening or afternoon shift for a higher fee structure than the morning one. Some public sector institutions also opened up new departments without much planning in order to maximize their income. Information Technology and Business Administration are two money-earning areas, and many public sector universities stepped into them. This led to considerable variation in quality. A graduate of a renowned institution such as the Institute of Business Administration (IBA) Karachi or Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, or Punjab University could hardly be bracketed with graduates of other poorly equipped public sector universities and degree awarding institutes, leave alone international institutions. The same observation is true of graduates of deservedly famous institutions such as the Lahore University of Management Sciences and a few others with other private-sector institutions.

In order to facilitate the general public the HEC was forced to launch a print media campaign under the head “Parent Alert” where it warned students and parents of those institutions being run unlawfully and whose degrees were not recognized by the Commission.

The commission has published criteria for setting up an institution of higher learning. These should go a long way in regulating something that had almost got out of hand.

To enable students and their sponsors find the status of the quality of our institutions of higher learning the commission has recently published the ranking of all universities in Pakistan. Institutions have been ranked according to their resources and infrastructure within their respective categories, viz, General Universities, Engineering Universities, Agriculture Universities and so on.

In order to safeguard quality the Commission has established a Quality Assurance Agency (QAA). Under this agency each Institution will have a Quality Enhancement Cell (QEC) which will ensure observance of quality guidelines in individual institutions. The HEC has also enforced quality criteria for PhD/MPhil studies so that quality is

ensured throughout the process of obtaining a research degree. These criteria are available on the Commission's website.

Stringent rules have also been framed for establishing an institution of higher learning. The purpose is to ensure quality institutions in future.

6.10.1 Performance Evaluation and Monitoring

Taking stock of this serious situation the HEC right from the beginning focused on 'Quality Assurance' as one of its priority areas. In order to fulfill its key function of monitoring the performance of educational institutions the Commission is working on an exercise whereby data regarding faculty, research output, students, disciplines, finances, infrastructure, laboratories, libraries, sports, students' services and facilities, examination systems, linkages and collaborations is being collected to grade all public and private institutions of higher learning. For engineering universities the commission is working in collaboration with the Pakistan Engineering Council to adopt international quality metrics.

This activity will not only help the government gauge the standing of each institution but will also enable students and their parents to find suitable institutions for their academic pursuits. However when this exercise completes, issues will come up regarding the efficiency and transparency of the system through which this grading takes place, as it will bring to light what has been hidden in the dark so far. Many will disagree with the outcome of such an exercise because this perhaps is the first time in the history of our country that this kind of evaluation and grading is being carried out.

In another attempt the Federal Cabinet in February 2002 laid down criteria for all universities and degree awarding institutes to follow. The criterion focuses on the availability of minimum resources required for establishing or running an institution of higher learning. Those existing, who do not fulfill it, are required to do so latest by the year 2007 that is within 5 years of the decision of the cabinet. Similarly, all new institutions will only be given a charter upon satisfactory compliance of this criteria. 'Guidelines for the establishment of a new university or institution of higher learning in the private sector' are available for the guidance of sponsors.

To complement the aforementioned efforts for ensuring quality the commission has also devised a mechanism similar to the one adopted by the former UGC whereby it gives Equivalence and Recognition of Degrees issued by various institutions at home and

abroad. To ensure quality within the institutions 'Quality Enhancement Cells' are being established, each working under a Dean, so as to bring valid quality standards in all institutions.

'National Computing Education Accreditation Council' (NCEAC) is another step to ensure quality in computing degree programs in our educational institutions of higher learning. Through this council the commission will look after the matters pertaining to accreditation of institutions, their departments, faculties and disciplines. The NCEAC will periodically evaluate, scrutinize and monitor the standards followed in different universities, degree awarding institutions and their affiliate colleges offering computing degree programs. It would also require an institution to meet certain defined standards or criteria. Accreditation by NCEAC shall be mandatory for all public and private institutions offering programs in computing.⁶¹

6.11 Higher Education Sector Reforms

The task force on higher education followed by the steering committee for the purpose, both had given importance to the issue of governance and management in our institutions of higher learning, especially university governance and management. The Task Force on Higher Education (2002) recommends that:

“...universities as pillars of higher education system must have autonomy from all extraneous influences, so that they can govern and manage their academic, administrative and financial functions. Particularly universities must have autonomy to develop their academic programs, recruit, assess and develop their faculty; and select, train and educate their students. The present organizational structure, including senates and syndicates, has too many weaknesses, the principal one of which is an inadequate separation of governance from the functions and responsibilities of management”.⁶²

Though the Medium Term Development Framework 2005-10 under the heading Developing Leadership, Governance and Management⁶³ does make some mention of the issue of governance and management, it lacks clarity of vision and a follow up strategy whereby this issue of prime importance will be solved especially in line with the new interventions being made by the Commission in all sections of higher education.

In its annual report of 2004-05 the Commission while introducing 'Governance' writes, "Governance embraces all methods that societies use to distribute power and manage public resources and problems efficiently, effectively and in accordance with the needs of society." It further says, "Good governance is a crucial element of the quality culture of both systems and institutions of higher education". Ascertaining the need for good governance practices the report says, "Promoting governance in higher education is a key factor in improving the services delivered through the universities in Pakistan to all stake holders." Having said that, the Commission then outlines its own priorities in the field of Governance. While giving its own plan of action the report further says,

"The HEC focuses primarily on Administrative Governance based on the principles of public participation, transparency and accountability to achieve organizational targets and objective in best possible manner within the organization, as well as Degree Awarding Institutes to establish similar working parameters of good governance and management to execute policies and strategies developed and promoted by the HEC".⁶⁴

The Commission has developed a *Governance Matrix* whereby it requires institutions in the public sector to follow various guidelines and policy decisions. The key feature of this activity is to monitor compliance to the guidelines given in the matrix for future funding.⁶⁵

Table 13

Ref. #	Policy Guideline
25	Adoption of Quality Assurance Parameters for PhD/MPhil Programmes by the Universities/Degree Awarding Institutes
2	Placement of HEC's Notice Boards in each Department of the University
4	Introduction of 4-years Undergraduate Programme in all Departments of University (intimation of Definite time frame for compliance)
5	In case of breakdowns in terms of PERN Connectivity – Universities should log on their complaints on the Customer Fault Management System (CFMS) with NTC
9	Rules for Promotion from BPS 20 to 21 and from 21 to 22 (Proposed Statutes regarding Promotion to Meritorious Professor (BPS 21 and 22)

13	Criteria for appointment and promotion of faculty members in Universities in Pakistan (Arts & Design, Clinical Medical Science, and Law)
14	University – Industry Interaction, Establishment of Industry Liaison Cell and development of required programmes
18	Submission of PC-IV for the projects completed in 2002-03 and 2003-04 and transfer of recurring liability to the revenue budget
20	Computerization Projects of Universities (availability of 15-30 computers for general use of students and faculty in the Central Library and availability of computer since every department with high speed internet connections)

Meetings of the Commission are being held regularly to monitor progress of existing policy and formulation of new ones. A mechanism for *appointment of Vice Chancellors* for federal universities has been devised and is being practiced. Following are the steps required under the new procedures to select VCs.⁶⁶

- HEC will forward names of proposed members of Vice Chancellor Search Committee to be approved by the Chancellor:
- HEC will advertise the position of the Vice Chancellor:
- The Search Committee will short-list and interview candidates:
- The Search Committee will forward 3 names to the Chancellor for consideration:
- The Chancellor may appoint any of the proposed persons or ask for a fresh panel of names:
- The Powers of removal of the Vice Chancellor under the conditions determined by the Chancellor will lie with the Chancellor.

The Provincial Governments are also in the process of adopting this.

Monitoring of projects and programs is a regular feature which enables the Commission to find out the execution status of various

schemes by the Institutions. In the year 2004-05, 232 development projects were monitored.⁶⁷

The Commission itself is in the process of adopting best practices. In this context the agency has introduced *Business Automation System* which provides for an accrual-based double-entry accounting system, human resource management, inventory management, fixed assets management and project management. To keep abreast with new technology based changes special importance is being given to the training of employees. With these interventions in place, the Commission is now on its path to attain ISO 9000 certification so that its processes and procedures are in line with international standards and are open to third party validation.

To achieve success in all these core areas the Commission has, to quite an extent, developed and is still in the process of developing matching infrastructure support, be it in gadgetry or in human inputs. To monitor its internal working a *Senior Management Committee* has also been formed.

6.12 Conclusion

From the contents of this chapter it transpires that the necessary areas identified by various policies and plans are being taken care of. The Commission has formulated strategies which focus on both short term and long term remedies. For the first time in the history of this country, there appears to be a strong presence of the commitment of the Government which was absent before the year 2000. Adequate financial resources are being made available to this sector both at the national level as well as at the international level. In the short term, immediately required infrastructure is being provided and short courses for faculty development are being offered. In the long run the Commission is hopeful of getting the desired number of PhD faculty through its various indigenous and overseas scholarships and fellowships.

Special attention is being given to quality research. Laboratories and libraries are being strengthened. Better pay packages and service structure have been adopted to attract the best talent. Attempts are also being made to ensure quality of admissions, study and examinations. Curricula of many disciplines have either been revised or are under revision. Procedures have been laid down for appointments of Vice Chancellors and measures have been adopted to ensure the existence of real institutions rather than dubious ones.

In the past we have noticed that the implementation of various strategies was either ineffective or no effort was made to study the effects of such processes. The present study gives special importance to the phenomenon of Implementation and its analysis so that weaknesses of the process could be brought to light and strengths could be capitalized. The next chapter presents a framework of implementation, which will help us gauge the present strategy of the Higher Education Commission.

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7

Implementation

In the previous part of this study the researcher has tried to paint a picture of the past of higher education in Pakistan. Starting from the constitutional provisions for government's obligation to promote education in general and higher education in particular an attempt has been made to study various educational policies and plans, and their failure to achieve the set objectives. This led to the poor performance of this sector in the past. This historical framework provides basis of answer to question one i.e. **1. *What were the factors responsible for establishment of HEC?***

The past depicts a series of attempts but with little success. This nation took a fairly long time to frame a constitution and that too was not very favourable to education. It did not guarantee education neither did it make it obligatory upon the Government to do so. This was followed by a succession of policies and plans, each representing the wishes of rapidly changing political or long lasting military governments. They were basically incremental in nature, and there was little evidence of firm commitment, either financial or administrative, to the achievement of policy objectives. Every policy was followed by a plan to achieve policy objectives and goals, but with meager financial allocations. However, although adequate funding is a crucial factor, the mere presence of money is not a guarantee of success. It has been observed that even when better financial resources were allocated, the higher education sector failed to absorb them on account of its poor capacity.

This situation continued until the end of the twentieth century. Fifty years of independence found the higher education sector in serious trouble. The country's institutions of higher learning were performing poorly, leaving the country incapacitated to develop its most important resource i.e. the human resource. Luckily the dawn of this century has seen, for the first time, a serious effort and resolve on the part of the government to reform higher education. While efforts are underway it is worthwhile to see whether the present effort is fully cognizant of various weaknesses of the past, especially an absence of the implementation mechanism as envisaged by various leading writers

on the subject, or is there still a danger in sustaining the present reform.

This chapter will enable the researcher to draw a theoretical framework from the literature discussed in this chapter whereby the present strategy will be analysed and a criteria will be set for evaluation. The present selection and its analysis will also provide answer to the second research question i.e. **2. Will HEC succeed in reforming Higher Education without an explicit implementation plan?**

The present chapter will attempt to delineate a theoretical framework as a backdrop for a critique of the directions that have emerged from the present study. In essence this represents a case study of the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan, with special emphasis on implementation.

In this chapter the researcher will look into implementation theories. The essential elements of these approaches will be brought to the foreground on which the researcher will base his experiences of implementation of public policies in the Pakistani situation, particularly with reference to the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan.

The researcher will also discuss views given by eminent scholars on the subject of implementation theories for a better understanding of this phenomenon. Against this backdrop the researcher will conclude the chapter with remarks on the insights gained from these theories and how they are linked with the present research.

Hupe and Hill¹ while expressing their views on the subject say that there was a period of intense but indeterminate debate on the whole question of implementation until the publication of Pressman and Wildavsky's book in 1973. The question was raised as to whether implementation was an issue of the past, and the answer was an emphatic 'no.' Implementation remains a valid subject of study—it is clear that ideation, conceptualizing, theorizing and planning amount to very little unless they are brought out into the light of day as objective facts through sustained, realistic and viable procedures of implementation.

7.1 Implementation

To begin with, the researcher would like to outline implementation as discussed by Pressman and Wildavsky in their seminal work Implementation., first published in 1973.

In the preface to the first edition of their work these two authors give a reference to a book "Oakland Not For Burning." The book suggested that the city was saved from riot and ruin by the infusion of 23 million dollars in federal funds. This was because it created minority employment which in turn sent out a message of hope to a troubled nation. The Economic Development Administration (EDA) program was deemed worthy of imitation. This initiative was taken up by Pressman and Wildavsky to study from the perspective of implementation.

Elements that are essentially self explanatory were ruled out as they needed no further investigation. Everyone agreed that the program was much needed and necessary funds were available at the right time. The weaknesses in the implementation of the EDA program in Oakland were of a fundamental nature. For example, agreements (among a number of participants) had to be maintained after they were reached, numerous approvals and clearances had to be obtained from a variety of participants, and hidden difficulties in apparently ordinary circumstances were to be identified which could pose serious problems and hindrances in the smooth implementation of plans.² Pressman and Wildavsky³ say: "People...appear to think that implementation should be easy...they are therefore upset when expected events do not occur or turn out badly." This is a surprisingly accurate articulation of the researcher's personal experience about the HEC's strategies for bringing about reforms in higher education in Pakistan. He expects that the Oakland experience can provide valid insights and modalities for the present study.

This brings the researcher to the key operative principles of implementation, which according to Webster and Roget⁴ are; to produce; do; carry out; perform; execute; achieve; accomplish; complete; effectuate; realize; bring about. The simple term encompasses almost all aspects of completing a project or a program.

Another question arises—'what is to be implemented?' According to Pressman and Wildavsky⁵ to begin implementation we must have an object like a policy or plan. A policy or plan should have an inbuilt mechanism for implementation. How do we then distinguish between a policy and its implementation?

The term policy is mostly used while referring to decisions, but it can also mean a statement of intention. For example, the present government's policy is to raise the standard of higher education. The term policy takes on a broader spectrum including both means and ends. It also mirrors our actual behaviour, like when we use it in the following sense. Our policy is to discourage indigenous PhDs, it means that we actually do it. In both the aforementioned examples there is no

mention of how this is done. When the “how” is missing it means there is no mention of implementation. When objectives include a detailed description of viable procedures for reaching desired goals, implementation as a complementary phase of execution becomes unnecessary. Yet even within the best drawn up plans and policies, a meticulous description of procedures for the attainment of goals will be incomplete or unrealistic in some of its formulations. Even if most of the concrete steps in implementation are foreseen in fair detail, these can still be hampered by intangibles such as moods, attitudes, likes, dislikes or internal politics. It is impossible to anticipate all exigencies. Pressman and Wildavsky⁶ say:

“We can work neither with a definition of policy that *excludes any implementation* nor one that *includes all implementation*. There must be a starting point. If no action is begun implementation cannot take place. There must also be an end point. Implementation cannot succeed or fail without a goal against which to judge it...” (researcher’s emphasis)

They further their argument by citing the Oakland program,

“If x is done at time t1, then y will result at time t2”

The hypothesis here is that if the federal government through EDA provides 23 million dollars in loans and grants to enterprises in Oakland for creating jobs for minorities, then a potentially volatile situation will come under control. Hence implementation will result in the ability to achieve the desired objectives after the initial conditions are met. The catch phrase in accomplishing the objective is, “initial conditions being met”.

However implementation does not refer to creating the initial conditions. Pressman and Wildavsky⁷ say “it does not refer to get going but the inability to follow through”. In their words: “implementation may be viewed as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieving them”.

They go on to differentiate between a program and a policy. A program can be seen as a system in which each element is dependent on the other. Without funding no facilities can be provided hence no new jobs can be created and no minority personnel can be hired to fill them. A break down at one stage must be repaired before moving to the next. The stages are related from back to front as well as from front to back. Failure to agree on procedures may lead the government to

withhold funds, thus halting the process. Program implementation can, in such a situation, become a 'seamless web'.

Policies on the other hand imply theories. They point to a chain of cause and effect between initial condition and future consequences. Policies become programs when the authorities create the initial conditions for x to exist. Implementation then is the ability to forge subsequent links in the causal chain to obtain the desired results.⁸

As regards implementation Pressman and Wildavsky are of the view that we over simplify our working definition of implementation at the earlier stages of the program, but that with the passage of time, circumstances change altering our initial goals. When the program is under way, implementation becomes the responsibility of both the initial conditions and the means for achieving the objectives. The more complex and lengthy the procedures the more complex is the process of implementation.⁹

Implementers must be conscious of the steps involved in implementation. For example, (a) who has to start implementation? In our case this entails both the HEC and the individual universities; (b) whose consent is required to continue it? In our case this is the federal government; (c) how many participants are involved? (d) how long do they normally take to act? And so on.

The relationship between these steps is gauged through the number of times an act of agreement has to be registered for the program to continue. This is called a decision point. The next step being that at each instance a separate participant is required to give his consent. This can be called a clearance. Adding up the number of clearing points involved throughout the program gives a clear indication of the complex nature of implementation. When objectives are not realized it is assumed that implementation was faulty. Another assumption is that expectations were set too high.

To conclude, the process of implementation includes the setting of realistic goals towards which implementation is directed by paying special attention to the steps and the actors involved in carrying out the process. For example, from top federal officials who naturally hope for high accomplishments, to those who must implement them, like career bureaucrats and local participants, many of whom are characterized by high needs but low cohesion.

The study of implementation requires understanding that apparently simple sequences of events depend on complex chains of

reciprocal interaction. Hence to separate policy from implementation design can be fatal for the success of a program.

This preamble has been given to present the researcher's position as an insider who is familiar with the working of the HEC and public sector institutions (the subject of the present study). He expects the Oakland case to provide a solid base for analyzing the implementation strategy of the HEC. There is a considerable overlap of references, even though the two programs differ in basics— the Oakland project tried to create jobs in order to stave off a looming crisis, while the HEC is trying to reform higher education in a third-world setting. Despite these differences, the Oakland project yields enough by way of a workable theoretical framework to act as a model for the HEC program, as both of them work essentially on a top-down formula, and both have similarities in the diversity of actors or implementers. Moreover both the programs had/have adequate funding.

This leads the researcher to explore various theories of implementation so that a conceptual framework for analysis of the present data could be established by which conclusions can be drawn and recommendations made.

7.2 Theories of Implementation

Leading writers on this subject have given two primary models or approaches for the policy implementation mechanism at the bureaucratic level. One is a top-down approach suggested by writers such as Pressman and Wildavsky (1973:1984) in their book Implementation. The other is a bottom-up approach suggested by Michael Lipsky (1980) in his book Street Level Bureaucracy. Top-down and bottom-up approaches are followed by a concept of 'synthesizing' or 'comparing alternative methodologies' (Elmore 1978; Hill and Hupe 2002) where a mix of both is advocated.

7.2.1 Top-down

The top-down approach is described by Pressman and Wildavsky in their seminal work Implementation (1973). This book is based on the 1968 Economic Development Administration's employment effort in Oakland, USA and the problems it faced in a top-down policy implementation mechanism. It discusses in detail how great expectations in Washington (the Capital of USA) are dashed in Oakland (the project's place of execution). This model works on a top-down approach in which policy decisions taken at the highest level pass through a complex chain of command, which might also need inputs from relevant agencies outside that chain. The chief proponents

of the top-down approach were Pressman and Wildavsky, and their ideas were developed by Van Meter and Van Horns (1975), Bardach (1977), Gunn (1978), Sabtier & Mazmanian (1979) and Hogwood & Gunn (1984) among others.

Pressman and Wildavsky present a model based on synchronization. According to them once the “if stage of the policy hypothesis is met” a program follows as an authorization of governmental actions to achieve them (implementation). As mentioned earlier, implementation according to these two writers is the interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieving them. A program is a system of interdependent elements at different stages which are related from back to front and front to back in a seamless web. They believe that during the course of execution of a program implementation becomes responsible for both the initial conditions and the intended objectives or outcomes. Hence, “the longer the chain of causality”, the more numerous the reciprocal relationships among the links (researcher’s emphasis) and “the more complex implementation becomes.” As pointed out earlier, this leads the writers to formulate questions such as the following:

- a) Who had to act to begin implementation?
- b) Whose consent was required to continue it?
- c) How many participants were involved?
- d) How long did they take to act?

