

Understanding External Policy Influences in Pakistani Higher Education

by

Aamir Taiyeb

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Leadership, Higher and Adult Education (LHAE)
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)
University of Toronto

© Copyright by Aamir Taiyeb 2019

Understanding External Policy Influences in Pakistani Higher Education

Aamir Taiyeb

Doctor of Philosophy

Leadership, Higher and Adult Education
University of Toronto

2019

Abstract

Pakistan, the sixth most populous nation in the world, faces complex and multifaceted challenges as it seeks to achieve middle-income country status in the 21st century. To achieve this objective, Pakistan must address the quality, access and governance issues facing its higher education (HE) sector. With barely 1 in 10 Pakistanis being able to access tertiary-level studies, external agencies have stepped in to assist the Pakistani HE sector meets its development needs. Despite several decades of involvement, and hundreds of millions of dollars spent by international donors and aid agencies, little has been achieved.

This dissertation examines the nature and extent of participation by international actors in Pakistan's HE sector. The study explores the underlying dynamics between the external and the internal in the context of the sector, and seeks to identify points of convergence and divergence in terms of a preferred future. The central research question motivating the study is: How have external actors influenced Pakistan's HE system, and in particular, its governance?

To answer this question, 43 qualitative research interviews were conducted over 5 months in 3 large urban centres in Pakistan (Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad) with senior governors active in the Pakistani HE sector including representatives of Pakistani government agencies, international organizations and HE institutional leaders. The data reveals the extent of external influences in the system by type (e.g., foreign aid, policy borrowing), and by actor (e.g., the World Bank, USAID, British Council).

The findings suggest that Pakistan's HE sector is affected by external policy influences in a multitude of ways, and that endogenous and exogenous actors do not always see eye-to-eye, resulting in a mismatch of policy prescriptions at times. Above all, the findings suggest that the

lack of an indigenous policy community has resulted in a sector that is outward-facing and looking for solutions from without, rather than from within, thereby resulting in an externally-oriented path dependency. Such external policy pressures will likely continue to exercise an out-sized influence on the Pakistani higher education sector unless tools for effective self-governance and self-regulation are developed.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to those Pakistani youth unable to meet their full potential due to nothing more than the socio-economic circumstances of their birth.

Acknowledgements

Ultimately, embarking on this journey has been an incredible privilege. It has led me to discover parts of Pakistan - and myself, for that matter - that I didn't know existed. It has been a fascinating intellectual journey and I am lucky to have been allowed the chance to undertake it at all. For that, I have many people to thank.

I would like to acknowledge the incredible debt I owe to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Ruth Hayhoe. Ruth: I lucked out - big time - by having your support, guidance and, above all, encouragement over the last few years. I am also most appreciative of the advice and assistance afforded me by my thesis committee members: Dr. Glen Jones and Dr. Caroline Manion. Thank you, Glen and Carly, for all of your support during our thesis committee meetings. I also thank members of the LHAE staff, especially Ms. Karolina Szymanski and Ms. Sezen Atacan for helping me navigate the doctoral process and meet required milestones.

This thesis would not have been possible without the participation of 43 individuals - many senior leaders and respected governors at Pakistani HEIs, international non-governmental organizations and various levels of government; thank you for giving of your time and for being so candid with me. I hope I have done justice to your words.

I also thank members of my extended family (the Mangla/Tambawala families in Karachi, the Salim family in Lahore, and the Raza family in Rawalpindi) who welcomed me into their homes while I undertook data collection in each of those cities. I also wish to thank Mr. Muhammad Saleem Sethi for his help in opening doors for me within the international organization community in Islamabad - I am not sure I would have been able to meet my data sample needs without his timely interventions.

Lastly, and most importantly, I thank my family (Ali (senior)/Zahra/Hussain/Nafisa/Zainab/Ali) for giving me the support and time I needed to undertake this journey.

As the Dedication suggests, I am also only too aware of the very few Pakistanis who get the chance to go on such a journey. Mine is the story of an individual afforded the luxuries of schooling - and of time and place - that have allowed me to undertake this doctoral endeavor. This is why the Dedication hearkens to the stories of all those young Pakistanis for whom formal schooling is as distant a dream as can be.

In my view, despite the best intentions of Pakistan's leaders, and the international community, the education system of Pakistan has often failed those who needed it most. Working towards system improvement is the ultimate goal of the present work; something my thesis attempts to do by enhancing our understanding of the global and the local in the case of the governance of Pakistan's higher education sector.

Aamir Taiyeb

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Dedication.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Table of Contents.....	vi
List of Figures.....	viii
List of Tables.....	ix
List of Acronyms.....	x
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Context.....	1
1.2 Rationale.....	6
1.3 Research Questions.....	7
1.4 Organization of the Thesis.....	8
1.5 Significance of the Study.....	10
1.6 Study Limitations.....	12
1.7 Author’s Positionality.....	13
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	
2.1 Literature Review.....	17
2.2 The World Bank and Pakistan's HE Sector.....	33
CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMES & METHODOLOGY	
3.1 Theoretical Frameworks.....	41
3.2 Research Methods.....	44
3.3 A Note on Software.....	60
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS (PART I): GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS	
4.1 Governance Arrangements.....	65
4.2 Levels of State Control.....	67
4.3 Higher Education Commission Oversight.....	69
4.4 Shared Governance.....	74
4.5 Policy Community.....	89
4.6 Institutional Governance Structures.....	96
4.7 Devolution Matters.....	110
4.8 Levels of Trust.....	118
4.9 Public and Private Sector Differences.....	121

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS (PART II): EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

5.1 External Influences.....	129
5.2 Perceptions of External Influences.....	131
5.3 A Typology of External Influences.....	135
5.4 External Influences by Actor.....	154
5.5 Case Studies of External Influence.....	169
5.6 Privatization/Marketization	186

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction.....	199
6.2 Governance Arrangements.....	200
6.3 External Influences.....	218
6.4 Application of Theoretical Lenses.....	224

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1 Conclusion.....	234
7.2 Policy Recommendations.....	253
7.3 Suggestions for Future Research	264

Appendices

- Appendix A: REB Certificate
- Appendix B: Interview Guide
- Appendix C: Consent Forms
- Appendix D: Word Cloud

List of Figures

Figure 1: The Norm Life Cycle (from Finnemore and Sikkink (1998))

Figure 2: Map of Pakistan and Data Collection Sites

Figure 3: Levels of State Control - Preferences by Sectoral Participants

Figure 4: Belief in HEC Model - Preferences by Sectoral Participants

Figure 5: Belief in Policy Community - Preferences by Sectoral Participants

Figure 6: Belief in Policy Community - Preferences by Bilateral vs. Multilateral Donors

Figure 7: External INGOs involved in Pakistani HE by Weight

Figure 8: The World Bank and the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan

Figure 9: USAID and the Teacher Education Project

Figure 10: Levels of State Control

List of Tables

Table 1: Breakdown of Field Interviews in Pakistan

Table 2: Foreign Aid Disbursement for Education in Pakistan (Fiscal Years 2007-2017)

