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# Schooling in Pakistan

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# SCHOOLING IN PAKISTAN

*Sajid Ali and Iffat Farah*

### OVERVIEW OF COUNTRY

Pakistan is a relatively young country that came into existence only in 1947 as a result of the end of the colonized rule and subsequent departure of the British from the Indian subcontinent. The British arrived in India in the 18th century as traders under the banner of the British East India Company and gradually took political and administrative control of the geographic region that comprised present-day India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. India was formally declared as a British Colony after 1857 and remained so until 1947. World War II and the indigenous freedom movements in India weakened the control of the British who eventually decided to leave India and declare the nation independent of their rule. There were a large number of Muslims in India who believed that their interests would be compromised in a united independent India and demanded a separate country for themselves. As a consequence, British India was divided into two countries, India and Pakistan, in August 1947 when the British ended their colonial rule in India. Subsequently, most areas with a Hindu majority stayed with India and most areas with a predominantly Muslim population formed Pakistan. For the first 33 years after independence Pakistan existed as a country with two distinct parts, East and West Pakistan. East Pakistan separated in 1971 to form a new country now known as Bangladesh while West Pakistan became what is now known as Pakistan.

Present-day Pakistan is comprised of the four provinces of Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan and North West Frontier Province (NWFP), along with the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the Federally Administered Northern Areas (FANA). It shares borders with India in the south and east, China in the northeast, Afghanistan in the northwest, and Iran in the west. The Arabian Sea in the southwest separates it from the Gulf States but also provides a channel

and easy access to the Middle East and beyond. The population of Pakistan is approximately 165 million of which the majority of 64 percent lives in rural areas. Islam is the state religion and 97 percent of the population is Muslim. The remainder of the religious minority of 3 percent includes Hindus, Christians, and Parsis. Urdu is the national language while English is used as an official language in most governmental written transactions. In addition, there are four major languages spoken in each of the provinces along with many other local languages and dialects. Islamabad is the federal capital while Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, and Quetta are the major cities as well as the provincial capitals. Pakistan has a bicameral parliamentary democratic form of government, in which the prime minister is the head of government while the president is the head of state. Unfortunately since its inception Pakistan has not had a steady history of parliamentary democracy. There have been large periods of military rule and many changes in the elected governments. These changes have had a negative effect on consistency in priorities and policy implementation in all sectors.

Although Pakistan is a new country politically, the history of this geographical region can be traced back to the ancient times where some of the greatest civilizations like those of Indus and Gandhara evolved and flourished. Throughout history, this region served as a passageway for warriors and merchants. Alexander the Great of Macedonia, the Greeks and the Afghans came here from the northwest; the Mongols came from the northeast; and the Arabs came from the south. Each of these groups left their influence on the socio-cultural milieu of Pakistan which is now a rich blend of various racial and cultural stocks. These social, political, and cultural elements also influenced the educational systems in the region, and this will be more apparent when the different time periods in history are discussed in detail.

## HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

The chapter is divided into sections based on historical periods, mainly the ancient times before A.D. 700s, the pre-colonial Muslim rule between A.D. 700 and the 1700s, the British colonial period between the 1800s and 1947, and the present time from after 1947. These timelines are unique to the history of this region and will be clarified when discussing a particular period in detail. The education systems under each of these time periods will be discussed separately. It is important to note that the historical time lines are loosely defined, which means that one era does not exactly end or begin at a particular point of history but develops gradually over time before becoming distinct from the preceding period. Further, as the region has remained under the influence of different political and cultural forces which sometimes existed side-by-side, one can find several strands of educational systems existing simultaneously.

## Ancient Education Systems (until A.D. 700s)

The archaeological remnants discovered from various regions in Pakistan point to a history beginning during the Stone Age. The sites near the Soan Valley near Rawalpindi, Seria Khola, and Mehargarh (NWFP) date back from 50,000 to 10,000 B.C. River Indus, which flows down from the Himalayan ranges and passes through the center of present day Pakistan, has remained the site of great civilizations such as Kot Diji around 3500 B.C. and gave rise to the Indus civilization around 2500 B.C. Remnants of this civilization have been discovered in Moen-jo-Daro, Harappa, and Taxila located in present day Pakistan. These sites show evidence of the existence of monasteries that educated and supported scholars. According to one perspective, around 1700 B.C. the Aryans invaded this region from the northwest, destroyed the Indus civilization and decided to stay here and founded a civilization called the Vedic civilization.

Knowledge of the educational system as practiced in those times is limited. Historians have mostly relied on archaeological evidences to ascertain any information about the earliest educational system. The excavations at Moen-jo-Daro and Taxila have revealed a highly evolved form of urban life and the presence of language scripts on seals, which suggests an educated society capable of reading, writing, and basic vocational skills. The findings further suggest that the educational system evolved mainly to satisfy religious and economic needs of the society and was initially limited to particular classes of society. The two great religions of the ancient times in this region were Hinduism and Buddhism, which also influenced the systems of education. Although both of these systems existed side-by-side over a large period in history, they will be discussed separately here in order to elaborate their distinctive features.

### *Brahmanic or Hindu System*

The Brahmanic system of education was based on Vedic and Upanishadic texts. The *Veda* were the ancient religious texts which were initially transferred via the oral tradition and later captured in writing somewhere around 2000 B.C. The *Veda* comprised four books written in Sanskrit and contained hymns, chants, and mantras based on ancient mythology representing godly figures. The *Upanishad* were composed at a later stage sometime during 800–500 B.C. and mainly contained philosophical treatises. In the very beginning of the Vedic civilization, there was no discrimination on the basis of sex or class; both women and men and people belonging to all social classes were equally free to get education. Later, however, the caste system started to emerge and education became more restrictive and was categorized according to social classes. The castes were divided into four categories: *brahman* (priests), *kshatriya* (noblemen and warriors), *vaishya* (traders and agriculturists), and *shudra* (artisans and sanitation workers). The study of the *Veda* was common to all castes mentioned earlier except the *shudra* caste. The purpose and system of education was different

for the higher and lower castes. The purpose of educating the *brahman*s was to maintain a class of priests who would guide people in their religious affairs. The *brahman* students were educated in the hymns and their meanings in a structured and organized manner and were required to learn long hymns by heart, which needed long hours of practice. The purpose of educating the *kshatriya* and *vaishya* castes was to prepare professionals and so it was more like vocational training mainly through practice and participation in the occupational activities. No educational provision was available for the *shudra* caste except training in menial jobs. The formal education system in Hinduism consisted of two kinds of institutions, *tol* (places for *brahman* students to learn Sanskrit and to gain knowledge in religious affairs) and *patshala* (schools for *vaishya* students who would learn about trade and agriculture and for *kshatriya* students who would learn basic arithmetic and commerce).