For Pressman and Wildavsky each vital agreement (among implementers) is a ‘decision point,’ and every individual consent is a ‘clearance’. Adding more and more clearances and decisions points can add to the complexity of a program’s implementation. For this particular reason they warn of the complexity of joint action where many agencies and individuals are involved in the process of ‘implementation’. Here, the relevance of ‘ends’ and ‘means’ becomes evident. If there is a disagreement on ends, means will not facilitate accomplishment: and if implementers agree on ends, then ‘means’ can provoke quarrels thereby affecting the process of implementation.

In a situation where there is no dispute on ends (as is the case in our present study) Pressman and Wildavsky provide a list of following reasons where participants may agree with ends but still oppose the means to achieve them.¹⁰

1. *Direct Incompatibility with Other Commitments* - stakeholders/participants may agree with the merits of a proposal but find that it is incompatible with other organizational goals.
2. *No Direct Incompatibility, but a Preference for other Programs* - this greater liking for one program over another can also lead to serious complications.
3. *Simultaneous Commitments to other Projects* - a great many projects being handled by the same set of people can also have a variance in priority which can cause delay for one and timely execution of another, or participants may agree with a proposal, have no contradictory commitments, and not prefer an alternative program, but they may have other pressing projects of their own that demand time and attention.
4. *Dependence on others who lack a sense of urgency in the project* - in the course of implementing a project, individuals or organizations may be called on because of their expertise or jurisdictional authority. Yet they may lack a sense of urgency about the overall program.
5. *Difference of opinion on leadership and proper organizational roles* - participants who agree about a program's goals may nevertheless disagree about which people or organizational units should be running the program.
6. *Legal and procedural differences* - the effect of legal and procedural differences among actors and various actions of a program implementation.
7. *Agreement coupled with lack of power* - people down the chain of command or stake holders may agree with a proposition or program but might not have the power to help.
8. *Decision Points* - increase in decision points will not only slow down the implementation process but will complicate the system by bringing in a variety of actors.

Going through the aforementioned reasons the researcher concludes that implementation in a top-down model is more about formation of workable teams of implementers or participants.

Michael Hill¹¹ while commenting on the work of these authors says,

“They argue that if actions depend upon a number of links in an implementation chain then the degree of cooperation required between those agencies to make those links effective has to be very close to a 100% if a situation is not to occur in which a number of small deficits cumulatively create a large shortfall.”

In the researcher’s opinion this aspect of involving the implementation actors in HEC’s policies is very relevant.

In order to keep it close to 100% Hill further suggests the following to the policy makers so as to forge greater co-operation among implementers:¹²

- a) Keep policy unambiguous:
- b) Devise simple implementation structures, with as few links in the implementation chain as possible:
- c) Effectively control implementation actors: and
- d) Prevent outside interference with the policy process.

By keeping the aforementioned in view Hill believes, it becomes easy to successfully implement programs. As implementation is about means and means involve participants, therefore the above suggestions, which focus primarily on implementers, can serve as a helpful advice to policy makers.

The top-down approach works on the model of gravitational pull which facilitates or makes it imperative upon objects to travel from the top downwards. This theory proposes that decisions made at higher levels travel downwards, expecting each stage or link to play its part in conformity with the overall scheme of things as means for achieving the ends of policy objectives. The links or parts of this process are required to work in a systematic fashion, somewhat like the engine of a motor car where accurately synchronized actions are required in order to produce useful power.

An apt example of this can be a government’s realization and commitment to school education. For this purpose governments make plans, allocate budgets, build schools, provide books and furniture, hire teachers and support staff and offer admissions, often on subsidized fee structures to ensure greater access to children from all segments of society. For this to work successfully the aspirations of policy or plan makers must be clear and known to everyone. The bureaucratic

structure including the ministries and supporting organizations and individuals at all levels which form the chain of implementers must be fully sensitized to the policy and plan. Hence it lays stress on the consenting and sympathetic role of participants.

If implementation is about means (actions of actors) to achieve ends or goals, then there is a slim possibility of effective qualitative or quantitative change in the outcomes if near-perfect harmony of actions and intent is not present among the implementers. In this backdrop we learn that we need a greater degree of agreement or consensus among various participants.

A consensus based implementation (an ideal phenomenon) is likely to yield better results than one with overt or covert quarrels (among actors) on means. In this setting implementation takes a prime role in the fulfillment of desires and aspirations of people by their governments. By the same token it is equally important for both public and governments to have implementable policies for social development and well being.

Michael Hill¹³ is of the view that:

“Classical top-down studies are principally concerned with explaining why a successful outcome does or does not occur, and to do this they (the implementers) need clear goal statements to work with. These may be supplied by the policy makers or imputed by the researchers.”

One learns that in the absence of clearly defined goals, ambiguity makes its presence felt, and with ambiguity comes discretion, another tool used by implementers. With discretion, the individual preferences of those using it become pertinent, and can cause considerable distortion in the intended course of action. Though at times it can be used to save time and effort, it also allows personal biases and preferences of actors to affect the implementation process. The participants of a program must have very clearly defined goals and means to achieve them. A complexity of situation in the implementation process in a top-down approach can produce conflict among implementers, and in the presence of ambiguity (if any) the whole process is likely to get out of hand.

While quoting Matland's use of 'ambiguity' and 'conflict' Michael Hill¹⁴ says,

“Clearly, ambiguity tends to make the delegation of discretion likely... Conflict, on the other hand implies a desire to control. Actors claiming hierarchical rights will seek to assert them and this will be particularly evident in the absence of consensus...”

So another plus to implementation is ‘consensus’ on which depends success of programs and this can only be achieved if the goals and means to achieve them are defined to the extent of simplicity.

This brings us to the theory presented by Meter and Horn. While discussing their theory Hill and Hupe¹⁵ comment,

“Their approach is comparatively simple: they suggest that there is a need to take into account the amount of change required and the level of consensus. Hence they hypothesize that ‘implementation’ will be most successful where only marginal change is required and goal consensus is high.”

Coming back to Pressman and Wildavsky¹⁶ we observe that they have therefore laid more emphasis on reasons affecting actors’ behavior than on other factors like financial and physical resources because for them once a policy is formulated, implementation is more about the actions and intentions of actors implementing it than anything else. Therefore, they suggest lesser number of decision points so that greater chances of consensus can exist and lesser time is spent on decision making and clearances, (a key point in the researcher’s opinion). HEC has clearly tapped the financial aspect in order to bring about the desired change. But very little attention has been paid to the actions, intentions and attitudes of implementers who are responsible for bringing about the desired change. In the researcher’s opinion “consensus” which to all these writers/researchers is vital for effective implementation, is one of the missing links.

Fred R. David a leading writer on strategic management says,¹⁷

“...the real value of any resource allocation program is in the resulting accomplishment of an organization’s objectives. Effective resource allocation does not guarantee successful strategy implementation because programs, personnel,

controls and commitments must breathe life into the resources provided.”

In the case of the present study the HEC has the required financial resources, what needs to be seen is how well do the other factors blend into the scheme of things. While discussing Pressman and Wildavsky’s “rational model” approach they say the model presents a set of principles like: policy sets goals where as implementation research is concerned with considering the factors which make the achievements of those goals difficult. However by the time the second addition came to the market, Wildavsky had back tracked from this model in so far as he looked upon Implementation as an “evolution”.

Implementation is approached in terms of learning, adaptation and exploration Meter and Horn’s contribution to the literature consists in moving forward from the general approach of Pressman and Wildavsky and developing a theoretical framework. They were guided by three bodies of literature:¹⁸

- a) Organization theory and particularly work on organizational change- they recognize the importance of the concerns about organizational control in sociological work influenced by Max Weber plus Crozier’s study of bureaucratic resistance to change.(1964) and Etzioni’s analysis of forms of compliance (1961):
- b) Studies of the impact of public policy in the backdrop of judicial decisions, like factors that influenced responses to US Supreme Court ruling on school prayers (1971): and
- c) Some studies of inter governmental relations, particularly work of Derthick (1970,1972) and Pressman and Wildavsky.

Meter and Horn’s presentation of their theoretical perspective begins with the need to classify policies in terms of different aspects that will throw light upon implementation difficulties.

They see implementation as a process that begins from the top and takes into its folds actions taken by Public/ Private individuals/groups who are responsible for achieving the goals set by decisions taken prior to policy, formulation.

They are of the opinion that the study of implementation be conducted longitudinally. Relationships identified at one point in time must not be extended to other time periods. There is clearly a top-down approach. Nevertheless they do recognize the importance of

participants as far as compliance and consensus are concerned in the policy formation by subordinate. The difference in the bottom-up approach and Meter and Horn's theoretical perspective is that they seek participation at a prior policy formation stage. Meter and Horn's model provides a valuable starting point for various studies aiming at giving directions to those who study implementation as opposed to providing prescription for policy makers.

In 1977 another American, Eugene Bardach in his book The Implementation Game while reviewing early contributions to the existing literature added case study material of his own. In this book a top-down perspective embracing recognition of the inevitability of interference with pre-set goals has been discussed. Bardach suggests that implementation process needs to be perceived as involving 'games'. His advice/ recommendation is related to the need for great care in the 'scenario writing process' to structure the game in the right way to achieve the desired outcome. The other prescription from Bardach is that attention needs to be given to "fixing the game." The term "fixing" is used here in the dual colloquial sense of "mending" (as in, "he had the door fixed") and of "cheating" (as in, "he is a fixer"). These observations are taken from the earlier part of his book related to the work of a Californian politician, Frank Lanterman, who was linked to the promotion of mental health reform in his state. Lanterman was not satisfied to be a mere promoter of reform, he handled the assigned task with day to day involvement in its implementation, removing practical obstacles to change, to influence appointments and to promote additional legislation where necessary.

In Bardach's work implementation is a "political" process, and successful implementation from a "top-down" perspective must involve a follow through. In his later work Getting Agencies to Work Together (1998), Bardach places greater emphasis on informal factors, seeing street-level workers as "craftsmen" with a commitment to their work who must be brought together whenever collaboration is required, by encouraging a shared approach to problem-solving.¹⁹

On the subject of implementation Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979), two American scholars, have made considerable contribution to the existing literature related to the top-down perspective. The starting point for Sabatier and Mazmanian is the expectation of analyzing the implementation of a "top-level" policy decision and then asking questions like:²⁰

- a) To what extent were the actions of implementing officials and target groups consistent with that policy decisions?

- b) To what extent were the objectives attained over time, that is to what extent were the impacts consistent with the objectives?
- c) What were the principal factors affecting policy outputs and impacts, both those relevant to the official policy as well as other politically significant ones?
- d) How was the policy reformulated over time on the basis of experience?

Looking at these questions we see that a distinction is being drawn between policy formulation and policy implementation, plus recognition of a feedback process. The last question related to policy reformulation over a period of time, can perhaps be taken as a starting point for the study of a new implementation study.

Factors including implementation process are compartmentalized under three headings:²¹

- a) Factors affecting the “tractability of the problem”:
- b) Non-statutory variables affecting implementation: and
- c) The ability of the statute to structure implementation.

Both a methodology involving the identification of factors that will cause difficulties and factors that may be controlled and recommendations to the top about steps to be taken to control implementation, have a similarity with the views expressed by Hogwood and Gunn, two British writers. The pragmatic approach to implementation is reflected in their book, Policy Analysis for the Real World (1984). Hogwood and Gunn offer propositions that can be taken as recommendations to policy makers. These are that policy makers should ensure;²²

- a. that circumstances external to the implementing agency do not impose crippling constraints;
- b. that adequate time and sufficient resources are made available to the program;
- c. that not only are there no constraints in terms of overall resources but also that, at each stage in the implementation process ,the required combination of resources is actually available;

- d. that the policy to be implemented is based upon a valid theory of cause and effect;
- e. that the relationship between cause and effect is direct and that there are few, if any, intervening links;
- f. that there is a single implementing agency that need not depend upon another agency for success, or, if other agencies must be involved, that the dependency relationships are minimal in number and importance;
- g. that there is complete understanding and agreement of the objectives to be achieved, and that these conditions persist throughout the implementation process;
- h. that in moving towards agreed objectives it is possible to specify, in complete detail and perfect sequence, the task to be performed by each participant;
- i. that there is perfect communication among, and coordination of, the various elements involved in the program; and
- j. that those in authority can demand and obtain perfect obedience.

Hogwood and Gunn confess that it is difficult to attain “perfect implementation” The aforementioned list only sets out conditions that are imperative for the realization of “perfect implementation.” This concept has also been presented by Christopher Hopal (1976) who suggests:²³

“...one way of analyzing implementation problems is to begin by thinking about what “perfect administration” would be like, comparable to the way in which economists employ the model of perfect competition. Perfect administration could be defined as a condition in which “external” elements of resource availability and political acceptability combine with “administration” to produce perfect policy implementation.”

Hence “perfect implementation” seems to be a purely unquantifiable concept, in practice it bears the connotation that there is an ideal to which we should try to match the real world.

So the top-down theory lays greater emphasis on the knowledge, behavior, actions and commitment of the implementers, in which coordination between the links, that is the actors, is very important. It is only through a synchronized effort that positive results can be achieved. This theory is followed by the bottom-up theory in which opposite approach to top-down is proposed.

7.2.2 Bottom-up

The bottom-up approach is presented by Michael Lipsky who, according to Hill and Hupe²⁴ can be termed as the founding father of the bottom-up perspective. His analysis of the front line staff in policy delivering agencies whom he calls “street level bureaucrats” appeared in an article in 1971, even before the work of Pressman and Wildavsky was published. Later in his book Street Level Bureaucracy (1980) Lipsky presents a model that can be described as bottom-up instead of top-down. The model focuses primarily on functionaries involved in the implementation of public services, such as teachers, police and people associated with the public service. It discusses comprehensively how the implementation of public policy operates at the lowest rung of the bureaucracy. Even though the functionaries such as those mentioned earlier also follow orders from the top, the execution of those orders is not ‘one time’ but recurring. They therefore evolve their own rules and procedures to fulfill their tasks in time, often through a ‘trial-and-error’ approach. In this model they rely more on discretion and circumvention, and find shortcuts to their everyday tasks. In his preface to Street-Level Bureaucracy (1980) Lipsky says:²⁵

“I argue that the routines they establish and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures, effectively becomes the public policy they carry out. I argue that public policy is not best understood as made in legislatures or top-floor suites of high-ranking administrators, because in important ways it is actually made in the crowded offices and daily encounters of street-level workers.”

Lipsky (1980) is of the view that street-level bureaucrats while implementing public policy rely to quite an extent on discretion. In chapter 2 of his book he states that street level bureaucrats are also likely to use existing regulations and administrative provision to by-pass reforms that place restrictions on their discretion. Commenting on Michael Lipsky’s Street-Level Bureaucracy in one of his emails to the researcher, Prof Wieger Bakker of the faculty of law, economics and governance, Utrecht University, Netherlands says, “In this book the author shows how rules (guiding the behavior of the ones who have to

put policy into practice) are working in reality and can lead to different outcomes of policy (even new policies).”

While commenting on the limitations of street level bureaucracy Lipsky²⁶ says,

“People often enter public employment with at least some commitment to service. Yet the very nature of their work prevents them from coming close to the ideal conception of their jobs”.

Hill and Hupe²⁷ while endorsing Lipsky's views argue that this process of street-level policy making does not involve, as might be hoped, the advancement of the ideas many (street level bureaucrats) bring to personal service work but rather the development of practices that enable officials to cope with the pressure they face.

In saying so Lipsky (1980) & Hill (2005) are emphasizing the fact that street-level bureaucracy follows routines which shape and control their behavior rather than their imagination and knowledge that they bring with them. Hence, “they develop methods of processing people in a relatively routine and stereotyped way. They adjust their work habits to reflect lower expectations of themselves and their clients.”²⁸

Lipsky (1980) believes that under the given circumstances and work conditions which include corruption and oppression by the higher bureaucracy, these individuals often enjoy greater discretion and autonomy to choose alternatives with which they believe themselves to be doing the best.²⁹

Michael Lipsky is followed by Elmore (1980), Hjern and Porter (1981) Barrett and Fudge (1981), Hjern and Hull (1982).

Elmore³⁰ in an article “Backward Mapping: Implementation Research and Policy Decisions” says: “Implementation research is long on description and short on prescription”(1979:80.601). Most of it depends on case studies.” Cases focus on a particular sequence of events and a specific set of causes and consequences³¹. While analyzing data collected from these studies writers tend to be cautious and apologetic, so as not to go beyond their data. Hence studies on implementation are mostly vague. In Elmore's opinion “vague advice is better than none.”³² Though there is enough literature on implementation, a lot of it is implicit. Inferences have to be drawn out of it and the possibility of misinterpreting the framework thus presented in these case studies always exists. Elmore (1980) gives two approaches

to implementation analysis: forward mapping and backward mapping. He says,

“Forward mapping begins at the top of the process, with as clear a statement as possible of the policy makers intent, and proceeds through a sequence of increasingly more specific steps to define what is expected of implementation at each level”.³³

He further discusses the subject in the following words, “It begins with an objective, elaborates an increasingly specific set of steps for achieving that objective, and states an outcome against which success or failure can be measured”.³⁴

He goes on to say at the bottom of the process, one states as precisely as possible what a satisfactory outcome would be, measured in the backdrop of the initial statement of intent. Forward mapping related to a federal policy would possibly begin with a statement of congressional intent. The agency regulations, administrative actions to be adopted should be parallel to that intent. Elaborate division of responsibilities between different federal offices, in such a manner that each implementing unit at the regional, local or central location would have a clearly defined mission. It would further state an outcome usually in terms of an observable effect on a target population, consistent with the initial purpose of the policy makers.

On the contrary backward mapping begins at the bottom of things. It shares the notion that policy makers have a desire in effecting the implementation process and the outcomes of policy decisions. However, backward mapping questions the assumption that policy makers ought to/or do exercise influence over what happens in the implementation process. Besides it also questions that explicit policy directives, clear statements of administrative responsibility and well defined outcomes will increase the likelihood of successful policy implementation.

It starts not with a statement, but with a statement of specific behavior. At the lowest level of the implementation process is the situation that generated a need for a policy. Only after that has been described does analysis state an objective. At the last stage of analysis the policy maker describes a policy that directs resources at the organizational units likely to have the greatest effect. It is more about private choices. In the researcher's opinion private choices are often subjective and can lead to conflict between partners. In the case of HEC it is these very private choices that are often criticized by stakeholders.

Elmore too, has talked about 'backward mapping' which he defines as³⁵ "backward reasoning from the individual and organizational choices that are the hub of the problem to which policy is addressed, to the rules, procedures and structures that have the closest proximity to those choices, to the policy instrument available to affect those things, and hence to feasible policy objectives".

In his opinion it is more about making choices from the available alternatives, especially when, "implementation actors are forced to make choices between programs which conflict or interact with each other".³⁶ In a world of social needs these bureaucrats are confronted with a situation where they have to 'serve more with less' and this predicament is also shared by their superiors. While concluding his arguments, Hill says,³⁷

"The conclusion this literature (Lipsky 1980) comes to is that difficult work environments lead to the abandonment of ideals and to the adoption of techniques that enable clients to be 'managed'. Hence, for him also it is the role of implementers which is of prime importance."

Benny Hjern, a Swedish scholar and another proponent of bottom-up theory, developed his approach to the study of implementation basing his work on the experiences gained while working on European employment and training programs in Berlin. His ideas were developed in close association with his associates like David Porter, Kenneth Hanf and Chris Hull. Crucial to his study was the fact that he and his colleagues were studying policies based on interactions between several different organizations. It is important to note that this issue was central to Pressman and Wildavsky's work as well, as it looks at factors that can lead to conflict between different organizations.

