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Institutionalization of Education in Pakistan in Context of its Origin in Subcontinent: An Overview of Buddism, Hindu, Muslim and British Contributions

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Abstract:

Pakistan has a long history of unsuccessful education policies, and unproductive knowledge system. Many factors are attributed to this failure, including sociocultural, political and economic barriers to improve our education system. However, little effort is made to understand the historical factors that may be more contributive to contextualize the learning and education right from the ancient times in the sub-continent. This paper is an endeavor to figure out how education was institutionalized in the subcontinent in ancient times; what was the purpose of education; what kind of education was available for Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims; what happened to education and learning when Britishers occupied this region; how Anglo-Saxon institutionalization replaced the traditional, indigenous, culturally embedded and vernacular mode of learning to impose a more ritualistic, than realistic, education system. By thoroughly reviewing the precolonial and colonial education system, the paper, by employing *the archaeology of knowledge*, concludes that the dismal state of knowledge production in Pakistan cannot be understood unless we dig deeper in the history to unravel the political forces, which disrupted the indigenousness.

Keywords: Pakistan, Buddhism, Hinduism, education, indigenous, ancient, British colonialism

INTRODUCTION

Modern education system exists in Pakistan since its inception, and yet its contribution in the production of knowledge is nothing more than inconsequential, beleaguered and unproductive platform. We are frequently confronted with the voices in media reverberating for the creative and contributive role of academics in bringing positive, progressive and ameliorative change in the

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society using scientific knowledge and discovery. Our new generations, while discussing about the role of intellectuals, are found to be lamenting the lack of quality in their contributions. Consequentially, we are given bewildering, often blaming the victim, explanations for our sterility in becoming part of the global knowledge, innovation and scientific discovery platforms. In developing a critical understanding of the dismal state of knowledge production in Pakistan, it is important to contextualize our education system within historical and sociopolitical context of pre-colonial and colonial periods, without which it would be difficult to make sense of why Pakistan is lagging behind the innovation and discovery. The interrelationship of political history and knowledge production in outlying areas like Pakistan are difficult to conceptualize when writing about the history of an imported institutionalized structure of education, which was not genuinely embedded in the ideological, linguistic and historical tradition of the society. It is the institutionalized education process that socializes the future scholars. This paper is an endeavor to understand the institutionalization of education during the colonial period, which was then inherited in 1947 and maintained during post-colonial era.

To understand the intellectual and epistemological characteristics of Pakistani education system, and its position with reference to cosmopolitan science and the international division of labor, one must reach back to the colonial and even pre-colonial features of the subcontinent's culture, history and knowledge tradition. Before unrevealing the institutionalization of education in subcontinent during colonial era, it would be interesting to understand the difference between two knowledge traditions; the way the knowledge was produced and used in the traditional world (for convenience we can take the precolonial as the synonym for traditional world) and the way it is being produced in the modern world.

Traditional societies were not as complex as of today and were based characteristically on religious ideologies and beliefs. The production of knowledge predominantly revolved around religious texts, and occupational skills with decentralized educational systems. The subcontinent remained under the similar religiously dominated education systems before the British invasion. Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims, all developed their educational institutions to produce and transmit religiously valid and occupationally utile knowledge. But a common character of all educational systems was their indigenous roots. For example, they used vernacular languages as the medium of instruction, which did not happen to be the case of modern education system for most of the colonized nations.

Ancient India, though characterized as a society with relatively simple social structures as compared to what we witness today, was famous for its tradition in Astronomy, Medicine and Mathematics which were invented, discovered and transferred through generations (Jaggi, 1986; Singh, 2008). Scharfe, H. (2018) is of the view that the source of almost all educational traditions was religion in the ancient India. One of the strong reasons for not being able to disassociate from such religious continuity was the language of religious sources of knowledge transformation, which could hardly be secular in its essence. Thus, the history witnesses that the Sanskrit being the language of Vedic tradition was also the language of philosophy and medicine (Pattanayak, 1998). The whole knowledge tradition of ancient India was used to be verified against the self-proclaimed truths of Vedic propositions (Brameld, 1956), except few aberrations which were treated as deviations from the evangelical truths (Halbfass, 1991). Consequently, the eventual purpose of such knowledge tradition was also linked to what was destined by the religion. Almost any

interpretation of man, at least before the eighteenth century, presumed an understanding of the biblical story of creation, and of doctrines of sin and salvation (Porter & Ross, 2008, p. 15). Knowledge was acquired not to better understand the man and his surroundings, but to make the disciples be synchronized with the religion's ultimate ends, i.e. morality and how to prepare yourself for the afterlife and/or for reincarnation.

