Challenges of Equitable Access to Higher Education of Minorities: The Case of Islamabad and Rawalpindi

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CERTIFICATE

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Abstract

Vision 2025 considers nurturing human capital as its most important pillar. The same concern and emphasis is witnessed in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as the UNESCO Report 2014 begins with Education. Goal 4 speaks of ensuring inclusive and equitable education to all. Similarly higher education is considered the corner stone in a knowledge economy which Pakistan is aspiring to be, as it is education which trains and polishes the population of a country and turns it into human capital. Pakistan is a Muslim majority state which also houses many minority communities. The founder of the nation aimed to make it a pluralistic state and society where a diversity of religious and other communities would come together and live harmoniously. Generally Minorities are considered to be dominated by the majority influence and their rights are not protected and preserved. They are made to act according to the interests and desires of the majority community who considers it their inherent right to dominate them. The topic under discussion seeks to investigate the issue of access of higher education to minorities. It focusses on minorities residing in Pakistan, and the barriers or challenges if any that they face in attaining higher education. It tries to see whether any minority community has more access to scholarships and jobs offered by Higher education Commission and if so the reasons behind it. It seeks to explore the policies and procedures formulated and put in place, if any, to increase the participation and inclusion of minorities in higher education. It also seeks to know whether there are any future action plans by HEC for the purpose of increased participation. It's a qualitative research with an explanatory research design, themes have been deduced from the data collected to come to a conclusion. Both thematic and discourse analysis tools have been used to analyze (both textual and oral) qualitative data collected.

Key words:

Higher Education, Minorities, Access, Marginalization

Dedication

The thesis is dedicated to my mother and my late father who worked tirelessly and prayed most ardently for my success in all endeavors of life.

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Map 1: Map of Rawalpindi

Map 2: Map of Islamabad

List of Acronyms

SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
MDGS	Millennium Development Goals
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
HEC	Higher Education Commission
HEI	Higher Education Institution
DAI	Degree Awarding Institution
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
DG	Director General
BPC	Basic Principles Committee
PPC	Pakistan Penal Code
CrPC	Criminal Procedure Code
RSA	Repressive State Apparatus
IRA	Ideological State Apparatus
GNP	Gross National Product
AKRSP	Agha Khan Rural Support Program
CW	Curriculum Wing
ESR	Education Sector Reform Assistance
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
HoD	Head of Department
NADRA	National Database and Registration Authority
QAD	Quality Assurance Division

Glossary

Ulemas	A body of Muslim scholars who are recognized as having specialist knowledge of Islamic sacred law and theology
Zakat	Payment made annually under Islamic law on certain kinds of property and used for charitable and religious purposes, one of the five pillars of Islam.
Waqf	Allow, appropriate, earmark, reserve, set aside, give or assign a resource to a particular person or cause.
Masjids	Mosques
Nizam e Mustafa	The System of the Prophet Muhammad
Jehad	A struggle or fight against the enemies of Islam, the spiritual struggle within oneself against sin.
Quran	The Islamic sacred book
Majlis e Shoora	In Arabic culture, a ***Majlis e Shoora*** commonly called "Shura Council" is an advisory council or consultative council, combined with the term *Majlis*, which refers to a council or legislature, it is meant to indicate a body of individuals who advise, consult or determine.
Assalam-o-Alaikum	The Arabic greeting meaning "Peace be unto you," the standard salutation among people following Islam. The greeting is routinely deployed whenever and wherever Muslims gather and interact, whether socially or within worship and other contexts.
Bismillah	In the name of Allah, an invocation used by Muslims at the beginning of an undertaking.
Kalemah	The formal content of the declaration of faith in Islam: "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah."
Ramadan	The ninth month of the Muslim year, during which strict fasting is observed from dawn to sunset.
Eidain.	Annual Islamic feast days, one, Eid ul-Fitr, ends the month of Ramadan (when a Muslim fasts) and the other, Eid ul-Adha during the Hajj
Shahadat	Martyrdom, the condition of a martyr, the death of a martyr
Qisas,	*Qiṣaṣ* is an Islamic term meaning "retaliation in kind", "eye for an eye", or retributive justice. In traditional Islamic law (sharia), the doctrine of *qisas* provides for a punishment analogous to the crime.

Diyat	Diya (plural diyat) in Islamic law, is the financial compensation paid to the victim or heirs of a victim in the cases of murder, bodily harm or property damage. It is an alternative punishment to *qisas.*

Chapter 1

1.Introduction

Internationally there is a growing concern to increase, and diversify, the numbers of students in higher education (HE) (OECD, 2001). Cultivating human capital through education is also the first and foremost pillar of Vision 2025. It takes on its motto as "People First: Developing social and human capital and empowering women" and includes eradication of poverty, access to health facilities, education amenities and gender empowerment as its basic tenets. Higher education has been seen to play a diverse role in the lives of human beings. It has been viewed as serving varied purposes over the course of time by different thinkers and philosophers.

Education system is the "cultural DNA" of a society, a "genetic blueprint" which can easily determine what shape a society will take in the future, the development that will incur, whether it will be a forward looking society or one steeped in conventions and dogma (Hoodbhoy 2000). Simultaneously education links directly and indirectly to human security. It determines for citizens of a state; the quality of life, employment opportunities, political system, manner of conflict resolution, position of the state in the comity of nations, in fact it is content and quality of education which caters to almost every facet of an individual's life (Hoodbhoy 2000).

It is education which provides states with trained, trainable and untrained human capital. Education in progressing, developed countries is considered a future investment. On the contrary the tragedy with Pakistan has always been the failure to educate its citizens as only 25% of Pakistani work force is literate while female literacy in NWFP and Baluchistan is even lower than that of Sub Saharan countries. Education has always remained a low priority issue in Pakistan whether due to lack of financial resources or lack of enthusiasm for educational reforms if the funding is available. Consequently the allocation in the first five year plan for education was very small with little emphasis on technical or vocational training.

There are two regulatory bodies in the Pakistani system of education; Federal Ministry of Education for all matters relating to education till Intermediate while Higher Education Commission looks after matters related to higher education i.e. bachelors onwards. Unfortunately the two bodies have little coordination amongst themselves which rather borders on rivalry. There

are seven layers in this system which are as follows: *Kachi* (or nursery), Primary (grades 1-5), Middle (grades 6-8), and High school (grades 9-10) after which there is college education i.e. Intermediate (grades 11-12), College (grades 13-14 in most cases, except for 4-year programs, Universities (15-upwards) (Hoodbhoy, 2000).

For the colonial British government in the Indo Pak sub-continent, universities were not places to teach, broaden minds and horizons but to produce compliant servants and administrators for the British raj, an "educated bureaucracy" to meet their ends. The British strengthened the bureaucracy and military as institutions however the institutions of higher learning namely universities remained weak, obsequious and under control of the government. This custom has not discontinued even after the partition of India and Pakistan. Pakistani universities share most of the characteristics of the British universities. Rahman quotes Basu (In Basu 1952: 303) and says the British wanted the Indians to be educated and qualified for positions of importance in bureaucracy and administration and for this to "rely chiefly on their becoming, through a familiarity with European literature and science, imbued with the ideas and feeling of civilized Europe". In Britain academic freedom was cherished and closely guarded, in turn making the universities self-ruling and autonomous, lending them liberty to reform themselves without government or societal pressure where the situation was contrary in India. The academics were not allowed to rule the universities rather had to tow the government lines. Academic independence was feared therefore the chancellor was usually the governor general or the president whereas the vice chancellor was usually the chief justice or someone favored in the political circles. Consequently institutions of higher learning were born which never had any potential or strength to stand up to the state and developed a colonial mentality. Conversely the state turned into a "pressure group" and never agreed to make the academia autonomous. This very phenomena lead to the state and leaders using curriculum, and institutions of learning whether they be schools, colleges or universities to further their own ends and augment their political power. Rahman (n.d) calls higher education the "depressed sector of the society".

The priority in education is to make Pakistanis lead their lives according to the teachings of Islam and does not emphasize on the liberal trends of democracy, equality and social justice neither talks of acceptance of religious and cultural diversity in the citizens of Pakistan as is evident from the website of Ministry of Education. It is also evident in the curriculum and text books approved/endorsed by the Ministry which ends up in an awkward mix of religious and modern,

secular notions. The mode of education is rote learning instead of making student critical thinkers, they are considered empty vessels which are filled with knowledge considered an inevitable truth rather than something which can be contested. Improving the delivery system of knowledge in schools and madrassas will bring considerable improvement. However the writer says that bringing reforms in education is difficult as it involves some core ideological matters like the self-image of a society, its ambitions and values, making it more of a political issue rather than a technical one (Hoodbhoy, 2000).

The pre partition India housed people from diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds and was a pluralistic society. The same vision was seen by Jinnah for Pakistan as is evident from his speeches. However the same Minorities' role in the creation or development of Pakistan is not visible in any of the textbooks neither in any academic study of political history or socio economic development of Pakistan. From this one can easily understand that the integration of minorities has always been taken as a non-issue thereby reducing them to marginalized entities. National Commission for Justice & Peace (1985) is an organization which is organizing activities to voice and advocate issues of religious minorities. It publishes the Human Rights Monitor: a Report on the Religious minorities annually which gives details of violations or atrocities committed against minorities in Pakistan (Kamran, n.d).

The marginalization of minorities and their inclusion in higher education is the focus of this study. Patterns of social exclusion/inclusion have been witnessed in researches/studies however these studies have been conducted/ (based in) in developed countries like UK and US not in developing countries like Pakistan. The colonial history of Pakistan, its inception, the role of *ulemas,* leaders, religious scholars and politicians made the situation unique and the issue complex for minorities. The religious factions tried their best to erase any traces of plurality and color Pakistan into a religious ideological state, what Saigol (n.d) states as "role and influence of divine and clergy". Lack of sentiment for a pluralistic society, adherence to religious dogmas, inflexible ideology and political designs of leaders added fuel to fire. Theories and frameworks have been discussed that might explain/ probe / answer the challenges in inclusion of religious minorities in higher education. There is very little empirical evidence that can be brought to bear on theories of inclusion in higher education with reference to Pakistan. Literature shows similar experience, in access to higher education but more focused on inclusion based on social class not religious

differences has been seen. Reforms in universities; in policies and organizational structure is needed and shall be recommended at the conclusion of this study.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Internationally there is a growing concern to increase, and diversify, the numbers of students in higher education (HE) (OECD 2001). The aim of the current study is to see whether policy makers in higher education in Pakistan aim for the same or not, whether any measures have been taken for inclusion and participation of minorities, whether it is reflected in policies, documents and organizational processes particularly in the context of religious minorities. The question that arises is whether equity is reflected in granting opportunities for personal and professional development through higher education to the minorities living in Pakistan. Inclusive education has been a major focus in Sustainable Development Goals as well "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning." Barriers that prevent participation of minorities in higher education shall also be taken into account/explored. Productive, issue based research can be conducted as question of accessibility of education has rarely been posed in a systematic and rigorous way. What, for instance, constitutes an "affordable" education? When and why does an education become "accessible", How can we know whether a system of education is "accessible"? Would anyone really be able to distinguish a system that is "accessible" from one that is "inaccessible"?

In the light of the contents stated under Introduction and Statement of the Problem, I have narrowed down my topic to 'Challenges of equitable access to higher education of minorities' and operationalized my research problem into these research questions:

1. Which minority groups have more access to HEC scholarships/jobs?
2. Why other minority groups do not have the same access to scholarships/jobs?
3. Is there any HEC policy for increased participation of minorities?
4. What plans does HEC have to integrate minorities into HEC scholarships and other opportunities?

The objectives of study are:

1. To explore which minority group/s has/have more access to HEC scholarships /jobs.
2. To understand why other minority groups do not have the same access to scholarships/jobs.

3. To investigate whether any HEC policy exists/ has been formulated for increased participation of minorities.
4. To explore what plans does HEC have to integrate minorities into HEC scholarships and other opportunities.

1.2 Explanation of Key Concepts

1.2.1 Higher Education

Cambridge English dictionary defines higher education as education at a college or university where subjects are studied at an advanced level. It is often seen to be delivered at universities, academies, colleges, seminaries, conservatories, and institutes of technology or other college-level institutions, including but not limited to vocational schools or other professional and career colleges that award academic degrees and certifications. Higher education generally means university level education. Further it generally includes post graduate studies wherein a scholar can gain Masters and Doctorate degrees.

1.2.2 Minorities

Minority has been defined by Cambridge dictionary as a smaller number or part. Any small group in society that is different from the rest because of their race, religion, or political beliefs, or a person who belongs to such a group for example ethnic/religious minorities. According to Cambridge Academic Content Dictionary, a group of people who share some characteristic by birth that makes their group smaller than some other groups in a society and may cause others to treat them unfairly is a minority.

There's no formal, common definition of minority even by UN however Tahir Kamran in his article, defines it as "any subordinate group constitutes such sociological entity that is consigned to the state of marginality in political and cultural terms and is smaller in number as compared to others," "it may include any group that is disadvantaged with respect to a dominant group in terms of social status, education, employment, wealth and political power." The writer quotes sociologist Louis Wirth and defines minority group "as a group of people who because of their physical or cultural characteristics are singled out from the others in a society in which they live for differential

and unequal treatment and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination." (Kamran, n.d)

Historically speaking minority as a political category gained importance after the end of imperialism and the emergence of the concept of nation state. In Indo Pak sub-continent some British colonial policies played a major role in alienating the various communities inhabiting the geographical area, from each other. The introduction of the decennial census from 1871 onwards introduced throughout India brought an intense change in the thinking of people as they started categorizing themselves on religious, caste or tribe category negating fluid multiple identities which existed earlier. This census contributed heavily in reducing the "plural socio cultural ethos" and determining identity and social class on the bases of religion. (Kamran, n.d)

1.2.3 Access

Preserving and enhancing the accessibility of higher education – that is, the ability of people from all backgrounds to access higher education on a reasonably equal basis – is an issue that confronts governments and stakeholders all over the world. Yet despite its importance as a field of policy, it is only very recently (outside the United States at least) that any empirical rigor has been brought to the topic of accessibility in higher education. The term access is from Latin *accessus* "a coming to, an approach," the means or opportunity to approach or enter a place.

Pakistan is a Muslim majoritarian, multi religious, multi ethnic and multi lingual country, where 95% population roughly is Muslim while the other 5% are non-Muslim which form its minority. Christians, sikhs, hindus, parsis, bhais, Buddhists and other scheduled castes being some of the minority groups where hindus form the first largest minority group with 1.6% and Christians being the second largest minority, making 1.5% of the total population. The present study aims to explore and examine the status of the minorities in Pakistan in the context of availability of opportunities for higher education and their access to it.

1.2.4 Marginalization

Interpretations and perceptions of the meaning of marginality and marginal regions differ among social scientists. Despite using shared sets of characteristics and determinants about marginality and marginal regions, no clear consensus has emerged. Mehretu et al. (2000) explains Marginality

as an intricate form of “disadvantage” that individuals and communities experience because of “vulnerabilities” which may culminate from “unequal or inequitable environmental, ethnic, cultural, social, political and economic factors”. It may be noted that the explanation has been given in the context of free markets and economic conditions and participation in development process. Interestingly, Mehretu et al. (2000) quotes (McDowell, 1995; Sibley, 1995, pp. 90–114; Marcuse, 1996) and states that it is very possible for communities or geographical regions to experience political and cultural marginality without any economic problems. He further states that such marginality, arises in “translucent hegemony” after which political rights and/or cultural and economic freedoms is curbed. However despite efforts marginality continues to remain an elusive concept.

1.3. Units of Data Collection

Data shall be collected from the following sources:

1.3.1. **Individuals**: Some major stake holders in a university or higher education institution:

1. Students pursuing Masters, M Phil studies, and PhD scholars;

Being important stake holder students pursuing higher education studies in universities/Degree awarding institutions shall be interviewed. These shall be both male and female.

2. Faculty members actively involved in higher education;

Faculty members both male and female, working in higher education institutions in Rawalpindi and Islamabad shall be an important unit of data collection.

3. Senior management in higher education institutions including Vice Chancellor, Dean, Registrar and Heads of Departments;

Policy makers at two levels shall be one of the important unit of data collection. These are policy makers and administrators i.e. implementers of those policies in higher education institutions. Policy makers in leadership position like Vice Chancellor and senior management/administrative positions including Dean, Registrar and Heads of academic departments.

4. Policy makers in HEC including the Executive Director and other senior position holders in offices of Learning Innovation Division, Curriculum Division, Academics Division and Quality Assurance Division.

Higher Education Commission (HEC) is the regulatory body for HEIs. Policy makers at HEC including the Executive director and DGs of some strategic divisions/departments shall be contacted and interviewed

1.3.2. **Documents**: **Policy documents from HEC and public sector universities.**

The information provided by university faculty members, officials, higher education administrators and students might not always be accurate. Possible inaccuracies in data shall be dealt with by triangulation; with other sources like other interviews, policy documents and even university and HEC websites.

Chapter 2

2. Review of Literature

Literature has been reviewed in a narrative style which is both interpretive and qualitative in nature well suiting a qualitative study. The research shall be driven by an inter author dialogue. To do so, an extensive literature review was conducted on access to higher education and following areas have been defined.

1) History of Minority Status in Pakistan;

2) Pakistani Academic Discourse and Minority representation;

3) Pakistani Academia and Visibility of Minorities therein;

4) Theories of Marginalization and Education

The Identified themes have emerged from the studies read and examined to draw conclusions.

2.1 History of Minority Status in Pakistan

Minority as a political category gained importance after the end of imperialism and the emergence of the concept of nation state. Some British colonial policies in the sub-continent played a major role in alienating the various communities from each other. The introduction of the *deccenial census* from 1871 onwards introduced throughout India brought an intense change in the thinking of people as they started categorizing themselves on religious, caste or tribe category negating fluid multiple identities which existed earlier. This census contributed heavily in reducing the "plural socio cultural ethos" and determining identity and social class on the bases of religion. The report on the census came to be known as Punjab Castes and became an important document on demography and ethnic composition of colonial Punjab. A politics of domination, of majority and minority started taking shape in India and in Punjab in particular. In the first elections in the province, Hindus being better off in educational qualification and wealth secured a majority in 72 municipal committees while Muslims secured 12 and the Sikhs only one. As a consequence the British intervened and set up separate electorates, and a means to part the community became institutionalized by the British through Minto Morley Reforms in 1909. Religion became a major factor for political disparity and in formation of political and cultural dialogue in Pakistan and gave rise to concepts like supremacy of religion in the affairs of the state, two nation theory and blasphemy law which came to Pakistan as a British legacy. The writer quotes Shuan Gregory that

Muslim majority and non-muslim minorities are two components of Pakistani society which have different rights as well as obligations. This is quite contrary to Jinnah's idea of Pakistan where no one would be discriminated on the basis of religion (Kamran, n.d).

Minorities' role in the creation or development of Pakistan is not visible in any of the textbooks neither in any academic study of political history or socio economic development of Pakistan. From this one can easily understand that the integration of minorities has always been taken as a non-issue thereby reducing them to marginalized entities. National Commission for Justice & Peace (1985) is an organization which is organizing activities to voice and advocate issues of religious minorities. It publishes the Human Rights Monitor: a Report on the Religious minorities, annually which gives details of violations or atrocities committed against minorities in Pakistan. Mehboob Sada's *Tarikh ka Faraib* highlights the pluralistic nature of Pakistani society and contribution of Christian community. Ahmad Saleem has written widely on minority groups including Christians in Equal Citizens? *Pakistan aur Aqliyaten* and Reconstructing History: Memories, Migrants and Minorities. Iftekhar Haider Malik's report Religious Minorities in Pakistan provides a comprehensive account of the discriminatory policies while Rasul Baksh Rais and Muhammad Waseem has have also written on the same. Despite these there is a general dearth of literature on the historical context (Kamran, n.d).

2.1.1 Plural Beginning of the Ideological Polity

Plurality in society, in constitution and state has been very effectively presented by Jinnah on the floor of the Constituent Assembly in 1947.

