DYNAMICS OF SECONDARY CURRICULUM ORGANISATION IN PAKISTAN: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE FROM 1947 TO 1970

Sumaira Noreen

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), Royal Holloway College, University of London.

I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own and is not the result of plagiarism or collusion. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Sumaira Noreen

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ABSTRACT

Secondary school curricula have existed in different times with a number of titles, such as, general or academic, vocational or technical, diversified or comprehensive or integrated, etc. The history of secondary school curriculum organisation into different subjects in various societies presents an account of changes in the preferential status accorded to some subjects and/or sets of subjects over others. This is often the outcome of struggles between or among different dominant professional, academic, and political groups who are anxious that their policies triumph over other educational policies for curriculum organisation. Such struggles can be witnessed in official government forums, educational policy debates and/or through informal ways of influence such as the opinions of different groups for or against a particular education policy. In short, we need to understand the who, why, where and how of knowledge production for schools. This thesis examines the case of secondary curriculum organisation in Pakistan with reference to its dynamics like power, culture, change, knowledge and policy. For this purpose, this thesis provides an introductory account of some analytic approaches that combine more than one of these manifestations effecting curriculum organisation. The focus of this study rests on explaining whether secondary curriculum organisation in Pakistan had displayed radical or gradual changes in their scope during early eras of independence from British rule. This begins by examining the discourses embedded in British educational policies that had shaped pre-independence secondary curricula. It also examines the emergent discourses among influential educated Muslims for or against these curricula. The chapters that follow, dealing with the first ten years of so-called democratic rule in Pakistan from 1947-1958 and the next ten years of military rule from 1958 to 1970, explain the power dimensions, both local and international, which shaped secondary education; these had their own socio-political and

economic and cultural justifications for change that were expressed through their debates about the scope of secondary education for the young citizenry of Pakistan. The final discussion analyses in which way and how far departures from the colonial patterns of secondary curricular forms were being made in the post-independence decades of Pakistan.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABEP Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan

APEC All Pakistan Education Conference

B.N.A. British National Archives, Kew Gardens

CABE Central Advisory Board of Education

CCSE Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education

CTEP Council of Technical Education for Pakistan

CUC Calcutta University Commission

GoP Government of Pakistan

IUB Inter-University Board

KYJCR Kamal Yar Jung Committee Report

MSCS Matriculation and School-leaving Certificate Scheme

N.A.P. National Archives of Pakistan

N.D.C. National Documentation Centre, Islamabad.

NEC National Education Commission

ODA Overseas Development Administration

SCA Secondary Schools for Agriculture

SSAS Secondary Schools for Arts and Sciences

SSC Secondary Schools for Commerce

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

USEF United States Education Foundation

INTRODUCTION

Saying that education exhibits ideals of 'political and social order' is a 'truism'; 'something true for all societies'. From the Platonic times of Greek city-states to the modern times of colonial and the post-colonial nation-states, the analysts of the role of education have accepted the existence of the dual role of education; that is, education works for the simultaneous betterment of the individual as well as for the state security². Rather, more than just ensuring the welfare of the individual and the security of the state from various threats, all types of governments have rendered education 'as the solution for almost every conceivable social problem'. Schools have been meant to perform 'a very complex set of aims' that, besides imparting to students basic knowledge and skills, they are 'also concerned with their socialisation, their moral behaviour, their attitudes and much else'⁴. Perhaps, it is this socialising role of schooling that has led some analysts to hold that schooling is such a form of formal education that implies 'deliberate intervention' aimed at influencing the learning experiences of children in a formal setting that is 'separated from ordinary life and conducted by an expert "stranger". To others, schooling involves the 'transmission of the dominant cultural norms of society' and therefore, the school curriculum has been identified as 'one of the most overt instruments of political

¹. Crick, B. 'Education and the Polity', in *Higher Education for All*, ed. by Roderick, G. and Stephens, M. (Sussex: The Falmer Press, 1979), p.55.

². Griffith, R. National Curriculum: National Disaster? Education and Citizenship (London; New York: Routledge, 2000) p.1. Similarly, 'through the inculcation of patriotism education works for the safety of state'. See Qureshi, I. H., Education in Pakistan: An Inquiry into Objectives and Achievements (Karachi, Ma'aref Limited, 1975), p.124; Kazi, A. A. Ethnicity and Education in Nation-building: The Case of Pakistan, (Lanham; New york; London: University Press of America 1987), p.2.

³. Kivinen O. and Rinne, R. 'State, Governmentality and Education – the Nordic experience', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 19 (1998) 39-52 (p.41).

⁴. Dean, J. Managing the secondary school (London: Routledge, 1993) p.18.

⁵. Anderson-Levitt, K. M. 'The Schoolyard Gate: Schooling and Childhood in Global Perspective', *Journal of Social History* 38 (2005) 987-1006 (pp.989-990).

socialisation' encompassing 'nationalistic allegiances and values' so as to 'create a compliant citizenry and to inculcate loyalty and allegiance to the nation-state'.

Likewise, there has been an extensive recognition of, what is called, 'the historical role of education' in the development of 'state formation' and 'nation-building' process⁷: the role of formal education in the development of individuals as citizens cannot be overemphasised. It is due to this socialising aspect of education that schools have often been seen to 'promote the spread of a cultural trait that would otherwise not proliferate', and/or that schools are known to 'promote prosocial traits' that may not necessarily be of advantage to individuals and, likewise, may support the cause of particular group/s at the expense of the general advantage of all⁸. In other words, schooling is said to present 'the dual history of educating the people: civilizing the rabble and inculcating deference'; by serving as 'a means of cultivating sections of the nation with limited cultural capital towards greater nobility, and of enhancing the moral and cultural value of each individual'. This is where debate about attributes of citizenship emerges.

The concept of citizenship entails a number of ideas, such as, 'participation in public life, the idea that a citizen is one who both governs and is governed, a sense of identity, an acceptance of societal values, and rights and responsibilities' 10. Therefore, a number of 'competing' models of citizenship have been developed in relation to knowledge,

⁶. Yeaky, C.C. 'Schooling a Political Analysis of the Distribution of Power and Privilege', *Oxford Review of Education*, 7 (1981) 173-191 (p.179) (For colonial policies of Britain and France and the post-colonial efforts in Africa see pp180-184).

⁷. Green, A. 'Education and State Formation in Europe and Asia', in *Citizenship Education and the Modern State*, ed. by Kennedy, K. (London: Falmer Press, 1997), 9-26, p.9. Goodson, I. F. ''Nations at Risk' and 'National Curriculum': Ideology and Identity', in *Subject Knowledge: Readings for the study of School Subjects*, ed. by Goodson, I. F.; Anstead, J.; and Mangan, J. M. (London; Bristol: Falmer Press, 1998), 150-164, p.150.

⁸. Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. 'Schooling in Capitalist America Revisited', *Sociology of Education* 75 (2002) 1-18 (p.13).

⁹. Ibid.

¹⁰. Scott, D. and Lawson, H. 'Introduction', in *Citizenship Education and the Curriculum*, ed. by Scott, D. and Lawson, H. (Westport: Ablex Publishing, 2002) 1-6, (p.1).

community, rights and responsibilities, public and private morality, etc. ¹¹ Taking the case of citizenship in relation to knowledge, governments assign schools with responsibility to work as institutions for the 'dissemination' of the 'cultural project' of education towards engendering a 'cultivated version of man' ¹². Following government policies, schools work towards passing on 'the ideals and preferred styles inherent' in the cultures of every nation to the next generation ¹³. These serve as the sites where the ideal role of 'good citizen' gets defined and cultural values are explained in textbooks; and where 'the rules of the game for participation in wider society' are observed in the daily school practices ¹⁴.

In order to fulfil promises of bringing forward virtues of civility for the socio-economic benefits of all, schools in modern societies have promised providing a range of knowledge traditions in the form of school subjects to students at their secondary level of studies. 'Formal curricula, at all levels of study (elementary, high school and college/university) serve to construct meaning for students as far as self-identification, cultural belonging and school engagement'. While schooling is often directed to lead towards 'learning that is intellectually vital, generative of future self-directed learning, personally meaningful and productive, and socially valuable', its secondary stage usually provides two broader sets of disciplines, that include both academic and practical arts subjects'. The secondary level of school education represents best the distinction between these academic and utilitarian

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¹¹. Ibid.

¹². Kivinen and Rinne, State, Governmentality and Education, 1998, p.42. See also Anderson-Levitt, The Schoolyard Gate, 2005, p.987.

¹³. Mannitz, S. 'Limitations, Convergence and Cross-overs', in *Civil Enculturation: Nation-state, Schools and Ethnic Difference in Four European Countries*, ed. by Schiffauer, W. (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004) pp. 307-333, p.307. Clark, U. 'Bernstein's Theory of Pedagogic Discourse: Linguistics, Educational Policy and Practice in the UK English/literacy Classroom', *English Teaching: Practice and Critique* 4 (2005) 32-47 (p.32).

¹⁴. Mannitz, Limitations, Convergence and Cross-overs, 2006, p.307.

^{15.} Kempf, A. 'Anti-colonial Historiography: Interrogating Colonial Education' in *Anti-colonialism and Education: The Politics of Resistance*, ed. by Dei, G. J. S. and Kempf, A. (Netherlands: Sense Publishers, 2006), 129-158, p.131.

¹⁶. Wiggins, G. P., and McTighe, J. *Schooling by design: mission, action, and achievement* (Alexandria: ASCD, 2007), p.12.

¹⁷. Galtung, J. 'Schooling and Future Society', *The School Review* 83 (1975) 533-568 (p.537).

knowledge claims given the fact that this level of education provides an optional basis for decisions relating to 'disciplined knowledge' and knowledge about 'preparation for careers' 18. Saying this, secondary school curricula have existed in a variety of forms and different manifestations as adopted in different times with a number of titles, such as, general or academic, vocational or technical, diversified or comprehensive or integrated, etc.

General/academic curriculum mainly develops 'general academic skills in the subjects of language arts, science, mathematics, and humanities as well as a common core of courses 'required of all students for certification'¹⁹. Although this type of curriculum has a little space for vocational subjects, it allows some room for these especially to facilitate those students who are unable to move to higher education and who are therefore able to get admission in vocational institutions. Knowledge claims are made and manifested in academic curricula that represent the culture of the society²⁰. It is through these subjects that 'the definition of membership in the society, the sanctity of the past, and the symbolism of the political forms are made explicit, reinforced and stipulated as part of a modernizing culture'²¹. In other words, 'the popularity of academic disciplines as the basis for the school curriculum is as much a social and political phenomenon as it is an educational one. It has been argued that academic rationalism or preference for the academic discipline places greater value on academic knowledge rather than other kinds of knowledge'²². This does not suggest the insignificance of other subjects either. For

¹⁸. McNeil, J. D., *Contemporary Curriculum in Thought and Action*, (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2006), p.174.

¹⁹. Holsinger, D. B., and Cowell, R. N. *'Positioning Secondary School Education in Developing Countries'* (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning/UNESCO, 2000), p.22.

²⁰. McNeil, Contemporary Curriculum, 2006.

²¹. Apter, D. E. *The Politics of Modernisation* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 340

²². Kennedy, K. J. *Changing schools for changing times: New directions for the school curriculum in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press, 2005), p.88.

instance, vocational curricula encompass subjects of practical utility that allows students' training in 'precise and carefully specified skills' that enable them to adopt particular professions²³. The importance of vocational subjects is also discussed in some discourses in terms of their utility for the economic productivity of a state²⁴. While the aforementioned curriculum fields are exclusive in their objectives, one dealing with more theoretical and the other dealing with more practical orientation of knowledge, the diversified or comprehensive curricula combine the merits of both in such a way that one or more vocational fields are added to the mainstream study of academic courses of study²⁵. Another dimension of secondary curricula followed in some societies is what is called 'integrated curriculum', where 'integration most often refers to the breaking down of subject barriers to provide a more holistic experience for students'²⁶.

Since the latter half of the twentieth century, in contrast to the classical curricula, comprehensive curricula have presented the idea of a 'single framework combining diverse educational purposes', with an objective to cater to the needs of students representing different socio-economic backgrounds. Such curricula have been guided by 'strongly egalitarian ideological currents'²⁷. Comprehensive curricula have been a characteristic feature of those societies that represent principles of popular democracies (like the USA) or even support socialist ideas about the formal equality of all citizens' or societies that lack 'a stable elite political class'²⁸. Similarly, due to their inexpensive nature in contrast to other forms of curricula, these curricula have also appealed to the 'resource poor' states in

²³. Holsinger, and Cowell, Secondary School Education in Developing Countries, 2000, p.22.

²⁴. House, E. R. C. 'Economic change, Educational policy Formation and the Role of State', in Images of Educational Change, ed. by Altrichter, H. and Elliot, J. (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000) pp.13-19.

²⁵. Ibid., p.23.

²⁶. Kennedy, Changing schools for changing times, 2005, p.89.

²⁷. Kamens, D. H., Meyer, J. W., and Benavot, A. 'Worldwide Patterns in Academic Secondary Education Curricula' *Comparative Education Review* 40 (1996) 116-138 (p.119).

²⁸. Ibid., pp.119-120.

the Third World²⁹. This model of curriculum has promised more chances of survival for the reasons of economy, flexibility, and for its declared objectives to produce 'competent citizens and productive workers rather than technical specialists³⁰. It will not be wrong to assert here that, gone are the days of the early modern times that had defined the significance of schooling in terms of achieving targets of literacy; and when literacy was held to serve as "a universal cultural signpost to the 'progress' towards 'civilization'"³¹. In its later advanced form, the modern period has assigned more to schools than making people merely literate. Among the most often debated and agreed functions of schooling are included training of students for discipline, language, and literacy. For instance, through discipline students are enabled to learn manners for a decent living, language facilitates them to 'absorb the standardised usage of the ruling class, along with an upper middle class identity, and a sense of allegiance to the nation state (or the global superpower)', and through literacy they are able to express themselves in a meaningful and comprehensive way³². Moreover, since the expansion of secondary education, and after securing its status as an extension to primary education, secondary education has been brought under the 'influence of standard world models linking education with notions of social and economic "progress", that emphasize 'comprehensive and general forms of secondary education' through introducing a mix of different subjects combined under one curriculum³³.

²⁹. Ibid., p.120.

³⁰. Ibid.

³¹. Tarar, N. U., 'Ruled by the Pen: Literacy, Orientalism and the Colonial Order in Punjab', in *Shaping a Nation: An Examination of Education in Pakistan*, ed. by Lyon, S. and Edgar, Iain R. (Oxford University Press: Karachi, 2010), pp. p.159.

³². Mohan, P. 'Schooling in Mass Society: A Sceptical View' *Economic and Political Weekly* 39 (2004) 2101-2103 (pp.2102-2103).

³³. Kamens, Meyer, and Benavot, Worldwide Patterns in Academic Secondary Education Curricula, 1996, p.117.

Certainly, the provision of a range of knowledge traditions in schools may imply enabling students to decide about the choice of subjects according to their 'talents' and 'taste'³⁴. Organising school subjects into two or more categories and their availability to students cannot be seen as an exclusively educational task facing governments. The principle of neutrality has never guided decisions about the school subjects and their content; or 'a curriculum cannot be viewed simplistically as a syllabus or a little more complexly as a syllabus embedded in a pedagogy'³⁵. Rather the principle of 'transmitting dominant ideologies of society' is always busy shaping aspects of citizenship through what is taught in schools³⁶. The structuring and restructuring of social values are distilled down to the school curriculums that 'emerge as a result of conscious and unconscious choices'³⁷. It is this centrality of curriculum in understanding the schooling that has led analysts like Apple to quote, 'for methodological reasons one does not take for granted that curricular knowledge is neutral. Instead, one looks for social interests embodied in the knowledge form itself'³⁸.

In other words, based on the ideological manifestation of social needs, schools are facilitated as part of the institutional arrangements to provide a knowledge base with utilitarian, academic, and/or pedagogic orientations of knowledge³⁹. Such orientations have also been explained as 'terbiye' and 'ta'lim' (that is, academic and utilitarian) in some early 20th century societies⁴⁰. State education has been described in some discussions as 'a vast intellectual police force, set to watch over the young ... to prevent the intrusion of

³⁴. Galtung, Schooling and Future Society, 1975, p.539.

^{35.} Burton, L. 'Reconsidering Curriculum: A Reflection on Values and Vision', *British Educational Research Journal* 28 (2002) 723-729 (p.724).

³⁶. Clark, Bernstein's theory of Pedagogic Discourse, 2005, p.32.

³⁷. Young, M. F. D. Knowledge and Control: New Directions for Sociology of Education, (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1971), p.24.

³⁸. Apple, M. W. *Ideology and Curriculum* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), p.17.

³⁹. Goodson, I. F. *School Subjects and Curriculum Change* (London: Croomhelm, 1983).

⁴⁰. Stone, F. A. 'The Evolution of Contemporary Turkish Educational Thought', *History of Education Quarterly*, 13, No. 2. (1973) 145-161 (p.151).

dangerous thoughts and turn their minds into safe channels, curriculum analysis provides an understanding about this political control over the social life of citizens.

School subjects are introduced, designed, maintained, and/or modified in different times in response to varying socio-political and economic demands, the question as to who makes decision about the contents and time allocated for teaching of various physical, natural and social science subjects in schools constitutes a major discussion about the analysis of curriculum in a given modern society. There is a strategic importance underlying questions of *who*, *why*, *where* and *how* of knowledge production. The struggle is that of a prolonged interrogation of competing versions of events, as well as the power relations implicit in those versions ⁷⁴³. Such competing versions may be local versus national, and/or national versus global and/or may be a collective sum of all three domains of influence.

Similarly, the phenomenon of authority and control involves an interactive process of different Cs, that is, conflict or constraint and consensus or co-operation that depends on different things. In other words, 'simplistic politics, pedagogies, or curriculum theories that propose to put an end to power relations, do not understand its relations to the web of socio-political reality, '44. The complex interaction process among national and local groups in the political realm affects the changing content of curricula and the definition of, what is called, legitimate school knowledge '45. The phenomena of conflict and control are also explained with reference to the 'three primary policy contexts', where these Cs occur; each

^{41.} Eggleston, J. *The Sociology of the School Curriculum*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), p.32.

⁴². Carrie, P. *Changing School Subjects: Power, Gender and Curriculum* (Buckingham; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000), p.6.

⁴³. Kempf, 2006, Anti-colonial Historiography, p.129.

⁴⁴. Musolf, 1992; McCarthy, 1992; Cooper, 1994 in Goodson, I. F. *The Curriculum Change: Studies in Social Construction* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), p.xxiii.

⁴⁵. Benavot, A.; Y. Cha; D. Kamens; J. W. Meyer; and S. Wong, 'Knowledge for the Masses: World Models and National Curricula, 1920-1986', *American Sociological Review*, 56 (1991) 85-100 (p.87).

consisting of 'a number of arenas of action, some public, some private ⁴⁶. To begin with, the first arena of the said processes of conflicts, and then the consequent compromises among different groups (that is, politicians, bureaucrats, academics, or even contending interest groups) is the place where the policy initiatives directed at curriculum change take place. While in formal settings, ministries of education, education departments, education bureaus and curriculum departments, etc. serve as sites for debates and discussions about intended curriculum, there are other informal platforms from where various interest groups may express their consent for or grievances against the formal versions of intended educational change/s.

With the expansion of public schooling during 18th and 19th centuries within developed states, and during 20th century in newly independent developing states, governments of almost all states have been exercising centralised control over education policy relating to curriculum change. For instance, educational history of the USA reflects the phenomenon of central control ever since 1890s, and particularly since the beginning of the 20th century when 'curriculum became a national preoccupation' Similarly, in France, the ministry of education sets an administrative mandate for curriculum that is 'reflected in the curricular guidelines; the training of teachers; and the content of curricular materials and of examinations' Thus, at present, the dominant definition of schooling is devised through 'a national curriculum, national testing and inspections' Focussing on debate about

⁴⁶. Bowe, R.; Ball, S. J.; and Gold, A. *Reforming Education and Changing Schools: Case Studies in Policy Sociology* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp.19-22.

⁴⁷. Kliebard, H. *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), pp.2-3.

⁴⁸. Stevenson, D. L. and Baker, D. P. 'State Control of the Curriculum and Classroom Instruction', *Sociology of Education*, 64 (1991) 1-10, p.3.

⁴⁹. Schostak, J. 'Developing Under Developing Circumstances: the personal and social development of students and the process of sociology'. In Herbert Aldrichter and John Elliot ed, Images of Educational Change (Philadelphia, Open university Press, 2000) 37-52, p.39.

National curriculum⁵⁰ central governments mainly design national policies of their respective states, though these may also receive representatives from the lower educational administration to express their views about adopting a new or maintaining the old educational ideology. Moreover, this centralised control over schooling with reference to decision-making for school the curriculum has been described to rest mainly with bureaucratic structures that reflect 'broad social policies' and execute State plans⁵¹. It is through these structures, such as education ministries, education departments, education divisions, central advisory boards of education, etc. that educational leaders express their preferences for a particular educational ideology that they describe as suitable to address particular societal needs in the name of nation-building and development. In the wake of global phenomena like colonialism, imperialism, World Wars I and II, Cold War and internationalism, etc. the role of secondary education and its knowledge forms have also been changing accordingly.

Whether taken as a product of national or international exercise, 'change in the school is best understood in terms of a complex interplay between the history, culture and context of the school and the intentions and requirements of the producers of policy texts'⁵². The policy contexts include 'context of influence, context of policy text and the context of practice'⁵³. Policy texts are the first stage of curriculum formation or change that are adopted as working documents for politicians, teachers, the unions and other organizations and institutions that are responsible for the implementation of these key texts. The policy texts provide the main framework and foundation for the content and change/s within the

⁵⁰. Crawford, K. 'The Political Construction of the 'Whole Curriculum', British Educational Research Journal 26 (2000) 615-630 (pp.615-616).

⁵¹. Connell, 1980 in Skillbeck, M. School Based Curriculum Development (London: Harper & Row Ltd., 1984), p.10.

⁵². Bowe, Ball, and Gold, *Reforming Education and Changing Schools*, 1992, p.119.

⁵³. Ibid. pp.19-22.

content to be taught at schools. In other words, policies are the operational statements of values, statements of dogmatic intentions that are devised keeping in view the culture and context of society at large and schools in particular.

These contexts can be understood as both a cause and effect of the 'interaction' of both material and ideological influences leading to 'a particular distribution of resources and ideas' ⁵⁴. In fact, the role of ideology stands significant in order to get legitimacy for a particular educational change. In other words:

'if educational change is to be acceptable to the populace at large it has to go through an ideological stage. There are, analytically, two aspects to this stage: (a) the way in which policy is produced and (b) the policies produced. Both require ideological legitimation and, in practice, nature of this legitimation may overlap the two aspects' 55.

This ideological legitimation may involve development of school knowledge with its focus on aspects of a particular culture, religion, social norms and/or specific pattern of economic development with their aim to strengthen the cause of nationhood (modernity) or this may also involve providing a range of knowledge traditions that enhances the cause of nationhood as well as ensures one's commitments with global traditions (post-modernity). In other words, culture, religion, science, economy, etc. all may refer to ideological orientations that the influential powerful groups may use for getting legitimacy for their proposed curriculum in terms of its organisation into different subjects, weightage given to one over another subject and adoption of one and the removal or change of another from their status as compulsory or optional subjects, etc.

Similarly, phenomena of power, culture, change, knowledge and policy together form a 'generic way of describing curriculum'; determining the 'choice and definition of subject

⁵⁵. Salter, B. and Tapper, T. *Education, Politics and the State: The Theory and Practice of Educational Change* (London, Grant McIntyre Limited, 1981), pp.111-112.

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⁵⁴. Jansen, J. D. 'Curriculum as a Political Phenomenon: Historical Reflections on Black South African Education' *Journal of Negro Education*, 59, No. 2 (1990) 195-206, p.196.

matter', depicting 'the community practices which dictate the structures and relationships embedded in educational organisations', and evaluating the 'ways in which those structures and relationships do, and do not, facilitate the experiences of learners' ⁵⁶. Or some other curriculum analysts would describe curriculum as a field that is shaped by different factors: 'instrumental' expression that involves a 'search for more effective ways to reach predetermined curricular goals'; a 'political' aspect that analyses 'special' interests of individuals and groups which influence curriculum policy; a 'disciplinary' dimension dealing with the work of scholars who describe and analyse aspects of curriculum content of different subjects like history, philosophy, or economics, etc.; and an evaluatory factor that is guided by the need to bring about change in the existing curriculum organisation and practice ⁵⁷.

Analysing curriculum is a multi-dimensional domain that may involve understanding curriculum as an historical, political, racial, gender, modernist, postmodernist, poststructuralist text, etc. For instance, to provide an account of the secondary curriculum development in the USA, at times, it is analysed as an historical text when it is divided into different eras of evolution: such as, period of creation and transformation in 1828-1927; crisis and transformation during 1928 to 1969 (with an emphasis on what is called 'tumultuous 1920s and 1930s', as well as 'triumph of the Middle in 1940s', 'the decade of criticism, conflict, and reformation in 1950s, expansion, conflict and contraction for structure of the disciplines in 1960s'; 'reconceptualization of the field in 1970s involving paradigmatic change with reference to phenomenological, political and theological

⁵⁶. Burton, Reconsidering Curriculum, 2002, p.725.

⁵⁷. McNeil, J. D. 'Curriculum: A Field Shaped by Different Faces', Educational Researcher 7 (1978) 19-23 (p.19).

discourses')⁵⁸. Similarly, it has also been analysed as a political text that is based on a particular theory with reference to ideas of some theorists, critics, analysts, such as, Apple, Giroux, etc.; or as a racial text dealing with concerns over problems such as identity, multiculturalism, racism etc.; and/or as a gender text that is analysed through critical Feminist discourses⁵⁹.

A number of approaches have been working to combine more than one of these manifestations of curriculum organisation for the sake of analysing the socio-political and/or economic dimensions of discourses shaping the academic being of secondary school curriculum. For instance, some approaches like modernism etc. deal with analysing how the continuity of social values, political expediencies, and economic necessities is maintained through training students in particular sets and contents of secondary curricula. Similarly, some other approaches, such as Marxist, or neo-Marxist, anti-colonialist, and/or neo-colonialist, challenge the very objective of schooling that maintain the status quo of given societies and some tend to look for the strategies of bringing about change against the set patterns of particular knowledge imparted in schools. Such approaches define the case of secondary education with reference to the colonial aims of producing 'useful subjects' through schooling.

To take an example of the case of Indian subcontinent where, identifying schools as the most important sites for training Indians into civilised subjects, the colonial rulers aspired to get educated Indians who could best serve the colonial administration in India⁶⁰. The colonial history of the subcontinent reveals that the introduction of Western education to Indians was described as the most effective panacea for curing the social ills of Indian

⁵⁸. Pinar, W. F., Reynolds, W. M., Slattery, P., and Taubman, P. M., *Understanding Curriculum: an introduction to the study of historical and contemporary curriculum discourses* (New York; Baltimore; Frankfurt am Main; Berlin; Vienna: Peter Lang: 2008) pp.v-viii.

^{60.} Wood, H. B. 'Secondary Education in India', *The School Review*, 62 (1954) 399-408, (p.399).

society. By the end of 19th century, the 'civilising role' of the British education were transformed into 'a new projection of imperial values that were' identified as 'distinctly superior' and that had effectively brought legitimacy to the British rule in India⁶¹. Similarly, in some discourses, the western education in the Indian subcontinent is believed to have had neither been 'a culture-neutral' education⁶², nor was that intended for the masses⁶³. Rather it was designed for producing 'docile clerks' and 'fervid patriots' for the British Raj⁶⁴. While the colonial history endorses the achievement of the aforementioned colonial aims, it is also full of examples of resistance of the educated colonial subjects against colonial educational agenda: whereby the educated political groups of Muslims and Hindus had suggested their own agenda of education as being based on their own indigenous values.

During British colonial rule, that resistance was expressed through different official and non-official platforms where reforms in the existing secondary curriculum organisation were suggested in order to make education more fruitful for the Indian masses. The independence from colonial rule had brought forward opportunities for both Hindus and Muslims in their respective majority population states to implement curricular changes which they had long aspired for. The question whether or to which extent the Muslim and Hindu rulers were able to get rid of their colonial legacies may incite another interesting discussion. So is true for other Asian and African states that had experienced European imperialism in one or the other form.

⁶¹. Allender, T. *Ruling through Education: The Politics of Schooling in the Colonial Punjab* (Elgin; Berkshire; New Delhi: New Dawn Press, 2006) p.286.

⁶². Acharya, P. 'Education and Communal Politics in Bengal: A Case Study', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 24 (1989) 81-90, p.81.

⁶³. Wood, Secondary Education in India, 1954, p.404.

⁶⁴. Datta, S. and Chandra, S. S. G., Progress of Education in West Bengal for the period 1942-43 to 1946-47, (Alipore: Superintendent West Bengal Government Press, 1951), p.3.

While secondary education in the post-colonial developing states has often been identified as the 'weakest link in the education chain', analytic studies about secondary curriculum have focused on reforms about the structure, organisation of secondary education as well as the change in the curriculum form and content⁶⁵. For developing countries, with special reference to the post-colonial newly independent states, the decades of 1940s through to 1980s were more challenging as various socio-political and specifically economic issues had deemed solutions hidden in educational reforms. In other words, the post-colonial developing states of Asia and Africa had also been striving to achieve aims of development with 'a new emphasis on their own national history and character ... socio-economic structure, universal education and broad scale welfare measures' and 'much of the burden of bringing such goals to reality' had 'fallen upon the schools' 66. Since the pattern of power in these states had shown 'incongruence and lack of integration between mass and elite values', what the indigenous rulers of these societies had found common for them and the masses was to contrive such educational policies that had promised to remove educational legacies of the colonial past and to establish a new social order of development that was indigenous to those societies and that could promise legitimacy to the new governments in these states.

Linking their claims with the ideologies of nationalism and or socialism, most of the developing states made promises for the 'retraditionalisation during the process of change' where 'religion-induced culture' became 'a vital part of the traditional element

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⁶⁵. Maclean, R. 'Secondary Education and Educational Research in the Asia-Pacific Region', *Educational Research for Policy and Practice* 1 (2002) 79-98 (p.79).

⁶⁶. Thomas, R. M.; Brubaker, L. B. S.; and Dale, L. *Strategies for Curriculum Change: Cases from 13 Nations*, (Pennsylvania: International Textbook Company, 1968), p.1.

⁶⁷. Apter provides further the reason being that nationalism as one of the manifestations of ideology, 'helps to centre authority on certain aspects of tradition, asserts the continuity of society and links the present with the past, and by so doing, asserts the immortality of the society' (Apter, Politics of Modernisation, 1965, p.340).

of nationalism⁶⁸. Claiming to remove colonial legacies from within education, principles of nationhood and patriotism had remained the basic tenets for the educational discourse in these states; whose evidence could be traced in educational debates in different forums about education and in curriculum documents and textbooks. While prudence and financial constraints had led some newly independent states to adopt comprehensive/general curriculum in the name of economic development and independent existence, the entrenched manifestations of classical humanistic curriculum that those post-colonial states had inherited from their colonial existences could not be removed in total.

One of the discourses adopting the case of changing the content of school knowledge in Asian and African states after their independence from their colonial masters tends to highlight that 'colonialism is not dead' 169. It highlights:

'Indeed colonialism and re-colonizing projects today manifest themselves in variegated ways (e.g. the different ways knowledges get produced and receive validation within schools, the particular experiences of students that get counted as [in]valid and the identities that receive recognition and response from school authorities. The anti-colonial prism theorizes the nature and extent of social domination and particularly the multiple places that power, and the relations of power, work to establish dominant-subordinate connections. ... It highlights and analyzes contexts, and explores alternatives to colonial relations'⁷⁰.

As far as the contexts are concerned, certainly the experiencing of their colonial past and the post-colonial existence of these states ideally imply the efforts towards changing patterns of colonial knowledge traditions followed in schools. However, in real terms, a complete overhaul of the system may not be possible. While some post-colonial states like Hong Kong have shown some radical departures from their colonial education system, others have continued with the colonial patterns of school knowledge with a little or almost

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⁶⁸. Kolas, A. 'Tibetan Nationalism: The Politics of Religion' *Journal of Peace Research*, 33, No. 1 (1996) 51-66, p. 63.

⁶⁹. Dei, G. J. S. 'Introduction: Mapping the Terrain –Towards a New Politics of Resistance' in *Anti-*colonialism and Education: The Politics of Resistance, ed. by Dei, G. J. S. and Kempf, A. (Netherlands: Sense Publishers, 2006), 1-24, p.2.

⁷⁰. Ibid., pp.2-3.

no change in practical terms. Even while the case of curriculum reform in Hong Kong 'might be seen as a "post-colonial" exercise' in terms of a deliberate effort of the local Hong Kong government to eliminate the 'constraints and impediments' that were described as features of the British colonial administration, one cannot underestimate the significance of 'elements of post-coloniality in the reform agenda' signifying departure from 'elite to mass education, the proposed dismantling of the public executive system, the adoption of the "no loser principle" and the preference for new forms of curriculum organisation that challenge the academic curriculum' as well as aim at responding effectively to changing economic circumstances in and outside Honk Kong⁷¹. In other words, such reforms have been analysed as 'post-colonial in time but globalized in substance': as these search for devising a school curriculum that is entrenched in cultural contexts and is in compliance with global agendas of development oriented education⁷².

Moreover, it is argued that 'distinctive adaptations of the classical system rather than its wholesale abandonment' have been made possible both in the European states and in some post-colonial states⁷³. Similarly, while the vocational aspects of secondary education have had 'held considerable promise for colonies and protectorates' from the early 1960s, such projects of vocationalisation met with failure in the developing African states for their own reasons⁷⁴. However, many nations like Botswana, Swaziland, and the small island nations of the South Pacific continued to speak for the vocationalisation of secondary education with their avowed claims to 'train human resources capable of competing

⁷¹. Kennedy, 2005, Changing Schools for Changing Times, p.x.

⁷². Ibid., pp.x-xi.

⁷³. Kamens, Meyer, and Benavot, Worldwide Patterns in Academic Secondary Education Curricula, 1996 p.119.

⁷⁴. Wilson, D. N. 'Promise and Performance in Vocationalised Secondary Education: Has the Baby Been Thrown Out with the Bath Water?' in *Vocationalisation of Secondary Education Revisited*, ed. by Lauglo, J. and Maclean, R. (Netherlands: Springer, 2005) 71-92, p.71.

internationally'⁷⁵. The history of secondary education in Pakistan also presents an extended debate about colonial legacies vis-à-vis prospects of vocational versus academic knowledge streams.

In short, although political independence from the colonial rule has implied an end of territorial acquisition by colonial rulers, this does not suggest a total independence from other forms of control facing the newly independent states. In fact,

the 'intricacies of engaging colonialism are as numerous as the ways colonialism has impacted upon the world. Indeed, the political-economic, social-behavioural, and cultural-aesthetic legacies of the colonizing process have left human beings with a variety of ways to confront the impact of those legacies' ⁷⁶.

A particularistic pattern of secondary curriculum organisation into different sets of subjects is one among these that require attention for its own sake of historical analysis. Such enquiry also stands significant for the sake of understanding colonial socio-political, and cultural factors affecting continuity vis-à-vis change in the particular sets of secondary curricula adopted in colonial and post-colonial contexts.

The Case of post-Coloniality and Secondary Education in Pakistan in Some Analytic Writings

Just like other newly independent states of the latter half of the 20th century, Pakistan claimed for constructing new 'identities by discarding earlier belongings' to British colonial rule⁷⁷. Before partition, the power elite of pre-independence times had adopted dis-integrationist stance against British government in power and demanded to change its

⁷⁶. Asante, M. K. 'Foreword' in *Anti-colonialism and Education: The Politics of Resistance*, ed. by Dei, G. J. S. and Kempf, A. (Netherlands: Sense Publishers, 2006) ix-x, p.ix.

⁷⁵. Wilson, Promise and Performance in Vocationalised Secondary Education, 2005, p.72.

⁷⁷. Saigol, R. 'Enemies within and enemies without: The besieged self in Pakistani textbooks', *Futures* 37 (2005) 1005-1035.

educational policy which was marked by the utilitarian objective of training clerks and engendering neutrality amongst religions⁷⁸. After independence, when the same power elite held key posts in the educational administration of Pakistan, they re-defined the educational policy for Pakistan along integrationist lines of national solidarity.

The factor of Muslim integration within the newly independent state of Pakistan became conspicuous when the new ruling elite of Pakistan took charge of government affairs. The new ruling elite was comprised in the main of migrants from Indian Muslim centres like Lucknow, Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta who had led the movement for Pakistan. They had also led demands for educational reforms from the British Government and were in a better position to make sense of and to devise strategies to deal with problems of early independence. They provided the new state with its governor general and prime minister, leadership of the ruling party Muslim League, two-thirds of higher bureaucracy as well as three-fourths of the emergent bourgeoisie⁷⁹.

This pattern of power was the outcome of the Pakistan movement which had been led by Muslims from the minority provinces of British India: and it had played the key role in defining the structure of education in Pakistan. In fact, early educational developments in Pakistan were the outcomes of joint collaborations between the British Government of India and the Muslim elite who were the members of the legislature and were serving in educational administration during British rule.

Like other developing, or what is called underdeveloped 'poorer countries', the national educational leaders had identified the significance of secondary education for the overall

⁷⁹. Waseem, M. 'Constitutionalism in Pakistan: The Changing Patterns of Dyarchy', *Diogenes*, 212 (2006) 102–115, pp.104-105.

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⁷⁸. Korson, J. H. 'Bhutto's Educational Reform', in *Contemporary Problems of Pakistan*, ed. by Korson, J. H. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), p.120.

development of the country⁸⁰. Based on a selective approach for material advancement and a mass approach to education, Pakistani nationalism provided an ideological base for secondary school subjects to be designed on religious lines. However, development-oriented subjects were also made a part of secondary school curricula. No doubt, the interaction of both these non-material and material determinants had strengthened the power dynamic; the power elite, specifically during early years of independence, had used the ideology of Islam 'as a source of power and social control' and secondary education played an important role in promoting the 'ideological goals of Islamization'⁸¹. Saying this, such ideological emphasis was not devoid of those aspects of knowledge that favoured economic development.

In the following years, religion-based educational policy went through transitions. For example, while policy documents like Sharif Commission Report of 1960 had emphasised the adoption of the 'moral and spiritual values of Islam combined with the freedom, integrity, and strength of Pakistan' in curricula for creating 'a sense of unity and nationhood' among Pakistanis⁸², it has been argued that the religious element of education itself had remained 'more symbolic than real' during Ayub Khan's period⁸³. While such arguments need a thorough scrutiny with reference to educational changes affecting school education during Ayub's era, Islamic educational policies of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's rule

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⁸⁰. Curle, A. *Planning for Education in Pakistan: A Personal Case Study by Adam Curle* (London; Sydney; Wellington: Tavistock Publications, 1966), p.126.

⁸¹. Talbani, A. 'Pedagogy, Power, and Discourse: Transformation of Islamic Education', *Comparative Education Review*, 40 (1996) 66-82, p.66; See also Saigol, R. *Knowledge and Identity: Articulation of Gender in Educational Discourse in Pakistan*, (Lahore: ASR Publications, 1995).

⁸². NEC Report 1959, p.11 cited in Rahman, T. *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.13

^{83.} Rahman, Denizens of Alien Worlds, 2004, p.14.

during 1970s were revitalised and also tied with the socialist educational aims of acknowledging the ethnic cultures in Pakistan⁸⁴.

The emphasis on Islamic educational policy was enhanced during General Zia's rule when school textbooks were given 'a religious orientation' when the subjects of Pakistan Studies and Islamic studies were made compulsory up to the undergraduate level of education in Pakistan and religious elements were also incorporated within textbooks of natural sciences⁸⁵. Some analytic writings attribute the case of Islamisation of education in Pakistan as 'an extension of Zia's individual religious inclinations'⁸⁶. Such studies tend to believe that 'Zia's policies made education the bedrock for the continued Islamisation of Pakistan'⁸⁷, this study aims to explore whether such an adherence to Islamic ideology was really an outcome of Zia's policy or this had existed even before he had declared to bring everything in to line with Islamic ideology.

Moreover, it is argued that every new government in Pakistan believed in implementing its own educational policy in the name of national integration ⁸⁸. However, according to critics of curriculum policy of school education in Pakistan, efforts towards national integration had rather increased the socio-economic gaps ⁸⁹. Moreover, according to some text-book analysts, the school textbooks of Social Studies and Pakistan Studies were designed in such a way that they had led to rote learning and hence had checked the development of skills of logical argument among students ⁹⁰. Moreover, such textbooks constructed an anti-

⁸⁴. Islam, N. 'Islam and National Identity: The Case of Pakistan and Bangladesh' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 13 (1981) pp.55-72, p.59.

^{85.} Rahman, Denizens of Alien Worlds, 2004, p.18.

⁸⁶. Chengappa, B. M., *Pakistan, Army and Foreign Policy* (New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation, 2004), p.17.

p.17. ⁸⁷. Lall, M., Education dilemmas in Pakistan: the current curriculum reform, in *Education as a Political Tool in Asia* ed. by Lall, M. and Vickers, E. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 179-197, p.196.

⁸⁸. Kazi, Ethnicity and Education in Nation-building, 1987, p.81.

^{89.} Rahman, Denizens of Alien Worlds, 2004, p.9.

⁹⁰. Aziz, K. K. *The Murder of History: A critique of History Textbooks Used in Pakistan* (Islamabad: Vanguard, 1993).

colonial past of Indian Muslims in such a way that in their biased appreciation for Muslim education movements like Aligarh, the role of other movements and individuals towards educational development of Muslims and independence movement for the creation of Pakistan was either neglected or were under-represented⁹¹. Similarly, the textbooks also engendered feelings of hostility against religions other than Islam. For example, the school text books of History were said to provide such instances where the All-India National Congress was rejected as a national political party during pre-independence times, the Sikh period in Punjab was condemned as being based on anarchy, and the defeat of Muslim rulers of Sind (Talpur Mirs) by the British was reduced to the minimum when giving instances of resistance on the part of Muslims⁹². Therefore, some curriculum analysts highlighted an urgent need to deal with such 'inaccuracies of fact and omissions' and 'insensitivity to the existing religious diversity of the nation' that had served to 'substantially distort the nature and significance of actual events in our history'93.

While such studies have explained the problems associated with the content of school textbooks, what these studies tend to lack is an understanding of the very process of the defining and making educational policy a significant part of the secondary school curriculum change in Pakistan. Similarly, some analytic studies have also rightly identified that politics have always affected the nature of education system in Pakistan. For instance, in one of such studies, an historical account of the recognition of ethnic groups and interethnic relations in textbooks is provided by dividing the discussion into different phases, such as, 'Early Establishment Era (1947 to 1955)', 'One Unit Era (1955 to 1968)', and

⁹¹. Ibid.

⁹². Ali, M. 'History, Ideology and Curriculum', in Continuity and Change: Socio-Political and Institutional Dynamics in Pakistan, ed. by S. A. Zaidi (Karachi: City Press, 2003).

^{93.} Nayyer, A. H. and Saleem, A., The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan, (Islamabad: Sustainable Development and Policy Institute, n.d.) p. v.

'Post-One Unit Era (1968 to 1994)'94. No doubt, such studies hold merit for their focus on a particular aspect of education affecting efforts for nation-building along the lines of a common religious Islamic identity. What is usually missed out is a sequential account of processes, events at a given time-period, and discussions among the power elite (government officers and politicians) influencing secondary curriculum change in Pakistan. No doubt, the traditional way of curriculum analysis has stayed as, what is called, 'notoriously ahistorical and atheoretical'95. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of curriculum involves describing 'its development historically'96. This requires an understanding of the evolution, development, and change within particular forms of secondary curricula with reference to socio-political, historical contexts shaping education in schools. Such an understanding becomes significant in the context of early postindependence years of democracy and the following military rules. In this connection, what may have also been overlooked is an historical account of curriculum organisation that took shape during the British rule in India, and the continuities and discontinuities that were strived for during and after the British rule. The present study aims to fill in all such gaps.

⁹⁴. Kazi, A. A. *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-building in Pakistan* (Islamabad: Vanguard Books Pvt. Ltd., 1994), p.14.

^{95.} Pinar, Understanding Curriculum, 2008, p.11.

⁹⁶. Ibid., p.69

Aims of Study

The following objectives guide the conduct of this study:

- 1. To identify the legacies of educational management and visions for specific secondary curriculum patterns that were continued from the British rule; through both British/Imperialist policies and Muslim/Nationalist efforts as well as through global influences in the wake of WWI and WWII.
- 2. To elaborate new visions of elites (of newly formed state of Pakistan) for the future secondary education in Pakistan and their ability to implement that vision through devising change/s in the existing curricular patterns and education systems.
- To describe the role of the state machinery to implement the aspired vision for secondary curriculum organisation.

This study rests on the assumption that since no power is exclusive for its effective expression, it always seeks support from different socio-political and economic expediencies or necessities. Therefore, the development of secondary curriculum organisation in Pakistan's education curriculum policy texts must be studied as a composite expression of political power dynamics that struggled to bring about change with the help of socio-economic demands at a particular time period in history.

Sources of Data Collection

This study is primarily focussed on analysing official policy statements and ensuing social discussions that have been shaping and influencing particular secondary school knowledge traditions; that is, through political discussions, commission deliberations, and even through public speeches, etc. The primary sources of data involve files of Ministry of Education dealing with reports of education departments meetings, public instruction reports, different national education policy documents, and evidence derived from newspapers. The secondary data is acquired from books and journal articles. The sources of information in Pakistan include Pakistan National Archives in Islamabad, Academy for Educational Planning and Management (AEPAM) in Islamabad; Curriculum Wing in Islamabad; the provincial archives of Punjab, Sind and Khyber Puktunkhwa; the Punjab Public Library; LUMS library in Lahore; archival collections of Mr. Ahmad Saleem in Lahore; National Documentation Centre library in Islamabad; the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs in Karachi; All Pakistan Educational Conference library in Karachi; and Karachi University library. The sources of information in the UK include the British National Archives, at Kew Gardens, the British Library in London, Cambridge University Library in Cambridge, and different University of London libraries, such as Institute of Education Library and SOAS.

Thesis Structure

This study presents an account of different policy discourses that had shaped and influenced the secondary curriculum from the start of the 20th century to 22 years after the creation of Pakistan in 1947. Central to the discussion of study is an account of curricular adjustments that were proposed at the official level as an effective expression of authority of power elites towards implementation of varying educational ideologies of religion and science.

The study is divided into 4 chapters followed by the points of conclusion for this research study.

Chapter 1 presents a history of secondary education developments in British India and the responses of Indian Muslims towards British educational policies. Providing a quick introduction to 19th century educational developments setting the vision and trends for secondary education in the colonial India, the chapter mainly deals with early 20th century government measures which aimed to make secondary education more practical and useful to British governance.

Chapter 2 provides an introductory account of the structural adjustments during 1930s when education was made a provincial subject and the system of diarchy had ended. This had allowed a say to Indians in educational matters, whereby certain demands were made to the British from different forums to adopt policies for secondary education that could ensure the development of fields of agriculture and the vocational professions. The period of 1940s presents evidence of an active and effective share for Indians in policy making and implementation which demonstrated that Indians were ready to take charge of the educational affairs of the state themselves.

Chapter 3 covers the formative years of independence of Pakistan from 1947 to 1958 when both national and international efforts were being made to develop secondary education in Pakistan. The power elite endeavoured to define their new educational policy both in the Educational Division of the bureaucracy and on the platforms of education conferences being held on the direction of Education Division. They also discussed ways and means to implement their new educational policies. They envisaged a new educational policy based on principles of Islam and scientific development. Similarly, foreign experts and international agencies were also busy helping the educational administration of Pakistan in managing educational affairs. In spite of active efforts, the implementation of desired changes in educational policy was said to have achieved partial success.

Chapter 4 covers the period of military rule from 1958 to 1970. Highlighting a move towards developing a national curriculum for the country, the chapter covers two important developments in this direction: recommendations of the Education Commission of 1960 (also called Sharif Commission) and the report of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education in 1960. The period continues with the earlier emphasis on the subjects of science, mathematics and practical arts in order to overcome the literary bias that the secondary school subjects had inherited from the colonial era. The chapter reveals the emergence of a policy which embraces the dual purpose idea, serving the individual needs of a student as well as transforming him/her as a committed patriotic citizen and active economic contributor in the society. The chapter also provides an account of the second military intervention in the state which compelled Ayub Khan to resign from the post of President and promised to address the unattended grievances in education. The new education policy of 1970 speaks for giving more of religious and scientific bias in the curriculum followed in secondary schools meant for all types of secondary schools.

Similarly, secondary education developments during military rules in Pakistan also reveal extra resort to foreign aid for consultancy services towards on-going efforts leading to curriculum organisation; and for extending support for the teaching of scientific and technical subjects in schools. While the government was able to implement its new educational ideology, to a considerable extent, within education institutions, the period of military rule ended with the disintegration of Pakistan in 1971. A new era of socialist rule began afterwards.

CHAPTER 1

The British Develop Modern Secondary Education in India

1.A. British Visions for Modern Secondary Education and Indian Responses

The British government's policy of exclusive economic involvement in the Indian affairs for the sake of expanding and maintaining its 'sea-borne empire' in India and its indifference to education of Indians had remained valid but only until the end of the seventeenth century⁹⁷. In fact, the 'politico-administrative' and more importantly 'the economic needs of Britain in India' had paved the way for the 'inauguration of modern education in India, 98. Towards the end of 19th century, the British had developed public secondary education system in India with 'little indigenous foundation'; it was developed as an 'exotic' presented mainly by the Government and missionaries which was 'received with cordiality' by the educated Indian natives⁹⁹. The system of secondary education in India was reformed into more of modern values when classical curricula of 19th century representing 'elite educational cultures' were changed into their 20th century modernized forms of curricula of arts, humanities and modern languages. However, besides their claims for moving away from their emphasis on producing well-rounded generalists rather than highly trained specialists, such curricula had retained their colonial objective to create 'specialist elites familiar with the history, languages and cultures of key competitor nations' 100. Before going into the details of different manifestations of modern secondary education in India during 20th century a quick glance over educational developments during 19th century must be provided: that had set the context for development of modern education during the first half of 20th century colonial rule in India and had also given birth

⁹⁷. Travers, R. *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India: The British in Bengal*, (Cambridge: University Press, 2007), p.33.

^{98.} Desai, A. R. Social Background of Indian Nationalism (New Delhi: Taj Press, 2005), p. 129.

⁹⁹. Nathan, R. Progress of Education in India, 1897=98-1 901=1902 (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1904), p.94. The word 'exotic' has changed its meaning since.

¹⁰⁰. Kamens, Meyer, and Benavot, Worldwide Patterns in Academic Secondary Education Curricula, 1996, pp.118-121.

to resistance among Indians against their impact on the Indian society during and after colonial rule.

By the mid-18th century, when the British Government had kept a 'substantial portion' of Indian territory under its control and the British industrial products were introduced in India, the necessity to establish education institutions for Indians for their training as 'clerks, managers, and agents who knew English' was greatly felt among certain circles of the British government¹⁰¹. Besides initial fears of some British representatives in the Parliament against introducing English education in India, the individual ventures of missionaries and that of the East India Company had promoted, what they believed, the 'useful knowledge' among native Hindus interpreters and instructors of oriental languages (called 'moonshees'); who could help the British government in exploring the India's past and more importantly could serve the 'strategic' purpose of getting legitimacy for the Company's involvement in administering Indian affairs 102. The moonshee phase had, however, culminated into 'baboo phase' in which, with the help of the native (Hindu) leadership, it was decided to impart 'useful knowledge' to Indians (Hindus) through English education for preparing them as clerks or administrative assistants (called baboos) to serve the British administration in India 103. The East India Company had tried to enable Indians to learn English language, bringing Muslims (initially of Bengal) and the officers of the Company together, and for providing the British judicial administration in presidencies with Muslim and Hindu law-officers ¹⁰⁴.