For the upper caste *brahman* the education system was quite extensive. An initial phase of basic religious education for a period of 5–6 years (roughly between the ages of 5 and 12 years) was offered at the *tols*. Students were required to learn *mantras* (hymns) from the *Veda* and master the *Upanishad* (philosophical debates about God, man and soul) along with subjects of general nature, such as grammar, science, logic, and metaphysics. This was followed by a phase equivalent to secondary education which required students to live and sojourn with a teacher to learn about nature and the realities of life. According to Brahmanic or Hindu beliefs there were four stages in adult education: *brahmachari* (student life), *grahasti* (domestic and practical life), *sanyasi* (ascetic life), and *vanapasti* (recluse). Only the bright students were allowed into the higher stages or the post-secondary stage of learning. The teachers for post-secondary levels were referred to as *guru* and the students were known as *chella*. The *gurus* were independent scholars, having gained high religious morals, and were firm believers in simple living and high thinking. Prospective students who wanted to pursue higher education and learning beyond the secondary levels would request to study with the scholar-teachers, or *gurus*. Upon admission the *chellas* had to live and travel with the *guru* on a full-time basis to gain both religious and worldly wisdom.

The curriculum at the *patshalas* comprised of general physics, chemistry, medicine, astronomy, geometry, and civics depending on the expertise of the teachers. This initial introduction to different fields was later followed by apprenticeship and on the job learning. Usually students joined their family business and gained mastery in a particular field. The curriculum for the *kshatriyas* focused on learning war games and affairs of governance. Initially, before the advent of script, all the education was imparted verbally and thus all education, particularly that based on Vedic and Upanishadic texts, involved a great deal of rote memorization.

### *Buddhist System*

As indicated earlier, education system in ancient times was mainly constructed around religion. Buddhism as a religion evolved from Hinduism in the Indian

subcontinent during the period between 500 and 300 B.C. Around the year 300 B.C. the first consolidated government of the subcontinent emerged under the leadership of King Ashoka, who formed the Maurya dynasty. Later Ashoka embraced Buddhism giving it immense strength.

Buddhism marked the beginning of popular education in this region. Like the Hindu system, the Buddhist education system was also constructed along religious lines and on the basis of the teachings of its founder Gautam Buddha. The embracing of Buddhism by King Ashoka provided state support to the Buddhist education system and it is believed that Ashoka built several monasteries and nunneries throughout his kingdom. Monasteries were built to cater to the education of boys and nunneries were dedicated to the education of girls. Buddhist monasteries and nunneries served as centers for learning and were open to students from all classes of society. They were like residential schools and housed dormitories for students. The archaeological sites discovered in Taxila show dormitories attached to the monasteries. According to Huan Chwang an ancient Chinese traveler, there were several hundred monasteries in Sindh at the time of his travel. Schooling in the monasteries generally lasted for ten years during which students were asked to wear a particular robe; the design and color of the robes changed with each passing stage indicating the level of studentship. Education in the monasteries and nunneries was designed to build students' moral character, develop their speech capacities, and increase their philosophical maturation. They were also trained to debate about and preach religion. This education mainly served a religious function by creating devout followers who, upon graduation, were able to preach the religion.

Influenced by Hindu education, Buddhists also included several secular subjects in their curriculum such as logic, philosophy, oratory, arithmetic, grammar, interpretation of dreams, dramas, prosody, sculpture, and shipbuilding. The basic learning outcomes of Buddhist education were expected to be the achievement of self-actualization and the attainment of knowledge and wisdom. This required both meditation as well as the acquisition of subject matter knowledge in various disciplines. The students/disciples were required to engage in the (1) contemplation of body; (2) contemplation of feelings; (3) contemplation of thought; and (4) contemplation of ideas. The development and progress of all the students throughout the different stages of schooling was closely monitored by the monks who also served as the teachers and who used strict punishment to discipline the students. After graduation the brighter students who performed better would become monks and teachers at their own monasteries or take up positions in other monasteries.

### *Other Influences during Ancient Times*

Persians invaded this region in about 500 B.C. and remained here for quite sometimes, followed by the Greeks who invaded in 327 B.C. under the command of Alexander the Great. These invasions must have brought traces of Greek and

Persian thoughts in the cultural fabric of this region although documentary evidences to identify these traces are not available.

### **Education Systems in the Pre-Colonial Muslim Rule (A.D. 700–1700s)**

The Muslims reached the Indian subcontinent initially from Arabia and later from Persia and central Asia. In A.D. 711 Muhammad Bin Qasim, an Arab general, first conquered Sindh but did not establish any central government. By A.D. 872 there were independent Arab states such as the Emirate of Al-Mansurah and Emirate of Multan in this region. By the turn of the century in A.D. 1001, Mahmud of Gazan (Persia) started attacking India and annexed the areas of Punjab and Peshawar to his rule. The first Muslim Sultanate in the subcontinent was established by Muhammad of Ghur with the support of his general Qutubuddin Aibak, who became the king of Delhi in A.D. 1206 and who founded the so-called Slave Dynasty. From that time the Indian subcontinent remained under different Muslim dynasties, with central governments of different strengths, until the 19th century when it gave way to total British rule.

With the advent of Islam in the northwest of the region, the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism moved away from what is modern day Pakistan and more toward the northeast. Hinduism became concentrated mainly in the area which now comprises India, while Buddhism became concentrated in several countries to the east such as Tibet, China, Sri Lanka, and so forth. Islam arrived as a major influence in the subcontinent and established its own system of education, popularly known as the *madressa* system, which began in a similar manner as other earlier systems (Hindu and Buddhism) in terms of the purpose of education, that is, to impart religious education and to prepare religious scholars and preachers who can also advance in worldly education. Hindu and Buddhist systems continued to exist along with the Muslim education, each influencing the other. Another tradition of Muslim education can be referred to as *Sufi* (mystic) education. *Sufis* were the people who devoted their lives in search of the truth with deep love for the Creator. The *mureed* (disciples) who used to choose this path remained attached to their teacher who was known as *murshid*. This tradition was based on philosophical orientations, meditations, and deep reflections on the Quran and on nature. It is important to note that other approaches to learning, such as apprenticeship where a disciple joined the expert teacher to develop expertise in becoming an artisan, a blacksmith, a goldsmith, or even a medical practitioner, also existed alongside with *madressa* and *Sufi* education.