Table 3: Policy Niches of External Actors

Table 4: Case Studies of External Influence

Table 5: Divergences and Convergences - Summary Table

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADB: Asian Development Bank
CAREC: Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation
CCI: Council of Common Interest
FAPUASA: Federation of All Pakistan Universities Academic Staff Association
HEC: Higher Education Commission of Pakistan (Federal authority)
HED: Higher Education Department (Provincial authority)
IBRD: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (part of the World Bank)
IDA: International Development Association (part of the World Bank)
IDB: Islamic Development Bank
IGO: Intergovernmental Organization
KPK: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Pakistani Province)
MUG: Modern University Governance Program
NACTE: National Accreditation Council for Teacher Education
ORIC: Office of Research, Innovation and Commercialization
PHEC: Punjab Higher Education Commission (Provincial authority)
PML-N: Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz (Pakistani political party)
PPP: Pakistan People's Party (Pakistani political party)
PTI: Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaaf (Pakistani political party)
QEC: Quality Enhancement Cell
REB: Research Ethics Board
SAARC: South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SHEC: Sindh Higher Education Commission
SOP: Standard Operating Protocol
STEDA: Sindh Teacher Education Authority
UGC: University Grants Commission
UNESCO: United Nations Education, Social and Cultural Organization
USAID: United States Agency for International Development
VARSITY: A university with degree-granting authority
VC: Vice-Chancellor
WB: World Bank

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1: Context

PARTICIPANT: I believe that indigenization is very important. Indigenous values have to be developed. They should be allowed to grow as they are. And I do not believe that Americanization, Britishization, can ever make a nation like Pakistan truly what it needs to be. My concern with education is that I want to see Pakistan as a nation in its own right. Not as a replica of how Britishers or French or Americans think. (Vice-Chancellor, Male, Private University, Islamabad)

This dissertation begins with the above excerpt for two reasons. First, to honor the voices of the study participants. Second, it reflects the main theme of the present study: an exploration of the effect of external influences on Pakistani higher education. The study situates itself at the nexus of the internal and the external in the context of Pakistan, and seeks to identify concordance in understanding of reform needs between exogenous policy actors, and those endogenous to the system.

To better understand the nature of external policy influences in the Pakistani higher education (HE) sector, this thesis takes the lack of progress in Pakistan's HE sector and the long-standing involvement of external actors in the system as its starting points. The study attempts to enhance our understanding of how diverse external policy actors have an impact on a policy domain as intrinsically domestic as education, using Pakistan—a developing country—as a case study.

The findings illustrate that external policy influences have a major effect on the Pakistani higher education sector, ranging from historical system design to ongoing system governance. Endogenous and exogenous system actors do not always see eye-to-eye on matters related to governance, and the lack of a robust internal policy community continues to engender an externally-oriented path dependency.

The rest of this Introductory Chapter provides a rationale for the study, highlights the study's main research questions, identifies the significance, limitations and academic contributions of the thesis, and introduces the reader to the overall organization of the dissertation. While a brief overview of the context of the study is presented here, broader contextual factors are discussed in the latter chapters of this dissertation.

Pakistan's development needs are many. As the sixth most populous country in the world, Pakistan is confronted with many complex challenges, including poor economic growth,

challenges related to violence and instability, as well as natural disasters. It is a nuclear-armed nation, operating in a complex, geopolitical environment. In addition, it is one of the poorest countries in the world with a per capita income of only \$USD 1,641 (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2018).

Such challenges are compounded by Pakistan's unique needs in the education sector. Most recent available figures suggest that Pakistan's tertiary enrollment rate in the higher education sector was only 10.1% (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2017). When compared with India's 27% tertiary enrollment rate in 2016, observers may ask themselves what might account for Pakistan's poor performance in this sector, despite both nations having achieved independence at the same time, as well as having inherited similar institutional structures from their former colonial governors.

Enrollment is not the only challenge facing the tertiary education sector: other major issues identified include poor research and teaching quality, and inadequate institutional governance (World Bank, 2011). As is the case in many developing nation contexts, external actors, have stepped in to assist the Pakistani higher education sector meet its development needs. However, despite hundreds of millions of dollars having been spent by international donors and aid agencies, little has been achieved (Naviwala, 2015).

Historical Development of Pakistani Higher Education

This study does not attempt to speak to the extensive history that has shaped the higher education sector of Pakistan; that would be well beyond the scope of the present thesis. Much could be said about the roots of Pakistan's education system - ranging from the distant past to more recent effects of the British colonization of the Indian subcontinent. However, the focus of this study is on a better understanding of present-day external policy influences in Pakistan's higher education sector, not its remote past. Nevertheless, some measure of the historical development of Pakistan's higher education sector may be helpful in allowing us to better understand why the higher education system - its design and development - are the way they are today.

While a historic tradition of learning and scholarship has existed in the region now known as Pakistan for millennia (for example, in the regions of Nalanda and Taxila), this thesis takes the

birth of Pakistan as an independent country in 1947 as its starting point. At that time, the University of the Punjab was the only university that existed in Pakistan, although several colleges were also present.

The Constitution of Pakistan allowed for the creation of the University Grants Commission that existed and functioned between the period of 1947-1971. In 1971, Pakistan went to war with India which resulted in the separation of East Pakistan as the new state of Bangladesh. Shortly thereafter, the functions of the University Grants Commission were enumerated in its own Act in 1974.

The University Grants Commission Act was passed in 1974 and laid out the functions of the UGC which was established for “For the promotion and co-ordination of university education, the determination and maintenance of standard of teaching, examination and research in universities, the promotion of national unity and solidarity, the orientation of university programmes to national needs (University Grants Commission Act, 1974: 8)

The Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan was established in 2002 through the promulgation of the Higher Education Commission Ordinance. This Act, which was signed by the President of Pakistan, highlighted the overall make-up and design of the HEC, including the selection of the Chairperson and Members of the Commission. The introduction of the 2002 HEC act also, simultaneously repealed, the University Grants Commission Act, 1974.

The Act highlights that the HEC is controlled and answerable to the federal government of Pakistan and that its Chairperson is to be appointed by the Prime Minister. The composition of the HEC, on the other hand, is specified in the legislation to be comprised of individuals holding roles and positions such as that of the Chairperson of the Commission and several education-related Secretaries/Ministers. The provinces of Pakistan may nominate four members, while the federal government may nominate ten additional members.

The HEC Ordinance also highlighted twenty-six various functions and roles of the HEC, for “the evaluation, improvement, and promotion of higher education, research and development” (HEC Ordinance, 2002: 6). The HEC today is led by Dr. Tariq Banuri, an academic who spent much of his life studying and working in the United States. Of the sixteen commission members today, six are representatives of Pakistani higher education institutions.

Many elements of this thesis describe the present-day functioning and set-up of the

Pakistani HEC. For example, the HECs main functions are listed in section. 4.1, and its approach to consultations within the sector in section 4.5, while in section 5.5, a description of how the HEC came to be was presented. While those elements will not be repeated here, it should be highlighted that the HEC (and its predecessor, the UGC) were established under the ‘buffer-body’ model inherited by many countries around the world from the United Kingdom. These include countries such as Australia, India, Hong Kong and Pakistan. The buffer-body model, it may be said, oscillates between control established through a Higher Education Ministry/Department and that undertaken by an arms-length body (such as a quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation (QANGO)). Section 7.2 of the thesis speaks to the historical background underlying the buffer body model, of which elements of academic freedom and collegial self-governance are central.

In 2010, the 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan devolved authority for education to the provinces of Pakistan. The 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan was a grand ‘package’ of amendments that including the removal of several powers of the President and the Pakistani military (such as that to dissolve Parliament), renaming of a province, and the devolving of no less than 15 Ministries to the provinces of Pakistan. As such, it was not related to ‘education’ alone and instead was meant to respond to wider political and societal changes occurring in Pakistan at the time.