ANCIENT EDUCATION SYSTEMS IN SUBCONTINENT

Knowledge of the educational system of that time is bleatingly known. Historians have mostly relied on archaeological evidence to ascertain any information about the earliest educational systems. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Taxila have revealed a very rich and advanced urban life and the presence of language scripts on seals (McIntosh, 2008). There is a strong evidence that suggests that the society was well equipped with an education system to teach its members how to read and write (Possehl, 2002). The system of formalized transmission of knowledge and values mainly served the religious and economic needs of the society, as Buddhism and Hinduism were predominant religions of that time. A brief review of Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim education system is given below.

Buddhist Education System

Precise origin of Buddhist era is unknown but historians are of the view that it resulted out of revolt against Hinduism around 500 BC (McKay et al., 2011; Reat, 1994), and thrived in Karnataka (present day India), with Vedic religious tradition. It is believed that unlike Hinduism, Jainism and then Buddhism promoted the mass education system in India, and the teachings of its founder Gautama Buddha served as curriculum (Sharma & Sharma, 1996).

The acceptance of Buddhism by the then King Ashoka Maurya (304–232 BC) ensured the state support to Buddhist Education system (Darian, 1977). Ashoka constructed several monasteries (*vihāras*) and convent houses throughout his kingdom. They were a kind of residential schools and housed dormitories for students (*bhikkus*). The archaeological sites discovered in Taxila vindicate these dormitories attached to the monasteries. A considerable number of historians agree that Taxila or Tak Shala, as called at that time, is the world's first university. According to Huan Chwang, an ancient Chinese traveler, there were several hundred *vihāras* in Sindh at the time of his travel (as quoted by Dongray, 1935). These religious educational institutions functioned as centers for learning, and irrespective of caste. Education in these *vihāras* was premeditated to shape *bhikkus*' (student) moral character, improve their speech capabilities, and to ripe their logical constructs. This education mainly served a religious function by creating devoted followers who, upon graduation, were able to preach the religion (ibid).

Buddhist education system was different from that of the Ancient India's. Vedic system believed in selective rote memorization of religious text and its transformation from one generation to the other without contextual interpretations (Pollak, 1982). However, Buddhism endeavored to impart the learning capability in students by teaching them the alphabets. Identical Buddhist alphabetic principles can be traced even today in Kannada, Marathi, and other Indo-Aryan languages (Nithiyanandam, 2004).

Hindu Education System

The Hindu system of education was founded on two religious texts; Veda and Upanishad (Mookerji, 1998). The Veda were originally transmitted through oral tradition and then were transcribed somewhere around 1,500 BC in Sanskrit, and comprise mantras, psalms, and alleluia centered on early mythological traditions (Jayapalan, 2001). The Upanishad was textured around 800-500 BC and mostly confined to philosophical discourses (Varghese, 2008). At the birth of Vedic civilization, the society was not divided on the basis of sex or class; both women and men and people belonging to all social classes were given equal rights to get education. Later, however, when caste system appeared in society with certain restrictions and oppression for the poor, the education was no exception.

Caste based classification divided the society into four groups:

i. *Brahmans* (clerics)
ii. *Khashatriya* (aristocrats and soldiers)
iii. *Vaishiya* (merchants and agriculturists)
iv. *Shudhra* (artisans and laborers)

All castes except *Shudhra* were allowed to get Vedic education. The purpose and system of education was different for the higher and lower castes. For *Brahmans*, it was to prepare a class of priests and clergy who would guide people in their religious matters. The *Brahmans* were educated in mantras and their connotations in a systematic and organized way and were obligated to memorize to Vedic texts, which required meditation and contemplation. 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. *Shudra* caste was trained for menial jobs only.