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¹⁰¹. Ibid., pp.128-129.

¹⁰². Sangwan, S. 'Science Education in India under Colonial Constraints, 1792-1857', *Oxford Review of Education*, 16:1 (1990), 81-95, (81-82); Kochhar, R. K. 'English Education in India: Hindu Anamnesis versus Muslim Torpor', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 27:48 (1992), 2609-2616 (p.2610). In 1792, a resolution in the British Parliament about sending school teachers to India was challenged on the ground that doing so would lead to the same fate as the British had met in the loss of America as a result of establishing schools and colleges there. Travers, Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India, 2007, p.244.

¹⁰³. Kochhar, English Education in India, 1992, p.2611.

¹⁰⁴. Mukerji, S. N. Administration of Education in India (Baroda: Acharya Book, 1962), p.3.

By the last quarter of 18th century, the British government redefined its vision for education in India. That vision was based on the ideological support for 'a classical Hindu civilization', its contempt against what it called a dismal age of 'barbarism and religion' under Muslim oppression; and hence decided to pave the way for 'a modern era of colonial enlightenment' for Indians¹⁰⁵. The perceived colonial enlightenment had entailed adopting such forms of knowledge that were Western and not Oriental in its form. The Charter Act of 1813 had emphasised that only Western knowledge could preserve 'social good' and curb 'social evils' of Indian society¹⁰⁶. For an active implementation of that vision, the General Committee of Public Instruction (GCPI) that was established in 1823, was assigned with recommending measures to ensure 'the better instruction of people, the introduction of useful knowledge, including sciences and arts of Europe'¹⁰⁷.

The introduction of useful knowledge was certainly going to be based on English knowledge, because 'a single shelf of a good European Library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia', believed Lord Macaulay, the then President of the GCPI. Such change in the nature of knowledge was a must for the British aim, as highlighted in Macaulay's Minute of 1835 dealing with English Education in India. This intended to prepare 'a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect' Being a staunch advocate of English education in India, he held out-rightly that, the existing system of education in India had tended 'not to accelerate the

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¹⁰⁵. Travers, Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India, 2007, p.244.

¹⁰⁶. Muir, R. *The Making of British India 1756-1858* (Lahore, Karachi, Dacca: Oxford University Press, 1915), p.279. In conjunction with the revival and improvement of literature, the need for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of science among the inhabitants of the subcontinent was also expressed. Malik, R. S., *The System of Education in Pakistan* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1992), p.26.

¹⁰⁷. Bose, N. S. *The Indian Awakening and Bengal* (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1960), p.60. Although, during the early times of British ventures in Indian education, the domain of the knowledge was kept initially restricted to the oriental literature and sciences only, with the expansion of the British Empire in India the useful branches of Western science were also introduced to Indians through their translations into oriental languages.

¹⁰⁸. Dobbin, C. E. *Basic Documents in the Development of Modern India and Pakistan 1835-1947* (London; New York; Toronto; Melbourne: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company Ltd., 1970), pp.17-18.

progress of truth but to delay the natural death of expiring errors' Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General of India, entirely endorsed Macaulay's Minute since he believed that 'the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India', and therefore all the funds granted for education would be spent entirely on English education While Macaulay's Minute had received recognition at the government level, that vision could not be adopted without responding to the ground realities facing British Government in India. Hence the need for a modified version of Macaulay's vision for education.

1.A.1. Modifying the Macaulayan Vision and the New Prospects for Secondary Education of Indians

The British policy of spreading purely Western knowledge was resisted by Muslims. In order to deal with that resistance, the British government had increased its control over educational activities¹¹¹. Moreover, it adhered to its policy of strengthening the hands of Hindus vis-à-vis Muslims, when in 1836, Lord Auckland, the then Governor-General for India decided to keep intact the continuity of institutions of oriental learning along with

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¹⁰⁹. Sangwan, Science Education in India under Colonial Constraints, 1990, p.85.

^{110.} Bhutt, B. D. and Aggarwal, J. C. *Educational Documents in India 1813-1986: survey of Indian education* (New Delhi: Arya Book Depot, 1969), p.4. A reference can be made to the Lord Macaulay's Minute saying, 'Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects'. Dobbin, *Modern India and Pakistan*, 1970, pp.15-17; See also Malik, Education in Pakistan, 1992, p.26; Qureshi, I. H. *The Pakistani Way of Life* (London and Tonbridge: William Heinemann Ltd., 1956), p.26.

Ahmad, S. Researches in History of Education, Vol.I. Education in Early Muslim and Indo-Muslim Societies (Hyderabad: Hyderi Printing Press, 1970), p.168. It confiscated endowments that were meant for educational activities in Sind and took away about one-fourth of the area of Bengal presidency that was meant for endowments for educational and other charitable activities. Similar measures were taken in Punjab after 1849 when the British government 'resumed' most of the educational grants. Ibid., p.194.

those education institutions that were working for the dissemination of English learning 112. After all, the support of educated Hindus in assisting the British government was much needed for their effective rule over India. Saying this, there were practical reasons for which the British Government had announced change in its vision for education in India. In fact, the British Government's announcement in 1840s to encourage educated Indians for employment in the Government Service had implications for the educational policies of British government in India. As the prevailing education had produced only two types of educated Indians at that time, that is, the majority who could serve the lower government offices and the small minority who could have their independent ways of living (through professions like law), those two educated classes were not enough to assist the British administration in India¹¹³. Wood's Despatch of 1854 was adopted to fix the problem as the British Government had required trained 'honest servants for the East India Company', who could assist the government in preparing 'India as the producer of raw materials for British people and their industries' and develop India into 'an inexhaustible market for British manufacturers' 114.

In more ideal terms, the Despatch of 1854 had believed that the aforementioned socioeconomic objectives could be achieved by making secondary education more 'practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life'¹¹⁵. The despatch had identified the necessity of adopting a diversified, utilitarian school curriculum promising 'more opportunities than' then had existed for the acquisition of 'such an improved

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¹¹². Biswas, A. and Agrawal, S. P. Development of Education in India: A historical survey of educational documents before and after independence (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994), p.21.

¹¹³. Dobbin, Modern India and Pakistan, 1970, p.25.

^{114.} Ahmad, Researches in History of Education, 1970, p.212.

^{115.} Peshkin, A. 'The Shaping of Secondary Education in Pakistan', *History of Education Quarterly*, 3 (1963), 4-18 (p.4); Malik, Education in Pakistan, 1992, p.27.

education', 116. It had further endorsed that 'the systematic promotion of general education' was a state duty which could be fulfilled through 'diffusion of the arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe', 117. Similarly, since the final authority to decide about the subjects to be taught in secondary schools was deliberately left with the universities of the presidencies, the secondary school curriculum had remained limited to academic disciplines of humanities and literary subjects which were 'college preparatory' only 118. In other words, the Macaulayan vision of education was modified only to a minimum extent whereby some vocational streams of knowledge in schools were offered but on the condition of not jeopardizing the academic bias in the school knowledge.

Similarly, from 1854 onwards, the Anglicisation of education in India had received momentum when missionary schools had benefited from the opportunity of getting grants-in-aid, because these had fulfilled the conditions of adopting the syllabi that were prepared by the department of public instruction and had allowed inspection by the inspectors of the Company¹¹⁹. Moreover, the support of Anglo-Indians for the British cause during 1857 War of mutiny had also secured for them a reciprocal British assistance for their education and higher places in the civil bureaucracy. This collaboration was further enhanced during the latter half of 19th century, when due to technological and economic advances, the departments of telegraph, postal facilities, customs, and police were established and developed with the help of Anglo-Indian assistance.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶. Peshkin, Secondary Education in Pakistan, 1963, p.4.

¹¹⁷. Nathan, Progress of Education in India, 1904, p.457.

¹¹⁸. Zachariah, M. 'The Durability of Academic Secondary Education in India', *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 14:2 (1970), pp. 152-161, (pp.153-154).

¹¹⁹. Sherwani, L. A. 'The Fall and Rise of Muslims in the Post-1857 Revolt Period', in *Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi Memorial Volume II*, ed. by H. Ahmad Zubairi (Karachi: Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi Academy, 1994), 329-345 (p.337).

¹²⁰. Gist, N. P. and Wright, R. D. Marginality and Identity: Anglo-indians as a Racially-Mixed Minority in India (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), pp.58-59.

With the culmination of the War of Mutiny in 1857, the British government had established its political control over Indian subcontinent and the British control over education of Indians was formalised. The British Government in India expressed its responsibility to change the indigenous system of education into one that would suit the aims of the British Empire¹²¹. For that purpose, in the name of achieving its declared goals of 'modern education' in India, the new education system was institutionalised through a 'bureaucratic governance of education' as well as by introducing a mass system of written examinations (that is, matriculation examination for secondary schools)¹²².

While the government was hoping that education under British administration would steadily promote modern Western trends in India, it was equally sensitive to the fact that such education should not be endangering religious traditions and culture of the indigenous communities in India. Moreover, the British government promised to give Indians their share in the economic and political life of the subcontinent through 'the gradual substitution for the idea of dominion' to 'the idea of partnership in that great brotherhood of free civilised nations' that had made the British Empire ¹²³. The educated middle class of Hindus, who had benefited from English education in India, were then ready for that partnership. They 'could now look the empire in the eye' and had asked for 'a share in running the administration of their own country' ¹²⁴. In fact, the final decades of the 19th century had witnessed a rising class of Hindu baboos, who after receiving their education in English in secondary and higher education institutions, had settled well in the

¹²¹. Kumar, K. *Political Agenda of Education: a study of colonialist and nationalist ideas* (London: Sage, 2005), p.49.

¹²². Kumar K., 'Reproduction or Change? Education and Elites in India', *Economic & Political Weekly 20* (30) (1985) 1280-1284, p.1281.

Muir, The Making of British India, 1915, p.17. In fact, the idea of partnership was also central to the British educational ventures in India whereby it had accepted its responsibility towards education arising out of 'necessity' and that was going to be fulfilled in 'partnership with private enterprise'. Whitehead, C. 'The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part I: India', *History of Education*, 34:3 (2005) 315-329, (320).

^{124.} Kochhar, English Education in India, 1992, p.2613.

government administrative departments. That professional class of baboos were then ready to perform a dual role in Indian affairs; that is, they had initially served as the 'intermediaries between British government officials and the masses', and later on they had acted as the 'agitators who campaigned against British rule' 125. The British government had sensed the situation ahead of the time; and in order to counter Hindu assertiveness the process of extending its support to develop an educated Muslim middle class, who could act as, what they believed, a 'counterpoise' to Hindus, was already started 126. While other communities like Anglo-Indians and Parsis had extended their support for the cause of disseminating Western knowledge in India, the government needed support from a community of significant population who could match the Hindus, at least to a degree, and work for the sake of continuity of British rule in India. The British Government took up the task of making educational collaborations with Muslims who could outnumber Hindus to some extent in four provinces: Bengal, Punjab, Sind and the N.W.F.P.

1.A.2. British-Muslim Educational Collaborations Creating the Educated Loyal Mohammadans of India through Modern Education

Demonstrating its regrets about the backward educational status of Muslims in the resolution of 1871, the British government highlighted that Muslims 'so large and important a class' should not be detached from 'active co-operation' with British education system in India and hence should not be deprived of 'the advantages (both material and

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¹²⁵. Whitehead, British imperial education policy, 2005, p.320.

¹²⁶. Ibid.

social), which others' (Hindus) had enjoyed ¹²⁷. In order to secure the Muslims' confidence, the resolution further highlighted that His Excellency in the legislative council believed in 'a more systematic encouragement and recognition of Arabic and Persian literature', and promised an easy access to secondary and higher education that was being conveyed in the vernaculars ¹²⁸. It was believed among the British Government that such efforts would not only make Western education more acceptable to the Muslims in general but would also secure a compassionate endorsement from the 'more earnest and enlightened' Muslims towards education ¹²⁹.

In Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the British government found a loyal civil servant and a loyal Muslim who had worked for bridging the gap between the colonial ruler and the colonised Indians. Although the religious movements like *Wahabi and Faraizi* had reflected jihadi tendencies against the British rule and institutions like Deoband seminary had assigned significance to the traditional teaching of Islamic values through 'Hadis', Sir Syed Ahmad Khan¹³¹ decided to adopt a different education system for the Muslims of the subcontinent.

Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement was launched with intent to promote modern Western education along with religious education for Indians. The British government extended its liberal support for Sir Syed's cause of modern education intended for Indians in general and for Muslims in particular. Held as a part of deliberations of Aligarh movement, the Muslim Educational Conference of 1886 brought to the fore that education alone could

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¹²⁷. Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department (Education)-No.300, under Simla, dated 7th August 1871 cited in Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, No. CCV. Serial No. 2. Correspondence on the Subject of the Education of the Muhammadan Community in British India and their Employment in the Public Service Generally (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1886), p.152.

¹²⁸. Ibid.

¹²⁹. Ibid.

¹³⁰. Iqbal, M. *Education in Pakistan* (Lahore, Aziz Publishers, 1981), p.43.

¹³¹. Pupil of Maulana Mamlook Ali, the founder of Deoband.

serve as a means of promoting national interests and could take Muslims out of the 'morass of degeneration', 132. It envisioned a two-fold theory for secondary education; that is, ensuring the admission of a large number of Muslim students in high and middle schools and improving knowledge in private schools where needed 133.

The networks of Islamia High Schools and Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (D.A.V.) Schools had also acquainted Muslim and Hindu students with modern skills that were required for government employment ¹³⁴. Moreover, there were other Muslim education movements like Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam that had defined Muslim education, though in line with its three broad objectives that included propagating and defending Islam, to counter propaganda against Islam and to promote both religious and general education ¹³⁵. Whatever mode of education was adopted, groups of Muslim leaders were well aware of the significance of Western knowledge, but they wanted it without losing their religious identity. They were aware of the fact that acquaintance with Western knowledge was the necessity of time for Muslims for taking them out of their miserable state of existence and for enabling them to get government jobs ¹³⁶.

The British government had also expressed its empathy for the cause of Muslims' education when it had not only maintained the existing madrassahs where school knowledge was imparted with greater religious bias, it had also provided incentives for increasing the number of Muslim teachers in schools and had employed educated Muslims

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Wasey, A. Education of Indian Muslims: A Study of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference 1886-1947 (New Delhi: Press Asia International Ltd., 1978), pp. 20-21.
 Ibid., pp.32-33.

¹³⁴. Talbot, I. 'State, Society and Identity: The British Punjab, 1857-1937' in *Punjabi Identity: Continuity and Change*, ed. By Singh, G. and Talbot, I. (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), p.15.

¹³⁵. Sherwani, The Fall and Rise of Muslims, 1994, p.340.

However, education of those times had strengthened such 'communal awareness' that led to divisive tendencies among Muslims and Hindus over getting better jobs in 'a restricted employment market'. Talbot, State, Society and Identity, 1996, p.15.

in the provincial education departments¹³⁷. Such educational deliberations and others during 19th century on the part of both the British government and efforts of Indians had resulted in gradual improvements in the education of Indians and in securing some positive relationship between the rulers and the ruled.

1.A.3. 19th Century Culminates with Emerging Visions for Diverse-cum-Scientific Secondary Curriculum

The 'new education system', that the British administration had introduced in India during the second half of 19th century, had found greater appeal among middle class Indians and specially Muslims in contrast to indigenous Indian education system that was being 'characterised by a loosely structured network of locally-governed schools' for Indians¹³⁸. Similarly, the expansion of the British style of secondary education in India leading to mass examination had also served the dual purpose of providing to the emerging Indian middle class 'a sense of hope and belief' in the 'fairness of the colonial order' and to make students to 'rehearse endlessly the skills' that had served as the necessary prerequisites for getting through the 'newly introduced channels of secure jobs in the service of the colonial government', 139.

For that purpose, the practice of the matriculation examination was observed even in those private schools that had remained totally independent of governmental control through

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¹³⁷. Government of Bengal, Ministry of Education, Second Quinquennial Report on the Review of Education in Bengal for the Years 1897-98 to 1901-1902 (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1902), p.56.

¹³⁸. Kumar, Reproduction or Change? 1985, p.1281.

^{139.} Ibid.

inspections and were independently bearing their own finances¹⁴⁰. Introduction of, what was called, the 'written, impersonal examination in the emerging education system' had implied a 'stable' curriculum in accordance with the 'prescribed syllabus and text-books', However, as English education in India was 'strictly' kept as being 'an upper class affair' excluding lower castes, the educated classes represented only upper middle classes who were being trained to serve the imperial design of the British Empire 142. In other words, the initial process of educating the few for the 'downward filtration' of knowledge that was initiated during the first half of the 19th century was being kept intact, though a few re-adjustments within the forms of knowledge streams were also suggested from time to time 143.

Besides suggesting measures for ensuring 'right influence on the manners, the conduct, and the character of pupils' and for introducing physical activities in schools, such as, sports, games and drill, etc. the Commission of 1882 had recommended introducing two sets of knowledge streams in schools; one was meant for training students for higher education in Universities, and another was meant for training in vocational knowledge streams¹⁴⁴.

In fact, the last two decades of 19th century had seen secondary schools providing different sets of knowledge, some training students for Matriculation and others for the High School or Secondary School examination. Provincial universities used to conduct Matriculation

¹⁴⁰, Whitehead, British imperial education policy, 2005, p.321.

¹⁴¹. Ibid

¹⁴². Kochhar, English Education in India,1992, p.2616.

¹⁴³. In fact, during early decades of 19th century, the British government had started influencing the education system in India when it was at the doorstep of industrial revolution; a revolution that had no place for the Indian artisan classes who had formed the bulk of Indian masses. Mallick, A. R. *British policy and the Muslims in Bengal 1757-1856: A study of the development of the Muslims in Bengal with special reference to their education*, Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Publication No.9 (Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1961), p.175.

¹⁴⁴. Siqueira, T. N., *The Education of India: History and Problems* (London; Bombay: Humphrey Milford, 1943), p.70.

examinations while departments of education took care of 'School Final' or 'School Leaving Certificate' examinations providing scores of optional subjects being offered as parts of 'practical' curriculum. However, knowledge was imparted in schools with a general bias towards university education. Such trends had continued but with caution in some provincial governments like Bengal that had persuaded university to enhance the scope of school subjects being intended for Matriculation examinations by adding vocational subjects into general streams of school curricula¹⁴⁵.

In fact, the British officials in control of universities themselves had also expressed their concerns about the prevailing problems of secondary and college education in India. To illustrate, it was believed that through education the educated youth were being 'provided with an intellectual equipment admirable in itself but practically useless to them' because of scanty options that they could find for themselves in the job market ¹⁴⁶. Therefore, towards the end of 19th century, the pattern of secondary curriculum for the Matriculation examination of different provincial universities had evolved into a set of four compulsory subjects including English, a second language ¹⁴⁷, Mathematics, History and Geography; and among other subjects offered in some provinces were included a choice between a foreign classical language and a modern Indian language; in some provinces subjects of Physics and Chemistry were introduced as compulsory subjects; and in some provinces more importance was assigned to Indian rather than to English History ¹⁴⁸. In Punjab, a fifth subject was also added that may be taken up out of a list of subjects including vernacular language, elementary science, or a second classical language ¹⁴⁹. While in Calcutta an

¹⁴⁵. Ibid., p.88.

¹⁴⁶. Ibid., p.74.

¹⁴⁷. Options for a second language included an oriental or European classical language; an Indian or continental European vernacular language. Nathan, 1904, Progress of Education in India, p.116.

¹⁴⁸. Siqueira, The Education of India, 1943, pp.90-91.

¹⁴⁹. Nathan, Progress of Education in India, 1904, pp.116-117.

optional subject of drawing was also offered but a candidate's performance in subject was not counted towards Matriculation examination, though it could contribute towards awarding scholarships¹⁵⁰.

By the end of 19th century, the following were adopted as the 'principle courses alternating' with the general Matriculation courses:

- 1. The Madras Upper Secondary Course,
- 2. The Bombay School Final Course,
- 3. The Bengal Engineering and Commercial Courses,
- 4. The Allahabad School Final Course,
- 5. The Science Entrance Course of the Punjab University,
- 6. The Punjab Clerical and Commercial Course 151.

Similarly, in continuance with increasing the popularity of School Leaving Certificate Examinations especially among ordinary students, the government also declared those examinations as 'the door to employment in the lower grades of its service', 152. Initially, the system had gained popularity in different provinces like Madras that had appreciated the utility of technical education for those students who were not fit for the academic literary knowledge streams in schools. Even in universities of different provinces like Punjab and the United Provinces, where the 'old Matriculation was never dethroned', the secondary school curricula were reformed with less classical emphasis by adopting different measures. For instance, those included the adding of commercial subjects and mensuration

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¹⁵⁰. Ibid.

^{151.} Nathan, Progress of Education in India, 1904, p.118. The Punjab Clerical and Commercial Course had included two sets of compulsory and optional subjects. Compulsory subjects included English; Dictation and Calligraphy; Précis writing and correspondence; General and Commercial Geography; Book-keeping and commercial arithmetic. Students could also offer an optional subject out of the three subjects such as Urdu, Native system of accounts and Short-hand writing. The Science Entrance Course of the Punjab University provided English; Mathematics; History and Geography; and Physics and Chemistry and the elementary principles of mechanics and hydrostatics. Ibid., p.121.

¹⁵². Siqueira, The Education of India, 1943, p.91.

to the curriculum, the practising of oral exercises in classes, addition of manual training, and offering several books rather than one for 'perusal', 153. While the utility of such ventures for the Indian context could not be denied, efforts for vocational/technical knowledge could not override the significance of academic knowledge that had received strength through matriculation examinations and through their reverence among Indian parents who had seen it as a door to getting prestige and respect in a class-ridden Indian society.

Such educational developments along with their inherent issues in the subcontinent had moved on to the threshold of 20th century and so did the British Government's vigorous expression for its responsibility towards 'its interest and its prerogatives' in determining the nature of education in India in the name of maintaining a 'high standard of education' in schools¹⁵⁴.

1.A.4. Early 20th Century Promises an all-encompassing Knowledge in Secondary Schools

The early 20th century was marked with identification of the so called new visions for secondary education; whereby the ideas of national education based on the adoption of a diversified knowledge base ensured for everyone were being forwarded from the indigenous Indian leaders. The British Government in India had also declared its objective of devising an all-encompassing education system that could develop mental faculties of

^{153.} Ibid., p.93.

^{154.} Mukerji, Administration of Education in India, 1962, p.10.

individuals forming a civilised nation¹⁵⁵. Such education policy had not only claimed to provide students with opportunities of learning in accord with their aptitude but also to become active and vigilant civil servants of the British Government in India¹⁵⁶. A formal expression to such policy was provided in the education policy of 1904 that had expressed its intentions to train workers for every profession contributing to the development of fine arts and industry¹⁵⁷. The policy was valued for covering different streams of knowledge and for promising to cater to the needs of Indians. Indian Muslims had expressed concerns about the prevailing legacy of Macaulayan educational ideology in the Indian secondary education.

It was held with great concern that 'Macaulay's obsession with European literature and science' had 'sealed the fate of indigenous scientific works which could not be discarded altogether' Similarly, in response to Curzon's emphasis on bringing more qualitative improvement in education through strict British control, Indian leaders had stressed that there was a dire need to bring about quantitative reforms that, instead of limiting its scope to particular classes, education should reach to the masses Sise. Likewise, the members of the Calcutta Congress of 1906 also criticised the undue preference that was being granted to literary instruction vis-à-vis other equally important curricular forms to practice in schools. Indian leaders had demanded that instead of sticking to its policy of educating the few (via downward filtration strategy), the British government in India should appreciate that there was a dire need to educate the masses through national education system guided

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¹⁵⁵. Report on the All India Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference held at Rawalpindi dated 27-29 December, 1914 (Karachi: Academy of Educational Research, 2003), p.56. The report was available in Urdu. For the sake of adding the information here, it has been translated into English by the researcher. ¹⁵⁶. Ibid.

¹⁵⁷. Mukerji, Administration of Education in India, 1962, p.13. From 1904 onwards, at least one high school was maintained in each district of the province of Punjab in accord with new education policy of the Government of India. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series Punjab, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1908), p.138.

¹⁵⁸. Sangwan, Science Education in India under Colonial Constraints, 1990, p.88.

¹⁵⁹. Biswas and Agrawal, Development of Education in India, 1994, p.37.

by the objective of 'economic development of the country through vocational education' 160. They resolved in the Congress that the people of India should 'organise a system of education, literary, scientific and technical, suited to the requirements of the country on National lines and under National control, and directed towards the realisation of National destiny' 161.

While responding to such demands in 1913, the British Government in India announced in its resolution for making school curricula more practical and useful¹⁶². However, the resolution had clearly highlighted that while curricula would include 'subjects of industrial importance' and efforts would be made to adopt a curriculum of 'practical utility' for girls, such subjects would be kept as non-examination subjects¹⁶³. While the British Government's Resolution of 1913 had promised reforms for different stages and aspects of education in India, most of the reforms could not implemented due to the onset of the World War I.

Similarly, due to the outbreak of WWI the appointment and deliberations of the Calcutta University Commission, that were originally planned to be held in 1914, had got delayed until 1917¹⁶⁴. Being organised under the chairmanship of Sir M. E. Sadler, Calcutta University Commission (CUC) was comprised of British officials and renowned educated Indians of those times. The Commission's deliberations had reserved a monumental place in the history of Indian education for more than one of the reasons: by involving Indians in its deliberations it was representative of Indians; and its report was based on the facts that

¹⁶⁰. Ibid., p.36.

¹⁶¹. Ibid.

¹⁶². Ibid., p.41.

¹⁶³. Ibid.

¹⁶⁴. Sharma, R. N. and Sharma, R. K., *History of Education in India* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 2004), p.134.

were collected from the varying conditions of education in various pockets of Bengal that the members of the Commission had visited before the final submission of the report.

Saying this did not suggest a total stagnation in the development of secondary education in India. For the subcontinent, the inter-World Wars period saw more representative and independent opportunities for the Indian leaders speaking for their educational cause along nationalist lines. Unlike other British colonies in Africa and Asia, schooling in the Indian subcontinent had not longer remained the 'exclusive preserve of the Christian missions' 165. The World War I itself had a dual impact on educational developments in India that had favoured the need for Indians' involvement in their educational affairs. Firstly, the expenses of the war had implied for the British government a decrease in its financial expenditure on education in India. Secondly, since the recruitment of I.E.S. from England was stopped and the serving officers of educational departments in India were either sent to the military services for the war or were sent for 'duties connected with the war', the services of indigenous Indians were required to run the educational affairs of India. While the WWI itself had implied more of the administrative changes, the period between 1914 and 1919 had also seen the evidence of continuing contending visions for secondary education between British government and Indian leaders.

1.A.5. 1914-1919 –Contending Visions and Promises for Making Secondary Education More Compatible with Social Needs

As mentioned earlier, since early 20th century, the British Government in India had been promising to make secondary education more practical and compatible to Indians' needs.

¹⁶⁵. Whitehead, C. 'Education in British Colonial Dependencies, 1919-39: A Re-Appraisal', *Comparative Education*, 17:1 (1981) 71-80, (71).

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However, such assurances were not enough for the fulfilment of Indian demands for improving secondary education with reference to an enhanced technical knowledge bias, scientific knowledge and sufficient religious education, etc. For instance, given the lower scope of technical education it was suggested to expand the system of technical education away from merely producing only lower cadre personnel for the British industries in India 166. Moreover, the unease among Muslim leaders against, what they believed, the limited and half-hearted British government's efforts towards practical education was also evident in the All India Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental Conference of 1914. The conference believed that the British education policy in India had provided only a few options for students to earn decent living; that is, through securing government jobs in professions of law or of engineering while the rest of the bulk of graduates were left jobless ¹⁶⁷. Moreover, it was held that if such a policy would remain devoid of sufficient indigenous religious education, it would not be able to produce the 'best practical human beings, the best members of a nation and the best citizens of a great empire¹⁶⁸. Hence it was suggested that the time was ripe to adopt such measures that could make education more practical and suitable to the necessities of the lives of Indian Muslims and towards development of industrial education in India 169.

The government officers in provincial education departments had also expressed concerns against the lowering standards of secondary education in India. To illustrate, doubts were being expressed about the chances of successful implementation of the scheme for manual training that was introduced in 1915-16 in the schools of Bengal. Among other reasons, the most cited had included the 'want of properly trained teachers', the lack of interest among

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¹⁶⁶. British educational policy in Nayar, D. P. *Towards a National System of Education* (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1989), pp.334-336.

¹⁶⁷. All India Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference, December, 1914, p.57.

¹⁶⁸. Ibid., p.67.

¹⁶⁹. Ibid., p.68.

students for such training who had believed that it would promise no utility 'outside the course prescribed for the matriculation examination', etc.¹⁷⁰ In general, there was a consensus among the inspecting officers of the Bengal Education Department that the matriculation examinations had tarnished the quality of secondary education to such an extent that it had become 'almost unnecessary to comment upon them' ¹⁷¹.

In 1917, the Conference of Directors of Public Instruction (CoDPI) pondered over educational necessities with reference to the school education and their compatibility with the social needs of Indian society. Membership of the conference was held strictly official for the sake of an 'expert official assistance' in deciding about the existing problems of instruction, curriculum and the nature of education imparted in schools ¹⁷². While there was a general agreement among the members of the conference that science should not be adopted as an obligatory 'formal subject' in secondary schools, most of the DPIs had favoured adopting 'some elementary training in science' 173. Moreover, suggestions for future development were mainly focussed on the training of workers in mechanical and electrical fields through 'apprentice system in workshops attached to commercial concerns' 174. Railway workshops and Messrs. Burn and Company were cited to serve the purpose of a part of such trainings ¹⁷⁵. While members of the conference were aware of the unpopularity of the apprentice system in areas like Dhaka, Sibpur, and UP, etc., and they had also discussed the 'deplorable' state of science education in schools of areas like Bengal and Assam, the conference did not take any serious notice of the divergent science

¹⁷⁰. Government of Bengal, Ministry of Education, Fifth Quinquennial Report on the Review of Education in Bengal for the Years 1912-1917, Education-General Tables Bengal, 1916-1917 (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1918), p.36.

¹⁷¹. Ibid., p.56.

Report of the Conference of Directors of Public Instruction, held in January 1917 (Delhi: Superintendent Government Printing India, 1917), p.1.

¹⁷³. Ibid., p.7.

¹⁷⁴. Ibid.

¹⁷⁵. Ibid., p.8.

education systems being adopted in secondary schools of various provinces that itself could be counted as a hindrance for adopting an efficient science education policy for Indian schools. For example, in provinces like Madras, Bombay, and UP, science teaching in higher grades of secondary education was compulsory. In provinces like UP the subjects of chemistry and physics were offered as alternative subjects for matriculation without any practical work. In Punjab science was compulsory for science matriculation and optional for arts matriculation. ¹⁷⁶. Providing an explanation for such a state of affairs, the British government held that a diversity of races in different provinces having their peculiar local demands had gradually led to the development of different systems and problems of administration and instruction in schools.

Science education was not the only concern exercising the minds of British government in India. Analysing the state of general secondary education in various areas of Bengal presidency, the Calcutta University Commission (CUC) identified 'the need for a new departure' that could be ensured through adopting liberal education in India ¹⁷⁷. Lamenting about the existing state of schooling in the majority of Indian schools, where according to the CUC even the essentials of a liberal education were missing, the commission declared:

'In the great majority of them, physique and health are neglected; there is no training of the hand; the study of nature is practically ignored; the aesthetic and emotional sides of a boy's nature are disregarded; corporate life is meagre: training through responsibility is generally undeveloped; little guidance is given as to right and wrong' 178.

The commission had expressed its regrets over the existing state of secondary education in Bengal where only a few schools were imparting 'even the bare essentials of a liberal education' 179. It was feared that secondary education in Bengal, which was presenting

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¹⁷⁶. Ibid., pp.6-9.

Report of Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19, Vol. IV, Part II, Recommendations of the Commission, Chapters XXX-XXXIX (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1919), p.ix. ¹⁷⁸. Ibid., p.92.

¹⁷⁹. Ibid.

'one of the gravest defects in the education system of Bengal' if continued in its existing form, would 'produce an academic proletariat [sic], hungry, discontented and inept': and therefore there was a desperate need to bring about educational improvement simultaneously with the efforts towards mass education ¹⁸⁰. Such an improvement required the system to simultaneously adapt to the 'needs of modern industry' and to safeguard 'the interests of liberal culture' 181. Such a lucrative policy would ensure 'a good investment and the fulfilment of a public trust', the Commission had firmly believed¹⁸². It was further held that the 'needs of modern industry' could be fulfilled through vocational education and the 'interest of liberal culture' could well be looked after by the adoption of a properly planned scheme of general education.

The CUC re-defined the following secondary school curriculum scheme of studies for the Matriculation and School-leaving Certificate examination:

- 1. The headmaster should be required to certify that every student being presented for the examination had satisfactorily received 'a course of instruction of a kind and at a stage approved by the Board' in each of the following list of subjects:
 - i). Introduction to natural science, including the teaching of elementary hygiene;
 - ii). History of India; History of the British Empire;
 - iii). Drawing and manual training.
- 2. Every candidate should be required to appear in the Matriculation examination of at least five subjects, out of which the four subjects of vernacular, English, elementary mathematics and geography (including physical geography) would be compulsory, while the students would have a choice to offer from one of the subjects of a classical language (Bengali-speaking Muslims allowed to offer Urdu as an alternative to one of the languages

¹⁸². Ibid.

¹⁸⁰. Ibid., p.25.

¹⁸¹. Ibid..

being identified as classical), an approved scientific subject (a number of alternative courses being allowed for his choice, one of these being of the nature of a general introduction to science), additional mathematics, and last but not the least History 183 of India and History of the British Empire¹⁸⁴.

The Matriculation and School-leaving Certificate Scheme (MSCS) was further defined when the Senate of Calcutta University published its draft Matriculation Regulations describing Matriculation examination as 'a general test of fitness for a course of university studies¹⁸⁵. The regulations comprised the following somewhat detailed list of subjects that were required for Matriculation Examination:

Table: 1.A.5. The MSCS Suggests Curriculum Organisation for Secondary Schools		
4 Compulsory Subjects with No. of Papers	1. Vernacular – 3 2. English – 2 3. Mathematics – 1 4. Geography – 1	
At least 1but not more than 2 of the Optional Subjects	A third language, that is, Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Armenian, Latin, Greek, Syriac, French, German, and Indian vernacular other than the vernacular already taken as the compulsory subject; Drawing and practical geometry; Mensuration and Surveying; Experimental mechanics; Elementary Science (Physics and Chemistry); Hygiene including first aid; Such other subjects as may be prescribed from time to time by the Senate — One Paper.	
A certificate of fitness of each candidate for at least one of the subjects.	 i. Agriculture and Gardening ii. Carpentry iii. Smithy iv. Typewriting v. Book-keeping vi. Shorthand 	Spinning and Weaving Tailoring and Sewing Music Domestic economy Telegraphy Motor engineering and drawing

Source: Government of Bengal, Ministry of Education, Holme, J. W. Sixth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1917-18 to 1921-22 (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1923), p.33.

¹⁸³. Unlike later decades of 19th century set of Matriculation Compulsory subjects, subject of History was discontinued to be a compulsory subject and added as an optional subject in the new proposed scheme of

¹⁸⁴. Report of the Calcutta University Commission 1917-1919, pp.71-72.

¹⁸⁵. Government of Bengal, Ministry of Education, Holme, J. W. Sixth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1917-18 to 1921-22 (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1923), p.33.

The suggested scheme can be compared with the 1917 regulations of the British government for the School Certificate Examination in England; which had required an examination of the three groups of subjects, including English subjects, foreign languages and science and mathematics. While the former was more pro-vocational in nature, the latter had aimed at ensuring 'a balance between the arts and sciences and the neglect of practical subjects in English secondary schools' until the suggested grouping system had ended in 1947¹⁸⁶.

The Commission had insisted that, conditional upon favourable public opinion and an increased expenditure from public funds, the reconstruction and re-organisation of the secondary education was an essential need of the hour¹⁸⁷. The CUC had observed that an over-influence of public examinations had unduly narrowed down the scope of secondary education and that lack of periodical inspections of schools had further lowered the standard of education. Therefore, it proposed to establish provincial boards of high school and intermediate education that should be independent of the control of existing education departments¹⁸⁸. The Commission further recommended that secondary and intermediate education institutions should be placed under the control of provincial boards of secondary education but the power of recognition of secondary schools should be left with the university¹⁸⁹. The Commission felt that Calcutta University despite being associated with the Government of India had itself served as 'one of the safety valves of non-official opinion in educational affairs', especially when fulfilling its major responsibilities relating

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¹⁸⁶. Webster, J. R. 'Curriculum Change and 'Crisis'', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 24 (1976) 203-218 (p.210).

¹⁸⁷. Ibid., p.33. A detailed chapter on the reforms of secondary education had not only dealt with the proposed structure of authority in control of secondary education, it had also discussed at length the curricular reorganisation with reference to the adoption of specific subjects in secondary schools.

^{188.} Sharma, and Sharma, History of Education in India, 2004, p.135.

¹⁸⁹. Mukerji, Administration of Education in India, 1962, p.10. That recommendation was a response to the Resolution of British Government adopted in 1913 about relieving the universities of their jurisdiction to recognise high schools and that the state should not completely withdraw from the sphere of secondary education. See Biswas and Agrawal, Development of Education in India, 1994, pp.41-42.

to secondary education¹⁹⁰. Commenting about the jurisdiction of the Department of Public Instruction towards secondary schools the Commission held that 'education should not be controlled in all its vital issues by a bureaucracy ... acting in the name of the Government'¹⁹¹. It further recommended a change in the jurisdiction of the Director of Public Instruction as to make him the principal adviser to the Minister or Member in control of education¹⁹².

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919 went a step further after accepting that under the British administration, the education system in India had produced 'a very small fraction of the population' which was trained for higher education while 'a very large proportion of the population' had remained uneducated at all. In June 1919, while moving the Bill of self-government in India for its second reading in the House of Commons, Sir Edwin S. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India also held, 'harsh customs and precepts of castes' had not only created 'the great differences of race and religion' but had also led to 'great difficulties' 193. He believed that the solution to all such problems, such as illiteracy and conflicts confronting Indian communities rested in making government institutions as being more representative of Indians. 'There is no greater stimulus to education', he held with vigour, 'than by setting to the population a common task to do together, to work out the prosperity of their country' 194.

Favouring the principle of representation, the proposed Reforms of 1919 had implied differently for different Indian communities. Although, the Anglo-Indian community had shared with other communities a common experience of financial crunch, it had become

¹⁹⁰. Report of Calcutta University Commission, 1917-1919, p.31.

¹⁹¹. Ibid. p.31.

¹⁹². Ibid. p.xi and p.35.

¹⁹³. Cited in Keith, A. B. *Speeches & Documents on Indian Policy: 1750-1921, Vol. II.* (Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1985), pp.219-220.

¹⁹⁴. Ibid.

comparatively affluent during WWI¹⁹⁵. Their engagements with the British government in military operations had certainly improved their economic conditions implying their ability to educate their younger ones in quality education and achieving good positions in higher up government jobs. Saying this, their monopoly not only in the departments like railways, and telegraph was taken over by other Indian communities, Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919 had further put such monopoly into open competition for positions in legislative assemblies and jobs in educational administration as well as other government departments¹⁹⁶. Similarly, while Parsis 'had largely succeeded in adjusting to the colonial milieu with greater success' 197, Muslims and Hindus had realised by then that the increasing acceptance for Western knowledge and the sheer majority of Hindus and Muslims could allow them influential positions vis-à-vis other communities during the process of Indianisation of different departments once the 1919 reforms would be enforced ¹⁹⁸. In fact, with the passage of time, the privileged position of Anglo-Indians and Parsis in government jobs and representative elected institutions had become limited to a few pockets of India like the province of Bombay, a few towns of Gujarat and areas like and Surat, etc. 199.

The administrative implications of Montagu-Chelmsford deliberations had involved the proposal for adopting a general scheme of educational administration in India side by

¹⁹⁵. Gist, and Wright, 1973, Marginality and Identity, p.17.

¹⁹⁶. Ibid., pp.16-17.

¹⁹⁷. Jones, K. W. Socio-religious reform Movements in British India (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) p.150.

¹⁹⁸. During 19th century, 30-40% of Parsis and Eurasians had been employed in colonial industry and had secured government jobs in Bombay because of 'their fairly privileged' access to education and to the educational policy in India. No doubt, Anglo-Indians and Parsis had reserved an 'economic niche' in the colonial business throughout the period of British rule in India. Oonk, G., Bosma, U., 'Bombay Batavia, Parsi and Eurasian Variations on the Middlemen Theme', In *Mediators between State and Society*, ed. by Randeraad, N. (Hilversum: Verloren Publishers, 1998) 17-40 p.17, and p.31.

¹⁹⁹. Palsetia, J. S. The Parsis of India: Preservation of identity in Bombay City (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p.137.

side with the introduction of a system of dyarchy²⁰⁰. This had implied a shift of authority in transferred subjects such as education, agriculture, and public works from the centre to the regions²⁰¹. Indian educational affairs were placed in the charge of a Minister who was appointed by the Governor from amongst the elected members of the provincial legislature; and was assisted by the Director of Public Instruction of the respective Provincial Education Department²⁰².

Under new arrangements, the control over secondary education in Bengal was exercised on power-sharing basis between the government acting through its executive officers and the Education Department, the Calcutta University and the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dhaka²⁰³. In 1921, the British Government of India established Dhaka University and also established the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education (B.I.S.E.), Dhaka on temporary basis²⁰⁴. The B.I.S.E. was entrusted with the responsibility

²⁰⁰. With the introduction of dyarchy, education was adopted as a transferred subject among other subjects of public welfare such as health, local bodies, etc. Pathak, R. P. *Education in the Emerging India* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 2007) p.51. However, the Central Government had kept under its control the educational affairs of North Frontier Province, Delhi, Ajmer, Marwada, Bangalore, and Baluchistan. It also exercised its control over the universities of Delhi, Banaras, and Aligarh as well as over colleges and schools being run for Indian princes. Such developments had certainly raised suspicion among Indian leaders. Sharma and Sharma, History of Education in India, 2004, p.144.

²⁰¹. Montagu envisioned those reforms as a step towards self-government that was meant for the inclusion of Indian middle classes in order to win their confidence and to provide strength to the British government in India. However, Montford reforms could not escape criticism. The members of the House of Commons put forward that reforms were responsible for exclusion of 'five million literate Indians and nearly all exservicemen' because of the condition of property ownership that was a must for getting elected. Both rightists and leftists in the House of Commons had raised their concerns against self-government in India where conservatives feared that British government would lose its control over India with the introduction of self-government principle; and leftists held in debate on the bill in June 1919 that the reforms were still not democratic in spirit and that the diversity of Indian masses should be taken into account while implementing the principle of self-government in India. James, L. *Raj: The making and unmaking of British India* (London: Abacus, 1997), p.459-60.

²⁰². Holme, Progress of Education in Bengal, 1917-18 to 1921-22, p.3. See also Government of Bengal, Ministry of Education, Chanda, A. K. Ninth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal for the Years 1932–1937 (Alipore: Superintendent Bengal Government Press, 1939), p. 14.

²⁰³. Government of Bengal, Ministry of Education, Mitra, R. S. M. and Zachariah, K., Eighth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal for the Years 1927-1932 (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1933), p.15.

²⁰⁴. Mitra, and Zachariah, Progress of Education in Bengal, 1927-1932, p.15.

of academic control over 15 high schools in the area that was being given under the jurisdiction of Dhaka University and 27 high madrassahs in the province of Bengal²⁰⁵.

While the Education Ministry of Punjab also had an Indian minister for education (Hindu or Muslim), just like Bengal, the administrative control had significantly remained in the hands of a British officer, that is, the Director of Public Instruction of Punjab Education Department, who also used to be the under-secretary to the government. Similarly, just like the case of Bengal, the Assistant Director for Public Instruction and the Deputy Director or Directress of Punjab Education Department also used to be the British officers while the posts of inspector and inspectresses were held by Indians, both Hindus and Muslims. In 1928-29, the posts of Senior Superintendent (replacing Superintendent) and of Junior Superintendent were established and were filled by both the British officers and Indians for performing clerical jobs²⁰⁶. Another important development of early 1920s was the creation of the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) in 1921 that was assigned with responsibilities to make recommendations on educational matters of significance that were referred to it²⁰⁷. However, in 1923 the CABE and the Central Bureau of Education were abolished²⁰⁸. The Education Department was merged with the Department of Health and Agriculture giving rise to the Department of Education, Health and Agriculture that worked under the authority of a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council²⁰⁹.

As a matter of fact, while the suggested reforms in educational administration had allowed some share to the provincial and local units, the centralised control was being retained effecting the main policy and nature of secondary education in India. That was

²⁰⁹. Mukerii, Administration of Education in India, 1962, p.16.

²⁰⁵. Ibid., p.15.

²⁰⁶. Government of Punjab, Ministry of Education, Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1928-1929 (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1930), p.27. ²⁰⁷. Mukerji, Administration of Education in India, 1962, p.16.

²⁰⁸. The National Council of Educational Research and Training, *The Indian Year Book of Education 1961: A Review of Education in India (1947-61)* (New Delhi: The National Institute of Education, 1965), p.2.

evident by keeping the control of secondary education with the existing and newly established universities; which were bound to speak for academic knowledge versus manual knowledge of vocational virtues. The emerging themes for secondary education affecting the post 1919 period were focussed on highlighting the significance of general or comprehensive education rather than either emphasising the knowledge of hands or heart at the expanse of each other. Moreover, the post 1919 period was a period of experimenting in the educational administration and knowledge patterns being adopted for secondary schools. The following discussion presents the on-going change/continuity of curricular patterns for secondary education.

1.B. Putting Plans into Practice

During first few years of Montford reforms, the progress of MSCS in provinces of Punjab and Bengal was different especially with reference to adopting optional subjects. In Bengal, the new scheme had received a slow recognition. While the two different sets of syllabi had already been working in the two parts of Bengal²¹⁰, the matriculation examination had 'long conditioned the curriculum' and the traditional methods of instruction in secondary schools had remained in vogue even during the early years of Montford reforms²¹¹. In Punjab, the early post Montford reforms period had claimed scores of noteworthy changes in the curriculum implementation and further realisations on the

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²¹⁰. West Bengal consisted of the Presidency and Burdwan divisions and East Bengal covered Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi divisions. Government of Bengal, Ministry of Education, Hornell, W. W. Fifth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1912-13 to 1916-17 (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1918), p.32.

²¹¹. Holme, Progress of Education in Bengal, 1917-18 to 1921-22, p.62.

part of the government to improve. A clear position for the system of Matriculation and School-leaving Certificate examination was being achieved by the year 1921 and comparative significance was assigned to some particular forms of knowledge vis-à-vis others. However, such strengthening of Matriculation scheme was taken up with some concern in 1929 when Hartog Committee analysed the decade of reforms in India. The committee observed that the undue dominance of matriculation could be checked through introducing diversified curriculum in the middle vernacular schools favouring rural vocations and the 'diversion of more students to industrial and commercial vocations ending their middle school studies, and by providing a range of courses in technical and industrial high schools²¹². The post 1930 developments had brought to the fore some further developments in the fields of general versus vocational knowledge in terms of the focus of the governments on the general streams of knowledge. Similarly, the inevitability of adopting English language vis-à-vis vernacular was also experienced in that period. The period had also shown some promise in adopting certain patterns of Western knowledge to improve educational standards in Indian schools.

The following starts with the issue of general versus vocational subjects and moves on to other aspects of knowledge developments in 1920s through to early 1930s.

1.B.1. The significance of Vocational versus General Subjects

During the early post Montford reforms period, when certain changes were being made in the secondary school syllabi in Bengal, those changes had mostly affected the optional

²¹². Ghosh, S. C. *The History of Education in Modern India 1757-1986* (London: Sangam Books Ltd., 1995), p.153.

subjects; and the limited scope of the secondary school curriculum, that had previously provoked the concerns of educational administrators, was being held true even for the quinquennium of 1917-1922. Similarly, the experimental venture of offering the subjects of hygiene, nursing, needle-work, cookery and domestic science for girls in secondary schools had also met a failure; and the schools offering those subjects had reverted back to the original scheme of syllabi that was in accord with the matriculation scheme ²¹³. However, that did not suggest a total failure in the educational progress of schooling in Bengal.

The new Legislative Council of 1921 expressed its 'keener critical spirit' and 'an enthusiastic desire to assist the new Minister to remedy some of the more obvious defects in educational practice and provision' in Bengal²¹⁴. Besides the budget debates that had provided 'convenient opportunities of reviewing the whole field of education, and eliciting public opinion with certainty' the Indian members of the Council had also moved some very important individual non-budgetary motions about education on the floor of the Council that were being adopted as government resolutions. For instance, the government accepted the motion proposing to develop and adopt a scheme for the development of vocational education in general and an approval for the introduction of 'satisfactory courses' in hand-spinning and weaving in those schools which had wished for and were able to adopt them²¹⁵. Similarly, in response to continuous public demands for adopting a more vocational education in secondary schools, the Bengal Education Department had accepted that while such demands were 'real', their implementation in the mainstream secondary schools was unrealistic, uncritical and extremist: because the department believed that they had often defeated 'their own purpose by overlooking the needs of the

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²¹³. Holme, Progress of Education in Bengal, 1917-18 to 1921-22, p.62.

²¹⁴. Ibid., p.97.

²¹⁵. Ibid., pp.97-98.

child, his aptitude and capacity, and the feasible and useful lines of educational advance'²¹⁶. The Department's concerns were certainly in consonance with the deliberations of the Imperial Education Conference of 1923 when the former had expressed their concern about the unrealistic letting of the 'invasion of secondary schools by the so-called vocational subjects' for the sake of coping with the issue of unemployment that the people had attributed to the literary secondary education in the province²¹⁷.

Moreover, due to the lack of 'well-defined aims' of technical education, various vocational subjects like spinning, weaving, carpentry, tailoring, soap-making, metal work, basket making, dyeing, music, typewriting, and even agriculture were being randomly taught in secondary schools during 1920s²¹⁸. Other than few exceptions, secondary schools were unable to produce vocational training in 'the strict sense of the term in the ordinary school' in Bengal²¹⁹. In September 1928, the question of introduction of teaching of music in secondary schools in Bengal was also brought up in a representative conference under the presiding authority of the Director of Public Instruction. Moreover, meeting in the office of the DPI in July 1929, higher educational officers discussed that a musical Advisory Board should be established to advice the DPI about 'the teaching of Indian music in secondary schools and to take steps for the encouragement and improvement of musical education in Bengal'²²⁰. In general, educational administrators in Bengal had believed in efforts to adopt such 'educational handwork' for secondary schools that could promote necessary 'hand and eye training'; and to devise a system of technical education imparted in technical

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²¹⁶. Mitra, and Zachariah, Progress of Education in Bengal, 1927-1932, p.39.

²¹⁷. Ibid.

²¹⁸. Ibid.

²¹⁹. Ibid., p.39.

²²⁰. Ibid., p.136.

schools for those students who would be unable to continue their general studies in schools²²¹.

In the secondary schools of Punjab, majority of students had offered subjects of 'practical utility' including shorthand, type-writing, book-keeping, science and agriculture, etc.²²² However, that trend was leading to the decline of subjects of history and geography, which on becoming optional subjects in secondary schools in Punjab, were only receiving 25-30% of students at that time. The remaining students were either taking up the aforementioned practical subjects or vernacular or Persian²²³. By the next year, in 1922, the situation was such that the subjects of history and geography were being reported as fading away from schools in Punjab²²⁴. In Punjab, the educational administration had remained unable to ensure a 'sufficiently general foundation' for a prospective matriculate', 225. While reviewing the educational progress during 1920s, the Punjab Education Department had itself accepted the fact that the government had failed to cope with the problems of mere reliance on examination results even at the expanse of ignoring collective physical and mental growth of students²²⁶. Moreover, concerns were equally expressed against the fact that the injudicious combination of subjects that were taught in secondary schools had neither led to a particular career nor to 'a satisfactory basis for higher study' 227.