#### ***Madressa Education System***

Before discussing the *madressa* educational system it will be useful to briefly review its origins. In the Islamic faith, education is considered to be a religious duty. Both the holy Quran and the traditions of the holy Prophet placed repeated

emphasis on seeking knowledge. Hence education in Islam is considered a life long process without any discrimination of gender or class. Non-formal adult education is equally emphasized and was reflected in the formation of *halqas* (literary gatherings) of adult learners in mosques around particular scholars for discussion. The basic aim of Islamic education is to create faith in God's supremacy, train pupils morally, develop scientific understanding, create self-consciousness, and help establish a just society. The early Islamic traditions did not distinguish between education for this world and education for the hereafter, and therefore both religious and earthly knowledge were pursued, which resulted in significant advancement in the fields of science, astronomy, chemistry, mathematics, and medicine.

The formal education system of Islam, which is now known as the *madressa* system, evolved gradually from the time of Prophet Muhammad in Arabia in about A.D. 500. Initially, mosques were the centers of all educational activities. During the times of the Prophet, the people of Suffah were attached to the mosque of the Prophet in Medina and devoted their entire lives to learning. At a later stage, as the number of people engaged in educational activities within the mosque grew, separate rooms for learning and teaching were attached to the mosques to avoid distractions for worshippers. Increasingly, *maktabs* (primary schools) and libraries were built attached to the mosques. At a later stage, *madressas* were built to engage in scholarly work at a more advanced level. The system evolved in Arabia and spread to the rest of the Muslim world, and with the arrival of Arabs in the Indian subcontinent it reached the area of present day Pakistan through Sindh.

Before the formal *madressa* system, the education system in Muslim societies was composed of: (1) *maktabs*, for developing Arabic literacy and recitation; (2) private education delivered in the homes of the students; (3) *kutub khana* (libraries or reading rooms); (4) houses of *aalim* (scholars); (5) special literary seminars organized by caliphs; and (6) education in the mosques. The first known formal *madressa* in Muslim history is said to have been established in A.D. 1005 by the Fatimid caliphs in Egypt. However, the first organized system of *madressa* was established by a Seljuk *vizier* (minister) by the name of Nizam-ul-Mulk Hassan Bin Al-Tusi, in A.D. 1067. It is important to note that the *madressas* did not grow out of *maktabs* but were established separately as centers of higher learning. The *maktabs* provided primary education while *madressas* provided secondary and post-secondary education. In the Sindh region of Pakistan, the early form of education system was introduced through mosques that were established by Muhammad Bin Qasim. Later, Caliph Umer bin Abdul Aziz (A.D. 717-720) ordered the establishment of *maktabs* attached with mosques throughout his Caliphate and also arranged for paying stipends to the students. In Sindh, both *maktabs* and *madressas* were established due to which many of the cities of Sindh like Sehwan, Bakhar, and Debal flourished as centers of learning by the years A.D. 700s. Around the same time, Mansurah, a small town in present day Punjab province, was also recognized as a place of learning that produced several notable



scholars. Despite these advances, the Muslim rulers in India did not take on education as a state responsibility but they did provide opportunities, endowments, and free land for establishing *madressas*. All the Muslim dynasties, for example the Slaves, Khiljis, Tughlaqs, Sayyids, Lodhis, and the Mughals took a keen interest in the establishment of *madressas* where both religious and non-religious subjects were taught. This keen interest spurred an era of mass literacy at the primary level, followed by ample opportunities to pursue advanced studies privately or through state support. *Madressas* were highly dependant on endowments and so a *madressa* would begin to decline due to a lack of resources with the death of its founder or patron.

The earliest education of Muslim children used to be organized at home where some early lessons in Arabic reading and religious knowledge were given. Many parents also enrolled their children at an early age in *maktabs* for primary education, and sometimes children themselves took the initiative to join some *halqas* (literary circles) even at a young age. *Madressas* admitted relatively mature students who wanted to develop an expertise in a particular area of knowledge. Many of these *madressas* were full-time residential schools and provided boarding and lodging facilities and a few also gave stipends as scholarships to needy students. Thus *madressa* education was accessible to the poor and the rich alike and became popular among the masses. This tradition of providing lodging and board continues even today.

### *The Islamic Teachers*

There were three kinds of teachers within the Muslim education system. First, the *maktab* teachers who were responsible for the basic level of children's learning; second, the *ataleeq* (private tutors) who were the teachers for the children of noblemen; and third, the *ulemas* (religious scholars) who were responsible for specialized and advanced level learning in the *madressas*. The *maktab* teachers possessed basic qualifications to read and recite the Quran and a basic level of understanding of religious knowledge; some of them were also *hafiz*,<sup>1</sup> that is, they had memorized the complete Quran. Both *ulemas* and *ataleeqs* usually possessed the highest level of qualification with distinction in their fields. The *ataleeqs* were highly respected and treated as family members of their students. They used to reside with the student or were given special accommodation facilities. There was no formal certification during the early days of Islam but with gradual institutionalization of the *madressa* system, certificates were awarded to recognize a specific level of mastery in various disciplines. The graduates of the *madressas* occupied different places in society: some preferred to become teachers and preachers, while others joined government service to work as *sadr-i-jahan* (chief justice), *shaikh-ul-Islam* (person in charge of ecclesiastical affairs), *qazi* (judge), *mufti* (jurist), *mubtasib* (accountability judge), *imam* (prayers leader), *khatib* (preacher), and teachers in state maintained schools.

## The Curriculum

Knowledge is classified in two forms within the Islamic tradition: revealed knowledge which is taught by God through the prophets, and earthly knowledge which is discovered by humans. This became the basis of an Islamic education curriculum. The early Muslims excelled in both fields and this growth of knowledge reached its zenith in Spain where Muslims ruled for 800 years. However, with the gradual social and political decline of the Muslims, their education system also deteriorated and became confined to the study of religious affairs only.