There were two kinds of educational institutions available in ancient India: *Tol* (places for students to learn *Sanskrit* and to gain knowledge in religious affairs) and *Patshala* (schools for *Vaishya* students who would learn basic arithmetic and commerce) (Mookerji, 1998). For the upper caste *Brahman,* the education system was very 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 *Tol*. Students were required to learn about God, man and soul. 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 *Vedic* beliefs, there were four stages in adult education: *Brahmachari* (student life), *Grahasti* (domestic and practical life), *Sanyasi* (ascetic), and *Yanapasti* (solitary). 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 (ibid).

The curriculum at the *patshalas* comprised of general science, medicine, astronomy, geometry, and civics, mainly revolving around religious texts and 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 *Kshatriya* 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 Upanishad texts, involved a great deal of rote memorization (Reagan, 2005).

Muslim Education System

The Muslims arrived the Indian subcontinent initially from Arabia and later from Persia and central Asia. In A.D. 711 *Muhammad Bin Qaasim*, an Arab general, first conquered the southern Sind (Lane-Poole & Jackson, 2008) but did not establish any central government. By 872 there were independent Arab states such as the Emirate of Mansoura and Emirate of Multan in this region (ibid). In 1001, *Mahmood of Ghazan* (Persia) initiated his endeavor to conquer subcontinent and captured the parts of Punjab and Peshawar. The 1st Muslim empire in India was found by *Muhammad Ghauri* with the help of his general *Qutbuddeen Aebak*, who became the king of Delhi in 1206 and who established the Slave Dynasty (Lane-Poole, 2004). From the beginning of thirteenth century, the Indian subcontinent was ruled by different Muslim dynasties, before falling for the last one; the Mughals, until the British occupation.

Muslims entered in the subcontinent from the areas which are part of present Pakistan, and Islam replaced most of the Hinduism in the region. Historians believe that due to the religious tolerance of the invaders, local religions were not abolished (Khan, 1999, p. 51). Islam landed as a major sociocultural impact in India and created its distinctive system of knowledge production and transmission, commonly known as the *Madrassa* schools, which started in a comparative way as other prior frameworks (Hindu and Buddhism) to the identical end, that is, to confer religious training and to arrange religious researchers and ministers who could likewise be trained in some specialized field or could acquire prevalent occupational skills. Both Hindu and Buddhist education systems did not cease to exist during this period, thus, trajectorial interaction was imminent. It is imperative to note that different methodologies to acquire knowledge of skills, for example apprenticeship where a student could practically learn directly from the master trainer to be a metalworker, a goldsmith, or even a medicinal professional, additionally existed with the *Madrassa*-schooling.

In the Islamic belief system, education is considered a religious obligation. Islamic religious scripture placed repeated emphasis on seeking knowledge. Thus, learning in Islam is acknowledged as a deep-rooted process for masses irrespective of class, caste and sex. As a matter of religious obligation, even adults are not exempted from getting formal religious education and were encouraged to participate in scholarly discussions usually being held in mosques. Nonetheless, the essential point of Islamic scholasticism, as of its predecessors, is to help its practitioners better prepare for hereafter, and to improve experimental yet quelled comprehension, and to keep social order under the religious guidance. Since faith does not allow any doubts to be casted by its believers, the way of living and of social order in society were taken for granted. Any space for positivist framework could have been considered as heresy against religious beliefs. However, the case of natural science was relatively permissible, which brought about some critical headways in the fields of astronomy, chemistry, math, arithmetic, and medicine.

The prescribed education system of Muslims, known as the *Madrassa* schools, developed progressively from the period of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Primarily, mosques were the hubs of entire education activity. During the early period of Islam, a group of scholars[4] was affiliated with the mosque of the Prophet in Medina and dedicated their lives to knowledge and scholasticism. As the number of participants grew, *maktabs* (primary schools) and libraries were constructed adjacent to the mosques. By the passage of time, *Madrassas* started functioning as advanced institutions for scholarly works and reached to the subcontinent with Muslim traders and invaders through Sindh, Pakistan (Kuldip, 1990).