In his doctoral thesis entitled "Problems and Prospects of Higher Education in Pakistan", Aleem Iqbal Chaudhry provides an overview of the historic development of Pakistan's HE sector (Chaudhry, 2004). Ranging from the Pre-British days to the establishment of the University Grants Commission (UGC) and the various reform efforts undertaken by successive Pakistani governments over five decades since Independence in 1947. In his work, Chaudhry highlights the various reports, commissions and ordinances that have given shape, from a historical perspective, to Pakistan’s higher education system.¹ The focus of the present thesis, however, lies in Pakistan’s more contemporary history vis-a-vis higher education, especially over the time since the establishment of the present-day regulatory authority for the HE sector: the Higher Education Commission (HEC), in 2002. Similarly, in his doctoral thesis entitled, “Management

¹ These include, for example, the *Woods Education Despatch of 1854*, the *Robbins Committee of 1963*, the *Calcutta University Commission of 1917*, the *Dearing Report of 1997*, etc. (Chaudhry, 2004)

of Higher Education Reforms in Pakistan: An Implementation Perspective”, Kamran Jahangir provides a comprehensive review of the various reform efforts, national education plans, and task forces that have characterized the present-day make-up and functioning of the Pakistani higher education sector (Jahangir, 2008). Both of these theses speak to this important background (Chaudhry on the HE sector’s historical development, and Jahangir on the HE sector’s various reform efforts over the years). I will not address these areas in this dissertation (than addressed above) since it focuses on matters of external policy influences on the Pakistani HE sector’s governance.

Pakistan’s Experience with External Actors

Pakistan’s experience with the external has taken many forms; several of these have proven to be less than wholly positive. Such experiences range from a historic experience with colonialism (United Kingdom), several wars with its neighbour (India), and the hosting of the world’s largest population of refugees (Afghanistan). Another modality of external experience that Pakistan has historically been involved in has been through engagement in the international aid system. It may be argued that this experience, too, has not been without its challenges. Sethi (2008), for example, argues that Pakistan has suffered over six decades from what he terms ‘foreign aid syndrome’; an experience that he suggests correlates negatively with Pakistan’s economic development.

While it has its detractors, international aid (including technical assistance) to Pakistan is a commonly accepted modality of the involvement of the external (international agencies, bilateral/multilateral aid donors, etc.) with the internal. Like myself, most individuals who have grown up in Pakistan do not question this level of involvement; it is simply internalized and accepted. For the vast majority of Pakistanis, knowledge that their country qualifies as a developing nation commonly rationalizes the involvement of external actors. This includes the involvement of external actors in education. Indeed, while the involvement of external actors has been extensive in Pakistan for some time in areas ranging from transportation and agriculture to resource extraction and poverty alleviation, it is only since the 1960s that the education sector of Pakistan has been involved with the external.

The involvement of the external in the Pakistani HE sector, as is the case in other developing countries, has included a range of actors (bilateral/multilateral agencies, intergovernmental organizations, etc.), as well as a host of modalities (foreign aid, technical cooperation and assistance, etc.). However, no comprehensive examination, to date, has been undertaken to understand the nature and impact of these external policy influences in Pakistan's HE sector.

1.2: Rationale

There are two rationales motivating this study; one is principally academic, while the other is focused on praxis. We noted above that Pakistan's broader development needs are large and multifaceted, and that its higher education sector, even today, continues to struggle to meet the state's development needs. While external actors have been involved in various ways in helping the Pakistani HE sector since the 1960s, no examination of their involvement has, so far, been undertaken. This is, therefore, the principal academic rationale for this study.

Although several authors have addressed the effect of external influences on the Pakistani K-12 sector, none have spoken to the Pakistani HE sector, in particular. For example, Muhammad Ahsan (2005) examined bilateral aid to this sector, while Sajid Ali (2012) reviewed policy borrowing as a modality of external influence in this area. Both these studies, however, have been focused on the Pakistani elementary and secondary education sectors, with no significant examination of the involvement of external impacts on the Pakistani higher education sector.

The second rationale is focused on praxis given the fact that the relationship between the endogenous and the exogenous in the Pakistani HE sector appears to be here to stay for the foreseeable future. There is no indication that external policy actors are less interested today in the development of the Pakistani HE sector than they were during the 1960s through to the early 1990s. If anything, external policy influencers appear to have turned their attention from a focus on the elementary/secondary education sectors of Pakistan, to one that increasingly acknowledges the importance of the HE sector today for broader societal economic development. In other words, this conversation that Pakistan has had for some time, between the external and

the internal in the HE space, appears to be here to stay. Therefore, an examination of this important conversation between the external policy influencers in Pakistan's HE sector may help to inform future praxis.

This study also identifies a particular focus within the Pakistani HE sector in terms of the involvement of external actors. This is the role of exogenous actors in having an effect on system governance. Why so? The role of external actors in shaping domestic policy (particularly in lower income, aid dependent countries), has been widely recognized in the scholarly literature as an important dimension to studying and understanding policy processes and outcomes. However, in the case of education aid (including technical assistance) to Pakistan, what has hitherto been missing is an understanding of how external actors have influenced the governance dimension of the Pakistani higher education system. Indeed, ineffective governance and management structures and processes have been identified as a key issue in achieving the overall reform needs of the Pakistani higher education system (Task Force, 2002). Therefore, there is a particular focus in this thesis on the impact of these external actors on system governance.

1.3: Research Questions

Following an examination of the context and rationale for the thesis (as presented above), the principal research question for this study is: How have external actors influenced Pakistan's higher education system, and in particular, its governance?

The following five sub-questions seek to break down this main research question, and further illuminate the various academic sub-themes involved:

1. What evidence is there of the perceptions of influence promulgated from the international policy community in Pakistan's higher education system?
2. What forms does this perceived influence from external actors take within the Pakistani higher education system?
3. How do these external policy influences differ by type, and by actor?
4. Do governance reform prescriptions and models espoused by external actors fit within the

specific contextual reality of the consolidation of Pakistan's state institutions?

5. To what extent do the governance-related models, norms and reforms as identified by those endogenous to Pakistan (internal system actors) compare and contrast to those espoused by those exogenous to the Pakistani state (external actors)?

1.4: Organization of the Thesis

This section provides a roadmap to the present dissertation, and provides an overview of the way it is structured. The thesis has seven chapters, and five appendices.

Chapter 1 (Introduction) lays the groundwork for the study, and highlights the main context, rationale, research questions and significance of the study, as well as its limitations. Chapter 2 (Literature Review) reviews the main themes to be raised in the study (ex: Higher Education Governance, Foreign Aid and International Organizations) and seeks to review the academic literature germane to these themes; Section 2.2 (The World Bank and Pakistan's HE Sector) reviews the broader academic literature related to the involvement of one particular external actor, the World Bank, in the Pakistani HE sector.

Chapter 3 (Methodology) provides explanatory details related to the conceptual frames and research methods employed in the study. Firstly, Section 3.1 (Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks), introduces the reader to the theoretical lenses employed in the present dissertation: cosmopolitanism and constructivism, while Section 3.2 (Research methods) speaks to the study's modus operandi, including the nature of the in-person interviews, and surveys conducted, matters related to sampling techniques, participant recruitment, anonymity and informed consent. In order to assist the reader in better understanding the process of data collection and analysis, Section 3.3 (A note on software) includes details related to the researcher's use of three software tools: Typeform, Dedoose and Scrivener.

The next two chapters outline the core findings from the study. Chapter 4: Findings (Part I) brings into play the main study findings related to governance in the Pakistani HE sector. These range from the broader state governing apparatus (HEC oversight, levels of state control, etc.), to a delineation of governance features of the HE system in Pakistan (shared governance, policy community, levels of trust, etc.), to an examination of institutional governance modalities

(Senates/Board of Governors/Executive office holders, etc.).