The curriculum taught by the *maktabs* was quite basic and included reading and reciting of the holy Quran, basic religious knowledge, and, depending on the expertise of the teacher, Arabic and Persian languages, basic arithmetic, and some poetry. The curriculum taught in the *madressas* was first developed in Baghdad in A.D. 1067 by a Seljuk minister named Nizam-ul-Mulk, and included the teaching of both religious and earthly knowledge. It aimed to prepare religious scholars who were also well acquainted in dealing with governance issues. The early history of *madressa* curriculum in the Indian subcontinent is not very well documented. The earliest information refers to the curriculum followed by the Firuz Shahi Madressa founded by King Firuz Tughluq (A.D. 1355–1388). The main subjects taught at this madressa were *tafsir* (interpretation of Quran), *hadith* (Prophet's sayings and traditions), and *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence). The main textbook for *hadith* was *Mashariq-ul-Anwar* and for *fiqh* was *Hidaya*.

The heavy emphasis on religious knowledge in the *madressa* curriculum was maintained to ensure religious conformity through uniform teachings of Islam for all, and to prepare people who can run affairs of the state according to the Islamic principles. In the subcontinent, *madressa* curriculum gradually confined itself to religious knowledge paying little attention to the teaching of earthly knowledge. However, other scholars argue that many *madressas* in the subcontinent modified their curriculum according to need and available expertise and included subjects like literature, history, mysticism, ethics, and more advanced scientific subjects like botany, medicine, geometry, logic, astronomy, and mathematics. Several important curricular reforms were introduced during the Mughal period. The most significant changes were made by Mulla Nizam-ud-Din during the rule of King Aurangzeb Alamgir (A.D. 1658–1707) who devised a curriculum later known as Dars-e-Nizamiya.<sup>2</sup> This curriculum is still being practiced in current *madressa* systems in Pakistan. Dars-i-Nizamia consists of two parts—*manqoolat* and *maqoolat*. *Manqoolat* emphasizes the understanding of religious texts, and the knowledge of Quran, *fiqh*, and *hadith*; while *maqoolat* includes subjects like languages, philosophy, psychiatry, medicine, mathematics, geometry, algebra, and engineering. Gradually, the *madressas* limited their teachings to *manqoolat* and dropped *maqoolat* from their curriculum.

The teaching methods used in the *maktab* and *madressa* were different from each other. Teachings in the *maktab* emphasized repetition, rote memorization, and reproduction of religious text. Teachers used strict measures to make sure

that students acquired desirable competency in reading and memorizing the Quran and other recommended texts. On the other hand, the *madressa* teachers were usually scholars with high moral respect for individuals and their learning. Because of the residential nature of *madressas*, teachers focused on the holistic development of individuals which included their academic as well as moral well being. Students considered their teachers as role models and many of them went on to become scholars, continuing and extending the work of their teachers. Although the dominant method of teaching was the lecture followed by question and answers, discussions based on logical reasoning and reflections requiring higher order thinking skills were also common. Private tutors who taught nobles also used the lecture method. However, since they taught many non-religious subjects too their methods differed as well. An *ataleeq* hired for teaching physical fitness and sports engaged more in the practical methods and approaches of teaching as compared to someone who would teach philosophy.

### **Education Systems during British Colonial Times (A.D. 1700s–1947)**

The Mughal Empire started disintegrating after about A.D. 1707 and the British took control of the Indian subcontinent thereafter. The British came to the subcontinent as traders under the banner of the East India Company and gradually took complete political and administrative control of India. The provinces that comprise present day Pakistan were annexed under the British crown one after the other with Baluchistan being annexed in 1840, Sindh in 1843, Punjab in 1849, and North West Frontier Province (NWFP) in 1849. The British stayed as merchants of the East India Company until the Indian uprising of 1857, after which, the British government took direct control of the Indian subcontinent and remained there until 1947. The colonial period under the East India Company and that under direct British government rule had distinct educational features and will be discussed separately.

#### ***Education under the East India Company***

Initially, the Company had no specific plans for educational provisions in India. However, gradually having consolidated their rule and becoming masters of the conquered land, they started recognizing the need for their officers to learn about local religions, culture, and languages. This would allow the officers to better understand the local context in order to help improve their governance structures. Thus some secondary and post-secondary institutions called colleges were established by different military generals of the East India Company in their respective jurisdictions in what is present day India.

Some more systematic thoughts on education in general started emerging in the 1830s. Two major issues that became the focus of discussion among British policy makers were related to the systems of education (local versus western) and the language of education (local languages versus English). William Adam, a

former Baptist missionary turned journalist, submitted a report to the British government in 1835 on vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar (two of the states in what is now eastern India). He urged developing an educational system based upon the already established local system of education of *patshalas* and *madressas* in almost every village. This suggestion was vehemently opposed by Lord T. B. Macaulay, member of the Supreme Council of India, who insisted upon establishing a fresh system of education offered in the English language and demanded abandoning official support for the local academic languages like Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit. In addition, he emphasized the introduction of a western form of education possible through English only. Through such reforms he wanted to create a class of local Englishmen. In his own words,

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and color [*sic*], but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. (Macaulay's minutes on Education, 2nd February, 1835)

These Minutes were approved by Governor General William Bentinck in the same year. The minutes introduced a new era of education in the Indian subcontinent, marked by a continuous struggle over language issues which continue to this day in Pakistan. In 1854, following Macaulay's footsteps, Sir Charles Wood drafted the future design of spreading western education system throughout British India which is commonly known as Woods Despatch. A major aim of this education was to prepare a class of professionals mainly for government services.

### *Education under the British Administrative Government*

In 1857, the local population revolted against the British East India Company in an attempt to regain local governance. Although the British suffered heavy losses they managed to regain control. These political upheavals resulted in direct control of the Indian subcontinent by the British Crown. The British government appointed a Secretary for India in the British Parliament, and a Viceroy in India to represent the British Crown. These two offices were also responsible to formulate an education policy for India. In 1859, Lord Stanley's Dispatch reaffirmed the propositions made in the Woods' Dispatch to aim education at spreading western knowledge and thoughts and preparing public service professionals. Hence, British education policy in the subcontinent focused mainly on providing secondary education and producing matriculates to satisfy minimum qualification for government service.