Madrassas did not develop out of *maktabs,* however, functioned independently as centers for higher learning. The *maktabs* offered essential training and basic education while *Madrassas* used to train students in auxiliary education and technical training. In the Sindh area of Pakistan, the early manifestation of instruction framework was presented through mosques that were constructed by *Muhammad Bin Qaasim* (Riaz, 2011). Later, Caliph *Umar Bin Abdul Aziz* (717-720) requested the foundation of *maktabs* appended with mosques all through his Caliphate and additionally orchestrated paying stipends to the needy students (Ahmed, 1987). By the end of eighth century, many *maktabs* and *Madrassas* were made in the urban areas of Sindh, like *Sehwan, Bakhar*, and *Debal* and some of these thrived as best education centers (Ali & Iffat, 2007). In spite of these developments, the Muslim rulers in India did not undertake the knowledge production and its dissemination as a state policy, yet they contributed to the quantitative increase of the *Madrassas* and *Maktabs* by providing free land, and money for the construction and maintenance. All the Muslim administrations, for instance the Slaves, *Khalkis, Tughluqs Sayyads, Lodhiis*, and the *Mughals* took special interest in the foundation of Madrassas where both religious and non-religious subjects were taught. As a result, mass education became wide-spread in India (ibid).

The syllabus imparted by the *maktabs* was pretty rudimentary and comprised reading, understanding and memorizing of religious texts, acquiring basic knowledge of religious rituals, and learning Arabic and Persian languages. Additional subjects were also included in the syllabus, if the teachers were capable enough to teach basic arithmetic, poetry and grammar. The systematic syllabus design was materialized in *Baghdad* in 1067 by a *Seljuk* minister named *Nizam-ul-Mulk* (Marshall, 2011, p. 49), and comprised the training of both religious and occupational skills. It intended to train religious specialists who were also quite familiar with the political trade. This curriculum reached the subcontinent about the middle of the fourteenth century in the *Madrassa-i-Firuz Shahi* in Delhi founded by Sultan *Firuz Shah Tughluq* (1355-1388) (Bloom & Blair, 2009, p. 96).

Numerous vital curricular improvements were presented during the Mughal era. The substantial modifications were introduced by *Mullah Nizamuddin Sehalvi (died 1748)* during the rule of Emperor *Aurangzeb Alamgir* (1658-1707) who formulated a syllabus later known as *Dars-e-Nizami* (Kuldip, 1990). This syllabus is still being taught in present *Madrassa* schools in Pakistan. *Dars-e-Nizami* comprises of two parts---*Manqulaat* and *Maqulaat*. *Manqulaat* stresses the learning of

[4] Called Ashab al-Suffah and consisted of about three or four hundred Companions who spent most of their time in the company of the Prophet (S.A.W.). They acquired knowledge and had dedicated themselves wholly to serving Islam

religious scripts, and the knowledge of Islamic tradition and Arabic grammar; while *Maqulaat* consist of subjects like languages, philosophy, psychiatry, medicine, mathematics, geometry, algebra, and engineering (Alam, 2003).

Precolonial Knowledge System as a whole

Intellectual conflagrations are hatched by the philosophy of life promulgated by collective conscience. Ancient Hindu society before confronting with the Muslim scholasticism, following the *Vedic* and *Brahmanic* traditions, have had ultimate faith in reincarnation and retribution for individual's deeds in the subsequent life. As Scharfe (2002) puts it:

> …buried in the subconscious, moksa persists as the main element in the 'ideology of the superego,' providing an unconscious ethical direction to the course of life. The positive aspect of liberation was seen as being one with the Absolute or a dissolution of one's individuality called nirvana. But many Hindus and Buddhists seem personally more focused on going to heaven than on the vicissitudes of reincarnation, even if they theoretically subscribe to the theory of reincarnation. … Perfect knowledge of Sanskrit thus leads to merit (dharma) and elevation (abhyudaya). (p. 47-48, & 53)

Philosophy of life, as derived from *Veda*, set the ultimate aim for education which was not only limited to the transfer of knowledge from one generation to other but also the spiritual liberation, self-actualization and control of the individual, often inculcated at the price of being unable *to be adventurous, practical, innovative and curious* (ibid). Such collective conscience provided little space for secular sciences and liberal arts for the sake of itself, until the emergence of *Jain* and *Buddhist tradition* that endeavored to liberate the intellect from traditional authority and casted its doubts on ultimate position of knowledge. Yet they should certainly be not considered as secular as Greek and Roman traditions.

