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INCREMENTALISM AND COLONIAL CONTINUITIES IN PAKISTAN'S EDUCATIONAL POLICIES (1947–2009): A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW AND COMPARATIVE POLICY ANALYSIS

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Abstract

The political, social, and economic development of any country depends heavily on its education policy. Since the inception of the state of Pakistan in 1947, various educational initiatives and reforms have taken place in successive governments with an aim of improving institutional capability, curriculum building, literacy levels, and accessibility. Despite the repeated efforts, however, there remain structural problems in Pakistan's education system in the form of low literacy levels, inequitable schooling, lack of institutional ability, inadequacy of teaching staffs, and social stratification within Pakistani society. Through a systematic approach to research, this paper critically analyzes the incremental reforms that took place in Pakistan's education policy between 1947 and 2009 with specific attention to the pre-primary and secondary education sectors. Additionally, it highlights the influence of colonial education policies on the emergence of post-colonial Pakistan. The research is based on the assessment of education policies, official documents, academic articles, and historic records through the qualitative systematic review approach, which uses thematic analysis technique. The theory includes postcolonial perspectives developed by Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, and Tariq Rahman with the Incrementalism Model of Charles E. Lindblom. The findings indicate that the educational transformation in Pakistan was largely incremental rather than revolutionary. Instead of making any major structural change, most of the reforms were an addition to pre-existing structures. English domination, aristocratic systems of education, centralization of bureaucracy, and examination-oriented learning were some of the examples of the continuation of colonial education, which continued in the subsequent era of education. It can be inferred from the research that instead of continuously making small changes, the

educational system of Pakistan requires basic and logical improvement. Decolonization of the curriculum framework, policy-making on empirical grounds, professional development of teachers, reducing educational inequalities, and development of a national education framework have been recommended in the report.

INTRODUCTION

One of the most essential factors that contribute to social mobility, political stability, economic progress, and nation building is the level of education. Issues like human capital formation, institutional efficiency, and social cohesion are highly influenced by the direction and quality of the country's education system. The policy of education is used as an instrument for nation building in developing countries, particularly in post-colonial states. In order to deal with issues of lack of proper institutional efficiency, lack of effective administration, accessibility, and illiteracy, Pakistan has launched various educational policies and reforms after its independence in 1947. Nevertheless, even with many developments, Pakistan's education system still encounters many structural and qualitative problems. The colonial educational system that the British introduced in the Indian subcontinent during the nineteenth century is the basis of the contemporary educational system in Pakistan. One of the foremost architects of this educational system was Thomas Babington Macaulay, who in his celebrated "Minute on Indian Education" in 1835 set the stage for an English-based colonial educational system in British India (Macaulay, 1835). It must be noted that Macaulay argued that an English-language based education system should replace the indigenous educational systems and firmly advocated the preeminence of Western education. His vision of education was very much linked to the interests of the British government and administration. As Macaulay puts it, the British government intended to develop “a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.” (Macaulay, 1835, p. 249). The basic objective of the educational system established by the British colonizers was to develop clerical and bureaucratic workers capable of sustaining the administrative activities of the colonial government at low costs. As argued by Aziz (1979), the focus of the colonial educational system lay on fostering bureaucratic discipline, rote learning, and examination rather than fostering creativity, scientific research, and indigenous intellectualism. The newly independent nation of Pakistan inherited the same colonial educational system largely without making any structural changes to it. A social segregation took place between elite and non-elite social classes due to the prevalence of English language education. Whereas the Urdu-language and madrassah education system became associated with poor socioeconomic status, English was associated with governmental power and prestige of the upper class (Rahman, 1999). Therefore, one of the most prevalent structural features of Pakistani education can be seen in the form of educational disparities. Similarly, Hussain (1976) pointed out that the inherited educational system from the colonizers promoted uniformity of thinking and intellectual subservience. The maintenance of colonial education structure within post-colonial republics can be justified through postcolonial theories. The colonial education system acted as the means through which the West achieved intellectual control over its colonies, as highlighted by Fanon (1963). In a similar vein, Said (1978) noted that Western intellectual superiority was legitimized, while the local knowledge systems were suppressed by the colonial education institutions. This kind of theoretical analysis assists in justifying the adoption of Western education systems by Pakistan. However, several structural problems continued to remain unresolved even after Pakistan adopted various educational policies following their independence, including the National Education Commission Policy of 1959, as well as the National Education Policies