Chapter 5: Findings (Part II) brings into play several additional themes from the study's data findings, including a review of the involvement of external influences present in the Pakistani HE sector by actor (World Bank, USAID, British Council, etc.) and by typology (foreign aid, policy borrowing, etc.). In order to further concretize the effect of external policy actors in the context of Pakistan, three case studies are also presented in Section 5.5 (Case Studies of External Influence). These three case studies represent the three largest external influencers in the system, as well as a diversity of influence modalities, and attempt to translate the broader research themes discussed in earlier chapters in a practical manner in the Pakistani HE context. Section 5.6 speaks to the involvement of external actors from a privatization/marketization lens.

Chapter 6 (Discussion) takes the findings and seeks to explain and interpret them in light of the academic literature of Comparative and International Higher Education. Each of the main themes raised from the study's findings are reviewed and discussed through the explanatory lens afforded by some of the academic scholars that have enriched the field over the years. Section 6.4 Application of Theoretical Lenses reviews the study's main findings through the lens of the theoretical paradigms of cosmopolitanism and constructivism.

Chapter 7: (Conclusion), offers some concluding thoughts to the study, and engages with the broader research questions originally raised at the start of the dissertation. A summary table of divergences and convergences is presented which represents a distilled way of understanding the points of alignment between the endogenous and exogenous when it comes to Pakistani HE governance. Section 7.3: Policy Recommendations, ends the study by proffering five ways in which the ultimate goal of the present thesis, improvement of the Pakistani HE sector's outcomes, may be achieved.

Five appendices to the dissertation are also included as follows:

- Appendix A: REB Certificate
- Appendix B: Interview Guide
- Appendix C: Consent Forms
- Appendix D: Word Cloud

Appendix A: REB Certificate provides the original certificate of approval from the University of Toronto's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board (REB) in April 2017; Appendix B: Interview Guide represents the 25 questions, structured in three main thematic areas, that the researcher employed during the 43 interviews with endogenous and exogenous governors of the Pakistani HE sector between July-December 2017; Appendix C: Consent Forms includes copies of the consent letter developed for use by Institutions and Organizations and employed in the case of each of the interviews conducted; Appendix D: Word Cloud represents a visual mapping, derived from Dedoose (the data analysis software used for the present study) of the main themes obtained from the data collected for the study.

1.5: Significance of the Study

There are many academic studies, books, articles and theses related to the broader themes raised in this study. However, none address the core interplay between the local and the global, between the endogenous and the exogenous in the context of Pakistan's higher education sector that is the core focus of the present dissertation. For example, several authors have helped to further our understanding of the changing nature of higher education in the context of globalization, while others have helped us understand the impact of foreign assistance and aid dependency in the context of Pakistan. However, no academic work, to my knowledge, has specifically addressed the way in which Pakistan, a country with significant development needs and a significant period of involvement by external actors, has seen its HE sector affected by the external. The author embarked on this line of academic research noting that such a study promised to add to a significant gap in the academic literature, and to aid in better design of future praxis.

During the course of conducting this study I would often note that my study participants expressed surprise at the nature of the study. While it would be quite rare for the average Pakistani to suggest that external actors are not impacting upon Pakistan's development and governance, few had previously examined the impact of external actors in this particular space: the Pakistani HE sector. For many participants in my study, while external policy influences were definitely seen as common in the elementary and secondary education sectors, few had

even considered its presence in the higher education sector of Pakistan. This is a strong indication for the author that this type of study was indeed needed, given the study's overall findings that external policy influences are, indeed, present in the Pakistani HE sector (representing a multitude of actors and modalities).

Who will this study be of interest to? In the view of the author, the following communities and groups may find this dissertation of benefit. Within the comparative and international education academic community, this study adds to the existing research base on the interaction of external actors with internal actors, particularly in the context of developing countries. In particular, the study's findings of the absence of a domestic policy community leading to an externally-oriented path dependency (vis-a-vis the involvement of external actors), might be applicable to several other developing countries in a variety of contexts. For example, scholars may use this study to suggest that the absence of policy communities in developing country contexts may contribute, in no small measure, to the development of policy vacuums ripe for external influence.

Within Pakistan, it is hoped that the study will foster discussion and debate within the higher education sector (including government representatives (federal and provincial), faculty, institutional leaders, sector associations and students). It is hoped that the Pakistani Higher Education Commission (HEC), in particular, will have the opportunity to consider the study's findings. Within the broader theme of shared governance and the importance of developing a policy community - key aspects raised within the thesis - it is hoped that the HEC may even consider using the thesis results as fodder for discussion at a Vice-Chancellor's Committee meeting. The Policy Recommendations provided (Section 7.3) provide a suggested starting point for mobilizing the results from the present study; in this regard, it is also hoped that the Pakistani media will consider disseminating the results of this study to a broader public audience. The study also adds to the literature on Pakistan's higher education sector, its governance practices and modalities, and the nature of external policy actors and their involvement in Pakistan's development. Chapter 4 (Findings (Part I): Governance Arrangements, in particular, may be seen as an examination of governance modalities that are working and some that are not in the Pakistani HE sector, and may be considered by representatives of, for example, the Federation of All Pakistan Universities Academic Staff Association (FAPUASA), as fodder for identifying

system reform prescriptions.

Within the international community, especially those operating within Pakistan, the study suggests ways of interacting with local actors that allow intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) to acknowledge their positions of influence while allowing for greater voice and agency to the endogenous governors of the system in future interactions. It is hoped that IGO representatives consider and take into account, in particular, the large degree of latitude and voice afforded to non-governmental actors in developed countries in the higher education sector. In the context of Pakistan's HE sector, IGO representatives may consider allowing for the voice of students, faculty, sector associations and other non-governmental voices to be included via forums for feedback and consultation such as public opinion research, active consultations, inclusion of sector representatives on committees, and the convening of symposia and conferences that always include a plurality of voices.

1.6: Study Limitations

As with any study, there are many limitations to the present work that are important to identify. As a doctoral dissertation, neither the study nor the author pretends that the work is exhaustive and represents a fulsome examination of the nature of external policy influences in the Pakistani HE sector. However, it does, in the considered opinion of the author begin to help us better understand the ways in which the external impacts on the internal in this important sector of Pakistan. More and more, as Pakistan turns its attention to the development of its HE sector in a bid to become a middle-income country, such studies may be useful in elucidating the present-day functioning of the system.

A core limitation of the study is its reach. Not all regions of Pakistan were represented, nor were all types of institutions. Participation from several provinces in Pakistan is missing from this study, as is the involvement of non-degree granting higher education institutions (HEIs). While the author did aim to secure institutional participation from 1/5th of all degree-granting institutions in Pakistan, only HEIs from three major urban areas are represented; reasons for this are further outlined in Section 3.2.

This study cannot claim to speak to the involvement of external policy actors in sectors other

than the higher education sector of Pakistan. For example, while the Asian Development Bank (ADB) has been a major player in Pakistan's development for some time, its focus has not overtly centered on the higher education sector. While the ADB may not be a major external policy influencer in the Pakistani HE sector, it may be a major player in other sectors/areas of Pakistan.

This study also cannot claim that its results are translatable to the K-12 sector of Pakistan. Indeed, Pakistan's development needs on the elementary and secondary side are staggering and external actors, funding agencies, and IGOs are highly involved in this area. However, this study cannot claim to be illustrative of the involvement of external policy actors in the Pakistani education sector, on the whole, because it has only considered the Pakistani HE sector within its scope.