> "You are free……but in the political sense as citizens of the state."

This speech sums up Jinnah's views and ideas on the role of religion and state. He also emphasized upon the members of the Assembly to exercise tolerance and good will. His pluralist vision was admired by many including L K Advani, former president of BJP. One such admirable step was appointing Jogender Nath Mandal, as first president of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly and then Law Minister of Pakistan. The example of Christians can be taken here; being the second largest minority, they make 1.5 % of the total population.

Christians efforts in the creation of Pakistan and solidarity with the Muslims is evident from instances like boycotting All Parties Indian Conference called by Moti Lal Nehru, or attendance of thousands of Christians in Muslim League's annual meeting. Jinnah never forgot the efforts of

Christians and paid special attention to representation of minorities in his 14 points. Indian Christian Association was founded in 1942, and were assured by Jinnah that they'll be equal citizens of Pakistan. In 1945-46, three Christians got elected in Punjab assembly and subsequently voted for Pakistan. The statement given by S P Sinha while voting for Pakistan, is quite telling when he says that Muslims were a minority in the sub-continent and would remember minorities in their homeland, and would not perpetuate the same fate on minorities. Christians helped at the time of partition and later, in the form of being nurses and paramedical staff in hospitals and camps, by turning Foreman Christian College into a hospital, and other educational institutions into shelters for refugees. But with Jinnah's demise the mutual fellow feeling for Christians/minorities also passed away.

2.1.2 Divergence from Pluralist Vision

Christians had no representation in the Constituent Assembly. The Objective Resolution was passed in 1949 without being deliberated upon in detail as requested by Christian and Hindu leaders. It presented a clearly divergent view point from that of MA Jinnah like "God Almighty alone as the fountainhead instead of the people," and "the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam." The writer claims that this Resolution might have sown the seeds of doubts, misgiving and hostility among the minorities for the majority group.

Many committees were formulated after the passing of the Objective Resolution, out of which the most notable was Basic Principles Committee (BPC). A special committee for *Talimaat i Islamia* was also constituted, under Sulaiman Nadvi, to advise on matters arising out of Objective Resolution. This move in itself speaks volumes as the body only consisted of *Ulemas* presenting a one sided view and totally opposed to a pluralistic vision of the state and constitution. The first report generated a very negative response however the second report was approved with the following salient features; equality of all citizens before the law, no discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, religion, race etc. minorities were not barred from teaching of their religion to their children.

The BPC had recommended that only a Muslim could be the head of state , relegating a second class status to non-Muslims, boards were set up to bring the existing laws under the injunctions of Quran and Sunnah thereby giving the veto power to *ulemas* / religious clerics over legislators. In

1956 the first constitution was passed with a preamble which was more or less like the Objective Resolution however Article 18 provided minorities with the right of religious freedom maintain: "every citizen shall have the right to profess, practice and propagate his religion and every religious denomination and sect thereof shall have the right to establish, maintain and manage its religious institutions." Objective Resolution and the insistence of Pakistan being an Islamic ideological state have further played a significant role in marginalizing of minorities in Pakistan.

2.2 Pakistani Academic Discourse and Minority representation

Pakistan is a Muslim majoritarian, multi religious, multi ethnic and multi lingual country. 95% population roughly is Muslim while the other 5% are non-Muslim which form its minority. The dominating majority at times takes advantage of the minority and usurp/disregard their rights. Many studies have taken place to explore reasons for this behavior resulting in a number of factors being pinpointed which include social, economic, cultural, political and historical factors. However what lies at the heart of it all is the education system which seems to reinforce all the above mentioned factors and more (Naz quoting Nayyar (2003) in her working paper).

Three educational systems run simultaneously in Pakistan, namely, public schools, private schools and madrassas. Public education system has been studied extensively to find out the reasons for discriminatory attitudes and behavior towards minorities; however the role of madrassas and their education in promoting religious intolerance and bigotry has not been explored extensively (Naz, n.d).

Among the findings of Naz's research are included:

Knowledge of other religions and their believers (religious minorities): The teachers claimed that they knew about existence of other religions but that only from the Quran. They were not aware of the practices of other religions or their followers because they were not taught this in their curriculum. They feared that teaching about other religions will confuse children's minds, distract them from their own religion and produce conflicting ideas in their minds. They believed in knowing about other religions for better understanding of Islam but also believed that Islam is superior to other religions and that children should be told this after reaching maturity of mind. They were ill prepared and had little knowledge of other religions however they knew some practices in Christianity and Hinduism but had a general dislike for their rituals.

Day to day interaction with minorities: about half of the teachers in the sample expressed dislike/ intolerance for other religions/their believers and rituals. They favored interactions with people of other religions especially economic interaction but not close interaction like marriages. Most believed that living with people of other religions will not affect their faith in any way but some were concerned.

Equality rights of minorities: More than half of the teachers in the sample believed that religious minorities should have equal rights. They also agreed that non-Muslims should have the right to indulge in their religious practices and rituals. However there was a small group of respondents which showed contempt and disapproval towards rituals by non-Muslims (Naz, n.d).

Moreover the existing scholarship also states that there is a massive need in the present time to understand the terms, *radicalization* or *talibanisation* and to reflect upon their social, economic and political dynamics. It is a term denoting the implementation of a particular judicial and social system, its justification and control over territory and people. Violence, murders, chopping off limbs and lashing are some of the features of this system, with the aim of spreading fear to strengthen and maintain control of the system and also unadulterated obedience to the commands of the leader.

Radicalization is usually associated with ideology; on the other hand some associate it with backwardness, lack of education, sophistication, culture or pre modernism i.e. the "colonial binaries". If taken in the psychological or ideological context, it becomes more essentialist assuming that there were/are certain inherent traits favoring radicalism. From biological point of view it becomes racist therefore none of the point of views seem to assist in understanding the phenomena according to the writer. So other than bent of mind or ideology its historical context and other material concerns need to be looked into.

The writer suggests that to understand the phenomena of radicalization well, its political economy needs to be explored thoroughly which in turn will lay bare the material basis of it. Religion (Islam) seems to provide the best ideological cover in class based conflicts (social and economic) to establish complete dominance and consequent exploitation. It also provides justification for their

narrow and conservative vision and mindset. The current increasing use of religion (Islam) in domination over other classes justifies the claim of the writer and explains why it is so commonly and conveniently used by state and society.

With the emergence of Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment period in Europe, the role and influence of divine and the clergy within the state reduced and religion was consigned to personal sphere while rational and secular law and order started dominating the public sphere and modern state came into being with its philosophical roots in scientific and rational thinking.

Karl Marx distinguished between political society and civil society. He believed that civil society represents the interests of the bourgeoisie, state represents the super structure of power and called religion as "the opiate of masses" which helps them accept the dominancy of bourgeoisie as destined by God. Other thinkers like French Structural Marxist, Louis Althusser also take church (religion) as an ideological tool to continue the class control over masses. However the philosopher most relevant to this paper is Antonio Gramsci (1971) who gave the idea of "hegemony" and "counter hegemony".

2.2.1 Role of Religion in the Pakistan Movement

Pakistan appeared on the map of the world with religious differences between Hindus and Muslims as its basic ideology. With religious differences at its base it could never set itself free from the two nation theory which has been attributed as the basic slogan over which Pakistan was made. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan has been said to highlight the differences between the two nations which were later cemented by Muslim League. Although religious division between the two nations has been considered the sole reason for founding of Pakistan, social/class differences has also played a role. Those at the helm of the demand for a separate homeland for Muslims were all landed aristocracy/gentry. Founding of Muslim League in 1906, partition of Bengal (1905), Muhammadan Educational Conference (1906) Minto Morley Reforms (1909) Khilafat Movement and Minto Morley Reforms, Lucknow Pact (1916) all played a role in religious separatism and made it more institutionalized. As the lines of division became more prominent in the minds of people religion began to be increasingly used for political benefits. Even Jinnah who was a staunch nationalist had to resort to the differences between hindus and muslims. Thus religion became the dominating truth forming a hegemony on which the foundation of the new country (Pakistan) was built.

2.2.2 Definition of Pakistan – The post-partition scenario

Once Pakistan came into being, Jinnah felt that there was no need for the rhetoric of religious exclusivity anymore and wanted the young nation to be secular as stated in his famous speech in the Constituent Assembly. He envisioned citizenship equality as the edifice for building Pakistan. However with his demise political parties like Jammat e Islami which had opposed the creation of Pakistan claiming that secular leadership could not play a part in construction of an Islamic state, came forward with the ideology of two nation theory for building Pakistan and the movement of Pakistan became the movement for an Islamic state.

Within two years Jammat e Islami pressurized the Constituent Assembly to pass the Objective Resolution which had the main clause as sovereignty belongs to Allah, and that the constitution will be modelled on ideology of Islamic faith, thus giving powers in the hands of the cleric and the "principles of Democracy, equality, freedom, tolerance, social justice" will be observed "as enunciated by Islam". This resolution was fiercely debated and opposed by the non-Muslim members of the constituent assembly stating that had the founder of nation been alive, this draft would never have come before the Assembly in the same shape and spirit. They could foresee the emergence of a theocratic state and the misuse of religion. Thus the power shifted from the hands of people (as in democracy) to the hands of clerics who consider themselves to be the custodian of Divine knowledge and will. This very power has not only been used by clerics later but also political civil and military leaders. The union of religion and state deepened thus giving more powers to the clerics and rulers to use it as a means of extending and strengthening class power and legitimacy of their own rule.

2.2.3 Interconnection of Religion and Power in Pakistan

Even a cursory investigation into the political history of Pakistan shows that right from *ulema* and clerics to civil and military rulers have used religion as the tool for legitimization and perpetuation of their rule and control over people. This became the onset of the sectarian, violent, fundamentalist state that Pakistan has become now.

After Objective Resolution (1949) a Basic Principles Committee was set up for formulation of basic guidelines for the Constitution. It was decided that the president of Pakistan will be a Muslim. This was the time when political leaders had started using religion (Islam) to further their own ends like the *Anti Ahmadiya Movement* by *Majlis e Ahrar* which had the support of the then Chief

Minister, Punjab. In 1953, M. A. Bogra gave Supreme Court the powers to see if laws were in accordance with the teachings of Islam. It was evident that the state was moving on the path of being a "religiously defined political entity".

In 1956 the first constitution of Pakistan was approved with a strong Islamic flavor and the following salient points: president of Pakistan to be a Muslim, setting up of Organization of Islamic research, name "Islamic Republic of Pakistan" adopted, and that no law would be passed which goes against what is laid down in *Quran* and *Sunnah* and or brought in conformity with the teachings of Islam, teaching of Quran was made enforced for all Muslims and sale or purchase of alcohol was banned, and that the State shall strengthen its ties with other Muslim countries. The above mentioned features clearly depict a shift towards being a theocratic state as opposed to the state outlined by Jinnah in his speech to the Constituent Assembly.

Year 1962 saw the second constitution of Pakistan, changing the country from a parliamentary democracy to presidential form of government. Ayub Khan despite an initial secular outlook continued the tradition of using religion as an instrument of control and power. It was in 1962 that the word "Islamic" was added to the "Republic of Pakistan". All clauses pertaining to Islam were retained thereby creating an unequal citizenship where one religion was more central to the others. More steps (social and economic relations) were taken like regulation of *Zakat, Waqf, mosque*, eradication of habits like drinking and gambling was constitutionally ensured and made the state more totalitarian. There was more and more encroachment in people's personal lives and an element of moral policing became evident with the establishment of "Council of Islamic Ideology" which was given the task to give recommendation to the government to enable people of Pakistan to lead their lives according to the teaching of Islam. The president (Ayub Khan) also established Islamic Research Institute to undertake Islamic Research for the purpose of helping in reconstruction of an Islamic society thus making the state interfere with people's daily lives. In 1965 elections, he used religion to gain popularity and even gathered *Ulema* who proclaimed that a woman could not take up the highest office of the state later modifying it to accommodate Fatima Jinnah. This clearly reveals the unscrupulous attitude of the *Ulema* and the political leaders in the use of religion to gain control over people.

Z. A Bhutto in 1971, brought together Islam and Socialism and called that nexus "Islamic Socialism". In one of his speeches he said "Islam is our faith, democracy is our policy and

socialism is our economy. All powers to the people". In this way both religion and socialism was used to strengthen his own political and feudal base and also make socialism palatable for the people. The constitution of 1973 passed in his times retained the Islamic flavor stating in its introductory articles that Islam shall be the state religion, thereby creating inequality amongst the Muslims and non-Muslims. There was a reiteration of the previous clauses of the constitution of 1962 like Pakistan shall be a "democratic state based on the principles of social justice in Islam". This was a far cry from Bhutto's otherwise secular, socialist stance on a more personal level and of a secular, socialist state on a political level. The Constitution of 1973 defined for the first time who a Muslim is and took away the right of people belonging to different religious sects to define it by themselves. This move seemed a design to assert state control over its people and had negative consequences as in the case of *Ahmadiya* community (second amendment 1974) as they were pushed outside the sphere of Islam. Now it was no longer enough to read the Quran but learning Arabic language had also been made compulsory. The element of moral policing deepened when the state took upon itself to see that drinking, gambling, prostitution, printing, publishing and circulation of obscene literature/advertisements was prohibited. These steps paved the ground for Zia ul Haq's forceful steps towards Islamization.

In 1977, Pakistan National Movement (PNA) formed by the alliance of nine parties stood in opposition to Bhutto after the elections. They used the same tool of religion which Bhutto was using to keep the people on his side and claimed that their manifesto was *Quran* and their aim was enforcement of *Nizam e Mustafa.* They used *masjids* to mobilize people enflame their sentiments for *Jehad* and claiming that Bhutto was against Islam with his socialistic views. It was a strange alliance as it brought together people/parties of the most diverse views where there was secular social views (ANP) secularism (*Tehriq e Istaqlal*), hardline Islamists (*Jamat e Islami/Maulana Modudi), (Jamiat Ulema e Islam/Mufti Mahmood).* This alliance had a common goal that was ousting Bhutto and the tool was religion (Islam) but little did they knew that it will bring in the rule which employed most hardcore and fundamentalist form of religion for its legitimacy. In 1977 General Zia ul Haq overthrew Bhutto's government and took over the helm of affairs.

In 1980, Zia established *Majlis e Shoora* where all 284 members (including *Ulema*) were handpicked by him as the President. His rule was when the tool of religion was used most blatantly to not only legitimize his rule but also gain a most intrusive control of the public and private

spheres of people's lives be it social, economic, political or cultural. Zia's interpretation of Islam was similar to that of *Deobandi Jamat e Islami.* Objective Resolution which was more of a preamble to the constitution became a part of the constitution through an amendment (Article 2-A). Other than the economy which was not touched by Islamization, judiciary, education and media were made to undergo heavy changes in the name of Islamization. (Jehangir & Jilani, 1990; Saigol, 1993, 1994 & 1995; Malik & Hussain, 1996). It was Modudi's brand of Islam which was being enacted in Pakistan and had no place for any liberal or modern thought. He was even opposed to registration of marriages and had a strict view about women which are laid out in his book *Purdah* (1963). Modudi believed in the theory of separate spheres with respect to gender roles and ascribed women to the private, reproductive sphere while men were given the public, productive sphere. He propagated the theory of complete segregation of roles for the genders and believed that there should be a separate assembly for women which would only deal with issues related to women like female health, female education etc. Zia's policies reflected the same outlook in social, economic and political and legal matters. With a view to establish an Islamic society and as preliminary measures for it, a parallel judicial system was introduced comprising of *Federal Shariat Court, Shariat Bench* of the Supreme Court and other Islamic Courts. Other evidences of the *Islamization* of judicial system include *Hudood Ordinance* (1979), *Qisas and Diyat Ordinance* (which became law in 1990), and Law of Evidence (1984). These steps weakened the position of women in the society and created an atmosphere of insecurity and fear in women and minorities generally.

Apart from women certain sects of Islam also started being treated as a religious minority with the second amendment in 1974. The Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) and the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC) were amended, through ordinances in 1980, 1982 and 1986. These amendments particularly related to any act, word or gesture implicitly or explicitly showing any disrespect to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), *Ahl al-Bayt* (family members of Muhammad), *Sahaba* (companions of Muhammad) and *Sha'ar-i-Islam* (Islamic symbols) were punishable with imprisonment, fine, or both. In 1986, Criminal Law (Amendment Act III) was passed by *Majlis e Shoora* and another amendment 295(C) was added to the Blasphemy Law, which increased the scope of the Law and made it a potential threat for Muslims and non-Muslims alike particularly Ahmadis and Christians. In 1991, a petition was filed in the *Shariat* Court which was allowed. Through this petition life imprisonment was excluded and the punishment for blasphemy was death

sentence only. This proved a potent tool in the hands of people to settle personal scores and land and personal disputes.

Personal aspects of social life came into the scope of state regulation; the way to dress for women, right to social life, to take part in sports, consumption of alcohol, adultery, fornication, *Qisas, Diyat,* economic matters like *Zakat, Usher* were a matter of state regulation now. However economic relations with foreign institutions or governments were not regulated by this system. Zia's government surpassed all in the most blatant use of religion for political and personal interests. In December 1984, he held a referendum to seal his election as the future president of Pakistan but phrased the narrative in such a manner that Muslims of Pakistan had no choice but to elect him. It was asked whether people of Pakistan wanted Islamic *Sharia* or not, to which no one answered in the negative. An affirmative meant that Zia was elected as the president for the next five years. Another very harmful effect of Zia's Islamization policies was Pakistan's involvement in Afghan war and the creation of *Mujahideen* to fight that war. Islam was no longer a tool in the hand of local /national politicians rather it became an effective tool in the hands of western capitalistic powers to curb the influence of USSR or communism. These steps brought devastation to the nation in the form of rise of sectarianism and fundamentalism which in turn brought conflict and violence. A *wahabi, deobandi* form of Islam through *Jamat e Islami* gained dominance. Money poured in from US and Saudi Arabia to fight off USSR through *Mujahideen*. During these times (1979-1990) *Jehad* related organizations increased by 100% while sectarian parties by 90%. *Jaish-e-Muhammad, Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, Lashkar-e-Islam, Lashkar-e-Tayyaba, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, Harkat-ul-Jehad-ul-Islami, Al-Badr Mujahideen, Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi, Sipah-e-Sahaba-e-Pakistan* are some of the militant or sectarian parties that sprouted and gained force during this time. Long after the defeat of USSR and the fall of Berlin wall the force of these forces did not subside, rather gained a reterritorialized position.

Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif ruled over the state for almost a decade after the death of Zia ul Haq. Benazir Bhutto had a comparatively liberal outlook but catered to the religious forces to retain her political power. This was the time of the rise of *Taliban* in Afghanistan. Nawaz Sharif came into power in 1990 from the platform of *Islami Jamhoori Ittehad* and it was in his tenure that the *Islamic Shariah Act* was enforced. Nawaz Sharif was faithful to his leader Zia ul Haq who had nurtured him politically. Both the leaders kept a liaison with religious parties throughout their

respective tenures to strengthen their political power. This again proves that whether military or civilian rulers have used religious discourse for ultimate hegemony.

The decade of civilian government was again followed by martial law in 1990. General Musharraf took over as the ruler and held many of the powers of the prime minister, while being the president as well as chief of the army staff, becoming a very powerful ruler. He had an altogether liberal and enlightened outlook however his action were quite the contrary and twice violated the constitution and hit on the judiciary. He even backtracked on his Afghan policy and played dirty games with the US funds against terrorism and used it for many extremist religious parties. Quite opposed to the impression that he presented of being moderate and enlightened in his views he not only created MMA (*Mutahida Majlis e Amal*) an alliance of six religious parties but also favored them to the extent of making them win the elections of 2002. He played a totally different game as he used Islam through these maneuvers to prolong his rule and keep the two ex-prime ministers outside the country so as to have little or no opposition for his rule. To favor the MMA he, let them rule NWFP and Baluchistan. It was through MMA government in NWFP that he got the *Hasba* Bill passed in 2005 which was enforcement of *Shariah* in the province. However it was the Supreme Court which called the bill in violation of the human rights accorded in the Constitution of 1973. Such steps paved way for radicalization and *Talibanization* later in times, increased the hegemony of religion in society and further deepened the role of religion in politics and helped him continue his rule till 2007.