Hjern like his colleagues saw activities as within "implementation structures" formed from within pools of organizations and formed through processes of consensual self-selection. Thus causing a 'snowball' effect without predetermining assumptions about the structures.³⁸ Hjern and Hull (1982) argue that the effective study of implementation must be, "organization-theory inclined" in a way that does not privilege any specific actor or set of actors. They suggest that implementation research can handle the issues raised by Lipsky at the end of his book in which he relates new mechanisms of accountability linking street level bureaucrats and the public. Therefore, for Hjern and Hull, it is more of a *team* work (researcher's emphasis) which helps

achieve objectives in a bottom-up approach rather than individual efforts.³⁹

Two, British scholars, Susan Barrett and Colin Fudge entered the debate in the early 1980's. They strongly support Hjern's implementation structure approach. They 'emphasize the notion that much action depends upon compromises between people in various parts of a single organization or *related* organizations (researcher's emphasis). They in particular were influenced by one organization theorist, Anselm Strauss. Quoting Strauss they say, "...wherever there are social orders there are not only negotiated orders but also coerced orders, manipulating orders and the like...".⁴⁰ They go on to ask the following questions;

"First, why, in what circumstances, and with what assumptions are the various models of action utilized? Second, is there a relationship between the utilization of the different modes and the differential power relations between the interacting parties? If there is, then what is the nature of that relationship? And third, are there connections between the different modes of actions?"⁴¹

According to their point of view it is very difficult to separate implementation from policy formation. They offer a formulation that if implementation is seen as 'getting something done' then performance rather than conformance is the main objective and compromise a means of achieving it. Hence this debate on bottom-up and top-down theories brings us to a conclusion that in both theories the implementers hold the center stage and it is only through their being fully cognizant of the policy, its implementation design and a will to develop consensus on forming winning teams that can guarantee successful implementation.

Commenting on these two approaches Jae-Woong Kim while presenting a resource paper at UNESCO International Seminar on Financing and Implementing National Education Plans (2003)⁴² says,

"The top-down approach to educational planning tends to ignore the existence of teachers, students and parents, who should be key players in educational system. By and large, local authorities do not have a say in this style of planning...This approach is likely to face the resistance from those who are effected by the plans, which may make the plans difficult to be implemented.

On the other hand, the bottom-up approach pays more attention to the power at the lower level i.e. students and teachers...This approach allows much freedom at the bottom, but it falls short of the efficiency in planning..."

After presenting the top-down and bottom-up theories, the researcher without advocating the case for one or the other theory at this point in his research, will move on to the work of those scholars who believe that for effective implementation synthesizing of the two approaches would yield better results.

7.2.3 The Synthesizers

The initial arguments between the top-down and bottom-up perspectives is followed by those scholars who believe in synthesizing different theories. According to Hill and Hupe (2002),⁴³ "the debate between the top-down and bottom-up perspectives moved on the efforts to synthesize the approaches, picking out key ideas from each." The first proponent of this idea was Elmore (1978). He believed in comparing alternative methodologies, rather than regarding one approach as being the right one.⁴⁴ His theory has been discussed in the bottom-up approach part of this chapter. He is followed by Scharpf (1978). In an essay Scharpf emphasized that,

"it is likely if not impossible, that public policy of any significance could result from the choice process of any single unified actor. Policy formulation and policy implementation are inevitably the result of interactions among a plurality of separate actors with separate interests, goals and strategies"⁴⁵

The introductory remarks in Scharpf's essay addressed another salient issue of implementation studies. He comments on the problems entailed by the divergence of two theoretical perspectives. He comments:

"Under the first ("prescriptive") perspective, policy making appears as a purposive activity which calls for evaluation of its results in the light of its goals. In terms of the second ("positive") perspective, policy making is an empirical process which calls for an explanation in terms of its causes and conditions."⁴⁶

He goes on to stress the extent to which the prescriptive perspective tends to work with a notion of unitary goals developed by

individuals on consensual groups. He further comments that though in scientific studies regard to prescriptive concerns is not central, public policy making is still the only vehicle available to modern societies for the conscious purposive solution of their problems. Purpose does matter to the actors involved in the policy process. Hence scientific studies in this field cannot disregard it.⁴⁷

Knoke ,1990: M.J Smith, 1993: or Klijn ,1997 had presented similar views thus Scharpf is not the originator of a new idea. In his essay he has put together some critical ideas which had existed in political science and sociology.⁴⁸ Marton Smith venturing on the idea of network argues that:

“The notion of policy networks is a way of coming to terms with the traditionally stark state/ civil society dichotomy... State actors are also actors in civil society, they live in society and have constant contact with groups which represent societal interests. Therefore the interests of state actors develop along with the interests of the group actors and the degree of autonomy that exists depends on the nature of policy networks”.⁴⁹

These theorists value an interactive participatory role for both the state and actors.

Moving on to Sabatier, who initially was the proponent of the top-down approach, in a later essay in 1986 he advocates a collision approach. He concedes to some methodological strengths of the bottom-up approach: For example its effective approach to the study of networks, its strength in evaluating influences on policy outcomes other than government programs, and its value when a number of different policy programs interact. Hence he suggests that choice of methodology might depend on whether there is or is not a “dominant piece of legislation structuring the situation.”⁵⁰

In his more recent work it appears that Sabatier has moved closer to the bottom-up perspective because the advocacy of collision involves stakeholders at all levels.

Elmore, in spite of his emphasis upon bottom-up methodology, can be counted among the first of the synthesizers because of his plea for the use of mixed methods. Elmore in “organizational models of social programs implementation” (1978) quotes the Cuban Missile crisis. He recommends⁵¹ that, in the study of complicated events, it can be beneficial to triangulate accounts, using different theoretical models, to try to achieve a satisfactory explanation of what happened. He defines implementation as systems management, implementation as

bureaucratic process, implementation as organizational development and implementation as conflict and bargaining. He stands out among the early writers on implementation as he addresses the issue of how to study implementation rather than prescribe how to control implementation. He suggests that there may be situations in which policy is best left fluid to be formulated more precisely through implementing activities at the street level.

Since then a number of writers have contributed to this approach which focuses on comparing alternative methodologies rather than relying on any one method. It is interesting to note that Sabatier, initially a proponent of top-down approach, in a later essay and the work that followed, suggests “fusion of various approaches”.⁵² Similarly Elmore, contributor to the bottom-up approach, believes in using mixed methods.

Interestingly the world around us consciously or unconsciously uses a mix of both top-down and bottom-up approaches. Every plan begins or originates from some decision making level and is intended to be implemented by supporting bureaucracy. But it becomes more so when it comes to delivery of social services as the delivery point in social services is exposed to the end users or intended recipients of that service. This is where the strength or weakness, success or failure of the policy culminates. The diversity of human behavior both at the level of recipients as well as tail end implementers comes in play. A bit of ambiguity, discretion, lack of consensus among the implementers and weak communication can bring about major shifts in the intended pattern of implementation. It is indeed this particular phenomenon (of unpredictable human behavior under various situations) that calls for a greater flexibility of approach or a synthesis of approaches so that uncontrollable or unpredictable factors do not have devastating effects on the policy implementation and intended outcomes. This brings the researcher to evaluation another important aspect which as a matter of fact should precede and proceed implementation whereby learning from the past experience should better the present and pave the way for an even better future.

7.3 Evaluation

After discussing various approaches to implementation the researcher finds it imperative to discuss ‘evaluation’ as the most important sequel to implementation of a new program and as a precursor to successive programs of similar nature. In the third edition of the seminal work *Implementation* (1984) Angela Brown and Aaron Wildavsky have contributed a new chapter (9) under the heading “What Should Evaluation Mean to Implementation”.

While commenting on the relationship between implementation and evaluation Pressman and Wildavsky in the preface to the third edition of their book *Implementation* say,⁵³

“Implementation and evaluation are the opposite sides of the same coin, implementation providing the experience that evaluation interrogates and evaluation providing the intelligence to make sense out of what is happening.”

Hence one finds that evaluation falls well within the domain of research and its results can be of great significance to implementation. Peter Rossi and Richard Berk provide a broad description of evaluation research.⁵⁴

“Evaluation research may be conducted to answer questions that arise during the formulation of policy, in the design of programs, in the improvement of programs, and in testing the efficiency and effectiveness of programs that are in place or being considered. Specific policy questions may be concerned with how widespread a social problem may be, whether any program can be enacted that will ameliorate a problem, whether programs are effective, whether a program is producing enough benefits to justify its cost, and so on.”

Angela Brown and Aaron Wildavsky⁵⁵ ask five questions which according to them are crucial to evaluation. They are:

- i. When?
- ii. Where?
- iii. For whom?
- iv. What?
- v. Why?

If we consider the meanings and relevance of these questions in the backdrop of our present study then the following emerge:

1. When to Evaluate? This particular question is considered to be the most crucial as it needs to be done at a time when there is substantial data or knowledge yielding results for better future planning. Hence these can be a “retrospective evaluation” inquiring how well a

program has done in the past, or “prospective” considering how a program is likely to do in the future. If it continues during a program it is “formative”. If it is both formative and retrospective then it is “ongoing”.⁵⁶

With concerns (Chapters 4 & 5) that there hardly was any evaluation at any time, it was the formation of the task force and its recommendations (the only evaluative assessment available) which brought about the present change.

2. The second question relates to the “Where” of evaluation. This includes decisions as to the area of activity and selection of sites to be studied. This too has been a missing element in our policy formulation and program execution which cast its effects on the past of higher education in Pakistan. Though audit of funds by the Auditor General’s office has been a regular feature, somehow it has done very little good to the overall positive effects of evaluation which could have resulted in new attitudes to change in policy.

3. The third question focuses on the “whom” meaning the sponsors or stakeholders. In our case the Government being the sponsor never initiated a process whereby various factors effecting underperformance of this sector could have been taken into account.

4. The fourth important question is the “What” of evaluation. It entails the important factors which need to be measured by evaluation. In the past (chapters 3, 4, & 5) we noticed a complete neglect of this factor. Whether the government, individual institutions, finances or what other factors caused underperformance could not become clear until recommendations of the task force which were not completely based on an evaluation process but were more a result of consultative process among experts of the field.

5. The last question concerns the “Why” of evaluation or in other words the motivation for the study. Unfortunately in the past there always was visible need for evaluation as every plan and policy yielded poor results and there always was a need, in fact a dire need, to evaluate as why was every plan and policy not producing the kind of impact or effect required or desired by the policy makes.

After giving the significance of various questions vital to evaluation the writers suggest separation of implementation from evaluation. Angela Brown and Aaron Wildavsky propose.⁵⁷

“In the world of action, implementation and evaluation are often carried on by the same people –

public officials. They act and observe, observe and act, combining program execution with intelligence about consequences, so as to reinforce or alter behaviour. Doing well or doing badly, hardly conscious of the analytic distinctions involved, participants in policy process act simultaneously as evaluators of the programs they implement and as implementers of the programs they evaluate.”

They further suggest that,⁵⁸

“Implementation might be conceived, following Jan-Erik Lane, as joining the traditional public administration concern with the executive to the newer interest in evaluation. The evaluator collects and analyses data to provide information about program results. The implementers consume this information, using it to check on past decisions and to guide future actions. Implementation is, as we said, about learning from evaluation. It is in their production and consumption of information (that is, learning) that implementers and evaluators engage in complementary relationships.”

From the foregoing one learns that the complementary role of evaluation is of great significance as it provides access to weaker areas which in turn helps policy makers/implementers to correct and improve. It is in this backdrop that the researcher will discuss ‘evaluation’ as one of the key factors for successful implementation of the present reform effort of the HEC.

To conclude their debate Angela Brown & Aaron Wildavsky suggest that where evaluation helps maintain accountability it also produces learning. According to them⁵⁹, “*Learning evaluation* strives to unearth faulty assumptions, reshape misshapen policy designs, and continuously redefine goals in light of new information derived during implementation”.

The researcher feels that this aspect of successful implementation is an important factor, provided it has a tilt towards learning rather than accountability.

7.4 HEC’s Implementation Plan

After discussing the leading theories on implementation the researcher is convinced that a discussion on HEC’s implementation

strategy will be helpful in answering the research questions. For collection of empirical data for this particular study a lot of material was explored on HEC. Where that material yielded adequate empirical data for the present study it stood short of providing a worthwhile implementation plan or strategy. This prompted the inquirer to get in touch with the senior management of the HEC. Hence upon inquiry from the Executive Director HEC, regarding an implementation plan and its type i.e. top-down, bottom-up or synthesis the researcher was told that yes the HEC had an implementation plan. The researcher was further asked to consult the Medium Term Development Framework (MTDF) as it contained the implementation plan of the HEC.

While going through the MTDF 2005-10 the researcher came across reference to implementation strategies which are implicit in nature. The Medium Term Development Framework 2005-10, focuses on the "What"? & the "Why"? but the "How"? aspect is not clearly defined as will become clear from the table of contents of the MTDF (2005-10). It states "The intervention strategies of the Higher Education Commission and the respective implementation plans are expected to lead to improved quality of higher education"⁶⁰ yet no section has been allocated to a precise articulation of the implementation plan. On closer reading the researcher has found that it is implicitly woven into the aims and objectives of the Development plan⁶¹ "To improve the quality of teaching and research support in institutions through targeted programmes". A review of the whole document indicates that the HEC is following a top-down approach. Evidence of this can be seen in "The Role of HEC"⁶² phrases like "HEC will be a key driving force in our central role to evaluate & improve higher education"; "we will balance our priorities," "we will work with institutions through our funding support," and so on.

These phrases indicate that instructions will pass from the HEC to the institutions and the task of the institutions will be to follow those instructions. This is also evident from the Commission's ordinance.⁶³

MTDF states "with the cooperation of the Federal and Provincial Governments will work to ensure that all newly established institutions in both the public and private sector, meet prescribed standards of quality set by the Commission."⁶⁴ How will this be done? The provincial and federal education ministries are not under the HEC. Besides after the establishment of HEC, matters pertaining to "higher education" do not fall under their preview, and universities in the public sector remain autonomous bodies each with the provincial Governor, Prime Minister or the President as their Chancellors.⁶⁵ A detailed discussion on this subject will form part of the proceeding chapter.

Further it is stated “recognizing institutional autonomy”, yet on the contrary the role of HEC is quite authoritative as provided in its ordinance. No mention of how institutional autonomy will be ensured has been made in the document. Under the heading of “Leadership Governance and Management”⁶⁶ a hierarchical top-down approach is seen: it is the HEC that will assist institutions in identifying areas requiring reform, identifying best practices. No mention has been made about “how” the involvement of stakeholders, i.e. institutions and their staff, will be ensured.

On page 54 of MTDf, once again the monitoring role of the HEC is mentioned. Point 3 does indicate a slight bottom-up perspective, but on the whole, the “Development Framework 2005-10”⁶⁷ represents a top-down bent towards implementation without exactly outlining implementation mechanisms (although it gives an indirect reference to how Pakistan Education and Research Network [PERN] will work with universities to provide a modern and effective working environment).⁶⁸

However no separate implementation plan based on theories of implementation has been given in the document. Neither is there any mention of how stakeholders will be taken along at every step of the program, above all the evaluation part of implementation which is the soul of this process, as it provides valid ground for identification, learning and correction, is missing. Though there is a monitoring and evaluation section in HEC but primarily it deals with progress of various schemes and points out the difference between intended and achieved objectives. An analysis of the organogram of the HEC reveals that in their hierarchy of administration there is nobody tasked to evaluate the implementation of various programs, (as a vital field of research especially in the light of various theories) which is the most critical function of a successful implementation process.

Researchers on implementation have talked about a number of factors which are of extreme importance for successful implementation of a project/policy. The researcher has drawn a theoretical framework based on those very factors. He feels that like all other programs the HEC too has an implementation plan which is primarily top-down, the kind of financial allocation required for the present reform has so far been there, there also is a will at the top though not a political one and the implementing agency i.e. HEC has the wherewithal to cope with the reform process. However the researcher is of the view that a successful implementation plan must take care of a number of important factors which can bring success or cause failure to a plan.

7.5 Theoretical Framework

After discussing various approaches to implementation the researcher finds it appropriate to draw a theoretical framework for the present study. It will provide basis for analysis of the empirical data to answer the two research questions. For this purpose, as already mentioned in the earlier part of this chapter, a top-down approach will be adopted to draw a theoretical framework similar to the one drawn by Pressman and Wildavsky for the Oakland case. Before doing so the researcher wants to explore some basic similarities between the HEC as an organization under study and EDA, which provides basis for a theoretical framework for the present endeavour.

Both the organizations replaced the earlier ones. The EDA was established as a successor of Area Redevelopment Agency (ARA) whereas the HEC replaced the erstwhile University Grants Commission (UGC). Both organizations met the initial condition of having adequate finances to make the beginning. The EDA was primarily tasked to create employment opportunities by developing infrastructure which is quantifiable, whereas the task of HEC is to reform higher education by going into the sector with a number of interventions aiming at improvement in quality rather than increase in quantity. The HEC has to deal with 60 public sector universities as a controlling and funding agency and with almost a similar number in the private sector for purposes of quality and establishing legal parameters.

The primary purpose of comparing the two distinct programs is to focus our attention on the implementation process adopted by the EDA. The guidelines provided by the evaluative study of EDA program carried out by Pressman and Wildavsky will form part of theoretical framework against which the implementability of HEC's programs will be judged. However, the EDA program was evaluated with retrospective effect whereas the present effort attempts to show a road map for a formative evaluation so that gaps can be identified and more research can be carried out around those areas in the future.

The researcher's aim is not to draw parallels between the two programs, ie. the HEC and EDA. He takes the Oakland project as a model to test the implementation process. He sees similarities in both to the extent that both programs began with laudable intentions, considerable commitment, and an innovative spirit. The Oakland project showed that "implementation of a large-scale federal project can be difficult indeed even if money (is) duly authorized and appropriated by congress" until there is a uniformity of commitment on the part of all implementers and the nuts and bolts of procedural, legal aspects are taken care of. Similarly, the HEC is a federally approved

project, and funds have been committed with admirable speed. However, the technical details of implementation have proved to be more difficult and more time consuming than the federal donors, local recipients, or enthusiastic observers had ever dreamed. This aspect of HEC's policies is under study by the researcher. For better understanding of the power structure involved in implementing the present strategies of HEC, diagrams (A, B, C & D) have been drawn. They explicitly show the chain of command or facilitators/implementers involved in the execution of higher education reforms in the public sector.

As already discussed in the preceding part of this study higher education in Pakistan has been a concern of the public sector alone until the 1980's. It was only after 1980 that the private sector also entered the arena. From 1980 onwards the country has seen an enormous increase in the number of universities in both public and private sectors. However the private sector is neither a recipient of government funding nor does it rely on rigid bureaucratic structures for decision making.

The beginning of the new millennium has seen an unprecedented effort by the government to revive this sector. Adequate funding has been made available to Higher Education Commission, a body tasked to reform this sector through funding and support in relevant fields, The organization has been established as an autonomous commission to 'circumvent bureaucracy', 'a non bureaucracy' within a bureaucracy⁶⁹ as it has to get funding and other plans approved by the central bureaucracy. Similarly provincial universities have to work within the ambit of their own bureaucracies in addition to those affecting the HEC. In their opinion, "...the creation of an anti bureaucratic unit and the concerted efforts of non bureaucratic men may be able to get a program launched; but as we have seen, launching is not enough..." They further suggest; "If one wishes to assume a reasonable prospect of program implementation, he had better begin with a high probability that each and every actor will cooperate. The purpose of bureaucracy is precisely to secure this degree of predictability..."⁷⁰. In the present situation this is quite relevant as the Commission has been working as an independent entity and is tasked to tackle a number of autonomous institutions, including universities, which are linked with their respective bureaucracies (provincial and federal).

The purpose of touching upon the subject of bureaucracy at this moment is to connect the present situation of HEC with this important phenomenon. As discussed earlier, policies given by

governments are primarily top-down in nature because, (i) they need scapegoats if something goes wrong, and (ii) their administrative structure is naturally conceived and constructed on a top-down model, where orders travel from top to bottom. The researcher will analyze this factor in greater detail in the proceeding part of this study.

The Government of Pakistan (including federal and provincial governments) is no exception. Its policies function on top-down assumptions rather than on bottom-up ones. This statement should not be misunderstood. In almost all public service programs, some bottom-up elements have to be accommodated, and these might lead to a natural synthesis of the two theories. However, insofar as the government's intentions are concerned, most if not all of its policies are formulated on a strictly hierarchical, top-down set of assumptions.

The HEC also receives policy directions from above and then implements them through its own bureaucratic set-up and public sector institutions of higher education in a top-down fashion. The public sector universities too, have a top-down model of implementation. In the light of the situation on the ground in this country, the researcher finds it more appropriate to adapt a theoretical framework from Pressman and Wildavsky's book on Implementation (1984).

The researcher considers it familiar to the present effort of the Government of Pakistan and believes that what others learnt after implementing a mega project (USA's Oakland Project) should be applied to our situation in the formative phase of the program. This he believes will be of use to the implementers and evaluators of the present program and will serve as a starting point to many more studies on various policies in the social arena of Pakistan.

The following have been selected from the works of leading theorists on a top-down approach especially from Pressman and Wildavsky. This, the researcher believes, will help understand the present status of implementation of HEC's strategies, while the analysis will provide answer to the second research question.

1. *Time duration and availability of resources*- that adequate time and financial resources will be available for the implementation/execution of a policy or program until it yields desired results.
2. *Clarity of goals and objectives*- the goals and objectives should be very clearly defined and supported by adequate resources and a follow up strategy.