The British did not intend to establish a mass education system, and therefore, largely ignored both primary and tertiary levels of education, particularly the latter. For example, Sindh did not have a university even until 1921. The British government encouraged the locals, particularly the elites, to establish and maintain their own schools which would be assisted by the government through

grants-in-aid. Despite the fact that the government did not take sole responsibility for providing education across the board, it did establish and maintain certain schools mainly for urban population. There appear to have been three kinds of schools during the British rule: (1) Chief's Colleges for hereditary aristocracy; (2) European or English schools for professional elites; and (3) the vernacular school or Anglo-vernacular schools for the general public mainly in urban areas.

The Chief's Colleges were funded mainly through the private pockets of the chiefs and supported by grants from the British government. Apart from education, the main purpose of these schools was to anglicize young princes and to create affection amongst them for the British way of living. This was done to ensure loyalty of the princely states and preclude events such as those of the revolt in 1857. One such college was established in 1886 in Lahore (in present day Pakistan) for the Chiefs of Punjab and was named Aitchison College. The college still exists as an elite school and while now the admission is primarily merit based, it still mainly educates children from socially and politically influential families. The European schools were highly sought after by emerging elite classes such as high level professionals and the government servants. Apart from being expensive the admission to these schools was also tough as they allocated only 15 percent seats for the Indians. The headmasters and senior teachers for these schools, as well as those for the Chief's Colleges, were mainly British. English remained the medium of instruction of these schools. They aimed to prepare their students for the Cambridge School Certificate Examination for enabling them to pursue higher education in England. The vernacular schools which offered instruction in the local languages, and the Anglo-vernacular schools which offered instruction in English, were viewed as the schools for the general public. One of the major aims for such schools was to prepare clerks for public services institutions. The system was not intended to prepare students for higher education. Compared to the elite schools, these schools offered lower quality education, were staffed by local teachers, and were supervised by the provincial education departments through their field inspectors.

Thus the new system of British education created and reinforced a class division based on educational achievements. The role of English language proficiency rather than subject area expertise became the defining factor for success in the lives of young people in the subcontinent. Those who could speak the language could join the elite club and those who could not remained at clerical levels. This division still exists in present day Pakistan. The British policies also proved detrimental to the role and status of teachers, particularly those in the general public schools, as compared to their role and status in the older systems of *madressas* and *patshalas*. In the earlier indigenous educational systems the teacher had the responsibility of setting the curriculum that he/she deemed harmonious with the students' cultural lives. In contrast, the new system emphasized the role of standardized textbooks, hence limiting the role of the teacher in curriculum development. In addition, unlike the teachers of elite schools, the vernacular school teachers were paid lower salaries and slotted near the bottom of the hierarchy of governmental bureaucracy.

### *Muslim Reaction to English Education*

As described in the last section, Muslims had a history of an independent education system considered to be closely associated with forming the Muslim identity and meeting the community's spiritual and material needs. The British Policy of education in India created three responses among the Muslim community. The first response came from conservatives who preferred to stick to the system of *maktabs* and *madressas* and wanted no contact with the English system of education which they considered to be a threat to their religion and culture. The proponents of this view founded a *madressa* in Deoband (in present day India) in A.D. 1866 which used an adapted version of the Darse Nizami, following the tradition of focusing on subjects related to religion (*manqulaat*) like *hadith*, *fiqh*, and *sunnah*. Scholars graduating from this *madressa* established a particular school of thought and an educational movement under which new *madressas* were established and affiliated with Deoband. Several *madressas* in current day Pakistan are affiliated with the Deoband movement but offer their own certification.

The second response to British initiatives came from those Muslims who looked favorably toward the English system of education but believed that since Muslims had lagged behind other Indians in modern education, they needed a form of affirmative action and special institutions to be educated in worldly and modern knowledge. This view took on the form of a movement called the Aligarh Movement that was initiated by Syed Ahmad Khan. Under his leadership, some Muslims of India established the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh (in present day in India) in A.D. 1875. This college later became a university where Muslims of India acquired English education without fear of losing or tarnishing their identity, religion, or culture. With the passage of time, and the evidence of college education leading to economic gains, secular education became popular amongst Muslims, particularly those from the middle or upper classes. *Madressa* education came to cater only to the children of the economically weak who could not afford secular education. This trend has continued in present day Pakistan.

The third reaction to British Policies sought to seek a balance between religious and secular education and came mainly from religious scholars who wanted reform in the *madressa* system. As a result, Nudwatul Ulema (Association of Religious Scholars) was formed in A.D. 1893. This association suggested curriculum reform in the age-old *madressa* curriculum, and suggested the addition of astronomy, philosophy, arithmetic, geography, and English language to the religious subjects already offered. This suggestion was rejected by the mainstream *madressas*, following which a model *madressa* with the name of Darululum Nudwatul Ulema was established under the leadership of Maulana Shibli Naumani in A.D. 1898 at Lucknow (in present day India). This institution however faced opposition both from mainstream *madressas* and the British government and could not achieve popular success.

## Education Systems in the Present Times (Post 1947)

In 1947, Pakistan became an independent country. In the early years of independence, it had a weak physical and administrative infrastructure and poor financial resources. As seen above, the British had not provided education to the masses and a relatively small number of elite English schools had been established in the larger cities. At the time of independence in 1947, Pakistan had a very small number of educational institutions and a very low participation rate.<sup>3,4</sup> In order to strategize for the future education system of Pakistan, the first educational conference was held in 1947 and is often regarded as the first initiative in setting up education policy guidelines for the new country. It recommended the introduction of free and compulsory education by the state. Over 20 years later in 1971, the constitution of Pakistan also asserted the right of all citizens to obtain education and the responsibility of the government to provide at least 10 years of education. Since then large gains have been made in the provision of schooling in both rural and urban population in Pakistan. However, considerable gaps still exist mainly in terms of the quantity and quality of schools in rural and urban areas, for boys and girls, and for different socio-economic classes.

There are four stages of schooling in Pakistan: (1) primary schools which include Grades 1–5; (2) middle schools with Grades 6–8; (3) high schools with Grades 9–10;<sup>5</sup> and (4) beyond this stage students can spend two years in college and reach what is called the intermediate level. Then they may continue another two years in college to get a Bachelor of arts or Bachelor of science degree (B.A./B.Sc.) or go on to professional colleges in the medical, engineering, or business fields. After a Bachelor's degree, students can go on to enroll in a two-year masters' program (M.A. or M.Sc.). Students may also join the university after their intermediate certificate to enroll in a Bachelors' (honors) three-year degree program. Most universities in Pakistan also offer Ph.D. degrees in several fields.