Finally, the author would like to highlight that a major limitation of this study is that has not considered the voices of other sectoral partners that have stakes in the sector. Omissions include the involvement of students, faculty, members of domestic NGOs, and industry stakeholders. Given the scope of this doctoral dissertation, participation within the context of this study was restricted to the voices of senior endogenous (government and institutional) as well as exogenous (multilateral/bilateral agencies and IGOs) policy actors.

1.7: Author's Positionality

The acknowledgement of a researcher's positionality is an important component to better understanding the research process, data and outcomes. The purpose of this section is to provide space to acknowledge the author's own positionality, engage in self-criticality, and identify the author's personal motivations for conducting this doctoral research study.

While highlighting positionality is important for all research, it is particularly relevant to research that has qualitative elements as the researcher plays a central role in orchestrating – and indeed interpreting – the study's findings. As Bourke, in the context of acknowledging positionality in qualitative studies states:

The nature of qualitative research sets the researcher as the data collection instrument. It is reasonable to expect that the researcher's beliefs, political stance, cultural background (gender, race, class,

socioeconomic status, educational background) are important variables that may affect the research process (Bourke, 2014: 2).

I am a male of South Asian origin, and spent my formative years in the Pakistani context. While much of my elementary and secondary schooling, therefore, was completed in Pakistan, I have since spent much of my adult life in Canada. For example, I have completed postsecondary education exclusively in Canada, and have worked professionally in Canada only. As a result, it would be important to state that an element of insider vs. outsider positionality may certainly be present.

While I am fluent in Pakistan's lingua franca (Urdu), and am aware of its cultural norms and local contexts, I have at the same time spent most of my life outside this country. During the course of conducting this study, however, I did not feel that this positionality intruded upon the data collection and data analysis of the study – indeed, having some measure of outsider status may have contributed to a greater level of objectivity since I have not been as closely imbedded in the domestic higher education sector of Pakistan – the subject of the present study.

My home institution - the University of Toronto - did provide some cause for reflection and should be acknowledged as it is germane to the discussion on positionality. It is possible that the study participants may have been reticent to speak to a researcher studying at a foreign university, far removed from their lived reality in Pakistan. However, I do not believe that to be the case. Indeed, most participants seemed to exhibit greater levels of trust in the quality control mechanisms (anonymity, data privacy, and respect for participant consent) of a Canadian postsecondary institution. Indeed, while my home institution was housed outside Pakistan, the fact that the data collection was conducted in situ by a Pakistani-born researcher served, I believe, to mitigate any potential outsider positionality that may have been present.

With regard to gender, I would acknowledge that, with the exception of but four participants, all of my participants were male. While it may have been possible that my gender positionality could have impacted my interactions with these female participants, each of these individuals occupied positions of influence and prestige. For example, two of these participants were Vice-Chancellors, one was a Dean, and one was the Education Specialist for an influential external organization (bilateral donor agency) active in Pakistan. Furthermore, each of the interviews with these female participants was done in what I may term 'safe spaces': namely,

locations chosen by the participants themselves (generally, their own institutional offices). Lastly, there were no particular questions within the ambit of this study that touched upon gender, therefore the researcher's own gender positionality was not, I would submit, called into question as impacting upon the study.

Lastly, with regard to my professional background and affiliations, I have spent about a decade working in the public sector in the Canadian context. This time was spent at government agencies and departments that played a role in higher education governance. This was what, eventually, led to my interest in pursuing research on not only the nature of higher education governance in my country of birth, but also, following exposure to the scholarly field of comparative and international education in my doctoral degree courses, to the nature of external influences in education governance.

I began to reflect on some of the essential differences in the nature of education governance between the Global North and Global South and the key actors involved. While Canada does engage extensively with international bodies like the OECD, such involvement represents a very kind of engagement than that undertaken by developing countries with external actors. I wondered how such external actors impacted on higher education governance in Pakistan. This question, eventually, planted the first seeds for the topic of this doctoral dissertation.

Chapter Summary

If there is a common thread underlying this dissertation, it is that increasing the capacity of domestic (endogenous) actors to engage in the policy-making process results in better policy outcomes. Without the active involvement, contestation and interaction of a plurality of types of actors, policies and ideas that are introduced may not be fully germane to the domestic context, and are, therefore, less likely to be implemented successfully by all partners involved. A contestation between domestic actors allows for greater acknowledgment of the needs and rights of each stakeholder group, and ensures that there is significant buy-in from the outset. A system of incremental policy making through the accumulated and informed contestation of domestic actors is preferable to shocks (major policy reform prescriptions) introduced by exogenous actors for these same reasons.

It must also be noted that this study does not claim that the involvement of external policy actors constitutes a negative force in the development of Pakistan's HE sector. Rather, the study engages in contestation between the endogenous and the exogenous aiming to critique and problematize it only, not advocate for its removal. It hopes a better understanding of the ways in which external policy influences impact the design, growth, shape and trajectory of the Pakistani HE sector will, ultimately, aid in allowing for these future interactions to take place in an environment with one overarching characteristic: mutuality.

Pakistan needs a policy community that communicates effectively, within itself, on the issues most relevant to it, and one that responds in a collective, informed manner to external actors such as bilateral and multilateral aid donors. With the goal of reaching this preferred future, the author, using a constructivist lens, offers several suggestions and policy recommendations in the final chapter of the dissertation.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1: Literature Review

Section Overview

This section seeks to provide an overview of the existing literature in the field as it relates to the subject area under consideration. This literature review, while not exhaustive, does attempt to highlight work germane to the present study, and is broken into several thematic groupings.

Higher Education Governance

No one single actor, or process, adequately encompasses higher education governance. Instead, a multiplicity of actors and processes are normally involved in the provision of higher education in a given context. These include, but are not limited to, provincial and federal departments of education, stakeholder groups (sector councils, student groups, business groups, etc.), the academic community itself (professors and faculty), institutional administration (trustees, Boards of Governors, Presidents). Additionally, non-state (supra-national) actors such as regional (e.g., the Asian Development Bank) or international organizations (e.g., the World Bank or UNESCO) may also be involved. This multiplicity of actors makes up, broadly speaking, governance of the complex organism that is the higher education system of a given country.

The comparative higher education literature provides several starting points that can function as a frame of reference in the analysis of higher education governance in developing nations. Guy Neave and Frans Van Vught (1994) in their volume entitled: *Government and Higher Education Relationships across Three Continents: The Winds of Change* provide a useful conceptual framework developed specifically for use in the context of developing countries. Neave and Vught posit that governance arrangements of a higher education system are key to understanding that system, but that it is also necessary to identify which forms of governance are better suited to a particular context. They provide the following definition of governmental regulation, drawing on Michael Skolnik's work:

Government regulation can be described as the efforts of government to steer the decisions and actions of specific societal actors according to the objectives the government has set and by using instruments government has at its disposal. There are three basic categories of rationale for government regulation: efficiency (usually pertaining to correcting market failures); distribution; and stimulating or protecting social and cultural objectives (Skolnik, 1987: 60 (In Neave and Vught, 1994: 4).

Having defined the notion of government regulation, and its importance in a developing nation context, Neave and Vught suggest two main models of higher education governance, based on general approaches to the market (i) the State Control Model and, (ii) the State Supervisory Model. It follows that the State Control Model is based on a general governmental strategy of rational planning and control and the State Supervisory Model is based on a governmental strategy of self-regulation.

The State Control Model, traditionally found in nations of the European continent, is one characterized by top-down decision-making, wherein the state is responsible for most decisions including determining key appointments, financing the system, regulating the provision of degrees, curriculum, and examinations. In this model, the state decides that the acceleration of the national economy can best be achieved if it controls and steers the ship of higher education.