3. *Difference of opinion on leadership and proper organizational roles* - participants who agree about a program's goals may nevertheless disagree about which people or organizational units should be running the program.
4. *Complexity of Joint Action*. Presence of too many agencies and implementers brings in complexity of joint action. The preference, inclination and interest of implementers can make joint action quite complex hence effecting means to achieve ends.
5. *Consensus*- that there is complete harmony among participants on both ends and means to achieve them.
6. *Evaluation* –retrospective, formative and prospective, yielding learning for better ongoing implementation and improved policy making for future.

7.6 Concluding Remarks

The researcher has discussed the two main theories of implementation. A third one which focuses on synthesis of the two has also been discussed. While discussing these theories the most important single discerning factor that comes to the foreground is the implementer(s). It is their preference, consensus, behavior, knowledge and commitment which will mark the success of a policy through implementation. The following chapter will present descriptive analysis of the present strategies of the HEC with a view to identifying gaps for better handling during the formative phase. The HEC's implementation strategy has also been discussed with a view to show the relevance and importance of the present study.

The objective of the present chapter was to give the concept of implementation as enunciated by different theorists. It was to look at the two main approaches in implementation, the top-down and the bottom-up approach. This overview reveals that writers who had initially advocated one or the other approach shifted from their stance and suggested that an amalgam of the two approaches would result in more effective policy implementation. The notions of implementation presented by different writers helped the researcher to understand the core features of these approaches better, and facilitated him in drawing up a theoretical framework for the present study. The notion one draws from these different studies is that the noun "implementation" is a "doing" word: it revolves around actions being taken and executed. The question that arises is, who takes the decisions and who executes

these decisions to achieve and accomplish the goals? At both ends the involvement of actors is at the core of the issue, thus interaction from the top-downward and vice versa is accentual for effective implementation. The researcher's present study of HEC's strategies will be evaluated from the top-down perspective (as is evident from HEC's ordinance & MTDF) for which he has adopted Wildavsky and Pressman's model, especially in the backdrop of:

- a. Critical features being to distinguish a stage of implementation from a stage of policy when these are intertwined:
- b. There must be a goal against which to judge implementation; the goal and the implementation actions are both part of a process of interaction:
- c. By merging policy and implementation.

Pressman and Wildavsky say unless a policy matter is narrow and preprogrammed the policy will never be able to contain its own consequences. Implementation will always be evolutionary; it will inevitably reformulate as well as carry out policy. In short implementation is a struggle of ideas. An important step towards effective implementation is its evaluation prior to or during its implementation process. Evaluators need to answer five question when to evaluate, where to evaluate, for whom to evaluate, what to evaluate and why to evaluate.

Evaluation can occur at anytime and at any level. It needs to take into account all the stakeholders plus critically examine the efficiency of the selected processes and finally why is the evaluation being carried out and what is its relevance and utilization.

In order to understand the implementation notion better these questions and their answers are significant.

Furthering their views Pressman and Wildavsky say in a report on "governmental learning" Lloyd Etheredge terms an action effective when it generates information that will contribute to constructive change. These changes should be evidenced by increased differentiation of thinking about a problem (recognizing and articulating its elements) and by increasingly coherent articulations of that problem. Good decisions are those based on learning; better decisions are those that bring forth new learning. Learning includes how to realize objectives as well as whether and to what extent they are worth achieving.⁷¹ It also needs to be mentioned that the present attempt will

only identify core areas which will need further study in the backdrop of implementation and its various stages. The researcher finds that there has been (in the past) and there still is a need to have a clear cut implementation strategy not only guiding the present initiative but also to have a mechanism whereby evaluative learning is produced and brought to use for future endeavours of this kind.

The following chapter will present an analysis of the present strategy in the backdrop.

References / End Notes

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⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 185

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 185

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⁵⁷ Ibid. P. 201-2

⁵⁸ Ibid. P. 204

⁵⁹ Ibid. P. 255

⁶⁰ Medium Term Development Framework (2005-10) Higher Education Commission Islamabad. P. 2

⁶¹ Ibid P. 20

⁶² Ibid P. 15

⁶³ (Gazettee of Pakistan, Extra Sep, 11 2002) Government of Pakistan, Section 10, parts a, b, c, and d (P. 1181 – part I)

⁶⁴ Medium Term Development Framework (2005-10) Higher Education Commission Islamabad. P. 16

⁶⁵ It is worth mentioning that the Prime Minister is the Chancellor of one public sector university. A similar exception also exists in the case of Minister Science and Technology who is the Chancellor of COMSATS. However with a couple of exceptions the President is the Chancellor for federal universities whereas Provincial Governors are the Chancellors for provincial Universities.

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8

Analysis, Findings and Recommendations

This chapter will aim at answering the two research questions raised in the beginning, namely, (a) *what were the factors responsible for the establishment of HEC*, and (b) *will HEC succeed in reforming Higher Education without an explicit implementation plan*. This will be followed by an analysis of the factors responsible for UGC's failure and reasons for establishment of HEC. The researcher will wind up the chapter with findings derived from the analysis, recommendations for further actions and directions, and some lessons for implementers as well, offered in all humility.

8.1 Overview of Question One

For the first question, it is desirable to look at the functioning and failings of previous endeavours in this regard. The researcher has already given a background of events leading to the formation of the Higher Education Commission, especially in regard to the earlier official body established to oversee higher education in the country, the now defunct University Grants Commission. In order to determine factors responsible for the establishment of HEC, we need to study the vital factor of perception, that is, how education is viewed in Pakistan both by the Government and the people. Though views and attitudes regarding education have changed over the years (which the present study reveals), it is imperative to establish a link between the importance given to this factor in the past and the present. Education is closely linked with economics and the socio-cultural life of citizens. Constitutional provisions should provide guidelines for how to achieve these objectives. However we do not see this link in the first two constitutions (chapter 3 page 38).

The post-independence period from 1947 to 1956 did not give due importance to this vital sector. This can be judged from the draft drawn up by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan under the title of "Objectives Resolution" of 1949. This set of objectives made no mention of the word "education" at all, either as a fundamental right of the country's citizens or otherwise. *It took nine years* for this word to appear in the next exercise in constitution-making (of 1956), and that too not as a fundamental right for the entire nation.

The early thinking of the nation's leaders seemed to be, "security *first*, development *second* and refinements (such as education) at *some later stage*." The close relationship between education and development was not perceived. It might be mentioned here that for the feudal barons who form the ruling core of the country, education was, and (although we hope fervently that attitudes have changed) perhaps still is, a minor consideration. There were some valid reasons for this. National resources were limited. Right from the beginning, the country found itself in an adversarial role with a much larger country situated in the middle of its two vulnerable wings, known as East and West Pakistan. Survival as a viable state under a veritable *tsunami* of negative factors preceded all other considerations. Even with sixty years of hindsight, it is difficult to appreciate the imperatives of that time: but it must be said that the constitution was a woefully inadequate blueprint for development, as it failed to incorporate other vital functions of the state. It failed to give directions or establish links with the social and cultural life of the citizens (see chapter 3 page 38).

This was followed by the constitution of 1962. This constitution focused on primary education, with high-sounding promises of making it available to all, but without giving a definite time frame or providing adequate resources for the purpose (see chapter 3 page 38). The path was paved with good intentions, but the means to achieve its own objectives were not defined. From an educational point of view, this constitution was a non-starter.

The constitution of 1973 tried to link the educational policy with economic interests of the people. Its main objective was to enable people through education and training, agricultural and industrial development to participate in national activities including employment.

A comparative study of the two constitutions (1962 and 1973) brings to light that the first only deals with primary education to be free and compulsory for all, the second takes into its fold secondary education as well to be provided free of cost to the nation. In both cases, these are more statements of pious intentions than of serious undertakings. One should not doubt those intentions, but the crucial omission is the set of factors associated with translating those intentions into some kind of reality on a national scale—in other words, how to achieve (or even come near) when no time-frame was given and the funding allocations were so low (see chapter 3 page 39).

All three constitutions have looked at primary and secondary education, college and university education have not been dealt with as a separate subject. This shows that education (all tiers from school to college to university) is not an integrated effort in Pakistan. Each

segment is an effort targeting the relevant tier with little or no attempt to connect it with one before or after it. School and college education is funded and administered by provincial governments, whereas universities in the provinces are administered by the provincial governments through respective Governors as well as by Federal Government through HEC which is also the funding agency.

The constitution of 1973 was the first to make provision for higher education. This was followed by the Act of 1974 under which three bodies were formed.

- a. University Grants Commission
- b. Centers of Excellence Act
- c. Federal Supervision of Curricula, Text Books, Maintenance of Standards of Education Acts.

The researcher at this point will not look at the working of centers of excellence and maintenance of standards of education act. One because he has briefly touched upon their working in chapter 3, page 40 and 41 and two because his study deals with the establishment of UGC and evaluation of its working. A detailed account of UGC's establishment and functions has been given in chapter 3. The role of the UGC was more of a post office which received and disbursed funds from government to institutions and in return advised government in shaping policies and plans. For improvement of standards of education the UGC was tasked to focus on faculty development, establishment of research laboratories, research funding, inter-university exchange of experts, capacity building of libraries, developing linkages between local and foreign universities, quality assurance, revision of curricula, making scholarships available to deserving students and determining the equivalence of degrees both local and foreign.

If one looks at the functions and objectives of HEC they are more or less the same. Thus it becomes imperative to gauge the failure of UGC in the backdrop of a theoretical framework. Since the main factor in UGC's failure to achieve its targets was the absence of an explicit implementation plan coupled with lack of finances, it has become important to give an overview of the situation. The researcher has presented the salient characteristics of the UGC, and has attempted to identify the causes of its failure leading to the establishment of HEC.

From the debate in chapter 3 one can see that education was not a priority to be embedded into the framework and functioning norms of the constitution. Though successive governments and the policy makers realized its importance, it took 15 years for it to be given the status of a fundamental right, but that too without a viable time frame. The new state was immersed in a sea of problems like providing food and shelter to millions of homeless migrants. Resources were hopelessly insufficient for the mammoth task of nation building, so education was relegated to a low position on the scale of priorities. Calculations had to be made within a very narrow frame of possibilities. Compromises were inevitable, and unfortunately, it was education that suffered. On the other side of the equation, the situation was further complicated by the fact that the social makeup of this agrarian society was cautious and conservative. The population itself did not give much importance to education. The imperatives of staying alive under crippling circumstances dominated their perceptions. The survival strategies they evolved for themselves tended to be passed on to their children.

Yet another complicating factor was politics. To maintain their hold on the masses, the leaders did not encourage education for fear that people might begin to demand their basic rights—“keep them too poor and busy to challenge us” was (and perhaps still is) a persistent ruling class attitudinal undercurrent in this society. Religious exploitation of mass sentiment was (and perhaps still is) in evidence—people were warned that any kind of education other than religious education would corrupt their souls. Governments were either afraid of offending religious leaders (who thus went from strength to strength), or they found them useful for maintaining their elitist position in society by keeping the masses backward. Politics, both secular and divine, is the cause of some of the mess we find in the educational sector.

In addition to lack of will, political instability had a major role to play in the neglect of this sector. Repeated failures to cope with making and maintaining constitutions depict a continuous political struggle for stability, which is all-important for national development. This was compounded by the persistent absence of the kind of leadership needed to turn this nation around. These are some of the major factors of underperformance in almost all parts of our national life. The defining outcome of this is the fact that out of a total of 60 years of life as an independent country, about half have seen military rule. Out of the remaining half, hardly any political government has been able to complete its tenure.

After this brief recapitulation of the constitutional provisions regarding education the researcher will move on to the policies and plans. The first Five Year Plan 1955-60 made recommendations for better management, better coordination, system wide improvement and establishment of a UGC in every province. Moreover need for research in institutions and faculty development was also stressed upon (see chapter 4 page 49). The plan was good. It raised the hopes of the educationists but this plan did not carryout an analysis of why the previous policy of 1947 could not achieve its objectives. One major flaw with the plan of 1947 was the gap between intentions and practice--it had an allocation of Rs. 581/- million, but the actual release was around Rs. 400/- million. This factor should have been taken into consideration while drawing up the second plan which had similar recommendations but could not be implemented fully because of insufficient funds. Interestingly even when on a few occasions funding was increased, the educational infrastructure failed to absorb it within the stipulated period of time.

The Second Five Year Plan 1960-65 focused on the dependence of all tiers of education. It emphasized technical and vocational education. On the whole, its recommendations were similar to those of the first two plans. Again what had been ignored was the financial aspect and lack of will of the stakeholders. Funds were provided, but they were not fully utilized. Out of Rs. 1323 million only Rs. 912 million was utilized. Besides, the plan did not take into account all the recommendations of the commission but focused on the preferences of the government of the time. National interests were subservient to the government's interest. This indirectly is a reflection of the society's attitude towards higher education as well. All plans and policies though sound, fell prey to individual interests, especially of those individual who were in power at the time. There was no outrage by the public against successive failures and experimentation in this vital area of development. The Third Five Year Plan more or less met the same fate (see chapter 4, page 52 and 53). National Education Policy of 1970 reflects more clearly that education was once again used for political purposes.

After the separation of East-Pakistan (now Bangladesh) education was viewed with a purpose to promote national cohesion (see chapter 4 page 54 and 55). The education policy of 1972 made similar recommendations as of 1970, with additional recommendations for restricting exploitation by the private sector. This was done with a view to give equal opportunities to all in education. The Constitution provided and accepted that education was the natural right of a person and therefore it was the duty of the government to make it accessible.

Education for the first time found its rightful place in the constitution but the implementation plan was not very clear. No formative evaluation was carried out before introducing a new plan hence the efforts were basically repetitions of the same mistake over and over again. This led to the National Education policy of 1979. Most of the recommendations were akin to those given before with two new recommendations, that no new universities would be established and that the existing institutions would be strengthened. The objective of 1992 policy was to restructure the existing education system on modern lines. This policy took into account the areas which needed to be strengthened plus it also took cognizance of how its objectives could be achieved (see chapter 4 page 60 - 63). Finally the Policy of 1998 is an improved version of all the policies. It outlines many of the present initiatives and still remains the applicable policy.

Out of a total of eight 5 year plans none was adequate to match the aspirations shown in the respective policies hence rendering poor financial allocations, yielding poor and weak infrastructure exposing lack of interest or political will to strengthen education in general and higher education in particular.

This divorce of commitment (poor financial allocations and setting up suitable infrastructure) from aspirations (policies and plans) exposed a vital dimension and factor, namely, implementation. If implementation is the action then policy or plan are the objectives desired to be achieved. In our case this appears to be the missing link. It is in fact the underperformance or absence of a proper implementation mechanism which created a myriad of problems, as discussed in fair detail in chapter 5 of this work. The importance of implementation can be gauged from the widely held belief that South Korea followed one of Pakistan's five-year plans in its development strategies, converting itself from a backward, poor, war ravaged agrarian society into an advanced industrialized one within a few decades. In other words, South Korea succeeded with a Pakistani plan because it was able to implement it, while Pakistan failed with one of its own plans, because it could not:

South Korea's experience is especially instructive in this regard. South Korea's First Five-Year Plan (1962-1966), *which was modelled on Pakistan's Five-Year Plan* (researcher's emphasis).¹

The writer believes that South Korea succeeded because it was able to employ viable implementation strategies, taking the whole thing beyond high-sounding talk.

With the foregoing in view, one discovers that unavailability of proper resources, lack of political will, leadership and ignorance brought the higher education sector to the hands of those who were either not qualified enough or were incapacitated to steer the ship in the right direction. Poor physical infrastructure, outdated curricula exploited by inadequate and under-qualified teachers, a poor system of examination marred with corruption yielding substandard input for institutions of higher learning, an absence of quality research and above all the apathy of governments and the University Grants Commission, were some of the major threats to the system especially when the UGC did not have an implicit or explicit implementation plan (the missing link). On the other hand an ever increasing population with a majority of youth under 23 years of age turned to be a vibrant and promising market for which the public sector alone was incapable of providing service especially in the wake of nationalization of seventies followed by a ban on establishment of new institutions of higher learning in the private sector.

To sum up it can be said that most of the plans and policies were well conceived. If political leaders and implementers had shown sincerity of purpose, and if funds had been utilized fully and judiciously, the results would have been much better. The need for establishing yet another monitoring body such as the HEC would not have arisen and Pakistan would have been on its way to being in the list of developed countries. The effects of the past are reflected in a World Bank Report 1992, according to which higher education in Pakistan suffered from a flawed institutional framework, (see chapter 5, page 75).

This can be judged from the state of affairs at the time of independence. Pakistan had only two universities, the University of the Punjab, established in 1882, and (as a subsidiary of the University of Bombay till 1947) the University of Sindh. After independence in the first decade the number increased to four. From 1957 to 1967 another 6 universities were added. During 1967-77 six more universities were added and the number rose to 18. From 1977 to 1987 the number increased to 26. Between 1987 and 1997 it went up to 46 and from 1997 to 2001 we see a surge touching 59, meaning an increase of 16 universities in 4 years, (see chapter 5, page 78-81).

The unique thing about the period from 1947 to 1980, especially in the field of higher education, was the absence of input from the private sector, which plays a vital role in energizing national institutions and promoting a spirit of competition. During this period very few people opted for teaching as a career choice. Moreover, a lot of the nation's human resource found opportunities overseas, where

they were offered better remuneration and working conditions. This slow growth in the education sector can be attributed to cultural and social considerations too. The country came into being as a result of an ideology based on the Islamic system of values and culture. Education, as has been said earlier, was not linked to economic growth. Being an agricultural country there were very few job opportunities for the educated to attract the masses. The Government paid lip service to the cause of education, but when it came to strengthening this sector, it was reluctant to increase the financial allocations, or to make a sustained effort at implementing the policy in letter and spirit.

Societal attitudes viewed the teaching community to be at the lowest rung of the ladder of success, and those who could not join any worthwhile profession in bureaucracy, engineering or medicine joined it. The upward movement was very slow and capacity building was not undertaken by either employee or employer. Stereotyping and repetition of outdated curricula were the outcome.

This situation, which offered very few opportunities to educated young men, offered relatively even fewer chances to women for whom getting higher education was considered to be a luxury. This can be seen from tables 4 & 5 (see chapter 5 page 77 and 78) which show that till 1980 there were no female institutions in the country. By the year 2000 the situation had improved. There were many profit driven institutions in the private sector, several of which were exploiting a vibrant market full of enthusiastic young people seeking admission for higher degrees. This resulted in the rapid growth of universities. The UGC did nothing to prevent it from happening. Institutions having charters and foreign linkages, but poor physical and academic infrastructure, were exploiting the market in the name of higher education. Most students joining these private institutions had a poor academic background, resulting from a faulty examinations system based on rote-learning and curricula taught by faculty neither properly trained nor educated for the job.

This was because universities in Pakistan had confined their role to teaching and examinations. This is evident from the fact that until 2002 the majority of universities offered programs up to the master's level. MPhil and PhD programs were not offered by most universities. Those universities that did offer these programs offered them in only a few disciplines. This neglect of research forced the nation to borrow or buy research outcomes from foreign nations at a very high cost (see chapter 5 table 10 page 89). At the local level the country neither had the physical infrastructure nor the human and academic resources to carry out research nor was it warranted by the

local industry hence there was very little activity in this important sphere of tertiary education.

Another important factor can be attributed to the division of power. Higher education being a concern of both provincial and central governments, each had its own internal pull and push forces to contend with. With the best of intentions the UGC could not establish its writ. Its advisory, recommendatory and facilitative role did not help. A number of universities and degree awarding institutions were established without its advice or consent. Similarly in a few cases where the UGC exercised its recommendatory right and issued NOC (No Objection Certificates) to some private institutions in the province of Punjab and NWFP, the governments of these provinces ignored the recommendations and did not grant any charters (see chapter 5, page 96 and 97)

An important area where UGC failed was in persuading teachers' bodies and university administrators to make PhD a minimum qualification for entry as faculty members. Moreover it could not convince institutions to introduce a 4 years' bachelor program. Besides an issue which caused dissatisfaction among policy makers at the UGC was that funds were provided to the universities by the Federal Government through UGC but administrative authority was exercised by the provincial governments where the greater number of institutions were established. This division of administrative and financial authority at government level gave greater administrative autonomy to individual institutions in the public sector, as opposed to UGC.