Any attempt to find the indigenous roots of social science knowledge in subcontinent would fall prey to the discussion of hard scientific ideas or philosophy and religion for the reason that no systematic academic effort has been made to dig out the roots of the ideas of such intellectual worth. From about 4th century to 8th or 9th century and also few centuries afterwards, knowledge of science advanced significantly and was even scripted in written texts. The astronomical and mathematical texts were of particular importance. In the medieval period from about the twelfth century to the end of the eighteenth century, the intellectual tradition in India technologically advanced two façades, one promoted the prevailing progression of the ancient Indian tradition and the other developed the new routes of knowledge production which were resulted by the Islamic and later the European knowledge's infusions and diffusions. These two did not necessarily work in synchronization with each other, nor were they mutually incoherent. Both intellectual traditions streamed side by side, often absorbing the bits of each other, yet preserving their distinctive identities. Numerous significant scientific works, mostly in astronomy and medicine, were extracted from Sanskrit to Persian or Arabic and vice versa. Though in respect to scientific ideas the mutual impact was not so appreciable and each constituent of scientific thought proceeded largely along the conventional path, the technological practices were indisputably inflicted with visible changes and, indeed, introduction of few new inventions took place in such fields as paper, gunpowder, enameling, glass and metal-working. Nonetheless, Indian astronomy, mathematics, physics, chemical practices, plant and animal sciences evolved in a society relatively less conducive

to capitalistic potentials and more hostile to secular tradition was least able to develop an attitude favorable for the development of modern science and technological revolution as we witnessed in the Western Europe.

As to the scientific ideas, the traditionally fostered learning was confined to a select class of people who preferred to preserve it with diligence and care only in the nature of elaborate commentaries. Thus, ensued an in-breeding in scientific thinking and, in effect, the creative spirit of India was at its lowest ebb from the 12th to almost the middle of the 19th century. The Islamic science and philosophy with which India had direct acquaintances travelled to Europe and, by the 12th century, Spain, it created a meeting ground for Arabian, Jewish and Christian thoughts, with such Indian elements as were espoused by Islamic Scholars. In the next couple of centuries, it was Europe which provided a social situation that was auspicious to certain novel scholarly endeavors. Subcontinent could have looked to Europe and derived this specific stimulus from what was happening in Europe then. Nonetheless, once more, the political and social dynamics impede the scholars and intellectuals, with the consequences that the region had to wait for its time when the cosmopolitan knowledge system was introduced (imposed, to be precise) by the Europeans who arrived with apparent purpose of trade and commerce, but ended in occupying the land to govern for about couple of centuries.

COLONIZATION OF SUBCONTINENT

Right from the beginning of the sixteenth century, many of the European sea-powers like, Portuguese, Dutch, British, and French were interested in trade with subcontinent (Kulke & Rothermund, 2010). Traders were patronized under European East India Companies to buy spices and textile from India to be auctioned at European seashores, and later into respective consumer markets. After knocking out their competitors, i.e. Portuguese and Dutch, the British East India Company monopolized the Indian trade market and successfully installed their small industrial units in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and later in Bengal. By the first quarter of eighteenth century, Mughal Empire had started to crumble and regional powers in India began to dominate the once centrally governed continent. At the same time, two traditional European rivals, British and French, were fighting with each other on various battlefields in the world. By the mid of eighteenth century, both European powers, to advance their commercial interests, were standing against each other with the help of their respective support from local allies in India. Initial French victories in Madras and Calcutta were soon underscored by the British army that placed them at the hegemonic position in the North India. The Great Mughal Empire was reduced to Delhi. By 1760, British East India Company made Bengal and Northern India their strongholds, and continued their confrontation with the French army in the South for the next century. Although British East India Company was favored by the chain of events[5] from the mid eighteenth century on, it was not until the turn of the nineteenth century that the outline of colonized India was demarcated. The revolt of local population in 1857 in India led the transmission of control of power from British East India Company to the British government.

[5] Internal conflicts for power of local Indian Mahrajas and warriors

Colonial Education System

The territories that include present day Pakistan were seized by the British Raj one after the other: Baluchistan in 1840, Sindh in 1843, Punjab in 1849, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), formerly known as the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) in 1849 (Peers, 2013). Education policies and their objectives were different under East India Company and then under the direct control of British Raj. Thus, it is essential to delineate them distinctively.