²²¹. Ibid., p.39.

²²². Government of Punjab, Ministry of Education, Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1919-1920 (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1921), p.18.

²²³. Ibid. Similarly, for some reason, Persian was engaging more attention of students as compared to Arabic. Perhaps, this might be indicative of interest in holding on to their cultural past vis-à-vis their religious affiliations. Government of Punjab, Ministry of Education, Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1920-1921 (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1922), p.26.

^{224.} Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1920-1921, p.25.

²²⁵. Government of Punjab, Ministry of Education, Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1923-1924 (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1925), p.41.

^{226.} Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1928-1929, pp.59-60.

²²⁷. Bureau of Education India, Pamphlet No. 16, by F. R. Tomlinson, Impressions of the Imperial Education Conference 1923 (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing India, 1924), p.41.

The prevailing issues facing Indian secondary education were also brought home in the Imperial Education Conference of 1923. Although it was agreed in the Conference that 'the cultivation of a practical element in education' was a must, reservations were also uttered about the strengthening of mere vocational element at the expanse of general education in schools. There was an agreement that the instruction in schools up to the age of 14 should be general aiming to develop 'common equipment for life and citizenship' and which 'should not be subordinated to the specific needs of particular industries or professions' 228. That vision was further strengthened when the Secretary of State for the Colonies had mentioned in the Imperial Conference of 1926 that the British Government would make efforts to replace 'a purely literary education, not suited to the needs of the natives' with the one that would suit their aptitude; would also safeguard 'all the sane and healthy elements in the fabric of their own social life'; would aim at building their character; and making them useful in their indigenous environment rather than the environment of a country like Great Britain, 229. Indigenising knowledge had required much effort. Its effects, perhaps, could be best seen in the agricultural knowledge introduced in schools and the revised syllabi for girls.

1.B.2. Girls' Education Needs a More Vocational Bias

In Punjab, concerns were expressed that the government was unable to do much for the girls' education at the time when aided secondary schools for girls were making efforts for the cause of female education; especially when parents of female students had started to

²²⁸. Ibid., p.3

²²⁹. Whitehead, Education in British Colonial Independencies, 1981, p.78.

show their keen interest in sending their daughters to secondary schools and students themselves had shown their active interest in their studies and in activities like girl guide training, etc²³⁰.

The case of girls education was also taken up in Bengal with some enthusiasm since it was then being identified as the 'most important need in India', and the 'only hope of the satisfactory reordering of the whole social economy'²³¹. Although, most of the newly opened schools in Bengal had remained unrecognised from the University²³², those schools had proved their efficiency since missions had managed most of them. The revised syllabit taught in those schools had included, among other subjects, subjects of utility like domestic science, drawing and painting, music and dancing, etc²³³. Similarly, some progress was also experienced in teaching special subjects of needlework, hygiene and cookery; and students had shown their keen interest in subjects of music and fine arts with a tendency to 'revive Indian designs' in handwork²³⁴. Moreover, students had shown their interest in the Girl Guide training, games and drill that were made a part of the routine exercises in schools²³⁵.

1.B.3. Enhancing focus on Agricultural Subjects

While some curricular adjustments were going on in the Punjab, the most important among those was the introduction of agricultural education in most of the schools. For that

²³⁴. Ibid., p.74.

²³⁰. Government of Punjab, Ministry of Education, Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1930-31 (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1932), pp.70-77.

²³¹. Mitra, and Zachariah, Progress of Education in Bengal, 1927-1932, p.67.

²³². Ibid., p.71.

²³³. Ibid.

²³⁵. Ibid., p.71.

purpose, a scheme of short courses was also started for the teachers of that subject. Although, a non-uniform system of teaching of the practical agriculture had prevailed in the various pockets of Punjab, efforts were being made to improve the situation. For instance, three high schools in the Ambala Division, 8 high schools in the Jullundur Division, 8 middle schools in the Lahore Division, and some middle and middle vernacular schools in the Multan and Rawalpindi Divisions respectively had adopted the teaching of agriculture ²³⁶. While the scheme of agriculture was successfully implemented in the middle schools of Punjab, the Directors for Public Instruction (DPIs) of Punjab Education Department had voiced their concerns about the financial and practical considerations hindering its successful adoption in the secondary schools that were making the scheme impracticable. Held in April 1920, the conference of inspectors disclosed that since most of the high schools were located in the populous areas where the cost of the land was so high that it had made the acquisition of land for agricultural training farms impossible ²³⁷. Again, in the absence of farms for agricultural training, 'the purely theoretical instruction from books' could not be a desirable option to adopt in secondary schools²³⁸. Instead of purchasing a land for the purpose of agricultural training of students, leasing land could be a better idea to consider, proposed the members of the conference at the end of the deliberation of the conference²³⁹.

The unavailability of land for agricultural training in high schools was not the only problem confronting the educational administration of Punjab. The unpopularity of offering practical agriculture subject in schools even among the sons of agriculturalists was another source of distress for the government: that went to such an extent of a feeling that

²³⁶. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1919-1920, p.21.

²³⁷. Ibid., p.31.

²³⁸. Ibid.

²³⁹. Ibid., p.32.

without their interest in the subject the whole effort for agricultural training would serve as 'a costly and useless experiment'²⁴⁰. The emphasis of Punjab Education Department on agricultural education, especially in rural areas, was certainly in line with the British imperial designs that were explicitly reasserted in the Imperial Education Conference of 1923. In the Conference, a representative from the Punjab discussed the pressing need for making the 'poor farmer feel that his children would be better for education, and to make the rich farmer regard farming as a fit livelihood for his sons when they had received many years of education in Anglo-Vernacular school'²⁴¹. Hence demands were emerging for a new educational ideology among government circles for the people of especially rural Punjab with reference to educating a student in such a way 'as to keep him a contended and intelligent worker on the land'²⁴².

The Imperial Education Conference of 1923 had discussed at length 'the special means of educating the different non-European races within the Empire with a view to developing their highest usefulness to themselves and to the Empire' ²⁴³. The Imperial Education Conference had also rightly touched upon the issue of the limited scope of education in India that was leading to the saturation of government jobs for Indians. It was also realised that the irrational combination of subjects offered in schools was adding to the problems confronting the educational administrators and to the public disappointment against the system. For sure, the distress could be seen among those educated candidates who were neither able to qualify for government jobs nor could they make themselves useful to the rural life of which they were being a part. The Conference advocated the adoption of a general scheme of secondary education coupled with the vocational elements with

²⁴⁰. Ibid.

²⁴¹. Tomlinson, Impressions of the Imperial Education Conference 1923, p.1.

²⁴². Ibid., p.2.

²⁴³. Ibid., p.1.

particular emphasis on agricultural education in the agricultural land of the Indian subcontinent.

The government of Punjab had seriously taken up the case of agricultural education in schools in their respective areas. By the year 1925, in at least 5 high schools agricultural centres were being maintained with the help of government grants; and where coupled with theoretical instruction, practical training in farms attached to schools was 'imparted to students through specially qualified subject teachers²⁴⁴. The next two years proved further improvement in the field of agricultural education. By the year 1929, the number of agriculturalists had increased²⁴⁵. Efforts of the educational administrators in that direction need a mention for adopting an environment-oriented practical secondary school curriculum. Such a curriculum policy had implied an emphasis on the farm work and gardening for rural schools and the promotion of training in handicrafts in the schools of towns²⁴⁶. Besides, certain incentives were also provided for agricultural and general education in Punjab's schools in the form of free and half-rate fee concessions to students studying in secondary schools²⁴⁷.

The Education Department of Bengal had slowly recognised the need to adopt practical agriculture in schools. It was in 1927 when Bengal's Education Department announced the adoption of agricultural education in schools on the lines of agricultural education in Punjab; and had adopted the textbook from Punjab making certain re-adjustments to the textbook in accordance with the conditions in Bengal²⁴⁸. The department appreciated that 80 years after the implementation of the Education Despatch of 1854 which had suggested

²⁴⁴. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1923-1924, p.42.

²⁴⁵. Government of Punjab, Ministry of Education, Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1927-1928 (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1929), p.51.

²⁴⁶. Ibid., pp55-56.

²⁴⁷. Ibid., p.62.

²⁴⁸. Mitra, and Zachariah, Progress of Education in Bengal, 1927-1932, pp.40-41.

teaching of practical agriculture in schools, the Bengal Education system had finally adopted 'a definite scheme of agricultural education' in schools. The scheme was being launched with its three-fold objectives, that is, 'giving a more practical turn to a system hitherto purely literary', 'emphasising the dignity of manual labour' and 'providing a stimulus to agriculture for a population mainly agricultural' 249.

1.B.4. Focus on Vernacular vis-à-vis English language

An important development of early 1930s was the adoption of the vernacular as a medium of instruction and examination in middle schools. Jubilation was expressed about its adoption as it was believed that this had provided an opportunity to overthrow the pattern of English education that was in vogue since the days of Macaulay for the diffusion of western learning in India²⁵⁰. The Calcutta University had sent its regulations to the government for its final approval that had dealt with the decision to adopt vernacular as a medium of instruction for Matriculation examination²⁵¹. However, such ambitions of the University, specially relating to the adoption of vernacular in secondary schools, were challenged for the reason being that doing so would further lower the already low standard of English in schools²⁵².

²⁴⁹. Ibid., p.3.

²⁵⁰. Mitra, and Zachariah, Progress of Education in Bengal, 1927-1932, p.4.

²⁵¹. Government of Bengal, Education Department, Darjeeling, Resolution No. 1259T.Edn., October 6, 1933, p.4. in Mitra, and Zachariah, Progress of Education in Bengal, 1927-1932. The introduction of vocational subjects as compulsory set of subjects, and introduction of elementary science as a compulsory subject for the Matriculation examination were also brought forward in the same resolution.

²⁵². Mitra, and Zachariah, Progress of Education in Bengal, 1927-1932, p. 39.

In Punjab, it was accepted with concern that the teaching of vernacular and oriental languages had lagged behind because of the conservative methods of their teaching ²⁵³. Moreover, the trend of increase in the number of Anglo-vernacular schools in Punjab during the year 1935-36 had further lessoned the utility of vernacular education during 1930s. By the second half of 1930s, students who had received education in vernacular schools were reported as being unable to find jobs after the completion of their studies. For instance, the Inspector of Schools in Multan Division expressed with concerns the following:

'Some six years back the students passing the vernacular final examination could be employed as teachers or patwaris, but it is very difficult to get these jobs now. Besides, demands of most of the industrial or professional institutions require some knowledge of English and hence Anglo-vernacular students are preferred to purely vernacular students' 254.

In other words, the implementation of Montford reforms had proved challenging for both the governments of Bengal and Punjab striving to indigenise the knowledge streams. There was an emerging realisation among education officers in Punjab and Bengal that the existing British patterns of knowledge could not be done away with altogether. The way forward for them was to find such ways that could make not only knowledge of English language but other Western knowledge traditions compatible within the Indian context.

²⁵³. Government of Punjab, Ministry of Education, Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1935-1936 (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1937), p.37. ²⁵⁴. Ibid., p.35.

1.B.5. Finding Compatibility between Western Trends and the Indian Educational Context

As far as the development of the existing methods and subjects of instruction in Bengal's schools were concerned, certain experiments were made in the two training colleges of Calcutta and Dhaka respectively. Those experiments had aimed at understanding the important aspects of the 'most elementary principles of child psychology and the up-todate western methods of teaching the common subjects of curriculum, ²⁵⁵. Covering a range of school subjects, including history, science, geography, language learning, etc., those experiments had provided an opportunity to adopt and adjust the western methods of instruction to the usual classroom conditions of Indian schools²⁵⁶. Moreover, Khan Bahadur Moula Bukhsh, Inspector of Schools, performed experiments with the help of teachers in order to find out norms of 'attainments of boys of different classes in different subjects²⁵⁷. It was believed that the norms could be used for the appraisal of the progress of a class in a subject and could also be used for the selection of students for admission²⁵⁸. In 1925, on the advice of the then Governor of Bengal, an annual conference of teachers and inspectors and other people associated with education was being organised in order to encourage teachers to develop their teaching methods by adopting modern pedagogic skills²⁵⁹. While the conference had ended with some uncertainty about the 'way of improving methods of teaching', some teachers in certain schools took a start with experiments on the Dalton Plan, supervised study, project method, and silent reading ²⁶⁰.

²⁵⁵. Mitra, and Zachariah, Progress of Education in Bengal, 1927-1932, pp.137-138.

²⁵⁶. Ibid., pp.138-139.

²⁵⁷. Ibid., p.140.

²⁵⁸. Ibid.

²⁵⁹. Ibid.

²⁶⁰. Ibid., p.140.

In addition to the aforementioned efforts towards educational improvement, the case of Muslims' education in madrassahs was also brought to the fore. Concerns were being expressed against the fact that factors that had kept the Muslims' education underdeveloped during early years of dyarchy, had remained the same even during 1920s-1930s. It was believed that, in addition to the 'general apathy' of Muslims against liberal education in ordinary schools, the increasing poverty of most of the Muslim farmers and agriculturists of low income due to the agricultural depression, and the preference of Muslim parents for sending their children only to those madrassahs and maktabs that were imparting a mix of Islamic and secular education vis-à-vis the mainstream secondary schools were all contributing to the slower development of Muslims' education in Bengal²⁶¹.

In September 1928, setting itself to the task of bringing the syllabus of reformed madrassahs into line with the general education imparted in mainstream secondary schools, the Board of Intermediate Education of Bengal also convened a conference. It was believed that although revisions of the curricula of such madrassahs had been made at various instances, further modifications were still required in order to bring the level of subjects of English, Arabic, vernacular and mathematics taught in those reformed madrassahs in line with the level of those subjects taught in high schools ²⁶².

While the Education Department had appreciated the value of different experimental ventures for education improvement, it had equally cautioned about the need for adaptations within those western tests for their effective use in India. Concerns were further expressed about the fact that, in India where indigenous system of teaching had 'their roots in mere memory work and purely literary forms of training', and where rather

²⁶¹. Ibid., p.79. ²⁶². Ibid., p.82.

the indigenous system of education had determined the 'character of western education, it was certainly not beyond reality that adoption of modern modes of teaching would take longer²⁶³.

Similarly, while in Punjab, the financial severity in government funds during late 1920s had relegated the status of education as being 'looked down upon as a step-child' versus other necessities such as improvement of roads, better sanitation, medical relief, etc., some hope was being expressed about positive responding to the 'peculiar conditions, resources, needs and requirements, to help forward the cause of education' ²⁶⁴. The government of Punjab had expressed its satisfaction over adopting certain measures that were meant to making the matter and method of instruction more interesting for students. Such efforts had led to an increase in the interest of students in general reading and the development of students' powers of imagination and expression through introduction of singing and acting that were introduced in secondary schools²⁶⁵. Among other 'healthier' influences that were functioning in Punjab's secondary schools was an increase in the enthusiasm of students towards co-curricular activities like maintaining the school gardens and farms associated with agricultural training²⁶⁶. Similarly, the enhanced role of Red-Cross and Boy Scouts were also appreciated whose member school students provided really good social services to rescue drowning people and cattle and saving the properties of people who were being affected from floods at different times in the various districts of Punjab²⁶⁷. The case of Bengal was not very different where satisfaction was expressed over the healthy influences in the form of Red Cross activities for boys and Girl Guide activities for girls and other physical activities. Such developments were also conducive for improving the

²⁶³. Ibid.

²⁶⁴. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1928-1929, p.8, and p.31.

²⁶⁵. Ibid., pp.53-54.

²⁶⁶. Ibid., p.4.

²⁶⁷. Ibid., p.5, and pp.16-17.

compatibility of secondary education with reference to urban-rural needs, hence preparing students for active involvement in living activities. At least in theory, these developments were also highlighting a departure from what the Bengal government had believed as an 'obsession' for Matriculation as the 'only goal' of secondary education²⁶⁸.

In Punjab, it was observed with anxiety that because parents were losing confidence over education for its inability to prepare students for better employment opportunities, the continuous decline of students' enrolment in high schools had demanded the adoption of 'new orientation of school work'; that was, especially with reference to ensuring the 'utility of school instruction' in especially 'the daily life of the village' ²⁶⁹. The educational administration believed that certain issues leading to the waste of public and private funds and causing communal rivalries needed to be addressed. For instance, it was feared that the undue preferential opening of Anglo-vernacular schools in some preferred areas while others had remained deprived of them had entailed nothing but 'unnecessary duplication and extravagance' in the wake of financial depression²⁷⁰. Similarly, besides their contributions in providing trained man-power for the job market, that trend of opening Anglo-Vernacular schools had also led to an increase in the communal jealousy leading to triggered socio-political excitements in Punjab. Such riots had a bearing on maintaining discipline within schools and had caused a setback to ensure effective administration of schools²⁷¹.

While sailing through such difficult tides, the Punjab educational administration took steps to ensure the utility of secondary education especially for rural areas. For that purpose,

²⁶⁸. Government of Bengal, Darjeeling, Resolution No. 1259T.Edn. p.4.

²⁶⁹. Ibid., p.3.

²⁷⁰. Government of Punjab, Ministry of Education, Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1929-30 (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1931), p.6.

^{271.} Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1930-31, pp.3-4; p.18 and pp.39-40.

efforts were directed towards 'ruralising education' ²⁷². For instance, the sums set in arithmetic were combined with the 'knowledge of practical arithmetic used in the everyday life of zamindars, local imports and exports, village industries', etc²⁷³. Besides, oral and written compositions were also being derived from rural environments; and handicrafts practised in some of the schools were reported to have had exhilarating effects on the minds of students towards understanding the 'dignity of labour and of rural occupation' ²⁷⁴. By the year 1937, the Punjab Education Department had reported with satisfaction the improvement in instructional conditions in three out of its five districts where new methods of teaching were adopted. For example, the assignment system for the teaching of subjects of history, geography, mathematics, and science was adopted in various schools with success²⁷⁵.

Just like Punjab, financial depression had also struck Bengal during late 1920s and the situation had remained true even during early 1930s. The Bengal Education department had reported with grave concern that communal riots had caused a 'feeling of insecurity' that had led to a temporary drop in enrolment in certain areas; political turbulence had 'undermined discipline' within schools and had also 'affected the numerical strength'; and last but the worst of all was reported to be the economic stringency that had caused a serious setback to the students' enrolment in schools, and the discontinuance of various educational projects that had previously received administrative sanction for their implementation²⁷⁶. In the wake of the economic depression prevailing within the province, various proposals for improvement had remained unimplemented. Should that be possible,

²⁷². Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1935-1936, p.18.

²⁷³. Ibid

²⁷⁴. Ibid.

²⁷⁵. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1935-1936, pp.36-37.

²⁷⁶. Mitra, and Zachariah, Progress of Education in Bengal, 1927-1932, p.3.

the proposed improvements could have had a significant bearing over reasonable scores of schools in the province representing 'the largest secondary system in India', 277.

As far as finding compatibility between the social needs of Bengal and out-puts of secondary education system in the province was concerned, the ending years of diarchy in Bengal had raised concerns. It was feared that education system in Bengal had proved deficient to fulfil needs of a predominantly rural and agricultural land of Bengal. The system was criticised for producing educated young boys who were rather 'better adapted' for employment in towns 'as clerks or at best in one of the limited number of learned professions' Realising the problems relating to secondary education in Bengal, the Government of Bengal in its resolution on Education No. 2517 Edn., dated 27th July 1935 held:

'The result for education has been disastrous. What was bad has become worse and what was tolerable had in many instances become bad. Improvements long meditated and long overdue had to be postponed indefinitely and instead of even normal progress, there was at many points a visible retrogression' 279.

In 1935, in order to deal with the problems of secondary education in Bengal, the then Education Minister of Bengal ordered an educational survey. Similarly, next year, the Bengal Education Week of 10 days was also organised at his call. Over 16,000 teachers and renowned educationists from within and outside Bengal held meetings and discussions about educational problems in Bengal. Furthermore, several committees with official and non-official membership were appointed to work towards 'launching a comprehensive scheme of educational reconstruction in the future' 280. While such efforts could be taken as positive moves of the government in paying attention to the needs of the society, the

²⁷⁸. Chanda, Progress of Education in Bengal 1932-1937, p.3.

²⁷⁷. Ibid., 1927-1932, p.5.

²⁷⁹. Ibid., p.2.

²⁸⁰. Ibid., p.3.

recommended measures for the reconstruction still needed to prove the test of time through their implantation. Moreover, the provincial government also lamented the lack of interest on the part of the legislative council to resolve educational problems of urgent importance that were adding to the further deterioration of the system²⁸¹.

It was believed that various issues had remained unattended including 'the absence of adequate provision for vocational education, the undue encouragement given to a purely literary type of education, demand for the development of primary and secondary education of girls, and the unsatisfactory nature of the existing 'dual control' of secondary education, etc.²⁸² Similarly, the persisting problems had also involved issues of 'overlapping of various experiments and wastage of energy and money', and the non-uniform development of education in various pockets of British India²⁸³. With reference to curricular change, some progress could be achieved for the vocational and agricultural knowledge imparted in schools. The concept of utility of educated Indians had changed gradually from merely their training into clerks to their training as technical experts who could be hired for the lower grade technical jobs in urban areas and for improving agricultural productivity in rural areas.

To sum up:

By the early 19th century, the formal expression of the British decision to introduce a modern era of colonial enlightenment for Indians was manifested in the Charter Act of 1813, which was further strengthened after the adoption of Lord Macaulay's Minute. Such enlightenment had implied the adoption of Western and not Oriental knowledge forms for Indians. With the expansion of British economic activities within India the inadequacies of British education policy for India were brought home. Consequently, the Wood Despatch

²⁸¹. Ibid., p.15.

²⁸² Ibid

²⁸³. Ghosh, Education in Modern India, 1995, p.148.

of 1854 suggested introducing a number of European knowledge streams for Indians' schooling. In order to achieve the set objectives, the education system in India was institutionalised through bureaucratic structures; universities controlled the content of secondary education; and a system of Matriculation examinations was adopted to ensure the unity of methods of assessment for different provinces.

As the final years of 19th century had shown success in training Indians for lower administrative jobs, the British vision for India had promised to give Indians their share in socio-political affairs by allowing a gradual change from a policy suiting the needs of subjects of a dominion to that of partnership for the free civilised nations of the British Empire. By then, while the British government had decided to support the cause of Muslims' education, the middle class Muslims following Aligarh traditions had also promised to co-operate with the government.

By the end of 19th century, secondary education was preparing students in the two broader streams of knowledge, that is, some students for the Matriculation examinations and others for the secondary school leaving examinations. The provincial governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and Punjab, etc. had also adopted courses of some scientific vocational significance which alternated with their courses for Matriculation examination and had allowed jobs in different fields. With the passage of time, emphasis of the Macaulayan vision for an exclusive adoption of Western knowledge had also gone through changes with the offering of choices between foreign classical languages and Indian classical languages as well as assigning importance to teaching of Indian History versus English History in some provinces. Such changes had paved the way for the diversification of knowledge for Indians.

One of the most pertinent issues of 20th century was to adopt a more comprehensive secondary education scheme which could train workers for every profession and which could deal effectively with the limited scope of education that was then benefitting only the middle classes. The British government made formal assurances through different measures like education policy of 1904, the resolution of 1913, the CUC Report in 1917, and the deliberations of CoDPI in 1917.

The drive for adopting a diversified curriculum received more attention during the period of diarchy. From 1919 onwards, the undue dominance of university preparatory Matriculation examinations was checked by introducing a number of courses in secondary curriculum. However, some elements of the existing patterns of British educational system had remained intact. A reference can be made to the inevitability of English language versus vernacular languages in schools. Similarly, the case of introducing vocational subjects vis-à-vis general subjects was also taken up with caution for the reasons of economy and because diverse patterns of knowledge were already followed in different provinces. In general, experiments were made towards adopting western methods of teaching for subjects like history, science, geography, and language, etc. in Indian schools. Last but not the least; efforts were also made to bring the teaching of different subjects in Madrassahs (religious schools) into line with the standards of the mainstream secondary schools.

CHAPTER 2 SECONDARY EDUCATION 1937-1947 –MULTIPLE VISIONS FOR THE CURRICULUM

The period of diarchy had promised some development in knowledge forms for Indians. However, Indian leaders in educational administration and in political platforms were dissatisfied with the existing patterns of knowledge forms adopted in schools. Disapproving of elements of the Macaulayan education system, some asked for more indigenising of vocational/practical knowledge in schools from the floor of the All India Congress, others proposed adopting more general forms of secondary curricula through platforms like the All India Muslim Educational Conference towards the end of 1930s. Such aspirations were given formal manifestations after Indians were given more rights of political representation after the practical adoption of the Government of India Act 1935 through general elections in April, 1937. In more formal terms, full provincial autonomy was given to provincial administrations and education was declared as a state or provincial subject except for certain categories including education in Defence forces, centrally administered areas, Benares Hindu University and Aligarh Muslim University, and other institutions controlled and financed by the federal central government²⁸⁴. Such arrangements had allowed for the sharing of authority between the central government through its institutions like CABE and Inter-University Board and provincial governments where native educated Indians were then able to express their vision/s for educational change in schools.

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²⁸⁴. Krishnaswami, N. and Krishnaswami, L. *The Story of English in India* (New Delhi: Foundation Books, 2006), p.92.

2.A. 1937 onwards Sees the Emergence of Multiple Secondary Curriculum Visions

Since the All Indian National Congress had secured a 'heady victory' vis-à-vis the Muslim League in nine out of eleven provinces in July 1937 elections, Muslim leaders had to stick to the informal channels for conveying their visions of secondary curriculum change until the Congress Ministries had resigned from their office in December 1939²⁸⁵.

After its reconstitution in 1935²⁸⁶, the CABE had served as a significant platform for the British vision as well as for the Indians' say for education in India. Although, the CABE had set itself to the task of devising a 'constructive education policy' for India, the onset of the World War II had interrupted such activities. Saying this, besides its destructive effects, for India the World War had implied 'the real need' for adopting a 'sound and constructive education policy' 287. The efforts of the British Government towards such a policy were manifested in, for instance, 'Sargent Plan of Education in India, the secondary Education Bill in Bengal, the primary education scheme, and the scheme for post-war education in the UK', etc. Moreover, the efforts and influence of CABE had remained quite visible in the on-going educational developments in India, such as, Abbott-Wood

²⁸⁵. Those nine provinces included Madras, U. P., C. P., Bihar, Orrisa, Bombay, N. W. F. P., Sindh and Assam. The rule of Congress lasted till 22 December 1939. Vohra, R. The Making of India: A historical Survey (New York: M. E. Sharpe Inc., 2001), p.157. The Muslim League had not performed well in elections so much so that it was unable to get majority support even in the Muslim majority provinces like Punjab, Sind, North West Frontier Province and Bengal. Shakoor, A. Congress-Muslim League Tussle 1937-40: A critical analysis (Delhi: Aakar Books, 2003), p.17. The ratio of percentage of votes that muslim parties got in 1937 elections were 31.5:27.1:41.4 for KKP, ML and independents respectively. Palit, C. and Roy, C., Bengal before and after the partition (1947): The Changing Profile of a Province (Kolkata: Corpus Research Institute, 2005), pp.12-13.

²⁸⁶. Pearce, F. G. Plan for Education: A Descriptive and Critical Commentary on Post-war Educational Development in India (otherwise known as Sargent Plan) (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), p.2. The CABE was reconstituted with its re-defined membership that included member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in control of the portfolio of Education, Health and Lands, the Educational Commissioner, 6 educationists (including at least one women) nominated by the Government, one member elected by the Council of State and two members elected by the Legislative Assembly, three members nominated by the Inter-University Board, and one representative of each of the Provincial governments.

²⁸⁷. Speeches delivered by His Excellency, The Right Hon'ble Richard Gardiner Casey, C. H., D.S.O., M.C., Governor of Bengal during 1943-44 (Bengal: Secretary's Press, 1944), pp.80-81.

report of British officers; practicability of Wardha scheme in provinces; as well as in the form of its ninth and tenth meetings that, *inter alia*, had encompassed discussions relating to the Memorandum of Inter-University Board and the Indian Public School Conference about the post-War educational development plan (called Sargent Plan), the issue of adopting a uniform standard for the Matriculation examination, and the question of religious education in educational institutions, etc. The following provides detailed account of how such developments had affected secondary curriculum:

2.A.1. Visions/Plans for more vocational bias versus general education

2.A.1.1. <u>Abbott-Wood Report and the question of vocational education in secondary schools</u>

In its first meeting after reconstitution in 1935, the CABE formulated a framework for educational organisation which was recommended for the three stages of education that it renamed as primary, lower secondary and a higher secondary stage²⁸⁸. The following year, on the request of the CABE to the Government of India, the Education Board in England sent A. Abbott and S. H. Wood in order to study the problems of education in Indian provinces like U.P., Punjab and Delhi, and to advise 'whether any vocational or practical training should be imparted in primary, secondary and higher secondary schools, and if so, what should be its nature and extent' 289. Submitted in June 1937, the two-part report

²⁸⁸. Sen, A. N. *Educational Re-organisation in India: A Criticism of the C.A.B. Report and a New Proposal* (Calcutta: The Book Company Ltd., 1944), p.22.

²⁸⁹. Biswas and Agrawal, Development of education in India, p.53. See also Nayar, National System of Education, 1989, p.75.

highlighted the significance of technical education vis-à-vis general education and recommended that the former should be linked with the industrial and agricultural needs of the society²⁹⁰. In fact, the report had dwelt on the same emphasis of combining the vocational elements of school education with the industry that the British Government in India had already emphasised in its Educational Policy Resolution of 1913 and so did the Calcutta University Commission in its report of 1919²⁹¹. Hence the social needs of making school education as being more responsive to the industrial and commercial needs of Indian society were held valid even during the ending decade of 1930s when Abbott-Wood report had stressed the need for training of students into managers, supervisors, and operators for 'the organised large-scale industries in India'²⁹².

However, the contribution of Abbott-Wood report to the development of vocational education in India could not be limited to the aforementioned recommendations only. The report was also acknowledged for its recommendation that every province should survey its educational needs that were required by its industries and commerce and then adopt such an educational scheme that could promise a set number of recruits for the industry on annual basis²⁹³. Moreover, while the report had recommended a hierarchy of the general education institutions and had emphasised the need for more vocational education institutions, the report also took the credit for recommending the establishment of commercial, technical, and agricultural high schools that were established in the following years in accordance with the report's recommendations²⁹⁴. The then representative government of Congress also took up the issue of correlation of vocational/technical with

²⁹⁰. Krishnaswami, and Krishnaswami, The Story of English in India, p.93.

²⁹¹. Nayar, National System of Education, 1989, p.340.

²⁹². Ghosh, Education in Modern India, 1995, p.161.

²⁹³. Nayar, National System of Education, 1989, p.340.

²⁹⁴. Kochhar, S. K. *Pivotal issues in Indian Education* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 2005), p.117.

general education in line with the recommendations of the Abbott-Wood report through its Wardha education scheme.

2.A.1.2. Wardha Scheme Emphasises Knowledge of Practical Utility

In October 1937, presided over by Mahatma Gandhi, the All India National Education Conference appointed the Zakir Hussain Committee²⁹⁵ to present an education scheme for its adoption in the provinces under Congress rule. In December 1937, the Committee submitted its report called the Wardha scheme of education that received great admiration from Indians because it had proposed an educational ideology that 'offered a new form of integration' or 'correlation' which aimed at joining the mental work with the physical work for teaching subjects like history, geography, arithmetic, science, language, painting and music²⁹⁶. According to an Indian analyst of those times, the proposed scheme and the pedagogy had taken 'the entire world by surprise' and was 'the most outstanding contribution of the first and only national scheme of education that was put forward by a committee of entirely Indian personnel'²⁹⁷. After all, for an agriculturally poor and industrially background country like India in 1930s, the scheme had negated the 'progressive movement of industrialisation' and had intended to work for self-reliant rural economies with the support of vocational-cum-practical education²⁹⁸.

In January 1938, the Wardha scheme received formal acknowledgement when the CABE appointed a subcommittee to examine the suggested Wardha scheme of education in the light of the Abbott-Wood Report on education in India. Under the chair of the Premier and

²⁹⁵. Zakir Hussain had also served as the President for the Secondary Education Section on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the All India Muslim Educational Conference held from 26 to 29 March, 1937. Wasey, Education of Indian Muslims, Appendix E, p.56

²⁹⁶. Bhatia, H. R. 'Integration II', *The Punjab Educational Journal*, 37 (1942), 537-545 (p.537).

²⁹⁸. Singh, R. P. *Education in an Imperial Colony* (New Delhi: National Publishing House, 1979), p.109.

the then Education Minister of Bombay, B. G. Kher, the subcommittee's membership included Zakir Hussain, the provincial education ministers for Bihar and Central Provinces, two permanent members of the Education Department including Educational Commissioner for the Government of India J. E. Parkinson, and W. H. F. Armstrong who was the then D. P. I. for Punjab, and others²⁹⁹.

Submitted in December 1938, the subcommittee report endorsed the component features of the Wardha scheme, and so did the CABE. However, the CABE appointed a Second Wardha Education Committee (SWEC) in order to deal with issues, such as, harmonising the basic with the higher education and the financial management of educational expenses, etc. The committee was organised again under the chair of B. G. Kher, with other members including three ministers of education from N.W.F.P., Madras, and Sind; Zakir Husain; three DPI's one from Punjab, Bengal, and U.P. each; and John Sargent, the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India³⁰⁰. The Committee consulted reports from provinces about those education institutions that were opened along the lines of the Wardha scheme, and the resolutions that were passed by the All India Muslim Educational Conference on the Wardha scheme. In May 1940, except for its recommendation for the central government to bear all educational costs, the CABE finally adopted the recommendations of the SWEC³⁰¹.

While efforts were being made to implement the Wardha scheme in some Indian provinces under Congress rule and the deliberations of the SWEC were also undergoing the process of their completion, the World War II started in September 1939. In response to the Viceroy's announcement for Indians' participation in the war against Germany, the ruling Congress party resigned from their ministries in December 1939 in protest against the

²⁹⁹. Pearce, Plan for Education, 1948, p.3.

³⁰⁰. Ibid., p.3.

³⁰¹. Ibid.

failure of the Viceroy to consult Indians over the declaration of war³⁰². In the wake of noncooperation from the Congress party, the British government approached the Muslim League to get Muslims' support for the war effort³⁰³. By then, the already existing rift between Muslims and Hindus had gained strength during Congress rule through its activities like the 'hoisting of the Congress tricolour, the singing of bandemataram, the Vidya Mandir scheme in the Central Provinces and the Wardha scheme of education'; that the Musim League had "interpreted as proof of 'Congress atrocities" against Muslims 304. While Hindu-Muslim differences were on the rise in other provinces, the province of Sind presented an interesting contrast of Hindu-Muslim unity for the cause of educational competition against Parsis. In Sind, where Parsis were the most literate of different communities and were in control of influential positions in bureaucracy too, efforts were being made to counter such dominance with the consequent increase in the number of Muslim and Hindu pupils getting education³⁰⁵. Similarly, students held Hindu-Muslim Unity Conferences in order to minimise the hostile feelings between Hindus and Muslims; non-communal national songs were sung in daily school assemblies in the morning; circulars were sent to teachers to avoid taking part in communal activities, etc³⁰⁶. Efforts were also made to evolve a new scheme of education suitable to Sind conditions when a committee of experts was invited to analyse problems of education and provide solutions for these. It was believed that the existing system of education was 'defective' and 'the mentality of people' was 'service-ridden' leading to a lot of discontent amongst the

³⁰². Pullin, E. 'India (1946-1949)', in *Civil Wars of the World: Major Conflicts Since World War II*, ed. by Jr., K. DeRouen, and Heo, U. (California: ABC-CLIO, Inc, 2007), p.404.

³⁰³. Ibid. p.404

^{304.} Jalal, A., The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Musim League and the Demand for Pakistan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.43.

^{305.} Annual Report on Public Instruction in Sind for the Year 1939-40, (Karachi: Government Press, 1943), pp.2-.4.

⁰⁶ . Ibid., p.8

educated who were unable to secure jobs. Perhaps a joint effort at national level was then required to fix the problems of education.

Right after the end of the Congress ministries on 22 December 1939, Muslims expressed their readiness to co-operate with the British Government in India under the leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Holding its 52nd Session at Calcutta on December 28, 1939, the All-India Muslim Educational Conference (AIMEC) highlighted Muslims' grievances against the existing education system and felt the need for a survey of Muslims' education throughout India³⁰⁷.

In 1941, presiding over the Madras session of the Muslim League, he had emphasised with vigour that a comprehensive plan should be devised that covered four major 'departments of national life of Muslim India'; where 'a definite well-considered educational plan' had secured a top-most priority, that could cater to the needs of economic development, political training producing 'political soldiers', and a policy to 'promote good will and harmony among the people on the basis of equality, fair play and reciprocity' Such credentials were also taken care of in the Education Committee of the AIMEC's 52nd session when it had proposed its own educational scheme.

2.A.2. Kamal Yar Jung Committee Report Suggests Three-Pronged Secondary School System and Curricula

About adopting an educational scheme for India, Kamal Yar Jung declared in his presidential address that Muslims were unhappy with the existing schemes of education.

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³⁰⁷. Kureishy, A. M., Report of the Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee, Calcutta (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1942) p.i.

³⁰⁸. Oureshi, M. M. S., *Jinnah and the Making of a Nation* (Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies, 1969).

He knew that no education system would be 'acceptable in the future' that would be incapable of teaching 'those mental, spiritual, and moral values' that could train Muslims as 'defenders of the Islamic civilisation'. Emphasising the significance of Islam as a message for the development of human beings, he further exclaimed, 'till now we tried to create compatibility with those schemes that others had imposed on us. The time has arrived when we endeavour to prepare our own scheme' 310.

A. K. Fazlul Haq seconded the motion of Kamal Yar Jung and a resolution was passed that suggested the appointment of a committee called Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee with the following objectives:

'to make a survey of the different systems of education in the country and to frame a comprehensive and broad-based scheme of education suiting the special needs and requirements of the Muslims and helpful to the preservation of the distinctive features of their culture and social order³¹¹.

The Committee comprised of eminent Muslims with their degrees and expertise in law, and other disciplines of arts from universities of London, Cambridge and Oxford and also members from the Indian Educational Service (I.E.S.) were appointed³¹². The deliberations of the Committee stand significant in the educational history of Indian Muslims for its efforts to have brought forward, for the first time in India, a comprehensive enquiry into the problems facing Muslims in the field of education and recommendations for bringing about educational change to improve their condition³¹³. In the light of responses to the questionnaire of the committee, the Committee concluded an outline of a scheme of secondary education that should satisfy the needs of Muslims while fulfilling the general needs of secondary education, in terms of preparing students for university education, or

³⁰⁹. Presidential Address of Kamal Yar Jung Read in the Annual Session of All India Muslim Educational Conference held at Calcutta dated 29 December 1939 (Haiderabad Daccan: Azam Steam Press, n.d.), pp. 3-5. Translated from Urdu into English.

³¹⁰. Presidential Address of Kamal Yar Jung, 1939, pp.6-8. Translated from Urdu into English.

³¹¹. Ibid

^{312.} Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee Report, 1942, p.256.

³¹³. Ibid.

technical education, or enabling them to get a government job or a job in the private sector or independent business³¹⁴. The Committee suggested three categories of secondary schools in each province, including Secondary Schools for Arts and Science (SSAS), Secondary Schools for Commerce (SSC), and Secondary Schools for Agriculture (SCA). The proposed types of schools were to comprise of the following list of subjects:

Table: 2.A.2. Types of Secondary Schools and their Curricular Streams in Kamal Yar Jung Report

	SSAS	CCC/CC A	
C1		SSC/SSA	
Compulsory	Compulsory 1. English 1. English (More of emphase)		•
	2. 1 of the Modern Indian	1 ,1	
	Vernaculars	emphasis on Basic English than on Literary English).	
	3. General Knowledge	2. 1 of the Modern Indian Vernaculars	
	4. Main principles of 5 great	3. General Knowledge	
	religions (Hinduism, Buddhism,		
	Jainism, Christianity, and Islam).	Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity, and Islam).	
Optional	Mathematics	SSC	SSA
	Physics	Commercial	Agricultural Chemistry
	Chemistry	Economics	Agricultural Biology
	Biology	Commercial	Botany
	Geology	Geography	Horticulture
	Geography	Industrial History	Diseases and pests in
	Logic and Elementary	Type-writing and	\mathcal{E}
	Psychology	Shorthand	Agricultural Implements
	History	Commercial	
	1 of the Classical Languages	Arithmetic	
	Civics and Political Science		
	Economics		
	Girls:		
	First two years		
	Domestic Science and Hygiene		
	Child Study and Physiology		
	Elementary Psychology		
	Next two years		
	Educational Psychology		
	Home Economics		
	Problems of food and clothing		
	and Decorative Art		

Source: Kureishy, A. M. Report of the Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee, Calcutta (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1942), pp.330-332.

³¹⁴. Ibid., p.258.

There was a general agreement in the questionnaire responses that the existing syllabi and textbooks were biased against Muslims' interests. It was suggested that literary readers needed an overhaul in the interest of Muslim culture and history and that subjects of Islamic studies should also be introduced in schools³¹⁵. However, there was a difference of opinion about medium of instruction

While the domestic visions for suggested secondary curriculum reforms had their brought change in the forms of school knowledge, the global effects could not be ignored in the wake of WWII that had effected school knowledge.

2.A.3. Post-War Educational Development Plan Suggests Two Types of Secondary Schools and Curricula

The plan proposed certain re-adjustments for the secondary education including establishing of schools with a six year all-round education (for grades VI-XI, for the age group of 11-17) that was also 'combined with some preparation in the later stages for the careers' which students would adopt upon the completion of their school education³¹⁶. According to the plan, it was not right to consider high school education 'simply as preliminary to University education, but as a stage complete in itself³¹⁷. It clarified that while the secondary education should retain its role of providing the most able students for higher learning institutions, such a system would be devised whereby a large number of High school leavers should be able to enter into occupations and professions, though a

³¹⁵. Ibid., p.257.

^{316.} Kochhar, Pivotal Issues in Indian Education, 2005, p.117.

³¹⁷. Aggarwal, J. C., and Agrawal, S. P. Educational Planning in India: With a slant to educational financing and administration, Vol.I, Reports of Committees and Commissions, Five Year Plans, Statistical Table (New Delhi: Mittal, 1992), p.27.

number of them might also need further training for one to three years³¹⁸. The plan had suggested establishing two different types of secondary schools, that is, academic and technical secondary schools. Providing for the basic principle that academic schools should provide education in arts and pure sciences and technical schools should provide education in applied sciences and commerce, it was recommended that both of the schools could adopt varied curricula in accordance with their respective circumstances and which should not be 'unduly restricted by the requirements of universities or examining bodies' 319. Considering the Matriculation scheme as outlined in the Memorandum on the Post-War Educational Development in India and the joint report prepared by the members of the Inter-University Board for India (IUBI) and the CABE, the IUBI resolved that every pupil should be examined in the five general subjects, including Mother Tongue, English, Mathematics, Elementary Science, and History and Geography, while the optional subjects should be stretched for the last three years of the school course³²⁰. It further proposed adoption of the selective principle of admission for secondary schools; that implied admission of only those students who could 'show promise of taking full advantage of the education provided, 321. The plan had also provided an account of the estimated annual costs for different levels of education³²².

Besides the fact that the plan was 'concise, comprehensive and workable', it was neither acceptable to the central and provincial governments nor to the Muslim leaders³²³. The

³¹⁸. Ibid.

³¹⁹. Ibid. See also Mishra, 2009, History of Education Administration, p.38; and Naik, 1965, Educational Planning, p.3.

³²⁰. Bureau of Education, India, Appendix A, 'Memorandum on Item III (a) of Agenda' in 'Proceedings of the Ninth and Tenth Meetings of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India held in October 1943 and in January 1944 respectively', (Simla: Government of India Press, 1944) pp.22-23.

^{321.} Kochhar, 2005, Pivotal Issues in Indian Education, p.117.

^{322.} Naik, Educational Planning, 1965, p.5.

³²³. Aggarwal, and Agrawal, Educational Planning in India, pp.21-22. It is interesting to note here that out of the 23 members of the committee preparing the Sargent report, only four were British officers and the rest were Indians from different education departments. Ibid., p.22.

Indian Public School Conference meeting in 1943 had signified that while the proposed plan had some merits, it was exclusively prone to strengthening the already existing class divisions and discriminations; that according to the conference would favour the few sections vis-à-vis the mass population of India³²⁴. Similarly, it did not provide an account of 'the projections of population, the rate of economic growth, the likely price levels', its findings that the time scale of 30 to 40 years would be required for the implementation of a national system of education and the suspicions against the plan that besides membership of some Indians in the committee preparing the report for the plan, it was made and inspired by the British were all factors that had explained its failure³²⁵. In short, the aforementioned factors led to the shelving of the plan at least until the end of the on-going World War. That however did not suggest an end to the continuing educational developments in secondary education in accordance with the broader British policy emphasis on the scientific development of agricultural education and technical training that had become the unavoidable essentials for the British Government in India during the war years.

³²⁴. Bureau of Education, India, Appendix B, 'Letter from the Honorary Secretary, the Indian Public Schools Conference to the Secretary, Central Advisory Board of Education, dated 25th November, 1943',in 'Proceedings of the Ninth and Tenth Meetings of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India held in October 1943 and in January 1944 respectively' (Simla: Government of India Press, 1944) pp.25-26.

³²⁵. Aggarwal, and Agrawal, Educational Planning in India, p.22. The proposed estimates were based on the pre-war estimates and population and had not taken account of such factors in making recommendations. Naik, Educational Planning, 1965, pp. 6-7.

2.B. Achievements and Under-achievements Revolve around WWII Demands

There is no doubt about some general progress of secondary education during WWII years, War time had borne deep impact on the development of certain forms of knowledge versus others. While efforts to deal with issues of utility of secondary education for Indian people with reference to academic versus vocational knowledge were going on, the concept of utility was also given a war-centric interpretation through ideas of growing more food and training more technical personnel for war tactics. The following provides first an account of general developments and then some specific aspects of knowledge developments in schools during war times.

2.B.1. General developments during War times

As far as the general developments of secondary education were concerned, in spite of the financial stringency prevailing in India, provincial education departments had reported educational improvements in their respective areas. For instance, in Sind, in order to deal with defects of education system that had led to a 'service-ridden' mentality of people and had generated 'a lot of discontent amongst the educated' for being unable to secure jobs, the Sind Government invited a committee of experts. The committee sent its proposals for the Government's consideration about removing defects in the educational system and proposed a new scheme of education suitable to conditions of Sind³²⁶. In Bengal, the

³²⁶. Report on Public Instruction in Sind for the Year 1939-40, p.9.

revised curriculum of Matriculation was being followed and the first Matriculation examination was being held in 1940 according to the new syllabus and through the medium of vernacular³²⁷. Similarly, the useful subjects of manual instruction like carpentry, smithy, weaving, dyeing, etc. had kept on being studied in high and middle schools³²⁸. Another important development was the holding of education weeks in different parts of the province. For instance, on 1 February 1940, the Western Bengal Education Week was being held whereby symposia and lectures were held with enthusiasm to ponder over prevailing educational issues such as, teaching of Bengali and Urdu; discussing 'some lessons of History'; the religious basis of education; 'some aspects of internationalism'; issues relating to 'discipline and problems of educational adjustment'; and 'modern educational thoughts'³²⁹. On 6 February 1940, the Dhaka Education Week was also inaugurated that, among other educational and cultural issues shared by over 15,000 teachers and scores of prominent educationists, also brought to the front the issue of control of education in Bengal³³⁰.

In Punjab, the process of curricular reform had started as early as in May 1938 when, under the chair of Man Mohan, an Indian officer of the Punjab education department, the government appointed a committee to 'define broad principles in the planning of suitable syllabi and curricula' for the aforementioned two stages of school education in Punjab. Keeping in view the recommendations of the committee after their approval in November 1938, the Syllabus Committees developed courses of studies that upon receiving government approval were finally published in 1941. Afterwards, the Primary Education Act was passed in order to ensure the implementation of the recommendations of the

³²⁷. Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for the year 1939-1940, (Alipore: Bengal Printing Press, 1942) p.1. and p.13.

³²⁸. Íbid., p.13.

³²⁹. Ibid., p.36.

³³⁰. Ibid., p.36.

Syllabus Revision Committee particularly with reference to the government's proclaimed drive towards 'effective and popular expansion of vernacular education in the Punjab'³³¹. As far as the case of secondary education was concerned, despite a decrease in the number of high schools in Punjab districts, the enrolment of students in schools had increased. Education in rural secondary schools in particular had become more popular and public demands were being made persistently for adopting English education in rural schools³³². The popularity of secondary education in rural areas was equally credited to training in a variety of fields of rural interest such as farming, gardening, floriculture, agricultural and industrial handicrafts and other ancillary activities. Besides, those rural schools and their teachers had also received appreciation for their efforts towards building up a 'well-balanced public opinion on economic, social, political and educational matters'³³³.

The efforts of the Punjab education department need a special mention here where the drive for 'Grow More Food' was being reported to have inaugurated with success. By the year 1943, with the provision of improved agricultural farm finances, the farms were not only used as instructional and demonstrational open air laboratories for agricultural education, but those had generated profits from their yields in the form of agri-subsidiary industries such as rope twisting, basket making, *taat* weaving, fruit growing, soap making and sericulture, etc³³⁴. With the launch of 'Grow More Food' campaign in 1942, the agricultural farms and plots had increased the production of food and fodder crops' the value of food or fodder crops was raised from Rs.38,334 in 1941-1942 to Rs.51,051 in 1942-1943 that collectively amounted to Rs.89,386 for the three years³³⁵. The campaign was not confined to the secondary schools and their farms only since the teachers of

^{331.} Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1941-42, p.2.

³³². Ibid., p.3.

³³³. Ibid.

³³⁴. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1942-43, p.10.

³³⁵. Ibid., p.16.

primary and middle were also advised to 'grow improved seeds on modern lines' in order to get better results for the cultivated crops³³⁶. Another important phenomenon of war times effecting secondary education developments in India was the need for technical support for the British Army recruitments for war. In order to stimulate technical recruitment, the technical recruitment scheme was adopted in 1943³³⁷.

While the government of Punjab had directed its efforts to ensure food self-sufficiency and technical recruitment of Indians to serve the British Army in the World War, the government of Bengal was hit by a situation in 1943, when 'all the horsemen of the Apocalypse, war, famine, pestilence and death' had 'ridden hard over the plains of Bengal' 338. The situation was getting graver since the issue of food insufficiency was tied with other problems confronting people and the government such as those relating to health, better sanitation, etc. The government of Bengal felt that the recurrence of the latter three in future could be kept in check, and the ruinous effects of the war could be done away with through a sound educational policy that could combine the merits of science to industry and agriculture. 'I know no better investment for a Government or a people', stressed the then Governor of Bengal, on March 4, 1944, in his address at the annual convocation of the Calcutta University, 'than that of the application of science to the solution of the problems of industry and of agriculture' 339.

While the deciding years of WWII had shown signs of victory for the Allied Powers in War, the British Government in India directed provincial governments to devise their respective provincial education plans and appointed the then educational advisor to the government of India to prepare a memorandum on post-war educational development in

³³⁶. Ibid., p.17.

³³⁷. Government of Punjab, Ministry of Education, Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1943-44 (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing West Punjab, 1945), p.19.

³³⁸. Speeches delivered by His Excellency, Richard Gardiner Casey, 1944, p.82.

³³⁹. Ibid., p.81.