With respect to the State Supervisory Model, epitomized by nations such as the United Kingdom and the United States, state control is rather absent; instead, in this model the influence exercised by the State is weak. The state sees it as its task only to supervise the higher education system, in terms of ensuring academic quality and maintaining a certain level of accountability. The state sees itself as a supervisor, steering from a distance and using broad terms of regulation. Government regulation is important, of course, to all countries but particularly developing countries. As Neave and Vught (1994) have stated:

In many countries government has a major impact on the dynamics of the higher education system. The way in which this impact is being realized can differ enormously from country to country. An important question is whether specific forms of government regulation help to solve the crisis of higher education in the developing world better than other forms of government regulation (p. 3).

Another well-established model of higher education governance in the comparative education literature is that found in the work of Burton Clark (1983). Clark's celebrated "Triangle of Coordination" model features three main actors in higher education governance: state, market and academic oligarchy. According to Clark, a higher education system in a given country can be situated along a continuum ranging from unitary state administration to one based solely on the

market. However, in Clark's model, academic oligarchy is an important actor in overall state vs. society relations and acts as an intermediary between the state and the market:

With academic oligarchy omnipresent or lurking in the wings, our continuum from state authority to market can be reshaped as a triangular model of state, market and oligarchical forms of coordination. (p. 142)

The present author would argue that missing within Clark's model are other types of actors that are increasingly influential, if not indispensable, to a nuanced understanding of higher education governance in modern times. These include civil society (non-governmental organizations, religious groups, charities and large-scaled movements), student groups, and international organizations. Nevertheless, Clark's Triangle of Coordination Model maintains its usefulness as a typology that permits the categorization of different actors in a simple and readily understandable format – one which permits comparisons to be made easily across countries.

We have, so far, considered higher education governance from the viewpoints of authors whose work has had much historic value to date (Clark, 1983; Neave and Vught, 1994; Bray and Thomas, 1995). These authors have proffered analytical lenses and conceptual frameworks that have seen much longevity in the higher education literature. However, while acknowledging its importance as a bedrock to the present discussion on HE governance, this study also relies on the explanatory capacity afforded by more contemporary higher governance scholars (Dobbins, Knill and Vogtle, 2011; Steiner-Khamsi, 2012; Philips and Ochs, 2003; Koenig-Archibugi, 2010; Austin and Jones, 2015)) Taking into account more contemporaneous scholars allows for the present study to better reflect the changing nature of the higher education governance enterprise today.

This study relies heavily on the recent work of Austin and Jones (*Governance of Higher Education: Global Perspectives, Theories, and Practices*; 2015), in particular, to shed light on matters ranging from the changing nature of academic freedom to matters such as the impact of external governance on the academy, the changing nature of shared governance, network governance, managerialism (including New Public Management and Neoliberalism) (see Chapter 6: Discussion). Austin and Jones, also, provide a review of several theories of governance (for example, Resource Dependency, Stewardship and Agency Theory, as well as examination of the impact of global forces (regional and international organizations) on domestic higher education

governance.

An interesting analytical framework for the cross-country comparison of higher education governance is posited in the work of Dobbins, Knill and Vogtle (Dobbins, Knill and Vogtle, 2011). With a nod to Burton Clark, as well as Neave and Vught's models, Dobbins, Knill and Vogtle have developed an extensive systematic classification of empirical indicators of higher education governance. These indicators range from financial, personnel and substantive autonomy, to patterns of control and quality evaluation, institutional structures of the university, state control instruments, power of appointments, and management approach. The indicators are furthermore mapped on to three ideal-typical models (state-centered, market centred and academic self-governance). For the purposes of the present study, the governance typology posited by Dobbins, Knill and Vogtle promises to provide an interesting lens through which to analyze some of the research findings involving higher education governance in Pakistan.

The authors hitherto discussed (Neave and Vught; Clark; Dobbins, Knill and Vogtle; Austin and Jones) have considered higher education governance from a 'system-wide' angle. However, it is possible to also discuss governance at the country or nation level based on where control over education policies resides. Centralization vs. decentralization may also be used as units of analysis to determine the degree of control that is appropriate over a given system (Bray, 2007). In his analysis, Mark Bray suggests that an important aspect of understanding education governance is to identify the tension between centralization and decentralization, noting that the motives for such arrangements are inherently political as well as technical. Bray's analysis distinguishes between functional and territorial centralization/decentralization with the former implying changes in power distribution among authorities that operate in parallel, and the latter implying redistribution of control among geographic tiers of government. Furthermore, Bray indicates various types of decentralization including (i) deconcentration, (ii) delegation and (iii) devolution. In the context of the evaluation of various government and regulatory arrangements in Pakistan, Bray's typology of centralization vs. decentralization models promises to provide an important method to interpret governance arrangements in the context of Pakistan.

Policy Communities

The concept of policy communities is central to this thesis. The notion is first

foreshadowed in the opening chapter (Sec 1.5 and 1.6), and discussed extensively in various contexts in Chapters 5– 7. Given its singular significance to my dissertation, I will further discuss this idea - and related concepts - here.

Policy communities imply, first and foremost, the idea of discourse. In the context of HE governance, it may be easily claimed that contributions to the policy discourse through the provision of competing viewpoints leads to better policy outcomes; it may also contribute to greater buy-in by sector stakeholders. A thriving policy community is central to the notion of shared governance. Pross (1995), for example, suggested that policy communities were

“groupings of government agencies, pressure groups, media people, and individuals, including academics, who, for various reasons, have an interest in a particular policy field and attempt to influence it” (p. 265)

Pross’ definition of a policy community included several actors involved in a particular policy domain who, importantly, are ‘not government’ (and ostensibly, without power to make decisions). In his definition, Pross included members of the media and academics in his concept of members of a policy community - I do, too, in my treatment of the topic in Sections 4.4 & 4.5 of this dissertation - however, I also include additional actors such as student groups, political parties, industry representatives, etc.

Let us consider another definition of this concept. Pal (2014) defines a policy community as

the actors in a policy network, presumably those who share at least some common language and conceptual reference points but who may be opponents on the issue (p. 260)

Pal’s conceptualization of a policy community brings into play the idea of contestation (opposition). This idea, too, is fundamentally important to my dissertation because, as will be seen in the latter chapters, I claim not enough contestation and opposition takes place within endogenous policy communities in Pakistan. Both the above definitions (Pross (1995) and Pal (2014)), while originating from the Canadian political science literature, are nonetheless helpful in further defining this important concept for the purposes of the present dissertation.

Pal’s definition, furthermore, raises the related idea of a policy network. This concept is related to the idea of a policy community as may be seen in the definition of the concept from Padure and Jones (2009) suggest that:

The term policy network characterizes the relationship among policy actors around a policy issue of

importance to the policy community (p. 108)

Padure and Jones provide us with ways to understand how policy networks can be used to elucidate our understanding of governance and policy formation in higher education. As Padure and Jones suggest, while policy networks are inherently about voice and democracy, they are also just as importantly about making wise decisions and preventing system failures. Policy network analysis encourages us to seek ways of understanding and explaining HE policy formation that goes beyond simplistic notions of hierarchical relationships between government and universities.

Finally, Jones and Padure in their work also highlight the dialectic between external (non-state) and internal policy networks:

There is also a growing body of literature on the role of international organizations in educational policy making, but only a few studies have analyzed the influence that networks of international organizations have in formulating and disseminating higher education policies around the world and the ways that these international actors participate in national policy networks. (p. 120)

For the purposes of this dissertation, this involvement of exogenous actors, in the form of a coalition of actors or network, within the domestic policy-making space, will be particularly explored. The study demonstrates how, in the context of the Pakistani HE sector, the absence of domestic (endogenous) policy communities and networks gives concomitant rise to the development of powerful external (exogenous) policy networks instead.