Moreover the UGC hardly ever conducted academic audit of universities or if it did they never made them public. Throughout its existence there was an undercurrent of mistrust regarding the issue of university autonomy. The prime reason for mistrust was that appointment of Vice Chancellors was in the hands of the respective chancellors whose number exceeded 5. Normally these appointments were made under political pressures or on the bases of likes and dislikes (see chapter 5, page 97 and 98). On the contrary, for effective capacity building of universities it is pertinent that the faculty be fully developed, research be vigorously pursued, and Vice Chancellors be men/women with proven academic and administrative experience and background (see chapter 5, page 99 and 100).

Yet another failure of UGC was that it did not take concrete steps to establish endowment funds for the purpose of sponsoring research writing books and articles and improving financial and physical aspects of universities. Neither did it establish meaningful industrial linkages, nor did it succeed in inculcating a research culture.

These cumulative failures can fairly be attributed to an absence of a reliable implementation plan followed by proper evaluation of what, why and how things went wrong? If regular monitoring followed by periodic evaluation had taken place UGC could have done better.

The researcher's findings on UGC's failure can be substantiated by the findings of the task force (chapter 6, page 106) a body constituted to give recommendations for reforming the deteriorating standard of higher education in the country with a view to modernize it, and bring it in line with the needs of the time.

To conclude then, factors responsible for UGC's failure can be summed up as:

- i) Lack of political will yielding no sense of urgency:
- ii) Inadequate constitutional provisions:
- iii) Sound policies not implemented through realistic plans hence poor implementation:
- iv) Poor governance and management practices:
- v) Poor funding with poor utilization:
- vi) Rapid growth of institutions especially in the private sector:
- vii) Lack of attention to research and support for it:
- viii) Faulty recruitment practices with very little focus on capacity building:
- ix) Division of administrative and financial control:
- x) No link between education and socio-economic development.

Hence these factors were responsible for establishment of HEC.

8.2 Overview of Question Two

To answer the second research question, which is will HEC succeed in reforming Higher Education without an explicit implementation plan? The researcher deems it appropriate to touch upon the structure of higher education institutions because understanding the nature of hierarchy will help analyse the complexity involved in the implementation of present reforms.

The following part of this chapter will present an analysis of the present reform in the backdrop of a theoretical framework drawn in the previous chapter. The analysis and its findings will provide an answer to the second research question.

The purpose of this analysis is not to assess the impact of the present interventions neither to quantify success. In fact the primary purpose is to facilitate HEC, Universities, critics and stakeholders to appreciate the importance and significance of factors vital for successful implementation as given in the theoretical framework. The discussion here will help policy makers, implementers and researchers to see things from the perspective of implementation, and contribute more to this vital domain of inquiry in future studies of this nature.

8.2.1 Hierarchical Complexity

As discussed in the preceding chapter implementation owes a lot to the implementers and the complexity of joint action. The present reform strategy of HEC not only involves a sizeable number of actors but also entails complex structure(s) whereby reforms are to be implemented. The present analysis will be carried out in this backdrop.

For a better understanding of the situation the following diagrams have been drawn.² The purpose is to develop an understanding of the complex hierarchical nature of the HEC and public sector universities whereby a huge number of implementers make their presence felt. This is further complicated due to the fact that, there are two types of public sector universities, those under the federal government and others (which are in majority) under four provincial governments. The HEC, which is the controlling and funding agency is under the federal government but unlike federal universities where the President is the Chancellor (with two or three exceptions) it has the Prime Minister as its controlling officer.³ The HEC's ordinance states: "the Chairman HEC is to be an eminent scholar who will have the status of a Federal Minister",⁴ but will not be obliged to be a member of parliament. The administrative affairs of the Commission are looked after by an Executive Director, supported by a team of administrators and advisors.

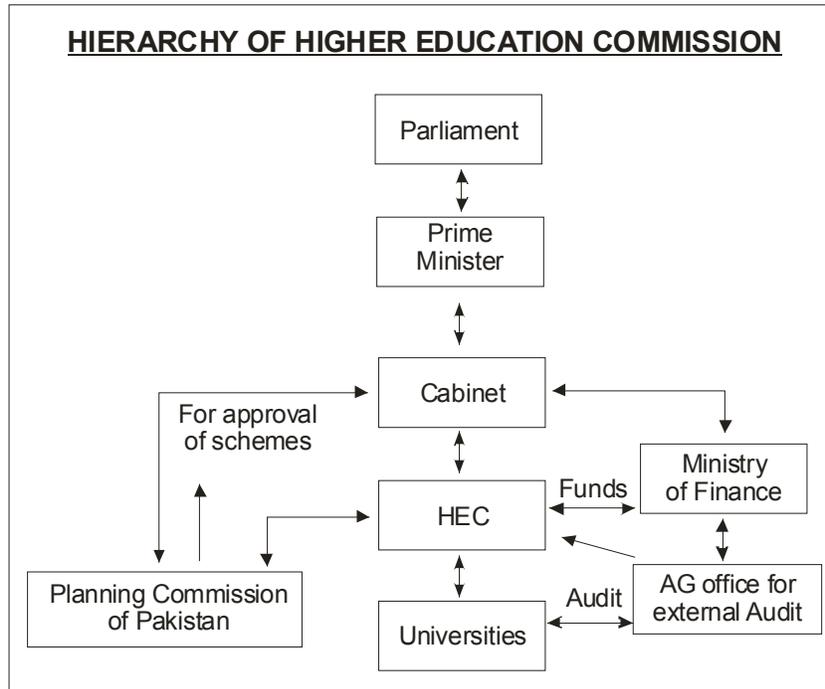
Diagram 'A'

Diagram 'A' shows the hierarchy of HEC. As an independent commission it falls under the administrative jurisdiction of the federal government. The Prime Minister is the controlling authority whereas it receives funds from the Ministry of Finance and seeks approval of schemes for over Rs. 500.000 million from Executive Council for National Economic Cooperation (ECNEC). The Planning Commission of Pakistan approves schemes exceeding Rs. 40.00 million, whereas the HEC has the powers to approve schemes up to Rs. 40.000 million. However in addition to the above its chain of hierarchy involves a number of offices which in turn field a number of diverse implementers from various offices of the central Government.

This brings us to comparison between the hierarchy of HEC and public sector universities both under the Federal as well as provincial governments.

Diagram 'B'

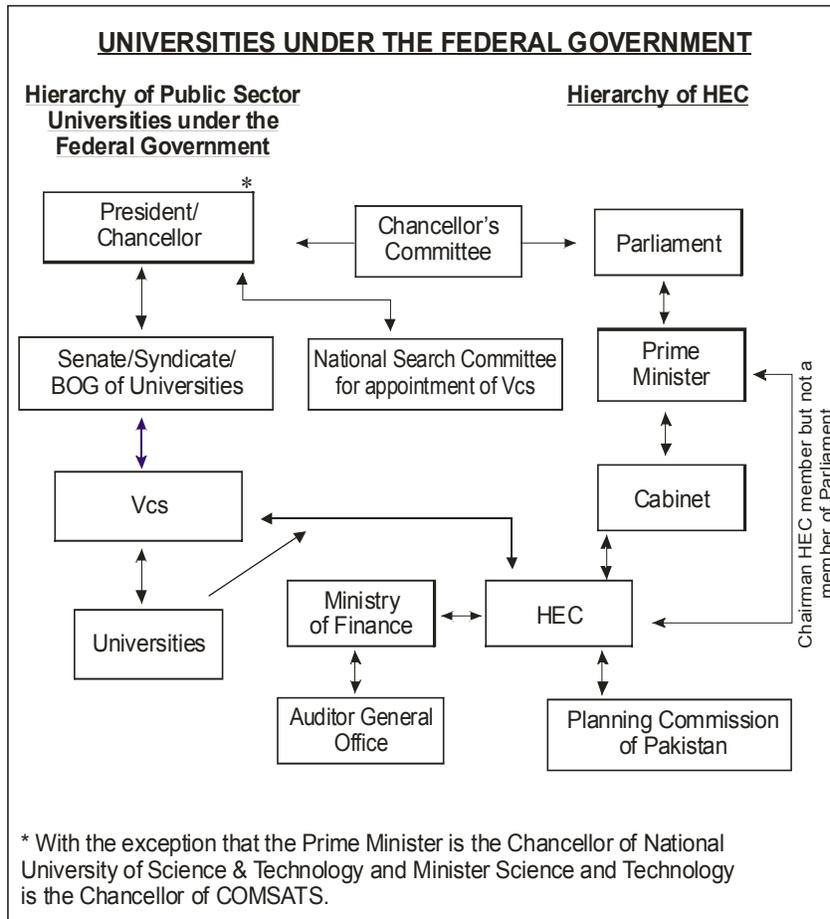


Diagram 'B' shows the number of offices/bodies involved in the functioning of a federally administered public sector university viz a viz HEC. Except for a couple of universities all public sector institutions under the central government have the President as their Chancellor. It is only in the cases of National University of Science & Technology (NUST) and COMSATS where the Prime Minister and the Federal Minister for Science & Technology are respectively the Chancellors.⁵

It also shows a hierarchical chain quite independent of the HEC hierarchy, the controlling and funding agency for universities. These different streams of implementers can be quite challenging as far as

implementation is concerned as a huge number of implementers can bring in a diversity of priorities and preferences and can lead to conflicts.

According to the constitution of Pakistan it is the Prime Minister who heads the government as Chief Executive while the President remains the ceremonial head of state who neither heads the cabinet nor the parliament. His advisory or ceremonial role does not empower him/her to take administrative decisions with significant effects on the government.⁶

The history of Pakistani politics is full of commotion. 60 years of independence have seen almost 30 years of military rule in which powers were and still are vested in the President. Since the adoption of the 1973 Constitution, whereby the Prime Minister is supposed to head the government, 19 years out of a total of 34 years have been spent under military rule under which powers are vested in the President by extra constitutional measures.

The researcher finds this power rift another serious threat to the implementation of the present plan. The present plan is given and implemented by a Military ruler whose own enlightened vision coupled with the wishes of international donors and partners, has bought about the present reforms. In the past Pakistani governments showed little resolve for the continuation of educational reforms in general and higher education in particular. If the present effort rests too heavily on the vision and personality of the President and the Chairman HEC, then there are serious doubts about the future of these reforms. The researcher however wishes this sector the best of luck for a more progressive and sustained growth.

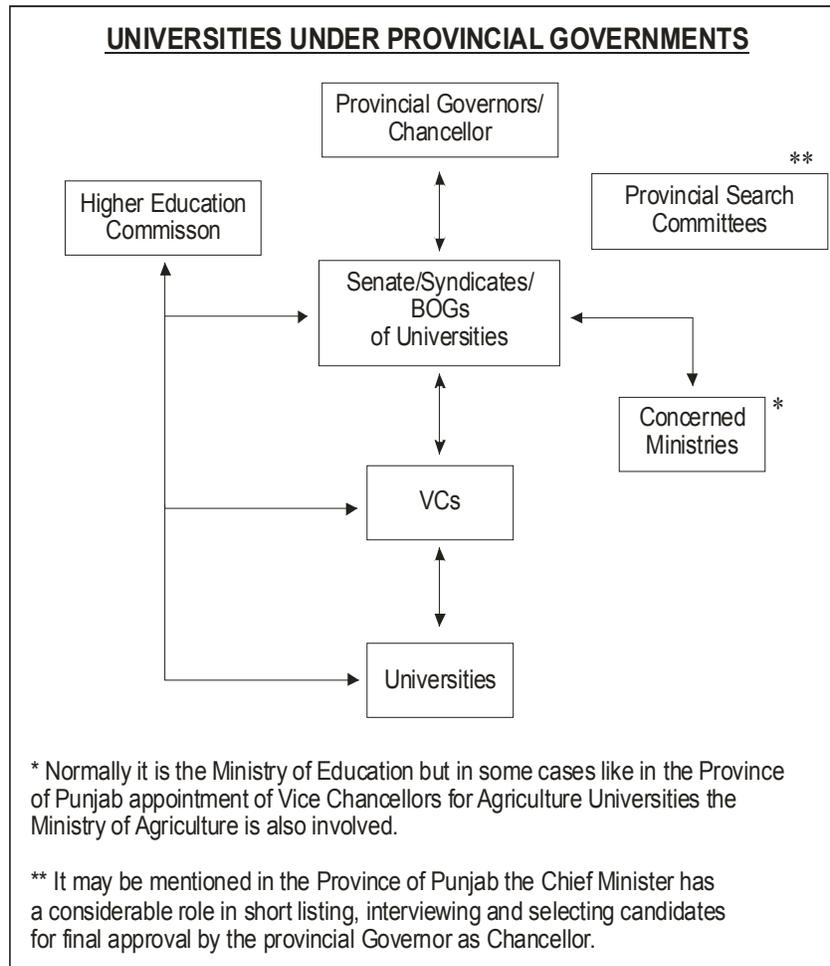
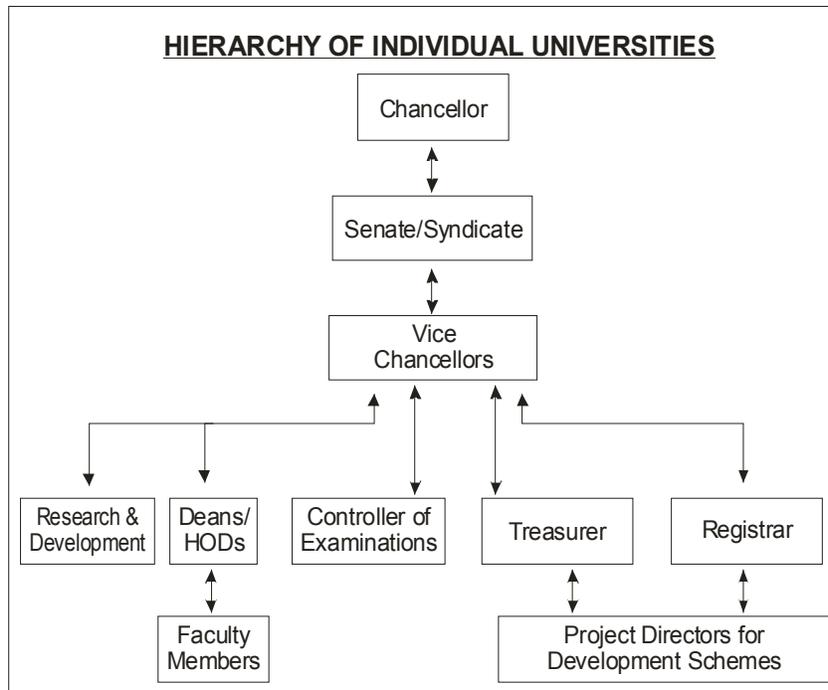
Diagram 'C'

Diagram 'C' presents the chain of authority involved in the functioning of public sector universities under the provincial governments. It shows that they have a different hierarchy from the federal one. The respective provincial governors are the chancellors whereas provincial governments are represented on the senate/syndicate or other controlling bodies of individual institution.

On the contrary HEC is the funding and supervising body under the federal government. When the HEC comes in contact with an

institution the complexity of joint action coupled with a huge number of implementers surfaces. It is worth mentioning that all four provinces of the country have their peculiar problems/needs. A university in a backward area of Balochistan struggles to maintain the minimum number of faculty (irrespective of their greater achievements) for running courses. The input they receive from the local market can hardly be compared with those in major towns and cities of Pakistan. Similarly research, holding of conferences and seminars and ensuring access to stable communication are other challenges that these institutions face. Therefore it is not possible for HEC to treat such institutions, be they in the backward areas of Balochistan, NWFP or Northern areas, at par with those in Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar or Islamabad.

Diagram 'D'



The majority of public sector universities have a structure similar to the one in diagram 'D'.

A university has a senate which is the policy giving body. The administrative decisions of the institution are taken by the syndicate. The Vice Chancellor is the principal officer. S/he is supported by Deans

and Heads of teaching departments for academic activities whereas Registrar, Controller of Examinations and Treasurer assist him/her on matters relating to admissions, administration, examinations and finance. These officers are further supported by their respective juniors in executing various decisions.

After establishing an understanding of the chains of command for various institutions it is now relatively easier to present an analysis of HEC's, present strategies in the backdrop of implementation, especially when there exists a complexity of joint action of which Pressman and Wildavsky have warned. In the backdrop of the previous chapter on implementation the clear line which emerged was the role of implementers. In their book on implementation Pressman and Wildavsky (chapter 5) discuss in detail how simple programs can get complexed because of the involvement of too many implementing agencies and officials. Therefore the diagrams given in the foregoing part provide insight into the complex structure of higher education in Pakistan.

8.2.2 Complexity of Joint Action

An important factor in the scheme of implementation is complexity of joint action. In our present study we have observed that starting from the top there are a number of offices and implementers involved in the process of implementation. All of them have to play their roles at various stages of a programs implementation hence forming a complex structure whereby joint actions are needed to implement a program. The most important are of course the HEC and the individual institutions. As already discussed in the previous part of this analysis the HEC for example has to spend a certain amount in a year but for some reason the institutions whose job it is to spend the amount fail to do so. This and many other actions of this kind form the basis of complexity of joint action.

According to Pressman and Wildavsky⁷ implementers of a program may agree on the intended ends but may differ or disagree on the means to achieve them, this is true of our present situation. There can be no denial of a dire need of reforms in higher education especially those identified by the task force and being implemented by the HEC, however there appears to be problems as far as means are concerned.

On pages 168 and 169 of the previous chapter a list of reasons, taken from Pressman and Wildavsky's book on *Implementation* will be discussed here to put forward their importance especially in the present situation.

As regards *direct incompatibility with other commitments* the HEC's effort to appoint PhD supervisors, give ranking to institutions, appoint faculty and control obedience in return for financial allocations is not compatible with its other commitments. As facilitator its job is to facilitate and not to become a direct party to the working of institutions. In such a situation there *may not be direct incompatibility but a preference for other programs*. For example individual institutions have more preference for their own programs rather than those of the HEC, and vice versa.

The other reason of which Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) warn is of *simultaneous commitment to other project*. This means the same set of people handling several projects at the same time. This is what is happening at the HEC, and this is what is happening at individual institutions. An enormous increase in Commission's and universities' budget has resulted in the undertaking of a number of schemes simultaneously. The implementers may agree with a proposal, have no contradictory commitment but may have other commitments which demand time and attention, hence affecting the implementation. An example of this is appointment of faculty on tenure track, under foreign faculty hiring program and on regular pay scale. The HEC wants a say in all of them which is not in line with the area of HEC's activities. As a central controlling body under tenure track of foreign faculty hiring program it has failed to attract faculty for universities located in the far flung backward areas of the country. Hence the unbalance while ranking institutions or departments who will be made responsible for their under performance or poor comparison with those who have such faculty.

It has been noticed that where there is a greater number of actors involved in the implementation of a policy or programs, at times there is *dependence on others who lack a sense of urgency in the project*. In our present study we have seen with the help of diagrams A,B,C and D that starting from the top to bottom there are a number of actors involved in the implementation of the present reform. The President, the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Finance, the Planning Commission, the HEC, the Provincial governments, Syndicates and BOGs, Vice Chancellors and the staff of individual institutions all have to play their role at the appropriate time. If urgency at the level of a single institution is not felt by HEC or HEC's urgency is not felt by the Government then there is little hope of that particular issue being resolved in time. Similarly implementation of various programs can suffer from this dependence. Like adoption of Model University Ordinance. The HEC wanted Universities to adopt it but institutions had no urgency in adopting it.

Similarly the funds that HEC receives for development schemes need to be consumed within one financial year. For this purpose the Commission processes developmental schemes of universities and disburses funds. On the contrary institutions complete schemes in their own time because they do not process schemes with the same sense of urgency as the HEC.

Difference of opinion on leadership and proper organizational roles is another important area which has been discussed in greater detail as part of the theoretical framework. This brings us to the *legal and procedural differences*. A brief discussion has been carried out in the first half of this chapter relating to the ordinances of HEC and individual institutions, which empower HEC to exercise certain authority over universities but also provide autonomy to institutions from all interferences. In both the HEC as well as institutions final powers rest with either the President, Prime Minister or Provincial governors. Hence every organization, especially under the federal government considers its decision as valid and proper as the HEC's. Similarly VCs as appointees of the Chancellors do not feel obliged to be answerable to HEC. These legal and procedural differences deepen when it comes to regular interaction between the HEC and individual institutions.

Then there is *agreement coupled with lack of power*. In the case of higher education in Pakistan it has been seen that stake holders especially students and teachers are fairly happy with various interventions especially opportunities for higher studies and research. But they do not form part of the policy implementers as administration or decision makers.

Last is the large number of *decision points* encountered in the process. Pressman and Wildavsky are of the view that a larger number of implementers create too many decision points. At every decision point the intensity of preference, sense of urgency and commitments of decision makers will take effect. Cumulatively these reasons can delay a program or lead to failure. It appears that compared to the past, more decision points have been introduced in the system.