India³⁴⁰. After holding its meetings in October 1943 and January 1944, the CABE had also published its report on the Post-War Educational Developments in India³⁴¹. Prepared under the guidance of John Sargent, the plan popularly known as Sargent plan presented a comprehensive report about making adjustments in all the stages of education system prevailing in India³⁴². Just like other British ventures for the development of secondary education in India, the Sargent Plan had also identified the significance of promoting both academic and technical knowledge in order to make it more useful for Indians.

2.B.2. WWII Demands Social Services from Secondary Schools –Implications for Secondary Curriculum

The period of the on-going World War II had implied added responsibilities for the Indian educational administration whereby the secondary schools, besides imparting their regular schemes of education, were also serving as centres of war propaganda and training centres for services related to the war such as First Aid, Air Raid Precautions (A.R.P.) and Civic Guards³⁴³. Those activities had provided further strength to the training in social services that the Indian students were already receiving in their schools in the form of co-curricular and extra-curricular activities in the form of Red Cross, Scouts and Girl Guides, etc. That aspect of training had also received a boost during the war, when scores of secondary school teachers and students from provinces like Punjab had offered themselves for

³⁴⁰. Ghosh, Education in Modern India, 1995, p.167.

³⁴¹. Aggarwal and Agrawal, Educational Planning in India, p.21.

³⁴². Mishra, R. C. *History of Education Administration* (New Delhi: A P H Publishing Corporation, 2009), p.37. Also see Naik, J. P. *Educational Planning in India* (New York: Allied Publishers, 1965), p. 2.

³⁴³. Ministry of Education, Government of Punjab, Report on the Progress of Education in Punjab for the Year 1941-42 (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing West Punjab, 1943), p.2.

activities relating to war such as Civic Guards, ambulance works, contributions for free gifts out of the pupils' funds and out of income from concerts, as well as individual contributions by teachers and students, etc.³⁴⁴. Punjab had also stood first in providing financial contributions for war from its already meagre departmental funds for education. The enthusiasm for social services was not wanting also among female students in Punjab who had volunteered for services such as teaching illiterate women on schools and college compounds and in their homes as well as in jail; helping local institutes for women's welfare, etc³⁴⁵.

In fact, throughout the period of war, schools were reported to have served as 'a very effective means of promulgating correct war news through talks and bulletins' and the teachers had played a significant role for the effective dissemination of information to the people of rural areas³⁴⁶. Moreover, educational developments relating to agricultural education in schools were certainly in consonance with the demands of war for adopting measures towards food sufficiency and the provincial department of education had responded well to such demands.

2.B.3. WWII Demands Growing More Food –Suggesting Agricultural and Scientific-Technical bias in Secondary Education

World War II developments had identified the development of agricultural education and technical training as the two aspects of secondary education that had limited scopes in

³⁴⁴. Ibid., p.10.

³⁴⁵. Ibid., p.44.

³⁴⁶. Government of Punjab, Ministry of Education, Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1942-43 (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing West Punjab, 1944), p.15.

terms of their domain of influence restricted to the rural areas and of their limited contributions to the broader outputs for the development of science and industry respectively. While the 'Grow More Food' drive of the War times had resulted into greener provinces, that development was limited to rural areas and not the urban areas. Similarly, the limitations of the technical training scheme were also obvious that had a confined application to only British civil and military administrative lower cadre jobs. In other words, the agricultural education had borne fruitful results for the cause of the ruler and the ruled at least to some extent, but the state of scientific and technical education had remained at their rudimentary stages where efforts were directed towards their development to the bare minimum of preparing clerks who could serve the civil and military administrations. To cite as an example, the Technical Training scheme in the province of Punjab had no doubt shown marked results in a year's time since its launch in 1943 when as many as 12,574 candidates were being selected from schools and education departments; most of them were sent to different civil-military and civil-naval training centres and scores of them were recruited without training as havildar clerks for grade III³⁴⁷. That training of candidates had involved replacement of the existing post-Matric Commercial Centres with the civil-military and civil-naval training centres³⁴⁸. By the next year, in 1944-45, mass enrolments of students in high schools were made in order to enhance the recruitment process and publicity tactics were being used to motivate students for the training. For instance, models of the weapons of war, and magic lanterns were displayed in high schools for that purpose³⁴⁹. It was observed that from April 1944 to March 1945, 4279 candidates were being selected from the province of Punjab only, which

³⁴⁷. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1943-44, p.19.

³⁴⁸. Ibid.

³⁴⁹. Ministry of Education, Government of Punjab, Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1944-45 (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing West Punjab, 1946), p.18.

stood first among other provinces in providing the candidates for the technical training. For instance, with only 24 centres and less population than 31 centres and more population in Madras, Punjab had supplied 17,417 technicians as compared to 14,782 technicians from Madras³⁵⁰.

The significance of science education was also brought up in December 1945 during the 54th session of the All India Muslim Educational Conference, when Muslim leaders raised their concerns and ambitions for the cause of Muslims' development vis-à-vis Hindus in the fields of science and technology, their negligible representation in government institutions, and their miserable state of existence in the arena of competition³⁵¹. Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, then a Member of Legislative Assembly (central), in his presidential address to the Conference, criticised the government policy towards Muslims education in such words:

'The Government is neither providing support to improve and extend our existing education institutions nor does it grant any assistance to open new institutions that are required to fulfil the requirements of the time. The doors of government institutions especially scientific, medical, technical, industrial education institutions are closed for us. Muslims have a negligible representation in running the administrative affairs of government institutions. ... On one side, Muslims are not given opportunity to get higher education in scientific and technical fields. On the other side, their right of representation is rejected on the false excuse that suitable candidates are not available. In this way, the series of Muslims' deprivation keeps going. ... India is at the door of tremendous industrial revolution. Our Quaid-i-Azam has been consistently stressing to Muslims that they acquire a proper place in big industries' 352.

Of all the educational developments, the development of scientific and technical education had formed the core of Muslims' (and Hindus) demands from the government. In fact, the insistence for an increased technical education in the 'interest of industries' had worked as

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³⁵⁰. Ibid., p.19.

Report on the All India Muslim Educational Conference Aligarh, 54th session held at Agra, dated 27-30 December, 1945, comp. by Sadar Yar Jung (Aligarh: Muslim University Press, 1946), p.12. Translated from Urdu to English.

³⁵². Ibid., pp.36.

a 'permanent demand of the Indian nationalist' movements that had voiced their concerns from the platforms of the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League and other progressive groups. It was asserted that in order to ensure industrial growth, the development of the poverty-stricken agricultural population could hardly be ignored; which comprising of about four-fifth of the Indian population, had also 'represented a formidable potential market for industrial goods' 353.

Besides working towards the overall development of that population, the need for introducing radical agrarian reforms was being stressed; that included 'a revision of land relations and productive aid by the state to the farmers to renovate agriculture, thereby increasing the purchasing power of that huge population and enabling them to extensively buy industrial goods'354. The development of technical education along scientific lines was identified as the most important social need of those times because the technical education could bring the aforementioned population out of their miseries. The British government had not paid a deaf ear to the agricultural needs of its colonies either. The issue of agricultural reforms had already engaged the attention of the British government especially during the times of the World War II; a British Commonwealth Science Committee was already at work proposing in 1943 to convene an Empire Scientific Conference as soon as possible after the end of the war. In 1946, the Empire Scientific Conference was held at London, Cambridge, and Oxford where the leading scientists of the Empire presented papers that, dealing with 15 major topics of science, had covered surveys of problems in agricultural and medical sciences in the Empire; the state of the science and problems of nutrition of the natives of the Colonies; and the gathering and exchange of scientific

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354. Ibid.

³⁵³. Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism, 2005, p.108.

records and experimental material in the field of agriculture, etc³⁵⁵. The Conference had also received 14 Indian delegates to voice their say about the aforementioned issues of the conference³⁵⁶.

As far as the case of agricultural education in Indian schools was concerned, the provincial government of Punjab, for instance, had expressed their satisfaction with the fruits of such education. To illustrate, by 1946 two agriculture centres at Ludhiana and Jullundur were established and the subject of agriculture was also taught in 62 high schools and 340 middle schools, the education department of Punjab reported with satisfaction³⁵⁷. Such efforts had borne good results for the farmers of the rural areas in Punjab whose children had learnt new ways of farming and tilling their lands and of making their lands more productive in accordance with the government's policy of 'Grow more Food' that had taken its practical shapes since 1941 ³⁵⁸. Punjab had also shown incomparable efforts for achieving the goals of food sufficiency where, in addition to the use of high school agricultural farms and plots, 'every inch of land on the school premises' where 'satisfactory irrigation arrangements existed was ploughed up and some food or fodder crop was sown'; that was coupled with the campaign for grow more trees that resulted in the planting of some 18,950 trees in the Eastern Circle of Punjab³⁵⁹. The province of Bengal had gone further in its support for giving a scientific bias to agricultural education and industry. On February 3, 1947, at the annual meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, F. J. Burrows, then the Governor of Bengal, when re-emphasising the scientific ideology held

³⁵⁵. The Royal Society Empire Scientific Conference, June-July 1946. Volumes I and II. Reviewed by Robert L. Pendleton *The Quarterly Review of Biology*, 25:1. (1950), 125, (p.125).

³⁵⁶. There were total 114 delegates that represented different countries within the British Commonwealth and that also included 38 members from the United Kingdom. The Royal Society Empire Scientific Conference, June-July 1946, Reviewed by Walter R. Miles, *Science*, New Series, 109:2834 (1949) 405-406, p.405.

³⁵⁷. Government of Punjab, Ministry of Education, Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1945-1946 (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing West Punjab, 1947), p.10. ³⁵⁸. Ibid., pp.10-11.

^{359.} Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1944-45, p.17.

that aspirations for such developments could be materialised through efforts like that of the Empire Scientific Conference and through the deliberations of UNESCO. He further expressed his hope that such measures would ensure the "scientific unity of the world" ... together with the opportunity for parallel cultural exchange³⁶⁰.

2.C. Concluding British rule and Prospects for Secondary Education in the Postindependence Context

During the late 1930s, the issue of lesser productivity of secondary school education had been concerning both the educational administrators and the people at large. The post 1930s period had seen first an emphasis on giving school education a more vocational bias that was evident from Abbott-Wood report as well from Wardha Scheme of Congress leaders; second the Kamal Yar Jung Committee Report (KYJCR) had proposed schemes of studies for three different types of secondary schools in each province that could cater to both general and vocational needs of students. While the Wardha scheme had focussed more on the recommendations of the Abbott-Wood report relating to technical education, the KYJCR had gone one-step further in proposing three types of secondary schools, including secondary schools for Arts and Science; Commerce; and Agriculture.

The post-War Educational Development Plan had also suggested to reform secondary education in such a way that it could promise to prepare some students for university education and others for different occupations. Since the Plan had maintained the status

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³⁶⁰. Speech delivered by His Excellency, Sir F. J. Burrows, G.C.I.E., Governor of Bengal, 1946-47 (Bengal: Secretary's Press, 1947), pp.153-54.

quo of class division through its proposed scheme of studies for secondary education, Indians did not accept the plan. Moreover, the plan was shelved because it did not take account of changes in population growth and financial liabilities effecting its implementation. In short, during the decade from 1937 while a number of secondary schemes were proposed, only those succeeded which promised a more general pattern of secondary curriculum coupled with adoption of vocational streams supporting mainly the rural economies.

Vocational knowledge had received more attention in the rural areas of provinces like Punjab due to the introduction of fields of rural interest, such as, farming, gardening, floriculture, agriculture and industrial handicrafts. Agri-based vocationalisation in rural areas had also contributed to the 'Grow More Food' drive which had benefitted students in understanding modern trends of agricultural on one side and in getting better yields of food and fodder crops. Thanks to the demands of the WWII for increasing food self-sufficiency and recruiting technical experts. Similarly, while schools were being used as centres of War propaganda and training in social services like First Aid, Red Cross, Scouts and Girl Guides, this had added new aspects of citizenship of Indians.

After the WWII, the British Government further upheld the significance of agricultural knowledge for its colonies by promising to give it a more scientific bias. The deliberations of the Empire Scientific Conference 1946 and the Royal Asiatic Society 1947 were practical manifestations of pondering about scientific reforms in close collaboration with foreign agencies like the UNESCO.

While hopes were being expressed for India's efforts for the scientific unity of the world through mutual educational collaborations, the intra-state unity in the political domain in the subcontinent was continuously fading away. The contending political forces in the

form of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League as well as the educational forums such as All India Muslim Educational Conference had already raised their demands for independence³⁶¹; the demand that they had been longing for was not then very far from its occurrence. The 'native intelligentsia' that arose from among the educated Muslims and Hindu leaders had 'developed individual and collective aspirations very different from those the British Government in India had once expected. They had rather turned from being 'the staunch ally' of the British Government into 'vigorous competitors of the bureaucracy³⁶². To add, 'instead of dwelling with loving appreciation upon the benevolence of their rulers, they found constant fault with those in authority against whom they raised the cry of "India for Indians" ³⁶³. By 3 June 1947, retaining its dominion over the independent entities of the subcontinent, the British Government officially announced the creation of Pakistan and India as independent political entities. In the following months from June to August 1947, arrangements were made about the transfer of power from the British Government in India to the two leading parties of Muslim League and Congress for the two states of Pakistan and India respectively.

In short, the pre-independence period ended with providing scores of visions for secondary curriculum: the Congress vision for a more indigenised practical education in various crafts of vocational significance; the AIMEC's vision for a more specified curriculum suiting the needs of many; and the existing implemented British vision focussing more agri-based technical education for rural areas and literary forms of knowledge benefitting a few privileged sections of urban areas. Such assertions were also in line with the global

³⁶¹. For instance, with reference to the changing political scenario of India in 1940s, Liaqat Ali Khan had expressed his expectations in the 54th session of All India Muslim Educational Conference that 'it will play its best possible role in the creation of "independent Islam in the independent India". *The All India Muslim Educational Conference Aligarh*, 27-30 December, 1945, p.12. Translated from Urdu to English.

³⁶². McCully, B. T. *English Education and the Origin of Indian Nationalism*, (Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1966), p.396.

³⁶³. Ibid.

ambitions for scientific and technological development that were being expressed from the world forums such as through Commonwealth conferences and through the platform of international agencies like UNESCO. No less significant was the expressed aspiration for adopting religious ideology while deciding about curricular matters of schools. To illustrate, in continuance with ideology of the Aligarh movement, assertions were already being made from the platform of the All India Muslim Education Conference at various times. For their adoption, such ideologies had to go through the test of the post-independence realities.

CHAPTER 3

SHAPING SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR A NEW NATION: PAKISTAN 1947-

1958

After independence, Muslim League leaders were confronted by the issues of analysing the already existing visions for change in secondary curriculum and their compatibility with the socio-economic, politico-geographic needs of Pakistan. Independence from the colonial rule had not brought a happy beginning for the state of Pakistan. Being confronted with various issues of settlement, of the integration of a diverse Muslim population and the issue of a lack of consensus among educational leaders about adopting particular forms of school knowledge, the validity of the two-nation theory and an expression of the contempt for the continuity of Macaulay's education system could not be challenged out rightly in a newly independent state like Pakistan. Saying this, the early post-independence years had witnessed on-going discussions about the forms of knowledge to adopt for secondary schools. While most of these had their roots in the colonial existence, some new demands had also emerged due to the changed ground realities facing the government of Pakistan. The following explain proposed changes in secondary curriculum as a function of postcolonial debate among domestic leaders vis-à-vis what could be seen as a neo-colonial exercise of international agencies influencing the said process of intended curriculum change. The chapter introduces key players shaping and/or influencing the debate about change in the curriculum organisation. A detailed account of the role of All Pakistan Educational Conference of 1947 is provided which worked as the pace setter for changes in educational management and as a platform to bring forward early visions of the national players for educational change. The following discussion then presents an account of how far visions for education being adopted in the APEC 1947 were then implemented through various activities of the state machinery.

3.A.1. Key Players in Setting Priorities for Secondary Education in the Postindependence Context

By July 1947, Muslim League leaders were able to secure for themselves portfolios in the new government and bureaucrats in educational administration were promoted from their pre-independence lower positions to higher ranks in education departments. Those two groups had controlled the development of education in the new state of Pakistan. While the basic structure of educational administration and organisation of the British rule was being maintained in the form of ministry of Education, and education departments at both central and provincial levels. So was the case of institutions in control of curriculum development. Adopting similar colonial patterns, for nearly two decades of Pakistan's creation, curriculum development was never visualized as a distinct and specialized function; and the whole process of curriculum development was done through educational conferences, committees and advisory boards of education 364.

After the creation of Pakistan, there were a few political re-adjustments in the proposed pre-partition organisation of the cabinet. On 14 August 1947, when the composition of the seven-member Pakistan Dominion Central Ministry was announced, subjects of education and broadcasting were placed separately in the charge of two different ministers³⁶⁵. Now that Jinnah was in power, and perhaps indicating the importance he gave to education, education was stripped out of the unwieldy portfolio that was initially decided before partition to be given to Mandal; and was made into a separate Ministry with Fazlur

³⁶⁴. Farooq, R. A. *Education in Pakistan: Issues and Problems* ((Islamabad, London: Minerva Press, 1996). p.31.

³⁶⁵. The Pakistan Times, Karachi, 15 August 1947, in Ibid., p.134.

Rahman as the federal Minister for Education³⁶⁶. The provincial education departments continued working under the political authority of their respective ministers-in-charge of education³⁶⁷. As far as the pattern of administrative authority was concerned, although education had continued to be a provincial subject in accordance with the Government of India Act of 1935, the establishment of a central organising authority was considered necessary. So, placed under the political authority of the minister-in-charge, the Central Education Division was established to act as a co-ordinating authority for devising educational policies in accordance with national needs through an active collaboration between the central and provincial administration³⁶⁸. The 'Re-organization Committee' of 1947 established a hierarchy of administrative posts of the federal Education Division that can be illustrated in the following figure 3.1 below:

³⁶⁶. Fazlur Rahman served as the Minister for Education for five years. Mahmud Husain of Bengal, I. H. Qureshi formerly of Delhi, and K. K. Datta of Bengal served as federal Ministers for Education in succession to Fazlur Rahman of Bengal. W. C. Smith's Book Review of 'New Education in the making in Pakistan: Its Ideology and Basic Problems, by Fazlur Rahman', *Pacific Affairs*, 27 (1954), 82-84 (pp.83-84). See Meetings of ABEP.

³⁶⁷. Ibid. Sheikh Karamat Ali, Abdul Hamid, Pir Ilahi Baksh, and Mian Jafar Shah served as Minister of Education for the West Punjab, East Bengal, Sind and N.W.F.P. respectively. A. Hamid Dasti took the charge as Minister of Education for West Punjab in 1953, while the above mentioned ministers of education for East Bengal and N.W.F.P. remained in their offices till 1954.

³⁶⁸. Cited in Government of Pakistan, Education Division, *Six-Year National Plan of Educational Development for Pakistan* (Part 1), (Karachi: Government of Pakistan, 1952), p.1.

Posts **Educational Advisor** Held Secretariat Advisory (General) Advisory (Technical) Deputy Secretary Deputy Educational Advisor Deputy Educational Advisor Assistant Secretary Assistant Educational Advisor Assistant Educational Advisor Assistant Education Officer I Education Officer Assistant Education Officer II Assistant Education Officer Staff Superintendents Assistant Incharge Assistants each Technical Assistant **Ste**nographers Clerks Daftaries Peons

Table: 3.A.1: Organisation and Composition of Officers of the Education Division, Karachi

Source: Based on the Report of Activities 1947 – 1957, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, comp. by M. N. Safa, (n.d.), pp. 8-9.

The early independence period was a time of great challenge for educational administration. The migration of population to and from Pakistan had also caused a great dislocation of school administrators, teachers, and students of educational institutions in Pakistan. Major efforts, coupled with patience, were being required to re-open the existing educational institutions which were closed due to partition riots. There was also a desperate need to open new institutions in order to meet the educational needs of Pakistan³⁷⁰. The provincial governments of West Punjab, East Bengal, N.W.F.P. and Sind dealt with the refugee phenomenon by rehabilitating the refugee teachers and students and

³⁶⁹. For instance, security concerns of parents to send their children to schools, migration of teachers across the border, etc. were few of those problems.

³⁷⁰. Government of Pakistan, Proceedings of the Fourth Meeting of the Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan held at Lahore on 29th November & 1st December, 1950, p.64.

by restarting restarted the existing educational institutions³⁷¹. For instance, the government of N.W.F.P. remained dedicated to the task of consolidation of existing secondary schools as well as paying attention to the expansion of government control over these institutions. By the year 1949, it was able to exercise its control over 52 secondary schools³⁷². Similarly, during early years of independence, although the provincial administration of Baluchistan was more focussed on the management of primary schools, the number of secondary schools was also raised from 17 in 1947-1948 to 26 in 1949-1950³⁷³. Despite the fact that Muslims managed the Sind Education Department of pre-partition times, in actual practice, the administration of secondary education was in the hands of non-Muslims. The situation in Karachi, the first capital city of Pakistan, was such that, out of the total 35 secondary schools in Karachi, only half a dozen were managed by Muslims³⁷⁴. Again, only one school out of these was under government control for the reason that secondary education was mainly managed by the private sector during the pre-independence period; and the government used to provide technical advice, guidance and financial assistance in the form of grants-in-aid to those schools³⁷⁵. However, by the end of 1940s, the educational administration of Sind was able to manage 19 secondary schools by itself and it provided grants-in-aid for the new divisions that were opened, within the existing government schools, for the education of children of refugees³⁷⁶.

While the provincial education departments were busy in dealing with initial problems relating to education in their respective provinces, the newly set Education Division in Karachi had initiated its work with nothing but 'a broken table, some decrepit chairs, and a

³⁷¹. Report of the Director of Public Relations, Punjab, The Punjab: A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947 to August 1950), p.42. 372. Fourth Meeting of ABEP, 1950, pp.53-55.

³⁷³. Ibid., pp.57-58.

³⁷⁴. Ibid., p.59.

³⁷⁵. Ibid., pp.59-60.

³⁷⁶. Ibid. p.50.

cupboard', while officers were asked to get some more furniture from their homes and files and paper from the market for official work. 'Thorns from the acacia tree were used as common pins, smooth pieces of rocks from the seaside served as paperweights' 377. Similarly, the absence of record was being described as the biggest among many handicaps facing Education Division,. 'Not a bit of paper was allowed to reach Karachi from New Delhi for a long time, thanks to the widespread disturbances, loot and arson which followed in the wake of Partition' reflected a government spokesman for the Ministry of Interior, Education, Information, and Broadcasting of the Home Division 378. It was by the early October that correspondence and postal communication was resumed between Karachi and New Delhi 379. In the following years, efforts were made to appoint Muslim Pakistanis for various posts in the Education Division 380.

Along with the formal system of educational administration, the Central Government of Pakistan had created and patronised some already existing associations. For instance, grants-in-aid were made to establish Pakistan Historical Society, Pakistan Economic Association, and to maintain Associations of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, etc.³⁸¹ Maintaining the Associations of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides were certainly in line with the system that was being maintained during British rule in the subcontinent. Foreign presence was also visible in other rather more influential forms. Certainly, since the very beginning of post-independence years, Pakistan's government had depended on foreign experts for managing higher ranks in the Education Division. For instance, in 1949, T. H.

³⁷⁷. Raipuri, H. A. H. *My Fellow Traveller: A Translation of Humsafar*, trans. by Amina Azfar (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp.299-300.

³⁷⁸. 'The Government Speaks: By spokesmen of various Ministries', Dawn, Karachi, 23 February 1948, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.6.

³⁸⁰. For instance, Dr. Mahmud Hasan served as ex-officio Educational Advisor to the Government of Pakistan and S. M. Sharif, M. Sultan Mohiyuddin, and I. H. Zuberi performed the duties of Educational Advisor in succession between 1950 and 1958. See Meetings of ABEP.

³⁸¹. Proceedings of the All Pakistan History Conference (APHC), Third Session held at Dacca in 1951, comp. by S. Moinul Haq (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1953), pp.22.

Matthewman (former Principal of the Engineering College, Aligarh) was appointed to the post of Deputy Educational Advisor for two years that was initially being kept vacant due to financial constraints³⁸². That trend was however disliked, when it was proposed that the Educational Advisor's Departments at provincial and central levels should be established with some outstanding educationists of the required intellect and skill to deal effectively with the short-term and long-term problems in all their details³⁸³. That did not suggest lessening of foreign assistance. Especially, from 1951 onwards, foreign agencies like the Ford Foundation had extended grants for institution-building and research in the field of education in Pakistan with the help of Harvard University, Oklahoma State University, Chicago University and Michigan State University³⁸⁴. The contribution of these funding agencies was not just restricted to the implementation of curriculum policy but was also extended to the planning of the educational development itself. Reliance on them had increased as the time went by and so did the consideration of the government of Pakistan to keep their domestic visions in line with the global visions for educational change. Pakistan Government had also benefited from foreign expertise, through experts like George F. Gant, who had not only served as the representative of the Ford Foundation from 1 July 1955 to 30 June 1958, but had also served as a Consultant on Education to the Government of Pakistan Planning Board for the first six months of 1955³⁸⁵.

³⁸². Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan held at Peshawar dated 7th-9th February 1949, Appendix I, p.21. In 1951, Akhtar Hussain Raipuri, who had served the Education Department of pre-partition India, was upgraded from his post as Assistant Educational Advisor to the position of Deputy Educational Advisor to the Government of Pakistan. Raipuri, H. A. H. *My Fellow Traveller: A Translation of Humsafar*, trans. by Amina Azfar (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006). Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Proceedings of the Educational Conference held in Karachi dated 4th-5th December, 1951, p.2.

^{383. &#}x27;Priority for Education', Dawn, Karachi, 21 February 1948, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.

³⁸⁴. Gant, G. F. 'The Ford Foundation Program in Pakistan', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 323 (1959), 150-159 (p.150).

³⁸⁵. Ibid., 1950, p.150.

On the other side, the creation and working of the Pakistan Historical Society was an outcome of the 'enthusiasm of a group of persons' who were devoted to strengthen the study of Islamic history in general and Indo-Pakistan history of the subcontinent in particular. For sure, it was felt necessary to create such societies that could work for finding ways to inculcate and strengthen feelings of nationhood that was receiving strength from the ideology of Islam.

No less significant was the role of All Pakistan Educational Conferences being held first in 1947 and then in 1951 analysing and influencing educational development in Pakistan. Held in Karachi from 27 November to 1 December 1947, the significance of All Pakistan Educational Conference (APEC 1947) was manifold as its deliberations had ended with suggesting the establishment of Advisory Board of Pakistan (ABEP), the Inter-University Board (IUB), the Council of Technical Education for Pakistan (CTEP), etc., and the reorganisation of the central Education Division³⁸⁶. In the APEC 1947, the organisational issues relating to education were brought on the main agenda, while issues relating to educational ideology were described in the supplementary agenda. The APEC 1951 went a step further for providing a platform to discuss the issues of re-organisation of the secondary education curriculum and examination; the integration of technical, commercial and agricultural education with the general education system; and the Six-Year National Plan for Educational Development.

From 1948 onwards, administrative bodies of the federal Education Division like the Council of Technical Education (Education Section II), the Advisory Board of Education and the Inter-University Board (Education Section I) had initiated their work. In fact these bodies were created not only to advise the provincial educational administrations on

³⁸⁶. Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Proceedings of All Pakistan Educational Conference 1947, p.1.

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problems that the latter would refer to the former, but these were the central agencies that were meant to ensure the principles of uniformity and national integration through collaboration with the provincial administration³⁸⁷.

On 11 June 1948, the Federal Minister of Education of Pakistan served as the Chairman of the Council of Technical Education for Pakistan and continued to preside over its meetings³⁸⁸. The Inter-University Board also held its first meeting in June 1948 and Dr. O. H. Malik, Vice-Chancellor of Punjab University and Dr. A. Waheed were elected as its President and Secretary respectively for the year 1948-49³⁸⁹.

Established by the same year, the Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan (ABEP) had started to function as more than an advisory body for education in Pakistan. The Federal Minister of Education used to serve as the Chairman of the Board and to preside over its meetings. Initially the Assistant Educational Advisor and then the Deputy Educational Advisor of Education Division served as the Secretary of ABEP over the period up to 1958. Comprised of the top ranked officers of Education Division, Vice-Chancellors of Pakistan's universities, the political and administrative heads of provincial education departments, inspectors and inspectresses of Provincial education departments, representatives from the 'Dominion Parliament' and other renowned educationists, the ABEP had provided a platform for members attending its meetings to express their ideas about educational development as well as to discuss the ways and means to implement them³⁹⁰. As a representative body of educational administration in Pakistan, the ABEP was entrusted to advise and assist the Pakistan Government in planning the national education

387. Six-Year National Plan, 1952, pp.1-2.

³⁸⁸. Second Meeting of ABEP, 1949, Appendix I, To Report the activities of the Education Division of the Pakistan Government since the First Meeting of the Advisory Board of Education held in June 1948', p.27.
³⁸⁹ Ibid p 24

³⁹⁰. Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Proceedings of the First Meeting of the Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan held at Karachi dated 7th – 9th February 1948 (Karachi: Manager of Publications, 1948), p.11.

system, to call for information and advice about educational activities in the interest of Pakistan and to recommend ways of establishing educational and cultural contacts with other states³⁹¹. With the passage of time, the control of ABEP in determining educational changes grew in its scope not only due to its membership but also because of its ever increasing domain of activities towards educational development in Pakistan over the period from 1947 to 1958. Moreover, in the absence of a central Education Service for Pakistan³⁹², ABEP was the key device which the central government had used to develop its programme for an overall educational change in Pakistan and to receive reports of educational progress from provincial governments for discussion in its meetings.

In general, the above platforms had mainly focused on educational change with particular reference to providing ideological basis for school knowledge but without endangering the equal significance of scientific and technological knowledge. The ideological manifestations had encompassed debate about ensuring Pakistani citizenship with its different dimensions: including emphasis on knowledge about Muslim culture vis-à-vis British colonial patterns of knowledge prevailing in secondary schools, emphasis on Urdu vis-à-vis English as a subject taught in schools, the need for scientific knowledge through subjects of utility to ensure practical citizenship towards social usefulness and economic development. Saying this, the first step was certainly to set up and maintain educational machinery that was required to run educational affairs. While Pakistan had mostly retained the already set colonial patterns of educational administration, some new organisations

³⁹¹. Ibid.

³⁹². During early years of independence, the Planning Board of Pakistan had proposed to establish an All Pakistan Education Service on the pattern of the Indian Education Service of pre-independence times. However, members of the educational management, like S.M. Sharif and Fazlur Rahman, dissented to such proposals. Moreover, members of the ABEP like Mian Afzal Hussain (Vice Chancellor, Punjab University) and S. G. Khaliq (Deputy Educational Advisor) suggested improvements in the existing provincial education services. See Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan, held at Karachi dated 27th-29th January, 1958 (Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1959), pp.11-12, and p.49.

were also created that were deemed necessary. The APEC 1947 had set the pace for such re-organisation.

3.A.2. The APEC 1947-The Pace Setter for Educational Re-Organisation

The APEC 1947 could rightly be called as the pace setter for educational re-organisation during early years of independence. While the Conference deliberations were going on, a joint meeting of the Committees on University Education and Primary and Secondary Education recommended the establishment of an Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan (ABEP)³⁹³. Defining the jurisdiction and functions of the ABEP, the Conference made a reference to the composition and functions of the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) that had been deciding about educational matters in British India³⁹⁴. A detailed account of CABE's domain of activities was provided with the belief that that would help in following a successful way to run the organisation. While reliance on such British practices were not ended even after independence, it was further believed that collaborations with organisations like UNESCO would not only help in promoting educational reforms according to principles of international collaboration being adopted for the sake of promoting 'peace and human well-being' but would also enable to form 'solidarity' with other nations in fulfilling such objectives through the medium of education³⁹⁵.

³⁹³. APEC, 1947, p.37.

³⁹⁴. Under the Government of India Resolution No. F.122-3/35-E of 8 August 1935, the CABE had worked as an advisory body for the central, provincial and local educational administration. Ibid., Appendix A, p.52. ³⁹⁵. Ibid., pp.12-13.

The APEC 1947 also sent a memorandum to attendees of the conference about the desirability of setting up a Technical Education Council in Pakistan. For that purpose, the APEC made a reference to the findings of the Technical Education Committee of the CABE that had recommended planning a comprehensive system of technical education at all levels as an immediate necessity of time. The Conference expressed its keen interest to improve the state of technical education in Pakistan for the reason that Pakistan being a newly independent state of the post-World War II times could not afford to lag behind in the thrust for technical and industrial development that the global community was striving to achieve. The Government of Pakistan endorsed the establishment of a Council of Technical Education for Pakistan with its total membership of 15, that is, 7 non-official and 8 official members³⁹⁶.

The necessity of the establishment of an Inter-University Board of Pakistan was also expressed in the APEC. It was felt that unlike the Inter-University Board of pre-partition India, the Inter-University Board of Pakistan (IUBP) should not merely act as an advisory body but should be empowered to co-ordinate the work of the three universities of Dhaka, Punjab and Sind, out of which the Sind University³⁹⁷ was still at an infancy stage and the Punjab University was going through the re-organisation process due to the partition of Punjab³⁹⁸. This had implied a re-definition and further expansion in the composition of Education Division. The following graphic representation explains the expanded composition of Education Division:

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³⁹⁶. Government of Pakistan, Proceedings of the First Meeting of the Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan held at Karachi dated $7^{th} - 9^{th}$ February 1948, p.13.

³⁹⁷. In 1947, Sind University was established in Karachi in order to take over the control of Secondary and Higher Education from Bombay University. Bhatti, M. A., Hassan, M. and Saeed, F., *Secondary Education Boards: An Overview* (Islamabad: National Education Council, 1987), p.1.

³⁹⁸. Appendix B, Item 2, 'To Consider the Desirability of Establishing an Inter-University Board of Pakista: Its functions and allied matters', Pakistan Educational Conference 1947, pp.54-55.

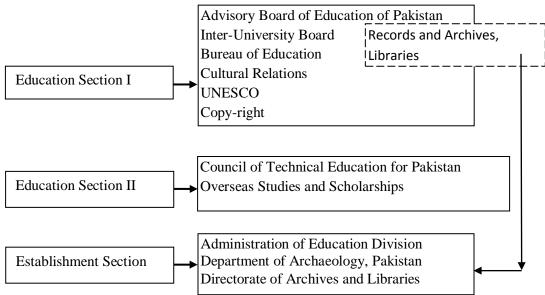


Table: 3.A.2: Jurisdiction of the Federal Education Division, Karachi during 1947-48.

Source: Report of Activities 1947 – 1957, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, comp. by M. N. Safa, (n.d.), p. 8.

Working through its three sections, the Education Division could be perceived as a representative body of organisations representing general and technical education with their national and international visions for education in Pakistan. In 1948, showing keen interest in Pakistan's education, UNESCO's experts on Radio, Film and Press had started providing their advisory services to the relevant authorities in Pakistan³⁹⁹. By May 1950, the Pakistan National Commission for Co-operation with the UNESCO was also established⁴⁰⁰. The Commission was to comprise of the Minister for Education (as Chairman of Commission), all members of the ABEP, and six members nominated by the chairman of the Commission⁴⁰¹. UNESCO had extended its support in different ways: like providing services of specialists in the fields of science and technology, sending missions to study female education problems in Pakistan, providing material assistance for

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³⁹⁹. Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Proceedings of the Fourth Meeting of Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan held at Lahore dated 29 November–1st December 1950, (Lahore: Manager of Publications, 1950), p.39.

⁴⁰⁰. Ibid. p.40.

⁴⁰¹. GoP, Resolution No. F.6-3/50-E.P., added as Annexure 2 in the Fourth Meeting of the ABEP, 1950, pp.42-43.

educational development like radio sets for educational broadcasts in secondary schools, and inviting education officers from Pakistan for UNESCO's conferences, etc. 402 While UNESCO had devised its own vision for educational reforms in developing states, its role in Pakistan during initial years of independence was more of an advisory nature. The APEC 1947 was already busy defining the vision for the newly independent state of Pakistan.

3.B.1. APEC 1947's Visions for Educational Change Shape Emerging Curricular Themes

The early years of Pakistan's independence had highlighted a change in the description of social order from secessionist, dis-integrationist movement of early 1940s to patriotic, integrationist efforts for implementation through state-run education in Pakistan from 1947 onwards. The need for the inculcation of nationalistic sentiments was expressed soon after independence when Quaid-i-Azam declared to a meeting of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly: 'now that we have got our state, it is up to you to establish a viable, productive and sound history and our national ideals' The need for such a change was upheld from the platform of the All Pakistan Educational Conference (APEC) of 1947. It was suggested in the conference that the Islamic virtues of 'universal brotherhood of man, social democracy and social justice' should be adopted that formed the ideological bases for the 'cultivation of democratic virtues ... and the consciousness of common citizenship as

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⁴⁰². Government of Pakistan, Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan, held at Peshawar on 2nd to 4th March, 1954 (Peshawar: Manager of Publications, 1954)., pp.31-32.

⁴⁰³. Oureshi, Education in Pakistan, 1975, p.25.

opposed to Provincial exclusiveness, 404. It was further believed in the APEC 1947 that as the colonial system had delivered narrow and unrealistic utilitarian educational outputs facing Muslims since the days of Macaulayan education system in India, there was an immediate need to remove such legacies⁴⁰⁵. There was a simultaneous realisation in the APEC 1947 that the post-independence times were those of internationalisation requiring to abide by and adopting the global trends of knowledge traditions for schools.

Jinnah himself had assigned a great importance to the development of scientific knowledge side by side with character building of the future generations of Pakistan. For sure, such an emphasis could be seen in line with the emerging vision of UNESCO for developing states struggling on the 'periphery' of scientific knowledge⁴⁰⁶. Ideally speaking, in the post WWII context, the organisation had aimed at the internationalisation of scientific knowledge but without showing any indifference to its social consequences facing the respective states⁴⁰⁷. Jinnah seemed to have had borne the same principle in mind when said:

There is immediate and urgent need for training our people in scientific and technical education in order to build up our future economic life, and we should see that our people undertake scientific commerce, trade and particularly, well-planned industries. ... We have to build up the character of our future generations, which, means the highest sense of honour, integrity, selfless service to the nation, and sense of responsibility, 408.

However, Jinnah's vision for education was perceived with suspicion when it was feared that 'Jinnah was giving up the two-nation theory, the ideological foundation of the state of

⁴⁰⁴. APEC, 1947, p.1.

⁴⁰⁵. Ibid., p.5.

⁴⁰⁶. Petitjean, P. 'Blazing the Trail: Needham and UNESCO: perspectives and realizations', in Sixty Years of Science at UNESCO: 1945-2005, ed.by Petitjean, P., Zharov, V., Glaser, G., Richardson, J., de Padirac, B. and Archibald, G. (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2006) p.45.

^{407.} Ibid., p.46. In fact, joining the UNESCO's secretariat, Needham had upheld such idealism versus the 'parochial theory of "laissez faire" school' that was adopted in the UNESCO by Eurocentric members believing in the spontaneous occurrences of collaborations among states for scientific knowledge and development. Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸. Fazlur Rahman had re-conveyed the same message when he delivered Quaid's message for the APEC 1947. APEC 1947, p.5. See also Igbal, Education in Pakistan, 1981, pp.59-60.

Pakistan'409. Such concerns were put right in the APEC 1947, which received representatives from the central and provincial educational administration in Pakistan 410. Fazlur Rahman, the first Federal Minister of Education (also the Minister for Interior, and Information) in his address to the APEC bridged the gap between the vision of Jinnah and his critics. Conveying the message of Jinnah for the APEC 1947, he spoke for Jinnah's expression that since education of Indians during British rule was not attended to properly, it was imperative 'to make real, speedy, and substantial progress' for education that had favoured the 'genius' of Pakistanis; was in consonance with their history and culture; and had taken into account the modern educational trends for development⁴¹¹. The new educational ideology for Pakistan was described in the APEC 1947 to include 'the spiritual element, which was of paramount importance as Pakistan was achieved in the name of Islam, training for citizenship, and provision of facilities for vocational, technical and scientific education, ⁴¹². To explain, the APEC 1947 had envisioned a three-pronged ideology for educational change that was based on promoting knowledge traditions supporting Islamic ideology, scientific development, and adoption of languages, as media of instruction in schools, including Urdu, English and provincial dialects being defined in order of their priorities.

The first two elements of the new educational policy that the APEC of 1947 had agreed to adopt, including a spiritual element and training for citizenship, were to be implemented

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⁴⁰⁹. Burki, 1991, cited in Cohen, S. P., *The Idea of Pakistan* (New Delhi, Oxford University Press: 2004) p.42.

p.42. delation and princely states, Ministers for Education of provinces and princely states, Ministers for Education of provinces and ministers of Health, Directors of Public Instruction (DPIs) of provinces and princely states; principals of colleges, vice chancellors of universities, secretary education departments of provinces, speaker West Punjab Legislative Assembly, member from the West Punjab and N.W.F.P. Joint Public Service Commission. Dr. I. H. Qureshi also attended the conference. Mr. S. M. Sharif also attended the conference as the DPI West Pakistan. APEC, 1947, pp.2-5.

⁴¹¹. Quaid's message for the APEC, 1947, p.5.

^{412.} cited in Qureshi, 1975, Education in Pakistan, p.191; also see Iqbal, Education in Pakistan, 1981,pp.60-61.

through compulsory religious instruction for Muslim students in schools⁴¹³. Identifying the significance of religious education, it was highlighted that negligence against religious education in modern education had led to 'disastrous' results as experienced in the form of the two World Wars consequences⁴¹⁴. Spiritual and moral education must be a part and parcel of all stages of education for the sake of inculcating values of humanity and character among future generations 415. It was further believed that religious instruction in schools 'must be catholic in outlook and must eschew sectarian or narrow doctrinal lines'; though the issue of what should exactly be taught for achieving the broad objectives of such instruction was being left for further discussion among concerned authorities 416. The conference had also signified that a right training for citizenship was a must that could enable students to get acquainted with their rights and duties as citizens of an independent state; and to display qualities of 'discipline, integrity and unselfish public service' 417. Being declared as an essential aspect of citizenship training, reference was also made to the unsatisfactory state of physical training in schools that were being required to address. The existing state of science and technical education was also brought home with grave concerns that living in an age of scientific advancements Pakistan could not afford the existing state of 'all-round industrial backwardness', 'the primitive state' of 'agricultural economy', and 'helpless dependence on foreign countries for technical personnel' As

realisation of Pakistan's reliance on foreign assistance was unavoidable, the conference

proposed to establish an academy called Pakistan Academy that, if established, was meant

to work for establishing and maintaining cultural links with foreign countries. It was

 $^{^{\}rm 413}.$ Cohen, The Idea of Pakistan, 2004, p. 41.

⁴¹⁴. APEC 1947, p.7.

⁴¹⁵. Ibid., pp.7-8.

⁴¹⁶. Ibid., p.8.

⁴¹⁷. Ibid.

⁴¹⁸. Ibid., p.9.

suggested that being formed of members holding distinctions in the fields of art, science, and philosophy, perhaps the Academy was entrusted with working for adoption and enhancement of those knowledge traditions being followed in other states that were conducive for Pakistan's educational uplift⁴¹⁹. The formal government machinery itself had become active to implement the intended vision/s for education from early 1948 onwards.

3.B.2. The Way Forward: 1948 Begins with Triggered Activities for Curricular Organisation

On 28 January 1948, the Cabinet met to consider recommendations of the APEC on the educational development of Pakistan⁴²⁰. Reviewing the work of Education department and highlighting recommendations for setting up different educational bodies as a part of educational reforms, Fazlur Rahman said that those bodies would be established with 'the least possible delay'⁴²¹. He also disclosed that Cabinet's acceptance in principle was sought to the recommendations which were intended only for the guidance of the Provinces. However, because all the Provincial Education Ministers and Directors of Public Instruction had attended the Educational Conference at which the recommendations

⁴¹⁹. Ibid., p.11.

⁴²⁰. S Osman Ali's letter, dated 27 January 1948, to Honourable Minister Interior, Information & Education, in Office Notification Order No. 25/CF/48, Cabinet Division, Government of Pakistan about 'Ideological Basis of Educational System in Pakistan'.

⁴²¹. 'Rahman reviews work done by his three departments: elaborate plans for future: Pakistan publicity service schemes and proposals for educational reform outlined', Dawn, Karachi, Jan 29, 1948, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.4.

had been unanimously passed, their agreement was assumed as affirmative even though their formal replies were not received afterwards⁴²².

By the early 1948, outlining proposals for educational reform Fazlur Rahman said,

'The need for radical reorganisation of the education system to accord with national requirements and aspirations cannot be emphasised too strongly. It also needs no arguing that the education system in Pakistan should be inspired by Islamic ideology emphasising among many of its characteristics those of universal brotherhood, tolerance and social justice. ... The education system in Pakistan has therefore to embody and reflect those ideals which have been shaped and moulded by Islam, far from being a set of dogmas and rituals is a positive philosophy of life and pervades all aspects of human activity. It is, therefore, imperative that so fundamental an activity as education should be inspired by the spirit of Islam⁴²³.

The intended educational change was going to be implemented through change in the curricula. Presiding over literary meeting of the Muslim Teachers and Students Corporation, Karachi, Pir Ilah Bakhsh, the Sind Minister for Education, Public Health and Local Self-Government, disclosed the Government's decision to bring a drastic change in the existing curricula and prepare a 'new and more progressive plan' of education 424. For that purpose, eminent historians were being directed to re-write the history of the land and people of Pakistan 'on correct lines' for the future generations 425.

Taking up the task of school reforms, the Sind ministry of education had appointed two Committees of educational experts to revise primary and secondary school textbooks that could be introduced by April 1, 1948⁴²⁶. The Government of West Punjab also established a Syllabus Revision Committee to form courses of studies up to the middle stage of

⁴²². Minutes of the Cabinet meeting, in S Osman Ali's letter, dated 27 January 1948, to Honourable Minister Interior, Information & Education, in Office Notification Order No. 25/CF/48, Cabinet Division, Government of Pakistan about 'Ideological Basis of Educational System in Pakistan'

^{423.} Rahman reviews work done by his three departments, 1948, p.4.

⁴²⁴. Curriculum to be changed drastically- Pir Ilahi Bakhsh', Dawn, Karachi, February 10, 1948, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.6.

⁴²⁶. 'Sind Government Plan to take over abandoned educational institutions –Pir Ilahi Bakhsh', Dawn, Karachi, 24 February 1948, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.

schools⁴²⁷. On 11 May 1948, inaugurating the session of the Committee, Mian Afzal Hussain, an educationist and Chairman of the West Punjab and N.W.F.P. Public Service Commission (formerly Vice Chancellor of the Punjab University) held about the education and training of students that, 'our aim should be to cultivate, in as short a time as possible, an appreciation of the responsibilities which fall upon them as citizens of a free Muslim state^{,428}. He further stressed the need for co-ordination between the subcommittees of science and religion. He said that since Muslims had lagged behind in the 'pursuit of modern scientific knowledge', the study of science should be adopted as a compulsory subject for every student starting at an early stage of education leading up to the higher stage of education. He further stressed that religious education should be devoid of training in dogmas as that might lead to conflicts⁴²⁹.

By June 1948, the key organisations of the Central Education Division, including the Council of Technical Education and the ABEP were ready to initiate their work towards the implementation of Pakistan's new educational ideology that was defined in the APEC. The ABEP had also served as a common platform for assembling the activities of both federal as well as provincial education divisions. From the month of June 1948 onwards, both aspects of religious and scientific/technical education were stressed to be implemented in education institutions; and discussions were being held about raising the status of Urdu versus English language as taught subjects in schools. The educational organizations like the ABEP, CTEP and IUB were ready to assist and recommend to the higher educational management in devising strategies to adopt particular form/s of knowledge through curriculum taught in schools.

⁴²⁷. 'Syllabus for school is the basis for a future citizen: study of science stressed', Dawn, Karachi, 2 June 1948, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.2.

⁴²⁸. Ibid.

⁴²⁹. Ibid.

3.B.3. June 1948- The Month of Gathering Ways of Implementing Visions through Curricular Re-organisation

Held on 7 June 1948, the first meeting of the ABEP provided a formal platform to educational leaders and the ruling elite who had moved from the existing educational ideology to the one which would inculcate among students a strong belief in the future of Pakistan, upholding the Islamic cause of tolerance, justice and equality⁴³⁰. Moreover, the need for ensuring national integration through the education system was also discussed in the meeting. For that purpose the members proposed to devise an educational system that would counter problems of parochial prejudices that, if not stopped, could further lead to provincial and sectarian biases within the society of Pakistan⁴³¹.

The first meeting of the ABEP had a full agenda for the general education in Pakistan. Amongst 16 items on the agenda of the first meeting, the most important were: to receive reports on activities of the Central Education Division and Provincial Governments and to consider further ways and means towards implementing the new educational ideology that was defined in the first Educational Conference of 1947⁴³². The ABEP approved suggestions of the Education Division for the implementation of Islamic educational ideology that were reckoned to ensure integrated education in Pakistan through 'the personality of the teacher', 'curriculum', 'text-books', 'visual aids', and 'educational broadcasts' 133. It was recommended that curricular adjustments in schools should be made in such a way as to introduce a compulsory knowledge of Civics imparting 'lucid exposition of social ethics' and values among students; a study of the contribution of

⁴³⁰. First Meeting of ABEP, 1948, Appendix III, p.20.

⁴³¹. Ibid.

 ⁴³². First Meeting of ABEP, 1948, pp.2-3. See also 'Conference Resolutions Discussed at Educational Advisory Board meeting', Dawn, Karachi, 8June 1948, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi p.4.
 ⁴³³. Ibid., Appendix III, p.20.

Muslims in all fields of knowledge; and replacement of subjects that covered the history of Britain and Europe with the subjects of history of Muslim states⁴³⁴.

The members of the ABEP had also pondered over the issue of providing common textbooks all over Pakistan with 'suitable provision for translation'; and hence to discuss the possibility of replacing the provincial and states' textbook committees with a Central Text-book Committee that would act as a representative of the Provinces and princely States that had acceded to Pakistan⁴³⁵. Such intentions of the central administration also explained a reason for the slow performance of provinces like N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan towards implementing the new educational ideology. While Baluchistan had tabled a resolution about 'theology syllabus' for the consideration of the ABEP, the education authorities of the N.W.F.P. and East Bengal were still waiting for the availability of funds in order to introduce compulsory religious teaching in schools⁴³⁶. However, the text book committee of West Punjab Education Department which had devised new syllabi of school education was then working towards producing new textbooks⁴³⁷. In other words, the pace of developing new syllabi and textbooks was different in every province for the reason of lack of co-ordination among them especially in the absence of a central organising institution and of different systems working in each province.

Closely associated with issues of textbooks and syllabi was also the issue of the medium of instruction which the first meeting of ABEP had taken up in 1948. Members of the ABEP meeting discussed the possibilities of adopting ways and means to change the medium of

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⁴³⁴. First Meeting of ABEP, 1948, p.21. 'Conference Resolutions Discussed at Educational Advisory Board meeting', Dawn, Karachi, 8June 1948, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi p.4.

⁴³⁵. Ibid., p.3.

^{436.} Ibid., pp.16-19.

⁴³⁷. Government of Punjab, Report of the Director of Public Relations for Punjab, 'The Punjab: A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947- August 1950)'.

instruction from English into Urdu and other regional languages 438. The Committee of the Punjab Education Department also discussed the issue of adopting a revised scheme of studies and agreed that since education in an English medium of instruction had 'caused considerable mental strain' for students, Urdu should be introduced as the medium of instruction; and for that reason the schemes of studies for grades IX and X of secondary education had also required revision⁴³⁹. In its first meeting of 9 June 1948, the Inter-University Board (IUB) also decided that English should cease to be the medium of instruction in the universities of West Pakistan and that Urdu should be adopted as a medium of instruction within four to five years 440. Since universities could still control and influence secondary education through their admission tests, that decision of the IUB could have important bearing on secondary education. Addressing the All Pakistan Teachers' Convention in 1948, Fazlur Rahman, the Education Minister had also 'declared Urdu as the medium of instruction in Urdu-speaking areas and as a compulsory second language in non-Urdu-speaking areas'441. Certainly, this would have been perceived as good news in Sind which had a great majority of the Urdu-speaking community. In other provinces, the choice of implementing their own languages was being perceived as something beyond reality because limited resources and finances had not allowed even other equally important areas to see the light of the day.