Education and Democratic Consolidation

Where does the education sector fit within the broader governance arrangements of the polity and society in which it operates? The author contends that without a holistic understanding of the nature of the broader political context, an analysis of the education sector itself is limited at best and meaningless at worst. In this sense, the author proposes to examine the higher education sector as an 'institution' of the state such as the media, judiciary, legislature and political parties.

Such an approach is also one espoused by scholars of democracy. Taking a page from political science theory, while some (Linz and Stepan, 1996) argue that effective democracy requires the pre-existence of a democratic political culture, scholars such as Larry Diamond

(Diamond, 1999) suggest that democracy can be developed by strengthening the institutions and 'democratic culture' of the state. These institutions include education. In fact as Diamond noted:

“..the one social structural variable that appears to have some real power in explaining support for democracy is education. The more educated are more likely to embrace democracy, even when many other factors are controlled for.” (p. 199)

Diamond's analysis of education having a positive impact on democracy is corroborated by others. Aaron Benavot, (former secretary of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) and Director of the Education for All Global Monitoring Report (GMR)) undertook an important study in 1996 in which he systematically compared the impact of education (across time periods and at different levels) with support for democracy. In this work (Benavot, 1996), the author noted that past analyses have considered several determinants of democracy including (i) Economic factors (economic development, commodity concentration; bilateral trade patterns, forms of aid dependency) and (ii) non-economic factors (degree of Protestantism, colonial legacy, ethnic heterogeneity, period of independence). However, in all of these studies the impact of the education sector has not been systematically considered (studied).

Benavot's study was cross-national and longitudinal and examined in particular the impact of mass (elementary and secondary) and elite (tertiary) education on democratization. His findings suggested that the correlation of mass education with democratization was weak but that elite education was positively associated with democratization. Indeed, as he noted:

“Educational institutions help to create convincing rationales for political action, and they expand social arenas in which political authority can be employed. Education also certifies which members of society can legitimately use their authority and power in these new spheres of action. On the whole, institutional theorists emphasize the impact of higher education, rather than mass education, in relation to political outcomes such as democratization. (Benavot, 1996: 402).

Norm Development

Work on norms has constituted a central feature of scholarship within the field of international relations for quite some time. State sovereignty (as espoused by many realists) is often sorely missing in the international realm that operates largely without the coercive and punitive aspects of state coercion. However, one method or approach is to encourage states to adopt certain tendencies. Before launching into a substantive discussion of particular educational approaches, it behooves us to discuss what a norm is and how it may be promulgated by

domestic or international actors. In her 1993 article, the constructivist scholar Martha Finnemore used the following definition of a norm:

A “norm” is defined as a rule-like prescription which is both clearly perceptible to a community of actors and which makes behavioral claims upon those actors” (p. 566).

This definition of what constitutes a norm suggests two important considerations: (i) that a norm is prescriptive/makes behavioral claims and is, thereby, constraining. For example, a norm might preclude that certain actions be taken by nation states since those actions are not among those espoused under the umbrella of a certain ‘norm’. (ii) that the norm is perceptible. In other words, that the norm is traceable and can it can be clearly perceived to have emerged over time. Such a ‘community of actors’ may include states, nongovernmental organizations, private individuals, advocacy groups, intergovernmental and multilateral organizations. While only some members within this community of actors may have overt decision-making capabilities in the realm of the issue under consideration, each of the ‘community of actors’ is able to exercise influence in the norm formation process. In many ways, then, Finnemore’s ‘community of actors’ is similar to the broadly accepted notion of a global civil society, including both state and non-state actors.

Such a view is complementary to those of cosmopolitan theorists such as David Held who have also suggested that global civil society contributes in important and meaningful ways on world issues broadly, and specifically those requiring international cooperation. Such examples include the role of civil society in the Ottawa Landmines Treaty, the development of the International Criminal Court and the promotion of the anti-apartheid movement. Consider the following:

A more moderate form of the global civil society argument understands its role within the context of domestic reform and international agreement. It argues that civil society has an important role in bringing issues of global concern to the top of the international agenda (Lupel, 2005: 13)

In her later work, in partnership with Kathryn Sikkink, Finnemore outlined a model of norm formation (the norm Life Cycle) and provided a blueprint for the student of international relations to view the development of changing norms. In their own words:

Norm influence may be understood as a three-stage process. ...the first stage is "norm emergence"; the second stage involves broad norm acceptance, which we term...a norm cascade"; and the third stage involves internalization. The first two stages are divided by a threshold or "tipping" point, at which stage a

critical mass of relevant state actors adopt the norm (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998: 895)

The following visual representation of Finnemore and Sikkink's norm life cycle model has been reproduced below (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998. P. 896):

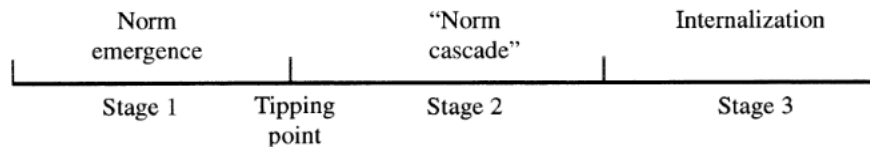


Figure 1: The Norm Life Cycle (from Finnemore and Sikkink (1998))

Policy Borrowing and Lending

It is understood by many scholars that, similar to financial arrangements between developed and developing countries, educational best practices, tendencies, and norms are collectively downloaded by the Global North which is seen by many to have well-functioning educational systems towards the Global South which generally requires further development of its educational sector. Educational policy in this sense is therefore seen as primarily unidirectional. Policy borrowing in the education sector, according to many, therefore flows primarily in a North-South manner from developed nations to developing countries.

Policy borrowing, especially in the context of comparative education, may be parsed and defined in any number of ways. For definitional purposes, the following from the comparative education scholar Gita Steiner-Khamsi may be helpful:

In contrast to related terms such as 'policy learning' and 'policy transfer' (produced in political science) or 'diffusion' or 'reception' (generated in sociology, social anthropology, and history), the term policy borrowing and lending emerged in the field of comparative education, and underwent a revival of noticeable magnitude in the past decade. This new interest was the outcome of debate on how global governance affects national educational systems, beliefs, and practices (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012: 6)

It is telling that Steiner-Khamsi, in her overview of policy borrowing, privileges the 'global' element involved in policy borrowing and also speaks to not only the 'borrowing' of policy but also its active lending. The implication is that policy is not only passively borrowed but is also actively 'lent' (read: enforced) by external actors.

International organizations play a vital role in policy borrowing and lending. However, a germane question might be: how do international organizations, in the absence of coercive

instruments (such as taxation) held by sovereign governments, influence educational policy development? Anja Jakobi provides one such answer:

With a view to international organizations, we can identify several tools – governance instruments – by which they facilitate transfer. First international organizations disseminate ideas, for example, what are the most important aims of an education system or which elements it includes. Here organizations can differ widely – while UNESCO mainly perceives education as a public good, the World Bank regularly stretches the concept of education to the private sphere (Jakobi, 2012: 395)

Jakobi also identified standard setting, policy coordination, financial incentivization and technical assistance among the many other ways that international organizations influence educational policy among countries around the world, but particularly among developing countries.