of 1972, 1979, 1992, 1998, and 2009. Qualitative changes and structural reform were not the focus; instead, most of the reforms revolved around increased access to education and the number of enrollment in schools. The educational policies that followed did not present significant and rational differences from previous policies. Lindblom's Incrementalism theory serves as an effective instrument for analyzing the continuity in question. According to Lindblom, because of political, administrative, and financial constraints, legislators rarely implement policies that can be characterized as completely rational and transformative. On the contrary, regulations are normally modified through introducing small amendments to existing models (Dye, 2013). As for Pakistan, its educational reforms usually entailed small changes to the curriculum, teachers' qualifications, administrative procedures, and budgets without disrupting the legacy of the pre-colonial education model. This research is meant to conduct an extensive critical review of the evolutionary process of education reform in Pakistan since 1947 up until 2009, especially pertaining to primary and secondary education. Further, the policy-making process of Pakistan in its post-colonial context will be studied to understand how much the colonial legacy has influenced Pakistan's educational policy-making processes.

Statement of the Problem

Despite various educational reforms and policies being introduced in the country since its inception in 1947, the educational system of Pakistan continues to face the problem of low quality education, uneven access to education, inadequate institution performance, low levels of literacy rate, and socioeconomic inequalities. While most of the studies conducted in this area have focused upon issues of curriculum development, literacy rates, and failure to implement policy reform initiatives, the slow process of reform and continuity of the colonial structure in the educational system of Pakistan have not been studied in much detail.

Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

1. The objective of discussing gradual changes in education policies in Pakistan between 1947 and 2009.
2. The need to explore colonialism's impact on the education structure of Pakistan.
3. The comparison between primary and secondary school initiatives
4. To look into trends of continuity and change in teacher preparation, curriculum, language policy, and educational governance.
5. To examine Pakistan's educational policies using postcolonial theory and incrementalism as theoretical frameworks.

Research Methodology

This research aims to investigate the educational policies that have been undertaken in Pakistan during the period from 1947 to 2009 through the application of a qualitative systematic review method. Since systematic review allows comprehensive, organized and analytic evaluation of policy documents, scholarly literature, historical data and educational reports, a systematic review approach was selected. This research is essentially analytical and descriptive in nature. Thematic analysis was used to explore recurrent themes, patterns and policy trends regarding various educational reforms. Some of the themes include colonial education, language policy, curriculum, teaching preparation, educational management, Islamization, privatization, implementation problems and many more. The research data came from the use of primary and secondary sources. Official education plans, reports, and publications made by the Pakistani government were examples of primary sources. Examples of secondary sources include books, articles, history, and academic writings on educational reforms and colonial education. The theoretical perspective encompasses both postcolonial perspectives formulated by Fanon (1963), Said (1978), and Rahman (1999), as well as Incrementalism Model as outlined by Charles E. Lindblom. Incrementalism explains why policymakers are always in favor of slow changes than sweeping

reforms because of administrative, political, and instability constraints. Postcolonial perspective explains how the colonial education system and intellectual stratification are continued in the educational structure of Pakistan.

Literature Review

Discussion concerning implementation challenges, literacy levels, organizational problems, and education inequalities is prevalent in the literature surrounding the educational programs in Pakistan. However, fewer researchers have discussed the colonial legacy and incremental approach to education innovations in their analyses. Based on A.R. Sajid's (2016) critical analysis of the educational programs in Pakistan, it is evident that many of the programs did not succeed because of administrative ineffectiveness, lack of funds, and political instability. According to the researcher, organizational problems, wars, and regime shifts hindered the implementation of several initiatives. Incremental approaches to successive initiatives, however, were not adequately discussed. In a related discussion, Ahmed et al. (2013) studied problems associated with Pakistani government secondary schools, including low salaries, political intervention, poor monitoring, and lack of funding. While the authors did not consider structural consistency in these issues in various educational policies, they did discuss some institutional weaknesses influencing the quality of education. The development of private education and achievement of academic success in Punjab was explored by Andrabi et al. (2007). They pointed out that inefficiency of public educational institutions is leading to growing demand for private schooling. The findings indicated the role played by the quality of education rather than just the enrollment in the preferences of the respondents. Nonetheless, the authors failed to consider how gradual changes in educational policy fostered inequality and privatization. One of the most important discussions of educational inequality in Pakistan comes from Tariq Rahman. According to Rahman (1999, 2002, 2004), colonial education structures were the foundation on which linguistic and social stratification in Pakistan was formed. The use of English language education became a symbol of elite power and state control, while Urdu language education and madrassahs were linked to the lower socio-economic groups. Postcolonial scholarship also provides valuable theoretical insight into this topic. Fanon (1963) showed how colonial education was used as a tool of psychological domination. Said (1978) illustrated how colonial discourse constructed Western intellectual hegemony and delegitimized local forms of knowledge production. Viswanathan (1989) further elaborated on how colonial education policy in India worked to produce a cultural change among the colonized. Existing literature highlights issues such as legacies of colonialism, inequality within education, and failure to implement policies; however, not much has been done on how incremental policy-making resulted in the stagnation of education in Pakistan.