Holding its first meeting on 11 June 1948, the CTEP brought forward that since scientific and technical education had been neglected in the colonial period to the extent of rendering them 'intrinsically inferior to academic education', it was due to 'the uncritical assumption

⁴³⁸. First Meeting of ABEP, 1948, pp.2-3.

^{439.} First Meeting of ABEP, 1948, p.15.

⁴⁴⁰. See 'Urdu to be medium of Instruction in West Pakistan Universities: Four-year change over period fixed', Dawn, Karachi, 8June 1948, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi.

⁴⁴¹. 'Problem of illiteracy needs a crusade, says Education Minister', Dawn Karachi, 28 December 1948, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1.

that in its concern with material things technical education did not provide for the cultivation of cultural and spiritual values', 442. The CTEP recommended a 'comprehensive scheme for the re-organisation and development on modern lines of technical education in all its aspects suited to the economic needs of the country and the peculiar genius of the people of Pakistan'⁴⁴³. Chairing the CTEP meeting, Fazlur Rahman held technical education 'as important an instrument for the training of mind as academic education' and that it had 'the same objective as general education though its technique and needs' were different 444. Education officers and assistant education officers of technical branch of Education Department; principals of engineering colleges in Dhaka and Lahore; DPIs of provincial education departments; representatives of industries and labour; and members of Pakistan Constituent Assembly, etc. also attended the meeting 445. The CTEP decided in the same meeting to establish two committees for devising a comprehensive scheme for the development of technical education and for making recommendations about issues relating to training and facilities for training in Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Science and some branches of Agriculture⁴⁴⁶. The Council also set up a committee with the key objective to submit a report, in three-months' time, on a 'survey of the needs of Pakistan (present and anticipated during the next 7 years) of technical personnel of various categories', and 'to formulate a comprehensive scheme for the development of technical education, 447.

⁴⁴². 'Minutes of the First Meeting of the Council of Technical Education for Pakistan held on the 11 June, 1948, at Karachi', Annexure C, in Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational Conference 1951, p.73.

⁴⁴³. APEC, 1951, p.71.

^{444. &#}x27;Minutes of the First Meeting of the Council of Technical Education for Pakistan, p.73.

⁴⁴⁵. APEC, 1951, pp.71-73.

^{446.} Second Meeting of the ABEP, 1949, Appendix I, p.27.

⁴⁴⁷. Pakistan Education Conference 1951, p.75. Members of the Committee were A. G. Khan (Director General of Supply and Development, Karachi), S. D. Muzaffar (Principal, College of Engineering and Technology, Lahore), B. A. Qureshi (Director of Industries, West Punjab), S. M. Sharif (Director of Public Instruction, West Punjab), Qudrat-e-Khuda (Director of Public Instruction, East Bengal), M. K. Kewalramani (Principal, N. E.D. Government Engineering College, Karachi), M. R. Jeffris (Engineer in Chief, G.H.Q.,

Meetings of the ABEP, CTEP, and IUB in June 1948 had initiated the discussions about what knowledge forms should be adopted in an Islamic state that could strengthen it. Such efforts were being appreciated and endorsed on 12 June 1948 when Fazlur Rahman upheld the cause of religious and science teaching as the two important pillars of educational change in Pakistan. To him, the introduction of Islamic ideology in Pakistan's educational system entailed 'fundamental change' which would 'revolutionize both the form and content of education'448. Fazlur Rahman's further reasserted, 'in recognising our educational system we have sought the inspiration of Islamic ideology –an ideology which is in perfect accord with the most progressive trends of our times, 449. He expressed his satisfaction about the on-going educational developments when said, 'expert committees are already at work in recasting the syllabi and curricula of studies from the primary to the university stage, and their reports as soon as they are read, will be considered by the Advisory Board of Education' (ABEP)⁴⁵⁰. While he had suggested working for introducing Arabic language as a taught subject in schools, he had assigned equal importance to the teaching of foreign languages in order to prepare a 'goodly number' of 'educated men for international dealings, 451. In other words, the meetings in the month of June 1948 had further set out the way forward for educational agencies concerned to shape education in Pakistan.

Pakistan), and B. A. Khan (the Secretary of the Council and Assistant Educational Advisor of technical branch of Education Division).

⁴⁴⁸. 'Our education must be inspired by Islamic ideology, says Rahman: Re-organisation of universities and teaching of foreign languages urged' Dawn Karachi, 12 June 1948, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, , p.5. He asserted that for that reason universities had a crucial role to play for their control over secondary education through their admission tests. Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹. Ibid., p.8.

^{450.} Ibid.

⁴⁵¹. Ibid.

3.C. Visions Leading to Strategies for Curricular Re-organisation

Gathered in the second meeting of ABEP of 1949, educational leaders discussed that the need to adopt a dynamic and creative role for education in Pakistan; an education which was free from 'an over-emphasis on the superiority of modern Western civilization, the glorification of its material achievements and the consequent relegation to a place of inferiority of Eastern cultures', and free from 'the pernicious results of Macaulay's system of education' Similarly, Fazlur Rahman also asserted in the same meeting that the Macaulayan educational system that Pakistan had inherited needed to be replaced by an Islamic system. For him, the Macaulayan system had done a great harm not only to the 'domain of history' but had led to the 'dominance of alien influences in the textbooks, readers and juvenile literature' in such a way that 'all traces of Muslim culture were deliberately excluded' from them Hence an exclusive revision of syllabi and curricula was needed.

Provincial governments were set to the task of implementing resolutions being adopted in the APEC 1947, ABEP, and CTEP. For that purpose, the provincial government of West Punjab appointed a committee for devising suitable syllabi and curricula as well as for defining the place of 'national, classical, and modern' languages in school education. The Committee had agreed to introduce Urdu as a medium of instruction and to introduce basic science as a compulsory subject; those implying the revision of schemes of studies for secondary education accordingly⁴⁵⁴. It was further decided that a special Committee should

⁴⁵². Second Meeting of the ABEP, 1949, p.7.

⁴⁵³. Ibid., pp.7-8.

⁴⁵⁴. Ibid., 'The reports received from the Provincial Governments on action taken by them on the resolutions of the Pakistan Educational Conference', Appendix II, Item I (b), p.15.

be established to devise a 'preliminary report' proposing a revised scheme of studies but without preparing any detailed syllabi at that stage⁴⁵⁵. About religious teaching, government of West Punjab appointed a Committee to suggest the number and relative allotted time for subjects of religious studies for primary and middle schools. As secondary education in Baluchistan was affiliated with the Punjab University, therefore, reforms in Punjab could have had a bearing on Baluchistan's secondary schools too⁴⁵⁶. Subject to availability of funds, the N.W.F.P. government also received proposals for introducing religious teaching as a compulsory subject in all schools⁴⁵⁷. About the issue of adopting Urdu language, the N.W.F.P. government had suggested to introduce Pashto as a medium of instruction in all schools and to introduce Urdu as a compulsory subject in schools from grade III onwards⁴⁵⁸. The Sind government also adopted a similar stance in favour of adopting the 'principle language' of the province as medium of instruction while Urdu should be introduced as a compulsory subject from grade III onwards 459. It was further believed that religious and cultural instruction should constitute 'an integral part of the school curriculum' 460. While the government of East Pakistan had expressed its regrets for being unable to implement the resolutions of the APEC 1947 by June 1948, it was able to provide a comprehensive scheme of studies by August 1948. In 1950, the BSE Karachi had also proposed scheme of studies for its adoption for the Secondary School Leaving Examination 1956 onwards. The scheme had also provided an account of the distribution of papers and marks for every subject and prescribed Syllabi for grades IX and X of secondary schools. The APEC of 1951 suggested the adoption of a diversified curriculum.

⁴⁵⁵. Ibid.

⁴⁵⁶. Ibid., p.17.

⁴⁵⁷. Ibid., p.16.

⁴⁵⁸. Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹. Ibid., p.18.

^{460.} Ibid.

This was further endorsed in the first Five Year Plan 1955-1960. The following provides separate accounts of these along with the on-going discussions and developments that emerged:

3.C.1. A Plan for the re-Organisation of Education in East Pakistan 1948

Proposing to recast the old patterns of knowledge, that were not only alien to the indigenous culture of East Pakistan but were also too narrow in their scope of training being limited to just pass examinations, Qudrat-i-Khuda, DPI East Pakistan presented the plan for the re-organisation of education in East Pakistan in 1948. To him, the new goals of education should be directed towards developing all aspects of children's personality, including 'physical, intellectual, moral, and social, and a real training for citizenship inspired by the Islamic ideology of universal brotherhood, equality, justice, and tolerance '461. In ideal terms, such objectives could be achieved by adopting a diverse curriculum. For sure, the government of East Pakistan was quick in understanding the needs of post-World War II era when at the global level efforts were being made, especially in developing countries, for making secondary education as 'less elitist and more universal and its curriculum more inclusive or diverse' 462.

The Education Department of East Pakistan had also realized that; and for that purpose, it proposed that at the end of nine years of school education, there should be a 'gradual ramification' of secondary curriculum into the following different knowledge streams:

a). Purely Vocational Lines

⁴⁶¹. ABEP meeting 1949, 'A plan for the Re-organisation of Education in East Pakistan', Appendix X (pp.48-56), p.48.

⁴⁶². Holsinger and Cowell, 2000, Secondary School Education in Developing Countries, p.15.

- b). Literary Studies;
- c). Theological Studies;
- d). Scientific Studies (with knowledge of subjects of Medicine, Agriculture, and Engineering)⁴⁶³.

The suggested secondary school curriculum for children aged 13+ studying in East Pakistan schools was to comprise of the following:

- Two languages besides mother tongue out of the choice from English, Urdu,
 Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit. (Compulsory subjects as a continuation from grade VI onwards);
- ii) A third additional subject which may be 'a language, a theological subject,
 Education, or some other subjects such as higher course of mathematics,
 Elements of Physics and Chemistry, Hygiene, Elements of Biology,
 Physiology, etc.
- At least two subjects of manual work out of subjects like Drawing, Sewing and needle work, Cooking, Nursing, Weaving, Tailoring, Carpentry, Smithy, and Gardening, etc. 'so as to supply the vocational bias which the present system lacks',464.

A slightly changed curriculum organization was suggested from Grade VIII to Grade X of secondary education whereby it was divided into three subject groups; vocational, general, and optional⁴⁶⁵. Details of these are provided in the following⁴⁶⁶:

^{463.} Ibid., p.49.

⁴⁶⁴. ABEP meeting 1949, 'A plan for the Re-organisation of Education in East Pakistan', Appendix X (pp.48-56), pp.48-51.

^{465.} For details see Ibid., p.54.

⁴⁶⁶.The suggested scheme was meant for Grade VIII and it was further held that the combination of subjects offered in the grade VIII would be continued for higher grades but with a higher standard. Ibid.

Table: 3.C.1. East Pakistan Education Department Provides a New Scheme of Studies for Secondary Education

Vocational	General	Optional
One of the following:	1. Bengali,	1. One of the languages (Classical
1. Carpentry;	Mathematics,	and other as in grade VI, Pali,
2. Smithy;	History,	Hindi, etc.);
3. Gardening;	Geography,	2. Education;
4. Tailoring;	Science.	3. Theology;
5. Book-binding;	2. Two optional	4. Elementary Civics;
6. Leather work;	languages to	5. History of Islam;
7. Paper-making;	continue from	6. Higher Mathematics; Hygiene;
8. Drawing and	the previous	7. Domestic Science;
Painting;	grade.	8. Elements of Biology;
9. Weaving;	3. Physical	9. Elements of Physics and
10. Sewing.	Education.	Chemistry, etc.
Source: ABEP Meeting 1949, 'A plan for the Re-organisation of Education in East Pakistan',		

Source: ABEP Meeting1949, 'A plan for the Re-organisation of Education in East Pakistan', Appendix X (pp.48-56).

It was further suggested that after the completion of first four years of secondary education, students will enter for matriculation or the school leaving certificate examination 467. Furthermore, it suggested seven streams of curriculum for the higher grades of secondary education for Intermediate Arts and Intermediate Science examinations 468; which implied greater effort for the secondary school administration to train students in lower secondary grades for moving on to higher secondary grades. The efforts of education department held a significant place for their emphasis on identifying the portentous need for reforming the secondary curriculum anew with a more comprehensive approach towards multifarious needs of Bengali Pakistanis. Such overhauling was also necessary in the wake of global demands for shaping secondary education that could offer a range of school subjects suiting the multiple needs of students and society at large 469. It was asserted in the ABEP's meeting of 1950 that since Pakistanis had moved away from their colonial past when a real education was not delivered to them,

⁴⁶⁷. Ibid., p.49.

468. Ibid., pp.54-56.

⁴⁶⁹. See for instance, Chase, F. S. 'Secondary Education Re-Examined', *The School Review* 66 (1958) 32-55 (pp.36-37).

the time was ripe to adopt such an education system that would ensure a 'balanced development of education' that could promise providing trained people for different fields⁴⁷⁰. The federal Board of Secondary Education (BSE) also recognised the global demands for an all-inclusive secondary curriculum organization when it presented a range of subject offerings for secondary education in 1950.

3.C.2. Secondary Education Scheme of BSE, Karachi 1950 for the Secondary School Leaving Examination 1956 and afterwards

By early 1950, the Executive Committee of the BSE suggested the scheme of studies, syllabi and the distribution of papers and marks allotted for every subject for their adoption in 1956. The subjects were divided into two main streams, that is, general and technical, that were further sub-divided into compulsory and optional groups of subjects⁴⁷¹.

A. The set of subjects within General Group included the following:

a) Compulsory subjects such as Physical Education and Religious Education were included as non-examination subjects; English, Urdu, Mathematics (Arithmetic, Geometry, and Algebra), and General Science as examination subjects. As an alternative to Geometry and Algebra, and General Science, girl candidates could offer Domestic Arithmetic⁴⁷². In the revised scheme of studies offered in 1954, the subjects of English and Religious studies had swapped their places; implying that English had replaced Religious studies as non-

⁴⁷⁰. ABEP, 1950, pp.4-5.

⁴⁷¹. Karachi Secondary Education Act 1950, Chap. IV., pp.27-29, Chap. V. Distribution of papers and marks for every subject pp.30-42, Chap.VI Syllabi for IX and X pp.51-205.

⁴⁷². Ibid., p.27.

examination subject, while the latter was being turned into a compulsory examination subject.

- b) Optional Subjects were sub-divided into six groups of which two but not more than one from any single group could be offered. Those included the following:
 - Social studies subjects including History, Geography, Civics, Economics, and Elementary Commerce;
 - 2. Physics & Chemistry, Domestic Science (Not for those who take domestic science in lieu of General Science), Physiology & Hygiene;
 - 3. Commercial Mathematics; Algebra, Geometry and Trigonometry;
 - 4. Biology, Geography & Geology, Engineering Science;
 - 5. Art and Practical Arts (Free Arm Drawing, Painting, Designing, Pakistani or European Music, Wood work and Metal Works, Tailoring, Book Binding, Pottery, Engineering Drawing, Typewriting and Short-hand);
 - 6. Languages (Arabic, Persian, Latin, Sanskrit, Gujrati, Urdu, Benagli, Sindhi, German, French, Hindi)⁴⁷³;
- B. Technical stream of subjects included the following two groups of compulsory and elective subjects:
- a) Compulsory subjects included Urdu, Practical English, Mathematics I (Practical Arithmetic and Algebra), Mathematics II (Plane Geometry, Trigonometry, Mensuration and Solid Geometry), Physics and Chemistry.
- b) Elective subjects included Engineering Drawing or Engineering Science (applied Mechanics and applied Electricity)⁴⁷⁴.

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⁴⁷³. Tailoring, Book Binding, Pottery, Sanskrit, and Hindi were totally new subjects that were not being taught before. Ibid., p.27-29..

⁴⁷⁴. Karachi Secondary Education Act 1950, p.29.

It was suggested for the non-examination subjects that the headmasters could issue certificates on the basis of cumulative performance of students. Assigning some more importance to English language, the Board also mentioned that examination papers in all subjects for the Examination of 1957 onwards would be printed only in English except for papers in languages. However, keeping in view the English proficiency level of students, it was decided that students could answer question papers in either Urdu or English or Sindhi or Bengali or Gujarati⁴⁷⁵.

In principle, with some modifications, the BSE had complied with the existing patterns of knowledge forms being followed in secondary schools since the time of the British rule. For sure, that compliance could be seen in line with the CABE's efforts during prepartition times for maintaining only two main types of secondary schools in the subcontinent including the Academic High Schools and the Technical High Schools. However, such trends were considered as being 'negative signposts' in the joint meeting of the ABEP, IUB, and the CTEP⁴⁷⁶. Being held in December 1951, also called as the All Pakistan Educational Conference of 1951 (APEC 1951), the joint meeting provided an opportunity to government officers representing different levels of educational organisation to review suggestions of Sultan Mohiyuddin, President of the BSE, relating to the re-organisation of the secondary education curriculum and examination; the integration of technical, commercial and agricultural education with the general education system; and the Six-Year National Plan for Educational Development⁴⁷⁷.

The APEC 1951 highlighted that secondary education in Pakistan was marked by 'literary bias and lack of diversification' of subjects; and that diversification of subjects taught in

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⁴⁷⁵. Ibid., p.42.

^{476.} APEC, 1951, p.54.

⁴⁷⁷. Ibid., p.3.

schools would be more suited to the requirements of students' age, ability and aptitude⁴⁷⁸. To Fazlur Rahman, 'We simply cannot carry on with the old educational system with its alien background. To do so would be to defeat Pakistan's declared object.⁴⁷⁹ It was agreed in the meeting that the negative practices of colonial times should be done away with by reforming secondary curriculum from being limited to two streams of knowledge to at least five broader streams of knowledge. The educational process in Pakistan was defined as 'one of gradual adjustment of the individual pupil to the cultural possessions of the race' and the organisation of school curriculum (and secondary school curriculum in particular) was described as a student's 'social inheritance' reflecting the 'decisive changes in the society' that it was designed to serve⁴⁸⁰. The emerging agenda of education was to bring about such an educational change that could effectively combine the elements of religious educational ideology with the modern conceptions of development being tied with science education. In other words, there was a move towards more diversified curriculum with different options of subjects for students.

The Conference took notice of a range of global trends signifying different streams of secondary curricula. It highlighted that secondary education system could function like diversified and/or bifurcated systems being followed in the UK, Italy or more specifically Germany⁴⁸¹. Similarly, it could also function as a unitary 'cosmopolitan' style of curriculum that was followed in the USA. However, there was a general global trend of adopting a set of common general course, called as "'Orientation course" in countries like

⁴⁷⁸. Ibid., p.16.

^{479.} Ibid., p.12.

⁴⁸⁰. Ibid., p.47.

⁴⁸¹. In the name of responding to national needs, along with vocational studies, the German secondary school system comprised of five academic types of schools following, pure classical, mix of classical and modern studies, scientific and mathematical studies, and studies emphasising German culture, and schools providing modern studies. APEC, 1951, Annexure B 'Some issues relating to educational reconstruction in Pakistan, with special reference to the Karachi Federal Area (by M. Sultan Mohiuddin, President, Board of Secondary Education, Karachi)', (pp.22-69) p.53.

France, that was adopted in schools to discover students' aptitudes for moving on with further specialisation in subjects of their choice and aptitude 482. It was therefore held imperative to understand that the secondary school course should not be considered as a 'procrustean bed' of a uniform curriculum aiming to fit all students alike 483. While Fazlur Rahman had appreciated that the Central and Provincial Governments had been working to evolve suitable syllabi according to the 'principles of new educational ideology' and in some cases new text-books were also being published ⁴⁸⁴; he stressed that 'the curriculum in a particular stage' should be compatible with the psychological and physiological needs of students⁴⁸⁵. That emphasis was repeated in the Conference of 1951, when it was stressed that the organisation of the secondary school curriculum should be held in accordance with the five-fold needs of a student including physical, intellectual, social, aesthetic and spiritual. The following provides details of the Conference deliberations suggesting a further re-organisation of secondary curriculum while keeping in view the global trends and national requirements of those times:

3.C.3. APEC 1951 speaks for a more integrated version of the Secondary Curriculum

The emergent vision for secondary curriculum in the Conference was based on the principle of integrated learning 486. The participants of the APEC 1951 had agreed that

⁴⁸². APEC, 1951, p.31. ⁴⁸³. Ibid.

⁴⁸⁴. Fazlur Rahman, New Education in the making in Pakistan: Its Ideology and Basic Problems, (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1953), p. 74.

⁴⁸⁵. Ibid., p.78.

⁴⁸⁶. APEC..1951, p.16.

every child should be given an opportunity to train in general courses of studies prior to their choice for particular vocational or professional courses of studies. Therefore, it was believed that common courses should be introduced in lower grades of school education and 'real diversification' for choice of different subjects should be offered from Grade IX onwards⁴⁸⁷. The following resolution was adopted in the Conference:

This Conference accepts the principle that technical, agricultural and commercial education should be an integral part of the system of general education and recommends that the duration of the courses of technical, agricultural and commercial education at the Secondary stage should correspond with those of general education at the Secondary Stage 488.

Table: 3.C.3: The APEC 1951's proposed secondary curriculum organisation for children aged 13+ to 16+

emiarem agea 15 + to 10+		
Compulsory subjects	Optional subjects	
(4 Papers -for 3, 4, 5	(3 subjects from any group or from groups I &II	
and 6 each)	or III&IV together)	
1. Physical Education	hysical Education I. Languages (Urdu, English, French, Persian, Arabic,	
2. Religious Education	Bengali, Sindhi, Gujrati, Hindi, Latin, Sanskrit)	
3. Urdu	II. Social Studies (History- an outline of World History	
4. History and	including Islamic History, the emphasis on the two	
Geography (It was	being equal, Geography- General or Regional,	
suggested that the two	wo Elementary Economics, Elementary Civics)	
subjects would be	III. Natural Sciences (Physics, Chemistry, Biology,	
taught as independent	Health Science, Domestic Science)	
subjects but would hold	IV. Mathematics (Algebra; Geometry; Trigonometry	
together the same	and Mechanical Drawing; Mensuration, Mechanics and	
weight as any one of	Statistics).	
the other compulsory	V. Art & Music (Drawing, Painting, Designing,	
examination subjects)	Modelling, Eastern Music, Western Music)	
5. General Science		
6. Mathematics		
C C (D1:	1 Ministry of Education All Delivers Education Conference 1051	

Source: Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, All Pakistan Education Conference 1951, pp.58-59.

⁴⁸⁷. Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸. Ibid.

It was recommended that the secondary school curriculum should include subjects of General Science, History and Geography, and Urdu as examination subjects; and Physical Education and Religious Education as non-examination subjects⁴⁸⁹. Moreover, the 'tool subjects' of Language and Elementary Mathematics that were recommended for lower secondary school curricula were upgraded as two separate groups, out of the total five groups of elective examination subjects, for grades IX and X of the secondary education level⁴⁹¹. The above given curricular pattern was slightly different from the BSE's curriculum of 1950. The APEC 1951 had shifted the subject of English from compulsory to optional category and new subjects of History and Geography were being introduced as compulsory subjects. Similarly, subjects of German language, Geology and Engineering Science were excluded from the list of optional subjects. Likewise, a range of practical arts subjects such as Free Arm Drawing, Wood Work, Tailoring, Book Binding, Pottery, Engineering Drawing, Typewriting and Short-hand were not present in the optional subjects' lists. However, unlike BSE's list of subjects for Mathematics group, APEC 1951 had introduced some new subjects including Mechanical Drawing, Mensuration, Mechanics and Statistics in the Mathematics group.

In other words, believing in a more diversified but integrated education for secondary schools, the APEC 1951 had added more subjects to the list of optional subjects for general education in schools rather than bifurcating it into two streams of general and technical education as BSE had suggested in 1950. The proposed changes in curricular pattern were intended initially for BSE to consider but it was hoped that such intended changes would eventually effect secondary education in other provinces too. The Conference had further

⁴⁸⁹. APEC, 1951, pp.58-59.

⁴⁹⁰. Ibid., pp.48-49. These were called as tool subjects as these could serve as useful aids in understanding other subjects and in everyday life.

⁴⁹¹. The groups of electives included Languages, Social Studies, Natural Sciences, Mathematics, and Art and Music. Ibid., pp.58-59.

resolved that, since Urdu was the standard medium of instruction in Karachi, a change in the curriculum of secondary education stage would initially be meant for the consideration of Board of Secondary Education (BSE), Karachi⁴⁹².

In theory, the emerging curricular patterns in Pakistan were mainly diversified, that is, covering different aspects of knowledge forms. While the government had provided people with their new ideas for educational change, the first five years of Pakistan independence did not show much of the progress in terms of implementing the intended educational change. Various factors had hindered progress in achieving the desired goals to their fullest. By the early 1948, cries were being raised against the government for its 'lack of imagination, efficiency, drive and even sympathy in certain quarters' While there was a long list of uttered moaning, grievance was expressed against the fact that everyone was paying mere 'lip service to the cause of education' while education was laying 'prostrate and bleeding' even in the capital city of Karachi where the situation was better than the other parts of Pakistan⁴⁹⁴.

In response to such criticisms, Pir Ilahi Bakhsh, the then Education Minister of Sind held with confidence that the Government was completely aware of its duties and was busy striving for its best⁴⁹⁵. However, the critics had believed with concern that 'no noticeable change of outlook' and of administrative educational machinery had been brought up even after independence, and it was further suggested that the government should not be

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⁴⁹². However, it was clarified that when that would be adopted by other provinces such as East Bengal and Sind, the medium of instruction would remain to be Bengali and Sindhi respectively, but Urdu would be taught as a compulsory course in schools. Sixth Meeting of ABEP, 1954, p.108.

⁴⁹³. Al-Moallim, 'Education lies bleeding in Karachi', Dawn, Karachi, 17 February 1948, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.

⁴⁹⁴. Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵. 'Sind Education Minister replies to "Al-Moallim", Dawn, Karachi, 18 February 1948, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.

following 'the tradition of an alien bureaucracy' that was least 'interested in nationbuilding, 496.

No doubt, while the government had proposed a couple of new secondary curriculum schemes for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, those schemes could also not escape criticism when it came to judging their practicability in the context of Pakistan. To illustrate, while BSE, Karachi was expected to serve as a 'pioneer board' for controlling issues relating to secondary education with reference to prescribing syllabi as well as conducting Matriculation examinations⁴⁹⁷, the Board received 'severe comments' for its proposed scheme of secondary education, that was given effect from 1951-1952, from 'educators, the press and educational organisations' who suggested certain amendments within the scheme ⁴⁹⁸. A critic explained the state of affairs in the following words:

'One who knows about the changes in the curriculum will simply laugh that "long strides towards the improvement of the curriculum have been taken". Almost all the teachers and Headmasters concerned opined that the new curriculum is decidedly worse than the previous one' 499.

The government officers attending one of the meetings of ABEP themselves attributed the cause of such state of affairs to the lack of proper co-ordination in the system of education as well as courses of study in different provinces⁵⁰⁰, financial constraints on the part of government to publish and parents to afford new textbooks, and the centralised control of universities in provinces like Punjab and N.W.F.P. (now called Khyber Pukhtunkhwa) hindering any venture away from academic bias in knowledge, etc. For the critics in

⁴⁹⁶. 'Priority for Education', Dawn, Karachi, 21 February 1948, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.

⁴⁹⁷. Bhatti, et al, Secondary Education Boards, p.1.

⁴⁹⁸. Office Notification Order No. SE/C-32-1927/54, dated 2 June, 1954, by the Undersecretary to the Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Karachi, about 'New Curriculum framed by the Board of Secondary Education, Karachi' p.1. Until 1956, the Board was unable to conduct secondary school examinations according its prescribed scheme and conducted its examinations under the rules of the Bombay University. Bhatti, et al, Secondary Education Boards, p.1. See also Pakistan Educational Conference 1951, p.26.
⁴⁹⁹. Ahmed, F. 'Our Education', Dawn, Karachi, 17 August 1952, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.7.

^{500.} Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Proceedings of the Fourth Meeting of Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan held at Lahore dated 29 November-1st December 1950, (Lahore: Manager of Publications, 1950), p.5.

general, 'paucity of decent schools in the capital', and higher fees in the few good private schools, and 'lack of interest in educational matters' on the part of the educational authorities and philanthropists, all were described as hindrances in the way of effectively training the 'future scientists and scholars' of Pakistan⁵⁰¹. As far as the situation in East Pakistan was concerned, millions of East Pakistanis were being left 'ignorant, illiterate, and uneducated and doing nothing' that was leading towards 'complete disintegration of education' in the province⁵⁰².

The Punjab Education Department could not escape criticism for its decision of reverting to 'a system of multiple alternate text-books' rather than single text-books for schools in different parts of the province⁵⁰³. It was held with utter dissatisfaction that the Directorate was not secure from the corruptive influences of the influential inspectorate and Headmasters of schools who would try to publish their own books for their own localities and would sell them for their own benefits. Moreover, the adoption of the proposed system of multiple textbooks could also affect the business of book-sellers who would be unable to keep all of the approved books in the shop because they would not know which of the approved books the schools of that area would prescribe to their students to buy. In other words, curricular issues facing educational administration were manifold and required careful handling. Saying this, some progress was being shown in materialising the defined visions for educational change through development in the following aspects of knowledge imparted in schools:

Utanwala, U. H. 'Our Education', Dawn, Karachi, 7 August 1952, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.
 See also Raziuddin, S. 'Our Education', Dawn, Karachi, 8 August 1952, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.
 Shamsul Haque, 'Our Education', Dawn, Karachi, 2 August 1952, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.

^{503.} M. A., 'Our Education', Dawn, Karachi, 28 August 1952, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.

3.D. Putting Plans into Practice –Successes and failures

3.D.1. Religious education is given Prominence but with new Interpretation

There was a consensus among political and educational elites attending meetings of ABEP that Pakistan was created in the name of Islam representing a social order, 'inherently superior to any other order', that could be implemented with success if the people of Pakistan were educated in such a way as to 'appreciate the true worth and significance of Islamic ideology⁵⁰⁴. Held in 1949, the second meeting of the ABEP brought to the fore the necessity of bringing educational policy in line with the Islamic ideology. Fazlur Rahman asserted that as education was the 'basic activity of the state', it needed to be animated by the Islamic ideology which was necessary to moving away from the Macaulayan influences in education and to keeping in check the 'evils' of communism from its spread in an Islamic state like Pakistan⁵⁰⁵. However, such reliance on religious ideology versus the inherited British system of education was questioned when the Governor of N.W.F.P. asserted in his welcome speech to the delegates that the worth of the British education system and any other education that was followed in the developed world should not be outrightly disregarded⁵⁰⁶. To him, while it was good to strive for changing the system in line with the Islamic ideology, an account of other education systems must be considered even for the sake of understanding how far those were different from Islamic system. Such a contrast between the speeches of the Governor of N.W.F.P. and Education Minister of Pakistan was also being watched in the British High Commission office with such remarks

⁵⁰⁴. Second Meeting of the ABEP, 1949, p.7. See also, ABEP, 1948, pp.15-18.

^{505.} Second Meeting of ABEP, 1949, p.7. 506. Ibid.

that although Fazlur Rahman's reliance on Islamic ideology could have worked for some ideological objectives, it could 'hardly' serve the purpose of, what he called, 'breaking with the past inheritance of Western educational methods' 507.

The Commonwealth Relations office had firmly believed that despite the continuous assertions from religious leaders and politicians favouring implementation of religious ideology versus existing Western patterns of knowledge in schools, the ideology itself did not stir 'feelings of great enthusiasm' ⁵⁰⁸. It was further believed that Education Minister's reliance on the ideology was nothing but his effort of diverting due attention from the dearth of improvement in educational development in general and from implementation of recommendations of the APEC 1947 in particular 509. While such analyses from the British High Commission held some ground for their validity, the drive towards implementation of Islamic ideology had also borne fruitful results. Introduction of the compulsory subject of religious studies in BSE's scheme of studies of 1950 was a practical manifestation of bringing in the elements of Islamic ideology in school curricula. Similarly, besides prescribing the syllabus for the subject to be designed according to Islamic principles being mainly derived from citations of the Holy Quran and sayings of the Holy Prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H.), syllabi of optional social studies subjects such as History, and Elementary Civics had also included components being defined on Islamic principles, the dignity of Muslim rulers in India before British conquest and struggle of Muslims for their rights during British rule. However, this was done by adding some sections about world history, and the role of international agencies towards enhancing internationalism after WWI and WWII.

⁵⁰⁷. B.N.A., DO 142/380 'Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan', 1949, Commonwealth Relations Office: India: Registered Files, 1912-1958, p.1.

⁵⁰⁸. Despatch No. 107(554) Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, Chamber of Commerce Building, Wood Street, Karachi, February, 23, 1949, in Ibid., p.2. ⁵⁰⁹. Ibid.

The national needs of Pakistan were further reinforced in the fourth meeting of the ABEP that was held at Lahore from 29 November to 1 December 1950. Presiding over the meeting of the ABEP, Fazlur Rahman urged educationists in the Centre and the Provincial educational administrations to get acquainted with the fundamentals of Islam while making new syllabi and curricula⁵¹⁰. He attached great importance to the proposal for the publication of a series of books that dealt with the leading personalities of Islam and with events of great importance in the history of Islam. Conditional upon the objective presentation of those events and facts, the publication of such books were not only meant to stimulate 'mental and spiritual processes', but also to enrich Urdu and Bengali literature⁵¹¹. It was asserted with 'firm conviction' in the meeting that Islamic philosophy had provided an answer to every challenge to society⁵¹². Similarly, it was also upheld that the cure for all the socials ills was inherent in following the teachings of the holy Prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H.) who had integrated 'his high moral character and his intense spiritual insight' with his 'great devotion to learning and science', ⁵¹³.

Re-assertions were made in the APEC 1951 to stick to the Islamic ideology vis-à-vis an 'alien background' of education that Pakistan had inherited from its colonial past. Explaining his zeal for making Pakistan 'the embodiment of the Islamic way of life', Fazlur Rahman expressed his concerns about the fact that efforts for such a necessary overhauling had received 'slow recognition' among educational leaders responsible for implementing the long due aspired change⁵¹⁴. He believed that the reason behind such negligence was that most of the educational leaders themselves were the 'products' of an

^{510. &#}x27;Educationists must grasp spirit of Islam - Rahman', Dawn Karachi, 30 November 1950, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1

⁵¹¹. Ibid., p.4.

⁵¹². Fourth Meeting of ABEP, 1950, p.9.

⁵¹³. Ibid., p.10.

⁵¹⁴. APEC, 1951, p.12.

education system that was based on 'purely Western values' at the expense of ignoring religion of Islam and indigenous culture. 'In the minds of most of us religion is equated with the spirit of reaction, obscurantism and intolerance', Fazlur Rahman declared with sorrow. However, he expressed his relief over 'a perceptible change' in the attitude of educationists who had started to realise that education could serve as 'the instrument for the mighty change' to which they aspired⁵¹⁵.

In fact, since the time of adoption of resolutions of APEC 1947 and the Constituent Assembly's decision in favour of compulsory religious instruction, religious studies were being adopted in schools and colleges for Muslim students. However, keeping in view the rights of students of other religions, it was also decided that students of one religion should not be examined in the faith or religious scriptures of another religion except for those whose parents had allowed such attendance in writing⁵¹⁶. Similarly, during 1950 -1951, some crisis in Punjab, Dhaka and Karachi relating to the issue of religious instruction in Christian schools had involved the Central government for its amicable solution. Held in August, 1951, the Archbishop of Karachi argued in the joint meeting of Archbishops, the then Educational Advisor (S. M. Sharif), the President of BSE, Karachi, and the Director of Education, Karachi, that Christian schools had severe objections to the contents of the prescribed Urdu and English textbooks. Both the readers and History textbooks were being adapted to glorify and present Islam as being superior to all other religions with particular reference to Christianity⁵¹⁷. Similarly, the Archbishop of Dhaka had also criticised the content of prescribed textbooks in language and history. He believed that the textbooks

⁵¹⁵. Ibid., pp.12-13.

⁵¹⁶. ABEP, 1954, Appendix IX, Item 9: A note on religious instruction and interpretation of Islamic ideology in history and language text-books. (Ministry of Education), p.80. ⁵¹⁷. Ibid., p.81.

were 'unscientific' for the reason of covering a 'great deal of religious matter' 518. To him, Christians would comply with the teaching of 'secular history of Islamic countries but not of Islamic religion under the guise of history',519. He also proposed that since religious teaching for Muslims could not be allowed within the premises of Christian schools, Muslim students must be taken in their free period somewhere outside the premises of school building for their religious instruction.

Taking into account the criticisms and suggestions of Archbishops, the Minister of Education believed that while the proposal of sending Muslim students outside the premises of schools was an impracticable suggestion, the objection of the Archbishop against providing Islamic teachings to non-Muslim students could be acceptable 520. The Education Minister directed that a meeting of the provincial education ministers should be called to examine criticisms of Archbishops that could also be taken as applicable to the whole of Pakistan. In the meanwhile, the Education Division was directed to collect and examine all the textbooks from different provinces. Hundreds of text books in History and languages were being collected with intent to sort out whether those contained 'any material derogatory to the sentiments of any religious community, 521. In accordance with the federal Education Minister's comments, the then Educational Advisor also suggested the following to resolve the issue:

1. Since textbooks for use in schools were meant for Muslims and non-Muslim students alike, their content should not be offending the sentiments of any community. He suggested, 'Prophet Muhammad, for example, should be described as a historical personality who was the prophet of Muslims but not of other

⁵¹⁸. Ibid., p.82. ⁵¹⁹. Ibid.

⁵²⁰. Ibid.

⁵²¹. Ibid., p.83.

Communities. The Quran may be called a revealed book, making it clear that it was a revealed book of the Muslims, etc.'

- 2. Islamic history should be independent of any 'ill-informed prejudices' claiming to present Muslims' heritage;
- 3. Religious teaching in Christian schools could be divided into two categories of secular and mission schools⁵²².

During the same time period, societies like Pakistan Historical Society were also busy pulling the rope in the opposite direction. In 1951, held under the auspices of Pakistan Historical Society, the first All Pakistan History Conference was held in Karachi declaring that the inherited system of education in Pakistan was not satisfactory because of engendering hatred among non-Muslim communities against Muslims⁵²³. Their contempt for the anti-Muslim policy of the British Government was explained in such words: 'School boys of tender age were taught textbooks which from every point of view were libels on the noble art of History, because every conscious effort was made to vilify the Muslims'524. Hence, it was suggested to hold a 'thorough check up' of original sources and to prepare 'sound textbooks' of history of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent⁵²⁵.

The government was equally alive to the need of enhancing the role of religious education in the mainstream schools. It was believed in the 5th meeting of the ABEP that since 'no modern community' could even 'hope to survive, much less to prosper' without accepting the dual role of education in developing the 'moral and material' lives of its members, so was equally true for Pakistan:

⁵²². Ibid.

⁵²³. First Session of All Pakistan History Conference (APHC), 1951, pp.171-174.

⁵²⁵. The Proceedings of All Pakistan History Conference, Second Session held at Lahore in 1952, comp. by S. Moinul Haq (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1952), p.34.

'We in Pakistan, on achieving independence, have had before us a splendid opportunity of reorientating our educational policy to correspond to the needs of the times and to reflect the ideals for which Pakistan as an Islamic state stands' 526.

The DPI of East Bengal also lamented the lack of any opportunity for citizenship training informed by Islamic ideology⁵²⁷. Concluding its sixth session on 6 March 1954, the ABEP held the issue of religious education in schools as one of its top priority agendas. On 17 May 1954, the BSE, Karachi had also approved a revised scheme of studies, in which subjects of Religious Education (Islamiat) and History had become optional subjects at lower secondary level, the subjects of Religious Education and Physical Education became non-examination compulsory subjects for the secondary level of school education. World History and Indo-Pakistan History were also being offered as one of the two substitute courses of History for Classes IX and X that students opting for History could take⁵²⁸. The prescribed books for the subject of History had included, *Tarikh-e-Hind o Pakistan (Arab ki Fateh Sind Se Aj Tak)*, and *Tarikh-e-Islam (Zaman Qabal As Islam Ta Ahad Hazar)*⁵²⁹. However, the revised scheme of the BSE was not without apprehensions, since it raised certain concerns on the floor of the 6th meeting of the ABEP in 1954.

Similarly, I. H. Qureshi, the then federal Education Minister noted with concern that although the provincial and central governments were attentive to the need of adopting an educational ideology based on Islam and had made certain efforts in that direction as well,

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⁵²⁶. 'Free primary education on compulsory basis: Dr. Hussain's call at Bahawalpur Meeting', Dawn, Karachi, 5 March 1953, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1. He also highlighted that without theorising about the aims of education, a satisfactory education sought to develop an individual's latent powers, moral and intellectual faculties for a good life as well as should enable him to contribute towards his material well-being of his country. GoP, Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan, held at Bahawalpur on 4th and 5th March, 1953, p.5.

⁵²⁷. ABEP, 1953, Appendix X, Item 11 –Provision for an effective programme of training in practical citizenship (Director of Public Instruction, East Bengal), p.315.

⁵²⁸. B. A. Siddique, Secretary of the Board of Secondary Education Karachi to the Under Secretary to the Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Karachi, Office Notification Order No. SE/C-32-5050/54, dated 27 December 1954, p.38.

⁵²⁹. That is History of India and Pakistan (from the Conquest of Arabs in Sind to Date), and the History of Islam (period before Islam to date) respectively. Ibid.

these measures were not bearing fruitful results. Similarly, while Theology and Islamic History courses had been introduced and taught in schools and textbooks in Urdu and History were 'written with an Islamic bias', and departments of Islamic History and Islamic Studies had been established in universities, 'regulations, facilities, and curricula' were being interpreted 'as lifeless as dry bones unless the schools and the teachers' had provided the necessary environment to ensure parents' involvement for moral and spiritual development of students⁵³⁰. In the same meeting, Governor of the N.W.F.P. emphasised the importance of linking the instruction based on Islamic ideology with daily life for the 'formation of a healthy moral character and the inculcation of a firm faith' in Islam⁵³¹.

The draft Five Year Plan for 1955-1960 had also highlighted the importance of changing subjects of humanities and social sciences in accordance with Islamic principles and history in order to achieve a two-fold task: to build 'individual character, righteous living, dignity' among future generations of Pakistan and to fortify 'the base of patriotism' created on the historical role of Muslim nation. The plan further noted that the intended change was in the process of happening, but it needed 'to be encouraged and deepened to achieve an increasing degree of social cohesion' 532.

The overall development of introducing religious education in schools reveals that issue had moved from being a mere ideology to introduction of subject of religious studies and elements of religious information in subjects like History. However, this was done with equal consideration for students of other religions, and the international commitments of Pakistan. Similarly, there was a drive for giving new direction to the nature of religious education from mere theoretical to practical aspects of its utility for students and society.

⁵³⁰. Sixth Meeting of ABEP, 1954, p.11.

⁵³¹. Ibid., pp.4-5.

^{532.} Government of Pakistan, The First Five Year Plan 1955-1960 (Karachi: National Planning Board, 1957), p.833.

3.D.2. Significance of Technical/Science Subjects Highlighted

The significance of scientific and technical education was acknowledged since the holding of APEC 1947 and the CTEP had further endorsed that in its first meeting. Among other recommendations for its due improvement, the CTEP had suggested that following the trends being followed in industrially developed states, 'every stage' of technical education should be combined with the mainstream general education in Pakistan⁵³³. Similarly, in the meeting of ABEP 1949, the Central Engineering Authority of Industries Division also stressed to take measures for introducing subjects of practical significance and manual training in schools. 'It is notorious that our primary and secondary education in the past has been more literary than practical' the representative of the Industries Division had lamented; and thereby suggested to make 'education of a more practical kind' that would ensure training in manual vocations⁵³⁴. It was agreed that 'more manual work' should not be only introduced in all schools but must be delivered with 'equal importance at least to the acquisition of literary ability'535. The meeting further stressed the significance of technical subjects when held that manual training was 'an integral part' of the school curriculum in all advanced states which had promised trained manpower even for the 'moderate mechanical' jobs⁵³⁶.

Held again in 1950, meeting of the ABEP also agreed that since the lack of trained technical personnel was being 'acutely felt' in every provincial and central administration

⁵³³. Minutes of the First Meeting of the Council of Technical Education for Pakistan held on the 11th June, 1948, at Karachi. For this, see Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Proceedings of the Educational Conference held in Karachi dated 4th-5th December, 1951, p.73.

ABEP 1949, 'Introduction of manual training in schools'. Appendix XIX, p.70.

⁵³⁵. Ibid.

⁵³⁶. Ibid.

of Pakistan, the problem was the 'greatest bottleneck' facing the Pakistani society⁵³⁷. Similarly, the meeting also pondered over the question of devising ways of improving the teaching of science subjects in primary and secondary schools as well as making general science a feature of the school curriculum⁵³⁸. Similarly, Health Division also got its voice heard in the same meeting. It recommended inclusion of subjects in secondary schools like Physiology, Anatomy, and Hygiene that could promise awareness among students about their personal cleanliness, the training of girls in ensuring healthy life of others at their homes, and to stimulate boys and girls towards professions like medicine and nursing.⁵³⁹ A representative from the Ministry of Defence also upheld the pro-science education stance in such words:

'All Pakistani citizens of the future must be prepared for this technological age. ... Every student is to be made to realise that the modern world is one dominated by machinery and that no one can be considered educated without some sort of basic scientific knowledge' 540.

In 1951, the Education Division urged the Central and the Provincial Governments to assign 'a very high priority' to the task of promoting science education in schools:

'For our country which is mainly agricultural and is now on the threshold of industrialisation the problem of reorganisation and improvement of teaching of science assumes special importance and calls for immediate and effective steps to correct the existing unsatisfactory state of affairs.⁵⁴¹.

At the same time, the Directors of Public Instruction of provinces and states in Pakistan were directed to submit their reports about the progress of science education in their

⁵³⁷. ABEP, 1950, p.6.

⁵³⁸. Ibid., 'Consideration of the Question of Scientific Research and the Establishment of National Laboratories for Chemistry, Physics, etc.', Appendix VII, p.67.

⁵³⁹. Ibid., 'Inclusion of Health Education as a subject in Higher Classes of Secondary Schools', Appendix VIII, p.68.

⁵⁴⁰. Ibid., 'Inclusion of General Science as a Compulsory Subject for the Matriculation Examination' Ministry of Defence, Appendix IX, p.69.

⁵⁴¹. Appendix VIII, Improvement in the Teaching of Science at the Secondary and University Stage, Annexure B, Copy of Education Division, Government of Pakistan, Letter No. D. 362/51-E.P., Dated 15 October, 1951, Addressed to the Directors of Public Instruction of Provinces and States in Pakistan. See Fifth Meeting of the ABEP, 1953, p.266.

respective areas⁵⁴². The federal government dealing with the area of Karachi declared that they were satisfied having science as an optional subject in IX and X grades of secondary schools. They said that the system was satisfactory as it could ensure the classification of students according to their aptitude⁵⁴³. Moreover, it was also held that the number of subjects should be reduced allowing more room for the study of science. For that purpose, it was recommended that the secondary stage of school education should involve classification of students into 'Literary Group' and 'Scientific Group' as well as a provision for commercial and technical education being made. The government further held that such an arrangement was well underway through the provisions that were made in the new syllabus published by the BSE, Karachi. The new syllabus, that the BSE, Karachi had devised in 1951, had changed the status of secondary stage science subject from compulsory into one of the three optional categories that was expected to be introduced in 1952⁵⁴⁴. While the central government was getting interested in the division of scholars into different fields of study, there was a mixed response from the provincial governments.

The government of N.W.F.P. showed its inability to adopt General Science as a compulsory subject for its Matriculation examination for the reason being that the province was following directives of the Punjab University that was still in control of prescribing syllabi for the secondary level of education⁵⁴⁵. While the N.W.F.P. government had to abide by the rules of the University of Punjab, officials of areas like the former princely state of Khairpur thought it imperative to make General Science a compulsory course of

⁵⁴². Letter No. D. 362/51-E.P., Dated 15th October 1951, Addressed to the Directors of Public Instruction of Provinces and States in Pakistan. A Copy of the letter and replies from the DPIs was incorporated as Annexure B in the Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the ABEP, 1953, pp.270-282.

⁵⁴³. Fifth Meeting of the ABEP, 1953, p.280.

⁵⁴⁴. Ibid., p.280.

⁵⁴⁵. Ibid., p.278.

study for matriculation examination in general and practical Home Science compulsory for female students in particular⁵⁴⁶. S. M. Sharif, the DPI Punjab Education Department, argued that Islam required us to give prominence to science in the school curriculum⁵⁴⁷. On behalf of the Punjab Education Department, Sharif pressed hard that aims of science education needed proper mention and explanation for their implementation. Moreover, he suggested adopting an approach that could bring a school student from a concrete phenomenon to an abstract principle. He expressed that there was a dire need to adopt different aims of science teaching for different stages of school education⁵⁴⁸.

It was also emphasised that the process of making or changing the science syllabi should be directed by 'the modern philosophy of school education' that was based on child-centred education that required emphasis on students' needs than on the subject matter to be taught. In considering how the progress of science education be carried forward, he suggested to the central government to adopt modern objectives and methodology of science teaching that the British Association of Scientific Workers had prepared in a Penguin booklet with the title 'Science and the Nation' as well as the 'Encyclopaedia of Educational Research' that the American Educational research Association had prepared in 1950⁵⁴⁹. Moreover, suggestion was made to make the curricula flexible allowing adaptability to 'local resources, experiences, needs and interests' ⁵⁵⁰.

Showing his compliance with what was suggested in 1950 in the 12th International Conference of Public Education organised by the UNESCO and International Bureau of Education (I.B.E.) and by Pakistan Association for the Advancement of Science, Sharif recommended that biographies of scientists should be incorporated that would make the

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⁵⁴⁶. Ibid., pp.281-282.

⁵⁴⁷. Ibid., Appendix VIII, Annexure B, p.274.

⁵⁴⁸. Ibid.

⁵⁴⁹. Ibid., p.273.

⁵⁵⁰. Ibid. p.274.

facts of science more interesting⁵⁵¹. It was impressed upon the government to adopt a compulsory general science subject (comprising of Physical sciences, physiology and hygiene and Biology and Agriculture) for secondary education in schools⁵⁵². It was also suggested that committees that were established by the provincial governments to make or amend curriculum and writing textbooks should comprise members from school administration, science specialists, lecturers of training colleges, research workers, a linguist and an expert on teaching aids because they knew better the needs of students than the college or university administration⁵⁵³. He further recommended that the 'Wonderworld of Science' readers for primary and secondary schools that were prepared in America could serve as good models for the authors of science textbooks⁵⁵⁴.

An example of the presence of the foreign involvement in developing science education in high schools can also be cited from Fulbright ventures of teacher exchange programme in Pakistan. In November 1951, F. E. Dunne, a Fulbright exchange teacher, requested S. M. Sharif (who had then become the Educational Adviser to the Government of Pakistan) to present to the ABEP her proposal of introducing a one-year Domestic Science subject (Nutrition and Food) in all girls high schools at the 13-14 years of age⁵⁵⁵. An invitation to the ABEP to visit the new Nutrition and Foods Laboratory in the Central Government Girls' High School was also extended for that purpose. Similarly, there was no doubt about government's willingness to have foreigners involved in adopting modern ways of developing school education in Pakistan. References were equally made to adopting elements from different forms of secondary curricula followed in developed states like the

⁵⁵¹. Ibid., p.274.

⁵⁵². Ibid.

⁵⁵³. In a way, that also referred to reduce the influence of Universities in determining the content of school education. Ibid. p.277.