Education under the East India Company

At first when East India Company was in partial control of India, it had no particular plans for instructive procurements in India. On the other hand, slowly having united their tenet and coming to be bosses of the vanquished area, they began distinguishing the requirement for their officers to look into indigenous religions, society, and dialects. This was meant for British officers to better grasp the local knowledge so as to better administer their subjects (Cohn, 1996). Therefore, schools and colleges were built for distinctive military officers of the East India Company in specific localities where British and native loyal elite dwelled *(ibid)*.

British occupants of India, at the beginning, were not bothered by the existing Education systems of the locals, nor were they interested in reformations. They were only concerned with educating their own workers who were to administer different Indian regions. In the mid of the 18th century, East India Company's plunder in Bengal triggered the British parliament to control the possible anarchic situation. Consequently, it was in early 1770s when Lord Hastings (1732-1818) was nominated as the 1st governor general of occupied India. He played key role in establishing several colonial structures and the institutionalization during his thirteen years as chief administrator, although he too was charged for corruption in Bengal but was finally acquitted by the British court.

Lord Hastings was given the task to bring peace and reorganize the East India Company. He took it as an opportunity to recalibrate the British governance style by utilizing the existing knowledge system. During his regime, the British initiated a serious campaign not only to achieve economic benefits, but also to create knowledge hegemony in subcontinent.

Hastings, according to Viswanathan (1989), was endeavoring to institutionalize the "Orientalist" model of British raj. *Orientalists*, he continues to explain, *announce the West to the literary treasures of the East, as well as to protect Indian culture and heritage from the oblivion to which foreign rule might doom it* (ibid p. 27). Many renowned Western intellectuals thus endeavored to learn and appreciate Sanskrit and Persian languages in the same way as they would do to any Western language. This was not exclusively the very first occasion for the British to learn about India, but the newly appointed governor provided ample of resources to boost up the activities. Hastings' genius can be better understood by the following quote by Baig (2012):

> He (Hastings) also considerably involved the Indians in the British process, employing them as judges and officials. This…was necessary to strengthen British rule not only by conquering the mysteries of Indian law and tradition, but also by making British rule more administratively efficient in the complicated tangle of the Indian scene. Despite their scholarly pretenses and achievements, "Orientalists" were not simply "learning" Indian language and law – they were transforming them into European objects, which once classified and bounded, would constitute components that would help consolidate

> British rule. Indeed, Orientalism was born out of a heightened political awareness, as explicitly recognized by Hastings himself: "Every accumulation of knowledge, and especially such is obtained by social communication with people all over whom we exercise a dominion founded on the right of conquest is useful to the state: it is the gain of humanity…" The underlying purpose of the accumulation of knowledge to serve as a utility for the state thus was clear to Hastings, and would remain a key marker by which future British administrators and scholars compared the advantages of one system of education with another. Now Indian scholars, judges and lawyers could all participate in and become "instruments" of colonial rule. Thus, not only would they serve the British, but they could also be influenced by British utilization of Indian knowledge and British ideas in general (p. 9)

British East India Company was bound to spend 100,000 pounds annually on education in India according to British Parliament Act of 1813 (Kingdon & Muzammil, 2003, p. 47). Two major issues attracted the attention of British policy makers: What education system should be developed, and in what language. In charge of this task was the *Committee of Public Instruction in India* who, through its members, used to decide where and how to spend this money in Education sector. However, the disagreement of its members to reach on some conclusion led to a deadlock situation. The money was started to be spent haphazardly on translations of Classical Indian texts and to promote local languages like Arabic and Sanskrit, which later was considered non-utilitarian by the British government (Moir & Zastoupil, 2013).