Inherited Education system

The Native Education systems of British's India were subjected to a number of changes in order to obey the colonial governance. Different changes in education policies were included of 1813-1835, 1835, 1854, 1854-1884, 1882-1904, 1904-1919, 1919-1929 and of 1929 -1947. These polices changes replaced the Persian language with English system in 1844; it was made compulsory that English educated were favoured in Civil Services of the country. Pakistan had weak educational structure at time of independence. It had had 9073 primary schools, 2070 secondary schools, 11 professional colleges, 42 non-professional colleges, and two universities.(Aziz, Review of Education Policies and Corresponding Five Years Plans(1947-86), 1986). Pakistan adopted education system that was designated by colonial ruler to produce bureaucratic workers for fulfilment of their respective goals.(Kazi, 1987)The goal of English policy education in British-India was designed to produce clerks at low cost to run the administration of India. The main focus was on university education rather than primary education.(Aziz, 1979)The education system in

pre-partition era was based on memorization and merely passing of examinations.(Kazi, 1987). At the time of independence of Pakistan main problems were existed such as inadequate financial resources, on-priority of education, inadequate delivery system and population pressure that resist changing the education system.(National Education Policy:1992-_2002, 1992)

National Education conference 1947

Quaid-e-Azam said in the conference:

"... the importance of education and the type of education cannot be over-emphasized ... there is no doubt that the future of our State will and must greatly depend upon the type of education we give to our children, and the way in which we bring them up as future citizens of Pakistan ... we should not forget that we have to compete with the world which is moving very fast in this direction."

Six different subcommittees were formed and committees were formed in conference regarding education. Different committees came up recommendations in accordance with the duties assign to them respectively. Primary and Secondary Education Committee suggested that free, compulsory primary education and separation pre-primary education (from 3 to 6 year of age) from primary education (from 6 to 11 years of age). While also gave due considerations on the problems related to medium of instruction, teacher training, physical education and many other aspects. Committee of Adult Education gave recommendation that there were 85 percent illiteracy rate and about 140 years were to be needed to solve this problem. Committee gave various measures for solution of problem through different stages as first five years were specified for planning, training and enrolment of teachers. The policy measure main focus with the ideological foundations of state education, led to enhance in Islamization and the important factor was literacy rate.(Bangali, 1999)(Proceeding of the Pakistan Educational Conference held at Karachi from 27th November to 1st December 1947, 1947)

Commission on National Education, 1959

The commission proposed that lees than 50% were in enrolled in primary school, eight years education should be made compulsory and regarding adult education it was said that in 30 years many campaign have done but with no adequate results. This commission sat target to enrol in compulsory education as fifteen years. Curriculum reforms were recommended to reform to develop the skills of reading and writing abilities. Religious education was made compulsory and Urdu was regarded as medium of instruction. It gave proposal for increasing primary schools and literacy rate. (Bangali, 1999)

National Education Policy 1970

The first proper education policy was framed in 1970 (Ali, 2013) The education policy of 1970 was an extension of the policies articulated in 1950's and 60's.These policy references were unremitting with the references of National Education Commission 1959 and appear to be a reformist addition in educational development.(Bangali, 1999)