It was not that the trend changed as a democratic government came into power, in 2008. ANP, despite being a secular and liberal party signed a *Nizam-e-Adl Agreement* with Sufi Muhammad's *Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM)*, which was also passed by the parliament and ratified by the then president Zardari. The move is indicative of how religious extremists are pacified and wooed by seemingly liberal parties like ANP and PPP to prolong their rule. This untoward move created a state within the state of the religious extremists in areas in NWFP like Malakand. Simultaneously these parties made alliances with political leaders like Fazal ur Rehman and did not play any role for restoration of the Chief Justice, thereby implying that they were continuing with the actions of a martial law administrator. It was evident that the rulers had no compunction to have sided with extremist factions of society and lacked commitment for construction of a secular, liberal, democratic state. This is according to the writer one of the major

reasons why Pakistan has never been able to extricate itself from the web of religious hegemony and extremism. The pact with the Taliban was costing ANP as they had no rule and writ in areas in NWFP like Swat which became a center for violence, looting, plunder, decapitation and use of arms by Taliban. Despite an agreement with Sufi Muhammad who wanted to implement his own brand of *Sharia* in the area, the violence continued as it was Mulla Fazalullah who was more hard-headed and influenced by Baitullah Mehsud's TTP in Waziristan. Consequently under international pressure operation *Rah-e-Raast* was launched in May 2009 to cleanse Swat and Waziristan from the TTP influence.'

Even a cursory look at the history of Pakistan shows that it is not ideological factors only which can be attributed to the birth and strengthening of radicalism in Pakistan; historical, economical and material factors also need to be taken into account. It is capitalist, imperial, national and local material forces which have come into play to shape what Pakistan is now. The rulers of the state have often made unholy alliances with religious or extremist factions to achieve their own ends which has usually been the prolonging or strengthening of their own political power and rule. For this they have even allied with imperial or capitalistic forces like Saudi Arabia and USA, and both left unsavory influence and long lasting effects on the country.

Religious extremists have been aided by imperialistic powers and they in turn facilitated them rather that the contrary version which many people believe in, as the wars fought by them whether in Afghanistan or Iraq had ultimately imperialistic gains as the main objective. Unfortunately they found Islam as a potent tool to gain their own ends and political leaders have been more than happy to oblige the capitalistic and imperial powers to elongate and strengthen their own rule. Therefore the writer concludes that the political economy of religious extremism or violence instead f pinning it only on ideological factors.

2.2.4 Imagining a new State – path to survival

The writer argues that terrorism and extremism which can also be termed as radicalism do not owe their birth only to ideology. Lack of education, lack of knowledge, socio economic inequalities, oppression are the main causes which have led the ruling classes to use and encourage the most rigid and fundamentalist version of religion which is quite contrary to the peaceful and tolerant version. It is the Arabian version of Islam which has become prevalent with the closeness and alliance with Saudi Arabia which is both harsh and rigid.

The author in a most straightforward manner says that increasing the outreach of education, reforming the media, promoting the values of justice, equality and tolerance are not the only steps required to end radicalism in the country. All the above mentioned steps need to be taken to improve the superstructure however some basic changes need to be brought in the socio economic structures. According to her:

Firstly land reforms need to be done to improve the state of equitable distribution of wealth which in turn would improve class relations, reduce poverty, decrease enrollment with madrassas from where students learn rigidity instead of tolerance, decrease feudal power, and reduce the role of army in economic matters.

Development of the tribal areas in terms of opportunities for employment, is another one of the solution that the writer suggests to combat radicalism. Once they become productive members of society they'll be less inclined towards religious or terrorist outfits.

Funding sources for terrorism need to be clogged, whether it is from private sources like wealthy citizens, diaspora or affluent nations like Saudi Arabia and other capitalist economies. Paradigm shift is required.

Another solution which the writer provides is in Pakistan changing its self-definition from a security state to an emerging developing economy so that its main focus shifts from national security and threats to it, to economic development. To achieve this objective the foreign and defense policies need to be formulated by democratic governments instead of the armed forces or the security agencies or establishment. These policies shall be formulated with a fresh approach keeping the priorities of the state as supreme. The policies on Afghanistan, Taliban, Kashmir dispute and India as the arch enemy need to be rethought. Instead of national security, human security needs to be the priority; catering to social and economic needs of the people of Pakistan and taking steps for social and economic development and equitable distribution of the output of this development. This shift in priority will decrease the importance of ear and militarism and also place barriers in the way of military interventions which weakens institutions and destroys democratic mechanisms.

The author with great prowess seems to come full circle in her argument, discussion and conclusion when she concludes her article with a solution that forms the core of her narrative. She asserts that

Pakistan needs to realign its ruling ideology which is based on religion. Article 2 of the Constitution says Islam is the state religion and that all laws need to be in conformity with it. This statement automatically excludes people from other religions as minorities or second rate citizens and goes article 25 of the Constitution which safeguards human rights. Such anomalies need to be sorted. Simultaneously a separation is made between politics and religion and state and religion. Once it is detached from the business of the state it will not be used by either politicians to further their rule or by extremist factions to increase their influence and strength.

2.3 Pakistani Academia and Visibility of Minorities therein

Formal education has always been used the world over as a potent tool to disseminate and propagate political messages as has been the case in Pakistan as well. In Pakistan the use of education as a political tool intensified after 1971 due to the demands of redefining Pakistan after the separation of East Pakistan. Throughout the history of Pakistan, politicians have actively used education for their own interests and made changes in the curriculum to further their own goals. The phenomena of indoctrination through education have also been observed in the learning material in India. Children's identities and value systems are molded by the national curricula and textbooks in Social Studies, English, Urdu and Civics from Class I to Class XII. It was the Curriculum Wing which was given the task to design all pre-university curricula and issue guidelines to textbook writers and school teachers.

The books on Social Studies contain history narrated with distortions and omissions creating a false understanding in the minds of pupils. The material included in books is such that it encourages the student to marginalize and be hostile towards other social groups and people. The text book material is insensitive to the religious diversity giving a narrow view of Muslims.

Nationalism is defined in a way that non-Muslim are excluded from being Pakistanis, Pakistani nationals or even good human beings. The Constitution of Pakistan is cited but wrongly interpreted like, in making the reading of the Qur'an compulsory in schools. Severe instructional problems in standards of lessons in English and Urdu language text books and bad English even in English language books.

Misconceived notions and misperception of Islam, sectarianism, violence and religious intolerance are the problems identified by General Musharraf in 2002. These problems are largely a consequence of children's thinking being molded in such a manner through education that they

develop a violent and exclusionary worldview. There is a need to reform the educational system that produces this worldview. Religious education, violence and militancy produce such a potent mix which gives rise to hate and irrationality. The educational material in the government run schools is much more harmful than madrassa education. The textbooks are full of lies, creating hatred and love/tolerance for militancy, and much more.

In May 2002, SDPI assigned a group of academics the task to examine curricula and textbooks used in public schools. The group scrutinized curriculum documents and textbooks of Social Studies/ Pakistan studies, Urdu English and Civics from class I to Class XII. These subjects were chosen as it is in these subjects where students are most exposed to the issues of religious and national identity, tolerance and social relationships. The Curriculum encourages ideas that are discordant with Pakistan's image as a modern state providing equitable treatment to its citizens. Textbooks provide information which factually incorrect, in poor language, academically shaky with material harmful to young impressionable minds with an underlying insistence that Islam was to inform all education system. It was from the time of General Zia-ul-Haq that education was taken to serve as a means of indoctrination, promoting Pakistan as a fundamentalist Islamic society and state.

Through the teaching of these subjects i.e. history, language and social sciences, children are taught what the state wants them to be taught, with the aim of making it a part of their collective identity and perspective for understanding the world. One particular view of Pakistani nationalism and identity is of an Islamic state rather than a country with a majority Muslim population. In the very first Educational Conference, called by the Government of Pakistan in 1947, it was laid down that educational system will be inspired by Islamic ideology. This proved to be a fateful decision. Hardly 4% of GDP was allocated for education and that also benefitted the urban centers mainly. Funding to higher education was preferred over primary education. During the rule of Ayub Khan, a National Commission for Education was established in 1959, whose report was adopted as the National Education Policy. The New Education Policy of 1969 intended to minimize the gap between madrassah education system and general system of education. During Bhutto's time, educational policy, planning, curriculum and syllabi, books, and Islamic education were decentralized. However General Zia said: "Our curriculum must ensure that our children are

brought up educated as good Pakistanis and good Muslims. They must imbibe the lofty ideals and principles of Islam."

The Muslim League had the same Islamist agenda. However Benazir Bhutto's government was less committed to Islamization, but there was no systematic attempt to undo the ideological content of education during her two tenures. In the military government of General Pervez Musharraf a comprehensive Education Sector Reform (ESR) Action Plan was prepared, and approved by the President to bring reforms in all the sectors of education. However the centralized system of formulating education policies, continuities between the many national curriculums, the Curriculum Wing, cleverly ensures that no substantive changes are made.

In June 2002, at the behest of SDPI, leading academicians gathered, examined and reported problems in the national curriculum and textbooks, with a view to understanding the books' contribution in creating sectarianism, religious intolerance, and violence.

Four themes emerge most strongly as constituting the bulk of the curricula and textbooks of the three compulsory subjects.

1. That Pakistan is for Muslims alone;

2. That Islamic teachings are to be included in all subjects, hence to be forcibly taught to all irrespective of their faith;

3. That Ideology of Pakistan is to be internalized as faith; and

4. Students to be urged to take the path of *Jehad* and *Shahadat*.

2.3.1 Insensitivity to the Religious Diversity of the Nation

It was expected that Pakistan as a nation will impart a sense of belonging to all of its citizens irrespective of their faith, cast and creed respecting its multi-lingual multi-ethnic, multi-religion facets of society. Many names like A. R. Cornelius, Dorab Patel, Sobho Gianchandani, Cecil Choudhry, Bapsi Sidhwa come to the forefront while taking this fact into account.

Muslim majoritarianism has always existed in Pakistan but gained further momentum in 1980's and has been reflected in the educational process; Curricula were redesigned and textbooks rewritten creating the image of Pakistan as an Islamic state and Pakistani citizens as Muslims only. In turn it has created an insensitivity of a majority towards the needs and aspirations of minority

making the non-Muslims second-class citizens whose patriotism was suspect and contribution ignored. Unfortunately the curricula and textbooks reinforce this denial. It has been argued by Syed Abul A'la Maudoodi of Jama'at-e-Islami that in an Islamic society all that is taught would be in the context of the revealed knowledge, therefore every subject would become Islamiat consequently there's no separation between the worldly and the religious.

In the following are mentioned a few more assertions in this regard:

- *Pakistanis as Muslims Alone*

To nurture in children a sense of Islamic identity and pride in being Pakistani. Patriotism has been equated with Islamic zeal alienating religious minorities.

- *Compulsory Teaching of Islamiat to Non-Muslim Students*

The educational material urges teaching of *Islamiat* to all students irrespective of their faith through compulsory subjects of Social/Pakistan Studies, Urdu and English. The curriculum requires every Pakistani, irrespective of his (her) faith, to love, respect, be proud of and practice Islamic principles, traditions, customs, rituals, etc., greetings, *Assalam-o-Alaikum "Bismillah"* Recite first *Kalemah*, name five prayers, *Ramadan* and *Eidain.*

- *Suggestions on preparing textbooks*

Compulsory reading of Qur'an is misrepresenting and violating the Constitution of Pakistan. The first objective of National Curriculum of March 2002:

"To make the Qur'anic principles and Islamic practices as an integral part of curricula so that the message of the Holy Qur'an could be disseminated in the process of education as well as training. To educate and train the future generations of Pakistan as a true practicing Muslim who".

However Article 31(2) of the constitution says:

The state shall endeavor, as respects the Muslims of Pakistan,

(a) to make the teaching of the Holy Qur'an and *Islamiat* compulsory, to encourage and facilitate the learning of Arabic language …;

Article 22(1) of the Constitution of Pakistan, which says

"No person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious instruction, or take part in any religious ceremony, or attend religious worship, if such instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own".

- *Assertion of the Ideology of Pakistan*

The phrase Ideology of Pakistan had no historical basis in the Pakistan movement. The Quaid never uttered the words Ideology of Pakistan, yet the curriculum documents insist that the students be taught that the Ideology of Pakistan was enunciated by the Quaid.

- *Hate Material*

Hatred against India and Hindus is only because of adopting the so-called Ideology of Pakistan. Indo-Pakistan History and Geography has been replaced with Pakistan Studies, and Pakistan is defined as an Islamic state. The history of Pakistan became history of Muslims in the subcontinent beginning with the Arab conquest of Sindh.

- *Urging the Students to Take the Path of Jehad and Shahadat*

Jehad and *Shahadat* are themes not visible in pre-Islamization period. However now *Jehad* and *Shahadat* is openly eulogized and students are urged to become *mujahids* and martyrs.

The present synopsis, covers the summary, recommendations and chapter 1 & 2 of the report. Thorough content analysis has been done with an aim to pick out text and its implied meaning whether explicit or implicit.

2.4 Theories of Marginalization and Education

The past few decades have seen a more inclusive movement towards higher education locally and internationally. Education has always been centrally positioned in sociological theories of class production. There are many sociological theories which claim that other than the positive aspect education has also created class differences and inequalities and has quoted the names of Bowles and Gintis (1976), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and more recently by Diane Reay, Stephen Ball and colleagues (for example Reay et al. 2001; Ball et al. 2000a). In the following I have mentioned a few relevant for my research:

2.4.1 Critical Race Theory and Marginality

Social class is a widely used term in educational and sociological research. The writer quotes Hudson and Williams (1989) and says that within sections of population, there has been wide gaps in access to resources, money, qualifications, life chances and health. Education has always been centrally positioned in sociological theories of class production. Bates and Riseborough (1993) elaborate that young people from different social classes do not experience the same educational experience, qualification or achievement. There is a clear domination of class or groups which are better off in socio economic conditions.

Some theoretical approaches towards social class and participation in higher education can be divided into two sections, the first being categorical (Williamson 1981) modernist (Bradley 1996) quantitative (Crompton 1993) approach. The second section can be process (Williamson 1981) postmodern (Bradley 1996) qualitative (Crompton 1993) approach.

The concept of class has been taken as a group of people who share particular socio economic characteristics which set them apart from other groups logical traits (Williamson 1981). Researchers have tackled it quantitatively. The writer quotes Bradley (1996) who has worked comprehensively on social class and says that Neo Marxist and Neo Weberian theorist differ on their theorization of class however both agree that the ruling class achieves dominance through control of property, production and market. Marx (1976) talked of the role of alienation and exploitation in the maintenance of power relations. Weber (1938) says that bureaucracy and rationalization play a big role in producing capitalist societies. Althusser (1971) says that within a capitalist society education reproduces the condition of capitalist production. Neo Marxist Bowles and Gintis (1976) suggested that education acts as a class channel. They say that schools produce a capitalist version of labor and class determined careers. Thus if we need an increased and broad participation in HE, societal structure needs to be changed. Functionalist theorist view education as part of a meritocratic sorting process where the best person gets the best jobs however this view has been criticized as being too simplistic and suggesting that lower participation relates to lower intelligence and is quite Darwinian in nature. Another perspective which seems to be alternative to this has been offered by class-culture paradigm theorists (Byrne et al 1975) who say that social class can be distinguished by their cultures which play an important role in reproducing class positions, parental encouragement was taken as a key factor affecting participation in middle class families by researchers like Kelsall, Poole and Kuhn (1972). The diverse valuing of HE by families

or groups, their perception and accessibility, awareness raising, challenging non participation, also plays a role in widening participation.

Shifting inequalities; linking identities and structures: From this perspective, classed identities are never 'achieved' or 'complete'; instead they are constantly 'in process' (Hall 1992) constructed and reconstructed through talk, actions and relations.

> Higher education, and the universities in particular which have historically dominated it, do play a decisive role in structuring the demand for places and … many aspects of the social inequalities which are traceable in the decision-making of school pupils have their roots in higher education itself and in the logic of the relationship between higher education and society. What this means is that the relative life chances for higher education of different social groups cannot be discussed apart from the form, control and social significance of higher education itself (Williamson 1981: 30).

Institutional cultures are also important in widening participation as the concept of "other" can be applied on working class students in contrast to other students.

Individualization and the obscuring of social class: The class structure of industrialized societies has shifted in the post-world war era, with an increase in "individualization and "shifting identities." Consequently class structures and inequalities have become obscure, it could be suggested that within the arena of higher-education choices, participation is an inherently more risky, costly and uncertain 'choice' for working-class groups than for middle-class groups (Archer and Huchings, 2000).

2.4.2 Bourdieu's Take

Risk, habitus, capital and class: Habitus has been described as 'the practical mastery which people possess of their situations' (Robbins 1991:1 cited in Ball et al. 2000a: 7). Cultural capital refers to the knowledge, language and culture, differentially accessed and possessed, that guides in making decisions and taking action. Working class families experience physical and material or economic constraints and lack the knowledge of systems which hinder their access to HE. For middle class students the choice is natural however for working class it is important that the participants feel comfortable in the environment of an institution therefore they do not opt for big universities.

The perceptions, distinctions and choices of higher education institutions used and made by students play a part in reconstituting and reproducing the divisions and hierarchies in HE. It is in this way that they 'do' or embody social structures. In effect, this is social class 'in the head'. That is to say, cultural and social capital, material constraints … social class and higher education perceptions and distinctions, and forms of self-exclusion … are all embedded in the processes of choice. (Maguire et al. 2000: 7)

Multiple identities: class, 'race' and gender: Postmodern feminist and critical researchers have emphasized on multiple social identities and inequalities of race, class and gender.

Defining class: fuzzy class boundaries: theorists agree that there is no single, concrete definition of social class identity however a theoretical position can be adopted to which accounts for general or broad patterns of inequality. This complex approach enables researchers to deal with the issue in a complex manner.

The views on education of utopian socialists are reformist rather than being revolutionary. The first utopian socialist and his views discussed by the writer is Saint Simon, who states that education should be controlled by those "who have a superiority of their enlightenment," over here Saint Simon means the scientists not the clergy. He believed that workers should get guidance from the scientists without challenging the capitalist class. He wanted to persuade the influential people in society that education system needed to take into account the growing industrialism.

Charles Fourier another one of the utopian socialist believed in class cohesion in his views on education. He wanted to end the division between mental and manual work in the interest of the community. He believed in freedom of choice for children to the extent that even if they want to remain ignorant, they should be given this choice and that study in school should be secondary to labor in gardens or workshops (Fourier, 1820). His harmonian education emphasized social virtues and the senses even more than intellect or mental power.

Robert Owen believed in social harmony and considered reducing the distance between classes as the means to this end. He believed that education could broaden the young workers' mind and skills. Like Saint Simon he was an elitist and believed that workers should be taught the right

skills, demeanors and temperament to benefit the capitalist/upper class with the boarder, long term aim of socialism without overthrowing capitalism.

2.4.3 Marx and Engels and Education

Marx in August 1868 stated that:

"On the one hand a change of social circumstances was required to establish a proper system of education; on the other hand a proper system of education was required to bring about a change of social circumstances"

Therefore the major concern of education was to develop a socialist awareness. They believed that transformation and development in society will come about as a result of class struggle and not as a result of insight or education therefore they did not emphasis formal education much in their work. They argued that workers are automatically educated by their experiences during work in capitalism, and also stated that children from age nine should have education combined with labor in schools, this would create awareness of the general nature of capitalism. Marx observed that real education is not offered by bourgeois, rather education is used to spread bourgeois agendas and ideas. Engels however argued that education can increase awareness and that an educated proletariat would be less prone to oppression from the bourgeois. Marxist educationists are therefore concerned with two big issues, role of institutionalized education in reproducing capitalism or discouraging capitalism in a capitalistic society.