When Lord T.B. Macaulay came to India as member of the Supreme Council of India in 1834, he was nominated as Chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction (Evans, 2002). Being discontented by the past performance of the Committee, he suggested to revise the Indian Education Act. 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) (Adam, 1868). He urged the development of an educational system based upon the already established local system of education of *patshalas* (Hindu schools) and *Madrassas* (Muslim schools) in almost every village. This proposal was fervently opposed by Macaulay (1835), who rather ridiculed the Indian knowledge system by claiming that "a single shelf of good European history was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia" (para 10). He further asserted for instituting English education system and also pressed for discontinuing the official support for the indigenous academic languages like Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit in India. Additionally, he suggested that the purpose of education should be the mastery of English language (Ali & Iffat, 2007, p. 153). Through such reforms Macaulay 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 person, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. (para, 34)

These minutes, approved by the then Governor General William Bentinck (1774-1839) in the same year, introduced a new paradigm of education in the subcontinent, marked by a continuous struggle over language issues which continue even in today's Pakistan. In 1854, following Macaulay's footsteps, Sir Charles Wood (1800-1885) drafted the future design of the Western education system with English as the medium of instruction throughout British India which is commonly known as

Wood's Dispatch (Moore, 1966). A major aim of this education was to prepare a class of professionals mainly for government services.

By officially abandoning the support for vernacular languages and embossing the Indian canvass to satisfy their vested interests, British East India Company actually laid the foundation of a class system distinctively identifiable by linguistic skills and capabilities. Proficiency in English language rather than ability to manifest creativity became the determining factor for success in the professional life of an Indian. Those who attained proficiency in English language could join the elite club and could find a job in higher stratum, and those who could not remained at clerical levels. This division based on language proficiency still exists in present day Pakistan.

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' sociocultural lives. In contrast, the new system emphasized the role of standardized textbooks, hence limiting the role of the teacher in curriculum development. Furthermore, traditional *Madressa* and *patshala* teachers were treated quite differently than their counterparts in English school system. They found no state patronage during British raj and were considered of little value to the Western knowledge system. Pakistan still has the same bifurcated private/public educational system division.

Education Under the British Raj

Revolt against the British East India Company in 1857 of the local population intrigued the British government to intervene and gain direct control of the territory.

The British government, thus, named a Secretary for India in the British Parliament, and a Viceroy in India to stand for the British Crown. These two were additionally liable to figure out an education policy for India. In 1859, Lord Stanley's Dispatch reiterated the suggestions made in the Woods' Dispatch to install the cosmopolitan education system and to prepare administrators and experts to serve the British Crown (Allender, 2006). Consequently, British training approach in the subcontinent centered primarily on replacing the centuries old education system with theirs and transforming selective but devoted class of professionals into local British English class.

The English government never wanted to build a mass education system for the reason that it would cost more than what they intended to gain from the occupied lands. For instance, Sindh did not have a postgraduate institute even in the 2nd quarter of the 20th century. The British government invigorated the locals, especially the elites, to open and support their own non-vernacular schools which might be able to get financial help by the administration. Notwithstanding the way that the legislature did not assume ownership over giving training in all cases, it did build and support certain schools essentially for urban populace. Thus, three kinds of schools became available during colonial period: (1) Chief's Colleges for innate gentry; (2) European or English schools for elites; and (3) the vernacular schools or Anglo-vernacular schools for the large number people, predominantly in urban regions.

The Chief's Colleges were financed primarily through the private funding of local chiefs, and were upheld by stipends from the British government. One of the equivocal motivations behind these

schools was to anglicize junior sovereigns and to make them feel good for the British culture and society to guarantee their faithfulness to the royal state and to avoid the occurrence of 1857 like revolts again (Stern, 1988). One such school was created in 1886 in Lahore (in present day Pakistan) for the Aristocrats of Punjab and was named Aitcheson College (Aijazuddin, 1986). It still exists as an upper-class school and it still serves as an institution for youngsters from socially and politically powerful families. The European schools, being too expensive to be reachable by the majority, only 15 percent seats were reserved for the local population. The head administrators and senior instructors for these schools, and those for the Chief's Colleges, were predominantly British (Sharma & Sharma, 2004). English remained the language of curriculum in these schools. They intended to train their students for the Cambridge School Certificates, so that they could get higher education in English Universities. The vernacular schools which also included English in their curriculum by now, were regarded as the schools for the masses. One of the key objectives to support these institutions was to train office assistants for public service institutions. The system was not intended to prepare students for higher education or intellectuals' breeding. Public schools for unprivileged population have been unable to provide quality education and the trend continues to prevail even today.