National Education Policy 1972

National Education policy of 1972 had clear and precise aims and objectives than the previous policies. The aims and objectives were to identify the deterioration education system, to provide equal opportunities for education and to treat the inequities in different types of education. The policy was in board outline which was left on governmental and non-governmental sector to be filled the details. The Plans for these goals were based on two important principles were that education should be inspired by national ideology and cultural heritage as well as education should be dictated by universal structure of human knowledge and concept of human progress. Different reforms were given in 1972 education policy to achieve the prescribed aims and objectives.(National Education Policy and Implementation Programme, 1979)

National Education Policy 1979

National Education Policy consisted 9-point statements regarding aims and objectives along

with 12-point implementation strategies. It had given consideration to recognize the potential of Pakistani institutions and to patronize them to bring about great educational reforms. It described that deviations should be made from existing alien model would have a great impact on education. It emphasised on the fundamental education for all without any discrimination and gave due consideration to adult education programme. This policy proposed to achieve the same by 1987 and 1992 polices. The military government has given an education policy in 1979. One of the most important points of this education policy was Islamisation of the education system. The endorsements included concerning higher education in this policy were: no new university would establish excepting women universities in five years, qualified staff for universities, training for in-service universities teachers under National Academy of Higher Education and amendment in the university act.(Bangali, 1999)

National Education Policy 1992

The policy paper contained 15 paragraphs of the Framework and 17 Objectives. The policy was as follows: The main goal of all is not only the network, but also an integral part of human development. The main objective is the elimination of inequalities - the development drama of underdevelopment, The people's collective ego is simple, efficient and effective. The main goal of the higher qualification education system is policy. Measures will lead the system to higher growth over the next 10 years. "In particular," Ensure that by the year 2002, children are 100% involved in education and eliminate illiteracy through formal and informal methods. It also suggested, increase literacy by 70 percent in 2002". Primary education should be compulsory.

A major change in strategy has also been supported by regional and federal educational institutions through "incentive" grants, such as most adult education programs for non-governmental organizations. Politics called innovations a "quantum transplant tool to improve perfection". The main elements of the policy are: Opening informal education for non-governmental organizations; 100% literacy in selected areas; organization of typical schools (men and women) in rural areas; introduction of compulsory social services for students.(Bangali, 1999)(National Education Policy:1992-_2002, 1992)

National Education Policy 1998

National education policy was broadcasted in March 1998.This policy was almost the continuation of previous one gave consideration to the importance of higher education and weakness faced to it. The policy recommendations included in this policy were as following:

1. Rising Funds from 2.2% to 4% of GNP
2. 3 Three Years Bachelors programme with priority in government recruitment.
3. Special funds for Research
4. Strengthen libraries, laboratories and universities. (National Education Policy 1998-2010, 1998).

National Education Policy 2009

The National Education Policy 2009 was given by the civilian government of Pakistan People's Party. The focus was primary education to enrol all children till 2015, to make sure the achievements of EFA goals by providing financial resources, incentives and financial support to increase enrolment rate, updating of primary schools to middle level. But despite all these efforts are made. Quality education is still a dream.(Samo, 2009)(National Education Policy 2009, 2009).

Incremental Changes in Educational Policies of Pakistan at Primary education:

National Education Conference1947: The Primary and Secondary Education Committee gave recommendations at primary level education was regarded as free and compulsory for five to six years of a child, education should be based on integrity, brotherhood, social justice, democracy, fundamental principles of religion, spiritual and vocational elements. The maximum age was given 11 years. (Proceeding of the Pakistan Educational

Conference held at Karachi from 27th November to 1st December 1947, 1947)

Education commission 1959:

This commission gave importance to primary education for progress of economic, political and social aspects of country. Therefore, five and then eight years of education were regarded as obligatory. The committee recommended that 50 percent funds should be collect at district and 50 percent should be given by provincial government because of the lack of capacity of the government to meet the expenditures as whole. The committee to give recommendation for purpose of supervision that there should be provincial committee headed by respective governors, with one chairman and five to six members as well as given recommendation for district level administration that consisted of Deputy Commissioner as chairman or his nominee and four other members.(Aziz, Review of Education Policies and Corresponding Five Years Plans(1947-86), 1986)(Report of the Commession on National Education 1959, 1959)

Education policy of 1970:

The recommendation was regarding the integration of primary and to primary education in this policy. Islamiyat was regarded as compulsory subject(Aziz, Review of Education Policies and Corresponding Five Years Plans(1947-86), 1986)

Education policy of 1972:

This policy was given due consideration to stress to free universal education. Recommendations were given make education free till 10 class for all students in different stages. It was also recommended to make education free up to class VIII by October 1, 1972.(The Education Policy 1972-1980, 1972)

Education Policy of 1979:

This policy was given by military regime. This policy gave recommendation regarding primary education on drop out at primary level, internal efficiency, utilization of educational resources and improving enrolment ratio. This policy was mostly continuation of past policies in regard to school enrolment. This policy increased funds for primary education from 13.2 to 32 percent annually. Establishment of Mohalla schools and Mosques with primary school was also recommended in this policy.(National Education Policy and Implementation Programme, 1979)

National policy of 1992:

The education policy of 1979 was sponsored by the military leadership government. As far as primary education is concerned, this policy was a continuation of earlier policies to improve the registration and improvement of former schools. Particular attention has been paid to improving internal productivity, in line with the Policy Paper (National Education Policy and Implementation Programme, 1979), mobilizing public and effective use of educational resources at this time in the country. In addition, the drop out should be reduced by about 50%. The policy also recommends raising funding for primary education from 13.2% to 32% annually. Another innovation in this policy is the construction of about 5,000 mosques schools over the next five years. This move was taken because of the intuition of the mosque in all the villages in the country. As a rule, the mosque is considered sufficient for the elementary school in the village. In the morning and early afternoon prayers, these are not performed in mosque, and it is convenient to use them to complete the elementary school. The establishment of mosque schools combined 20-30 students with regional curricula, like other elementary schools. In addition to the mosque schools, this policy has provided recommendations for the establishment of 5,000 Mohalla schools and 1,000 rural schools. The establishment of the Mohalla School hopes to offer Koran and Islamic studies and selected home-management skills as well as reading and writing skills, based on a combination of 20 to 30 students. The Mohalla School is also expected to become a centre for functional education and training for older women. (Shami, 2005)

National policy of 1998:
recognized primary education as the foundation of the whole educational system and described its legal obligations to the state on the basis of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. More than 5.5 million children (5 to 9 years) leaving primary school have left school, and the level of vacation at this level is about 45 percent and has not yet reached a quarter of teachers' training. It is recommended to increase this participation rate from 71% to 90% from 2002 to 2003 and to increase it by 105% by 2010. In order to improve the national education policy for 1998-2010, the educational reform was carried out by the military leadership in the years 2002-2004. Particular attention has been given to primary education in these reforms. The recommended recommendations for primary education are as follows: to provide quality primary education by increasing access and participation by 100%; Improvement of the existing infrastructure of primary schools; Foundation of a new elementary school; Establishment of municipal elementary schools; free textbooks for children; and free Braille books for children with disabilities. As part of these reforms, the law on compulsory education was introduced in order to achieve the objectives of primary education.(Shami, 2005)

National Education policy 2009:
This policy was presented by Government of Pakistan People's Party in 2009.This policy for primary level to enrol all children till 2015, to provide financial funds to achieve EFA goals, to invite International Development Partners to expand school facilities through proper planning, to give incentive to children to increase enrolment and decrease drop out ratio.(Samo, 2009)(Government of Pakistan 2009)

Incremental Changes in Education Policies of Pakistan at Secondary Education
National education Conference1947: The Primary and Secondary Education Committee gave recommendations regarding age were 14 to 17 years. (Bhatti, 1987)Education system should base on the Islamic conception on the Islamic concept of brotherhood, democracy and social justice. English was sustained as compulsory subject and second compulsory language should be Urdu.(Wynbrandt, 2009)

National Commission 1959:
The National Education Commission (1959) considers secondary education to be generally recognized as a complete recognition. It is advisable to have some academic and administrative units, and the supervision and regulation of secondary education should be provided to secondary schools in parallel with higher education institutions in the country. As regards the secondary education curriculum, the Commission recommends that students of different disciplines be offered a variety of electives in order to qualify for their social and professional services. Commissioners who have not been trained by the Commission have identified poor teachers, low-income and inadequate secondary schools, and education authorities have approved the rules for admission to general education and schools to introduce the rules. The Commission highlighted the government's financial problems in supporting the growing number of schools enrolled in the government. To overcome this problem, the Commission recommended schools with the required criteria that the government should cover up to 20%, 60% of the costs should be borne by the pupils and the school administration. The Commission also recommended regarding unregistered schools to create conditions for the registration of commercial schools. The Commission stressed the need for rehabilitation and reconstruction of secondary education. The policy recommendations of this commission were significant and reflected in the needs of the community, but were not really realized because of the Lack of resources.(Shami, 2005)