2.4.4 Louis Althusser on Education

Althusser (1971) states two distinct categories which he calls RSA (repressive state apparatus) and ISA (Ideological state apparatus). He distinguishes between the two and give their constituents as governments, police, army, courts and prison as RSA and religion, education, family, law, politics, communication, culture as IRA. It is evident that one works by force (RSA) and one by ideology (ISA). Under normal circumstances the governments usually prefer to act through ISA for which changing the school curriculum to suit their needs is a potent example. For Althusser the major ISA enforced in capitalistic societies is the "educational ideological apparatus." (Althusser, 1971, p. 153). According to him schools are the best places to inculcate the dominant ideology as children are present there for many hours and in a most receptive position, therefore they are given an ideology according to the role they have to play in society.

2.4.5 The Bowles and Gintis

Bowles and Gintis' (1976) book, Schooling in Capitalist America (SCA) became popular in Britain and other countries. Before its publication many sociologists became enamored by the New Sociology of Education (NSE). NSE was ethnographic in methodology with more concerns with individuals than social structures instead of the more functionalist approach of the traditionalists. However it was unable to connect the notions of power and control from the classroom that is at micro level where meanings and power relations are made and explained, to the macro level that is capitalistic economy where real ownership and power lie. Still many considered SCA as a breakthrough which considered capitalistic economy as a center for understanding the processes at school.

Correspondence Principle is at the heart of SCA, and is in a simplified manner structural correspondence between education and production. According to this principle the education system integrates the youth into the economic system. As Bowles and Gintis say:

"…the social relations of education – the relationships between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, and students and their work – replicate the hierarchical division of labor. Hierarchical relations are reflected in the vertical authority lines from administrators to teachers to students. Alienated labor is reflected in the student's lack of control over his or her education, the alienation of the student from the curriculum content, and the motivation of school work through a system of grades and other external rewards….."

SCA being endorsed by the Open University had a wide and progressive influence. Even the critique on SCA was meant to move Marxist theory and analysis of education forward. Paul Willis's (1977)-Learning to Labour has given a forceful critique to SCA and stated that schooling makes the pupils submissive factory workers as it does not hone their personality or skills. Madan Sarup (1978) has made a number of criticisms on SCA, stating that their view of society is functionalist and determinist, that schooling produces individuals to feed the capitalistic machinery. Glenn Rikowski's (1997a, pp. 551–574) has outlined five problems with Bowles and Gintis's thesis and Marxist Educational Theory that it was based on. Superstructure model; the economic base determines the superstructure i.e. political, legal and school system thereby leaving no space for class struggle. Secondly the functionalism goes against Marxism. Thirdly the relative autonomy theorists state that there's a weak autonomy between the capitalistic economy and superstructure level of society i.e. political system, education etc. Fourthly there is no space for

resistance as the term itself seems most unspecific. Lastly and most important is the irreconcilable difference between education for autonomy and social revolution. Rikowski has extended a solution to these problems of Corresponding Principle that is dissolution of Marxist sociology of education. The writer welcomes the focus on Marxist capitalistic economy, and correspondence principle, he concludes that we should develop an understanding schooling economy relation and the concept of labor power.

2.4.5 Access of higher education to Minorities; Issues and Challenges

Education links directly and indirectly to human security. It determines for citizens of a state; the quality of life, employment opportunities, political system, manner of conflict resolution, position of the state in the comity of nations, in fact it is content and quality of education which caters to almost every facet of an individual's life.

It is education which provides states with trained, trainable and untrained human capital. Education in progressing, developed countries is considered a future investment. On the contrary the tragedy with Pakistan has always been the failure to educate its citizens as only 25% of Pakistani work force is literate while female literacy in NWFP and Baluchistan is even lower than that of Sub Saharan countries. Education has always remained a low priority issue in Pakistan whether due to lack of financial resources or lack of enthusiasm for educational reforms if the funding is available.

Insufficient budget has usually been blamed for poor planning and inadequate schools however efficiency, purpose and direction need more to be blamed than low budget. Madrassas have been targeted internationally for breeding intolerance and violence but problem lies more with the public school system contests.

In 2005 the allocation for education was 2.3% of the GNP. In the same year President Musharraf declared in a press conference that 4% of the GNP shall be spent on education, which in itself was less as there were almost 16000 schools destroyed by the earthquake of 2005, which needed to be rebuilt. Social expenditure i.e. expenditure on education and health has been on an average between 2 to 3%. The expenditure on education in year 1987-88 it was 2.4 which only rose to 2.6 in 1996-97, while the expenditure on health was 1.0 in 1987-88 which reduced to 0.7 in 1996-97 instead of increasing so the overall expenditure in social sector i.e. education and health was 3.4 in 1987-88 and 3.3 in 1996-97 (Source: Pakistan Economic Surveys 1994-95 and 1996-97).

Despite the initiation of Social Action Plan in 1998-99 the average expenditure on education remained below that recommended by UNSCO i.e. 4% of GNP.

Pakistan's School Education

Some very basic problems underlie primary and secondary education of Pakistan just like other sectors of health and transportation like political interference, non-merit based appointments, corruption, lack of accountability, lack of learning outcome standards, total absence of teacher and staff training. Corruption is prevalent to the extent that there are schools with no student population, also called ghost schools. Quality of education has been compromised as is evident from:

Poor content knowledge of teachers

Poor reading comprehension, life skill knowledge and writing skills

Why does reform fail?

Pakistan is making progress as per economic indicators however the situation of education system is dire and requires reforms and restructuring. The writer argues here that any vital institution that fails to perform is liable to penalty or some form of reprimand /reprisal however with education system no vice chancellor /head of an educational institution has ever been questioned/reprimanded for the dwindling standard of education. In other words education is not considered a vital need for Pakistani society.

Ideological roadblocks

The priority in education is to make Pakistan lead their lives according to the teachings of Islam and does not emphasize on the liberal trends of democracy, equality and social justice neither talks of acceptance of religious and cultural diversity in the citizens of Pakistan as is evident form the website of Ministry of Education. It is also evident in the curriculum and text books approved/endorsed by the Ministry which ends up in an awkward mix of religious and modern, secular notions. The mode of education is rote learning instead of making student critical thinkers, they are considered empty vessels which are filled with knowledge considered an inevitable truth rather than something which can be contested. Improving the delivery system of knowledge in schools and madrassas will bring considerable improvement. However the writer says that bringing

reforms in education is difficult as it involves some core ideological matters like the self-image of a society, its ambitions and values, making it more of a political issue rather than a technical one.

The Political Challenge

The curriculum in implementation these days is the same that was influenced by the Islamization process of Zia ul Haq. No change of any consideration has been brought in the curriculum by the later civilian governments. Resultantly, war, *jehad*, militarism, armed forces, war songs have been venerated and have become part of our culture in schools and colleges. Their reach has also extended far beyond the books of social studies and Islamic studies, rather they have encroached practically every subject. Slowly and gradually it became a problem of such a magnitude that the rulers believed it to be too hard a task to undertake, on the other hand it got associated with incidents of international terrorism. Despite international pressure the rulers like PM Jamali and Minster of Education Zubaida Jalal could not do much about it because of street protests by *Ulema* and religious parties. Since 911 international players like US, Europe and other countries have poured in money for educational reforms and educational uplift mainly to prevent Pakistan from producing the so called *jehadists* or religious extremists. However the government was unable to make the syllabus/curriculum considerably secular. An educational conference took place in 2006 by the then minister for education Gen. Javed Ashraf Qazi, however nothing notable came out of the exercise. In fact the opportunity provided by 911 where by the curriculum could have revised to make it secular and less fundamentalist was lost. As a consequence it was difficult for democracy to strengthen its roots due to the culturally rigid and sectarian mindset of people, who were more suited for cheap labor resource instead of scientifically literate, open minded, well educated, critical citizens ready to stand shoulder to shoulder in the international arena.

Towards Reform: Crucial Action Areas

The writer says that what needs to be kept in mind for educational reform is that it's a vehicle for development and economic prosperity rather than only a means of preserving culture and tradition. To bring about such a change some agenda needs to be thought out framing an action around five crucial areas namely curriculum, examination, teacher training, text books and school management.

Curriculum: It was decided in 1974 that curriculum all over Pakistan will be uniform regardless of province or medium of instruction. It is regulated by Curriculum Wing in the Federal Ministry of Education, however the Wing does not perform in a futuristic or developmental manner rather propagates ideological doctrines. The writer suggests that exercise of curriculum development should be made independent or universities can be given the charge to do this exercise. In this regards he gives the examples of UK and US where universities define the curricula. He also suggests that in many countries there is no defined national curriculum and the countries are still doing very well like India and Iran. Scholastic tests can be used for outgoing students to standardize education. However such freedom has never been given to institutions as according to the author indoctrination of citizens is done through curriculum.

Textbook: The monopoly of textbook publishers is lamentable. These text book publishers mint huge sums of money but the books published are often fraught with mistakes which are pedagogical, ideological and printing mistakes. The CW selects books to be taught and there's no open competition among public and private publishers.

Examinations: Despite great emphasis on examination system in Pakistani education, cheating and rote learning has rendered it quite dysfunctional and flawed. The results from these examinations are not a good indicator of a student's performance. Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISE) are responsible for this system. These boards are both provincial (22) and federal (1). The system of O and A level is also functional simultaneously in private schools. These examination are effective and give a good indication of a child's academic performance but are costly and also hit at the national sentiments as they have their epicenter abroad. The writer suggests an indigenous O and A level examination system along with an independent examination board.

Teachers Training: Teacher training is the need of the hour as very few teachers know what they teach however it needs to take place under government subsidy. Some institutions like Teachers Resource Centre, Ali Institute of Education, and Institute for Educational Development are doing a good job of it, however they are very few in number. It has also been a part of donor assistance programs like US AID as part of Education Sector Reform Assistance (ESR)

School Management: The writer says that community and private schools deliver better education than government run schools. He suggests that there should be a plan to gradually transfer the administration of government schools to private parties on a five yearly basis to improve the quality of education. With the government in a supervisory role, plans for improvement should be taken from these parties and penalties imposed in case of inability to bring positive change and improvement.

Community participation can also bring about a change in the quality of education. NGOs like AKRSP has played a very positive role in children's education. Other large scale private institutions have brought quality to education with more emphasis on efficient management. However this raises the question of quality vs equity as it's only the upper classes who can send their children to these institutions creating social inequity. Full or partial scholarship or voucher system are some of the strategies to counter this problem. .

Pakistani Higher Education

Universities are "cradle of knowledge" however bringing reforms to Pakistani universities is a must with stating clearly the vision and goal of universities.

What is a University?

Faculty, students, administration and infrastructure make up the building blocks of a university with the purpose of dissemination of existing knowledge and creating new knowledge. It helps create skilled personnel to boost economy and is ideally a self-governing community of scholars engaged in research and teaching.

Research function: critical inquiry, research generating papers, publication in standard journals and citation is a process that every good university regards as the corner stone of learning and scholarship.

Economic function: Modern states have knowledge based economies and universities play a big role in knowledge production and dissemination thereby producing not only philosophers and thinkers but also doctors, engineers and other people necessary to run and boost an economy.

Social function: Universities create individuals with a mind that can reason, think, analyze and synergize: capable of assimilating knowledge and creating new knowledge. These minds can

create discourse on political, social, cultural and economic issues, are capable of scientific inquiry, critical reasoning, think logically and express fluently in written or oral expression.

Pakistani Situation: At the time of partition Pakistan had only one university namely Punjab University however by 2005 it had 51. Despite the growing number the enrollment remained 2.7 of the entire eligible population. The number of private universities has also increased to 60 in 2006. The elite among these have a high reputation of quality research and teaching learning environment with a better student body.

Identifying the problem: the quality of education in public sector universities is poor: few research papers published, fewer PhD scholars produced, insufficient infrastructure, however what is lamentable according to the writer is poor quality of academics, intellectual weakness totally displaced from societal needs.

The teaching environment is oppressive and the teachers themselves are insecure and incompetent. With little or no teacher training. The writer very scathingly says that the low quality and performance of teachers is because in1970, with the expansion of universities many teachers were inducted in universities from colleges and schools. Incompetence has never been the reason for anyone's dismissal from service. These teachers produced students who were accustomed to rote learning, and were most unquestioning and critical.

The ethical environment is such that academic dishonesty is not penalized whether it is plagiarism, cheating, multiple publication of the same work, fabricating data etc. The increased religious sentiment at varsities has also not curtailed the unethical practices.

The intellectual environment at universities is void of intellectual debate and discussions. Seminar and colloquia are few and far between. The teachers are more interested in promotions and benefits than academic pursuits. The writer here quotes the example of Quaid e Azam University which is not only the top university of Pakistan but also the alma mater of the writer.

Academic research environment is quite impoverished and there are very few faculty members who might be able to secure a tenure track position in any university abroad. The quality of research is also quite run of the mill according to the writer whether in natural sciences or social sciences.

The social environment in universities is characterized by segregation of sexes, deserted libraries and students lacking spark.

The cultural environment is dominated by religious sentiments. Cultural activities are restrained and a religious feeling seems to permeate everything. The writer speaks on most of the occasions in accordance with his own personal experiences. No cultural activity is seen any time during the year.

The political environment of universities in 60s and 70s was stimulating, however after 1981, Zia regime banned all political activity in universities. Consequently all enthusiasm for political and social reform evaporated and what took its place was ethnic, cultural and religious violence and differences. With the passage of time universities became places like wastelands where no intellectual activity took place rather violence and hatred nurtured there. The students became oblivious to the lack of academic activity and a listlessness towards moral and ethical behavior.

Awaiting the Messiah: for three decades, claims were made for education development and reform however they vanished in thin air. It was in 2002 with the Shams Lakha Commission Report that a reform plan was made which later turned into Model University Ordinance 2003 however it was totally rejected by the university teachers.

The writer writes in a satirical manner about Dr. Atta ur Rehman, and his strategy of bringing reform in higher education. Projects, internet speed and connectivity, digital library, hiring of foreign faculty, massive PhD program at home and abroad, links with foreign universities, increase in university faculty members' salaries, availability of equipment in labs and grants were shown as signs of reform in higher education and were extolled publicly. People hoped that with these efforts a positive change will come.

Misdirected reforms:

Unfortunately the problem with higher education has always been seen numerically, like too few research papers, too few enrollment in Ph D, however what needs to be seen is the quality of the system. The numbers need to increase but the increase should also be in the level of academic integrity, ethics and social understanding. The quick fix solution has given rise to more issues:

Make yet more worthless universities: the number of universities has increased from 23 to 50 other than some DAIs. However these universities lack in infrastructure, libraries, laboratories, sufficient faculty even a pool of students. The writer here gives example of universities in Bannu, Malakand, Khuzdar, Kohat, Gujrat, Haripur etc.

Tolerance of fake universities and fake degrees: Private universities have flourished as the public sector universities have not been able to cater to the needs of the potential students. Some are of good quality while the rest are shoddy and ill equipped but churning out degrees to the dozen including many influential people. Unfortunately HEC has given charter to many such universities.

Produce yet more shoddy PhD degrees: The quality of education has fallen even further with the sentiment of envying and following India and a fear that too few Ph Ds were being produced, the annual production of Ph Ds has been quoted as 250 annually which according to the writer is a propagandist move. The current objective is to produce a 1000 Ph Ds annually. This will further bring down the quality of education. The number of PhD scholars attached with one supervisor is also very large. Subsequently higher education will be in dire straits once these ph D scholars join universities as faculty members and HoDs.

Spend yet more on wasteful research projects: the authenticity and value of research grants and research projects has been questioned by the writer and several examples quoted. The writer blames HEC for not being vigilant in detecting bogus and sham projects but also projects which have no academic value. Upon asking HEC has shifted the blame to referees who evaluate the projects however the writer from personal experience tells that as he was a strict evaluator HEC stopped sending him and other colleagues like any projects to evaluate rather they were sent to those who were pliable and did as asked.

Turn on the propaganda machine and declare fake successes: Rewards for research as well as for teaching are fraught with problems as they are more reliant on the Dean, HoD or colleagues. The production of knowledge remains scanty and the research papers remain uncited usually. Awards and the like are said to have increased the production of papers however it needs to be seen whether candid research activity has taken place. The fact stays that the awards have made the researchers gain new techniques of minting money through easy publications with little content. Academic fraud has taken place by many well reputed personalities who have been caught internationally but in Pakistan no one cared about it.

Towards real reform: the writer very candidly expresses that superficial remedies have been given by the government and authorities which did not bring any reform to the higher education sector.

- To curb religious fanaticism and not feed it further;
- To stop creating new universities;
- Stop funding valueless research
- Stop creating more PhDs lacking academic zeal
- Increase access of education but with quality
- Create a free academic environment in HEIs
- Raise the level of competence of teachers

Entrance test for students: entrance tests are vitally important as they determine who should be admitted into the arena of higher education and who shouldn't. Reform of boards responsible for secondary education should be undertaken so that students do not rely on rote learning only. Centrally administered, competitive tests though difficult to manage can improve the intake in universities. HEC can make an international exam like GRE mandatory for the intake in Ph D programs.

Entrance test for faculty: Entrance tests for faculty members at the time of induction in an HEI should be made mandatory.

Be harsh and uncompromising in matters of academic fraud and corruption: it must be penalized.

Better, more transparent, and accountable ways to recruit vice-chancellors and senior administrators are needed: no institution can be reformed with good top leadership.

Students must be permitted, even encouraged, to self-organize: Hoodbhoy suggests that student unions should be restored as they will form potential future political leaders. He believes that student will develop a responsible voice, discuss political, social and cultural issues creating a conducive university culture.

Foreign faculty hiring must include Indians: foreign faculty hiring is a good initiative however it is fraught with the uncertainty and jealousy and insecurity of local faculty members. A suggestion forwarded by the writer is tapping into Indian pool of potential faculty members which will not

only provide competent teachers but also generate a positive message for Pakistan in the comity of nations.