[.] Ibid.

⁵⁵⁵. ABEP, 1953, Appendix XXI, Item 22, 'Domestic Science as Compulsory Subject in All High Schools at the Age of 13-14 Years', p.328.

UK, the USA, and France in the All Pakistan Education Conference 1951 (APEC)⁵⁵⁶. On another occasion, while discussing the effects of experimental school broadcasts which the Radio Pakistan had launched in consultation with the Director of Education of Karachi, with the UNESCO Expert on Schools, Mahmud Husain, the then federal Minster for Education, noted its positive effects on educational development in Karachi⁵⁵⁷. Such efforts of Department of Education in Karachi and the Radio Pakistan had also received appreciation among the public for the launch of school broadcasts in Karachi. These broadcasts were being adopted as complementary parts to the prescribed syllabi of History, Geography, Civics and Health and Hygiene for grades VI-VIII of secondary schools in Karachi⁵⁵⁸. Although, the school administration had co-operated in making those broadcasts successful, demands were still made upon teachers for their active and effective role in making use of the broadcasts⁵⁵⁹. Continuing efforts for the successful use of broadcasts in schools were being observed as far as schools in Karachi were concerned. Karachi Radio Station was regularly broadcasting for the federal area schools since 'perhaps' 1952 and the schools were also equipped with listening facilities, reported a retired school teacher (M. A. Jaffri). Those broadcasts had covered subjects of History, Geography, Health and Hygiene, and English for the secondary school stages from grade six to ten⁵⁶⁰. However, some school headmasters did not allow their students to listen to the

⁵⁵⁶. However, there was a failure on the part of government to explicitly define or at least side with particular forms of knowledge that were being practiced in such developed states.

⁵⁵⁷. 'Dr Hussain discusses school broadcasts with UNESCO Expert', Dawn, Karachi, 19 March 1953, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.

⁵⁵⁸. ABEP, 1954, Appendix XXVII, Item 32: "A review of school broadcast from Karachi, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting", p.132.

^{559.} Mohammad Ashraf, 'School broadcasts', Dawn, Karachi, 13 March 1953, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.

⁵⁶⁰. Jaffri, M. A. 'Need for school broadcasting', Dawn, Karachi, 14 December 1957, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p. 3.

school broadcasts of Radio Pakistan and the government was urged through newspapers to look into the matter⁵⁶¹.

The importance of science and its practical application for technical development was reemphasised when the Science Advisor for the Ministry of Defence returned from the U.S.A. after observing the state of science education in different schools and universities. He had aspired to have a similar system working in Pakistan's secondary schools too, where practical classes for science subjects were held with suitable work facilities in vocations like carpentry and machine shop training irrespective of their social status⁵⁶². For sure, such efforts were necessary in the wake of a 'serious dearth of technicians' whose services were being as equally required for Armed Forces as for the daily life vocations such as agriculture, medicine, engineering, etc⁵⁶³.

Attending UNESCO's Study Conference on Science Teaching in 1956, the two delegates from Pakistan presented their report about the state of science education in Pakistani schools and deliberated with other delegates about finding certain ways forward for the development and popularisation of science teaching in schools and teacher training institutions. The said regional Conference had provided a friendly platform to delegates representing different South East Asian countries like Thailand, India, Indonesia, Malaya (British), etc. international representations from Australia, WHO, FAO, Pacific Science Congress, and UNESCO secretariat⁵⁶⁴.

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⁵⁶¹. Ahmad, Z. 'Need for school broadcasting', Dawn, Karachi, 14 December 1957, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p. 3.

⁵⁶². ABEP, 1954, Appendix XXVI, Item 31, 'To consider the various recommendations made in the report submitted by the Defence Scientific Adviser after his tour of the U.S.A. (Ministry of Defence). Copy of Ministry of Defence O. M. No. 13\268\D-8, Dated the 18th\19th January 1954', pp.116-120, p.116. ⁵⁶³. Ibid., pp.117-118.

⁵⁶⁴. UNESCO NS/139, Paris, November 1956; UNESCO Report on the Study Conference on Science Teaching, Bangkok, 4-20 October 1956. Retrieved on 1 December 2013 from the World Wide Web http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001266/126655EB.pdf, pp.20-23.

By the second half of the 1950s, educational ideology was directed towards more utilitarian ends through technical knowledge streams. For instance, the draft first Five Year plan declared: 'Owing to inadequate attention to the scientific and industrial development of the country in the past, a false prestige has been assigned to literary attainments rather than manual dexterity and pride in craftsmanship and technical accomplishment', 565.

Similarly, identifying the problems of education in Pakistan as not being in accordance with the economic needs of life in Pakistan, I. H. Qureshi, the then federal Minister for Education in Pakistan declared that 'the aim of education should be to equip a citizen for the purpose of bettering his environment and his own position in it⁵⁶⁶. For that purpose, he suggested two separate ideologies for rural and urban areas; that advocated rural education with an 'agricultural bias' and urban education to be imparted in such a way as to enable students to maintain their own family vocations, and thus to avoid mere 'theoretical education' in both rural and urban areas⁵⁶⁷. While the very suggestion held merit on its own place, its implementation could not be seen as a totally new phenomenon. Existence of dual forms of technical education with a focus on manual trainings separately for urban and rural areas had continued from the times of British rule in India with specific reference to 1940s. Saying this, Qureshi's vision had gone a bit further when he suggested to adopt an educational training of 'better shopkeepers of shopkeepers, better carpenters of carpenters, better blacksmiths of blacksmiths, 568. Such vision could also be seen in compliance with the main objective of the Wardha scheme that was being adopted during Congress rule of pre-independence times.

⁵⁶⁵. Draft First Five-Year Plan 1955-60, p.834.

⁵⁶⁶. Sixth Meeting of ABEP, 1954, pp.7-8.

⁵⁶⁷. Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸. Ibid., p.8.

The significance of science and technical subjects was on the rise and that was also visible in the BSE's revised scheme of studies that was being adopted from 1954 onwards. The scheme had made General Science one of the three examination compulsory subjects along with English, Urdu, and Mathematics⁵⁶⁹. The scope of science education in schools was also acknowledged in the ABEP's meeting in 1953 as being a subject of 'utilitarian, vocational, disciplinarian and cultural value'⁵⁷⁰. Re-organising of science education in schools was felt to be a must in the context of defining Pakistan as an agricultural state that was in the initial stages of developing its industrial prowess⁵⁷¹ It was believed that a 'well-integrated' science syllabus for different stages of secondary education should be adopted that was suitable for the individual and community needs as well as that was complete in its scope for secondary education⁵⁷². Referring to the development of agriculture and industry as urgent needs of the country, 'diversification of the educational system with a bias in favour of technical education' was also suggested in the next meeting of ABEP that was held in 1954⁵⁷³.

However, in practical terms, such efforts were not enough. On account of 'inadequate attention to the scientific and industrial development of the country in the past', subjects of science and mathematics had not developed to their fullest⁵⁷⁴. Albeit the fact that there was a general agreement to improve the state of these subjects in secondary schools, uncertainties had prevailed about ways and means to implement the desired goals. The educational leaders were unable to decide about certain policy issues such as, whether secondary schools should prepare students for specific occupations like agriculture,

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⁵⁶⁹. Bhatti, et al, Secondary Education Boards, p.35.

⁵⁷⁰. ABEP, 1953, Annexure, "A" Note on the Reorganisation of Teaching of Science in Schools, p.266. ⁵⁷¹. Ibid.

⁵⁷² Ibid

 ^{573. &#}x27;Education must satisfy new demands, says Shahabuddin', Dawn Karachi, 3 March 1954, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1.
 574. Draft First Five-Year Plan 1955-60, p.834.

business, academic, and industry; and whether single secondary school system or multiple systems be adopted in implementing the two strands of the new educational ideology of Pakistan⁵⁷⁵. The solution for such problems had rested in maintaining the essence of secondary education aiming to equip students with both academic and scientific knowledge, recommended the first Five-Year Plan 1955-1960. However, while making suggestions for adopting a diversified curriculum, the Plan held that emphasis should be made on those economic aspects which provided 'the most probable outlet' for the youth in rural and urban areas⁵⁷⁶. Thus, the Plan suggested adopting subjects in secondary schools that provided pre-vocational training, and not pure vocational training, in schools along with general education in academic subjects.

3.D.3. English Retains its Significance versus Urdu

The issue of adopting Urdu versus English had long exercised the minds of educational leaders. Various assertions and recommendations had been made since the holding of APEC 1947 too. While suggestions were being made from the platforms like ABEP to establish an Urdu Committee, it was also proposed to set up a Central Translation Bureau either at Karachi or Lahore to translate standard books of English and other languages into Urdu⁵⁷⁷. Similarly, while provincial governments were busy working towards the revision of textbooks and syllabi in order to remove what were called 'alien influences' from the textbooks; the Central Government had waited for their reports so as to take action in implementing proposed changes within syllabi. To add, the government had also expressed

⁵⁷⁵. Ibid., p.835.

⁵⁷⁶. First Five-Year Plan, 1955-1960, p.836.

^{577.} Second Meeting of ABEP, 1949, p.46. For details about Urdu Committees work, see ABEP, 1953, p.64.

its 'hope to eliminate in the shortest time possible that tone of Western superiority' that had embodied the then text-books and to safeguard knowledge based on principles of indigenous cultural values against those of alien cultures⁵⁷⁸. However, by the early 1950s, the central government had realised how far the intended educational change could be realistic especially with reference to replacing English with Urdu. To illustrate, inaugurating the fourth meeting of the ABEP in 1950, people like Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Governor of Punjab held that educational changes that were at work within Pakistan should be introduced with caution. 'I do not mean for a moment', he declared with strong conviction:

'we should adopt plans for transformation in such a way which slams the door of English at our students. ... The wealth of language that one finds in English language will be lost to our people if we adopt a policy whereby the acquisition of the knowledge of English language is discouraged. ... I hope that while adopting plans for making Urdu as the medium of instruction we do it in such a way that this gate-way to the scientific wealth, I mean the English language, is not altogether slammed at our students and at our future generations' 579.

To reinforce his argument, he continued, 'We Muslims have been told by our Prophet that knowledge is our property and we should try to get it from wherever we can get it'580. Similarly, the representatives from education departments and Universities also agreed that in order to improve the efficiency of education institutions, the 'introduction of languages of Pakistan as media of instruction should not bring about any deterioration in the teaching of foreign or classical languages'581. Similarly, on 29 January 1951, admiring with appreciation the British presence in the subcontinent for almost over two centuries sharing their 'literary, scientific and philosophic genius' in the opening of the Exhibition of British books and Periodicals (by the British Council, Pakistan Branch) Fazlur Rahman

⁵⁷⁸. Second Meeting of ABEP, 1949, p.8.

⁵⁷⁹. Fourth Meeting of ABEP, 1950, p.7.

⁵⁸⁰. Ibid..

⁵⁸¹. Ibid., Appendix IV, p.18.

mentioned: 'it is through the medium of the great English language that the treasures of Western science and learning have been unlocked for us' 582. Similarly, besides being a language of international significance, English had been and even then working as official and business language of the state and relegation of its status at any level was more of constitutional nature than merely involving routine regulations effecting change 583.

Saying this, education bodies like educational conferences and ABEP's meetings, IUB's suggestion were busy suggesting replacement of English with Urdu as medium of instruction and examination in their own suggested time periods⁵⁸⁴. Such efforts had borne some desired results as the subject of English language was being taken off from compulsory to optional subjects list in the revised schemes of studies of Karachi's BSE, the new syllabus adopted in the province of Punjab which had also implied the same for the areas of Baluchistan and Bahawalpur following syllabus of Punjab⁵⁸⁵. The subsequent issues confronting educational leaders were to assess further whether English should be retained as a medium of instruction and examination for different subjects, and whether the status of English as a compulsory subject in secondary schools should be preserved. To add, while the BSE, Karachi had received the press's criticism for its announcement to print question papers for conducting 'Matriculation Examination in English alone from 1956 onwards instead of English and Urdu', some practical considerations, such as avoiding leakages, had also led to such decisions⁵⁸⁶. In short, the status of English language vis-à-vis Urdu for its adoption as a medium of instruction and examination was bound to stay intact due to some important practical considerations implying finances and

⁵⁸². See Rahman, New Education in the Making, p.143.

⁵⁸³. ABEP, 1953, p.261.

⁵⁸⁴. Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵. Ibid., p.262.

⁵⁸⁶. No. F 3-34/55 EDU I (A) Report Submitted by DS to HM regarding Board of Secondary Education, Karachi. Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, p.2.

changes in instruction of subjects being taught in English. For sure, English language was not being merely taught as a foreign language, its significance for secondary education could not be done away with for the reason that science subjects were also taught in English.

3.D.4. Concluding the First Decade of Democratic Years for Curriculum Organisation

Reviewing the progress of curriculum development in Pakistan during its first decade of independence, it was held with concern that while 'the traditional Secondary school system of the sub-continent had little meaning as an educational programme in its own right', the system had still prevailed in the country⁵⁸⁷. While describing the problems facing curriculum development in Pakistan, the draft Five Year Plan had identified that 'the diverse influence of tradition, purpose and financial control' had made it 'exceedingly difficult to raise standards and adjust curricula in accordance with the new educational objectives⁵⁵⁸⁸. The Plan asserted that there was a dire need of adopting a diversified secondary school curriculum with prime objective to 'prepare rounded citizens in terms of their own capabilities and the social and economic needs of the nation' Moreover, towards the end of the 1950s, shortfalls of education planning and curriculum policy in science became evident not only in terms of public expenditure on science and technical education, but also in terms of deficits in the availability of science teachers in schools. Similarly, there was no dearth of issues relating to religious education in schools that were

⁵⁸⁷. Draft First Five-Year Plan 1955-60, p.830.

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⁵⁸⁸. Ibid., pp.832-833.

⁵⁸⁹. Ibid., p.834.

brought on the agenda of the meetings of educational officers. In 1958, members of the ABEP met in order to discuss problems relating to secondary education and to find out ways of addressing them. In order to address the issue of availability of science teachers that DPI of East Pakistan had raised in the meeting, Afzal Husain (Vice Chancellor of the Punjab University) suggested hiring services of Arts graduates and those with experience in Intermediate science, to become science teachers in schools after their necessary training in refresher courses⁵⁹⁰. The Director of Education, Peshawar and the President of the Secondary Education Board, East Pakistan endorsed that suggestion; but other members like the Vice Chancellor Peshawar University, and the Director of Education, Sind disapproved of the suggestion. As far as the issue of religious instruction was concerned, the Defence Ministry raised the issue in the seventh meeting of ABEP and thus a Sub-Committee was appointed to examine the content of religious instruction in schools⁵⁹¹.

On the basis of the recommendation of the subcommittee of the ABEP⁵⁹², the ABEP expressed the need for establishing a Council of Secondary Education for Pakistan that was entrusted with the task of co-ordinating the work of Boards of Secondary Education and of Universities (conducting Matriculation or School Leaving examinations) with reference to 'examination standards, curricular and syllabi, text books, conditions of recognition of schools and other matters pertaining thereto', 593.

Similarly, concerns were also expressed about the management of education mainly by provincial governments. Since the system of provincial autonomy of the 1930s had remained largely intact throughout the early post-independence period from 1947 to 1958,

⁵⁹⁰. Seventh Meeting of ABEP, 1958, Item 21, 'To Consider the Teaching of Science as a Compulsory subject in Secondary Schools', p.12.

⁵⁹¹. Appendix XVII, Ibid., pp.48-49.

⁵⁹². The sub-committee comprised of DPIs of West and East Pakistan, Directors of Education of Peshawar and Hyderabad, Presidents of Boards of Secondary Education of Karachi and Dacca, and Inspector of Schools from the Ministry of Defence.

⁵⁹³. Seventh Meeting of ABEP, 1958, p.10.

the President of Pakistan, when addressing the ABEP in 1958, held that because of a 'bewildering diversity of patterns' in education system in Pakistan it was not possible to inculcate feelings of national outlook among the future generations⁵⁹⁴. The diversity was also manifested in the preferential allocation of funds, by the provincial governments, to develop different types and levels of education; as the educational administration of East Pakistan was mainly concerned with promoting technical and primary education and West Pakistan dealt with the development of higher education⁵⁹⁵. It was therefore felt necessary to adopt a national education system and thus devise a national education policy under the control of central administration; that could stop the preferential treatment of one or the other form of education and ensure unity of educational objectives and strategies of their implementation throughout the country. By October 1958, the military administration had believed that the time was ripe for military intervention. Before going into the details of the secondary education developments during military rule, the following sums up the overall account of the first 10 years of secondary curriculum development:

The newly independent state of Pakistan took a start with defining new visions through different platforms like the APEC 1947, the APEC 1951, and ABEP meetings. These visions had involved dealing in the main with three aspects of British educational legacies:

- 1. bringing more religious bias in education with an emphasis on the principles of universal brotherhood, tolerance, etc.;
- 2. removing the Macaulayan practices from within secondary education by dealing with the undue significance that was assigned to literary knowledge in schools and by overcoming the place of superiority that was reserved for English language

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⁵⁹⁴. Inaugural address of Iskandar Mirza, the President of Pakistan, at Seventh Meeting of ABEP, 1958, pp.2-

^{3.} Bewildering diversity referred to the existence of different types of schools in Pakistan, including, 'Madrasahs, Sectarian schools, Christian missionary schools, Public Schools, Grammer[Sic] schools', and 'private schools'.

⁵⁹⁵. Curle, Planning for Education, pp.53-54.

taught as a subject and adopted as a medium of instruction for different subjects in secondary schools;

facilitating efforts for more vocational, technical and scientific knowledge in schools.

One of the foremost sites for implementing the aforementioned visions was the curriculum, though doing away with British legacies was not an easy task to fulfil. In 1948, in its newly proposed scheme of studies for secondary education, the East Pakistan Department had retained its system of dual examinations in the form of Matriculation and School Leaving Examinations. However, since it had proposed seven curricular streams for higher secondary education, this had implied a greater pressure on the secondary level to bring the curriculum into line with the demands of the intermediate education level. Moreover, in the wake of the prevailing financial stringency which had already hindered the on-going activities in the province, the ways and means of implementation of such an ambitious curricular change were not identified. Similarly, while the federal BSE's scheme had also proposed two separate streams of knowledge called as general and technical, these were perceived as negative signposts in the way of adopting a diversified curriculum. In the APEC 1951, educational leaders representing different parts of Pakistan conceded that in order to deal effectively with the legacy of the literary bias in secondary education, it was necessary to do away with the limited scope of secondary education which was bound within the two streams of knowledge. It was suggested that, at least, five broader streams of knowledge should be offered in secondary schools all combined in a diversified curriculum fulfilling physical, intellectual, social, aesthetic, and spiritual needs of students. It was further believed that such a curriculum must be compatible with the global trends for secondary education being followed in developed states. During 1950s, the BSE

Karachi had adopted the principle of diversity for groups of optional subjects like Languages, Social Studies, Natural Sciences, Mathematics, and Art & Music.

While in theoretical terms the principle of diversity was being adopted more or less in different schemes of education, in practice those schemes had not met with the success desired. Some critics had attributed this to the lack of imagination and efficiency among educational leaders and government servants, others had found fault with the underlying deficiencies of the proposed schemes which had hindered the progress of curriculum change in real terms. The government had believed that coupled with factors of improper co-ordination in the provincial education systems as well as in the proposed schemes of studies, financial restraints had prevented the government from publishing and parents from affording new textbooks while the centralised control of universities had hindered the process of removing undue academic bias in knowledge.

Saying this, the period had shown some progress in implementing the political leaders' vision for religious ideology. Not only was that religious education adopted as a compulsory subject, the syllabi of History and Elementary Civics had included sections about Islamic principles and the history of Muslim struggles against British rule side by side with sections about world history and the emergent role of international agencies towards strengthening internationalism. The Islamisation of curriculum content was seen with concern among Archbishops in charge of Christian schools in Punjab, Dhaka and Karachi which was amicably resolved through the government's efforts. For the mainstream schools while efforts for enhancing religious bias in the content of different subjects were still going on, it was believed that such instruction must be linked with the daily life practices of Muslim students.

Although there was a mixed response to adopting science as a compulsory or optional subject for secondary schools in Pakistan, educational leaders had a unanimous opinion about the significance of scientific and technical subjects for the development of the state. For that purpose, foreign assistance was requested, the system of science education adopted in the USA was also observed in order to adopt its elements for science education in Pakistan, and certainly compliance with science education policies of foreign agencies like UNESCO was also assured. The role of UNESCO funded school broadcasts for subjects of Geography, Health English and History had also helped the government in making educational development possible. For technical education, the government had continued its support for the dual forms of technical knowledge which suited rural and urban areas. Although it was suggested that through diversification of secondary courses more technical streams of knowledge could be introduced, uncertainties had prevailed while deciding about the content of secondary education and adopting methods of implementing the vision for technical knowledge. The period ended with a decision that instead of adopting purely vocational subjects, secondary education should contain prevocational training side by side with the academic knowledge streams. Hence, the old patterns of vocational training had continued from the British rule during the early decade of independence. Likewise, English language had continued in vogue as a subject of study and as a medium of instruction during the said period. As a subject of study, its relevance for modern scientific knowledge was continuously recognised among educational leaders and practical-cum-financial implications of changing the medium of instruction from English to Urdu had also led to the realisation that English should not be replaced by Urdu. In short, since the time of independence ambitions were expressed about detaching British educational legacies from Pakistan's education system. In more real terms, because of various factors those could not be removed in total even after the elapse of the first ten years of independence.

CHAPTER 4 ISLAMIC MODERNIST MILITARY RULE 1958-1969

Ayub Khan, the Chief Martial Law administrator believed that 'the hour had struck', and 'the moment so long delayed had finally arrived' when 'the responsibility could no longer be put off' to fix problems facing Pakistan⁵⁹⁶. On 27 October 1958, upon taking the charge of government, General Ayub declared that the Martial Law in Pakistan would remain intact until its purpose was achieved; including 'clearance of the political, economic, social and administrative mess' that had been created in Pakistan since its inception⁵⁹⁷. Promising 'a positive effort to move forward' for economic growth of the country, Ayub Khan declared that instead of 'creating an atmosphere of repression and intimidation', the martial law was focussed on making use of available means for 'constructive work' 598. While appointing his 10-man Commission on National Education (NEC), Ayub Khan declared that the existing system of education in Pakistan was a continuance of British rule in India that was introduced 'with the avowed object of inculcating a slavish mentality and nothing but slaves from amongst the people of the subcontinent⁵⁹⁹. Addressing a public gathering on another occasion, he stressed that as the existing educational system was 'a legacy from the past' it needed an overhaul suiting the requirements of a 'free nation' 600. However, in more real terms, instead of removing the existing British patterns of knowledge altogether, Ayub's administration believed in introducing reforms in a 'moderate and rational manner⁶⁰¹. No doubt, the military ambitions for reforms were high declaring to produce men and women undertaking the wide and varied 'responsibilities as citizens of a free country': 'persons of character, capable of thinking clearly and fearlessly, and having a

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⁵⁹⁶. Khan, Mohammad Ayub, *Friends not Masters: A Political Autobiography*, (Lahore; Karachi; Dacca: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.70.

⁵⁹⁷. Dawn Staff Correspondent, 'No Premature Lifting of Martial Law', Dawn, Karachi, 18 October 1958, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1.

⁵⁹⁸. Khan, Friends not Masters, p.72.

^{599. &#}x27;10-man President's Commission for National Education: Ayubs Anouncement', Dawn, Karachi, 13 December 1958, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1.

⁶⁰⁰. General Ayub's Address at Public Meeting: Full Text', Dawn, Karachi, 27 December 1958, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.7.

⁶⁰¹. Khan, Friends not Masters, p.79.

high sense of duty'. 'Our educational system should be based on appreciation of practical values', declared Ayub Khan firmly⁶⁰².

Various commissions like Land Reform Commission (31 October 1958)⁶⁰³, Law Reforms Commission (23 November, 1958)⁶⁰⁴, and National Education Commission (30 December 1958)⁶⁰⁵, etc. were appointed to propose reforms in their specific domain for addressing socio-economic needs. No doubt, Ayub's administration had taken up multiple tasks like refugees' settlement, and land reforms to address the issue of socio-economic injustice, etc., no less significant was the emphasis on educational reforms claiming a collective moral, spiritual and material development of students⁶⁰⁶. The following chapter provides a detailed account of educational developments during Ayub Khan's military rule.

4.A. Key Players during Military Rule: Commission and Missions, etc., Define the Nature and Administration of Educational Organisation

Ayub Khan's military rule took a start with its claims for reforming education for the betterment of so far unattended socio-economic needs. While the pattern of executive authority of the government changed with the introduction of the presidential system in Pakistan during Ayub's era, the pattern of political authority over education remained the same in the form of Ministers of Education in the Presidential cabinet and in each of the provincial wings of Pakistan. Similarly, the basic pattern of educational administration in

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⁶⁰². General Ayub's Address at Public Meeting, Dawn, 1958, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.7.

⁶⁰³. Khan, Friends not Masters, p. 86; See also Ziring, The Ayub Era, p.18.

⁶⁰⁴. Ziring, The Ayub Era, p.14.

⁶⁰⁵. Khan, Friends not Masters, p.98.

⁶⁰⁶. Ibid., pp.79-80.

Pakistan was also kept intact through posts of education secretaries, joint education secretaries, assistant education secretaries, etc. as well as posts of DPIs in central and provincial educational administration. However, the role of some educational authorities like ABEP, Inter-University Board, etc. determining the educational policy matters during the early decade of independence diminished. Instead, the military ruler appointed a new education commission as the key device to present a comprehensive report about educational system in Pakistan.

On 30 December 1958, Pakistan's National Education Commission (NEC) was established with the aim to 'examine' Pakistan's existing education system and to suggest ways to bring it in line with ideals of Pakistan and to make Pakistan 'worthy of an independent and sovereign nation' 607. Providing details about its personnel, directive and terms of reference through a Press note, it was further announced that the Commission would be 'free to draw up its programme and procedure, and to constitute such committees as it may consider essentially necessary for the expert examination of different fields of education and to appoint on them persons possessing special knowledge and experience⁶⁰⁸. Entrusted with the entire field of secondary education, the Commission was required to suggest the 'scope, content and organisation of Secondary Education', 'diversification of courses with due regard to the needs of the community; technical, agricultural and vocational education', 'methods of grading and examination, administration and supervision, and qualifications, terms and conditions of service and privileges and duties of teachers', 'training of teachers including in-service training' and 'prescription, production and supply

^{607. &#}x27;10-man President's Commission for National Education: Ayubs Anouncement', Dawn, Karachi, 13 December 1958, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1.

⁶⁰⁸. 'Education Commission: Terms of reference announced', Dawn, Karachi, 16 December 1958, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1, p.9.

of textbooks⁶⁰⁹. No doubt, the NEC had reserved a monumental place in defining the new ideology of education during first military rule in Pakistan, introducing reforms in education was an arduous task requiring many interventions for their success. Among these were reforms for introducing new curricula in education institutions, in-service science teacher training, purchase of new science equipment required in science teaching and the consequent setting up of new institutions that could ensure implementing the above mentioned tasks. Such interventions required expertise and huge sums of money for their handling which could neither be covered through NEC nor could those be met by merely exploiting Pakistan's own national resources. Therefore, such efforts required supplementary support from foreign agencies like UNESCO, USAID, UNICEF, World Bank, and Ford Foundation, etc. Although the process of getting assistance from foreign donor agencies and countries had already started in 1947, the role of those agencies increased manifold during Ayub Khan's administration.

Foreign agencies provided a range of assistance to Pakistan at various levels and in various forms for educational development. For instance, the Ford Foundation made its generous contribution in providing consultancy services as well as material assistance for National Education Commission's activities⁶¹⁰. This was also true for the consulting services of the Ford Foundation, U.K. Colombo Plan, the British Council, and the Inter-College Exchange Programme at the disposal of the Curriculum Committee's activities while devising curriculum schemes for different levels of secondary education in the country⁶¹¹. Similarly, in early December 1958, Ayub's government signed an agreement with the US

⁶⁰⁹. Ibid., p.9.

^{610.} NEC Report, Preface, p.2.

⁶¹¹. GoP, Education Commission's Reforms Implementation Unit (ECRIU), Report of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education, Classes VI-XII: General Introduction, Schemes of Studies and Syllabuses (Rawalpindi: Ministry of Education, 1960) p.6.

government on Senior Educational Leaders Training Project No. 391-68-081⁶¹². The project was coordinated with the sponsored projects of the United States Operations Mission (USOM) to Pakistan, Asia Foundation, Ford Foundation, and the Colombo Plan⁶¹³. The project involved sending three senior educational leaders to the US for three-months training in the 'modern techniques of educational administrative practices', 614. Similarly, UNESCO, World Bank, International Cooperation Administration (I.C.A.)⁶¹⁵, British Council, etc. had also promised their contributions for the progress of education with specific reference to their support for the Education Commission and for science teaching in schools. The military administration had also complied with the broad educational ideologies of these funding agencies but without neglecting its own national ideology for education.

It has been argued that during initial weeks of its imposition 'the intellectual basis' of the October Revolution had remained 'undefined' and/or a 'little clouded' However, for its legitimacy and survival the military coup needed an ideology and 'the lofty principles underlying that ideology' Horefore it was not long when, in November 1958, Ayub Khan 'unreservedly identified' the ideology of military rule with the ideology of Islam – the very ideology of Pakistan's creation Horefore itse, the military administration could not pay a deaf ear either to the existing educational ideologies of the developed world striving

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⁶¹². NAP, F.6-1/60-F-A.II, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Foreign Aid Section), p.114. ⁶¹³. Ibid., p.115.

^{614.} Ibid., p.1.

⁶¹⁵. The I.C.A. (USOM to Pakistan) extended its sphere of providing assistance to Pakistan for educational activities when, on 1 November 1961, Loyd E. Grimes announced the release of Rs.6,047 million (and the remaining balance of Rs.4,601 to be released in the third quarter of the financial year) to the central Ministry of Finance for the year 1962 in order to support the National Education System (project No. 114). N.A.P., GoP., Ministry of Education and Information, F.1-27/61 F.A.I., Support of National Education System Project No. 114 – for Financial Year 1962, , p.6.

⁶¹⁶. Sharif al-Mujahid, 'The New Order in Pakistan: Its Rationale', Dawn, Karachi, 14 August 1959, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.I.

⁶¹⁷. Ibid.

⁶¹⁸. Ibid.

to achieve standards of comprehensive curricula since the end of World War II⁶¹⁹. In other words, the emerging ideologies for education during military rule were based on national and international visions; some highlighting emphasis on religion, others supporting to give enhanced scientific and technical bias but in a comprehensive manner through promising diversity in curricular knowledge of schools. The following provides some account of developments in setting these visions:

4.B. Visions for Educational Change – The Significant Drive for Scientific Knowledge

The military government of Ayub Khan set 'the educational development targets of access to education, allocation to resources ... vocational and technical education, and a national curriculum' in order to strengthen the process of national unity and cohesion' 620. In theory. there were two pillars of educational ideology during Ayub's military rule; one dealt with focus on religious knowledge and the other was based on support for technical /scientific knowledge. While one was adopted for the sake of national political expediency, the other was adopted for the sake of economic sufficiency and fulfilling global demands. The military regime had decided to set its objectives 'to revive and revitalise the ideology for which Pakistan had emerged as a free and independent nation' 621. After all, having seen the days of the creation of Pakistan in the name of Islam; serving the military administration as its first Pakistani Commander-in-Chief (after General Gracey) from 17 January 1951

⁶¹⁹. See for instance, Chase, F. S. 'Secondary Education Re-Examined', *The School Review* 66 (1958) 32-55 (pp.36-37). Green, Education and State Formation, 1997, p.9. White, J. 'Educational Reform in Britain:

Beyond the National Curriculum', International Review of Education 36 (1990) 131-143 (p.133).

⁶²⁰. Kazi, 1994, p.82.

^{621.} Sharif al-Mujahid, The New Order in Pakistan, 1959, p.II.

onwards⁶²²; and having an experience of active politics when serving as a member of the cabinet of Mohmmad Ali Bogra from October 1954 onwards⁶²³, Ayub Khan could not ignore the factor of acquiring legitimacy on ideological grounds for his military rule. Saying this, Ayub Khan was equally sensitive to demands for increasing scientific bias in education, ensuring character-building through education, and increasing agricultural knowledge in the country, Ayub Khan's enthusiasm for scientific knowledge was beyond any doubts justifiable for an agricultural country like Pakistan aspiring for economic growth; and his passion for scientific development could be seen to its fullest while addressing scientific organisations. On other public and academic platforms, his advocacy for Islamic knowledge was equally visible. On such forums, he promised to 'adhere unflinchingly' to the 'ideology of Islam' that he believed could act as the source of 'strength and cohesion' of Pakistani nation⁶²⁴. However, the 'real and long-term' objectives' of the military revolution in Pakistan were declared as being tied with its aim to remove the confusion and imbalance in the social and economic life of the country through advancements in scientific knowledge⁶²⁵.

Ayub Khan was not alone in his passion for science knowledge. Addressing the Old Students Association of the Karachi University, Miss Fatima Jinnah urged students to get education in different fields because Pakistan needed 'scientists, economists, geologists, architects' for the development of various industries 626. Similarly, in December 1958, at the Symposium on the teaching of science, the Scientific Society of Pakistan (SSP) urged the 'dissemination and popularisation of science' in Pakistan to be taken up as a national

⁶²². Khan, Mohammad Ayub, *Friends not Masters: A Political Autobiography*, (Lahore; Karachi; Dacca: Oxford University Press, 1967),, pp.34-35.

⁶²³. Ibid., pp.48-53.

^{624.} For example see, 'Text of Ayub's Broadcast', Dawn, Karachi, 23 March 1962, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.4.

⁶²⁵. Khan, Friends not Masters, pp.77-79.

^{626. &#}x27;Nation Requires Scientists Today: Miss Jinnah's call to youth for hard work', Dawn, Karachi, 24 December 1958, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.8.

movement⁶²⁷. Under the presiding authority of Dr. Mahmud Husain, Dean of Faculty of Arts, University of Karachi, it was recommended in the SSP meeting that science should be made compulsory in primary and secondary schools. As many as 11 educationists and teachers spoke on the issue of science teaching and its necessity in schools and colleges ⁶²⁸. On 8 March 1959, while addressing the convocation ceremony at Peshawar University, Ayub Khan further stressed the need for building up a tradition of scientific knowledge when he said, 'it is strange that we should have lagged behind in this field because our own religion explicitly asks us and instructs us to seek knowledge, and the knowledge of what we call science' 629. His passion for science could also be seen explicit at his inaugural speech at the first session of the Scientific Commission on 4 August 1959, when he said,

'One thing is certain - the days of poetic and sentimental approach are gone. A different kind of society has to emerge with a cultural discipline enforced by science and rational thinking based on logic and scientific reasoning. Our spiritual values, so dear to us, must be knit with science into a fabric of our own design, 630.

Similar assertions were also made at the global level when, on 15 July 1959, the British government convened the Commonwealth Education Conference at Oxford⁶³¹. The philosophy of the Conference was explained in terms of taking Commonwealth as a 'new experiment in human relationships' that was 'founded on a belief in the worth and dignity of the human individual and a recognition of the value of freedom and co-operative action'632. The Conference had claimed: 'the end of the all our Commonwealth endeavour is the good life - material and spiritual - and the happiness of the 660 million individuals

⁶³². Ibid., p.2.

^{627.} Dawn Staff Correspondent, 'Science as compulsory subject at primary and secondary stages: SSP Adopts Resolution', Dawn, Karachi, 15 December 1958, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.6.

^{629.} Convocation Address at the Peshawar University, on 8 March 1959, in Ayub: Soldier and Statesman, Speeches and Statements (1958-1965) of Field Marshall Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan & a Detailed Account of the Indo-Pakistan War 1965, ed. by R. A. Jafri (Lahore: Zarreen Art Press, 1966), p.44. 630. Inaugural speech at the first session of the Scientific Commission on 4 August 1959, in Jafri, Ayub: Soldier and Statesman, p.51.

^{631.} MSS Eur F. 158/913, Commonwealth Education Conference, 1941-1972, p.1.

who are its citizens'⁶³³. The Conference showed its confidence in assuring that the British efforts for the Commonwealth uplift would promise 'new opportunities' and 'new hopes to the young people of the Commonwealth' for their secure future.⁶³⁴ The Conference further resolved that although the Commonwealth nations had similar educational problems, those had required different solutions in accordance with their own spiritual, physical and economic environments in which those had arisen⁶³⁵.

Leading the Pakistan delegation in the Conference, S. M. Sharif highlighted the need for the quality training of 'a host of scientists, engineers, technologists, and agricultural specialists' in the under-developed Commonwealth states that he deemed necessary in order to 'close the gap between the advanced and the underdeveloped countries' 636. The idea behind such views was that of developing education for the cause of economic self-sufficiency; and that also reflected its compliance with the educational ideology Ayub Khan's government had adopted in Pakistan since 1958.

For sure, Ayub Khan had a firm conviction that, 'science must endeavour to evolve its own ethics', just like its other counterparts in religion, philosophy, sociology, etc., especially in the world where, according to him:

'fear and want still haunt huge areas, reducing human life to the level of dumb, driven cattle, and in age of space travel, synthetic food products and remarkable mechanical amenities, millions continue to live in isolation, hunger, and primitive circumstances, making a mockery of all spiritual, material and intellectual enlightenment in which modern man can, and does, take reasonable pride'637.

634. Ibid., pp.1-2.

⁶³³. Ibid., pp.2-3.

^{635.} Ibid., p.18.

^{636. &#}x27;Education in the Commonwealth Nations which need a host of Scientists', The Times, 16 July 1959.

⁶³⁷. Inaugural address at the 12th All-Pakistan Science Conference held at Hyderabad on 14 January 1960, in Jafri, Ayub: Soldier and Statesman, pp.58-60.

Likewise, educational change was planned for the country under Ayub Khan's vision for 'real education' that was defined to re-orientate education for 'the betterment of all'⁶³⁸. While such assertions were not very different from the claims of foreign ideologies being upheld at platforms like the Commonwealth Conference, Ayub Khan had also taken note of the indigenous ideological elements of education. To him, the aim of real education was 'to produce men and women of character with qualities of leadership based on truth, sincerity, patriotism and a genuine fear of God'⁶³⁹. He aspired to develop the future system of education in such a way that could ensure 'growth of enlightened and integrated personalities capable of facing the challenge of the new age in all the spheres of the matter, the mind and the spirit'⁶⁴⁰. That was the educational policy during Ayub era⁶⁴¹.

In short, the military administration had defined educational ideology in terms of inculcating religious identity to some extent, advances in scientific knowledge to a great extent for the sake of achieving targets of industrial development, economic growth, and even more for a dignified existence of the Pakistani nation. Such visions were given the form of proposals and plans, be they defined in, let us say, NEC's recommendations, implemented in the form of secondary curriculum through Curriculum Committee report, and being reinforced through the two five year plans that were presented for the periods 1960-1965 and 1965-1970. While apparently those proposals and plans were upholding the cause of nationhood through inculcating virtues of citizenship among students, these did keep educational visions in line with the global visions for education. And that was quite understandable when foreign agencies like the Ford Foundation, UNESCO, etc. had actively provided assistance to the key educational bodies of Pakistan like NEC, and CCSE

⁶³⁸. 'High Priority to Education', Dawn, Karachi, September 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.73.

^{639 .} Ibid. Also See 'Islamiat will Equip Students for the Future: Ayub defines real education', Dawn, Karachi, September 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.9.

⁶⁴¹. 'Curriculum bodies', Dawn, Karachi, 27 October 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi.

while preparing their schemes for curricular reforms. The following provides details about the extent to which those had kept the qualities of character-building and citizenship in line with national needs and global demands:

4.C. Visions turned into Plans, Proposals, etc.

After taking over political power of the state, Ayub's government had not taken more than three months' time when it was ready to start its programmes of educational uplift in the New Year commencing in 1959. Unfolding the goals of Ayub's regime towards educational development, Habibur Rahman, the then federal Minister for Education, explicated:

'We want to make education the lever for our economic, social and moral uplift. We want to produce men and women of character, integrity, and unflinching loyalty, capable of taking upon themselves the whole burden of the state. I am proud to be able to say that within a very short period it has been possible for us to initiate some practical steps in this direction. Foremost is the President's Commission on National Education' 642.

Inaugurating the first meeting of the National Education Commission (NEC) on 5 January 1959, the President of Pakistan General Mohammad Ayub Khan, stressed the need for the reorganization and reorientation of the existing educational system in order to evolve a national system which would ensure economic growth as well as would 'better reflect spiritual, moral and cultural values' of Pakistan⁶⁴³. His stress on economic growth was manifested in his emphasis on meeting 'the challenge of the growing needs of the nation

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⁶⁴². 'Habib's Broadcast', Dawn, Karachi, 18 December 1958, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.9.

⁶⁴³. NEC Report, Preface,p.1.

by assisting development in the fields of agriculture, science and technology' as well as his stress to ensure 'the dignity of labour' through a national education system ⁶⁴⁴.

The Commission on National Education was assigned with responsibility to review Pakistan's educational system in accordance with public aspirations and the socioeconomic needs of the country⁶⁴⁵. The NEC was responsible for submitting its recommendations about the 'reorientation and reorganisation' of the education system in Pakistan; that could ensure 'an integrated system and a balanced development of education in the various stages' 646.

4.C.1. NEC Speaks for a Diversified Curriculum

Since the Commission was directed to submit its report by the mid May 1959, the Minister of Education, Habibur Rahman announced the intentions of the Education Ministry to implement the recommendations by the next academic year⁶⁴⁷. However, it was not until 27 August 1959, when S. M. Sharif, the Chairman of the Commission presented its report to President Ayub Khan⁶⁴⁸.

By August 1959, the NEC presented its report (popularly called the Sharif Commission Report) in consonance with the newly identified aims of education. The commission had

 $^{^{644}}$. Ibid.

^{645. &#}x27;Habib's Broadcast', 1958, p.9.

⁶⁴⁷. 'Education Body's Proposals: Implementation during next academic year - Habibur Rahman', Dawn, Karachi, 14 December 1958, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.10.

⁶⁴⁸. 'Education body report submitted: Cabinet to study vital proposals', Dawn, Karachi, 27 August 1959, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1.

restricted its domain of activities to 'general policy matters only, selecting those which seemed most crucial in the light of' existing 'difficulties and national needs', 649.

Members of the National Education Commission included S. M. Sharif (Chairman), M. Raziuddin Siddiqi, Col. M. K. Afridi, A. F. M. Abdul Haq, Professor A. F. Atwar Hussain, Mumtazuddin Ahmad, B. A. Hashmi, R. M. Ewing, Mohammad Khan, M. A. Rashid⁶⁵⁰. Similarly, participation of educators like Dr. Herman B. Wells, Dr. John C. Warner, Dr. I. H. Qureshi⁶⁵¹, and Dr. Abdus Salam⁶⁵² was also sought in some of the debates of the commission.

According to the NEC Report, schools had a major role to play in developing the virtues of nationhood 'with specific emphasis on Islamic values' among students, not only by training them in such a way that they would 'love and serve the nation and make sacrifices for it but also in developing the characteristics of good neighbours, good citizens, and true patriots' Similarly, identifying the 'substantial improvement' of 'productive efficiency' and the 'development of nation-building attitudes' as being the 'most urgent national needs', the Commission held that the secondary school had a crucial role to play in achieving the said goals. It further highlighted the significance of the secondary stage of education when it held that universities as well as professional and technical training

⁶⁴⁹. NEC Report, Preface, p.3

⁶⁵⁰. Education Secretary to the Government of West Pakistan. Member of Atomic Energy Commission. Vice Chancellor, Peshawar University. Dhaka University, Vice Chancellor, Rajshahi University, Vice Chancellor, Karachi University, Forman Christian College, Lahore, Principal, Engineering College, Dhaka, and President of Indiana University, Bloomington, USA, respectively. 'Education Commission: Terms of reference announced', Dawn, Karachi, 16 December 1958, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.9.

⁶⁵¹. Visiting Professor of History, Columbia University, New York, USA, He also served as the Vice Chancellor of Karachi University. See Dawn Staff Correspondent, 'Education body report: Implementation of reforms shortly', Dawn, Karachi, 10 August 1961, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.6.

⁶⁵². Professor of Applied Mathematics, Imperial College, London, UK.

⁶⁵³. NEC report, p.116.

institutions depended on secondary schools for provision of students to be trained in professional and technical subjects⁶⁵⁴.

The socio-economic needs of Pakistan were being defined with reference to inculcating among students 'a sense of patriotism and love of their country'; and the secondary school education was described as the best stage where those needs could best be fulfilled⁶⁵⁵. Keeping such considerations in mind, the NEC suggested the following principles to regulate secondary education and determine its curricula, syllabuses, textbooks, teacher-training programmes and teaching practices:

- 1. The recognition of secondary education as a complete stage in itself and the need to demarcate it clearly, in respect of objectives, purposes, methods of teaching curricula and equipment, from university education;
- 2. Secondary education should address the needs of students who, displaying a variety of talents and interests, would enter a variety of careers, and who would be able to remain at school for varying periods⁶⁵⁶.

Considering the Secondary stage of education as the most critical stage, one of the national objectives of curriculum, that the National Education Commission proposed in general terms, was the 'preservation of the moral and spiritual values of Islam', which according to them did 'emanate from the concept of a universe governed by the principles of truth, justice benevolence, equality and universal brotherhood' However that was not to suggest the neglect of material needs; and those were identified as the 'production of

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^{654.} Ibid., p.114

⁶⁵⁵. Ibid. The NEC Report of 1959 recommended dividing education levels into 'three stages: primary stage from classes I to VIII, secondary from classes IX to XII and three years course' towards degree. Iqbal, Education in Pakistan, 1981, p. 70.

⁶⁵⁶. NEC Report, p.115.

⁶⁵⁷. GoP, Ministry of Education & Information (Education Division), Rawalpindi, 'Report of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education (Classes VI-XII): General Introduction, Schemes of Studies and Syllabuses', 1960, p.16.

trained manpower, educated citizenry and competent leadership for the country' 658. To Ayub Khan, the concept of leadership was not merely applicable 'to the ministerial chairs and high powered public offices' but it applied to 'every high or low station of life' 659. It had implied leadership in various walks of life.

The Commission further suggested that education authorities should take such steps 'to ensure that the teaching practice, the content of teacher-training and the construction of curricula and time table' were such that could lead to the full development of the child as an 'individual', as a 'citizen', as a 'worker' and as a 'patriot' 660. The report highlighted different directions for secondary education to realise those aims. For instance, for the development of the child as a worker it was mentioned, 'to cultivate a deep appreciation of the dignity of labour', 'to provide full facilities for technical, scientific and other vocational education as preparation for further professional education or qualification for a career', and 'to provide the services of educational and vocational guidance and thus direct children towards the most appropriate courses and subsequent careers' 661. Similarly, the ideological needs of 'development of the patriot' were to be fulfilled through the following objectives:

- '(i) To provide a form of education which has its roots in the national culture and in Islamic values;
- (ii) To nurture a pride in the nation, an understanding of its history and aspirations, and a willingness to serve it;

⁶⁵⁸. Ibid.

^{659.} Convocation Address at the Government College Lahore, on 7 April 1960, in Ayub: Soldier and Statesman, Speeches and Statements (1958-1965) of Field Marshall Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan & a Detailed Account of the Indo-Pakistan War 1965, ed. by Jafri, R. A. (Lahore: Zarreen Art Press, 1966), p.64.

⁶⁶⁰. NEC Report, p.116.

⁶⁶¹. Ibid., p.117.

(iii) To create an appreciation of the universal brotherhood of man and a spirit of international understanding, 662.

The Commission had suggested that the literary bias in the secondary school subjects must be removed because this had done no good in the past but had only produced the civil servants and office workers. The new social needs and individual aptitudes and interests were different which required provision of 'full opportunities for training in technical and other vocational subjects', and flexibility and 'diversification' of school courses⁶⁶³.

Hence, the way forward was to address such weaknesses through a proper curriculum development at the secondary level. The Commission recommended the following two basic principles for devising secondary school curriculum.

- 1. The curriculum should comprise of 'the core or compulsory subjects' that 'must provide adequate knowledge of subjects that will be needed by every pupil for leading a useful and happy life in a fast developing society' 664.
- 2. The curriculum should 'include such additional subjects and training as will form a preparation for specific vocations and carers' 665. The Commission further suggested two steps for that purpose; the first being to develop high schools as multipurpose-schools, 'offering, besides a basic core of subjects, a range of optional subjects, particularly in the practical and industrial arts', that would allow students to select such a combination of subjects that would not only suit their

⁶⁶². Ibid.

⁶⁶³. NEC Report, p.113. The report covered issues relating secondary education in its Chapter 3 page 113 to 149. Discussing the problems associated with secondary education, the Commission stated, 'We have already stated that, for historical reason, the present secondary curricula are predominantly theoretical and bookish ... they contain subjects which have been added without proper planning and with little correction and grouping between them'. NEC Report, p.120, and p.114.

⁶⁶⁴. Ibid., p.120. The Commission conceded to the principle of diversification of subjects that opportunities for diversification must be provided at about the age of 13 and 15 besides those at the end of the secondary stage.

⁶⁶⁵. Ibid.

talents and ambitions but would also serve the social and national needs⁶⁶⁶. Secondly, the Commission suggested establishing 'a network of technical and vocational institutions' where students 'with appropriate aptitudes and interests' could be sent after VIIIth and Xth grades.

NEC's proposed scheme of curriculum for secondary stage is provided in the following:

Table 4.C.1: NEC's Proposed Scheme of Compulsory and Optional Subjects in Secondary Schools

	Subjects	Grades	
		VI - VIII I	X-X
COMPULSORY	Mathematics	VI - VIII	IX -X
	General Science	VI – VIII	IX -X ⁶⁶⁷
	Social Studies [History, Geography, and Civics]	VI - VIII	IX -X
	Islamiyat (For Muslims only)	VI - VIII	-
	Practical Art	VI - VIII	IX –X
	[Agriculture, Craftwork, Typing, Book-keeping,		
	Simple nursing, and home-economics (for girls)]		
OPTIONAL	Islamiyat	-	IX –X
	Practical Art	-	IX –X
	Metal work, Wood work, electricity		
	(engineering and construction courses) boys		
	Agricultural crafts!		
	Home Economics —————girls		
	Art, Artistic and Ornamental Crafts bōys and girls		

Source: Based on information from NEC, Report, pp.122-124, and p.215.

The NEC report highlighted the significance of Mathematics by placing it as one of the two compulsory subjects in the proposed scheme. The commission held that both USA and USSR were vying with each other in the teaching of science and mathematics and that Russia's emphasis on the teaching of these subjects had contributed to the development of the country⁶⁶⁸. In fact, the NEC was no less aware of the on-going global developments during 1950s and 1960s when the status and the content of Mathematics were being questioned; and consequently, reforms were brought about in the content of Mathematics

667. Divided into two groups; including, Ordinary (Non-science subjects), and Advanced 668. NEC Report p.122.

^{666.} Ibid.

subjects by introducing elements of 'modern mathematics' into mathematics syllabuses in secondary schools of the USA and European states⁶⁶⁹.

Similarly, while the commission had emphasized the importance of subjects of science and mathematics and also Urdu/Bengali and English languages in terms of their contribution to the overall development of students and hence allocating these subjects more time from classes VI to XII and making them compulsory subjects, the emphasis on the teaching of social studies was not mentioned in such an explicit way⁶⁷⁰. Perhaps, by doing this, NEC was acknowledging the declining status of History in the developed states like the UK. Although during the first half of the 20th century, History teaching was extended to secondary schools, during 1950s and 1960s, concerns were raised about the decline of the subject in schools. It was feared that because of the dominating influence of the Piaget's philosophy of cognitive development of child and of 'integrated approaches' applied in secondary schools, the subject was losing its appeal vis-à-vis other subjects of 'apparently great relevance and marketability' in British schools⁶⁷¹. This situation was taken seriously not only in the developed world but also in Pakistan.