Consequently, such new arrangements by British government made and fortified the educational accomplishments-based class division. The part of English dialect capability as opposed to branch of knowledge finesse turned into the characterizing variable for success in lives of individuals in the subcontinent. Those who could talk the dialect could join the tip top club and those who were unable, stayed at lower administrative levels. The British strategies additionally demonstrated unfavorable environment to the part and status of educators, especially those in the general government funded schools. In the prior indigenous instructive frameworks, the instructor had the avocation of setting the educational program that he/she considered congruous with the scholars' social lives. Interestingly, the new model stressed the part of institutionalized textbooks, consequently constraining the will and decision of the teacher in educational program infrastructure.

Muslims' Reaction to English Education

As described in the previous sections, 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 spawned three extreme reactions among the Muslim community. The first reaction came from conservatives who chose to retain the system of *maktabs* and *madrassas* and spurned contact with the English education system, which they considered a threat to their religion and culture. The advocates of this interpretation instituted a *Madrassa* in *Dyoband* (in present day India) in 1866 which employed a revised form of the *Dars-e-Nizami* (Singh, 2003), imitating the custom of centering on the religion and religious texts. Students who graduated from this *Madrassa* founded a traditional school of thought and an educational movement under which new *madrassas* were established and affiliated with *Deoband*. Numerous *madrassas* even in present day Pakistan are affiliated with the *Deoband* movement.

The second response came from those Muslims who looked favorably on 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. Sir *Syed Ahmad Khan* (1817-1898) led this movement and built an institution called the *Aligarh* (presently in India) in 1875 (Saleem, 2013). This college later became a university where Muslims of India acquired the English education. According to Robinson (2007), *Aligarh* became the center for Muslim separatist politics, which eventually led, through the philosophical influence of *Iqbal* (national poet and thinker) and the political leadership of *Mohammed Ali Jinnah* (founder of Pakistan) to the creation of Pakistan as a sovereign state. Interestingly, it was largely through the medium of English that the case for Pakistan was fought on the national and international scene (Kamran, 2001).

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 *Madrassa* system. As a result, *Nudwatul Ulema* (Association of Religious Scholars) was formed in 1893 (Sevea, 2011). This association suggested the reform in the age-old *Madrassa* curriculum, and proposed the addition of astronomy, philosophy, arithmetic, geography, and English language to the religious subjects. This suggestion was rejected by the mainstream *madrassas*, following which a model *Madrassa* with the name of *Darululum Nudwatul Ulema* was established under the leadership of *Maulana Shibli Naumani* in 1898 at *Lucknow* (in present day India). This institution however faced opposition both from the main stream *madrassas* and the British government and could not achieve popular success.

Subcontinent won its independence from Britain, and Pakistan emerged as an independent state in 1947 and inherited the University of Punjab in Lahore and the University of Dhaka, the only degree awarding institutions in the regions that became part of Pakistan. A newly born country with 32.5 million population had to deal with basic structural problems and it took more than five years to build the infrastructure and basic institutional setup to take the country *en route* to becoming modern nation-state.

CONCLUSION

Knowledge cannot avoid the inherent political goals of power when it is institutionalized. For Foucault (1970), even education system is also susceptible to skewed instrumentalism of power that structuralizes its learning process with the help of systematic institutionalization. Such highly politicized goal of education needs to be investigated for the contribution and role of power in (re)shaping the direction and use of education policy within the political and historical context. To be more precise, the knowledge-power nexus has a very strong implication on the institutionalization of education in Pakistan, keeping in view its historical context. When political power is converted and legitimated through disciplinary power for the purposes other than the production and promotion of knowledge, the activity itself is portrayed as positive intervention in society, which leaves little space for the critical evaluation of whatever is introduced by the power in the name of knowledge. Foucault (1977) helps us understand this cooperative nexus where knowledge and power back each other for the positive but hegemonic existence of the later. In his own words:

> *We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it excludes, it represses, it censors, it abstracts, it masks, it conceals. In fact, power produces;*

> *it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production.* (p. 194)

When Pakistan got independence, colonization had already destroyed the traditional education systems in subcontinent. Historians may not have witnessed this destruction in material sense in geographical areas belonging to Pakistan, however, abandoning the state support and invalidating the utility and traditional education led to its virtual death. Colonial Masters failed to provide an alternate as quickly as destroying the already available education opportunities and in required quantity. Consequences were devastating, and remnants of such policies are yet to be neutralized.

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