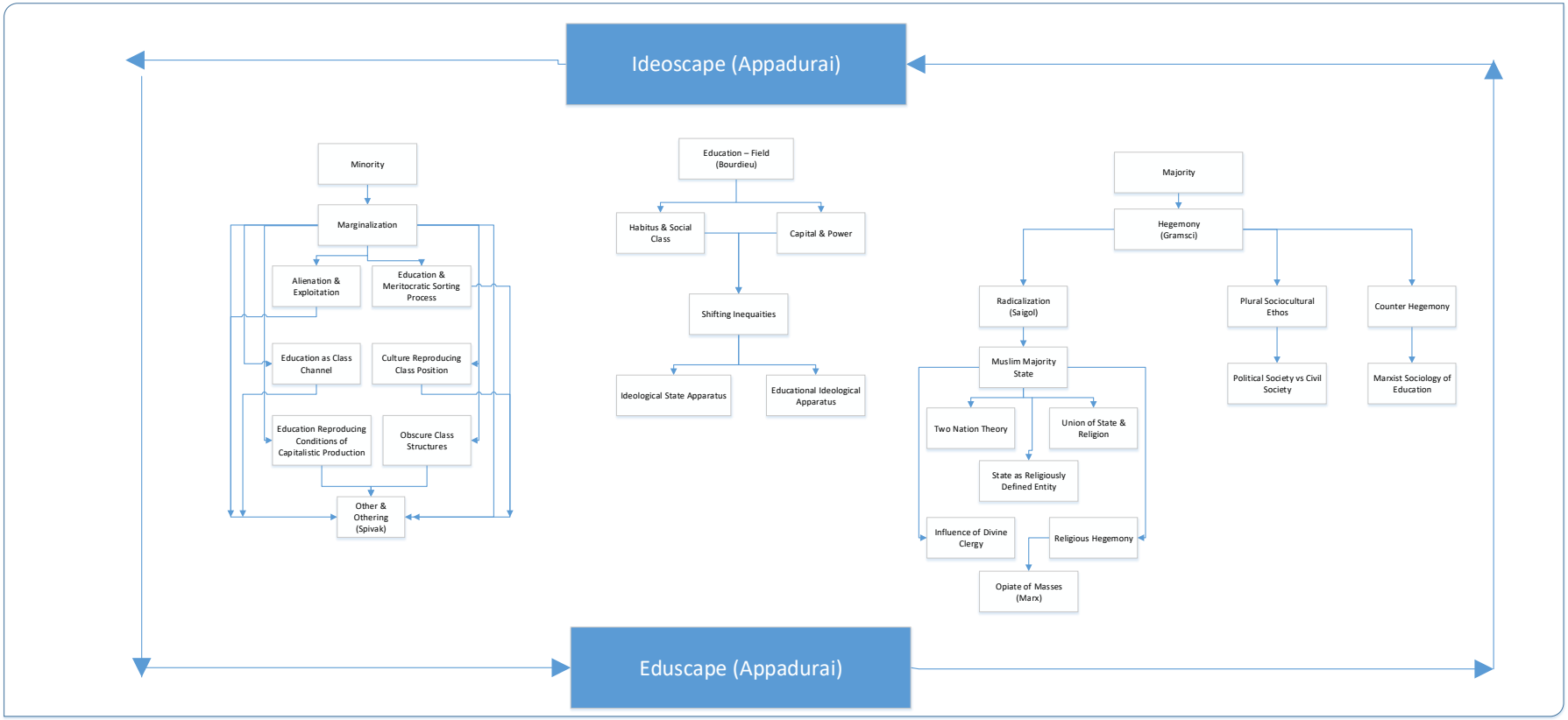
Comparing with neighbors: the writer compares universities in Pakistan to those of India and Iran and praises them for being the hub of academic activity that they need to be with students possessing critical inquiry and intelligence.

To conclude, for schools, infrastructure along with curriculum, examinations, textbooks, teacher training, and school administration needs to be improved.

Universities need to cleanse themselves of religious fanaticism, incompetence and accept the purpose and philosophy of education, with the aim to produce students who are informed, critical, and active citizens of the modern world.

The writer has portrayed the pitfalls of education system in Pakistan most candidly. He has discussed the problems in secondary and primary education as well as higher education. Not only has he pin pointed the major issues but also provided recommendations and solutions. However it's clearly evident that the writer speaks from his experience where he provides pertinent and apt anecdotes and examples from the institution where he has served for more than two decades rather than past research and reports. His critical stance is evident from the scathing criticism on government and its policies and HEC and its policies.

2.5 Conceptual Framework



Arjun Appadurai while talking of the complexity of global cultural economy says that there is a "disjuncture" between economics, politics and culture. In order to explain and theorize what he means, he has given five distinct dimensions of cultural flows which are global in nature. He calls these flows as scapes which include ethnoscapes, technoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes. The present research tries to comprehend the interaction of ideoscape in the field of education in Pakistan. This interaction of flow of ideas and education can be easily termed as "eduscape". The flow of ideas, existing knowledge and creation of new knowledge through research, forms the level field of education or is it a level plain field for all? The relationship between ideoscape and "eduscape" form the broad conceptual framework for the research in which we see the concept of minorities and marginalization playing a role in access to higher education or rather lack of access of it. In this broad field which forms a circle as the two concepts merge into one another, the concept of minority and marginalization will be explored in the present study. The term minority has already been defined and discussed in the section where key concepts have been explained. Various interpretations of marginalization have also been discussed in the same section. The present research will take in to account Marcuse (1996) idea where he states that marginality can occur even without any economic problems. From this discussion arises the take of Marx and other Marxists theorists on education. Marx talks of the alienation and exploitation in class relations, Marxist theorist Althusser (1971) states that education plays a significant role in producing the same conditions as capitalistic production. Neo Marxist Bowles and Gintis (1976) suggest in a similar vein that education acts like a class channel. Functionalist theorists take education as a meritocratic procedure suggesting that it's a process whereby the best person gets the best job opportunity however this view has been criticized severely as being too simplistic and also somewhat Darwinian in its implications. Hall (1992) states that "classed identities" are never permanent or "complete" rather in a state of flux as the boundaries keep shifting. He applies the same logic on the relationship between higher education and society. Post World War II an increase in individualization has been witnessed and identities are "shifting", blurring/ obscuring the class boundaries (Archer and Hutchings 2000). Very pertinent to the discussion is Spivak's theoretical concept of "other/othering". This concept is important and is discussed whenever identity formation is described particularly of ethnic minorities, over here the concept shall be used with religious minorities. Identity is always placed in a social context. One of the aims of the present study is to situate the religious minorities in the debate of othering, in forming their identity with

in the educational arena or the "eduscape" of Appudarai. The concept has been used as a process of social differentiation as it implies difference and takes the other as inferior by the dominating group. Inequity in education has also been explained by using Critical Race Theory as an analytical framework by educational and sociological researchers. Education has always occupied a central position in sociological theories of class production. Bates and Riseborough (1993) have elaborated that young people from varied social classes do not have similar experiences. There's a clear domination of groups which enjoy better socioeconomic conditions/status. Which lens does higher education use in Pakistani "eduscape", it will be explored whether it ignores diversity in the context of religion or celebrates it.

Next in discussion is Bourdieu's habitus which has been discussed in the literature Review section of the document. Habitus is deep-seated habits, skills and dispositions, while cultural capital refers to knowledge, language and culture that guides in making informed decisions and acting accordingly. According to Bourdieu, habitus is composed of systems, dispositions and structures that act as principles which generate practices. Maguire (2000) uses the concept of habitus and cultural capital on students' choice of higher education.

Gramsci's concept of Hegemony has been taken as another important concept in the conceptual framework of the present research. An Italian Neo Marxist philosopher Gramsci has written on political theory and sociology. He's best known for his theory of cultural hegemony. According to him the ruling capitalistic class creates/develops a hegemonic culture through ideology rather than persuasion or economic pressure or violence. This culture produces its own values, thoughts and norms to the extent that they seem common sense, which in turn helps to produce a status quo and strengthens the power of the ruling class. It would be explored in this research whether religion and religious ideology has played the role of being the prime factor in producing a hegemony in Pakistani society, with its impact on higher education and its access to those who do not fall within the circle of the popular hegemonic culture.

2.6 Significance of the Research

The issue under study holds theoretical and practical significance. After completion the research study will then be an attempt to fill this data gap providing scholars, policy-makers and stakeholders with comparable cross-national data on accessibility of higher education. It will through collecting qualitative data and analyzing it, provides a description of how different

theories play a role in universities' organizational responses and policies regarding inclusion of minorities. This will also reflect on the policies and mind set of the management of senior officials at Higher Education Commission which acts as a regulatory body for public and private sector universities in Pakistan. The study therefore will have both theoretical and practical significance in relation to the policy recommendations concluded at the culmination of the study.

Chapter 3

3. Methods and Methodology

According to Young (2003), social research is a scientific undertaking which aims to explore new facts, test existing body of knowledge, analyze the interrelationships between social variables given particular theoretical frameworks, and develop new concepts, and scientific tools that help in studying human behavior. Social research is a systematic method of exploring, conceptualizing and analyzing social life to produce knowledge which will either generate a theory or some policy outcomes.

Methodology is a scientific way of conducting a social research and solving a research problem whereas the techniques employed for collecting and analyzing data are called research methods. In the following text I have explained the research methods along with Research Strategy and Research Design which will be used for the current research.

3.1. Research Strategy

Qualitative research focuses on in-depth understanding of a social phenomenon or social setting. Contrary to quantitative research which deals with measurable data, qualitative research is about understanding meanings, concepts, definitions, symbols and description of things. This research intends to use qualitative research strategy as the study has responded to research objectives and answer research questions that are qualitative in nature. Furthermore the current study has explained the challenges faced by minorities in accessing higher education in Pakistani context. These data on challenges have been extracted from various stakeholders, explained trans-paradigmatically, and analyzed in narrative fashion; hence qualitative research strategy is the most appropriate strategy for the current study.

3.2. Research Design

Young (2003) defines research design as the plan for undertaking social research. While planning for doing social research, certain decisions are taken with respect to: what the current study entails? What types of data will be required? What could be the sources of data for the current research? In what spatial contexts the current study will be built on? What periods of time the research will

include? How many cases will be needed and what will base the selection of those many cases? And what tools of data elicitation and analysis will be employed (Young, 2003). In simpler terms, all those considerations which will influence the decisions regarding the what, where, when, how, how much, and by what means, institute a plan of the study or research design. Stated more explicitly, the research design includes these components: sources of information (explained in the text where Units of Data Collection-UDCs were explained); nature of study (explained in the next paragraph); objectives of study (already stated in the introduction section); sociocultural context as well as geographical specifics of the research (explained in the locale); research methods (explained in the following text), and dimensions of the research (explained in the review of literature).

While discussing the nature of study Young (2003) highlights some authors who refer to a statistical study, case study, comparative study, or an experimental study. Sarantakos (1994) further includes explanatory study, descriptive study and exploratory studies to expand the nature of research. A descriptive study enables the researcher to obtain a precise and accurate description of the characteristics of the phenomena or a particular social group being studied to determine the frequency with which some events and characteristics occur in the population. Exploratory research aims to explore and through this exploration reaches to the construction of a new form of knowledge that has never been theorized as yet. Explanatory research, on the other hand, does not circumvent to the mere 'descriptions' of the variables being studied under current study, rather it 'explains' the construction of, conceptualization behind, reasons for and the relationships (inter- and intra) between the social variables. These explanations can be represented in tabular, descriptive, narrative, deconstructed, and textual fashions which this research aims to focus on. For these reasons, I have chosen to call my research explanatory.

3.3. Research Methods

The research methods refer to the techniques of data collection. Given the qualitative research strategy and explanatory research design, the techniques used in this research are as follows:

3.3.1. Rapport Building

Berg (2001) details that getting access to a field is 'negotiated and renegotiated throughout the research process'. Previous research background, initial research conducted, taking advantage of certain relationships, and making right contacts are a few strategies prescribed by Berg (2001) but the relationships which the researcher establishes with the researched ease the access process the most. This relationship is built through building rapport with the community or individuals in a field setting. This technique helps researcher to be present in the settings, observe individuals and social events in those settings without being observed, and to interpret and capture the essence of the settings and the people without influencing them. I have used this research method throughout my field work.

3.3.2. Interviews

Broadly classified as individual and group, interview is the conversational method of data elicitation in which interviewer employs verbal questions as the principle source of data. As a scientific tool for data collection, interviews are carried out in a systematic fashion, based on well-defined research questions and objectives, and controlled by the interviewer to avoid biases (Sarantakos, 1993). Among the types of interview as classified by Bauer and Gaskell (2002) are episodic, narrative, Delphi, problem-centered, and focus group discussions. Bryman (2012), on the other hand, classifies these types under the umbrella of semi-structured and unstructured interviews. These interviews are less structured than the ones used in survey research. In the forthcoming text are mentioned the interview types used for the current study:

3.3.2.1. Semi-structured Interviews

As stated by Bryman (2012), in semi-structured interviews a specific list of questions or topics are followed by the interviewer but the responses of interviewees are not restricted rather they have the control over what to or what extent to share with the interviewer. The sequence and formulation of questions are not fixed; the questions as included by the interviewer in the interview guide may not follow the same order and probes and prompts are also commonly used. Bernard (2006) illustrates that these interviews are most appropriate to interview individuals who may not be able

to meet the researcher for more than one time. These may include politicians, bureaucrats, chairpersons, etc. for these reasons I have used this technique with the first UDC 1.

3.3.2.2. Focus Group Discussion

In order to explore the range of opinions I have used this research method with the students. I have acted as a moderator during focus group discussions and tried to diversify group participants by including people from both genders, age-groups and levels of Higher Education.

3.3.3. Critical Discourse Analysis

For interpreting UDC 2, I have used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). According to Paltridge and Phakiti (2015), discourse analysis facilitates in explaining the relationship between what is said and what is meant by that in a specific conversation and particular context. Discourse analysis also highlights the 'socio-cultural settings of language use' that helps us in comprehending the behavioral responses of people in a particular context of a language. Stated explicitly, we can say that discourse analysis focuses on the relationship between language and social and cultural contexts in which it is used. While doing so, it also explains the ways knowledge of the world and its variant understandings are constructed through language. There are different approaches to analyze discourse: speech act theory, cross-cultural pragmatics, conversational analysis, genre analysis, post-structural feminist discourse analysis, and critical discourse analysis. For the purpose of the current study, the approach to analysis used is Critical Discourse Analysis in which I have analyzed the relevant policy documents textually, socially, and discursively.

3.3.4. Thematic Analysis

Thematic Analysis helps in identifying patterns of meaning across a given data. Maguire & Delahunt quote Braun & Clarke (2006) who suggest that it is the first qualitative method that should be learned as '...it provides core skills that will be useful for conducting many other kinds of analysis'. It furnishes the researcher with answers to the research question being tackled. These patterns of meaning are recognized through a systematic process of familiarization, data coding, theme development and revision. Being theoretically flexible it can be easily used with different frameworks to answer different types of research questions. Thematic analysis can be approached in different ways; in an inductive, deductive, semantic, latent, realist or essentialist, or in a

constructionist way. However more inductive, semantic and realist approaches tend to group together; while more deductive, latent and constructionist ones form a bunch.

3.4. Sampling

According to Sarantakos (1993) sampling is the process of selecting the research units of the target population which will be included in the research study. There are two types of sampling which are used in social research; probability and non-probability sampling. For the purpose of this research, I have used non-probability sampling. In non-probability sampling, units are deliberately selected to reflect specific features of a group or community. Unlike probability sampling, in non-probability sampling, the sample is not intended to be statistically representative which means that the probability for selecting each unit is unknown. Instead, the characteristics of the population are used as selection criteria (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Hence, non-probability sampling technique is used for relevance than representation. In the current research, the type of non-probability sampling which I have used is purposive. The selection-criteria while selecting respondents through this sampling technique include: objectives of the study; existing body of knowledge about area of interest; hypotheses formulated, the area in which a particular UDC is specialized; knowledge that particular UDC has on the research topic, and when the sample size for the UDC is small. For these reasons, I have used purposive sampling with the faculty members actively involved in higher education (the selection criteria was the inclusion from both genders to have a different perspective on the subject matter); Senior management in higher education institutions including Vice Chancellor, Dean, Registrar and Heads of Departments (the criteria being that each of these occupying a specific position in their academic organizations); Policy makers in HEC including the Executive Director and other senior position holders in offices of Learning Innovation Division, Curriculum Division, Academics Division and Quality Assurance Division (the criteria as mentioned above). For selection of universities quota sampling was used to achieve a fairly representative sample of universities in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Quota sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where the gathered sample possesses almost similar proportions of individuals as the entire population. It is from this selected sample of the universities that minority students were picked through stratified sampling. These students shall be identified from the university records which I tried accessing from the university academic and administrative divisions.

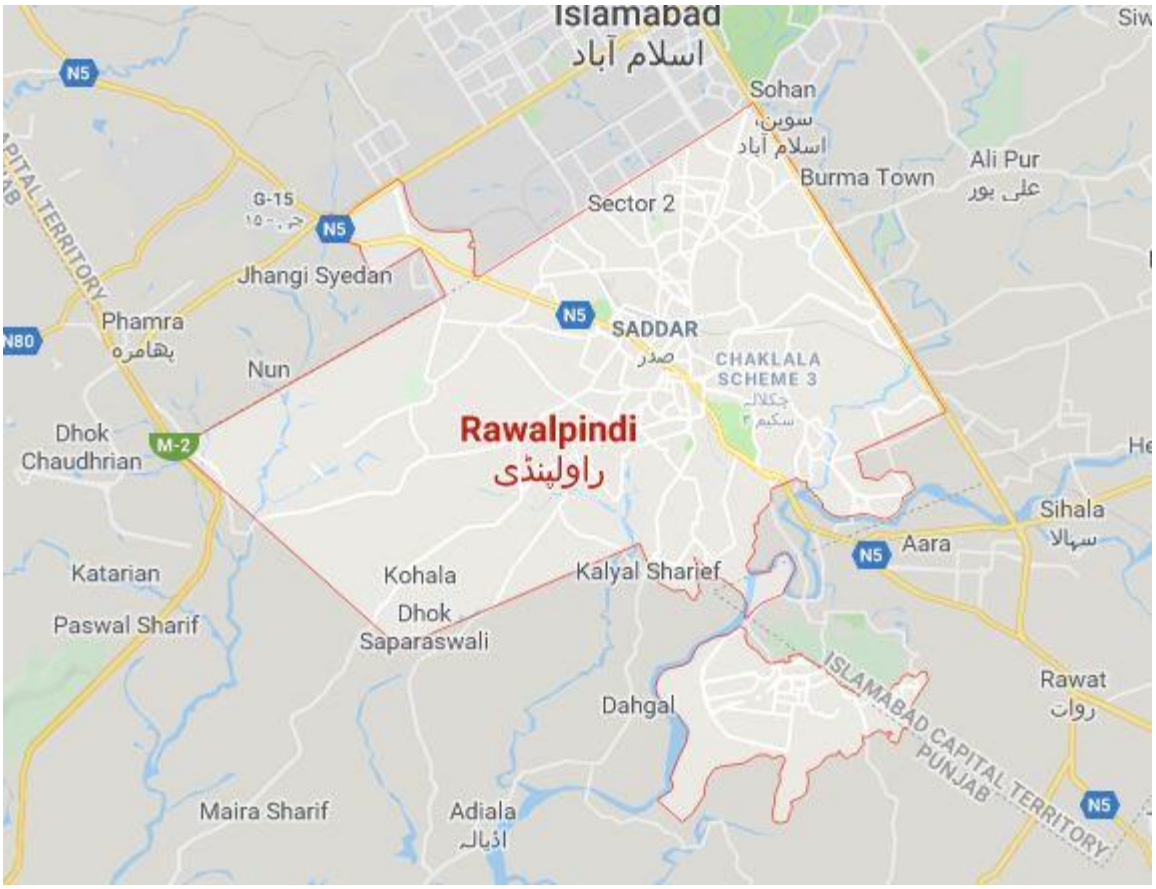
3.3.2 Locale

Locale deliberates the place or setting of the study at hand. It describes briefly the place where the study has been conducted.

The locale for this study is the twin cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Rawalpindi District is a district located in the northernmost part of the Punjab province of Pakistan. Parts of the district form part of the Islamabad Rawalpindi metropolitan area. Rawalpindi city is the district capital.