Education Policy in 1970:
Education policy in the 1970, the Ministry of Education focused more on decentralization and structural change.(Shami, 2005) With the organizational structure of Primary schools and

secondary schools, it is recommended that the school education be the I-X classes. Each school was recommended to have a three-member self-governing unit of two heads of school leaders. It was proposed to develop plans for the development of school education, to appoint privileged schools, to appoint senior officials, to manage and supervise the education of district school authorities. Support the district's educational institutions, which are a permanent advisory body to senior district officials, parents, teachers, and other concerned citizens. Recommendations were made for the establishment of schools throughout the province and for the support of regional authorities (The Education Policy 1972-1980, 1972). This policy was a continuation of the previous National Education Commission, but did not take place in the country because of a political crisis (Shami, 2005).

Education Policy of 1972:
In the national education policy of the years 1972-1980 it was recommended to release classes IX and X from October 1974 onwards. In particular, more radical changes were made in the formation of governed institutions for the nationalization of the state. This section focuses on occupational and professional issues in general education to ensure that students are accepted for their social responsibilities. While the recommendations of this policy are generally progressive, this has led to an increase in costs.(Hoodbhoy, 1998)

Education Policy of 1979:
Recommendations were to convert Level 4 (Primary, Secondary, Vocational and University Education) into Level 3 (Primary, Secondary, High School); XI and XII classes from IX and X classes to high school; Introduction to mathematics as a compulsory subject for students of science and art; Implementation of Argo-system of education and beginning of second shift in high schools to meet the literacy rate.(National Education Policy and Implementation Programme, 1979)

National education policy 1992:
Focuses mainly on the quality of all school levels. Recommendations for reconsidering the role of teachers in teaching and learning, Modernization of curricula and textbooks; Improving physical fitness in schools; Introduction of science-based activities in schools, the use of educational technologies and media to provide students with quality education. This policy has not been fully implemented due to dramatic political changes in the country.(Shami, 2005)

National Education Policy 1998:
This policy national was focused on secondary education. Taking into account the key component of the general education system, secondary schools pay particular attention to international concerns and aim to further explore areas of specialization in various occupations and universities. The guidelines include: Establishment of a first-rate high school in each district; Review curriculum to encourage challenges and independent thinking; Getting to know a career or profession; Introduction of several textbooks; and establishment of high school student centres in cooperation with universities. To do this, you can start this program when you run this program. Improving the quality of teachers and teachers introducing teaching methods; Foundation of the Educational Services Commission for teachers; Introduction to the Code of Ethics for Teachers; National Training Testing Service (NTS); B.S. Ed and B.A. Ed. Recommended topics for teachers and instructors of highly qualified teachers. Under this policy, the goal of moderate physical activity is goals from 31% to 48%, increase the participation rate of upper secondary education from 11% to 13%, increase the number of secondary schools from 11 to 18,000, increase the number of school teachers from 160,500 to 216,000 in the years 2002-03.(Shami, 2005). The main direction of these reforms was general secondary education. It aims to make education more meaningful and productive; Revision of the existing regime for the introduction of new technical streams, with the exception of academies of science and humanities;

Introduction of 34 different types of sales according to different criteria; Development of pedagogical and methodological resources and materials; and increase the enrolment rate from 7% to 50%. In addition, well-equipped science labs, video tutorials, installation of math resource rooms, retraining of syllabus I-XII, and provision of well-trained teachers for high-quality teaching It was recommended to improve scientific knowledge(Shami, 2005), Since the education reform has proven the national education policy support from 1998 to 2004, the national education policy is consistent and purposeful. Convinced that political elites need mass education for development, the policy of 1998-2010 has more investment in education (Shaikh, 2006)

National Education Policy of 2009:

National education policy was introduced in 2009 in a different sense. Recommendations for improving quality and access to quality include: secondary education in rural areas, secondary schools and specially girls' schools; Increasing student support to overcome barriers for financial reasons; to give students the opportunity to deal with socio-psychological problems; qualified advice in the school; Organization of sports in secondary and higher education institutions; Developing social service programs for secondary school students to involve students more; Promotion of qualified education in secondary schools. This new policy has no unacceptable quality or quantitative goals, such as previous policies. In addition, the new government has committed to change the education environment as international level (National Education Policy 2009, 2009).