During the 1950s, UNESCO had given serious attention to the subject of history with its earnest devotion through its various meetings held at different times. While the case of history teaching in UNESCO deliberations was more pro-globalised intending to utilise 'the teaching of history as a means of developing international understanding' in Pakistan, the debate had centred around making history education more national in its form and spirit. Addressing the Islamic History Society of Islamic College, Dr. Mahmud Husain

⁶⁶⁹. Cooper, B. 'On Explaining Change in School Subjects', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 4 (1983) 207-222, (p.207).

⁶⁷⁰. NEC Report, pp. 123-124.

^{671.} Little, V. 'A National Curriculum in History: A Very Contentious Issue', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 38 (1990) 319-334 (p.320).

⁶⁷². Hill, C. P. 'Suggestions on the Teaching of History', Towards World Understanding (Paris: UNESCO, 1953), Preface. C. P. Hill was a senior history master of Bristol Grammar School, who had compiled, into a pamphlet, the deliberations of UNESCO's conference of 70 teachers from 32 states being held in 1951. Ibid.

of Karachi University, urged the historians of Pakistan to re-write the history of the subcontinent and of the period of Muslim rule in the subcontinent in particular, in order to 'undo the many deliberate distortions of the non-Muslim writers'⁶⁷³.

The Commission also set forth the following points for curriculum planners to consider while designing detailed curricula:

- provide for a proper diversification of specialist courses linked to a core of common subjects;
- 2. 'plan the curricula of different stages so that they naturally grow out of those of preceding stages and lead naturally to those of the following stages;
- 3. assign due weightage to the subjects in terms of hours of study and attainment levels⁶⁷⁴;
- 4. indicate suitable groupings; and
- 5. aim at an integrated and properly organized curriculum for the school system as a whole for its separate parts^{,675}.

While the domain of activities of the Commission was said to be restricted to policy matters only, it also suggested changes in the organisational set up of education. Referring to the changing trend of responsibility for 'the regulation and organization of education and examinations from class IX onwards' to be taken away from the universities, it acknowledged the fact that the secondary education stage was already placed within the jurisdiction of the Boards of Secondary Education at Dhaka, Karachi and Lahore⁶⁷⁶.

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⁶⁷³. 'Mahmud Husain wants history of Muslim period to be re-written', Dawn, Karachi, 19 December 1958, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.4.

⁶⁷⁴. One of the weaknesses of curriculum that the Commission identified was 'the almost equal importance given to all subjects' and the small number of periods that were reserved for them. Consequently, only a few subjects were included in the curriculum. The Commission stressed the need to assign 'varying degrees of importance in respect of teaching time' as well as their introduction and termination at different levels of school education. See Commission Report p. 121.

⁶⁷⁵. NEC Report, p. 121.

⁶⁷⁶. Ibid., p. 118.

However, the regions of Peshawar and Sind at that time were still under the control of their respective universities. The Commission suggested establishing new boards at Peshawar, Hyderabad, and Rajshahi, and that the sphere of authority of Karachi and Dhaka boards should be extended to include the higher secondary (Intermediate) stages⁶⁷⁷. It further suggested that 'the territorial jurisdiction of the Boards of Secondary Education should follow the jurisdiction of various universities in the country' and the ultimate authority in the Boards of Secondary Education should rest with the Governor of the Province, and in the case of the federal area, the Minister of Education⁶⁷⁸. The Commission further suggested that the Board should be 'an autonomous body consisting of 10 to 12 members including the Chairman, who should be a whole-time officer appointed by the controlling authority. It should include representatives from the university, the Education Department, schools, and colleges, and one or two persons from public life devoted to the cause of education. There should be an Academic Committee to advise the Board on academic matters'679

Referring to centralised control over curricula the Commission report highlighted,

'For the first time in the history of this subcontinent, an attempt was being made to frame the curriculum at the national level. The curricula current in different parts of the country had so far been framed by different universities, Boards of Secondary Education and Education Departments in their own way ... The contents of the subjects and the time devoted to their teaching differed. The compulsory subjects of study were not the same. The number of subjects in which a student had to appear or to pass in order to qualify for an examination showed greater variation, 680.

Though, the Committee proposed a uniform national curriculum, it held that the curriculum and syllabuses should be 'flexible and leave enough freedom for the headmaster and the teacher to experiment with new techniques and to allow variation of

⁶⁷⁷. Ibid., p.147

⁶⁷⁸. Ibid.

⁶⁷⁹. Ibid.

⁶⁸⁰. Ibid., p.17.

treatment in dealing with the pupils'681. The report expressed its satisfaction over allowing some institutional control to evolve their systems of examination and evaluation but that control was meant to be allowed only up to the Middle level⁶⁸². Hence, some space was left for institutional control, but that was conditional upon keeping in view the emphasis which the Commission had placed on different subjects like Languages, Sciences and Mathematics⁶⁸³. As far as secondary education was concerned, 'the syllabuses of the Secondary and Higher Secondary stages' were directed 'towards public examinations'; and the 'certificates to be issued by the Boards of Secondary Education' needed to be 'supplemented by certificates issued by the heads of institutions in respect of pupils' progress, behaviour, group activities, traits of character etc. based on their school record, 684.

The 10 months' efforts of the military regime in Pakistan were appreciated for 'its sincerity of purpose'685. Habibur Rahman's efforts received appreciation in the press for representing the voice of a common citizen of Pakistan, and for his vigilance and active role in tackling issues like registration of schools and rationalisation of school fees⁶⁸⁶. However, the Education Minister was also requested to attend to issues of making education compulsory to be afforded at 'convenient rates', the reorganisation of syllabi in terms of bringing them in line with national requirements and with the needs of modern times. Similarly, demands for more technical institutions and for semi-military training in high schools and colleges were also urged⁶⁸⁷. The recommendations of the NEC had to go through the test of implementation. It was feared that the presentation of recommendations

⁶⁸¹. Ibid., p.19. ⁶⁸². Ibid.

⁶⁸³. Ibid.

⁶⁸⁴. Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵. Doorbeen, 'The New Regime's Work: A Survey', Dawn, Karachi, 14 August 1959, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.XV.

⁶⁸⁶. Ibid.

⁶⁸⁷. Ibid.

was one thing and their implementation was another. However, it was believed that the recommendations of the Education Commission would be implemented in the 'context of the developing needs, the developing character of a developing progressive society' having deep roots in history but which had gone through 'centuries of stagnation, decay and disorganisation'688. Habibur Rahman, the then federal Education Minister, expressed his hopes that the implementation of the recommendations of the Education Commission would 'help re-orientate the entire educational system'; and that the 'impact of the implemented reforms' would be felt within a period of three to four years ⁶⁸⁹. The process of implementation was visible in the deliberations of Education Ministry since the very beginning.

In compliance with the recommendations of the Commission about curriculum, the Ministry of Education held that 'every child should acquire a preliminary understanding of some 10 to 12 subjects by the time he has completed high school'690. While the government had decided to provide more options in secondary grades that should enable students to thrive according to their aptitudes, a delegation of educational leaders was also being sent to the USA for observing some examples of secondary education systems being followed. For that purpose, in 1959, four trainee senior educational leaders were sent to the USA in order to 'visit and observe' some states' Departments of Education, U.S. Office of Education, leading American Universities and 'Progressive Public Schools systems' 691. Among those officials were included D.P.I. West Pakistan; Principal, Eden Girls College; Under-Secretary to the Central Government, Ministry of Education; and Dr. Grimes, Chief

⁶⁸⁸. 'The Revolution in Retrospect', Dawn, Karachi, 27 October 1959, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.XV.

⁶⁸⁹. 'Literacy vital for progress -Habib', Dawn, Karachi, 18 December 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi,

p.5.
⁶⁹⁰. N.A.P., Office Notification Order No. F 12-3/60 E I (A), 'Implementation of the Report of the Commission on National Education', Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, p. 14.

⁶⁹¹. NAP, F.6-1/60-F-A.II, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Foreign Aid Section), p.1. It was not made clear in the report as to what was meant by the Progressive school

Education Division, I.C.A., USOM, Karachi⁶⁹². The Senior Educational Leaders Training Project No. 391-68-081 was continued in 1960 and in early March 1960, Dr. Grime asked for further nominations for East Pakistan and Central Government from S. M. Sharif, Secretary, Ministry of Education, since the latter had already nominated the provincial Secretary of Education Department to represent West Pakistan in the training programme before Dr. Grime's departure for the US in early April 1960⁶⁹³. However, given the issue of appointing those officers who had exceeded the age limit for training the process of sending officers to the US for training was delayed and the issue remained unresolved even until December 1960⁶⁹⁴. Thus, the training of the second group of trainee educational leaders was intended to begin in February 1961⁶⁹⁵. Nominations of Dr. S. M. Ali, Assistant Educational Advisor, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan; Dr. Abdul Haque, Assistant D.P.I. (Planning), Government of East Pakistan; and Dr. Siraj-ud-Din, Education Secretary, Government of West Pakistan were under consideration for the second group of trainee educational leaders⁶⁹⁶.

Similarly, on 13-14 June 1960, the Central Government Teachers' Training College Education Society, Karachi had organised a two day seminar on 'Education and Social Change' In the seminar, the Vice Chancellor of Sind University emphasised that while the significance of education representing the ideology of people could not be denied, equally important was a compliance with adopting the global trends defining citizenship traits for global co-operation 698.

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⁶⁹². Ibid.

⁶⁹³. Ibid., p.2.

⁶⁹⁴. Ibid. For details see pp.27-102 of the reference file.

⁶⁹⁵. Ibid., p.114.

^{696.} Ibid., p.116.

 ^{697. &#}x27;Need for reorientation of education stressed: Dr Raziuddin opens seminar', Dawn, Karachi, 14 June
 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.4.
 698 Ibid.

While efforts were going on for building a bridge between the national and the global educational ideologies, two major developments took place at the national level to find ways to implement the recommendations of the NEC in line with national and international demands. Among them were included announcement of Second Five Year Plan 1960-1965 by the Planning Commission, Karachi; and appointment of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education (CCSE) on June 24, 1960. For the sake of convenience, separate accounts of the two are provided in the following with specific reference to their compliance with the intended curricular reforms by the NEC.

4.C.2. Five Year Plan Upholds NEC's Recommendations

With the adoption of the 2nd Five Year Plan (1960-1965) on July 1, 1960, it was believed that 'a period of momentous educational reforms' had begun⁶⁹⁹. On that occasion, the Education Minister, said that government's decision to introduce a variety of courses for Secondary education was 'one of the most significant reforms'; because he believed that these would serve different needs, aptitudes and ability of students⁷⁰⁰. Moreover, it was also expected that the introduction of such a diversified curricula in schools would not only be related to the environment that a student belongs to but would also 'reflect the ideals and aspirations of Pakistan'; that, in turn, would help in developing 'a sense of patriotism and national unity among students'⁷⁰¹.

⁶⁹⁹. 'Era of big education reforms has begun: Habib's Broadcast from Dhaka, Dawn, Karachi, 4 August 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.8.

⁷⁰⁰. Ibid.

⁷⁰¹. Ibid.

The Plan had identified those educational needs in terms of the 'three dominant strains' of agricultural growth, industrial development and an expansion of education at all levels 702. 'Upon education falls the supreme task of preserving the national ideals and building up the national character on strong foundations of faith, unity and discipline, without which no nation can aspire of greatness, Although, the Plan was silent over the nature of Islamic studies in schools, it identified the significance of Islamic studies and research in higher education institutions like universities and those institutions that were specifically established for such studies. Moreover, the Plan also proposed to establish an institute of Islamic Studies in order to 'define Islam in terms of its fundamentals; particularly its basic concepts of universal brotherhood, tolerance and social justice, 704. In other words, it was held that 'the proposed institute will undertake studies in scientific interpretation of Islam in the context of the modern age⁷⁰⁵. The essential goals must be to provide an informed leadership, a responsible citizenry, and trained manpower, ⁷⁰⁶. In order to fulfil such needs, what is called, a 'pragmatic' approach was decided to be adopted; which should neither be based on 'an exclusively capitalist nor an exclusively socialist economy', the FYP 1960-65 had believed. The rationale for adopting such an approach was 'to find some way towards the liberation of the people from the crushing burden of poverty' which had indicated the need for economic growth being declared as 'a necessity for sheer survival'. The compelling consideration for the planners was that 'the economy must grow at a rate which must be faster than the increase in population; also, the pace of future growth must be such as to lead with expedition towards a modernized and self-sustaining economy⁷⁰⁷.

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⁷⁰². GoP, Planning Commission, The Second Five Year Plan 1960-1965, (June, 1960), p.xiv.

⁷⁰³. Ibid.

⁷⁰⁴. Ibid., p.350.

⁷⁰⁵. Ibid..

⁷⁰⁶. Ibid., p.337.

⁷⁰⁷. Ibid., pp.xiii-xiv.

While the Plan had equally divided 'half of the total recurring and non-recurring expenditure in the public sector' between primary and secondary education, the Deputy Chief of the Education Section of the Planning Commission in Karachi commented about allocations that money alone was not sufficient to make Pakistan's 'education dynamic and fruitful', unless that was tied with 're-orienting and re-organising' the education system⁷⁰⁸. It was therefore that the planners of the FYP 1960-65, being guided by the NEC's recommendations had emphasised the improvement of 'proficiency and inculcation of qualities of leadership' among students receiving secondary education⁷⁰⁹. Similarly, the plan also identified the practical urgencies that demanded attention. Among those were included the need to emphasise skills that were 'vital for development' that implied higher priority to be 'assigned to technical and vocational education, and to specialized training in the most essential specific activities⁷¹⁰.

Highlighting the qualitative targets of the Plan for East Pakistan, the Education Minister further explained:

'100 High schools would have diversified courses, for example, in advanced science, agriculture, technical engineering, commerce and home economics and another 300 would have advanced science and humanities. Besides, 400 High schools would also be generally improved⁷¹¹.

Commenting on the 'social and cultural impact of the 2nd Five Year Plan', a member of the Planning Commission also understood that the educational programme of the Plan would lead to an increase in urbanisation and expansion in urban educational facilities which would ultimately expedite the economic growth of the country'⁷¹². However, it was feared

⁷¹⁰. Ibid., p.337.

⁷⁰⁸. Pakistan News Digest, 'Education under Second Plan: Programme Explained', dated 15 March 1960, in MSS Eur. F. 158/518, Education – Pakistan: 1949-1962.

⁷⁰⁹. Second Five Year Plan, pp.17-18.

^{711. &#}x27;Era of big education reforms has begun: Habib's Broadcast from Dhaka, Dawn, Karachi, 4 August 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.8.

^{712.} Primary Education for all within 15 years: Agricultural impact of 2nd Plan reviewed', Dawn, Karachi, 2 August 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.6.

that the Plan had left 'a yawning gap between the requirements of skilled personnel and their supply in the field of education'⁷¹³. It was suggested that there was a desperate emergency for bringing a change in the outlook, that is, from a consumption-oriented society to a production-oriented society⁷¹⁴. Such considerations were also given due weightage in the CCSE report which found the solution to such problems in proposing a detailed account of a diverse secondary curriculum for the country. In the general scheme of studies for Secondary stage, the CCSE had provided for a range of optional courses which were designed with the target of achieving "trained manpower', educated citizenry and competent leadership" for the state⁷¹⁵. An enhanced focus was also being given to the subjects of science, industry and agriculture to pave the way for creating, what was called, a production-oriented society. A detailed account of the curricular contributions of the CCSE is provided in the following:

4.C.3. Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education (CCSE) Exemplifies the NEC's Recommendations

The Ministry of Education had appointed the CCSE to prepare the curriculum for grades VI-XII; that would 'ensure the realization of national objectives and maintenance of uniform academic standards throughout Pakistan'⁷¹⁶. Keeping in view the objectives of curriculum being set by the NEC, the Committee identified that it was only through a

⁷¹³. Ibid. ⁷¹⁴. Ibid.

⁷¹⁵. GoP, Education Commission's Reforms Implementation Unit (ECRIU), Report of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education, Classes VI-XII: General Introduction, Schemes of Studies and Syllabuses (Rawalpindi: Ministry of Education, 1960), p.252.

^{716.} N.A.P., Office Notification Order No. F. 9-7/60-I-U, dated 21 November 1960, 'Acceptance of recommendations of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education', GoP, Education Commission Reforms Implementation Unit.

judicious mix of identifying both national and local social needs that the sound training of mind and character and national solidarity could be ensured. Moreover, it further believed that 'national unity will be stable if it grows out of diversity and not if it destroys diversity'⁷¹⁷. The Committee was also alive to the issue of a diverse pattern of education in different provinces, realising that the major reason was the affiliation of education institutions with their respective provincial universities that had forwarded the particular local settings of their respective provinces.

While the NEC had suggested introduction of a diversified secondary curriculum in the form of a range of new subjects, CCSE had taken the task further when it initially suggested establishing as many as 48 Committees of Courses. Nevertheless, after some subjects were being combined, 41 committees with the total membership of 250 were constituted to design syllabi for individual subjects⁷¹⁸. It was for the first time that the scholars from universities, Inspectorates, high schools and primary schools were given representation in the committees to work towards devising 'syllabi with national objectives'⁷¹⁹. Holding their deliberations in the committee rooms, especially designated on the premises of Peshawar University, committees were able to prepare and present their reports in less than a month's time of their creation. In order to avoid over-lapping in the syllabi and to check the validity of syllabi with reference to the age of students and time allotted to them vis-à-vis other subjects, three groups were established afterwards who had examined syllabi in the following three allied groups that Courses Committees had designed:

- 1. Mathematics and Natural and Applied Sciences Group;
- 2. Humanities and Social Studies Group;

⁷¹⁷. CCSE report, 1960, p.19.

^{719. &#}x27;Curriculum bodies', Dawn, Karachi, 27 October 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi.

3. Language and Islamic Studies Group⁷²⁰.

Similarly, on 25 August 1960, supplementing the activities of CCSE, S. M. Sharif, the Central Education Secretary, convened a high-level conference of educational authorities of East and West Pakistan to discuss 'the organisation of work in the light of the courses and syllabi under preparation by the Curriculum Committees' which were busy in accomplishing their assigned tasks in Abbottabad⁷²¹. The education authorities from both wings attended the conference that included Education Secretaries, Directors of Public Instruction, Chairmen of Boards of Secondary Education, Vice-Chancellors from different universities⁷²². Under the presiding authority of S. M. Sharif, the conference discussed 'the plan for the provision of facilities in schools' for the implementation of the scheme of introduction of the diversification of curricula⁷²³. It was also decided to introduce courses for subjects of technical and commercial studies as well as agriculture and home economics, in selected schools throughout Pakistan by the next academic year⁷²⁴. Under the supervision of the Divisional Inspectorate of Schools, the Regional Directorate of Education, Lahore also sponsored a training programme for the untrained secondary school teachers in order to provide them two months' training every year for a three years training programme⁷²⁵. Addressing secondary school teachers, Assistant Director of Public Instruction (Planning and Development) held that the aim of the proposed secondary school curriculum reforms was to 'provide sufficient academic background along with

^{721. &#}x27;Technical Studies in Schools: High-level educational meeting examines plan', Dawn, Karachi, 31 August 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.8.

⁷²². Ibid. ⁷²³. Ibid.

⁷²⁴. Ibid.

^{725. &#}x27;Diversification of Courses: Objective behind Education body recommendations', Dawn, Karachi, 26 August 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.8.

necessary vocational training to enable the students to enter life and tackle its problems successfully' 726.

Similarly, the issue of textbook production for different classes was also highlighted in the same month when, upon the request of the East Pakistan School Textbook Board, the Joint Educational Advisor (J.E.A.) requested Professor Taj M. Khayal, the Chairman Board of Secondary Education Lahore, to consider the issue. Since, the J.E.A had opined that the issue of preparing separate books for all subjects constituting General Maths and Social Studies for class IX fell within the jurisdiction of the Chairman Secondary Curriculum Committee, Professor Khayal planned to visit Dhaka to settle the issue of production of new textbooks for the year 1961 in accordance with the new syllabi⁷²⁷.

Presenting its final report in September 1960, the CCSE explicitly suggested a general pattern of curriculum as provided in the following table:

26 Ibid

⁷²⁷. N.A.P., GoP, Ministry of Education, Office Notification Order No. F.12-8/60 E I (A), 'Introduction of New Curricula and Syllabuses in Classes I to XII', pp.8-13.

Table: 4.C.3. CCSE 1960 Suggests Curriculum Organisation for Secondary Stages IX-X

COMPULSORY SUBJECTS

Bengali 6. English Bengali (alternative easy course) 7. Social Studies 2. 3. Urdu General Mathematics 4. Urdu (alternative easy course) General Science 5. Sindhi (Adopted as an alternative to Urdu 10. Physical Education paper II for the transitional period in those parts of Sind where Sindhi was the medium of instruction) **ELECTIVE SUBJECTS Humanities Group** 26. Sindhi 7. Pottery and Ceramics 8. 1. Mathematics 27. Spanish Leatherwork Ornamental Arts and 2. Household Accounts 28. Turkish Russian 9. 3. History 29. Urdu (Advanced) Crafts 4. Geography 30. Urdu 10. Weaving Building 5. Islamic Studies 31. Physiology and Hygiene Construction 6. Art 32. Health and Physical Education 11. Geometrical and 7. Geometrical and technical 33. Civics **Technical Drawing** 34. Elementary Economics 12. Bamboo and drawing Cane 8. Arabic 35. Music Work 9. Greek 36. Outlines of Home Economics 13. Tailoring 14. Confectionary 10. Hebrew **B.** Science Group and 11. Latin 1. **Mathematics** Bakery 12. Pali 2. PhysicsChemistry E. Home **Economics** 3. Biology 13. Persian Group 4. Physiology and Hygiene 14. Sanskrit 1. Chemistry, Physics, 15. Bengali (Advanced) 5. Geometrical and technical **Biology** 16. Bengali drawing 2. Food and Nutrition 17. Chinese 6. Geography 3. Clothing and Textiles 18. English (Advanced) C. Commerce Group Family Living 4. Business Methods Home Management 19. French 1. and 5. 20. German Correspondence F. **Agriculture Group** 21. Guirati Commercial Geography **Physics** 1. 22. Hindi Arithmetic and Book-keeping Chemistry 23. Japanese 4. Type-writing Agriculture and Soil 24. Punjabi Science D. Industrial Arts Group 25. Pushto 1. Mathematics 4. Botany, Zoology, 2. **Physics** Animal Husbandry, 3. Chemistry Horticulture, 4. Metalwork Gardening, Fisheries

Source: GoP, Education Commission's Reforms Implementation Unit (ECRIU), Report of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education, Classes VI-XII: General Introduction, Schemes of Studies and Syllabuses (Rawalpindi: Ministry of Education, 1960), pp. 249-251.

Applied Electricity

Mathematics

Woodwork

5.

6.

Explaining its scheme of studies for secondary grades IX and X, the CCSE held that there would be 5 compulsory subjects and the study of science should be compulsory for every student. Those who did not opt for Physics and Chemistry as optional subjects, would be liable to take one paper of General Science⁷²⁸. Hence there were 6 or 7 compulsory subjects of 100 marks each.

Optional subjects were to comprise of three to five papers of 100 marks each in accordance with the nature of knowledge stream being opted. In total, there were 1000 or 1100 marks for 10 or 11 subjects⁷²⁹. Moreover, students were required to study the additional papers of Physical Education and Manual Work. Showing its sensitiveness to the importance of science and agriculture, the CCSE had reserved 400 marks either for Science or for Commerce Group vis-à-vis 300 marks that were being reserved for Humanities group⁷³⁰. Even more weightage was given in the form of reserving 500 marks for one of the groups, including, Industrial Arts Group, Home Economics Group, or Agriculture Group⁷³¹.

The CCSE activities ended with an expressed appreciation to educational leaders like, S. M. Sharif, for their expert advice and efforts to make the proposed curriculum reforms happen. Similarly, to CCSE, no less significant was the manifestation of gratitude for assistance from foreign agencies' either. Certainly, foreign involvements in Pakistan's educational uplift efforts were manifold and on-going; and so was the enthusiasm witnessed among educational leaders at national level.

On 27 December 1960, the Education Directorate of Karachi (Girls Section) inaugurated Education Week to analyse efforts towards implementing recommendations of Education

⁷²⁸. CCSE report, 1960, p.253.

⁷²⁹. Ibid.

⁷³¹. CCSE report, 1960, p.255.

Commission⁷³². The Director of Education expressed the need for holding a series of seminars on primary and secondary education in order to familiarize teachers with the new developments in 'educational thought and practices'; for him no reform efforts could be effectively implemented without educators' sincere efforts⁷³³. While the Education Week was going on, the Directorate of Education was urged to ensure that the primary school teachers and headmistresses were not 'treated as left-overs from the main stream of secondary teachers and were accorded 'their rightful recognition as one of the most important categories of educators'⁷³⁴.

The Government celebrated a heyday for being able to fulfil its 'Herculean task of framing the curriculum for the largest Muslim country in the World' in just three months' time⁷³⁵. Although some of the members of the CCSE had shown 'some natural resistance' against certain proposed changes in the existing school curriculum, it was claimed that 'valuable changes' were being made in the curriculum for 'the best interests of the nation' With the provision of a curricular scheme for different levels of secondary education in Pakistan began a real test time of implementation. The following provides a detailed account:

 ^{732. &#}x27;Education week inaugurated: Teachers help sought for reorientation', Dawn, Karachi, 28 December 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.6.
 733 Ibid.

⁷³⁴. 'Education Week', Dawn, Karachi, 29 December 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.7.

Khan, M. Y. 'Future of Secondary Schools', Dawn, Karachi, 18 December 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.7. Masud Yar Khan was the General Secretary of the Karachi School Federation. Also see Tariq, S. H. 'Future of Secondary Schools', Dawn, Karachi, 10 January 1961, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.7.
 'Secondary Education Curriculum Realistic: Professor Khayal Outlines Recommendations', Dawn, Karachi, 18 December 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.

4.D. Implementing Visions

Ayub Khan's administration had promised to bring reforms in three spheres; that is, removing British legacies from education, getting back the Islamic supremacy through religious knowledge, and ensuring development in scientific knowledge. While the first two elements of Ayub's vision for education had only entailed political support for military rule, it was the claim for advancement in aspects of scientific knowledge aiming at economic development which was taken up with earnest devotion after curriculum reforms were being implemented in schools.

The vision of Ayub's administration about British educational legacies was certainly clear; and assertions were equally made even on foreign platforms that the government would not dismantle the already existing British patterns of knowledge being practised in schools. While seeking US opinion on the ways to implement the new curriculum, it was asserted that education had become the 'number one problem' in Pakistan due to the 'least attention' that it had received during British times⁷³⁷. However, Pakistan's Ambassador in Washington mentioned in clear terms that the government did not intend to superimpose the American system of education over the British system but American help was being sought to cover the shortage of qualified and trained manpower for effective implementation of curriculum reforms in the state schools⁷³⁸.

The economic aspect of Ayub Khan's policy had also gone under scrutiny of the World Bank Mission to Pakistan; which was scheduled to arrive by January 1961 with their

⁷³⁷. N.A.P., F-4-25/61 FAI, Rawalpindi, GoP, Ministry of Education, p.2. and p.7. On 7 November 1960, a Minister and an Assistant Educational Officer from Pakistan Embassy in New York met with representatives from different US foundations and agencies, such as Asia Foundation, Near East Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Franklin Foundation, etc., and the Consul General of New York, to 'explore and assess the requirements of Pakistan and the assistances from various sources' of aid in the US to develop educational facilities in Pakistan. Ibid., p.1

⁷³⁸. Ibid., p.1.

entrusted task of making section by section appraisal of the Second Five Year Plan⁷³⁹. In the absence of an educational expert among the Mission members, the Education Secretary was requested to attend and provide, by 20 December 1960, a list of projects that needed foreign assistance for the year 1961-1962. While an inter-departmental meeting was scheduled for 29 December 1960 in the office of the Secretary for Economic Affairs Division, a discussion on the I.D.A. funded projects for education was also scheduled for the same meeting on the requirement of the UNESCO⁷⁴⁰. On 29 December 1960, attending the inter-departmental meeting, the Education Secretary (E.S.) informed the attendees that the interest of UNESCO and other aid giving agencies to provide assistance for educational progress had increased on account of the 'universal recognition of educational development as fundamental for the economic development' of underdeveloped states like Pakistan. Therefore, in November 1960, it was decided in a general conference of UNESCO held in Paris to send educational experts in aid-receiving states who could help them in preparing educational projects in line with the framework set by the aid-giving agencies. The E.S. told that a UNESCO team of three education experts were expected to arrive in Pakistan by mid-January 1961 in order to 'work out educational projects in consonance with the recommendations of the Commission on National Education' (NEC) 741

Since a meeting of the Secretaries of different ministries with the World Bank Mission was scheduled for the 17 and 18 January 1961, it was decided to hold another inter-departmental meeting on 16 January 1961 in the Economic Affairs Division at Karachi so

⁷³⁹. N.A.P., F.6-4/60-F.A.I., GoP, Ministry of Education and Information, World Bank Assistance for Second Five Year Plan including Education and Social Sectors, p.5.

⁷⁴⁰. Ibid., pp.6-7.

⁷⁴¹. Ibid., p.10.

as to finalise proposals for their presentation to the Mission ⁷⁴². For a report on educational issues it was decided to prepare a short memorandum on the educational development programme that was developed in line with the National Education Commission's recommendations for the Second Five Year Plan and to explain the rationale and activities of establishing Reforms Implementation Unit 743. The memorandum was sent to the Economic Affairs Division in time and the Education Secretary had also attended the interdepartmental meeting on 16 January 1961⁷⁴⁴. However, since the Mission did not include any educational expert, it was not possible to hold a separate committee meeting on Social Sector in the meeting of the members of the Bank Mission with Secretaries of different ministries of Pakistan government that was held on 17 January 1961⁷⁴⁵.

The NEC Report had also attracted the interest of Germany; which itself was known at that time for providing one of the best education systems in the field of science and technology⁷⁴⁶. The Chairman of the Commission on National Education received an invitation from the German Ambassador in Pakistan to visit West Germany along with a delegation of the educational leaders in order to study the German educational system for 4 to 6 weeks during May – June 1962⁷⁴⁷. Having backgrounds of science and technology and of history, the Vice Chancellors representing Sind University in Hyderabad, Engineering University in Dhaka, Karachi University in Karachi were sent to Germany for their assigned task⁷⁴⁸. While S. M. Sharif was unable to visit Germany earlier due to his other commitments, the President of Pakistan approved his visit from 1 June 1962 onwards to

⁷⁴². Ibid., p.11.
⁷⁴³. Ibid., p.12.

⁷⁴⁴. Ibid., p.13.

⁷⁴⁵. Ibid., p.14.

⁷⁴⁶. N.D.C., F.236/CF/62, Invitation from the Federal Republic of Germany to the Chairman and two members of the Commission on National Education to Visit Germany for Studying the German Educational System, President's Secretariat (Cabinet Division), p.4. ⁷⁴⁷. Ibid.

⁷⁴⁸. Ibid., pp.4-5.

join the delegation in Germany for the period 25 May to 6 June as well as his visit to London for a few days in order to discuss with the British High Commissioner problems of students discipline⁷⁴⁹, that had arisen due to some recommendations of the National Education Commission report regarding higher education in Pakistan.

At home, the government was busy finding ways and means to implement the desired educational change in Pakistan. For that purpose, in July 1963, the Ministry of Education required Secretaries to the Governments of West Pakistan and East Pakistan Education Departments to send reports about the progress of secondary education during 1962-1963 relating to various issues including legislation, changes in administration, budget allocation and utilization, plan targets, changes in curricula, production of new textbooks etc⁷⁵⁰. In September, 1963, the Government of East Pakistan reported about the progress of secondary education that 'the new curricula as recommended by the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education' were being followed⁷⁵¹. Similarly, 44 new text books were produced by the East Pakistan Textbook Board during 1962-63 (2 for class II, 3 for class IV, 6 for Class VI, 19 for Class VII, and 14 for classes IX and X). The Supply and distribution of the books were regular and on the whole satisfactory⁷⁵².

While it was believed as promising that almost all the text books for the school-going children were being written by Pakistani writers and printed by local printing presses', certain issues like the proper binding and the proof reading of text books had however raised concerns. For instance, attention was being drawn to the correction of many spelling mistakes in a textbook of Social Studies (Civics) for class VII that were overlooked by the

⁷⁴⁹. Ibid., p.11

⁷⁵². Ibid.

^{750.} GoP, Progress of Secondary Education during 1962-63. File No. 1-6/63 EI (A) Edu. Deptt. Edu. I A, p.3.

⁷⁵¹. Ibid., p.7.

concerned authorities⁷⁵³. Similar public concern about negligence on the part of educational authorities were expressed on other occasions when it was held that a 'careful scrutiny' of the primary and secondary school text books had revealed a 'lot of similar if not worse errors'⁷⁵⁴. 'What an abominable failure on the part of those who are entrusted with the instruction of the rising generation', remarked a citizen of Pakistan⁷⁵⁵. In other words, it was not an easy sale for the government while implementing the desired secondary education reforms in the country. Saying this, while trying to cope with aforementioned issues, the government had dealt with other aspects with considerable success over the period of time. Among them was significant the task of implementing curriculum reforms with particular reference to questions relating to the implementation of religious ideology, as well as scientific-cum-technical and agricultural knowledge. Their details are discussed in the following:

4.D.1. Religious Ideology

With the introduction of CCSE's curriculum scheme for secondary schools, government had expressed its jubilation over devising a schema of curriculum that had aimed at 'helping a Muslim child grow as a true Muslim', However, problems relating to curriculum were not confined to the new curriculum scheme only; rather, it was suggested that curricula followed in private schools should also be corrected. Some schools had already received congratulations for introducing changes in their courses of studies. For

753. Utanwala, Our text books, 1963, p.7.

Ansari, M. 'Our text books', Dawn, Karachi, 22 August 1963, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.7.

¹⁵⁵. Ibid.

⁷⁵⁶. Khan, Future of Secondary Schools, 1960, p.7.

instance, addressing students and teachers of Lawrence College in Ghora Gallee, Ayub Khan expressed his satisfaction over the fact that the college administration was 'giving the study of Islamiat its proper place' in its curriculum in line with recommendations of the Education Commission for secondary and residential schools⁷⁵⁷. In fact, President Ayub had suggested adopting what he believed a new approach to 'Islamic Thought'; which was possible by linking Islamic knowledge with hard work to achieve socio-economic prosperity⁷⁵⁸. In order to bring curricula of private sector schools in line with recommendations of NEC, the Directorate of Education Karachi had also initiated scrutiny of textbooks that were prescribed in private educational institutions in Karachi. The examination of textbooks was made by the officers in the Directorate in order to remove those textbooks which consisted of 'matters likely to injure the religious feelings of any section of the people in Pakistan'⁷⁵⁹.

On the eve of Pakistan Day on 23 March 1962, Ayub Khan said with conviction, 'being an Ideological state, our objective must be to adhere unflinchingly to our ideology- the Ideology of Islam'. ⁷⁶⁰ He further highlighted that since Pakistan was achieved in the name of Islam, the very ideology was the foundation of Pakistan's 'strength and cohesion', ⁷⁶¹. However, certain concerns and consequent suggestions were also received from the civil society for such a utopian plan for change ⁷⁶². It was feared that the 'gem-like new curriculum' might not succeed in its aims unless provisions were made for 'an adequate

⁷⁵⁷. 'Islamiat will Equip Students for the Future: Ayub defines real education', Dawn, Karachi, September 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.9.

⁷⁵⁸. 'New Approach to Islamic Thought urged: President calls for hard work: Nation Well on Road to Progress', Dawn, Karachi, 26 December 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1 & p.9.

⁷⁵⁹. APP, 'Examination of Books Begins: Grammar School expresses regret', Dawn, Karachi, 8 August 1961, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.12.

Text of Ayub's Broadcast', Dawn, Karachi, 23 March 1962, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.4
 Ibid.

⁷⁶². Khan, Future of Secondary Schools, 1960, p.7.

supply of well-trained truly Muslim teachers', who should be 'no less trained than the Christian missionaries' and devoted to their career as teacher⁷⁶³.

Similarly, students had also expressed their concerns which the government had tried to address that. Presiding over the 10th Annual Books Distribution Function of the Students' Welfare Organisation, Karachi, Habibur Rahman, the then Minister for National Reconstruction and Information urged students to co-operate with the government in that transition phase of educational reforms. It was agreed that difficulties associated with changes in curriculum would affect them for a couple of years, but things would improve soon; and that no frequent changes in the curricula, syllabi, and textbooks would be made⁷⁶⁴.

Similarly, an appeal was made to the President of Pakistan and the Education Ministry, by the members of the All Pakistan Women Association (APWA), to take 'immediate steps to ban' the history book by H. A. L. Fisher⁷⁶⁵. A resolution was also adopted in the same meeting which warned the Missionary schools authorities of strong public reaction if they failed to change their 'anti-Islamic' ways of teaching and stopping Muslim students from observing Islamic fundamentals⁷⁶⁶. The authorities of the Grammar School, Karachi had already handed over the available copies of the textbook 'the History of Europe' by H. A. L. Fisher, to the Director of Education; and in compliance with orders from the Commissioner of Karachi, the school authorities decided to end its use in the school ⁷⁶⁷.

Similarly, held in July 1961, the Education Secretary S. M. Sharif revealed the decision of a conference of heads of private and mission schools that 'all textbooks prescribed for

⁷⁶³. Ibid.

^{764. &#}x27;Students urged to place service before self: Habib distributes textbooks', Dawn, Karachi, 21 August 1961, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.8.

⁷⁶⁵. APP, 'Karachi APWA hails Government Action: Proscription of History Book', Dawn, Karachi, 8 August 1961, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.12.

⁷⁶⁷. APP, 'Examination of Books Begins: Grammar School expresses regret', Dawn, Karachi, 8 August 1961, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.12.

study in such schools should be thoroughly examined to ensure that students are not taught undesirable things'⁷⁶⁸. However, the very decision was described as not enough as those schools were still making their Muslim students recite hymns and prayer usually sung in churches. It was held with utter concern that the foreign missions running those schools were, therefore, 'bent on proselytising the future citizens' of Pakistan⁷⁶⁹. In the wake of such issues prevailing in Pakistan, the government of Ayub Khan was also urged to take control of missionary schools in Karachi like Karachi Grammar School and St. Joseph's Convent School⁷⁷⁰. Those schools were criticised on the grounds that those were not only propagating knowledge about Christianity to the Muslim students but were also held responsible for training Muslim students in Christian practices and creating hatred against Islam⁷⁷¹. However some parents showed their sympathy for those schools and recorded their counter criticism being raised against Mission schools in Pakistan. To them their children, studying in a Mission school, were not forced to observe Christian practices nor were they ridiculed for observing their Islamic traditions ⁷⁷². The dress code of such schools was modest and the school administration was not holding any dance or late night parties, held a Muslim parent of student studying at St. Joseph's School⁷⁷³. The Government of Pakistan received a letter of appreciation from Peter Johnson, a Roman Catholic from Bombay, for the removal of the Principal of a local school in Pakistan who had refused to

⁷⁶⁸. Nanji, M. U. H. 'Scrutiny of textbooks not enough', Dawn, Karachi, 13 August 1961, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.7.

⁷⁶⁹. Ibid.

^{770.} Ahmad, S. 'Missionary Schools', Dawn, Karachi, 10 March 1962, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.7.

⁷⁷². A Muslim Parent, 'Missionary Schools', Dawn, Karachi, 14 March 1962, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.7. ⁷⁷³. Ibid.

comply with the government regulations prohibiting teaching of Christianity to non-Christian students in schools⁷⁷⁴.

In July 1963, Fazlul Qauder Chawdhry, the then Pakistan's Education Minister, in his speech in the National Assembly appreciated the government's efforts to disseminate religious education in schools and colleges⁷⁷⁵. About the imparting of religious education in schools, he further held, 'Pakistan had important role to play in the present day world and it was only through this type of education that we could gain the objectives for which Pakistan was created'776. While the government was making claims of achieving its objective of religious education, its attention was drawn to the fact that religious education was as important in technical institutions as it was held crucial for other education institutions⁷⁷⁷. The Minister of Education was urged to set an example of making arrangements for religious education in at least Rawalpindi Polytechnic and Rawalpindi Commercial Institute that could then serve as prototypes for other polytechnics in Pakistan⁷⁷⁸. There was a clear support for such mixing of the two ideologies in curriculum. Efforts of government were supported in the belief that 'school teaching combined with proper religious and character building education should make a student capable of thinking rationally, and to appreciate and face facts'⁷⁷⁹.

In short, the ideology of religion was kept alive during 1960s; for sure it had served as an anchor of legitimacy for the political leadership of Pakistan throughout the said period. For Ayub Khan, 'Pakistan was an ideological state and the very basis of the nation's

^{774.} Johnson, P. 'Karachi Grammar School', Dawn, Karachi, 11 March 1962, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi,

p.7. Plahi, M. F. "Islamiat" in Polytechnics', Dawn, Karachi, 18 July 1963, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.7.
⁷⁷⁶. Ibid.
⁷⁷⁷. Ibid.

⁷⁷⁸. Ibid.

^{779.} Usmani, F. 'Aspirations and Problems of the Students', Dawn, Karachi, 14 August 1965, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.XVIII.

separate existence in the sub-continent was the Muslims' desire and resolve to shape their lives in accordance with the dictates of Islam' ⁷⁸⁰.

4.D.2. Scientific/Technical Knowledge

Military rule's efforts for advances in science knowledge were understandable in the wake of on-going rapid technological developments in the world. While changes in the syllabi and courses of studies were much appreciated at the government level, certain ground realities had also struck right at the beginning of the implementation of curriculum reforms. For instance, in November 1960, concerns were expressed about the content of general science curriculum that some of the topics were a 'bit difficult for the class for which they were meant⁷⁸¹. Similarly, talking about practicalities related to the introduction of general science as compulsory subject, including lack of trained teachers and unavailability of adequate equipment for science practicals in secondary schools, Professor Khayal said that the failure in the subject during the first five years of introduction of general science 'would not disqualify a student from passing the matriculation examination'⁷⁸². Moreover, another exemption for those schools where laboratories did not exist for science practical was that additional questions in examination papers were going to serve as a replacement for science practical⁷⁸³. However, it was mentioned in clear terms that after the elapse of the interim period of five years and subject to the provision of

⁷⁸⁰. Khalid, M. S. 'Our youth and Islamic ideology', Dawn Karachi, 14 August 1966, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.VII.

⁷⁸¹. F.12-8/60 E I (A), 'Introduction of New Curricula and Syllabuses in Classes I to XII', p.4.

 ^{782. &#}x27;Secondary Education Curriculum Realistic: Professor Khayal Outlines Recommendations', Dawn, Karachi, 18 December 1960, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.
 783. Ibid.

required facilities, it would be obligatory for students to pass in general science and the relaxation for questions relating to science practical would be withdrawn⁷⁸⁴.

While efforts were being made for the implementation of curriculum reforms effecting science education in schools, international agencies had also extended their support for the said cause. Discussing the possibilities of implementing NEC's suggested reforms in the meeting of November 1960 being held in New York with representatives of foreign agencies, Pakistan's educational leaders identified those areas where foreign participant agencies could work for the development of science teaching and learning in Pakistan. For instance, in collaboration with National Science Foundation, the Asia Foundation services for the science teachers' training were being discussed ⁷⁸⁵. Accepting the fact that the Rockefeller Foundation had provided little assistance to Pakistan in building up agricultural institutions and colleges in the near past, an expansion of help was promised subject to their further willingness to establish agricultural institutes in Pakistan ⁷⁸⁶.

Similarly, Commission on Economical Mission (CEM) that had already provided support to a number of schools and colleges in Pakistan expressed its ready willingness to provide further assistance for the implementation of the Pakistan's National Education Commission's Report⁷⁸⁷. However, it was not clear from the minutes of the meeting as to what particular areas of education in Pakistan the CEM was more willing to develop than others.

At the national level, two Directorates for Technical Education were established by the early 1960s in the West and East Wings of Pakistan in compliance with the

⁷⁸⁴. Ibid.

⁷⁸⁵. F-4-25/61 FAI, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Rawalpindi, p.3.

⁷⁸⁶. Ibid., p.4.

⁷⁸⁷. Ibid., p.3.

recommendations of the NEC about technical education in Pakistan⁷⁸⁸. The Directorates had jurisdiction to control technical institutions, polytechnics and commercial training centres in East and West Pakistan. Both the Ministry of Education and provincial Directorates of technical education were also entrusted with the task of appointing vocational guidance officers, and to prepare handbooks of careers for the students⁷⁸⁹. However, the Administrative Reforms Commission recommended dissolution of the Directorate of Technical Education for West Pakistan; and that was certainly perceived as something against the recommendations of the NEC⁷⁹⁰.

The 13th session of UNESCO's conference was significant in terms of its emphasis upon bringing improvement in the educational management of the member states 'particularly through expansion' of their 'planning services', Similarly, the session also highlighted that UNESCO's activities relating to the development of natural science and technology had required re-orientation in accordance with the recommendations of the Advisory Committee of ECOSOC and of the UN's Conference held in 1963⁷⁹². The session appreciated the advisory services of Pakistan's Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqi who was appointed as its Special Consultant in order to suggest ways of formulating the 'whole programme of sciences and application', Among other educational matters of national and regional planning significance, the Director General was being vested with an authority to organise 'experimental projects in the field of science and language teaching' where more new techniques were adopted ⁷⁹⁴.

⁷⁸⁸. M. D. 'Education Commission's Report', Dawn, Karachi, 11 March 1962, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.7.

⁷⁸⁹. Ibid.

⁷⁹⁰. Ibid

⁷⁹¹. N.D.C., F.500/CF/64, 'Pakistan's participation in the 13th session of the General Conference of the UNESCO in Paris', p.10.

⁷⁹². Ibid., p.13.

⁷⁹³. Ibid.

⁷⁹⁴. Ibid., p.10.

During the early half of 1960s, while UNESCO had shown its interest in more of the development of scientific knowledge, the US Education Foundation (USEF) in Pakistan continued its bi-national programme of international exchange of educational personnel from higher education institutions for developing 'mutual understanding and appreciation' not only in the fields of physical and natural sciences but also humanities, social sciences and education⁷⁹⁵. Initially, the programme was particularly designed to help and sustain higher education institutions as well as to support the teacher training institutions that were not otherwise receiving aid⁷⁹⁶. However, the USEF programme had also shown keen interest in extending its help in the future towards 'development of leadership talent among Pakistani educators' at all levels of primary, secondary and higher educational administration, and areas involving 'supervision of instruction', 'counselling and guidance', and 'preparation of usable instructional guides and materials' ⁷⁹⁷.

In August 1966, the UNICEF also promised sending a team of educationists to Pakistan for supporting the provincial educational administrations to improve their 'techniques of teaching science, industrial arts, and agricultural development methods'⁷⁹⁸. Appreciating such offer, the West Pakistan education authorities also made a request to provide stipends to science teachers for their refresher courses next year. UNICEF had not only agreed to provide in-service training to science teachers in schools in East Pakistan, but it also made an agreement to provide equipment for science and other subjects in 'over 300 schools and 50 teachers training centres' in both the provinces⁷⁹⁹. UNESCO's policy for Pakistan was already communicated to the then Pakistan's federal Minister of Education during his

⁷⁹⁵. N.A.P., F. 12-5/64, 'Information in respect of US Education Foundation (Agreement and Programme for 1964 and 1965)', p. 3.

⁷⁹⁶. Ibid.

⁷⁹⁷. Ibid., p.4

⁷⁹⁸. PPA- 'Educationists from world body soon', Dawn Karachi, 11 August 1966, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.10.

⁷⁹⁹. Ibid.

participation in the UNESCO meeting of 1966. Upon submitting his 'oral report' about his meeting to the cabinet, President Ayub issued directives to submit a paper on the expansion of facilities for science and technical education ⁸⁰⁰. At the same time, the provincial educational authorities had also set to the task of revision of science curricula in schools. For sure, such deliberations were in line with the 'great emphasis' which the Third Five-Year Plan 1965-1970 had placed on science teaching for the sake of increasing the 'number of technical personnel' for the country's development ⁸⁰¹. In order to fulfil the said social need, it was re-emphasised in the Plan that the secondary stage of education should be made the terminal stage of education for about 96 per cent of students who could serve the nation and work for the economic development of Pakistan ⁸⁰².

Malik Khuda Bakhsh, the West Pakistan Provincial Education Minister, while announcing the Provincial Government's allocations to education for achieving targets of the Third Five-Year Development Plan, remarked:

'The programmes initiated by the present Government for the promotion of education were aimed at producing such youngmen [sic] as were likely to prove an asset for the nation rather than a liability from the point of view of morality, character and human relationship. The Government wanted the new generation to have the spirit and fervour of the first century of Islam and the technical skill of the Twentieth Century' Rosa.

Hence the way forward for combining ideology with technology. On 30 August 1966, inaugurating the three-week orientation seminar in chemistry organised by the University of Punjab, Malik Khuda Bakhsh, the West Pakistan Education Minister, advised science teachers to 'combine ideology with technology so that the Muslims could regain the lost

802. PPI, 'New Education Policy', Dawn, Karachi, 4 July 1969, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.12.

⁸⁰³. Khalid, Our youth and Islamic ideology, 1966, p.VII.

⁸⁰⁰. N.D.C., 311/CF/66, 'Education Minister's Participation in the UNESCO Conference and tour of Germany and Britain', pp.3-4.

^{801.} Ibid.

status'⁸⁰⁴. 45 senior science teachers from colleges and institutions affiliated to the University had participated in the seminar. Similarly, other universities like Peshawar University, and the universities of Karachi and Sind also sent their five teachers each to attend the seminar. Although the seminar was held with objectives to familiarise participants with the new changes in chemistry curriculum and courses of studies and the 'latest concept and developments in the field of chemistry', the Minister of Education stressed the need to combine scientific ideas with religious ideology⁸⁰⁵. While he was pleased to learn about the revision of syllabi of science subjects, he further stressed that given rapid scientific advancements in the world even those new revised syllabi should not remain static and should be revised from time to time⁸⁰⁶. No doubt, efforts were being made to modernise science and mathematics subjects taught in schools; and that was being made possible with the help of foreign assistance.

Similarly, in 1967, the UNDP announced that it was sending its two experts for a biennium, one each for the East and West Wings of Pakistan, to help 'a supervisory team of science teaching inspectorates' that was going to be constituted in order to develop the use of science equipment that UNESCO had provided to Pakistan⁸⁰⁷. Experts were to be sent to Pakistan under technical assistance scheme of UNDP for Pakistan that was devised in order to help the government of Pakistan in implementing the recommendations of NEC 1959 with reference to improving science teaching in Pakistan; and that were also taken up in the second and third five year Plans of Pakistan. In fact, suggestions of the said scheme of sending experts were an outcome of the deliberations between the government of

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⁸⁰⁴. APP, 'Combination of ideology with technology', Dawn Karachi, 31 August 1966, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.

⁸⁰⁵. Ibid.

⁸⁰⁶. APP, 'Combination of ideology with technology', Dawn Karachi, 31 August 1966, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.

⁸⁰⁷. N.A.P., F.9-21/67-FAI, 'UNDP Technical Assistance for 1967-68: Provision of UNESCO expert in science teaching in secondary schools, Lahore', p.1.

Pakistan and a UNICEF-financed UNESCO expert that took place during late 1963 and early 1964⁸⁰⁸. The scheme was co-ordinated with complementary aid for education that Pakistan had received under the Colombo Plan by USAID and the Ford Foundation⁸⁰⁹.