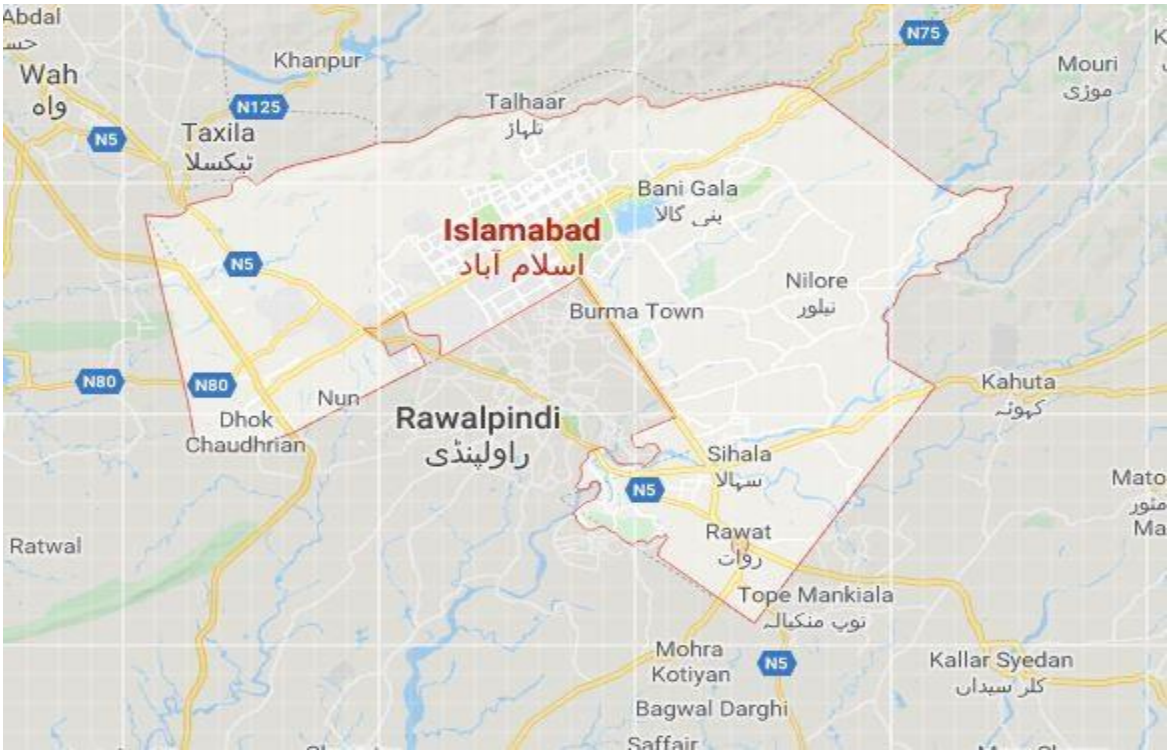
Islamabad is the capital city of Pakistan, and is federally administered as part of the Islamabad Capital Territory. Built as a planned city in the 1960s to replace Karachi as Pakistan's capital, Islamabad is noted for its high standards of living, safety, and abundant greenery. Islamabad is located in the Potohar Plateau in the northeastern part of the country, between Rawalpindi District and the Margalla Hills National Park to the north.

Public sector higher education institutions located in Rawalpindi and Islamabad have been tapped for collection of data from students, university personnel and HEC personnel.



Map 1: Map of Rawalpindi[1]

[1] Source Google Maps



Map 2: Map of Islamabad[2]

[2] Source Google Maps

Chapter 4

4.1 Findings and Discussion

This chapter will discuss the findings of the research. These findings through field research are interesting and are somewhat surprising as well as typical.

Pakistan is a Muslim majority state that houses a range of people belonging to diverse religious backgrounds and affiliations. These minorities have played an active role even from the pre partition times and are depicted in the national flag through the white part, highlighting the green color even more. This diversity (minorities) includes, Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Zikris and many more. Living in Pakistan through generations they demonstrate an active presence in every strata of society; as students and academics in schools, colleges and universities; as professionals in jobs ranging from the top to the bottom tier, in armed forces and hospitals, in short in almost every walk of life. The Constitution of Pakistan also purposes to safeguard the basic rights of minorities through various clauses. In this context, the present study aims to explore various challenges and barriers that minorities in Pakistan might face in accessing higher education.

Living together for decades or even more the Muslim majoritarian state and society has taken them in their folds but we witness a pull and push force where we observe them amalgamating in society as well as trying to keep their own individual identity, vying for a better life through higher education and better jobs but retreating in their own comfortable niche simultaneously. The issue is complex and layered where one theme/phenomena seems to merge into another.

This chapter discusses the findings and subsequent discussion on those findings in the light of the data gathered during field research. This data illustrates the challenges that students belonging to minority communities face in accessing higher education in the twin cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad.

In the preface to the report by the Task Force on Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan (March 2002) it is stated that “No society has prospered without significant and sustained investment in higher education. Today, as the world becomes increasingly interconnected, higher

education is considered critical for the achievement of economic progress, political stability and peace". The same has been expressed as the vision of Education Sector Reform (2001) on multitudes of platforms. The vision statement which emerged is as follows:

> "Transformation of our institutions of higher education into world class seats of learning, equipped to foster high quality education, scholarship and research, to produce enlightened citizens with strong moral and ethical values that build a tolerant and pluralistic society rooted in the culture of Pakistan."

The vision statement echoes what the founder of Pakistan envisioned for Pakistani society; fluid, absorbing, pluralistic and still cohesive and united sparkling with the diverse range of minorities living harmoniously with the Muslim majority. What needs to be seen is as to what extent does this cohesion exist and whether minorities get uniform opportunities for availing rights like access to higher education or is it a privilege not available to many.

Based on Appadurai's discussion of five scapes, the interaction between flow of ideas and education can be seen here. It is the socio-culture and economic ideas, which create fluid identities, images and discourses along with the generation of ideas and knowledge through research in the broad field of higher education which has been termed as "eduscape" in the present discussion. The same has been discussed at length in section 3.6. of the study. The flow of these ideas that is ideoscapes is sensitive to local conditions like politically-based ideologies, religiously-based ideologies, pro-government groups and movements, counter government groups and movements, notions of democracy, welfare, human rights, equality, equity, majority, minority, marginalization etc. It is the flow of ideoscape and "eduscape" which form the playground where the present state of minorities in the context of their access to higher education that shall be discussed. So it is "eduscape" which forms the framework for the subsequent discussion to take place. This play shall be evident in the discussion later.

4.1.1 Class Differences / Capitalism

Exclusion cannot be taken in isolation and is closely related to and denotes similar phenomena like poverty, inequality and inaccessibility. Fisher (Fisher 2011) argues that the term 'exclusion' can

potentially provide a wider scope to the analysis of the dynamics producing a situation of disadvantage.

Minority community members in Rawalpindi and Islamabad feel that they are in a situation of disadvantage facing a difference in socio economic class and this seems to be one of the major reasons why young members appear in smaller numbers in higher education institutions. Over here class is not taken as fixed identity /entity but rather created through social interaction between individuals, groups, communities, policies and institutions.

They feel that they experience a social exclusion in the form of inaccessibility to higher education. However affordability is the term that surfaces time and again during interviews/interaction with respondents. Young potential students face the brunt of the economic factor as well as a class difference. The cost incurred on higher education is a potential hurdle in participation and accessibility of higher education. However economic access and social equity work as complex layers of the issue and cannot be taken exclusively.

Robert Owen believed in social harmony and considered reducing the distance between classes as the means to this end. He believed that education could broaden the young workers' mind and skills. Like Saint Simon he was an elitist and believed that workers should be taught the right skills, demeanors and temperament to benefit the capitalist/upper class with the boarder, long term aim of socialism without overthrowing capitalism.

Marx in August 1868 stated that: "on the one hand a change of social circumstances was required to establish a proper system of education, on the other hand a proper system of education was required to bring about a change of social circumstances".

Marx observed that real education is not offered by bourgeois, rather education is used to spread bourgeois agendas and ideas. Engels however argued that education can increase awareness and that an educated proletariat would be less prone to oppression from the bourgeois.

One of the respondents who is a senior academician in a public sector university, during the interview replied to the question whether minorities are marginalized because they are economically deprived? Is that the reason for their smaller presence in higher education? He answered candidly and said "If I take into account the co relates and identify them in countering this phenomena, Kinnaird College, a private sector degree awarding institution is playing a leading role, I've seen lower middle class students studying in convents, they do not have that many

problems in this respect, a big chunk of their fee gets paid, in fact such institutions give scholarships to their good students". He deemed awareness to be more of an issue, and said that people do not know that they have such opportunities, they are economically weak but get an economic protection from one corner or the other. Colleges/DAIs like Kinnaird College give a fee waiver, to the extent that even the hostel fee is covered. What needs to be done is that they explore the opportunities, if they have the potential and capability they will get protection or cover as well. In fact they are being well catered for.

Another respondent who is working on a senior leadership position in a public sector university explained that opportunities are there but they are limited as compared to the number of deserving potential students aiming to enter higher education. She quoted a Christian old lady in her fifties working as a caregiver for an elderly, affluent lady, and stated that it is a *khamkhiali (*misconception) that enough scholarships/ studentships/stipends are available for deserving students. She said that she was working because she wanted to collect enough money for the semester fee of her son who was studying in a business management program in a public sector university. Even her younger children who were school goers and studied in a convent did not get enough concession in their fees to make a difference. Scholarship was given to them but made a marginal difference while the son got a scholarship for being a meritorious student as well as a regular student who did not miss out a single school day.

On the contrary some of the respondents stated that the trend has changed as "More people are sending their children for education, parents can afford till masters but not more" however one cannot think but conclude that this is the situation presently of the middle class strata regardless of religious factor. Any middle class family with limited financial resources would consider the expected expenses for participating in higher education irrespective of religious affiliation. Many families can't afford to send their children to institutions of higher education.

Almost all stake holders in higher education; students, faculty, senior management of universities, division heads in Higher Education Commission agreed that institutionalized programs for scholarships, student assistantships, paid internships for minority community members aspiring to enter HEIs need to be put in place. They are also agreed to the fact that such assistance though need of the hour is limited and not proportionate to the target population. It was also observed that such programs whether need based or merit based were open for all students who fulfilled the

given criteria without taking into account any religious difference. All young and old respondents emphasized this need that more scholarships should be instituted specifically for minority students to carry them to the fore and assist in bringing them to the mainstream. A young respondent studying in a public sector university threw the onus of responsibility on influential members of community and said that in every community, in every religion there is always a select group of leading, prominent members or families which exert a certain influence on their community. This sphere of influence can be due to economic, social or political superiority or might be holding prominent religious position like a clergy or a cleric. These people are torch bearers and can influence community through personal example and can create sensitization, awareness and become catalyst in urging potential students to take up higher education. Simultaneously they can explore venues for financial support for young members of their community or even personally institute scholarships in their names. The young man whose name is not being disclosed for confidentiality lamented the meagre role played by these members of minority communities and hoped that they would realize the significance of inclusion of minorities in higher education and address some of the barriers that they face in the process. It was also observed that young male members of minority communities were more sensitive to the situation and the dilemma that they faced as they were the ones moving in the public sphere interacting with people publicly and also because they were the future breadwinners of the family.

An interesting viewpoint came from a respondent who is a young faculty member in a public sector university. While reasoning for lesser number of minority community members in higher education institutions he said that the problem needs to be researched and tackled at the level of primary education. The more students at primary level, a better ratio will be observed in secondary and tertiary level. He responded that "Short term goals" prevent families from sending their children to school, which in the long run turns down their chances of ever being in an institution of higher education. This can be said typically of an average lower middle class family where parents think that if they send their children to work at an early age they'll be able to earn and support the family. Generally they think more of short term gains than a long term one, not considering their children's education as an investment which will pay off in the long run. It is more the matter of cost incurred on education than the inclination towards higher education. Even the facility of free primary education and schooling specifically by schools run by minority communities or those run by the government generally is not availed. That again totally negates

their chance of ever being in a HE institution so economic conditions seem to work as a major challenge in having lesser number of minorities in HE.

4.1.2 Social Discrimination

Closely following on the heels of economic factor as a challenge in participation of minority community members in higher education is social discrimination. In fact it seems like they are complex multi layers of the same issue/problem where one cannot be separated from the other, but rather enjoy a cause effect relationship or vice versa. One of the respondents who is a seasoned faculty member in a public sector university while discussing challenges in access to higher education remarked during her interview that discrimination is a specter that accompanies minorities throughout. She said that there's this everyday racism, every day experience of being a minority, every day discrimination, being confronted with it every day. This ever present shadow makes it very hard for young minority members to survive in the competitive world of higher education and to perform well. These are the people who are potential candidates of higher education, and at some point in time as they grow up and gain experience and exposure to it, they get "fed up" of the situation and say "let's not do it", "let's not expose ourselves to this harsh phenomena day in and day out". This is one of the major reasons why the number of students decreases as they move from primary to secondary and then tertiary education. Another student said that "mindset of people is the same even at this stage, their behavior, expression, body language is telling one way or the other… this is so discouraging that people do not come forward despite inclination… this is true for young generation as well despite their freshness, youth or capacity to absorb social psychological shocks without flinching". It was suggested by a respondent who is a faculty member in a public sector institution that data needs to be taken of total number of minority students enrolled at intermediate level so that rate of retention can be checked and a comparative analysis made of how many people take up higher education after passing college studies. Such a study can answer questions like why did they drop out, the reasons and motives behind their action. If data based on religious segregation is not available, primary data can be collected and a regression run on it to gain a percentage, a figure for the number of students who dropped out.

A university leader (Vice Chancellor) in her comments responded that there are 5000 + students in her institution with only 9 students belonging to minority communities out of which most are Christians. She stated that these minority students do not take up Islamic Studies courses rather opt for Ethics course therefore their presence is evident. However she also stated that there might be more than the projected/ given figure as there might be students who have not revealed their true identity in the context of religious following/ affiliation. These students might not want to stand out for fear of being discriminated or not being considered part of the group.

4.1.3 Retreating into a Comfortable Niche

One of Bourdieu's key theoretical concept is that of habitus. Habitus has been described as 'the practical mastery which people possess of their situations' (Robbins 1991:1 cited in Ball et al. 2000a: 7) quoted by Archer et al (2002) Cultural capital refers to the knowledge, language and culture, differentially accessed and possessed, that guides in making decisions and taking action. Working class families experience physical and material or economic constraints and lack the knowledge of systems which hinder their access to HE. For middle class students the choice is natural however for working class it is important that the participants feel comfortable in the environment of an institution. (Archer et al, 2002)

Closely related to this is another viewpoint which was projected by some respondents. They pointed out the trend/ behavior of trying to retreat into a comfortable niche, of cluster making or being cocooned in a small close circle as witnessed and observed in minority communities. This phenomena is observed both in socializing as well as in choice of profession or occupation. Bourdieu (1977) says that individuals are socialized according to their experiences and opportunities. Their habitus consists of abstract mental habits, choices, mannerisms, actions and dispositions which structures their present dispositions as well as future life paths.

Children prefer taking up the profession/occupation that there mother or father are in or any other member of the family. This tendency helps them build up a support network for each other as well as for themselves. This network or chain is reinforced when they recruit more people from their own religious community like Christians in teaching, nursing or beauty business or Sikhs in trading and similar businesses. Contrary to this idea was responses from respondents who were young and actively involved in higher education, by being students engaged in post graduate studies. These students agreed and said that cluster making is human psyche however quite adversely it has added

to the discriminatory attitude, and has become even derogatory at times when it is thought that there are certain professions that are meant for certain religious communities like being sweepers or janitors. They believed that while retaining their own individuality and religious identity they must mingle and be part of the larger social group which in turn will not only bring them to the mainstream but also reduce social discrimination. A young male student giving his personal example said with deep veneration for his mother that despite being a single parent (as his father passed away while he was young) she was open and welcoming towards the majority community, she never felt shy of interacting with them. However he also added that his family has been fortunate that they have always come across people who never made them feel unwelcome or "an alien". He attributed the fact that he was studying in a higher education institution and that his siblings (both male and female) were highly educated and on good jobs to not being restricted in their limited circle of close religious community. Another response which was quite nonconforming and came from a young faculty member. He did not agree that certain professions are typical for certain minorities and considered it a stereotype. Speaking from his personal experience and observation he stated that studying in reputed public schools he came across and was taught by only one Christian teacher throughout his life. His colleagues agreed and told that they had never had the experience of ever having a minority member as a teacher which breaks the myth that teaching (in schools) is a profession wholly associated with certain minorities.

4.2.1 Cultural Intolerance (Racism) and Education

Critical race theory (CRT) clearly believes that racism is central in the current world order and trans modernism believes that there are "suffering others" whom we have to cater to, this is in the same vein as racism and trusts that the voice of the oppressed needs to be heard.

Pakistan is a Muslim majority state and the numerical dominance has created a cultural dominance which peeps from the various phases of the Objective Resolution which forms the basis of the various constitutions that were formulated to the culminating Constitution of 1973. In the same vein the numerous endeavors at formulating a national, all-inclusive and comprehensive educational policy/ies have inadvertently reflected that cultural dominance over the religious minorities of Pakistan. This hegemony has replaced the pluralistic socio cultural ethos of the country that the founder of the nation envisioned. Marxist theorist Gramsci (1971) equates hegemony with domination however it's not an economic domination that he talks about rather a

domination of ideas of the hegemonic group or a dominating class or group. He further refined the idea as an "intellectual and moral leadership directed by contradictory political and cultural agents and organizations".

Numerous steps need to be taken to counter racism. Students/younger generation need to raise voice against racism, connect with minority as well as majority community to create awareness. These steps create an understanding and sensitization of racism.

One minority student vehemently exclaimed in reply to one of the questions "Change is always a taboo for them, you like something else and they like something different, they'll quickly separate you from themselves" I can't say that it is wholly due to religion, it can be your upbringing as well. No one is on the same page and everyone thinks that what they think is right, if it is false consciousness then who is right… same like with class difference… why do people not live in harmony?" Whether we disagree with our views, religious beliefs etc. however on a scale probably 20% was disharmony with people 80% was quite harmonious… taking the example of Italians at the time of world war, which came together later and became strong, this is a good theory and it will work in Pakistan as well in the context of religious minorities".

Suggesting it as a solution one senior faculty member who was also in a management position in a university stated "All human beings respond to incentives, once there is a monetary benefit attached to it, people will be tolerant and help in bringing the minorities to the mainstream, give incentives to HEIs, if they get something extra from HEC or from the Ministry of Education, they'll be obliged to induct more minority students, everyone will try to comply positively…. if we take specific steps for minorities, that will repair our tarnished image vis a vis treatment meted out to minorities in the international community. Subsequently, the international community particularly the developed countries can be asked for scholarships, grants and other monetary incentives for the minorities to bring them to the fore or the mainstream. These steps will have a double benefit, investing in minorities would help them i.e. the minorities and the majority Muslim community. It will help the state and the government machinery.…. What if it's not about minorities but more of an economic concern/ economic class… they become janitors not because of religion but because they have been born in certain neighborhoods…. where even muslins which is the majority community would also be pursuing the same occupation. This is where intersectionality comes into play, and would become an important variable…. They themselves are not that conscious of their status, so it's more of an economic deprivation … however the

situation might be different from city to city particularly larger cities and then the urban and rural difference, regional difference …. As some areas are a stronghold of certain minorities like Hindus in Sindh and Balochistan, Sikhs in KPK, etc….. But constraints can not only be of economic factors, they can be of cultural aspects".

A resource person from R&D division, HEC stated that "It is a very old Pakistan which discriminated minorities in educational institutions or organizations. The past few decades have seen a more inclusive and positive attitude for minorities in higher education. Now it is not like that anymore, there are more equal opportunities for religious minorities in higher education as well as in jobs later after gaining higher qualification/degree." Giving the example of higher education commission where religious minorities are employed from the lower cadres to gazetted senior positions. Upon asking about certain professions/occupations which have been associated with one or the other minority, he replied that the situation has changed, it is not like that anymore. Earlier it was thought that nursing and teaching had the most number of Christians and Parsis, however an almost proportionate number of majority community i.e. Muslims are employed in these professions. Despite the claim that the situation is more progressive towards minorities it was found that no data is found at HEC depicting the number of minority community members in higher education or of staff members who had procured any research grants. In the context of research grants it was also informed by the respondent that no project of any kind was neither in the pipeline nor being mulled over for more grants for minority community members to bring them to the foreground. MGDs and SDGs are considered while designing themes for grants which are more thematic/theme oriented however minorities do not get any mention in them. Neither have the academia forwarded/submitted any research project which is specifically for the uplift of any minority community. However the officials stated their pledge and resolve that if any such project is ever tabled/submitted it will be attended as priority and favorably to promote social integration and end social discrimination if any, faced by minorities. The official also stated that, at the same time the issue/ phenomena of social discrimination must be kept in context of time and space as it is not a local problem only but has international presence and precedence. It is specifically seen and is prevalent in developed countries as well where we observe discrimination for minority communities; Muslims, blacks, nonwhites, natives or aborigines. Pakistan is fortunate as there's a comparative freedom for minorities who can pray and worship and practice and profess their religion. He also stated that quota is not a bad idea as it would increase the already existing number.