8.2.3 Clarity of Goals and Objectives

Considering achievements of goals and objectives as the end and implementation as means to achieve them, their clarity and explicitness needs to be held extremely important. Writers on business administration have talked about 'management by objectives', this means that management needs to be directed to the achievement of goals and objectives. In other words management without objectives is directionless.

According to Michael Hill,⁸ policy should be kept unambiguous. By this he demands greater clarity of stated goals and objectives. Hogwood and Gunn⁹ are of the view that there should be a complete understanding and agreement (among policy makers and implementers) on the objectives to be achieved and that this condition should remain throughout the implementation process.

In our present study we have seen that in the past, until the year 2002, goals and objectives were present in some shape in the policy documents which were prepared by those who had little control over the implementation and its outcome, moreover it was incremental in nature and every new policy was introduced without evaluating the success or failure of the previous one. Attainment of objectives as an end required means of enhanced and regular supply of resources in addition to proper implementation. It was in the absence of cause (resources and proper implementation plan) which made it difficult for the effect (attainment of objectives) to happen.

Repeated failures and underperformance throughout the later half of the previous century forced the nation to analyse the causes and bring forth the desired goals and objectives and means to achieve them. Formation of a task force on higher education was one activity which provided a platform, for discussion, to the academia and all stakeholders of this nation. After due deliberations the task force came forward with a number of recommendations, outlining the desired objectives whereby this nation could reform its higher education.

Consequently a steering committee was formed to put forward final recommendations. Establishment of HEC and a progressive increase in the budget for higher education were two key recommendations among others.

The HEC has set a number of goals and objectives. Most of them are clearly defined and are backed by sufficient financial resources. There certainly is difference, among implementers on means but there is little disagreement on ends or objectives. Therefore in researcher's opinion the Commission needs to consolidate on these strengths by making clear objectives even clearer. Its effort to develop human resource, bridge the current gap of required and available faculty by appointing foreign faculty, retain talent by offering market based pay packages on tenure track, promoting research, improving infrastructure and ensuring quality are some of the objectives and goals which have been quite explicitly defined.

On the contrary, under the higher education sector reforms, the Commission's goals and objectives regarding university governance

and management are unclear. The Model University Ordinance which was an attempt to introduce a uniform system of university governance and management was not adopted by most universities however it was made obligatory on newer institutions. Similarly the Medium Term Development Framework 2005-10 lacks clarity of vision and a follow up strategy on (i) explicit implementation strategy and (ii) a vivid plan on developing leadership, governance and management which has been discussed in greater detail in the previous chapter. In its annual report 2004-05 the Commission acknowledges the importance of Governance when it gives its own plan of action in the following words:

“The HEC focuses primarily on Administrative Governance based on the principles of public participation, transparency and accountability to achieve organizational targets and objective in best possible manner within the organization, as well as Degree Awarding Institutes to establish similar working parameters of good governance and management to execute policies and strategies developed and promoted by the HEC”.¹⁰

If the above is read with table 11 at page 115, one realizes that there is no clarity of purpose as far as this particular area of ‘administrative governance’ is concerned. This area alone is not only of significant importance but it also is the key to effective implementation as reforms in higher education will not materialize until a matching administrative governance structure is in place. Placement of HEC notice boards in various departments of universities, introduction of 4 years undergraduate program, promotion of professors, breakdowns in internet connectivity, completion report of development projects, university industry interaction and computerization can be considered objectives but they do not present a clear line for effective administrative governance especially of institutions. However the best thing that could be done is the selection of Vice Chancellors through a search committee. This merit based, transparent system will certainly bring in some of the best talent for the top slot.

On the other hand the Commission’s effort to develop critical human resource for research and faculty through various scholarship programs needs to be more futuristic and conforming to the nation’s future needs. In this context we find a greater tilt towards the disciplines of science and technology. There can be no denial of the edge that science and technology education has over other disciplines, especially for the technological and economic growth of a nation, but at the national as well as the institutional level we do not have clear-cut

objectives in quantifiable terms as to what industries or technologies will be needed in the future. How many graduates shall we require in years to come? And will they only facilitate assembling units or manufacturing concerns that produce stereotyped imitations, as has happened so far, or will they help establish and operate high tech industries?

The HEC's bias towards science and technology cannot be faulted in the present day world. However its policy of sidelining the humanities is questioned by many academicians. Society needs scientists, but science is essentially non-moral. Society also needs a value system to balance growth and development from becoming too mechanical and devoid of human feelings and emotions. A regard for one's culture, customs, traditions and heritage comes from the study of humanities, and this should not be undermined. The ratio between scholarships for science and humanities is unbalanced. The HEC needs to bridge this gap if it wants to cater for all disciplines across the board. At present it is lopsided.

This brings us to the critical area of research and development. Research and development, as a matter of fact, are carried out in response to industry's demand. Unfortunately our industry is based on assembling of imported equipment, often copying imported items. This replicating or assembling hardly involves research and development. In a country like the US 70% of the national R&D is performed by the industry about 10-12 percent by academia while the remaining 10-12% is funded by the Government.¹¹ Another issue relevant to research and development is the publication of research papers and articles by the faculty and researchers. The Commission, in order to promote research output especially by the faculty, has made it compulsory that a certain number of publications in journals of repute, preferably international, would be required for promotions of faculty in the public sector institutions. This has increased the research output by more than 100%. As compared to 788 publications in 2002 it stands at 1736 in December 2006.¹² This news item is followed by another article in the Daily Dawn of January 7th, 2007¹³ according to which the research output in present times has increased manifold, but the quality has not. In this backdrop it needs to be seen whether the Commission alone will be able to bring about the desired change or not.

Under the existing circumstances where teachers are in short supply *vis-a-vis* the demands of the system, and where those in the profession have long and onerous working hours from morning till late evening (in order to make a decent income), genuine research would be difficult to come by. This is because of the incompatibility of

research with such long working hours resulting in simultaneous and scattered commitments to other activities, like teaching for money.

Another area which needs better clarity of goals and objectives is the Commission's endeavour to set up new institutions (chapter 6). This has been criticized by many. In a newspaper article the writers disapprove of unplanned increase. They say,

"The first proper engineering university could only be set-up in Pakistan after 15 years of independence. The number remained below 10 till the turn of the millennium. One does not foresee any unusual turn around in the job market given the fact that the country's economy has become trade oriented. When it took more than 5 decades to set up seven universities, one fails to identify any super capacity which would enable the government to set-up almost same number in two years."¹⁴

This is further supported by another news item by Abdul Sami Piracha. According to him.

"Shortage of senior staff at Kohat University of Science and Technology (KUST) is badly affecting the semester system."¹⁵

Therefore it needs to be explicitly defined as to *what* will be done, *how* it will be done and *why* it will be done.

It is worth mentioning that in order to be more focused the HEC has gathered individual institutions' vision plans whereby an institution is required to move within the parameters of the plan which envisages the core areas of activity and the intended position that an institution wants to achieve. However it is believed that objectives can be made clearer if too many things are not handled by the same set of people and too many things are not done at to same time.

With regard to Quality Assurance, the Commission has taken significant steps for the spread of a 'quality' culture through the system. In the first phase twenty public universities were asked to set up Quality Enhancement cells on their premises. This was followed by a further ten in the second phase, and it is expected that the number will increase rapidly to accommodate all public universities before long. These cells are financed for the first year by the Commission, and detailed guidelines are provided for their functioning to improve the quality of a given university's teaching, training and administrative

programs. The scope of these cells is broad, encompassing practically all aspects of a given institution's areas of interest. The idea is, first, to make everyone aware of the need for an unremitting commitment to quality at all levels, second, to rationalize educational programs so that they conform with present and future needs, and third, to enhance the credibility and reputation of Pakistan's academic output so that it can stand among the best in the world. Much is expected of this initiative, which is still in its early stages. The researcher can see no good reason for pessimism at this point in time, except that the negative systemic and human factors defined for other initiatives within the general plan, apply here as well. A lot will depend on the processes of implementation, follow-up and evaluation adopted for this initiative, and here, perhaps more than in other areas, some 'bottom-up' elements are indicated if credible mechanisms are to be put in place. The HEC is aware of the difficulties, and is proceeding systematically. Perhaps the weakest link in the chain is human rather than systemic. People are not sure what 'quality' in education means, or how it should be estimated. It is not something one can quantify or measure against unchallengeable criteria. In any case no such criteria exists either within the country or internationally, especially for some areas of study and research. However, once a general awareness has been developed, this initiative should yield tangible dividends in making institutions, planners, teachers, examiners and evaluators more sensitive to national and international pressures and standards.

8.2.4 Difference of Opinion on Leadership and Proper Organizational Roles

This is another important factor in the implementation of a policy or program. In a top-down vector, leadership at the top sets the ball rolling. The chain of actors down below is required to obey instructions and facilitate successful implementation of a certain order or program. From this point of view it is important that the implementers of a particular program have no dispute over leadership and that whatever is being done is well within the organizational role a certain outfit is required to play.

In the case of our present study this vital factor has a central place. The diagrams shown in the beginning of this chapter present the chain of hierarchy of HEC, public sector universities under federal and provincial governments and of a single institution. In the past UGC, the precursor of HEC, would primarily distribute the meager financial resources it received from the central government. It hardly had any say in the appointment of Vice Chancellors and universities would mind

their business on their own as autonomous entities. Unlike HEC, UGC was a very lean organization with a very limited area of activity.

Under the new arrangement the central government has established an all powerful Higher Education Commission. According to its ordinance, (its functions as outlined in the sixth chapter) it is empowered to command compliance from individual institutions on matters which previously used to be internal matters of universities. Non compliance with HEC's directives can also lead to budgetary cuts as has been shown in the case of Punjab University. (In a recent case of Plagiarism the University of Punjab imposed minor penalties on 2 of its faculty members who had plagiarized their research work. However the HEC was not satisfied with a minor penalty and demanded the maximum penalty of removal from service. The University was satisfied to have proceeded under its law and refused to listen to the HEC for imposition of a major penalty. This row led to withholding the Punjab University's development funds by the HEC).

As regards top leadership, the President of Pakistan is the Chancellor of public sector universities under the federal government. However, there are two exceptions where the Prime Minister and the Minister for Science and Technology are the Chancellors. On the other hand Prime Minister is the ultimate boss of the HEC. In the case of universities under the provincial government the respective provincial governors are the Chancellors.

However, interestingly each institution has its own sphere of administrative and academic activity and each one is attached to the highest string in the government i.e. the Chancellor. On the contrary, the higher education commission is headed by the Prime Minister and its Chairman, unlike Vice Chancellors has the status of a federal minister. By virtue of which S/he is eligible to attend meetings of the federal cabinet. The Commission receives funds from the central government and against disbursement of funds exercises its lawful authority in getting compliance to its various guidelines.¹⁶

The Ordinance of the HEC, as discussed in the opening part of the previous chapter, empowers it to formulate policies and guiding principals for institutions to evaluate their performance, plan and express its opinion on all matters and prescribe conditions under which both public and private institutions can be established and operated. It also provides for ranking individual departments and institutions and also to review and examine their financial needs. Moreover the Ordinance also empowers the Commission to establish fellowships, scholarships and professorships and to provide guidelines for

qualifications, appointment, promotion and salary structures of faculty members.

It is worth mentioning that universities in the public sector are autonomous bodies established under the same legal framework under which the Commission itself is established. Secondly with Chancellors being the President, the Prime Minister and Provincial Governors, individual institutions enjoy a certain degree of legal status which is not easily challengeable. On the contrary the powers for appointment of Vice Chancellors are with the Chancellors. Though it is a great success for the Commission to introduce the appointment of Vice Chancellors through the process of a search committee (with the exception of National University of Science and Technology and National University of Modern Languages whose Boards of Governors are empowered to appoint Rectors), all these factors coupled with the HEC's attempt to introduce a model university ordinance, a uniform system of governance and management which was rejected by majority of institutions, created serious questions about leadership and proper organizational goals. The formation of a 'Chancellors' Committee is one of the best things to have happened. It provides a platform for all Chancellors and the Chairman HEC to take policy decisions and plan unified actions based on greater consensus. This Committee meets at regular intervals and gives policy decisions, but so far it has been unable to alleviate feelings of resentment among universities on the issue of autonomy.

As regards individual institutions there is also a greater resentment at the HEC's intervention in almost every area of university activity. Setting rules for appointment of faculty, giving scholarships and fellowships, ranking institutions and telling universities which programs to offer has caused serious concerns about organizational roles. The institutions believe that this is against the norms of mutual respect and co-existence especially when the Task Force on Higher Education (2002) recommended that:

“...universities as pillars of higher education system must have autonomy from all extraneous influences, so that they can govern and manage their academic, administrative and financial functions. Particularly universities must have autonomy to develop their academic programs, recruit, assess and develop their faculty; and select, train and educate their students. The present organizational structure, including senates and syndicates, has too many weaknesses, the principal one of which is an

inadequate separation of governance from the functions and responsibilities of management.”¹⁷

Some academic staff members want that,

“The HEC should stop issuing orders and asking university administration to implement them blindly. Rather it should provide guidelines and let the university bodies analyze them and decide accordingly”¹⁸

The majority of Vice Chancellors who have not come through a formal search process have serious apprehensions about being selected through such a process. The Commission’s attempt to promote foreign degrees and graduates has caused considerable resentment among teachers with local degrees. They believe that the Commission is trespassing on the autonomy and authority of individual institutions.

The other areas where the Commission has created situation regarding leadership and proper organizational roles are the award of fellowships and scholarships and selection of supervisors. This act alone has seriously effected institutions’ own post graduate and research programs. The Commission, by appointing its own pool of supervisors, has left institutions without supervisors with foreign degrees and exposure. The locally qualified supervisors the universities are left with have serious objection to this discrimination and hence individual institutions resent the fact that even their core functions of teaching, learning and research are being interfered with by the Commission.

For the purpose of scholarships the Commission has devised its own testing and selection system. Candidates once selected are required to get admission in one of the HEC approved universities and to work under the supervision of supervisors selected by the Commission for the purpose. This appears to be incompatible with other commitments of the Commission. Its role is to facilitate institutions in their efforts to build capacity. By selection of over 1000 supervisors the Commission has left individual institutions high and dry with regard to supervisors to supervise students selected by the universities for their own programs. According to HEC’s guidelines mentioned above a supervisor can supervise from 2 to 5 candidates. Moreover the amount paid by the Commission to these supervisors is in excess of what the universities can pay them.

The most significant fall-out of the selection criteria for supervisors by HEC is a general feeling of resentment among a majority of those who have an indigenous PhD. They have been (according to them) insulted by giving preference to foreign qualified ones. They think that for the HEC the term 'indigenous' is by definition bad, while the term 'foreign' is good. This is evident from the selection criteria of supervisors as mentioned in the previous chapter. If this is true, they argue then there should be no indigenous scholarships because in comparison with those who go abroad for higher degrees, scholars enrolled under the indigenous scheme will always remain at a disadvantage with regard to the reputation and quality of their degrees.

This has further led to universities having preference or simultaneous commitment to their own projects rather than the HEC's. An awardee and supervisor selected by the HEC seeking training in universities has also brought forth the issue of 'dependence on others' who do not have the same sense of commitment. This has given rise to differences of opinion on leadership and proper organizational roles. There is every likelihood of legal and procedural differences as regards rules and procedures of individual institutions *vis-a-vis* the HEC. This in turn might lead to some sort of agreement between the researchers, supervisors and the Commission, but it can also result in lack of power or control over individual institutions--there appears to be a hazardous proliferation of clearances and decision points.

With regard to the hiring of faculty, the HEC's faculty hiring is a contentious issue. It has been taken as direct interference with the autonomy of universities. Even in cases recommended by the individual institutions a veto power by the Commission is resented.¹⁹ This appears to be incompatible with other commitments of HEC which focus around a system-wide reform and not individual efforts. It is obvious that the sense of urgency with which a department or institution requires services of professors, is not the case with the Commission and vice versa (especially in the case of foreign faculty hiring) This in turn intensifies the difference of opinion on those whose job it is to decide on these matters. These efforts often require lengthy immigration procedures which only add to the decision points, often resulting in unnecessary delays and failures.

The recent past has shown that for a salary package of \$ 3000 to \$ 5000 (approximate minimum and maximum salary for foreign faculty) hardly any top professor from US or Western Europe is willing to come to Pakistan. Those who have opted for this are either from countries somewhat higher up the development scale than Pakistan, or do not really have the kind of expertise this scheme hopes to tap.

The foregoing, which pose problems of resentment and differences of opinion on leadership and proper organizational roles, also give rise to *legal and procedural differences*. For example a faculty member hired by the HEC would consider the Commission as the employer, whereas s/he is required to work within the administrative domain of an institution. This can lead to administrative issues. Maybe in developed countries where well-established systems are in place, this may not be an issue. However, in a set-up where these highly paid foreign teachers are not directly answerable to the university administration, some resentment and ill-will among local (low paid) faculty is bound to follow, which ultimately affects the university management. Similarly, the award of scholarships and fellowships directly by the Commission undermines the academic function and autonomy of institutions. Like faculty members hired by the Commission, the award of fellowships and scholarships (especially indigenous) by HEC gives a new dimension to organizational roles. It is not only the selection of scholars but also the selection of supervisors. In a situation where both the scholars and supervisors are selected and sponsored by the Commission the role of institutions conducting course work for MPhil/PhD raises questions about whose job it is to select, teach, supervise and award degrees. This systemic dichotomy with regard to roles is serious, and needs to be rectified.

As already noted there is nothing inherently wrong with the HEC's 'quality assurance' vision *per se*, and most people would applaud the setting up of mechanisms to ensure quality. A factory, for example, that did not produce reliable goods would soon go out of business. People who buy things expect them to work properly. In one sense, the public 'buys' educated people and fixes monetary values for them. It has a primary stake in the credibility of education. Also, when we send trained manpower abroad to work as artisans and technicians, foreigners who hire them should have confidence in the validity of our certification. The 'quality' concept is more easily applied to people in scientific or technological fields in which skill components can be measured--can Mr X with a Pakistani certificate wire a house properly? The concept is less clear for the humanities and social sciences, some of which are by definition amorphous and incommensurable. Difficulties, but perhaps not insurmountable ones, persist in these areas. It is too soon to speak on these matters, but some evaluation is indicated within a year or so of writing this. It would be of interest to see if the quality of university programs had indeed improved because of this initiative. One institution should be selected now to judge the quality of its programs at this moment in time, and this should then be compared with the quality of those same programs a year from now.

This should be understood as a recommendation for further research. It falls outside the remit of this study.

As already discussed in the preceding chapter, implementation is about implementers. Once the initial conditions of necessary law making and financial allocations are set and there is also greater or unanimous agreement on leadership and an understanding on which organization will do what, then there is a greater possibility of creating cohesion and better synchronization to carry out plans and policies more efficiently. Therefore in our case, ideally there should be least difference of opinion on leadership and proper organizational roles if implementation has to result in sustained reforms.

8.2.5 Time Duration and Availability of Resources

In chapter 3, 4, and 5 we have discussed in detail the attempts made to develop this sector in the past. It has been learnt that serious and sustained efforts were not made therefore higher education, like school and college education, not only remained unattended but yielded graduates with poor learning outcomes.

This performance was primarily an outcome of two things:

1. No government accepted the challenge of reforming higher education in particular and education in general as a long term intervention. Every successive government was concerned more about its political agenda focusing on quantity in the short run rather than a sustained socio-economic development through long term investment in education in general and higher education in particular. Hence the *time duration* required for the long haul of education was hardly there which in turn not only had adverse effects on this particular sector but also yielded poor human resource for socio economic growth of the country.
2. On the other hand *availability of resources*, especially financial, as this discerning factor alone has the cutting edge for making all sorts of resources available be it human technical or infrastructural, were adequate. The meager financial allocations in the past hardly produced the kind of resources and infrastructure required to reform tertiary education. Even when the allocations were a little better the institutions failed to absorb it in time. (chapter 4)

Since the year 2002, when the HEC was established, there seems to be a greater realization of these two factors. Up till now there is a progressive increase in the financial allocations and there is a sustained effort on the part of the present leadership, both at the level

of the federal government and the HEC, to carry on with the task of reforming higher education. However as already discussed there still appears a lack of capacity in individual institutions to absorb it. The following tables show the progress of development schemes undertaken during the years 2004-05 and 2005-06.