## TYPES OF SCHOOLS IN PAKISTAN

At present there are several types of schools in Pakistan. This typology is based on the management structure, source of income, location, medium of instruction, and the socio-economic class of students and teachers. Several other distinctions are discussed below.

### Government Schools

These schools are fully supported by the government which constructs and maintains the school building, appoints and pays the teachers, prescribes the text books for all levels, and determines rules and regulations. They charge a nominal fee of a few rupees but parents must pay for other school costs such as uniform, books, and other learning materials. The medium of instruction in these schools is Urdu which is the national language of Pakistan but which is not necessarily the

first language of the students. The Sindh province has both Sindhi medium and Urdu medium primary and secondary government schools. Sindhi is also taught as a subject, or content area, in these schools. The NWFP has government primary schools with both Urdu and Pushto (the provincial language) as the medium of instruction, but all secondary government schools use Urdu as the instructional medium. In all four provinces, Urdu and English are taught as compulsory or mandatory subjects. Both children and teachers in these schools belong to low-income groups. Teachers should have undergraduate or graduate teaching qualifications as an appointment precondition to teach in primary or secondary government schools. Generally, government schools have limited resources. Typically rural schools face a shortage of teachers and basic facilities such as classrooms, toilets, and drinking water. One or two teachers must teach several classes and multigrade classes are common. In urban schools, there is a shortage of teachers in some subjects such as science and math, and a shortage of space so that each class has a large number of students sometimes over a hundred. The following vignette provides a glimpse into the day of the life of a rural school child.

### *Ali's Story: A Day in the Life of a Rural School Child*

Ali is ten years old and studies in class three. There was no school in his village till about five years ago when the government primary school was established. His sister attends class two in a community-based school for girls run by a community-based organization (CBO). This school was opened only two years back. His older sister does not go to school because there was no school in the village when she was little and now she is 12 years old. His parents say she is too old to be running around the village alone and go to school.

Ali gets up early to go to the mosque to learn to read the Quran. He spends about half an hour there and returns to get ready for school. School begins at 8 A.M. and he can walk there in five minutes. His school has two rooms and open grounds with a few trees. They rarely have classes in the rooms and most times the teacher pulls his chair outside under a tree and the boys sit on the ground in front of him because there is no electricity in the school and it gets very hot in the small rooms. Besides, the rooms are too small to accommodate all the children. The school has two teachers and five classes so students from Grades 3–5 all sit together and are taught by the teacher at the same time. The other teacher teaches the students of Grades 1–2. Grade 4 boys are often asked to help Grade 3 boys. Most of the time the teacher asks the boys to stand up and read from the text books of Urdu and Social Studies, or to copy the answers to the questions at the end of the lessons. He either tells them where the answers are in the book or writes them on the board. They hardly ever read from their English book. The teacher explains math questions on the board and they all copy them in their notebooks.

They have a short break at 11 A.M. and sometimes Ali runs to his house to drink water or use the toilet. Sometimes the teachers ask him and the other boys to



bring tea from the tea-shop near the school and then he can't go home or play with his friends. School is over at 1 P.M. and he walks back home with his friends. Sometimes they stop and play in the lane. He can rest in the afternoon or go out and wander around. But most days he goes to help his father in the field, gather fodder for the cattle, and do other odd jobs. His other friends have to do the same chores in helping their fathers in the shop or in the field. In the evening often he goes to the neighbors to watch TV. When there is homework he does that before going to bed and sometimes he forgets to do it. His mother can't read or write; his father can a little bit but doesn't ask if homework is done. Everyone in his family goes to bed early around 9 or 10 P.M. This year his father seems to have more money because he has bought him all the school books. Last year he could not buy all of them and Ali was scolded all the time for not having all his school books and even stopped going to school for a while. He also missed school this year because one time the family had to go to a relative's wedding in a nearby village and another time when there were floods in the village and Ali's family moved to a relative's house in another village.

### Private Schools

There are a large and growing number of private schools in Pakistan. These schools are owned and managed by private individuals, trusts, or community boards. A decade back most of these schools existed in large cities and catered to children from the upper socio-economic class. During 1971 all private schools were nationalized and in 1979, with a change in government, they were denationalized regaining their status as private schools. In the past decade government policy has promoted public-private partnership in many sectors including education. This has resulted in tremendous increase in the number and variety of private schools. The large private schools in the urban areas have a high fee structure charging between Rs. 1500 and Rs. 5000 (One USD is equivalent to about 60 Pakistani Rupees) per month. They have well equipped classrooms, most have large school buildings, and the students and teachers are generally drawn from upper and upper-middle income groups. The medium of instruction in these schools is English and both students and teachers use English for most interactions in and out of school. Urdu is taught as a compulsory subject. Schools are affiliated with the national/provincial examination boards or with the British examination boards at Oxford and Cambridge and follow the national curriculum or British O'Level and A'Level curriculum respectively. Another type of private schools are located in both urban and rural areas and charge a much lower fee of Rs. 200 to 600. These types of schools are often housed in small residential buildings and have very basic facilities. Many of them are officially English medium schools and use text books written in English but most classroom interaction is in Urdu or a local language since both teachers and children have very low proficiency in English. These schools follow the national curriculum but self prescribe textbooks for their own school until Grade 8. In Grades 9-10, all

schools affiliated with government examination boards must use books prescribed by the government Text Book Boards. Private school teachers are appointed on the basis of their general educational background and no training is required at the time of appointment. However, an increasing number of private schools are either developing professional development facilities in their own schools or sending their teachers for in-service training to other private institutions. The following vignette illustrates a typical day in the life of an urban girl who attends private school.

### *Sana's Story: A Day in the Life of an Urban School Child*

Sana is a 14 year old girl studying in an English medium private school in Grade 8. She lives in an apartment with her younger siblings Anwer and Amna, and her parents and grand mother. Her siblings go to the same school with her in the morning. Her father works in a private firm in the accounts department.