4.2.2 Identity; Intersectionality in Race, Class and Gender

Theorists agree that there is no single, concrete definition of social class identity however a theoretical position can be adopted which accounts for general or broad patterns of inequality. This complex approach enables researchers to deal with the issue in a complex manner. The same has been discussed in this study under the section 4.1. However we see multiple factors affecting identity like socio economic conditions, class difference and the inequality of race and gender even. These boundaries are fuzzy and often merge into one another while the inequalities keep shifting.

The concept of social identity has been explained by Tajfel and Turner in their social identity theory which explains that portion of a person's concept of self, arises from the groups to which a person belongs; when a person perceives himself or herself as part of a group that makes an ingroup for them. Other similar groups that a person does not identify with are called out-groups. (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) It creates an "us" vs. "them" approach in the context of in-groups and their respective out-groups.

It is the three processes of social categorization, social identification and social comparison that form this ingroup/outgroup mindset. People are categorized to understand and identify them, in the second step the identity of that group that we belong to is identified with, thirdly and we act in ways that we perceive members of that group act, thirdly we compare our group i.e. the ingroup with the other group i.e. the outgroup. To maintain self-respect and confidence one group is compared against the other favorably which creates prejudice and discrimination subsequently.

Another theoretical concept presented to explain such processes is othering, originally coined within post-colonial theory. Othering is a theoretical concept systematically used by Spivak in 1985 in the essay "The Rani of Sirmur". In sociological terms, it's about power and the powerful constructing the other as subordinate. Simultaneously we see the phenomena of "othering, identity formation and agency", meaning that ethnic minority identities are situated within specific social contexts and conditioned by them (Jensen 2009). According to Spivak (1985), in the essay mentioned above the process of othering is classed, raced as well as gendered. From the point of view of social sciences construction of identity is always social and within social

contexts. The idea of identity and its construction can be applied in this case to religious minorities as well.

A young student, who is a member of a minority religious community, studying for a post graduate degree in a public sector HEI said that members of religious communities conceal identity to avoid any sort of discrimination. While narrating some of her experiences during her Master's degree she said that one of her teachers during the class would sermonize to students regarding religious and social values and would instruct the female students to cover their heads with a scarf or *dupatta*. As she related covering the head to the trait of a Muslim girl, she would not cover her head despite the teacher insisting that she does so, stating that "my identity is more important than gaining a few more marks from the teacher, I want to introduce myself as who I am". She said that this was the first time that she did not hesitate in telling people who she was, and what her religious affiliation was. However at the same time she conceded, that in her experience and observation many members of minority community conceal their identity due to social limitations. These social limitations are what Tajfel calls the "us" vs. "them" approach.

She conceded that some people display a behavior which is discouraging but at the same time some people are very encouraging. She narrated another incident where some of her class fellows tried to cheat her of a leading role in a stage play in the University, however her teachers stood by her to the point that she got her justified, rightful position back. As a gesture of encouragement her HoD/Dean, took the respondent with him to an award ceremony where he was being awarded the Best University Teacher Award. To conceal the identity of the respondent she shall be given a pseudo name of Huma. She said that it's not so much of the teachers but the administration and their comments which intimidate students and kind of make them censor themselves and not to reveal their identity.

Another young female student studying in a public sector institution, while talking of identity used an interesting terminology of "creative destruction" as fear in minority community members that if we disclose our real identity we won't be there anymore. She very candidly stated that being in the public sphere males take more pressure and fear of disclosing their identity and are many a times converted to the majority religion or say that they have converted to become a part of the larger group and not being discriminated or isolated socially. She said "we do not need to hide… we do not need to hide, I'm better as a Zikri woman, as they are more empowered; economically,

socially, and have more agency. She said that as she was so open about her identity as a religious minority, people would tell her to her face that she was not a Muslim and many a times even young children would label her and her friends as "*kafir*" (a non-believer). She also said that "the more knowledge and exposure you obtain, the more ways you have to cover yourself up", "tum *mujhe kafir bolo bhi tau kiya hai*" (even if you call me *kafir*, it does not make a difference). She said that she struggled with this callous otherness every day, it happened every day. Quoting an incident she said that many of the boys from her community succumbed to the social pressure and couldn't say that he was zikri for fear that they will be considered *kafir*, he would say that he was a *namazi*. People would try to make him offer the prayers and believed that they'll be rewarded if they converted someone. In an instance in a public sector institution very recently the respondent whose pseudonym we'll consider Bina for the sake of confidentiality, quoted "*yeh tau hum hain jo aap ko sun rahe hain… warne molvi hote tau aap ko maar dete*"…. (it is us who are listening to you, otherwise if it was *Molvis,* they would have killed you) said students in an academic institution to a Zikri student). "We have few things that are our own, we have been exploited to the extent that we do not speak and know that it will be very difficult for them to embed us in their lives, we fear…. and hide facts… and then there are people who do not speak at all… for fear of social persecution….. I have turned into a person with a dual identity, "*na main idhar ki reh gayi hoon na udhar ki"* (I'm neither of this side nor the other). At the same time she stated that her parents stressed greatly upon her and her siblings the need to study and pursue higher education as they considered higher education to be an equalizer which would help them in countering social discrimination and help preserve their individual identity.

While narrating the incident of her brother, one of the respondents said that the challenge of identity becomes even more pronounced when we see significant positions in jobs being contested. If it is a comparatively insignificant position then no one is bothered, however for lucrative and high ranking positions the edge of discrimination becomes more sharp and pronounced. In such situations inadvertently the decision would favor the majority community. However as it moved beyond the purview of the study so was not explored further.

At the same time what these young respondents grieved over and showed high sentiment about was the fact that very few senior minority community member worked for the uplift of community despite being in cognizance of the challenges faced by minority community members in society

generally and in entering higher education specifically. Influential community members stop interacting with the community instead of working more for their community. Bina said that there exists a gap between "*hona"* (should) and "*karna"* (would do). According to her this was one of the reasons why the major segment of minority religious community belonged to lower economic strata especially in the cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. "When you isolate yourself and then psychologically accept yourself as an "other" then no one places you in the mainstream".

4.3.1 Personal Strategy vs. Institutional Policy

Institutional strategy needs to be chalked as compared to individual efforts which might be principled but benefit a limited number of people due to its limited scope.

Many respondents urged the need for institutionalized policies. They said that the jump from high school to college and subsequently to universities was significant. It is a very different experience for potential students, and this was the time when dropout rate of students needs to be checked. The experience becomes even more difficult if the move is from a Girls school to a co-ed college or university. It becomes a big cultural change with no protective measures for young students, it is here that the dropout rate might increase further. Missionary schools set up for the welfare of religious minorities act as a safe haven, but later when they move out of those institutions the situation changes. They do not experience the same protective environment anymore. The discriminatory attitude is a kind of a snub for them and they do not move to higher education.

Faculty members interviewed responded that multiplier effect can be helpful here. People who go for higher education from minorities can work on their own minority issues and uplift their community. They can create awareness and sensitize the community regarding the importance of higher education and its role in improving the socio economic conditions of minorities. One faculty member quoted the example of Germany and said that in Germany the education is free but only those people are there in higher education whose parents are educated, who are in knowledge of strategies of how to get scholarships, how to get in the circle, how to apply, who know the admission criteria, often the websites are not functional here, things /policies keep changing all the time, and if you then don't have the social network that can tell you/ guide you about the admission criteria, who can help you and give you a knowhow of how to fill admission forms, that is something that these minorities are missing , that is the "lost connection". It is those employed in

higher ranks, who can help other minority community members and create that multiplier effect. They can help potential students choose programs, relevant courses, scholarship facilities and other such useful information which they might not have for one reason or the other.

Simultaneous to personal efforts what is required is institutional policies which might further increase the number of minority community members in higher education and decrease the challenges faced by them in the process. Quota system was suggested as one institutional measure. There's no mandatory quota as a matter of policy for minorities on the part of the state however HEIs might have such policies of their own. Such policy formulation can be done which might help the situation.

A senior academic in one of the popular public sector universities in the city said that his institution has a quota for non-muslim students in some departments, however it has been instituted only 1-2 years back so the impact of this step is yet to be seen whether it has increased the number of students belonging to minority communities or not. Another step taken in this direction, which is worth mentioning is that off springs of employees belonging to religious minorities get a fee waiver if they decide to take admission in higher education in the university, however he also clarified that the admission shall be based on open merit. Upon being asked whether he has ever encountered any such case during his tenure where minority community members might have recorded any complaint/issue or impediments in securing admission. He answered that no such case has ever come into his notice. *"agar un ko muhabbat se treat karein jis ke who haqdar hain tau definitely who breakthrough kareinge….."* (If they are treated with love and compassion of which they are rightly deserving then they'll make a breakthrough). He narrated two success stories where one student belonged to an affluent family while the other belonged to the middle class. Another student from DG Khan also studied there and was given a leading role in curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities. "*Muslim community jin tangnazrion ka shikaar hai, who doosri religious communities main abhi nazar nahin ata…. Un ki soch relatively behtar hai… agar aise logon ko moqa diya jae tau who na sirf faida uthaein ge balke doosron se ziyada bharpoor role play kareinge, capitalize karein ge is moqah ko*" (The prejudices that Muslim community is trapped in, is not visible in other communities as yet, if the other communities get a chance, they will not only benefit but will also make better use of the opportunity and will capitalize on it). He continued and said rhetorically, why are we so narrow minded that if we come to know that the

other person belongs to a different /other religious community, our mind set changes towards them, this factor needs to be identified, the problem is "here" (with majority community members) not "there" (minority community members). While discussing the initiatives that he took in a personal capacity as a dean or a senior policy maker at the level of the Institution, had a positive effect not only for the minorities but also for the majority community that is Muslims. Muslims displayed an ownership that is the same not only for students but also for colleagues. He lamented the fact that majority community generates all kinds of prejudices; regional , ethnic, linguistic, sectarian even political and according to him "the extreme of that prejudice becomes evident in our treatment towards other religions or minority religions". Upon being asked whether he has ever encountered any such case during his tenure as head of department and a Dean, where minority community members might have recorded any complaint/issue of impediments in securing admission. He answered in the negative and said that no such case has ever come into his notice.

Most of the respondents agreed that incentives of the sort mentioned earlier in the discussion are crucial and would have long term benefits however it was necessary that rigorous data collection exercise is undertaken for an authentic data base. In this regard access of data from National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) should be given so that a data base can be developed and then the policy or initiative executed. Simultaneously such schemes, incentives must be rigorously advertised and implemented. Oxford University has initiated a program for Minorities in South Asia, they are given admissions on merit and then other than that other strong positive attributes and talent were explored and were given admissions based on that at the University.

A senior academician working as a Dean in a public sector university responded during the interview and suggested that HEC can initiate such programs, and make policies accordingly, even the subjects can be identified where they'll be catered for, so that minorities enter the mainstream instead of staying in the periphery. Another step to be considered is that they should be guaranteed a job (on merit). A 5% quota for minorities has already been instituted by the government for public sector organizations/institutions. However there has been a debate on the national level for sustainable efforts instead of short term plans and subsequent short term benefits. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have been chalked out to tackle issues on sustainable basis, inclusive growth approach has been mentioned in the SDGs. It is the need of the hour, so "equals should be

treated equally and unequal to be treated unequally and diversity should be appreciated". Equal opportunities need to be offered, but sometimes special treatment needs to be meted out to people, and this is observed all over the world. He suggested that whenever and wherever there is isolation and deprivation then an "inclusive + approach" is more feasible than simply an inclusive approach. Media campaign by government can be useful as media is a very powerful medium and a tool for mass communication, this campaign can be run through HEC like the campaign on Harassment at Workplace which HEC took up as a policy and introduced it in all public and private sector HEIs. The same pattern can be adopted for this particular policy for minorities. Advocacy from legislators, campaigned by media and then taken up by Higher Education Commission (HEC) would be an effective way of approaching and tackling the issue. These efforts will have a two pronged advantage as it will improve the opportunities for minorities to access and participate in higher education. On the other hand it will immensely improve the image of Pakistan as a "positive Pakistan" in the comity of nations and appreciated by all and sundry. All SGDs which benefit minorities should be visualized/concretized on priority basis. Equal opportunities are commendable but we need to walk an extra mile for minorities.

Institution of quotas is another institutional endeavor that has been suggested by respondents including students and faculty members. Many of the division heads at HEC also agreed to the idea as an attempt to bring minorities to the mainstream in higher education. A detailed discussion will be followed later in the section Quota System.

He stressed that we have to do some out of the box thinking and divert from traditional thinking to reap the desired benefits. "Inclusion of minorities is a sensitive issue globally then why should academia and policy makers in Pakistan not think about it proactively". However there was a complete consensus to the fact that in an effort to lessen the barriers in participation of minorities in higher education steps need to be taken at the primary level, believing in the bottom up approach.

4.3.2 Quota System

First introduced in Pakistan by Liaquat Ali Khan in September 1948, the quota system in Pakistan was established to give every region of the country a fair representation in institutions according to their population. It was mainly instituted for the Civil Service of Pakistan which selects only 7.5% of the applicants by merit, education, qualification and

experience. However later it was introduced in universities with the objective to increase the number of students from remote areas. During interviews with faculty members and students the suggestion to reserve a certain quota of seats for minority communities, cropped up time and again however university management and division heads in HEC did not conform to the idea and considered it a "compromise on quality".

90% of the students interviewed, considered quota for minority students aspiring to gain higher education as the fastest solution to the problem. However there were notes of dissent to the idea in several of the interviews. There were also some valid considerations of the pros and cons of quota system as seen in another Asian country and locally. A faculty member responded and said that quotas are always a bit difficult to administer. She gave the example of women's quota in elections and said, there's women's quota in elections along with 10% general seats for them. All the women set on those general seats are the ones that the party is going to lose, "it's more of a positive discrimination". She said it is the same as we encourage women, and people with disabilities and minorities to apply but later become obliged to take them, whether they score high or low, the number will have to be filled accordingly. Even before instituting a quota, a lot of work need to be done, statistics gathered on how big a quota should be which requires an accurate census. The skepticism remains whether people gave their true religious affiliation, true identity for fear of any discrimination, like in India there are quotas with an *n* number of castes and communities for which there are no quotas particularly the scheduled castes which are vying for their rights and identity. She feared that once instituted, there would no end to these quotas.

A division head at Higher Education Commission whose name and office is not being disclosed for anonymity very candidly but firmly said that at HEC our policy is that there should be no quota for anyone. "While sitting in positions of responsibility and authority we cannot discriminate amongst people, who might have solid reasons for demanding a quota, but there might be another people, in another region, in another province, of another religious affiliation, of another ethnic, regional, cultural, linguistic, provincial affiliation, who consider themselves to be even more deserving to benefit from a quota. This would create a chain reaction of compartmentalization if we cannot afford nationally and socially". To another question he responded and said that if we need quality, then benchmarks must be set and quota system goes against quality benchmarks. He suggested that instead of quotas, a level playing field should be provided to all potential students

aspiring to access/participate in higher education, with no restriction, no barrier but no quota either. Another head of a division directly related to academics said that he has never encountered any student claiming of any discrimination based on religious affiliation. Students once admitted in the university are always supported by their institution.

Some respondents from university management added that students competing on open merit might deem themselves to be unfairly treated as the quota will be providing an added advantage to some people , simultaneously increasing competition for people competing on open merit as their seats would be decreased.

A student from Balochistan studying in a public sector institution in Islamabad, said that quota system is good but she feared that "the major chunk will be is given to Punjab, and the little received by Balochistan or other provinces will be done in the form of "*ehsan*" (favour). The situation will immensely improve when the whole the system improves. She also reiterated the need for religious communities to act like support networks for their young generation. She said with great pride that her community helps each other and stated, "my house is like a hostel where there are students in almost every room, studying in different colleges and universities in Rawalpindi and Islamabad". Hailing from a remote village in Balochistan, she said that her village was empty of young people as all had moved to cities temporarily for their education.

An opposing view point came from Dean of Social Sciences in a public sector institution who vehemently opposed the idea and said that quality compromise in higher education due to quota system is a "superficial concept", he said that there are too many other problems in the higher education system in Pakistan which cause a compromise on quality, "The examination system in Pakistan is a flawed system, it does not evaluate a student to its true potential. Intellectual thinking is more important and that is the biggest compromise on quality….. issue of quality is a fabricated thing, if you are preparing 100 students and 5 are added to it on a quota, how much harm they can do to the overall quality".

4.4. Change of Attitude and Perspective

From educational policies to five year plans to higher education reforms and restructuring, including development goals in the form of SDGs and MDGs or the present Vision 2025, great effort has been made to bring improvement and enhancement to higher education and make it more

inclusive. Much has been discussed in the section Literature Survey of the present study. This inclusive approach does not only require government intervention like introduction of new policies, plans or reforms but needs to take in all stake holders.

"The inadequacy of the efforts may be sought in the fact that these lacked the way of perception and conception. These were supposed to be focused on change of attitude, acceptance with vigor and courage to undertake such reforms in the interest of the system at first level and national interest at the foremost level (Perveen et al., 2011). In their research titled, System and Reforms of Higher Education in Pakistan Parveen et al., enlists the reasons why reforms have not been effective in higher education and includes but not limited to continual change of government, undertaking of new reforms with every new regime, tolerating the interference of politics and politicians, turning a blind eye to individual vested interests and a general lack of will and apathy to undertake any exercise in reform. These factors made fulfillment of goals even more distant. What is required is a positive mindset, a frame of mind, a characteristic mental attitude in a sensitive and complex issue of inclusion and participation of minority communities in higher education.

One of the respondents who is a young female student agreed that a change of attitude is required for inclusive policies and approach for minorities however she said that sadly policies cannot change mindset, "our mindset is a combination of colonial and Hindu mindset which will never change as 71 years have passed since partition but we are still struggling with the issue". Suggesting a solution/remedy to the situation she considered "influence of books and curriculum and exposure to minorities" as the best practice. *"reh kar experience karne main difference hai sirf sunane main ya pata hone main"* (it's different living with them and interacting on a constant basis than simply listening or knowing). She said that interacting with minorities on a day to day basis will dispel many myths and bring the majority and minority communities closer. She said steadfastly with the enthusiasm of youth that "if you're determined then discrimination does not matter". Another young female student said, "educate them about other religions, add it to the curriculum, curriculum needs to change, add study of comparative religions in the general curriculum at all levels". She disclosed that during her primary and secondary education she did not have a choice to study ethics or any other such substitute course, so she opted for Islamic Studies and from that time onwards she had an interest and a curiosity to know about other religions. Students can be taught about Christianity and other religions, similarities can be picked

between religious beliefs and an exposure given to reduce discrimination and change the attitude and mindset. The interviewee said that she had invited her friends for her brother's wedding ceremony and all the friends participated and enjoyed the rituals and ceremonies despite the fact that they had not interacted with any non-Muslim before. Naz (2012) points out in her paper the attitude of female madrassa teachers towards other religious minorities and says that they did not have day to day close interaction with other religious minorities therefore developed intolerance towards them. She concludes that there is a mix of discrimination and tolerance for religious minorities. The need of the day is to increase the social and commercial interaction with other religious minorities.

Althassuer (1971) states two distinct categories which he calls RSA (repressive state apparatus) and ISA (Ideological state apparatus). He distinguishes between the two and give their constituents as governments, police, army, courts and prison as RSA and religion, education, family, law, politics, communication, culture as IRA. Under normal circumstances governments usually prefer to act through ISA for which changing the school curriculum to suit their needs is a potent example. For Althusser the major ISA enforced in capitalistic societies is the "educational ideological apparatus." (Althusser, 1971, p. 153). According to him schools are the best places to inculcate the dominant ideology as children are present there for many hours and in a most receptive position, therefore they are given an ideology according to the role they have to play in society. In the same vein, curriculum can be used to inculcate and enhance the social traits of tolerance, benevolence, compassion and harmonious living as taught by Islam, the majority religion of Pakistan and its Constitution.