Table 13 prepared by the HEC's monitoring team reveals the status of 232 development schemes being executed by various institutions in their respective provincial and administrative jurisdiction during the year 2004-05.²⁰

Table 14

Province	Total Project	Good	Satisfactory	Slow	Not satisfactory
HEC	28	2	16	8	2
Federal & AJK	36	3	8	20	5
Punjab	72	5	23	35	9
Sindh	65	4	22	25	14
N.W.F.P	19	0	9	9	1
Balochistan	12	0	4	6	2
Total	232	14	82	103	33

Out of a total of 232 projects only 14 have been rated good which is about 6% of the total. Then 82 have been rated as satisfactory which forms another 35% (approximately). 103 schemes have been rated as slow which forms about 45% of the total schemes. 33 not satisfactory schemes come to about 14% of the total. In order to present a sharper comparison, the four categories made for progress monitoring, we divide them into two groups i.e. satisfactory and not satisfactory. Satisfactory includes good and satisfactory whereas not satisfactory includes slow and not satisfactory.

$$\text{Satisfactory} = \text{Good} = 6\% + \text{satisfactory} = 35\% = 41\%$$

$$\text{Not Satisfactory} = \text{Slow} = 45\% + \text{not satisfactory} = 14\% = 59\%$$

A comparison of 41% satisfactory work with 59% unsatisfactory works is poor progress.

A similar report for the year 2005-06 gives the following data.²¹

Table 15**Progress Rating of Development Projects
(327 Projects Financed Under PSDP 2005-06)**

Province	Total Approved Projects	Good	Satisfac-tory	Slow	Not Satisfactory	Not Rated
AJK	8	0	1	6	1	0
Balochistan	12	0	8	4	0	0
NWFP	36	2	19	13	2	0
Punjab	84	4	39	37	4	0
Sindh	63	2	40	19	2	0
Federal	51	3	20	21	7	0
HEC	69	4	46	15	4	0
Misc	4	0	3	1	0	0
Total	327	15	177	115	20	0

Out of these 327 approved projects 15 were rated good (4.58%), 177 fall in category of satisfactory (54.12%), 115 were rated relatively slow (35.16%) while 20 were rated Un-satisfactory (6.11%). In this case we find more unsatisfactory projects than good. If we add up the back log of 136 slow/unsatisfactory schemes from 2004-05 the situation will further complicate. As the same set of people in HEC and institutions are handling these projects therefore implementers already taxed with the complexity of joint action are furthering their plight by the increased flow of funds.

This primarily results from the inability of Universities' administrative staff to absorb enhanced development funds. We have seen efforts to bring about changes in all spheres of higher education but as far as the administrative and financial staff is concerned (which comprises the offices of Registrars and Treasurers) we see hardly any attempt to reform. It is feared that without proper attention to these offices, the development of infrastructure will remain slow, perhaps even poor. The application of reforms presupposes a parallel development in institutional capacity, but this has gone begging in most institutions-- it is not just the year under assessment but also the backlog of previous years which further compounds the situation.

A regular commitment over the last five years has helped the HEC introduce and consolidate various interventions whereby it plans to reform this sector. Therefore there is a general degree of satisfaction over the level of financial and administrative commitment that the present government has provided to this sector. A respectable time duration and regular financial support is helping this sector develop the kind of resources and infrastructure required to compete in the international market.

This golden period of history of higher education unfortunately does not depict a general national commitment. The present government is headed by a military ruler as President. He is followed by a Prime Minister who neither has a political constituency nor a background in politics. The former assumed the Presidency by virtue of the organization he heads (the Army) and the latter was selected by the President for this job. The current Chairman HEC is a professional with high standing as an academic of international repute. These are the main movers and shakers for this initiative. Hence it appears that apart from these three individuals there is little tangible support from the parliament. This is evident from the fact that hardly ever was higher education discussed as a national imperative.

However, the HEC has been established as an autonomous Commission independent of the Federal Ministry of Education for a more focused and sustained effort. It also needs to be mentioned that much of the credit for the present commitment to higher education goes to international partners (especially in the scenario of the war against terror) and of donor agencies who have identified the development of human resources as a critical area for building a *knowledge* economy and a mature, stable society with credible political institutions in place. Hence a lot of scholarships are being offered by developed countries and funds are being made available for education.

The political scene from March 2007 onwards is full of turmoil. One can sense uncertainty in the air. If one of the older political parties regains power, things might change suddenly once more. The leading political forces have already been tried by this nation. Unfortunately none has shown a resolve similar to the present one as far as higher education is concerned. So the researcher has serious apprehensions about the availability of the required time duration and financial resources. Even though there is an argument that the succeeding governments will be obliged to continue with what is being done at present, this nation has seen the precipitous reversal of good initiatives by different governments in the past. Hence it is evident that until there is a greater awareness of this need in the political parties, duly

translated in their agenda yielding enhanced funding when they come to power, the future will remain fluid and uncertain. An example of this can be found in the Education policy of 1972 (discussed in greater detail in chapter 4) which, instead of capitalizing on the strengths and improving the weaknesses of the previous policies, went in a completely new direction of nationalizing the education sector. Similarly, the policy of 1979 given by military rulers, not only converted the medium of instruction in public schools to Urdu but also attempted to Islamize the society through education. The other interesting factor was uneven non-progressive financial allocations. Neither were they linked with the increasing population nor were they ever connected with the GDP or GNP. Until the year 2002, 55 years history of Pakistan did offer time but never offered the type of resources and commitment which could bring about the desired change. In the words of Hogwood and Gunn²² "...policy makers should ensure that adequate time and resources are made available to the program..." if it is to succeed.

In view of the foregoing it is contended that an increased number of institutions, thousands of scholarships, high pay packages under tenure track, foreign faculty hiring programs and enhanced funding for infrastructure and recurring costs demand a sustained supply of resources for a respectable time duration. Therefore the true success of HEC's strategies lies in the continuation of its programs over a reasonable period of time. This is considered as one of the most important factors in the successful implementation of the present reform program.

8.2.6 Consensus

From the foregoing one learns that there needs to be the greatest possible degree of consensus among implementers so that a program has the least number of disputes and differences. In the case of our present study there is some loose kind of consensus about *what* and *why*, but there is little consensus on *how*.

The HEC and individual institutions are locked in the discussion of compatibility, different commitments, dependence on those who lack the required sense of urgency, on issues like leadership and proper organizational roles especially in the backdrop of legal and procedural differences. One reason for this is the absence of a proper consultative process whereby decisions are taken after exhaustive discussions on an issue and its follow up strategy and the other is HEC's policy of formulating policy on its own without considering detailed analysis of various situations. For example hiring of foreign faculty and tenure track appointments for universities in far-flung areas such as Khusdar in Balochistan or Karakorum in Gilgit.

Michael Hill²³ (2005) is of the view that the degree of cooperation required of various agencies and implementers needs to be close to 100% if implementation is to be successful. This in other words is consensus. The HEC's attempt to invade the autonomy of institutions, selection of Vice Chancellors' through a search Committee, enlistment of HEC's approved supervisors, award of fellowships and scholarships, distribution of funds to various institutions and setting rules for appointment of faculty members has put a deep dent in the possibility of a greater degree of consensus among implementers.

A similar situation is also seen within institutions. The faculty is split, some agree with what the HEC wants and does, while some oppose it. As regards university administrators other work has increased manifold with enhanced funding and developmental schemes. They more than ever are answerable to the Commission on various issues which resultantly brings discontentment and lack of consensus.

On the other hand, as already mentioned earlier, the Commission being independent of Ministry of Education does not take the Ministry on board for its activities. This leads to a lack of consensus at the political/parliament level. By law it is the Ministry which is represented in the Parliament by the Federal Minister for education and not the HEC. The reason for this is the fact that the Minister has to be a member of the Parliament. By virtue of his being an MP he can mobilize the opinion of the public representatives on various issues but the Chairman HEC can not.²⁴

At present there are about 60 public sector universities, and a similar number of Vice Chancellors. The Commission's inability to develop a clear cut consensus needs to be addressed. If every intervention is preceded by dialogue leading to greater consensus then followed by regular follow up meetings, it will definitely yield positive results. This consultative process can also involve Deans and senior faculty members, in a horizontal scale, as universities and HEC are equally autonomous and of an equal level, therefore it is important for them to agree on means as well as on ends.

The history of higher education also shows a dichotomy of system which has already been discussed in the initial part of this study. Until recently general universities in Pakistan were only meant for Masters or PhD level courses. It was only for disciplines like engineering and medical that a 4 years Bachelor's degree was instituted. For general universities degree colleges setup by provincial and federal governments would award bachelor's degree after two years of education. At present the HEC has asked all public sector

universities to institute 4 years bachelors. This is being implemented by various institutions but at the same time thousands of graduates are also being produced by the degree colleges after 2 years of education. It appears that these two streams will lead to serious complication in future. The best possible option is to create a greater consensus among all provincial governments, degree colleges and affiliating universities to have a uniform system whereby system wide reforms could be brought and consolidated.

8.2.7 Evaluation

As already discussed in chapter 7 the dynamics of 'evaluation' involve major questions like when, where, for whom, what and why. It also suggests types of evaluation like retrospective, prospective and formative. Unfortunately in our country, especially in the field of education in general and higher education in particular, evaluation as an important tool for gauging the efficacy, effectiveness and success of a policy has been missing.

A number of policies and plans were made in the past, which have been discussed in greater detail in chapter four of this study, yielding poor results not as one time effort but also as successive failures for over half a century.

In view of the foregoing it appears that government's failure to ensure appropriate time duration and availability of resources and an absence of clear cut goals and objectives were some of the major causes for failure in the past. The only possible way to timely identify and pinpoint these problems could have been evaluation in all its manifestations but that too was not there. The present effort is considered to be an awareness of inadequacy of these two major factors and HEC apparently has the right kind of resources but the availability of time duration is still an unstable phenomenon and so is the financial commitment. Now more than ever there appears to be a greater clarity of goals and objectives as those heading the Commission are professionals familiar with some of the best practices around the globe.

However as discussed in the first half of this chapter, a hovering difference of opinion on leadership and proper organizational roles (the commission versus institutions) is a factor of serious consequences especially keeping in view the complexity of joint action, which involves five governments (four provincial and one central) about sixty Vice Chancellors or heads of institutions and their support staff and a sizeable number of implementers at the HEC. Therefore this is an impediment which can affect the implementation of the present

reforms as it directly affects the presence of consensus among implementers.

There can be no denial of the fact that the cooperation required among implementers has to be close to 100% if a situation is not to occur in which a number of small deficits cumulatively create large shortfalls.²⁵ This exactly is what Pressman and Wildavsky in the preface to the first edition of their book on *Implementation* warn of when they say,²⁶

“The study of implementation requires understanding that apparently simple sequences of events depends on complex chains of reciprocal interaction. Hence, each part of the chain must be built with the other in view. *The separation of policy design from implementation is fatal*”. (researcher’s emphasis)

The only way to ensure successful implementation is for policy makers and implementers to rely on learning generated by evaluation. In our present study if a detailed evaluative study of the defunct UGC had been carried out there could have been more enrichment in the recommendations of the steering committee which resulted in the establishment of the HEC. While commenting on the importance of evaluative learning Pressman and Wildavsky in the preface to the third edition of their seminal work *Implementation* say,²⁷

“Learning is the key to both implementation and evaluation. We evaluate to learn, and we learn to implement. Evaluation is a method of inducing learning within an organization geared for implementation. And it is not only evaluators but the program personnel, the implementers, who are to do the learning. Were this is not so, where evaluation is isolated from implementation, the latter would be blind and former would be dumb, and neither could change for the better.”

In this backdrop it is inevitable that this aspect of successful implementation (evaluation) must be given due importance at both retrospective (to learn from the past) and formative level as an ongoing effort to learn from the past and to take corrective measures in the present times to ensure success in future.

With this discussion we now move on to the findings of the present study.

8.3 Findings

The researcher will base his findings on the analysis of the factors included in the theoretical framework of the present study. The findings will result in answering the second research question as the first question has already been addressed and answered in the first part of this chapter.

1. That the establishment of HEC is a welcome step and that there was a dire need of an attempt of this nature. However if an evaluation of the erstwhile UGC had been carried out and its findings had been incorporated in the recommendations of the task force and ordinance of HEC, the implementation of the present plan could have been better.
2. That so far there is healthy supply of funds for the present reforms. However this is being done through advance block allocation which results in 'funds chasing plans', rather than concrete plans requiring funds.
3. That there is a *complexity of joint action* involved in the present reform program. There are too many implementers and implementing agencies (institutions). Implementers at all levels (especially at the level of universities) find many of the new reforms directly incompatible with their existing commitments. Even if there is no direct incompatibility, there is usually a varying degree of preference for some programs over others. If none of these exists the implementers may have simultaneous commitments to other programs especially when the universities have the same human resource/personnel which they had earlier i.e VC/Deans, Registrar, Treasurer and Controller of Examinations.

Moreover, there are legal and procedural differences like appointment of Vice Chancellors through the search committee. Some universities like (NUST and NUML) have their BOGs as appointing authorities for Rector whereby they are not obliged to go through the search committees.²⁸ Similarly there are other issues like instituting academic programs (like engineering and PhD programs) where universities consider themselves justified according to their charters whereas the HEC finds itself not satisfied with the kind of infrastructure an institution must have before launching a new program. Lastly there is a varied sense of urgency among implementers. The intensity with which an institution or HEC thinks of a program may not find a similar sense of urgency in the other agency which prohibits prompt replies to situations calling for immediate remedies.

4. That there exists *better clarity of goals and objectives* but doing too many things too quickly can jeopardize slow but sure consolidation of achievements. Reforming higher education is a slow, long term process hence reforms should be induced in order of priority enabling sustainable change, plus making room for more change. However this is not happening at present.

5. That there are serious *differences on leadership and proper organizational roles*. The universities hold their autonomy very dear and are not convinced that HEC, through its role as fund distributing agency, should invade their autonomy by selecting Vice Chancellors, appointing faculty, awarding scholarships, hiring PhD supervisors and telling institutions what to do and what not to do.

That the present dispute over leadership and proper organizational roles owes a lot to a diversity of chancellors, governance and composition of senates, syndicates and boards of governors. This has only added to quarrels over autonomy and leadership. In the case of COMSAT the Federal Minister for science and technology is the Chancellor.²⁹ In the private sector the Foundation University has the Federal Secretary Defence as Chancellor, and other private universities too have different Chancellors. This generates a need for having a uniform chain of command working within a similar legal framework (Act or Ordinance under which universities in the public sector are established and work)

6. That there is a clear and present danger as far as *duration of adequate time and allocation of resources* to the present reform agenda is concerned. The present effort owes almost all credit to the President, Prime Minister and Chairman HEC. Interestingly all three of them have no political background and are not part of the national political leadership who are likely to form governments in the future.

7. That there is a *lack of consensus* among implementers on means rather than ends. Generally there is a greater degree of agreement on the ends but there is little consensus on means. Individual institutions are not willing to accept the supremacy of HEC over their activities. They resent the interference of HEC in their affairs especially when majority of decisions are imposed on them without their being consulted.

8. Last but not least is the fact that there had been no *evaluation* in the past and there still is no mechanism for this important aspect of successful implementation. In the past as well as now the monitoring

and evaluation sections of organizations are only concerned about the progress of various schemes and activities. They have no mandate or capacity to carry out evaluation as envisaged in the theories presented in the preceding chapter. Neglect of this single factor alone had adverse effects in the past but now is the time to incorporate this important factor as an integral part of all implementation in this sector, so that desired results can be achieved.

In this backdrop we can now answer our second research question. The analysis carried out on the basis of the theoretical framework and empirical data shows that it is unlikely for HEC to succeed without an explicit implementation plan. The study depicts a number of theoretical and empirical pitfalls which are seen as impediments restricting sustainable and lasting reforms in higher education.

The following recommendations are put forward for consideration of policy makers to improve the valuable effort of reforming higher education in Pakistan.

8.4 Recommendations

1. That it should be made a constitutional obligation that education in general and higher education in particular will get its due share of resources every year. That in a period of 10 years from now, the budget allocation for higher education will reach at least 1% of the GNP, and that it will not sink below this in future, so that every reform effort is followed by adequate financial support yielding the kind of time duration required for the reform.

It is further recommended that funding to universities be done on the basis of number of students and faculty. For a rational approach the institutions may be divided into categories on the basis of their area of activity viz; general, engineering, medical, law, agriculture and so on, so that per student calculation is justifiable. Similarly for development schemes also the same formula should be applied so that there is least resentment among institutions over sharing of resources.

It has also been observed that HEC is getting block allocation in anticipation of development and recurring grants. This means 'funds chasing schemes' whereas the researcher recommends that it should be the opposite. The financial requirement be worked out in advance and the releases should follow. This will not only provide ample time for effective planning leading to successful implementation but will also prevent under utilization of funds or their wastage in haste.

2. That there is visible clarity of goals and objectives but there should be no rush for their achievement. Education reforms are a long term effort and adequate time should be given for each reform. One can understand the pressure on an agency such as the HEC to perform, to justify its existence through a display of tangible results, but haste can be counterproductive. Moreover there is a need to mobilize national opinion (especially among leading public representatives) that the achievement of goals and objectives set for higher education is very important for the socio-economic development of the country and that this sector alone can yield a huge pool of human resource not only for our national market but also for the international market.

3. That there is a dire need to do away with eight chancellors in the public sector and bring the number down to one. This will help dovetail diversity of implementers in an appropriate fashion. Since funding and regulatory functions are performed by the HEC, a federal government's agency, therefore Prime Minister should be made the Chancellor of all public sector universities, who is also the head of HEC. This will not only ensure provision of adequate financial resources, as PM heads the federal government, it will also put the onus of higher education on the political leadership of the country.

The Chancellor should be assisted by a **National Committee on Higher Education (NCHE)** which should meet every six months. Since Pakistan comprises four provinces, the Committee should have adequate representation from provincial as well as federal government. It should also include VCs, Deans, Eminent Scholars, Registrars and representatives from business and industry.

Once a policy decision is taken by this committee and approved by the Chancellor it should become binding on both HEC and institutions to follow. The same committee should also put forward recommendations outlining the roles of the HEC *vis-a-vis* institutions. For this purpose all public sector institutions be taken on board so that there is no difference of opinion on leadership or organizational role and institutions across the country are governed by one set of laws.

4. That serious efforts need to be made to reduce, as much as possible, the complexity of joint action. As already recommended by having one chancellor and set of rules for all public sector universities this complexity of joint action can be minimized. The National Committee on Higher Education, headed by the federal Education Minister should hold exhaustive discussions to ease the complexity of joint action by creating better understanding and coordination among implementers. Then there can be an **Executive Committee on Higher Education (ECHE)** comprising the Prime Minister, all Chief Ministers,

Federal and Provincial Education Ministers, Federal Finance Minister, Deputy Chairman Planning Commission, Chairman HEC and five Vice Chancellors (one from each province and one from the federal) and one each from engineering, law and health universities to review the progress of this sector and to make policy decisions in the light of recommendations of the NCHE. It must also be made mandatory that these committees meet twice a year.

Once the aforementioned committees are formed following hierarchies for both policy decision making and for administrative control will emerge.

Diagram 'E'

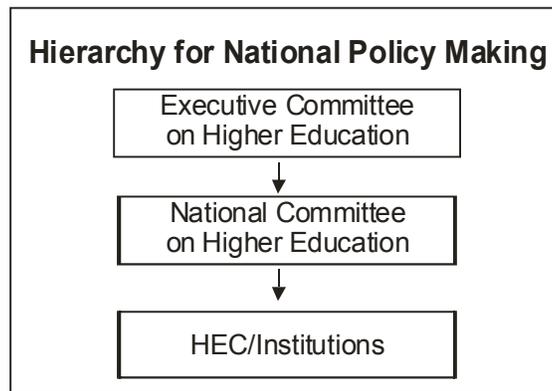
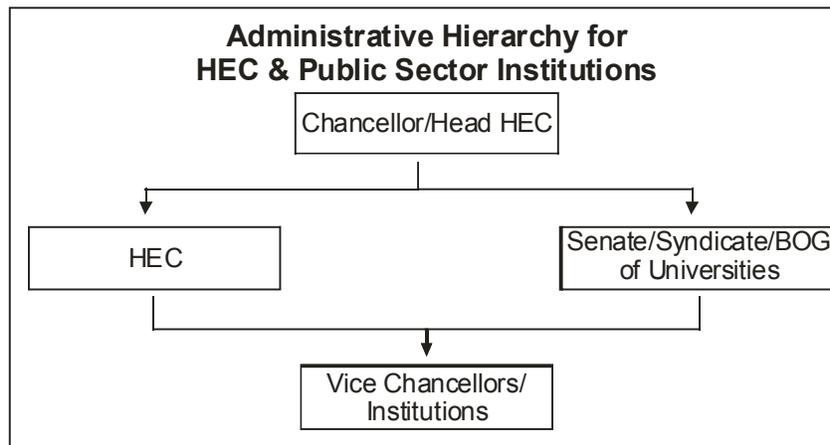


Diagram 'F'



5. That efforts must be made to develop consensus among implementers. It is recommended that each major objective or goal be discussed between HEC and all vice chancellors followed by similar discussions within individual institutions where actual implementation will take place. Once such consultations have taken place and an agreement is reached among implementers (VCs & HEC) if not all at least more than 70% of them, then implementation should begin. It should start initially with those institutions who agree with a proposal, and a demonstration of successful implementation by the agreeing parties should convince the remaining institutions. Hence there must be 70 to 80% agreement/consensus on a plan so that its implementation produces a synergy effect.