Comparative Analysis of Educational Policies

Even with changes in political regimes and ideologies, Pakistani educational institutions have remained fairly consistent through time. The most changes have been focused on quantitative increases rather than qualitative improvements.

Policy Year	Primary Education Focus	Secondary Education Focus	Medium of Instruction	Teacher Training	Major Characteristic
1947	Free and compulsory education	Islamic values and citizenship	Urdu and English	Limited focus	Nation-building
1959	Universal primary education	Administrative restructuring	Urdu emphasized	Teacher supervision	Centralization
1972	Free education expansion	Nationalization reforms	Urdu	State-controlled training	Socialist orientation
1979	Islamization and literacy	Structural reorganization	Urdu with Islamization	Religious orientation	Islamization
1992	Universal enrolment	Quality improvement	Mixed approach	Modernization	Decentralization
1998	Access and infrastructure	Professional specialization	English expansion	Professional training	Modernization
2009	EFA goals and enrolment	Quality enhancement	Provincial flexibility	In-service training	International alignment

As seen in the comparative study, although there was change in wording in the policy over time, the basic structural elements remained unchanged. The English language remained institutionally dominant, centralized administration prevailed, and examination-based education still prevailed.

Discussion

It is evident from the findings of this research that Pakistan's educational reforms, in contrast to radical structural changes, were a product of gradual policymaking. Instead of changing the whole structure of the old colonial educational system, educational reforms carried out from 1947 to 2017 merely modified existing structures. Maintenance of colonial educational hierarchy was one of the most important continuity factors in the country. The superiority of the English language in elite schools, bureaucracy, and other higher education facilities prevailed. It helped reinforce class stratification in Pakistan. According to Rahman (2004), schools were differentiated according to the classes they catered to. Inadequate institutional capacity and political instability were further illustrated through piecemeal reforms as well. There would always be succeeding governments who would come up with new policies without fully implementing previous reforms: Discontinuities in administration, military interventions, and political changes. Additionally, the analysis indicates that educational policy was often oriented toward quantitative achievements rather than qualitative transformation. Teacher absenteeism, poor curricula, ineffective supervision, and rote learning were persistent problems throughout many policy cycles. Likewise, the scope of reforms concerning curriculum development, teacher training, and educational management was limited. Persistence of colonial era can further be observed through the use of bureaucratic management and examination-focused education. Rather than focusing on creative thinking and innovation, education became centered on memorization and certification processes. This hindered the educational system from coping with contemporary socioeconomic and technological challenges.

Conclusion

In this paper, the evolutionary process of Pakistan's educational policy development from 1947 to 2017 is investigated using the theories of Incrementalism and post-colonial theory. It can be observed that the changes occurring in Pakistani education were more of continuity than change. Changes occurred in curriculum, admission policies, qualifications of teachers, and budgets. Nevertheless, none of the changes managed to transform the colonial legacy into something new.

The colonial legacies such as the emphasis on English language education, bureaucratic control, test-based learning systems, and elitist education were still ingrained in Pakistan's education sector. This led to continuous educational disparity, inefficiency of the institutions, and lack of qualitative development. In addition to these, factors such as instability in politics, poor implementation methods, lack of funds, and ideological disagreements posed obstacles to educational reform. As a result, the analysis shows that the systemic problems within education in Pakistan cannot be sorted out through minor policy adjustments. In order for educational curriculum, teacher training, institutional structures, and governance to be altered, systematic and rational approaches are required. In terms of prioritizing education, rather than simply increasing the number of students enrolling in schools, attention must be placed on critical thinking, inclusion, local knowledge systems, and career advancement.

Last but not least, the analysis concludes with recommendations about decolonization of the curriculum, reducing educational inequalities, evidence-informed policy-making, and constructing an integrated and inclusive educational system.

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