4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Educational Documents

After thematic analysis of primary data I move on to explain the Critical Discourse Analysis of educational policies, reports and conference proceedings to understand the positioning and importance of religious minorities given by the State in variant documents.

The policies, reports, and proceedings which I have referred to for the current study included:

1. Proceedings of the Pakistan educational conference (held at Karachi, from 27th November to 1st December 1947).
2. Report on the commission on national education, 1959

3. Report on the progress of education in Pakistan, 1966-67.
4. The new education policy of the Government of Pakistan, 1970.
5. Education Policy, 1972-80.
6. National education policy and implementation programme, 1979.
7. National education policy, 1992.
8. National education policy, 1998-2010.
9. National education policy, 2009.

The process of doing CDA entailed following steps:

1. In-depth reading and detailed understanding of the documents.
2. Re-viewing the documents in the light of the intellectual domains of review of literature.
3. Selecting textual units (words, phrases, paragraphs etc.) which are of relevance in the light of study's research questions and objectives.
4. Analyzing those textual units in the light of study's research questions and objectives.
5. (Re)-constructing social realities based on the deconstruction of educational documents.

The textual units as chosen from these documents are stated in the following text:

a. TEXTUAL UNIT 1: *What should be the ideological basis of education? Whether the Islamic conception of universal brotherhood of man, social democracy and social justice should constitute this ideological basis-cultivation of democratic virtues, i.e., tolerance, self-help, self-sacrifice, human kindness etc. and the consciousness of common citizenship as opposed to Provincial exclusiveness.* (Excerpt from the Proceedings of the Pakistan educational conference (held at Karachi, from 27th November to 1st December 1947)
b. TEXTUAL UNIT 2: *Whether instruction in the fundamentals of religion should be imparted in schools?* (Excerpt from the Proceedings of the Pakistan educational conference (held at Karachi, from 27th November to 1st December 1947)
c. TEXTUAL UNIT 3: *Social relations apart, even in the realm of spiritual relations i.e. relationship between man and God, Islam has not recognized any distinction between man and man based on sex or race or worldly position. Within the framework of such a democracy, Islam has enjoined the granting of full freedom of conscience, security*

for life and property and opportunity for development and progress to all non-Muslims who are members of the body-politic. (Excerpt from the Proceedings of the Pakistan educational conference (held at Karachi, from 27th November to 1st December 1947)

d. TEXTUAL UNIT 4: *…[W]e have been far too prone in the past to think in terms of Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis and Pathans and it is to be deeply regretted that our education has failed to extirpate this narrow and pernicious outlook of provincial exclusiveness which should it persist, will spell disaster for our new-born State. There cannot be a greater source of pride and a better object of undivided loyalty than the citizenship of Pakistan, no matter what political, religious or provincial label one may possess.* (Excerpt from the Proceedings of the Pakistan educational conference (held at Karachi, from 27th November to 1st December 1947)

e. TEXTUAL UNIT 5: *Of these agencies the one in which we are especially interested is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization whose most important job is the dissemination of culture for the sake of dignity of man and the institution of collaboration among the nations to advance the ideal of equality of educational opportunity without regard to race or sex or economic or social distinctions.* (Excerpt from the Proceedings of the Pakistan educational conference (held at Karachi, from 27th November to 1st December 1947)

f. TEXTUAL UNIT 6: *Resolved that religious instruction should be compulsory for Muslim students in schools. Attendance at religious instruction should be compulsory for Muslim students in colleges. The same facilities may be provided for other communities in respect of their religions should they so desire.* (Excerpt from the Proceedings of the Pakistan educational conference (held at Karachi, from 27th November to 1st December 1947)

g. TEXTUAL UNIT 7: *The inspiration to be drawn from religion with its sublime moralizing effect has special significance in Pakistan. Several religious faiths are professed and practiced in our country and their teaching should be confined to those who profess them. The great majority of our population being Muslim, the teaching of Islam assumes particular importance. Indeed Pakistan, to be true to her should take inspiration from Islam, its principles and ideology.* (An excerpt from Report on the commission on national education, 1959)

h. TEXTUAL UNIT 8: The emphasis on the universal and egalitarian aspects of education is also necessary in the interest of social and cultural harmony, and a peaceful and orderly evolution of a democratic society, it is important to safeguard against the division of society into several segments by ensuring equal access to educational opportunity. Education has to be understood as a continuous and life-long activity available to all sections of the population and the only valid basis of differentiation should be merit and achievements. (An excerpt from Progress of Education in Pakistan, 1966-67)

i. TEXTUAL UNIT 9: Equalizing access to education through provision of special facilities for women, under-privileged groups and mentally-retarded and physically-handicapped children and adults in all areas of general and the backward areas in particular. (An excerpt from Progress of Education in Pakistan, 1966-67).

- One of the recurrent themes of the first document (textual units 1 through 6) is to build up the notion of social and cultural pluralism free from the biases of and differences created by sex, race, social and economic backgrounds. The pluralistic overtones and the under-lying meanings can easily be deciphered by reading through the document and as explicitly stated by words such as *social democracy*, *social justice*, and *tolerance*. The articulation of education with Islamic philosophy is also clearly stated with clearly outlined Islamic philosophy based not entirely on religious practice and belief system but on its spirit of *universal brotherhood of man, self-sacrifice,* and *human kindness*. The document takes an antagonistic stance against provincial divides and racial cleavages. The document does not clearly state Pakistan as the secular domain on lingual, religious, and spatial contexts although it clearly asserts the recognition of citizenry rights of non-Muslims on spatial, religious and legal fronts. The document also takes a clear stance on building a citizenship of Pakistan rather than provincial citizenship based on antagonistic divergences sparked by being a Pathan, Sindhi or Punjabi. While describing these provincial divides, the

document brings in 'religious' differences which should not be used as label to discriminate or hold prejudices against any person. Resembling the Quaid-e-Azam's conceptualization of Pakistan as a space for people to profess their religions freely, the document also details that for Muslims religious education is compulsory and for non-Muslims too if they desire. The document uses the word ideology at places but not as a majoritarian or universalizing concept which re-enforces the 'Muslim' majoritarian view, rather it uses it to expound Pakistan as a socio-cultural space based on pluralism. There are dualities in the document however, the document in the beginning criticizes on western education being Eurocentric but also aims to cement alliances with UNESCO – a UN agency. The document's tone is also idealistic and futuristic. It aims to build a pluralistic body-politic but does not respond to the questions of how it will be done? What steps will be undertaken? Which constituencies will be framed to materialize this end? Another identified theme is that religious and socio-cultural pluralism is aimed to be achieved through an Islamic philosophical gaze and that religious education is important to achieve this end. In the forthcoming textual units from other policy documents it can be seen that State's narrative was built upon eulogizing Islamic education through seeping into the formal educational systems and institutionalizing pluralistic educational systems; the most provocative being religious seminaries lexicographically named as *madrassahs*.

- Textual unit 7 from second document is chosen for three important reasons: (i) The eulogizing aspect that has been stated towards the end of the preceding text under first document, (ii) The fact that religion is part of the public domain and ought to be professed through educational knowledge uncritically, and (iii) The insubstantial stance towards people of different faiths and professed/practiced religions. The document states that at Higher Education level the research that focuses on Islamic education and glorifies Islamic principles should be facilitated academically, institutionally, and financially. Teaching departments, separate wings, up-to-date libraries, and facilitation of research publications are among the features to be outlined for enablement of religious education in Higher Education institutions. The document in general and the textual unit as stated

above in particular recognizes the prevalence of multiple religious faiths in Pakistan but when one goes through the section on 'Religious Education' then it is equated with Islamic Education and no specification of courses such as comparative religions, inter-faith harmony etc. are mentioned let alone enabling research based on these topics or themes. Just like the previous document the document also stays silent on what ought to be done or should be done on policy level to ensure that comparable representation of non-Muslims at variant levels of education is done or achieved. The previous document had stated 'non-Muslims', the current one has not stated any such terms. The sentences (one of which is stated in the chosen textual unit) in the document are written in passive tone; several religions are being practiced (for instance). The document recognizes that the teachings of such religions *should* (the reasons are not explained in the document) be confined to those who profess them but Pakistani population being dominated by Muslims should be steered towards acquiring Islamic education. Two features are important in this regard: (i) first, relative importance and preference to majoritarian religious view (in this case Islamic), and (ii) if confinement of imparting of knowledge of several religions is mandatory then first it is important to find out what does the document say about this impartation? Are there any State-institutionalized or formalized mechanisms or institutions through which education on diverse religions can be imparted? These questions remain unanswered. The recognition of *madrassah* as a form of education system was also recognized and an attempt to include course based on mathematics, science, social studies, and humanities was also declared.

- Textual unit 8 recognizes the normative role of education in creating tolerant and egalitarian spaces which are of critical relevance for socio-cultural harmony and functioning of democratic society. It also recognizes the role of education in creating a level playing field for all by not dividing societies into fragments and easing equal access of educational opportunities for all in the society. After having built this narrative, the document again shift gears towards religious education (again equated with Islamic education). The document, at another place, also recognizes the need for conducting sociological survey to zero in the

ethnic and racial diversity at primary, secondary, tertiary and higher education levels but does not explicitly state the religious diversity. It also stays silent how to conduct this survey. The document emphasizes upon tutoring Islamic education but for people of various faiths and research on topics of relevance for them is ignored.

- Textual unit 9 is again about making claims about facilitating ease to women, and mentally and physically disabled people (although under-privileged is an umbrella term which the document never tells clearly whether or not the term caters to non-Muslims or minorities) but it never devises or details the way forward, policy framework or plan to achieve this end.
- Documents 5 through 9 are the revamped and re-designed versions of the previous proceedings, policies and/or reports. The addition is that of former General Zia ul Haq's Islamization phenomenon which strengthened the State narrative of instrumentalizing and politicizing religion. The increase in the number and importance of *madrassahs* at the face of increasing security tensions can also be evidently seen throughout the documents. It has been recognized in these documents that with time divides based on ethnic and racial fronts have increased and the only panacea for these issues and for social harmony is to instrumentalize religion. The biased interpretation of religious texts, the fundamentalist stance, the extremist overtures, and lack of well-rounded and fully realized knowledge in this regard was completely ignored in these documents. Also these documents explicitly refer to Objectives Resolution, and 1973 Constitution of Pakistan to validate and profess their argument in favor of majoritarian Islamic view while ignoring the constitutional provisions of educational rights to non-Muslims or minorities. The last document in addition to eulogizing state narrative also brings in the feature of violence at campus; again written with a broad tone without clearly stating the at-risk groups, and without providing pragmatic policy prescriptive solutions to the seriousness of the issue at hand. The lived and experiential narratives of discrimination and violence have been stated in the data collected from the current research.

Chapter 5

5.1 Conclusion

The findings and discussion in Chapter 4 help us to draw a number of conclusions which generally apply and hold true for religious minorities in the twin cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad.

Islamabad being the federal capital and ninth largest city of the country with Rawalpindi in its neighboring vicinity, often considered a twin city. By virtue of being the federal capital, it houses government offices, important monuments and some of the leading universities of the country. Its population is largely middle and upper class people but doesn't wholly exclude lower middle class. However Rawalpindi boasts of a colorful diversity, economically, socially culturally and religiously. This diverse population includes Christians, Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis, Bahais, Zikris and many more other than the Muslim majority. Many of these minority members have been born and raised in these two cities while others live there for work, studies/education or related issues.

Many leading public and private sector universities are located in these two cities. It is also the hub of academic activities due to the presence of the HEC, the federal and central regulatory body for HEIs and DAIs. .

This diversity is also evident in the student community of public and private sector higher education institutions which belong to every strata of society and display a scintillating multiplicity. Being the center of all educational activity, potential students from all over the country regardless of race, language, ethnicity, religious affiliation or socio-economic status get in. While discussing religious minorities, Christian and Hindu students are more commonly seen than any other religious minority, however there number cannot be ascertained as some are named in the same manner and style as Muslims leaving no sign for the onlooker to know of their religious affiliation without any close interaction. Studying in the multicultural environment of Islamabad and Rawalpindi most of these students are confident about their identity as a religious minority and do not hesitate in disclosing so. Not being limited to the two minorities mentioned above, Sikhs, Bahais and Zikri students are also witnessed studying in these universities but many do not like their identities being disclosed. Simultaneously we have some religious communities like Zikris who would identify themselves as Muslims, finding it difficult making people understand the nuances of their religious beliefs.

Students belonging to religious minorities face the challenge of affordability first of all. Potential students belonging to middle and lower middle class do not participate in higher education despite inclination for lack of financial resources. Socially discriminating behavior is another important factor for less number of minority students.

However the constitution of Pakistan, the educational policies by the government, the policies and regulations by HEC, all safe guard the educational rights of minorities and do not at any point hinder them from competing for admissions at any HEI or DAI. The policy of open merit is adopted by HEIs while some even offer some fixed seats/quota for minorities but these cases are rare.

Opportunities of admission/induction and scholarships or endowments are alike for Muslims and non-Muslims. There is no religious community which enjoys greater favor in this context than the other. The government has even allocated 5% seats in public sector organizations for minority communities generally.

To improve the level of participation and increase the number of students from religious minorities more institutional policy decisions need to be made. Individual effort has been discovered by academics to achieve this objective however these steps need to be consolidated at the level of the institution and a sensitization and awareness created about them in the minority communities. What needs to be done is walk that extra mile to bring more minority students in the fold of higher education, which would directly and indirectly help in the uplift of the minority communities and bring them to the mainstream directly while decreasing to some extent the ever present shadow of social discrimination, marginalization and relegating minority communities to the backrows indirectly.

Such effort shall have a two pronged advantage as it will improve the image of Pakistan in the comity of nations as well as improve and enhance the state of minority communities in the state.

5.2 Limitations of the Study

Some aspects that formed a limitation for the present study other than the general constraints of time, budget and conveyance, were difficulty in accessibility of senior management of the Universities like Vice Chancellors and senior management positions at HEC.

The scope of the study has been limited to public sector universities only however later it can be broadened and further investigated by adding private sector institutions.

The study can also be broadened by extending the locale and including other parts of the country especially those which are considered the hub for minorities. Extending the study to include rural areas can increase the value of the study and contribute further in the area.

Keeping the scope of discussion focused and extricating relevant information posed some problems with office bearers in government organizations like at HEC as well as universities as they were generally guarded in their opinions and responses.

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Sune Qvotrup Jensen Preliminary notes on othering and agency - Marginalized young ethnic minority men negotiating identity in the terrain of otherness. Working paper presented at Castor Seminar Løgstør 13.-14. of May 2009

Appendix 1

Interview Guide for UDC 1 Individuals; Policy Makers in HEC

Introduction;

Respondent name:

Respondent's office & designation:

Age of the respondent:

Gender

Religion

1. Do you think any inequality exists between majority and minority communities? In which areas is it more evident?
2. Has any change occurred in the situation over the period of time? From partition? Since the last few decades?
3. Do minorities have an easy access to HEC scholarships? Jobs?
4. Which minority groups have more access to HEC scholarships? Jobs?
5. Why other minority groups do not have the same access to scholarships/jobs? What is the situation at HEC regarding jobs for minorities? What is the HEC policy for jobs for minorities?
6. What is the HEC policy for scholarships for minorities?
7. Is there any HEC policy for increased participation of minorities?
8. What plans does HEC have to integrate (further) minorities into HEC scholarships and other opportunities?
9. Any change (positive or negative) in minority status in context of equality/inequality?
10. Role of their respective division in increasing access to education for minorities?
11. Do you believe in quota for minorities in jobs?
12. Do you believe in quota for minorities in education especially higher education
13. Do you believe that effort needs to be done for integration and social uplift of minorities
14. What is the motivation for minorities to enter higher education? What demotivates minority students from entering higher education?

Appendix 2

Interview Guide for UDC 1 Individuals; Faculty members actively involved in higher education

Introduction;

Respondent name: Gender

Respondent's office & designation:

Age of the respondent: Religion

1. Does inequality between majority and minority communities exist?
2. Has any change occurred in the situation over the period of time?
3. Do minorities have access to HEC scholarships/jobs
4. Which minority groups have more access to HEC scholarships/jobs?
5. Why other minority groups do not have the same access to scholarships/jobs?
6. Is there any HEC policy for increased participation of minorities?
7. What plans does HEC have to integrate minorities into HEC scholarships and other opportunities?
8. Any change (positive or negative) in minority status in context of equality/inequality?
9. Any specific role of HEC division/s in access to education for minorities?
10. Is the Charter of the university accessible to faculty, staff and students?
11. Any mention of minorities in the charter?
12. Does admission policy of the University include/mention minorities?
13. Do you believe in quota for minorities in jobs? Do you think instituting a quota will be helpful?
14. Do you believe in quota for minorities in education especially higher education? Do you think instituting a quota will be helpful?
15. Do you believe that effort needs to be done for integration of minorities? What effort needs to be done?
16. Do you believe that effort needs to be done for social uplift of minorities? What effort needs to be done?

17. How many minority students are enrolled in your university? What was their motivation to enter higher education? What demotivates minority students from entering higher education?

Appendix 3

Interview Guide for UDC 1 Individuals; senior management in higher education institutions including Vice Chancellor, Dean, Registrar and Heads of Departments

Respondent name: Gender:

Respondent's office & designation:

Age of the respondent: Religion:

1. Does inequality between majority and minority communities exist?
2. Has any change occurred in the situation over the period of time?
3. Do minorities have access to HEC scholarships/jobs
4. Which minority groups have more access to HEC scholarships/jobs?
5. Why other minority groups do not have the same access to scholarships/jobs?
6. Is there any HEC policy for increased participation of minorities?
7. What plans does HEC have to integrate minorities into HEC scholarships and other opportunities?
8. Any change (positive or negative) in minority status in context of equality/inequality?
9. Any specific role of HEC division/s in access to education for minorities?
10. Is the Charter of the university accessible to faculty, staff and students?
11. Any mention of minorities in the charter?
12. Does admission policy of the University include/mention minorities?
13. Do you believe in quota for minorities in jobs? Do you think instituting a quota will be helpful? Do you have quota in your institution?
14. Do you believe in quota for minorities in education especially higher education? Do you think instituting a quota will be helpful? Do you have quota in your institution?
15. Do you believe that effort needs to be done for integration of minorities? What effort needs to be done? What effort has your institution done in this regard?
16. Do you believe that effort needs to be done for social uplift of minorities? What effort needs to be done? What effort has your institution done in this regard?

17. How many minority students are enrolled in your university? What was their motivation to enter higher education? What demotivates minority students from entering higher education?

Appendix 4

Interview Guide for UDC 1 Individuals; Students pursuing Masters, M Phil and PhD Scholars

Introduction;

Respondent name: Gender:

Respondent's office & designation:

Age of the respondent: Religion:

1. Does inequality between majority and minority communities exist?
2. Has any change occurred in the situation over the period of time?
3. Do minorities have access to HEC scholarships/jobs
4. Which minority groups have more access to HEC scholarships/jobs?
5. Why other minority groups do not have the same access to scholarships/jobs?
6. Is there any HEC policy for increased participation of minorities?
7. What plans does HEC have to integrate minorities into HEC scholarships and other opportunities?
8. Any change (positive or negative) in minority status in context of equality/inequality?
9. Any specific role of HEC division/s in access to education for minorities?
10. Is the Charter of the university accessible to faculty, staff and students?
11. Any mention of minorities in the charter?
12. Does admission policy of the University include/mention minorities?
13. Do you believe in quota for minorities in jobs? Do you think instituting a quota will be helpful? Do you have quota in your institution?
14. Do you believe in quota for minorities in education especially higher education? Do you think instituting a quota will be helpful? Do you have quota in your institution?
15. Do you believe that effort needs to be done for integration of minorities? What effort needs to be done? What effort has your institution done in this regard?
16. Do you believe that effort needs to be done for social uplift of minorities? What effort needs to be done? What effort has your institution done in this regard?

17. How many minority students are enrolled in your university? What was their motivation to enter higher education? What demotivates minority students from entering higher education?