Sana wakes up at 7 A.M. and quickly gets ready for school while also helping both Anwer and Amna. She then moves to the kitchen to help her mother prepare breakfast. They eat a quick breakfast while watching television and then rush outside to catch the school van which arrives at 7:30 A.M. Her school is housed in a bungalow which is converted into a school and is located on a busy street along with other schools in the vicinity. The school has Grades 1–10. Each grade level has three sections. Each section sits in a separate room with benches and tables arranged in rows close together. In the front of the class is a teacher's table and chair. The school has separate buildings for primary and secondary sections. It has combined classes for boys and girls until Grade 5, but since Sana is in Grade 8 she is in a separate classroom for girls. The school holds a morning assembly, where the school day begins with the recitation of some verses from the Holy Quran, singing of the national anthem, and doing light stretching exercises. They have different teachers for different subjects and each subject period lasts for half an hour. They have a half hour break at 10:30 A.M. Sana usually eats the snacks she brings from home along with her brother and sister, and sometimes they buy candies from the school canteen. After having a quick snack Anwer and Amna go to play with their friends, while Sana walks along and talks with other girls. The recess ends at 11 A.M., and then they have classes until 1 P.M. The school van drops them home at around 2 P.M.

Sana changes her school uniform and takes a quick shower. Her mother arranges lunch for the family and they all eat together. Her brother Anwer is fond of cartoons and never misses a chance to watch television during the day at home specially during meals. They take a short nap after lunch and wake up at 4 P.M. A *qari* (teacher of Quran) comes to teach them to read the Quran for half an hour. After that both Anwer and Amna rush down to join their friends for play. Anwer usually plays cricket with other boys but nowadays they play bay-blade (a game of spinning tops after a cartoon program shown on Cartoon Network). Amna plays with other girls and they usually play hide and seek and badminton. As Sana has grown older she

remains with her mother to help in household chores and preparation of dinner. At 6 P.M. all three of them go for tuition classes for two hours to a tutor who lives in their apartment. At tuition Sana does her school work and takes additional help in understanding the work done at school. Her tutor takes regular tests to check her learning. She is working harder this time because she has to get higher marks in order to choose the science strand for her secondary school certification. They return home at 8 P.M. and by that time her father has also arrived. Sana likes to see her favorite television play along with other family members. Dinner is served at 9 P.M. and they eat while watching different programs on television. After dinner Sana helps her mother in doing the dishes. Afterwards, she does any additional school work or lesson revision. Sometimes she goes down to play with other girls and they usually stroll and have a lively chat. Girls of her age make sure to keep a distance from boys and not to go outside the boundaries of the apartment. She has to go to bed early around 10:30 P.M. to wake up in time for school.

On weekends Sana's father takes them for some entertainment and outing. Alternately, they go to their relatives or sometimes they come to their home for dinner. This time her father is concerned as the school has again raised the school fee and he is feeling the additional burden. However, he is committed to bear it in the hope of a prosperous future that is more likely if his children get better education.

### **Community-based Schools**

In Pakistan there is now a category of schools known as the community-based schools. These schools are normally meant for poor and rural communities where neither the government nor the private sector has provided any schools. They are established by the local community in collaboration with non-government organizations (NGOs), and with or without support from the government or an international donor agency. The community provides accommodation for the school and identifies a teacher who is paid either through a government or donor grant, or from community resources. Students are charged a small tuition fee and they also have to pay for their own books and uniforms. A committee of community members is often supported by the NGO to manage the school, offer some teacher training, and monitor or supervise teaching. Most community-based schools are at the primary level and are meant for girls in rural areas. They mostly use Urdu as the medium of instruction although there are examples of English medium community schools as well where both boys and girls are enrolled.

### ***Madressas***

According to data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education, Pakistan had 247 *madressas* at the time of independence in 1947, which increased to 6761 by the year 2000. These *madressas* are affiliated with four different boards associated with different sects of Islam. In 2001, the government set up the

Pakistan *madressa* Education Board and some *madressas* are now affiliated with this board. These *madressas* offer education from primary to post-graduate levels comprising a total of 17 years of schooling. The *madressas* are usually attached to a mosque, have minimum government funding support, and are usually sponsored and financed by national or international Muslim groups or individual donors.<sup>6</sup> They typically do not charge fees from the students and often provide residential facilities. Most of the students and teachers in the *madressas* belong to low-income groups and the very poor who cannot otherwise provide any education to their children or meet their basic needs.

## CURRICULUM AND EXAMINATIONS

School curriculum was a provincial subject until 1973 when the constitution of Pakistan placed it in the Concurrent Legislative List of the federal government. Since then school curriculum in Pakistan is centrally controlled through the Federal Curriculum Wing in the Ministry of Education. This Curriculum Wing liaises with the Provincial Bureaus of Curriculum and Textbook Boards that are responsible for adopting and implementing the federally approved curriculum mainly through producing and prescribing textbooks.

Schools conduct their own annual examinations and promote students from one grade to the next up to the Grade 8 level. After this students must appear for external examinations in Grades 9–10 that are conducted by the provincial or federal Examination Board. These Boards not only conduct the examinations but also award certificates to successful students. Likewise, the Boards of Intermediate Education conduct external examinations for Grades 11–12 and award the corresponding certificates. All graduate degrees are awarded by public or private universities which are regulated by the government through the Higher Education Commission.

All of the primary schools teach six compulsory subjects including English, Urdu, math, science, social studies, and Islamic studies. New subjects such as environment and health have been introduced in some private and community-based schools. In the secondary schools students are placed into one of three streams: science, arts, or commerce. This streaming is not totally dependent on students' choice but largely on their school performance in the earlier years. The students with high performance in the Grade 8 annual examinations are encouraged to join the science stream and those with lower grades to join the arts and commerce streams. Streaming at this stage also determines future directions. For example, within the science stream, students who take biology in secondary school usually move toward a medical profession whereas those who take math usually go for an engineering profession.

The curriculum in *madressas* varies but mainly focuses on religious subjects like *fiqh*, *hadith*, Quran, Arabic language, and literature. Some *madressas* have introduced a few secular subjects particularly those *madressas* that are affiliated with the Pakistan *Madressa* Education Board, and these are obliged to teach

English, computer science, math, science, and Pakistan studies. However, most *madressas* are affiliated with their own examination boards which award certificates and degrees and there are government attempts to affiliate them with the central *Madressa* Examination Board.

Teaching methods in the majority of the schools employ teacher-centered approaches with an emphasis on rote learning. This approach is dominant in government schools and in the *madressas*, and is encouraged by the public examinations that test knowledge and memory rather than understanding and application of knowledge. Some primarily elite private schools have begun to use more student-centered approaches to teaching which focus on understanding and engaging in learning activities.

### MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOLS

The education policies and programs of the government of Pakistan are implemented through the federal Ministry of Education and the provincial Education Departments each headed by a minister of education at the federal and provincial level respectively. The federal government, through the Ministry of Education, has overall policy making, advisory, and coordinating authority and controls a development budget. The provincial education departments, with their head quarters in the provincial center, are responsible for provincial policy making as well as the implementation of national and provincial policies in all schools in the provinces and disbursement of the provincial education budget. In 2000, the government decentralized and devolved management of all sectors from the provincial to the district level. Much of the management of public schools is now based in the district where the Executive District Officer of Education (EDOE) is also responsible for planning, budgeting, and managing education in his/her district. The EDOE is supported by the District Officers of Education (DOE) and the Deputy District Officers of Education (DDOE), and each is responsible for a different portfolio such as teacher training, primary education, or literacy. Each district is composed of several *tehsils* (a subunit of the district) and an Assistant District Officer is responsible for managing education at this level. This officer is helped by supervisors, learning coordinators, and other resource persons whose main responsibilities include inspection and supervision of schools.

### POLICY AND PROGRAMS FOR EDUCATIONAL REFORM

National educational policies in Pakistan are formulated by the Ministry of Education at the center in cooperation with the provincial education departments. Feedback and input is obtained at different stages from various groups such as teachers, NGOs, and individual experts. Moreover, the influence of donors and international development agencies on educational policies in Pakistan, as in other developing countries, is very significant. The education

polices are expected to be translated into the plans prepared by the planning commission at the center and the planning departments in the provinces. The plan documents are expected to identify priorities and plans and allocate necessary funds for their implementation.

Over the years a number of education policies have been introduced in Pakistan,<sup>7</sup> usually in conjunction with a change in government. There have been significant policy changes with regard to the level of schooling, the place of religion in curricula, the medium of instruction, and the role of private organizations. For example, in the early years of Pakistan's educational history, secondary and vocational education was the focus of policy interventions. However, since the 1980s the emphasis on policy and financial resources has shifted to the provision of primary schooling, and more recently has included introduction of early childhood education and higher education and a return to vocational education. During 1970, government policy discouraged private schooling and all schools were nationalized, but education policies since 1992 have recognized and asserted a growing emphasis on public-private partnership for the provision of education. Although during the 1980s a policy of making Urdu as the medium of instruction in all schools was introduced, with the change in government this policy was abandoned and English and Urdu medium schools became common. Moreover, provincial ministries of education have also vacillated on the language policy wavering between introducing English as a subject at the primary level, and using it as the medium of instruction.

There has been a consistent policy focus on increasing female participation in education which has so far typically been lower than male participation. A number of reform initiatives have been taken including relaxation in criteria for the appointment of female teachers in rural primary schools; the inclusion of community and parents in the management of schools; provision of scholarship; and free books, uniforms, and school meals for girls in government schools who continue studies beyond the primary level. Studies conducted on the effectiveness of these initiatives have shown some positive outcomes but also note that participation and non-participation in schools is a result of many factors particularly the level of family poverty, traditional beliefs about women's role in society, and parents' perceptions about quality of schooling and outcomes of schooling.

### **ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs) IN EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

NGOs have been active in Pakistan since the time of its independence and often supplemented government efforts to improve educational access and quality. However, since the 1990s the numbers of such NGOs have grown considerably. One of the reasons for their growth is an increased interest by the donor agencies to fund the educational programmers for primary school age children, disadvantaged communities, and adults. The NGOs have primarily focused their presence

in disadvantaged areas, both in urban and rural settings. In the education sector their contribution is manifold. The main form of NGO participation in the education sector is through non-formal schools. These include literacy centers and home schools with flexible learning hours and community support. Some NGOs are also involved in teacher training for formal and non-formal schools, while others are working to produce stimulating learning materials to improve active learning through attractive and affordable materials. Most of the NGOs are supported by international, and some national, donor agencies. One of the biggest challenges for such initiatives has been short-term and inconsistent flow of funds which are generally available only for a limited period, which seriously challenges the sustainability of these initiatives.

## CONCLUSION

Schooling in Pakistan has been shaped by a long history of the integration and tensions between many different social and political forces. The first institutions of education in the Indian subcontinent, of which Pakistan was a part, were mainly religious and aimed to prepare individuals who would propagate particular religious beliefs and a way of life and perform religious functions. These kinds of institutions and aims of education have remained part of the present day education system in Pakistan in the form of *madressas*. During the British occupation of the subcontinent, schooling took on a more secular purpose but also contributed to class distinctions through differences in the purpose and quality of education offered to different socio-economic groups. Thus education became more a tool of creating and maintaining distinctions rather than removing them. The context and system of schooling in present day Pakistan reflects many of these distinctions mainly through the difference between public and private schooling and the medium of instruction. New initiatives, such as enhanced provision of schools, stronger and devolved infrastructure, and the participation of non-government sectors positively contribute to strengthening schools in Pakistan. However, some of the initiatives such as increase in private provision may also increase differential provision.

## NOTES

1. Those people who have learnt the holy Quran by heart are referred as *Hafiz* and the process of learning is called *Hifz*.

2. Often, people confuse between the two Nizams. The first Nizam was the Saljuk minister in Baghdad who initiated the *Madressa* system as an institution. The second Nizam who is referred to here was the minister of Mughal emperor Aurangzeb and who made major curriculum reforms in the *Madressa* curriculum of the subcontinent. His devised curriculum is called *Dars-i-Nizamiya* or *Dars-i-Nizami*.

3. In 1947–1948, it was estimated that there were 10,000 primary/middle schools (1700 for girls), 408 secondary schools (64 for girls), 46 secondary vocational institutions

(18 for girls), 40 arts and science colleges (5 for women), and only 2 universities. There were no professional colleges (Jalil, 1998).

4. Participation rate at primary level (Grades 1–5) was 15.8 percent and at the secondary level (Grades 6–10) it was only 9.4 percent.

5. In the past few years, there have been efforts to introduce three levels of school, the elementary (1–8) secondary (9 & 10) and higher secondary (11 & 12).

6. Government and voluntary groups in Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia, Arab Emirates and so on fund some other madressas.

7. Education policies of 1970, 1972, 1979, 1992, 1998; in addition there have been several plans most recently the Education Sector Reform Action Plan and the EFA plan of Action.

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