To ensure formation of better teams of implementers all PhD degree holders working in universities or degree awarding institutes as Deans, Professors, Directors, Registrars and Principals of post graduate colleges having requisite qualifications and grades be first offered courses at a special Academy where senior faculty and officers can be sensitized of various issues, problems and policies pertaining to higher education. Regular sessions with representatives of society, industry, social organizations, senior civil and military bureaucracy, public representatives and ministers must also be arranged for an appropriate interaction of faculty and managers of higher education with other important segments of society. Through these participatory career courses the able faculty and managers of the higher education sector will get a chance to share their experiences with the future policy makers of the country. Similarly, officers from other organizations will be able to share their concerns regarding academic needs of the future workforce required by the public and private sectors, and the shortcomings of the present system. This mainstreaming of the faculty, administrators and managers of higher education institutions will not only give feedback from and an insight into the market where their product is utilized but will also help the policy makers understand various problems and issues confronting the higher education sector. For these courses the government and the Commission can allocate seats to eligible candidates, according to their regional or provincial quota.

The Commission should also maintain a database of these officials and from amongst them pick out a few for its **Academy for Higher Education Leadership** (a name coined just for the purpose of quick reference). In this hypothetical Academy the few selected ones from the previous course should be further sensitized not just to the problems of their parent institutions but to all the universities and degree awarding institutes in both public and private sectors. There

should be exhaustive discussions among participants representing a variety of institutions from across the country regarding their strengths, weaknesses, problems and solutions, and sharing from each others experiences. This interaction of senior members from different institutions will also help the institutions of higher learning share their academic resources, arrange video conferencing and organize online lectures through various digital interventions made by the Commission. The discussions can either be followed by papers to be presented and read to the audience focusing on issues suggesting solutions or by articles addressing the core areas. These participants should also be made familiar with the higher education systems around the world and should be given adequate information on various steps taken by the government to promote this sector in their own country. At this level a considerable input will also be required from various 'chambers of commerce and industry', government and non governmental organizations, social and political organizations and public service commissions to incorporate at least at the policy making level, their suggestions regarding input and output issues with regard to quality.

Those who successfully complete these courses will perhaps form the core team and a think tank from which Vice Chancellors, Rectors or Presidents and in some cases their second in command, namely, Pro Vice Chancellors Pro Rectors and Deputy Presidents can also be short listed and selected by the Chancellor. Those once selected will know the higher education sector of the country better and will also know the type of output required by the public and private sectors. These professionals will have good linkages with all the stakeholders and will be able to communicate effectively on various important policy, financial and administrative issues. This will also enable most of the senior employees of the universities and degree awarding institutions to have equal opportunity to rise among the ranks which will result in more meaningful output and participation by all players. Moreover a gradual and uniform future progression will attract more and more able youth to this profession whereby these institutions will generally get a better quality of faculty and employees.

6. That all reforms need a follow up strategy. The researcher considers 'evaluation' as an extremely important component of the implementation process. It is recommended that evaluation of policies be carried out on regular basis by technical committees of the NCHE and its findings be shared with implementers and new policies and strategies be formulated on the basis of new learning generated from the evaluative process. Finally the NCHE should put forward the

findings of evaluation and future strategy before the government for its policy decisions.

It is further recommended that like evaluation of faculty by students and peers there also is a need for performance evaluation of university administrators. This should include confidential evaluation of performance of VCs by Deans, Registrar, Treasurer and Controller of Examinations, who in turn are evaluated by the VC in the annual confidential report. Evaluation proforma of VCs may be forwarded to the Chancellor for information.

It is also suggested that the head of a university or degree awarding institution should not always be someone very senior. In Pakistan Vice Chancellors are normally those who fall between the age group of 55-65. Given the fact that life expectancy in Pakistan is 63 years³⁰ one who enters between the ages of 61 and 65 if selected will be 66-70 when s/he retires. This is the age where one's research output can be at its best but the discharge of administrative and managerial duties may not be. Similarly a person getting this term as a bonus or reward towards the last years of his or her practical life will hardly go into long term planning. Most human beings want the fruit of their labour in their own life time therefore these people can tend to restrict themselves to short term planning. Moreover they will hardly have any chance of getting another term on the basis of their present performance, which can lead them a situation where they would enjoy the perks attached to the post and would keep their chancellors happy, but would seldom take initiatives for long term change.

The idea of having younger vice chancellors might be strange for many but history has proved that people like J. William Fullbright who headed the University of Arkansas at the age of 34 and from there rose to international fame³¹ and Mr. Lawrence H. Summers the former president of Harvard another young head have done good service to their respective institutions. This encouragement to the relatively younger lot where their present jobs are secure and they have more years to go for active service might induce in them greater motivation to give their best which in turn can bring about a total turn around.

References / End Notes

¹ See Omar, K., "Newswatch – Pakistan Needs to Boost its Engineering Sector" The News, April 10, 2005

² I owe special thanks to Professor Dr. Muhammad Azam Khan, former Vice Chancellor, Arid Agriculture University Rawalpindi and Karakoram International University Gilgit for helping me with these diagrams.

³ Ordinance No. CIII of 2002 – Gazette of Pakistan, Extra, September 11, 2002. P. 1178

⁴ Ibid P. 1179

⁵ Manual of University Laws in Pakistan, Volume I, II, III, compiled by Dr. Captain U.A.G. Isani & Dr. Mohammad Latif Virk, published by Iqra University, Karachi, July 2006

⁶ The history of Pakistan shows a chequered pattern of power struggle between the offices of the President and the Prime Minister. With around 30 years of military rule, powers have rested with the President, whereas after the constitution of 1973, constitutionally the executive powers are with the Prime Minister.

⁷ Jeffery L. Pressman & Aaron Wildavsky, Implementation, University of California Press, Ltd. London, England 1984. P.

⁸ Ibid. P. 178

⁹ Ibid. P. 50-51

¹⁰ Higher Education Commission Annual Report 2004-05. P. 97

¹¹ Creating a University – Harvard Style, by Prof. Dr. Muhammad Abbas Chaudhry Daily Dawn, Advertisement Supplement. Monday, October 30, 2006

¹² "Research output in Varsities goes up". By Khawar Ghumman, Daily Dawn, Saturday, 6th January 2007. P. 18

¹³ "The Quality of Pakistani Research" by M. Usman Ilyas. Daily Dawn, Sunday, 7th January 2007 p. 21

¹⁴ "Lower expectations" by Dr. Shamsul Haque & Dr. Norman Ahmed. Daily Dawn Magazine, Sunday, October 1, 2006.

¹⁵ "Kohat Varsity lacks PhDs" by Abdul Sami Piracha Daily Dawn, Sunday August 20th 2006 p.4.

¹⁶ HEC Annual Report 2004-05 P. 98

¹⁷ www.tfhe.net/task Force on Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan, March 2002.

¹⁸ "QAU staff to observe black day on 17th" by Sher Baz Khan Daily Dawn Monday, August 14, 2006.

¹⁹ It has been observed in the case of up-gradation of pay scale of university teachers (a one time incentive by the federal government) that for up-gradation from Basic Pay Scale 19 to 20 (Associate Professor) and from 20 to 21 (Professor) the HEC required the institution to follow the Commission's criteria.

²⁰ Higher Education Commission Annual Report 2004-05 p. 116

²¹ Ibid p. 134

²² Hill. M. and Hupe. P. (2002). Implementing Public Policy: SAGE Publications London.: P. 50-51

²³ Hill. M. (2005). The Public Policy Process IVth Edition, Pearson Education Limited: P. 177

²⁴ Though there is no bar on having a Chairman HEC as an elected representative, in a country like Pakistan where elections are mostly for the rich and mighty (many of whom are not known for their scholarship), it is hardly possible for a professor to contest and win an election. Until this happens a technocrat's seat is likely to be filled by an MP who might not be a professional.

²⁵ Hill. M. (2005). The Public Policy Process IVth Edition, Pearson Education Limited: P. 177

²⁶ Jeffery L. Pressman & Aaron Wildavsky, Implementation, University of California Press, Ltd. London, England 1984. P. xxv

²⁷ Ibid. P. xviii

²⁸ Ibid. p. 1075

²⁹ Manual of University Laws in Pakistan, Volume I, II, III, compiled by Dr. Captain U.A.G. Isani & Dr. Mohammad Latif Virk, published by Iqra University, Karachi, July 2006 p. 477

³⁰ www.worldbank.org.pk

³¹ Sayed. A, Daily Dawn, Sunday 22nd May 2005

Samenvatting

Het management van hervormingen in het hoger onderwijs in Pakistan.

In deze studie worden een aantal factoren belicht die van invloed zijn op de ontwikkeling van het hoger onderwijs in Pakistan. Het beleid van de overheid ten aanzien van het hoger onderwijs in Pakistan wordt geanalyseerd vanaf de onafhankelijkheid. In het licht van deze historische analyse wordt de vraag gesteld of de nieuwste hervorming welke bekend staat onder de naam HEC een kans van slagen heeft.

Het blijkt opmerkelijk dat de positie van het onderwijs in het algemeen en hoger onderwijs in het bijzonder niet geregeld is in de Pakistaanse constitutie. In de ogen van de onderzoeker ligt hierin een belangrijke juridische en bestuurlijke beperking voor het optreden van achtereenvolgende regeringen bijvoorbeeld in vergelijking met India. Het handelen van de opeenvolgende regering miste een belangrijke grondslag in de afweging tegenover andere wel in de constitutie geregelde zaken. (voor uitbreiding zie blz. 194)

Een andere belangrijke factor in de ontwikkeling van het hoger onderwijs is de aansluiting van de gemaakte plannen bij de algemene sociale en economische ontwikkeling van het land. Zo sloten de wisselende nadruk op de ontwikkeling van dan weer de landbouw of juist de industriële activiteiten niet aan de behoefte en bij het uiteindelijke aanbod vanuit het onderwijs, waarbij het onderwijs bovendien haar weg moest zoeken in de ontwikkeling uit het koloniale systeem.

De studie wijst bovendien naar belangrijke effecten van het verleden op de ontwikkeling van onderwijsbeleid. Pakistan erfde van de Engelsen een zwak ontwikkeld primair en secundair onderwijs stelsel maar ook het stelsel voor hoger onderwijs was zwak ontwikkeld. In 1948 bestonden slechts twee (publieke) universiteiten. De oprichting van nieuwe universiteiten ging traag. In 1960 bestonden pas 5 universiteiten. Die aantallen zijn eigenlijk per 10 jaar verdubbeld, maar de laatste jaren dreigt het systeem zeer te expanderen met in 2005 49 publieke en 36 private universiteiten. Er dient zich een uitbreidend universum aan met onduidelijkheden in affiliaties en diplomering met

buitenlandse universiteiten, kwaliteit, curricula ontwikkeling en bewaking, uiteenlopende kwaliteit van onderzoek en ontwikkeling. De behoefte aan planning en controle neemt toe zowel in het licht van de ambities tot economische groei van het land als de betrugeling van de ontwikkeling in het hoger onderwijs zelf.

Een volgende belangrijke factor is gelegen in de aard van de plannen. De plannen zijn een lange opsomming van analyses, voorgestelde acties en maatregelen. Twee zaken ontbreken. De hoeveelheid geld is niet in overeenstemming met de genoemde ambities maar nog belangrijker is het bij voortduring ontbreken van een implementatieplan. Zo is het bijvoorbeeld interessant te zien dat Pakistan in een bepaalde periode een vrijwel eenzelfde plan heeft ontwikkeld als Korea maar waar Korea een grote sprong voorwaarts heeft weten te maken op basis van de implementatie van dat plan, is implementatieplanning in Pakistan afwezig en heeft het plan niet geleid tot een zelfde sprong voorwaarts maar tot stagnatie. Het ontbreken de opeenvolgende regeringen aan politieke stabiliteit en aan een gebrek aan lange termijn beleid. De groei van de universiteiten en het gebrek aan adequate overheidplanning zet het land zwaar onder druk. Deze situatie heeft een grote impact op de sociale- en educatieve ontwikkeling van het land. De vraag over de kwaliteit en controle is steeds pregnanter geworden. In de studie wordt de aanpak van de University Grants Commission (UGC) gedetailleerd beschreven. In de ogen van de auteurs wordt ook het aan de HEC voorafgaande plan van de University Grants Commission gekenmerkt door oude kwalen van te grote ambities, te weinig middelen, grote afstand tot de onderwijspraktijk, zeer gedetailleerde beschrijvingen van situaties en maatregelen en geen implementatieplanning.

De auteur introduceert in detail het HEC programma. Hij komt tot de conclusie dat in het HEC programma grote en gedetailleerde aandacht bestaat voor de noodzakelijke aspecten van onderwijsontwikkeling. Bovendien heeft de nieuwe HEC commissie zowel een focus en strategieën ontwikkeld op korte en lange termijn problemen. Bovendien - en wellicht voor de eerste keer in de geschiedenis - is er sprake van een echt commitment van de verantwoordelijken om de plannen ook ten uitvoer te brengen En dat alles met een voor zover mogelijke adequate financieel budget op zowel nationaal en internationaal niveau. Er wordt gewerkt aan een adequate infrastructuur voor faculteiten om hun onderwijspolitiek uit te voeren.

Maar de belangrijkste vraag is toch of ook in dit plan sprake is van een implementatie plan dat al deze acties moet ondersteunen. Om

deze vraag goed te kunnen beantwoorden is in de studie gekeken naar de inzet van bekende klassieke auteurs en hun opvattingen over implementatie.

De auteur introduceert klassieke auteurs als Pressman en Wildavski en Lipski. De auteur volgt de redenering van Hupe en Hill dat Pressman en Wildavski's werk *On implementation* uit 1973 gezien moet worden als een klassieke maar ook nog steeds gezaghebbende benadering van het vraagstuk van implementatie gezien vanuit een topdown benadering met toenemend oog voor het belang van het lerend vermogen door de combinatie van evaluatie en implementatie en een toegenomen dynamiek tussen het maken en implementeren van plan en praktijk. Daar tegenover staat de benadering van Lipski maar ook auteurs als Gunne, Sabtier en Mazmanian en Hogwood en Gunn waarbij aandacht gevraagd en verlegd wordt naar de invloed van bottom up processen en processen van local level politics. Met name Lipski heeft in zijn beroemde studie het belang van uitvoeringsprocessen en de voor uitvoering belangrijke discretionaire ruimte aangegeven. In de ogen van de auteur zijn beide benaderingen als belangrijke aspecten van implementatie theoretisch goed met elkaar te verenigen in diverse synthese (Elmore, Scharpf) maar geven zowel de condities van planning in het huidige Pakistan als het type gevolgde planning meer reden het huidige HEC programma langs de lijnen van Pressman en Wildavski te leggen en daarnaast aandacht te besteden aan locale processen op universiteiten bij eenmaal door de overheid verrichte implementaties. De auteur gebruikt de door Pressman en Wildavski als belangrijk gekenschetste processen van 'commitment, sense of urgency, perception and interests' van actoren.

Voor een goede analyse van het mogelijke succes van de HEC wijst de auteur op een aantal complicerende factoren in de aansturing van het hoger onderwijs en het systeem van de universiteiten. Een van de belangrijkste problemen is de complexiteit van de bestuurlijke verantwoordelijkheid ten aanzien van de aansturing. Met uitzondering van een klein aantal instituten staan alle universiteiten onder het gezag van de President. Deze eindverantwoordelijkheid staat los van de planning en implementatie van de HEC, waardoor al snel verlies aan sense of urgency en het gevaar van verschillen in prioriteitstelling optreedt waarvoor juist door Pressman en Wildavski gewaarschuwd wordt.

Ook het aantal instituties en actoren in het proces van implementatie is een gevaar voor de effectiviteit van de HEC. Er is van meet af aan een complexiteit in de structuur, waarbij ieder zijn eigen rol en verantwoordelijkheid heeft, maar waardoor tevens en lange lijn van

noodzakelijke besluiten nodig is om tot uitvoering te komen en steeds mogelijke verschillen in perceptie en belangen de uitvoering beïnvloeden. Ondanks de observatie dat HEC beschikt over een aantal helder omschreven doelen en acties blijkt op tal van terreinen dat stagnatie optreedt door deze verschillen in interpretaties op bijvoorbeeld het gebied van infrastructuur, buitenlandse affiliatie, tenure track en kwaliteitsmanagement.

In het onderzoek blijkt ook duidelijk de theoretisch geduide noodzaak van een bottom up proces naast de gevolgde top down strategie. Het proces heeft te weinig ruimte om de door Lipski gekenschetste processen van lokale dynamiek succesvol in zich op te nemen.

Universiteiten hebben een eigen autonomie maar de uitgangspunten van het HEC programma dienen diep in de universitaire processen verankerd te worden. Aangezien het programma weinig rekening houdt met de noodzakelijke discretionaire ruimte van universiteiten en de dynamiek van lokale ervaringen en betekenissen dreigen tal van misfits te ontstaan tussen lokale dynamiek en centrale aansturing. Zo is de politiek van de HEC om buitenlandse Phd titels te kunnen behalen eerder een bedreiging voor de lokaal gediplomeerden dan een aanmoediging geworden. Waar het de bedoeling was buitenlandse competitie mogelijk te maken werkt dit onderscheid nu als een scheiding der geesten vanuit de betekenisgeving dat buitenlandse Phd goed en lokale slecht zouden zijn. In plaats van aanmoediging ontstaat er nu een gevoel van ontmoediging bij een groot deel van de staf.

Het onderzoek naar de kansen van de HEC om de al decennia durende stagnatie in het hoger onderwijs te doorbreken geeft een gemengd beeld. De HEC is een belangrijke stap voorwaarts. Niet eerder in de geschiedenis is de vastberadenheid, de kwaliteit en maatschappelijke functie van het hoger onderwijs te verbeteren zo expliciet geweest. Waar in het verleden veelal de middelen ontbraken is er nu een budget beschikbaar dat het verschil kan maken. Ook zijn de doelstellingen van de overheid en de te ondernemen acties helder gedefinieerd. Maar de complexiteit van structuur en de lange lijnen van betrokken instanties zijn zowel theoretisch als praktisch een belangrijk gevaar dat succesvolle implementatie bedreigt. Op tal van punten blijkt dat er niet zozeer verschil van mening bestaat over de doeleinden van het proces maar wel over de te nemen maatregelen en de wijze waarop deze ingevoerd en toegepast moeten worden. Zoals Pressman en Wildavski opmerkt hebben, veroorzaken vele kleine obstakels in

deze keten een groter gevaar dan een werkelijk belangrijk verschil van mening over de doeleinden.

Ten slotte wijst de onderzoeker in navolging van Pressman en Wildavski op het grote belang van evaluatie van het proces. Hij constateert dat aandacht voor evaluatie als zodanig maar vooral evaluatie als een met planning en implementatie verbonden dynamisch proces totaal afwezig is. Daardoor verliest het proces aan lerend vermogen tijdens de rit, waardoor het gevaar van dogmatische toepassing en verhoging van de druk van boven af en toenemend verzet van onderaf alleen maar toeneemt. Pakistan kan baat hebben bij de praktische toepassing van de inzichten van zowel Pressman en Wildavski als die van Lipski, als het van de HEC een succes wil maken blijkt uit deze empirische studie.

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The promises and problems of a new dispensation in higher education in Pakistan are identified and analyzed in this dissertation. The working of the Higher Education Commission (HEC) and its impact on universities and other institutions of higher education in Pakistan, and ultimately on the social fabric of the nation, are considered in detail against a backdrop of what has gone before, the poor funding and sudden reversals of the policy that have characterized past educational planning in this country. The study aims at providing a fair evaluation of the first few years of HEC in the light of implementation theory, and attempts a predictive analysis of what might come in the near and middle future. It take cognizance of achievements and outcomes so far, while remaining aware of the many traps that lie in waiting for any large-scale social reform of this nature, especially in the third world.