In June 1967, in compliance with Presidential directive dated 4 August 1966, the Ministry of Education submitted its comprehensive report about expansion of science and technical education in Pakistan⁸¹⁰. It was reported that since the incorporation of the NEC's recommendations in the second Five-Year Plan, a steady progress was being made in improving the facilities for the teaching and research in fields of scientific and technological knowledge⁸¹¹. By the early 1960s, science subjects were made compulsory in addition to the elective courses that were offered in secondary schools. While the East and West Wings had been working towards modernising the curricula within their respective jurisdictions, the central Ministry of Education had also established a National Bureau of Syllabi and Curricula in order to ensure national integration and uniformity of educational standards throughout Pakistan⁸¹². During late 1960s, efforts of the government were directed more towards consolidating and improving quality of science teaching. To that end, the government initiated new schemes like the establishment of comprehensive high schools and superior science colleges⁸¹³. The positive output of curricular reforms in terms of diversification of courses in schools was that the government was able to turn secondary schools into institutions for bilateral and multilateral instruction⁸¹⁴.

The West Pakistan government signified that it should be able to revise its science syllabi for secondary schools and degree colleges by the year 1969, while the government of East

⁸⁰⁸. Ibid. ⁸⁰⁹. Ibid.

^{810.} N.D.C., 311/CF/66, 'Education Minister's Participation in the UNESCO Conference and tour of Germany and Britain', p.14.

⁸¹¹. Ibid., p.15.

⁸¹². Ibid.

⁸¹³. Ibid., p.15.

^{814.} Ibid., p.17.

Pakistan had gone a step ahead when it announced introducing new syllabi in secondary and higher secondary schools by the year 1967-68⁸¹⁵. The East Pakistan government had also claimed to have had adopted some new schemes of improving science education, such as, the scheme of establishing of Science colleges one in each division was already taken up for implementation that was supposed to focus on science teaching from class VI to XII. Similarly, a Bureau of Science Education was also established with objectives to plan and test the curricula, textbooks and apparatus, to provide in-service training to the selected science teachers, and to organise a programme of science talent search⁸¹⁶. The West Pakistan government had already established 'some superior type comprehensive schools' as a part of their programmes of establishing 40 such schools during the Third Five-Year Plan period⁸¹⁷. It was proposed that such schools would be equipped with 'good laboratories, residential facilities and high class teachers' Saying this, besides some signs of development in secondary education, some practicalities had also struck the educational administration for their resolution.

Ayub Khan himself was unsatisfied with the level and standards of knowledge that were being achieved so far. In his address to educators at Dhaka dated 2 April 1967, Ayub Khan highlighted that one of the serious defects of secondary education in Pakistan was that it could not be still rated as 'scientifically and technologically oriented' Expressing his utter dissatisfaction, he declared: 'I would like to see more of science and technology, arts and crafts, being taught in the secondary level Nhile the prevalence of such problems

⁸¹⁵. N.D.C., 311/CF/66, 'Education Minister's Participation in the UNESCO Conference and tour of Germany and Britain', p.21.

^{816.} Ibid., pp.19-20.

^{817.} Ibid., p.20.

⁸¹⁸. Ibid.

⁸¹⁹. Pakistan Muslim League (PML) Series No. 5, Field Marshal Ayub Khan, President of the Pakistan Muslim League: Extracts from a though provoking extempore address of our President at the Conference of Educators and Guardians at Governor's House, Dhaka on April 2, 1967, (Karachi: 1967) p.8.

was still attributed, in some civil society circles, to the British educational legacies, the educational authorities of the first decade of Pakistan's independence were equally held responsible for being unable to cast off 'the old system of imparting knowledge with its cumbersome syllabi', that was fit for nothing but 'producing the clerical staff only' ⁸²¹. The prevailing influence of such unwanted and unsuited educational trend could be checked through technical education promising, what Ayub Khan believed, a 'gainful employment' after completion of their studies at school ⁸²².

Presenting a report about the condition of secondary education in Pakistan in the 30th session of the International Conference on Public Education in July 1967, the representatives from Pakistan (including, Minister for Education, and Deputy Educational Adviser) highlighted the problems of secondary education in Pakistan with reference to the shortage of secondary school teachers, and lower percentage allocations for secondary education as compared to primary education, shortage of school buildings, etc⁸²³. While suggesting ways and means for overcoming such problems, the delegates also expressed their satisfaction about various steps were being taken to modernise the secondary school curricula in terms of introducing entirely new textbooks that were based on modern concepts in Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics⁸²⁴. UNESCO itself was sensitive to the problems facing the developing states and the criteria that were used to determine financial assistance from UNDP projects aiming to bring about improvements in the secondary education in a particular developing country⁸²⁵.

^{821.} Khalid, Our youth and Islamic ideology, 1966, p.VII.

^{822.} PML Series No. 5, p.8.

^{823.} N.D.C., F.317/CF/67, Pakistan's participation in the 30th Session of the International Conference on Public Education to be held in Geneva from 6-15 July 1967', p.9. and pp.20-22.
824. Ibid., p.26.

⁸²⁵. N.A.P., F.9-9-67, 'United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation: Co-operation with the UNDP', pp.3-9. The criteria used for judging UNDP projects included 'extent of development of the secondary school system', 'the balance between primary and secondary education', 'plans for secondary education in relation to development plans and financial resources', 'adequacy of the present provision for

As far as Pakistan was concerned, it had achieved some landmark developments in secondary education with particular reference to foreign-aided aspects of secondary education. However, where national-cum-local efforts were involved, problems were being reported, and the issue of locally produced textbooks was no exception. Parents of students attending secondary schools expressed their concern about the quality of new text books that were introduced in schools. Reporting to have had found, what they believed, 'so many defects in text books', it was not possible to anticipate progress in educational standards⁸²⁶. It was expressed with utter dissatisfaction that the publishers had 'hopelessly failed in bringing out the text books of the desired standard'; and that it was nothing but a disappointment in reporting that students were being 'entitled to a refund of the purchase price in return for such amateurish production, 827. The government had made promises to attend to such issues at the earliest.

Another important issue exercising the mind of government was the bifurcation of religious and secular education in two different sets of education institutions. It was feared that if such trends would remain unchecked, those could lead to the division of society in two distinct groups of people who would never be able to live peacefully together. Ayub Khan strongly believed in combining the two systems of education in order to 'produce balanced, wholesome people that do their normal work, mundane work of life, at the same time remembering moral and spiritual values of their ideology' 828.

Hence, defining the educational change in the existing system of education in Pakistan anew, Ayub Khan held that developing the 'brain power' of people was the necessity of

teacher training', 'suitability of the project for teacher training and the supply of candidates for teacher training'. Ibid., pp.8-9.

^{826.} Utanwala, Our text books, 1963, p.7.

⁸²⁸. PML Series No. 5, p.9.

time and therefore, there was a need to 'very quickly' formulate an education policy⁸²⁹. The necessity for devising an educational policy was, perhaps, felt more in the wake of the failure of the full implementation of the educational scheme that the Education Commission had recommended. While the NEC report was 'almost regarded as a model for the developing countries' 830, it received unwelcoming responses from different circles of Pakistanis and had rather become one of the causes of university students' strong agitation against some of its recommendations. No matter whether its recommendations were 'misunderstood', as Ayub Khan perceived it to be⁸³¹, or were not handled well, Ayub Khan's administration decided to devise an educational policy for the country at its earliest. However, before such an education policy could be announced, the military rule of Ayub Khan was brought to an end with his forced resignation from his office in March 1969. Serving as Chief Martial Law administrator, Yahya Khan took over the charge of government and so of upcoming educational developments in the country.

4.E. 1969-1970 – Ending Ayub's Rule and New Promises of Yahya Khan's Military Take-over

Pledging to fix the unsettling issues facing Ayub's administration, the new military takeover presented its own agenda of curbing socio-economic ills and enhancing educational development within the country. Promising efforts for educational cause, two important developments took place during the second military rule of such a short duration. At home, on 3 July 1969, the Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator for Education and Air Marshal, M. Nur Khan, sent the 89-page report on education policy

⁸²⁹. Ibid., p.5. ⁸³⁰. Ibid., p.6.

^{831.} Ibid.

proposals to the press⁸³². Based on an expert study on education system in Pakistan, the report stressed that the existing educational policies were still following the colonial pattern of education that had become dated to satisfy the changed 'political, social and economic needs of Pakistan'833. The report further held that education could be used as a force of national unification, imparting a common set of cultural values, based on the precepts of Islam' 834. Similarly, while the new policy proposals of 1969 had appreciated that the prevailing education system was too focused on the secondary and higher education even at the expense of the elementary education, it believed that secondary education still had some lacunae to cover⁸³⁵. For instance, recognising the recurrent problem of rising unemployment in Pakistan, the need for further enhancing the technical bias in secondary stage was still being felt. Similarly, announcing the new Education Policy in March 1970, the Education Minister, Mr. Shamsul Haq referred to President Yahya Khan's pledge to the nation about laying 'a greater emphasis on the social sector than had been done in the past' and giving first priority to educational problems for their effective resolution for the sake of meeting students' needs for knowledge⁸³⁶. For that purpose, the Policy identified adopting a diversified secondary curriculum with due place given to a separate stream of technical education offered at different levels of schooling and higher education. Similarly, while high hopes were being expressed for reforming secondary education through scientific and technical knowledge, for their effective implementation foreign assistance was needed as ever. While requests were already made to the British government as early as in April 1970, it was in October 1970 when Lord

⁸³². PPI, 'Education as national unification force: 60 Point recommendations', Dawn, Karachi, 4 July 1969, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.12.

^{833.} Ibid.

^{834.} Ibid.

⁸³⁵. PPI, 'New Education Policy', Dawn, Karachi, 4 July 1969, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.12.

^{836.} New Education Policy Announced: Text of Minister's Statement, The Pakistan Times, 27 March 1970.

James' Mission arrived in Pakistan for its assigned task. The following provides details of the aforementioned educational developments during Yahya Khan's military rule:

4.E.1. Nur Khan Report 1969–New Education Policy Proposals

Air Marshal, Nur Khan, also a member of the President's Council of Administration and In-charge of Education and Scientific Research Ministry, proposed a new education policy that recommended "drastic change" in the educational system⁸³⁷. The policy proposals emphasised the following recommendations:

- 1. 'maximum emphasis on elementary education' 838,
- 2.'a massive shift towards vocationally and technically-oriented education at the secondary stage' 839,
- 3.'uniform and integrated system of education seeking to import a common set of cultural values based on the precepts of Islam' 840.
- 4. 'Integrate madrassahs into the normal school system and bring the latter more in line with our ideological demands' 841.
- 5. Nationalisation of missionary schools, that according to educational proposals, were spreading 'directly or indirectly the doctrines of religion and culture', alien to Pakistan's 'national values and Islamic concepts of life', 842.

⁸⁴⁰. Ibid. See also APP, 'New educational policy objectives', Dawn, Karachi, 4 July 1969, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1.

⁸³⁷. Mansuri, M. A. 'Education: Drastic Policy Change: Noor Khan releases draft proposals', Dawn, Karachi, 4 July 1969, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1. See also 'Proposals for Education Policy: text', Dawn, Karachi, 5 July 1969, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.5.

^{838.} Mansuri, Noor Khan releases draft proposals, 1969, p.1.

⁹. Ibid.

⁸⁴¹. APP, 'New educational policy objectives', Dawn, Karachi, 4 July 1969, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1. See also Policy finalisation by end of August: Nur Khan wants bulk of Rs 40 crore budget for education', Dawn, Karachi, 4 July 1969, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1.

The proposed education policy recommended complete restructuring of the education system. Stressing the need for educational change, it was highlighted that in Pakistan two different sets of education system had been kept intact even after independence⁸⁴³. The modern system was a product of British rule which was developed and maintained in the subcontinent with its underlying objectives of administrative efficiency by getting educated Indians for clerical jobs and was 'not oriented to any political, social, or economic needs of an independent developing nation' 844.

The classical system was developed during Muslim rule with objective to cater to the needs of the empire and that therefore produced scholars, thinkers and administrators. Retaining its form in the shape of madrassahs, the system survived during the British rule and kept intact after independence⁸⁴⁵. However, the system was described as no good to fulfil the new demands of the society. It was held in the new education proposals that distant as those madrassahs were, 'from the needs of the trends of the secular education', they were also 'found wanting in serving the needs of Pakistan', 846. It was thus proposed to completely re-structure the education system in such a way as to bridge the gap between the two extreme education systems. The way forward that was suggested was to develop 'a uniform and integrated system of education' that aimed at imparting 'a common set of cultural values based on the common precepts of Islam', 1 It was, therefore, proposed that Islamiat be introduced as a compulsory subject in schools up to grade X, that is the secondary stage of education, and as optional subject in higher education. Similarly, it was

⁸⁴². APP/PPI, 'Nationalisation of missionary schools suggested', Dawn, Karachi, 4 July 1969, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.1.

⁸⁴³. PPI, 'New Education Policy', Dawn, Karachi, 4 July 1969, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.12.

⁸⁴⁴. PPI, 'New Education Policy', Dawn, Karachi, 4 July 1969, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, p.12.

⁸⁴⁵. Ibid.

⁸⁴⁶. Ibid.

⁸⁴⁷. Ibid.

proposed that mathematics and science subjects be introduced in madrassahs and facilities be provided for teacher training in those subjects⁸⁴⁸.

It was also announced that the proposed education policy would take its final shape by September 1969 and therefore public opinion was sought before 4 August 1969⁸⁴⁹. It was no later than March 1970 when the Ministry of Education presented its Education Policy for Pakistan.

Sticking to the very traditional notion of dual purpose of secondary education, the new Education Policy presented in March 1970 identified secondary education as a terminal stage for a large number of students and as a preparatory stage for higher education for others. It was also believed that existing patterns of content of studies in secondary schools were too general in nature; that was mainly preparing students for higher education. Due to the increasing need for middle level skilled workers in the developing economy of the country and the enrolment of a growing proportion of the age group in secondary schools it was felt to as being a must that secondary education should be offering a 'pronounced scientific, technical and vocational bias' in schemes of studies⁸⁵⁰. It was also suggested that a ratio of 40:60 should be achieved for the general and scientific-cum-technical streams of knowledge respectively⁸⁵¹.

Yahya Khan's rule had signified a somewhat different scenario for both the new military administration and for foreign agencies providing educational assistance to Pakistan. Perhaps, getting legitimacy on Islamic ideological grounds had become more important for General Yahya Khan than it used to be for Ayub Khan. The British Council representative in Pakistan also commented on the situation that with the elapsing of initial months of

⁸⁴⁹. Mansuri, Noor Khan releases draft proposals, 1969, p.1.

⁸⁴⁸. Ibid.

⁸⁵⁰. GoP, The New Education Policy of the Government of Pakistan (Islamabad: Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, 1970), p.6.

⁸⁵¹. Ibid.

second martial law, there was an increasing support in the press and elsewhere for 'Islamic attitudes, Islamic ideology, Islamic solidarity', ⁸⁵² etc. He further highlighted:

'The position seems to me very different from what I remember as the position in 1958-1960. The Council will have to be particularly careful not to display books or periodicals which may give offence on religious grounds' 853.

While the new education policy proposals had received a 'fairly favourable' response in the press, there was no guarantee as to whether and to what extent the new democratic provincial governments upon their coming into existence would accept the provisions of that policy. So much ambiguity was reported to have prevailed at that time that the country representative for the British Council expressed his inability to finance aspects of that policy. However, in April 1970, the East Pakistan Education Secretary's (EPES) had already requested the government to invite a Joint Mission to Pakistan; which could suggest ways of implementing the shift from general to technical education in Pakistan. The Additional Education Secretary to the Government of Pakistan reported to the Education Secretary to the Government of Pakistan that a World Bank-financed UNESCO Mission was already expected to arrive in Pakistan by May 1970⁸⁵⁴. The Education Secretary further emphasised that since the central government had already undertaken to the task of making project proposals for the Fourth Five-Year Plan, those were also going to be discussed with the donor agencies once they could get final approval from the provincial and then the central government.

In October 1970, upon request from the government of Pakistan, the British government sent an Education Mission to Pakistan in order to review the state of scientific and technical education and to suggest ways of making improvements in those fields with

⁸⁵². B. N. A., BW113/19, File Ref. CF/PK/0600/1 dated 7 April, 1970 'Pakistan Government's Education Policy', p.5.

⁸⁵³. Ibid.

^{854.} N.A.P., Edu/FAI/57/70.

reference to the development of their curricula, teacher training, provision of physical facilities and equipment for schools and colleges, the expansion of industrial training, and the development of Centres of Excellence for science with particular reference to the setting up of a Central University in East Pakistan as the second National Centre of Excellence⁸⁵⁵.

4.E.2. Lord James Mission Arrives in Pakistan

In November 1970, the six-member Lord James Mission visited over forty different education institutions and organisations in Islamabad and the five provinces of Pakistan⁸⁵⁶. Representatives from the British Council and the British High Commission who were already present in Islamabad also joined the Mission in its various meetings in Islamabad, Karachi, and Dhaka. The Government of Pakistan, British Council, and the British High Commission prepared the background material (mainly factual and statistical information) for the reference of the Mission about educational situation in Pakistan.

As far as the assessment of the prevailing state of educational affairs in Pakistan was concerned, the Mission identified three immediate problems facing Pakistan: 'severe unemployment or under-employment' and lowering industrial growth that could have been addressed if proper training was provided to those who could have got well-fitted in industrial employment; 'relentless pressure' due to increase in population that if remained

⁸⁵⁵. British Education Mission to Pakistan, November 1970, Report by D. G. Chisman to CEDO and the British Council', p.3. in B.N.A., DO 113/28, Lord James Mission to Pakistan of 1970.

⁸⁵⁶. The Mission comprised of Lord James of Rusholme (Vice Chancellor of the University of York), Professor James Greig (Professor of Electrical Engineering, Kings College, London), Mrs Helen Bunton (Principal Lecturer in charge of Physical Sciences, Homerton College, Cambridge), Dennis Chisman (Deputy Director of the Curriculum Division, Centre for Educational Development Overseas), Gordon Watts (Technical Education Adviser, Overseas Development Administration (ODA)), and Mary Rosser (Secretary, ODA). Ibid., pp.1-3.

unchecked could nullify all the educational efforts; and the problems emerging not only out of the diversity of native languages to be adopted but also the necessary use of an 'alien' language English to remain as media of instruction in education institutions ⁸⁵⁷. The Mission also felt that the scope of educational problems could not be confined to mere scientific and technical education because most of the findings of the Mission were equally true for areas other than science ⁸⁵⁸.

By 21 November 1970, on behalf of the Mission, Lord James made certain reflections and recommendations to Pakistan's federal Minister of Education. The former expressed his concerns about the deteriorating education situation in Pakistan in terms of 'serious failures in planning', use of dated 'textbooks, curricula and examinations', 'gross misuse of material aid' with reference to unused scientific equipment in education institutions, the lack of 'link between modern education thinking and teachers throughout Pakistan', and last but not the least the lack of liaison between the polytechnics and the Boards of Technical Education as well as between the Technical Colleges and industry⁸⁵⁹. Moreover, the Mission also pointed out that besides setting up of the new inquiry committees, boards, etc. in order to address problems facing educationists, those bodies were not taken as means to finding solutions but as ends in them.

That was specifically true of bodies that were set up to examine curricula, revise textbooks and the examination system, and/or to evaluate teacher training programmes ⁸⁶⁰. Moreover, the Mission highlighted that the education system was also marked with the lack of coordination between those who introduced new syllabi (such as the Boards of Intermediate

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^{857.} Ibid., p.4.

^{858.} Ibid

⁸⁵⁹. Confidential Correspondence from the British High Commission, Rawalpindi, dated 24 November 1970 to the Overseas Development Administration, pp.1-3, in B.N.A., DO 113/28, Lord James Mission to Pakistan of 1970.

⁸⁶⁰. British Education Mission to Pakistan, November 1970, Report by D. G. Chisman to CEDO and the British Council', p.5. in B.N.A., DO 113/28, Lord James Mission to Pakistan of 1970.

and Secondary Education), those who produced textbooks (such as the textbook boards), those who used to teach the syllabi, and those who used to examine, that had led to an absence of a unified system not only for an improved but even at least the routine working of schools and colleges⁸⁶¹. The Mission held that all these areas required a simultaneous overhaul as they were interlinked with one another.

The Mission stressed the need to set up effective machinery to co-ordinate the four educational areas of syllabi, examination, teacher training, and teaching material/guides. It was recommended that each province or large region of a province should set up one Council for Education that included academics and administrators from different education levels as well as a few learned figures from business, industry and agriculture. The jurisdiction of the Council was proposed to be advisory in nature in terms of making recommendations to the Secretary of Education in all educational issues. It was further suggested that while the Council might need its subcommittees for rendering its advice in specific areas of education, the necessity for a central organising body for these provincial/regional Councils was equally worth keeping in mind⁸⁶². The Mission suggested that the writing of new syllabi and teachers' guides needed writing teams working under the guidance of an Editor in Chief who himself possessed secondary school teaching experience and knowledge about curriculum development in other countries as well⁸⁶³. The Mission also cautioned about implementing the change at the larger scale and it professed to initially adopt the change in a limited number of schools that were designed for experimental purposes. That also suggested the prior training of teachers in getting them acquainted with the new syllabi before adoption of those syllabi in those schools as well as conduct of a special examination system for those schools in accordance with the new

⁸⁶¹. Ibid., pp.5-6. ⁸⁶². Ibid., p.12.

⁸⁶³. Ibid.

syllabi rather than running examinations that were meant for the mainstream public schools⁸⁶⁴.

The Mission further recommended certain structural and organisational changes within the teacher training programmes and the examination system for the overall improvement of the educational system in Pakistan. It placed a 'substantial financial and political importance' to the training of teachers in Science Training Colleges that could provide experimental courses for imparting a deeper understanding of science subjects to trainee teachers rather than mere training in instruction. The Mission showed its keen interest in keeping intact 'the British education presence' in Pakistan. For that purpose, it proposed to revive the inspectorate system on the lines of British education system. It was, therefore, thought necessary to create three posts for British Education Advisors for five years who could be attached to or supervised under the British Council. Their responsibilities were described to deal 'mainly with higher education, the textbook boards, the examination boards and curriculum development boards', as well as to identify those headmasters of schools who were going to become the future Inspectors of schools ⁸⁶⁵.

While Lord James had strongly suggested hiring the services of British educational experts for improving the education system of Pakistan, he did not suggest any financial liability for the British Government for implementing the recommendations of the Mission in the educational system of Pakistan⁸⁶⁶. However, when the government of Pakistan facilitated the Mission to meet with the educational experts and officers of the USAID, Ford Foundation, IBRD, and the Foreign Aid Advisor in the Swedish Embassy who had been involved in educational projects in Pakistan, they got the impression that the World Bank

⁸⁶⁴. Ibid., p.13.

⁸⁶⁵. Confidential Correspondence from the British High Commission, Rawalpindi, dated 24 November 1970 to the Overseas Development Administration, p.2., in B.N.A., DO 113/28, Lord James Mission to Pakistan of 1970.

⁸⁶⁶. Ibid., p.3. in Ibid.

might be able to provide some financial assistance for some of the recommendations of the Mission⁸⁶⁷. The number of officers that the Mission proposed for their services in improving the education system of Pakistan was as follows:

- 1. Three British science teaching specialists
- Three British H. M. Inspectors
- Ten British science teacher trainers
- 4. Three British consultants (for polytechnics)
- 5. One British consultant (for management issues relating to science teaching equipment)⁸⁶⁸.

As far as the British involvement for the improvement of science education in Pakistan was concerned, the British representative officer in the British Council believed that this would be acceptable even to the 'Muslim traditional Jama'at-i-Islami political party' 869. Again, while it was unclear as to whether demands for having advisors for other subjects would be made or not, it was assumed in clear terms that those 'could have been resisted without too much difficulty' 870. More obvious was the case of English teaching that, just like India, could be taken as a more political rather than an educational issue in Pakistan. Similarly, certain concerns involving implementation and financial obligations were also expressed for the practical implementation of the intended Science teacher training proposals. These involved subsistence expenses, travelling (in rural areas), the availability of linked material for children in schools that were supposed to be in consonance with the British books and training materials being used for the training of science teachers, and the

⁸⁶⁷. Ibid., p.6. in Ibid.

⁸⁶⁸. Internal Correspondence from the British Council representative Pakistan to South Asia and Far East Division or Department, Dated 3 December 1970, pp.1-2, in B.N.A., DO 113/28, Lord James Mission to Pakistan of 1970.

⁸⁶⁹. Ibid. ⁸⁷⁰. Ibid.

financial liabilities for other provinces towards payment of local salaries of the British science teacher trainers especially in the situation when those wanted to benefit from the training scheme that was going to be implemented in the Science Superior College under the responsibility of the Punjab Government⁸⁷¹.

Besides all those concerns, in the wake of new general elections in Pakistan, much more apprehensions were expressed about the political situation in Pakistan and its implications for education. With particular reference to the presence of what was feared the 'strongly leftist' governments at the centre and in provinces there was a likelihood of demands for the provincial autonomy especially for East Pakistan and 'a continuation of increased financial assistance for the Centre'872. However, what was kept uncertain during the election campaigns of the political parties was their manifestoes and intended policies for education. For instance, what could be found from Z. A. Bhutto's ideas was his emphasis on 'student power', and from S. Mujibur Rahman's views was his support for free and compulsory primary education, broadening of access to secondary education, establishing new universities and the 'immediate' replacement of English with Bengali and Urdu in 'all walks of life'873. While the British Council representative had expressed his concerns about priorities of the two political parties as not being very 'pro-British', he also expressed that in a poverty-ridden country like Pakistan, the educational priorities and choices could neither be made by Bhutto nor by Mujib⁸⁷⁴. In support of his argument the British Council representative also appreciated the existing Education Minister's views that 'regardless of whatever government was in power the new Education policy of 1970' would still be

⁸⁷¹. Ibid., pp.1-3. ⁸⁷². Ibid., p.5.

^{873.} Ibid., p.6.

⁸⁷⁴. Ibid.

implemented. That again was not perceived among British officers as a promising sign for implementing recommendations of Lord James' Mission.

Among other reasons, Shamsul Haq, the Minister of Education himself was not in favour of the recommendations and had interpreted them as elitist in nature. Such concerns of the British officers increased during 1971 when the representative of the British Council in Pakistan declared that the Pakistan authorities believed that the assistance proposals were meant for 'putting money into British experts' pockets, not into Pakistani institutions (or hands)' On the other side, by the end of April 1971, the Secretary of Overseas Development Administration (ODA) herself highlighted in a meeting that the James Mission's report was put 'on ice' and was 'shelved' given the prevailing situation in Pakistan of Council posts including the post for Science Education Officer for West Pakistan were also put to an end of 1977.

During the months of May and July, some interesting developments were pointed out from the British High Commission in Islamabad about the status of the James Mission's recommendations in Pakistan. For instance, the British High Commissioner in Islamabad brought to fore, what he called, 'the very definite impression' that as compared to the centre, the provincial governments were more 'receptive' and much more ready to take action in implementing the recommendations of the Mission. Moreover, while the central government was believed to be too focussed in its efforts to implement the 'grossly underfinanced New Education Policy' of 1970, the provincial governments were making practical suggestions for aid that however were never allowed to get through to ODA⁸⁷⁸.

⁸⁷⁵. 'Lord James Mission Report: Pakistan', Official Correspondence from the Director SAFE to Controller Overseas Board, dated 3 May 1971, p.1., in B.N.A., DO 113/28, Lord James Mission to Pakistan of 1970. ⁸⁷⁶. Ibid.

⁸⁷⁷. Ibid.

⁸⁷⁸. Letter from the British High Commission to the Secretary ODA, dated 19 May 1971, p.1, in B.N.A., DO 113/28, Lord James Mission to Pakistan of 1970.

However, upon receiving 'considerable interest' in the Mission's report from the Education Secretary to the Government of Sind in May 1971, the British Council expressed its expectation of receiving similar responses from the N.W.F.P. government; this however received a set back with the replacement of the then Education Secretary for N.W.F.P. with a new officer⁸⁷⁹. The Education Secretary for Punjab also showed his interest in implementing the recommendation to add a teacher training unit for science teachers to the Superior Science College in Lahore. Similarly, Borhanuddin Ahmad, the Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Education not only disclosed to the High Commission the instructions of the former Minister for Education (Shamsul Haq) to get the Mission report 'buried' but also expressed his wholehearted assurance in favour of the Mission's report⁸⁸⁰.

No matter how far the recommendations of the Mission were taken seriously in Pakistan, an appraisal of their implementation after few years revealed that most of the recommendations were either not implemented at all or were not implemented in their true spirit⁸⁸¹. Since the Mission's recommendations were being announced, some progress in the training of science and mathematics teachers could be seen. To illustrate, besides the less effective working of the extension centres, several universities had been running summer courses in different subjects and requests were being made to the British Council for running Teacher Vacation Courses⁸⁸². In December 1971, a special teacher training college for science teachers was established in Hyderabad. Similarly, in 1972, a piece of land at Kot Lakhpat in Lahore was purchased for a science college project that was meant

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⁸⁷⁹. 'Lord James Mission', Confidential letter from the British High Commission Islamabad to the Regional Representatives of British Council in Islamabad, Karachi, and Dhaka, and the Secretary ODA, dated 27 July 1971, pp.1-2, in B.N.A., DO 113/28, Lord James Mission to Pakistan of 1970.

⁸⁸¹. Correspondence from Assistant Representative for Ag Representative Pakistan to British Embassy Islamabad, dated 10 June 1974, in B.N.A., DO 113/28, Lord James Mission to Pakistan of 1970.

882. Ibid., p.2.

for the training of the science and mathematics teachers 883. As far as the co-ordination of change was concerned, the James Mission's recommendation was not implemented. Instead, the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education worked for the co-ordination of changes in syllabi, examinations, textbooks, and guides for teachers⁸⁸⁴. Similarly, the inspectorate was not entrusted with enhanced advisory duties which the Mission had proposed for them⁸⁸⁵. In other words, while some educational developments were being observed, in the wake of different socio-political problems, the second military rule in Pakistan had remained nothing more than a revolutionary rhetoric.

4.F. Concluding Military Rules in Pakistan:

The first military rule had declared a three-fold vision for secondary education; the first two dealing with the removal of British educational legacies and maintaining religious supremacy through religious knowledge were adopted to provide a political legitimacy to the military rule. The third aspect of emphasis on scientific knowledge was very significant for Ayub Khan himself who had aimed at bringing economic prosperity home. In accordance with the NEC's support for adopting a more diversified curriculum, the FYP 1960-1965 believed that a ratio of 1:3:4 would be achieved for developing 100 High schools with diversified courses in advanced science, agriculture, technical engineering, commerce and home economics, 300 with advanced science and humanities, and 400 with general improvement. In continuation with activities for curriculum development, the

⁸⁸³. Ibid. ⁸⁸⁴. Ibid., p.3.

^{885.} Ibid., p.5.

CCSE adopted an all-inclusive new scheme of studies for secondary education including a list of 10 compulsory subjects and scores of elective subjects being placed under 6 broader knowledge streams like Humanities, Science, Commerce, Industrial Arts, Home Economics and Agriculture. During early 1960s, the suggested curriculum of CCSE was reported as being followed and new textbooks were also produced for that purpose. However, those new textbooks were marked with some errors and had provoked public criticism against government.

The case of religious education was taken up a bit differently during Ayub's rule. The subject of religious studies was no more kept in the list of compulsory subjects of proposed secondary curriculum schemes. Ayub's administration had rather mainly dealt with anti-Islamic religious education and practices followed in Christian schools.

Emphasis on science education had received momentum during early years of Ayub's rule. Foreign assistance through UNESCO, UNICEF, USEF, and UNDP, etc. was being provided for developing different aspects of scientific knowledge, with reference to improving techniques of teaching science, industrial arts, and agricultural development methods. A more ambitious target was set in the third FYP 1965-1970 which declared that in order to increase the number of technical personnel for economic development, secondary education would be made a terminal stage for about 96 per cent of students. In the following years, enhanced activities were observed in the form of revising science curriculum, holding orientation seminars in science subjects, establishing educational bureaus and curriculum bodies to look after science education, etc. that were made possible with the help of foreign assistance. However, such developments were being conceived an insufficient as Ayub Khan himself had believed that secondary education had still lagged

behind in training students for a profitable employment upon the completion of their studies.

Similarly, while the NEC report had served as a landmark report attracting appreciation from countries like Germany and reserving a place of a model for developing states, it had received severe reactions from students for some of its recommendations affecting the latter. For Ayub Khan, since its recommendations were misunderstood, there was a dire need for adopting a new education policy for the country at the earliest. However, while such assertions were being made to deal with the deteriorating situation of law and order in the country, the first military rule was ended with Ayub Khan's forced resignation in 1969. Under Yahya Khan's military administration, a new education policy was announced in 1970 in accordance with the Nur Khan's policy proposals for education policy. Yahya's administration had mainly taken up those issues which Ayub's administration had been dealing with. However, it was proposed that a uniform and integrated system of education should be adopted for Madrassahs and mainstream secondary schools which could promise a common set of cultural values based on Islamic principles. Similarly, it was proposed that subjects of mathematics and science should be introduced in madrassahs, and missionary schools should be nationalised. About the scope of secondary education, the policy had shared a similar stance with Ayub's administration when it proposed to make secondary education a terminal stage for the majority of students who were being trained in the middle level vocations. However, the 1970 policy was less ambitious when it suggested achieving a ratio of 40:60 for general and scientific technical streams of knowledge.

While the new Education Policy of 1970 was 'widely hailed' among teachers and students, some denoting it as a 'big leap', others calling it as a 'right step towards the solution of

people's problems', ambiguities had still prevailed about its effective implementation ⁸⁸⁶. In the wake of a tumultuous transition period of contending priorities of the provincial leadership of East and West Pakistan, it was hard to achieve a consensus about ways of implementation of any policy objectives. The situation had terminated in the dismemberment of East Pakistan in March 1971. With that a new period claiming reforms in Pakistan (being left with the West Pakistan provinces only then) could be seen to have had started under the socialist slogans being raised by Z. A. Bhutto in the name of food, clothing and shelter for the poor of the country.

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⁸⁸⁶. PPI - 'A Landmark in History: Education policy widely hailed', Pakistan Times, 28 March 1970.

CONCLUSION

The British had adopted Macaulay's Minute on education in India to introduce a process of educational enlightenment for Indians through exclusive adoption of Western and not Oriental knowledge. However, Macaulay's vision was reformed to a certain extent when a number of European knowledge streams were introduced for Indians. Saying this, an academic bias in education had remained the order of the day through the bureaucratic institutionalisation of education and the system of Matriculation examinations favouring the control of universities over the content of secondary education.

Towards the end of 19th century, curricular patterns of secondary education had dealt with two broader streams of knowledge preparing students for the Matriculation examination or for the secondary school leaving examination. In some provinces, some courses of vocational significance had alternated with their courses for Matriculation examination. Similarly, the Macaulayan vision for an exclusive adoption of Western knowledge was reformed when students were allowed to offer Indian classical languages vis-à-vis foreign classical languages and when the teaching of Indian History was permitted instead of English History in some provinces. Such changes had paved the way for the diversification of knowledge for Indians.

The early years of 20th century had witnessed British Government's promises for adopting a more comprehensive secondary education scheme suiting the needs of many as compared to a few privileged sections of Indian society. Such visions were formally expressed in the education policy of 1904, the resolution of 1913, the CUC Report in 1917, and the deliberations of CoDPI in 1917. In more practical terms, more attention was paid to the cause of adopting a diversified curriculum during the period of diarchy. The post 1919 years of diarchy had revealed efforts to keep in check the undue dominance of university preparatory Matriculation examination by introducing a number of courses in the

secondary curriculum. However, the long set predominance of English language over versus vernacular languages in schools could not be done away with. Similarly, while vocational subjects were being introduced with great zeal, some practical and financial constraints had slowed down such a process of change. The years of diarchy had also witnessed efforts towards to make western methods of teaching for some school subjects compatible in the Indian context as well as efforts to bring the teaching of different subjects in Madrassahs into line with the standards of the mainstream secondary schools. The period of late 1930s had revealed a more passionate drive for vocational knowledge in the form of Abbott-Wood report and Wardha Scheme proposed by the Congress leaders. However, Wardha scheme could not be continued further with the resignation of Congress ministries from the political power. While the Wardha scheme had complied more with the Abbott-Wood recommendations about technical education, the KYJCR had gone one-step further in proposing three types of secondary schools, including secondary schools for Arts and Science; Commerce; and Agriculture. The demands of WWII had also left an impact on the nature of secondary school knowledge. Its emphasis on the food self-sufficiency and training of technical experts being required during War time had implied for students an understanding about modern trends of agriculture on one side, and their training in social services like First Aid, Red Cross, Scouts and Girl Guides, etc. on the other. During the post-WWII period, the significance of agricultural knowledge was upheld through different platforms such as the Empire Scientific Conference 1946 and the Royal Asiatic Society 1947 which deliberated on finding ways to give more scientific bias to the knowledge by collaborating with foreign agencies like the UNESCO.

In short, the British left their educational legacies in the form of different visions for secondary curriculum. Perhaps, these visions could help educational leaders of the newly

independent state of Pakistan in understanding the dynamics of future secondary education reforms for the state. They could consult for reference the Congress vision for a more indigenised practical education in various crafts of vocational significance, the AIMEC's vision for a more specified curriculum suiting the needs of many, and the existing implemented British vision which had emphasised agri-based technical education for rural areas and literary forms of knowledge benefitting a few privileged sections of urban areas. To them, equally significant was the expressed aspiration for adopting religious ideology while deciding about curricular matters of schools.

After independence, the Pakistani leadership had dealt with the two manifestations of the British legacy, that is the educational system itself and the legacy of educational visions for secondary schools that were in vogue since the adoption of Macaulay's vision. Although education was being kept as a provincial subject in accordance with the Government of India Act of 1935, placed under the political authority of the minister-in-charge, the Central Education Division was established anew; to act as a co-ordinating authority for devising educational policies in accordance with national needs and provincial educational demands. Organised under the chair of Educational Advisor for Pakistan, a hierarchy of advisory administrative posts was established separately for general and technical knowledge streams. While the ground realities had initially obstructed the Division to perform its assigned tasks, the APEC 1947 had provided an official platform to educational leaders finding ways to initiate overhauling of educational system. The ABEP was one of the practical manifestations of the APEC 1947 deliberations. In more technical terms, throughout the period of 1948-1957, ABEP's authority was vested in holding discussions about the on-going educational activities and receiving continuous reports of the Central Education Division, Provincial governments, CTEP, and IUB about educational developments.

Similarly, coupled with reports from official Five Year Plans (1950-1955, and 1955-1960), and deliberations of the second educational conference APEC1951, the ABEP meetings were indicative of government's visions for introducing particular curricular reforms aiming to remove the inherited legacies of British rule in India. From these official platforms, influential figures like Fazlur Rahman had highlighted that an over-emphasis on literary knowledge and the lack of attention to science education could be dealt with when an inspiration from Islamic ideology was being sought; an ideology which had the capacity to provide solutions to all problems. Similarly, deciding to remove alien influences found in the textbooks and readers, political and educational leaders shared a consensus on the revision of syllabi and curricula of schools. While separate schemes of studies were initially suggested for East Pakistan in 1949 and for the federal area in 1950, the former designed a gradually ramified secondary curriculum for grades IX and X into purely vocational, literary, theological, and scientific studies; and the latter had rather adopted a traditional bifurcation of knowledge into two broader groups of general knowledge stream and technical stream of knowledge. Brought up in the ABEP meeting and in the APEC 1951, the impact of such ventures was declared as not being satisfactory for achieving the targets of removing literary bias and of ensuring adoption of diversified secondary curriculum for preparing trained people for different fields.

Taking up the said tasks on board, a number of different contemporary secondary education trends, including diversified, bifurcated and unitary systems being followed in the advanced states were discussed. This had enabled the APEC 1951 members to conclude that secondary curriculum should serve five-fold needs of students. Suggesting to

adopt a contemporary British-style diversified secondary curriculum, the government believed that five streams of knowledge should be introduced within the optional subjects' category and further endorsed that, in principle, technical, agricultural and commercial education should be the fundamental part of general secondary education.

While the suggested curriculum reforms had met some targets, under-achievements and deviations from the aspired change were being strongly criticised. Educators, parents and education analysts expressed their grievances through newspapers and public gatherings against the improper implementation of certain aspects of the new curricular schemes that had stayed far away from being adopted.

In fact, the system had lacked a proper co-ordination between and among various levels of education systems in general and curricular patterns being followed in different provinces in particular. While scores of new textbooks suiting the new educational objectives of the concerned areas were being published, financial restraints had compromised their due quality; which in turn, had incited reaction from parents who had already paid for such flawed textbooks. Similarly, the government was unable to do away with the academic bias in secondary education because of the strong hold of universities in favour of literary knowledge versus scientific knowledge. Not less significant was the issue of retaining English as a compulsory subject and medium of instruction in schools for the strategic reasons of economy and an extrovert unwillingness among influential officers that was expressed against the abortion of a language which, to them, had served as a gateway to scientific wealth.

Similarly, despite so much of the expressed emphasis on Islamic teaching and scientific knowledge, the government had rather initially placed both subjects of science and religious studies among optional subjects in its newly proposed scheme for secondary

education. However, officers like Sharif had not given up for the cause of science subjects in secondary schools; suggesting ways of showing compliance with broader UNESCO objectives for science education as well as of adopting patterns of science education that were being followed in the developed states like the USA and Britain. It was equally realised that, on account of scarce financial resources and insufficient number of expert science teachers, no programme of educational reform effecting science education in Pakistan could be successfully implemented without seeking help from foreign agencies. Closely observing the deteriorating state of educational affairs and other socio-economic and political issues facing the democratic government, it was in October 1958 when the military intervention of Ayub Khan declared taking up the challenge of integrating the perplexing patterns of educational diversity along national lines; and promised to deal with

the underachieved goals of forming both religious education and scientific knowledge as

the two strong pillars of schooling in Pakistan.

Expressing his discontent with the prevailing educational issues, Ayub Khan set himself to the dual task of removing unwanted British colonial legacies which the previous government had failed to eliminate and of fixing new educational issues that had arisen as new legacies of the previous government in Pakistan. Services of educational bodies like ABEP, IUB, and CTEP were terminated, and the military rule had established a new educational body called the National Education Commission (NEC) with its assigned task to present an all-encompassing comprehensive scheme for educational overhaul. However, since NEC was expected to cover a broad range of curricular and other educational activities, foreign assistance was being considered as inevitable.

While foreign agencies' involvement in educational deliberations was not a new phenomenon in Pakistan, their role had increased manifolds during Ayub Khan's rule. After all, devising comprehensive programmes of introducing new curricula in education institutions; of providing in-service training to science teachers; of purchasing new science equipment; and the consequent setting up of new institutions for implementing the above mentioned tasks had required at some times expertise from foreign agencies like UNESCO, USAID, UNICEF, World Bank, and Ford Foundation, British Council; and at other times financial and material foreign support through their development plans designed for developing states.

At national level, the key educational organisations like NEC, the Scientific Commission and Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education, etc., had brought forward the educational vision of military rule and its ways of implementation were being identified. The prioritising of scientific knowledge was obvious not only in public speeches of Ayub Khan, it was being placed among compulsory subjects of NEC's suggested secondary education scheme. Moreover, while the military leader was equally aware of the significance of religious ideology, just like the previous educational administration of democratic years, the educational administration of military regime had kept the subject of Islamic studies (Islamiyat) as an optional subject for the secondary school grades of IX and X within the proposed scheme of NEC. Rather more significance was being assigned to compulsory subjects of General Science, Social Studies (including History, Geography and Civics) and Practical Arts (including subjects of Agriculture, Craftwork, Typing, Bookkeeping, Simple Nursing, and Home-Economics).

While enhanced significance for the development-oriented subjects of Science and Mathematics had promised adopting more of global trends, the teaching of History had remained contentious due to UNESCO's emphasis on using the subject for developing global understanding versus more of the emerging demands for re-writing the history of

the subcontinent with intent to highlight the achievements of Muslim rule and to remove what was being believed as deliberate distortions of the non-Muslim writers against Muslims' history.

NEC's recommendations had gone through the long strides of its implementation through various steps. The state machinery along with active foreign involvement strove together to make both ends meet. A range of activities was being observed with their aim to bring close the global and national visions for education. At more formal level, some educational leaders were sent on a training programme to developed states like the USA for observing already established secondary education systems following progressive types of curricular streams. At the national level, continuous discussions were being held about finding ways to achieve aspired changes in secondary curriculum which should be conducive to convert the Pakistani society from a consumption-oriented society to a production-oriented society. The landmark reports of second Five Year Plan (1960-1965) and of CCSE 1960 had further explained achieving the said targets through adopting a diversified secondary curriculum offering as much as five different fields of optional subjects. In that respect, the proposed plans were not different from the APEC 1951's proposed scheme of studies for secondary education.

While the expressed visions of the first military rule were not very different from the first democratic rule in the country, the difference did lay in their approaches for implementing the reforms. In comparative terms, the educational administration of Ayub Khan's rule was more practical in its approach to resolve issues of dearth of science teachers, textbook production for different levels of school education, dealing with disturbing religious controversy prevailing in practices of Church schools, and some impracticality involved in teaching science subjects in schools, etc. However, achieving the broad goals of training

students for the gainful employment was still not a dream come true. It was realised that this was possible by introducing new textbooks being guided by modern principles and concepts of science subjects of Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics. These problems, coupled with the problem of students' protests against proposed changes in the system had also triggered thoughts for adopting a new policy of education. While Ayub Khan had also highlighted the significance of designing a new education policy, his rule ended with the declaring of another martial law in the country.

Just like Ayub Khan had blamed the previous government to have been unable to cast off the undesired colonial legacies from within the education, Yahya Khan's administration had criticised the previous educational administration for its inability to deal effectively with said issue. Promising to bring up more structured reforms in the neglected and underachieved areas of educational development, the deputy CMLA presented an over 80 pages report of educational policy proposals. Taking up the case of implementing reforms effecting religious education in Pakistan, the policy proposals suggested to integrate madrassahs (Islamic secondary schools) with the mainstream secondary school system and likewise to reform the latter according to Islamic ideals. Similarly, it was further proposed to nationalise Church schools which were believed to have had imparted such beliefs and practices which were alien to Pakistan's national outlook and religious ideology of Islam. For Yahya Khan, securing legitimacy on more religious ideological grounds was perhaps an essential requisite for his rule. Such a realization was not deficient among British officers either serving the British High Commission's office in Pakistan who had closely observed the on-going developments in Pakistan. However, that did not suggest losing link with scientific knowledge; which had been serving as another very important pillar of legitimacy for governments since independence times. After all, that aspect of policy had

shown commitment towards economic progress and development. Similarly, while foreign agencies had stayed cautious about religious element of education, accepting to Yahya's government for the development of scientific and technical knowledge was seen as a safer option for assistance.

Lord James Mission's activities in Pakistan were a practical manifestation for that. Based on the information that was being collected from different pockets of Pakistan, the Mission had believed that the three important problems were lurking for proper resolution: dearth of technical training which had led to under-employment and to the crises of lowering industrial growth; population explosion; and not but not the least, the impracticable vying for adopting scores of native languages as media of instruction vis-à-vis retaining one English language, which though alien to the culture of natives, could combine such a diversity into one. While the highlighted issues were identified with particular reference to that state of scientific and technical education, the Mission had believed that similar could be equally applicable to other areas of education. Rather, the Mission had provided an evaluatory report which highlighted a serious issue of lack of co-ordination between policy makers and policy implementing bodies, as well as among authorities introducing new curricular schemes, producers of textbooks, teachers, and examiners, etc. Hence there was a desperate need for adopting a unified system to co-ordinate equally significant areas of syllabi, examination, teacher-training, and teaching materials. It further professed initiating change for experimental purpose before its adoption for a larger scale. No doubt, while recommendations of the Mission were all inclusive and practical in their approach, the Mission report was being shelved due to the socio-political disturbances at home. Similarly, while the national education policy of 1970 was being appreciated among sections of people, its practical implementation could not be ensured; due to underlying

ambiguities of the policy at one hand and due to the political unrest leading to the dismemberment of East Pakistan in 1971 and the prospects of beginning of a new democratic rule of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in the country.

To conclude, in the first two decades after independence, successive political regimes used school curricula as an instrument of political socialisation and ideal citizenry emphasising role of education in nation-building. Consequently, schools were being used to serve as sites where the required role of citizenship got defined and cultural values were explained in textbooks.

While different political regimes had initiated reforms in education, the foci of change in secondary education continued to remain on the two broader sets of disciplines including academic knowledge claims driven by socio-political objective/s and vocational/technical knowledge preparing students for different careers. At the same time, attempts were made to provide a more holistic experience for students through introducing comprehensive curriculum.

The competing power-relations among various key stake-holders such as, central regimes, provincial governments, universities remained mainly explicit in suggested as well as implemented changes in secondary education. The interaction among national and local groups in political realm affected the changing content of curricula and the definition of what was called legitimate school knowledge. Likewise, debates and discussions on reforming secondary education highlighted central governments' ambitions for control and making curriculum a national pre-occupation. This is evident from the fact that successive central governments initiated and spearheaded debates and reforms concerning secondary education. Simultaneously, decision-making for curriculum rested mainly with the bureaucratic structures that reflected central government plans. As a result, phenomena of

power, culture, change and policy together affected the structure, organisation of secondary education as well as changes in the curriculum form and content.

Issues of economy and competence also brought about active involvement of foreign organisations and hence their influence as well in shaping secondary education. Claiming to remove colonial legacies from within education, principles of religion-induced culture became a vital element of nationalism which was used to define the basic tenets for the educational discourse in post-independence Pakistan. Evidence of this can be traced in various formal and informal educational debates and new curriculum schemes. However, the entrenched importance of English language that was inherited from the colonial time could not be removed; due to its utility in studying science subjects, its capacity to establish link to modern Western knowledge, and due to the financial implications of introducing local languages in place of English which the government was unable to bear. Though attempts were made for radical departures from the colonial educational system, in real terms a complete overhaul of the system could not be done mainly due to practical and financial restraints facing democratic and military governments in Pakistan.

To conclude:

1. At the time of independence, the curricular patterns of knowledge followed in secondary schools were mainly guided by the duality principle. First, the principle had guided emphasis of secondary education on preparing a limited number of educated middle class for university studies after getting versed in academic knowledge streams. Second, such duality in secondary knowledge streams had provided for training in vocational knowledge streams promising lower grade occupational jobs in urban areas. In rural areas, the vocational emphasis of

- secondary education on agricultural knowledge had proved useful for both the government and students receiving that knowledge.
- 2. After independence, in theory, successive governments in Pakistan had challenged the status quo of prevailing colonial trends in education, but in practical terms the educational bureaucracy itself had kept on following the legacy patterns in education. In theory, the case of secondary curriculum change in Pakistan had presented an evidence of post-modernist claims. In practice, since these claims had proved to be nothing more than symbolic rhetoric, these had borne modernist results of maintaining the status quo. To explain, be these referring to the status of Urdu versus English, or to the significance of religious ideology vis-à-vis development oriented subjects of scientific, vocational and agricultural relevance, things had changed to some extent at the policy level but had remained the same on the ground with a few exceptions.
- 3. During early decades of post-independence, the vision for Islamisation was being adopted as a rhetoric but had stayed underdeveloped vis-à-vis visions for development oriented scientific technical subjects of practical utility for obvious reasons. First, the pattern of scientific technical knowledge had shown a stable development that was continued from the times of British rule in India. Second, reliance on science subjects of practical utility had continued without failure with the help of foreign assistance in material and non-material forms. It may not be wrong to assert that out of the visions for national unity, religious education and scientific education, it was the vision for developing scientific knowledge of practical significance that met with the least failure.

4. Similarly, the debate about manifestations of neo-colonialism had also held equal relevance for a country like Pakistan during early years of independence. That was even truer during the period of military rules for accepting more of material and non-material consultancy services from scores of foreign aid agencies. When taken in more pragmatic terms, Pakistan had adhered to the ideology of internationalism, a powerful ideology which could not be ignored either by the developed or the developing states.

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