International Organizations and Education Policy

Several authors have amply documented the relationship between international organizations operating in the education sphere. Many have also problematized it. In a policy sphere as intrinsically domestic as education policy, a multitude of international organizations play important and significant roles. Ranging from the promulgation of large-scale, organized movements such as the Education for All (EFA) goals, to educational assessments such as the PISA (Programme for the International Student Assessment) tests, international organizations play an important role in educational policy and finance. Karen Mundy for example, challenges us to think of competing normative ways of global governance and champions a World Order Models Project (WOMP) worldview of a multiplicity of interconnected actors in international education policy-making (Mundy, 2012).

The nature and goals of the international organization depend on the constituency of the organization. The one-nation, one-vote structure of UNESCO will likely result in a very different set of goals espoused by this organization, compared to the World Bank whose decision-making apparatus depends on the largest financiers of that organization. However, international organizations were not always so involved in educational policy. This role evolved over time for many strategic reasons. And, as some have observed, neither was the role now played by international organizations always intended to be this way (Wolf and Klaus, 2009). Using the example of PISA testing by the OECD, the authors have demonstrated how nation states

suddenly found themselves in an 'evaluative dilemma' having their education systems tested year after year with no way to avoid participation in the exercise. The same authors have also argued that nation-states may also willingly 'ask to have their hands tied'; by having international organizations push certain agendas desired by the state but domestically unpopular. Sticking with the OECD, others have convincingly demonstrated how the OECD plays an important normative role in higher education by acting as an 'ideational broker', undertaking 'governance by coordination, playing an active role in 'opinion formation' and stimulating competition and 'peer pressure' among nation states (Amaral and Neave, 2009). The authors go further to suggest that these functions of the OECD can best be explained by the primacy of neo-liberalism in its overall constitution, vision and mission.

It may be said that international organizations, and the approaches they propose/promote, do not remain static but evolve over time. Indeed, international organizations are influenced by their peer organizations as well. For example, the scholarly literature suggests that UNESCO promoted a conceptualization of education for its own sake for many decades but gradually softened its stance after being co-opted by the World Bank, with its much greater resources, in also seeing education as an investment. At the same time, the World Bank softened its own stance on education as human capital investment (based on rates of return analyses), after being influenced by UNESCO's focus on education as a human right within the Education for All (EFA) discourse.

Others have chronicled the propensity of international organizations to propose and dispose the same types of educational reforms, models and agendas with little regard to the context in which they operate (Meyer and Ramirez, 2000). The isomorphism of international organizations is, according to such an account, a cause for lament as it leads to large-scale homogeneity in education systems, with one-size-fits-all approaches the norm rather than the exception among international organizations. As per Meyer and Ramirez:

Educational models and agendas are also increasingly defined by international organizations. This is characteristic of both the World Bank and UNESCO, though the models preferred by these organizations tend to differ over time. The research question is the degree to which such standardized international models find organizational nodes that gain sustained attention in national policy systems (Meyer and Ramirez, 2009: 111)

Meyer and Ramirez's theory may help explain the rationale behind why international organizations engage in norm formation. Meyer and Ramirez would argue that the penultimate goals of organizations such as the World Bank and UNESCO are similar at their core and that the core norm setting philosophies of these organizations in countries such as Pakistan is ultimately leading to one kind of 'standard' norm for educational reform.

The perspective that Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, in his article "The Global Dimensions of Policy" (2010) brings is also applicable to the present dissertation. Koenig-Archibugi encourages us to use two complementary lenses to analyze policy making at the international level: the state-centric and poly-centric lenses. For Koenig-Archibugi the state-centric lens is characterized by most decisions being made and effectuated by the state, be that in the domestic or the international arena, but that these states nonetheless engage in international cooperation and dialogue with other states to achieve their desired goals. On the other hand, the polycentric lens suggests that while states are involved in decision-making, that they do so along with several other actors where authority is more fluidly diffused. Decision-making thus could be diffused among various networks, consortia, international organizations, supra-national authorities, IGOs, regional institutions and civil society organizations.

While education financing and foreign aid is an important aspect of the work of international organizations and will be addressed in the next section, perhaps one of the most fascinating roles of international organizations is their roles as 'global education governors'. The governance that international organizations exercise in the international sphere is largely done through agenda setting, norm formation and social construction of education policies. For example, the crucial role played by international organizations in the social construction of the global education agenda (Millennium Development Goals, Jomtien and Dakar Conferences) has been well documented (Kenneth King, 2007). Speaking specifically of the World Bank, Stromquist has identified the important agenda-setting ability of the bank in the education and development sphere (Stromquist, 2005).

International organizations stimulate changes in domestic education policy making through a variety of levers and policy instruments (as mentioned earlier). As noted by Windzio, Martens and Nagel (2010):

IOs stimulate change in domestic education policies by making use of five governance instruments, namely norm setting, opinion formation, financial means, coordinative activities, and consulting services. Since these instruments differ in their capacity to affect national policies, it is reasonable to assume that the degree of change in national policies also depends on available governance instruments. (p. 261-262)

Education and Foreign Aid

Joel Samoff, in his article “The Intellectual/Financial Complex of Foreign Aid”, encourages us to consider the central role played by research in contemporary education policy making. However, research sponsored by whom, written by whom and to what ends are some of the important questions raised by Samoff. He suggests that the underlying prevalence of policy decision-making being spawned based on research ‘evidence’ shows clearly the development of a financial-intellectual complex, particularly with regard to foreign aid.

While Samoff focuses on the impact of the financial-intellectual complex in the African context, as applied to my proposed research topic, I would like to argue that norm setting through sponsored research by international agencies such as the World Bank in Pakistan would fit into Samoff’s theory of the existence of a financial-intellectual complex in Pakistani education policy-making. As suggested by Samoff for example:

..there do exist official World Bank policies that are influential if not determining in every situation. As well, notwithstanding the diversity of perspectives, there are within the World Bank widely, though of course no universally shared understandings. These shared understandings include a conception of development and therefore strategies of development, a sense of the nature of the obstacles to the changes that are deemed desirable... (Samoff, 2009: 19)

Globalization and Neo-Liberalism

No discussion of educational policy borrowing and norm development would be complete without a discussion of the impact that globalization and neo-liberalism has had on these same tendencies. Some scholars interpret the nature of change that is taking place in today’s world as being driven primarily by market forces and shaped by private agendas/interests. Indeed, Dave Hill (2009) has identified some of these same neo-liberal education policies as comprising, among others, “privatization, vouchers, marketization, commercialization, commodification, school fees, new brutalist public managerialism, and the assault on the comprehensive/common school principles and on democratic control of schools” (Hill, 2009: xi)

In the same volume, Ahmad Mukhtar speaks to the neo-liberal tendencies present in the

case of Pakistan and presents strong and valid arguments regarding the ongoing march that Pakistan's primary and secondary education sector faces towards neoliberalism (Mukhtar, 2009). While it is to be noted that Mukhtar's analysis did not speak to Pakistan's higher education system, nevertheless, the challenges of increased private sector involvement in education, concentration of private school ownership in a few hands, greater use of English in private sector schools, and increasing corporatization of the education sector workforce may also have some bearing on the Pakistani higher education sector. Mukhtar's analysis singles out the World Bank and the IMF in particular for encouraging such neo-liberal tendencies (especially deregulation and liberalization) in the Pakistani education sector through their push to have the Pakistani state incorporate educational services under the WTO's General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).

Similar challenges posed by increased privatization have been chronicled by Bigalke and Neubauer (2009) in their comparative tome analyzing quality assurance in higher education across the Asia-Pacific region. While each case study, ranging from Thailand to the United States offers a different analysis and conclusion, the overall theme of the book may be summarized as relating to the quality assurance challenges raised by increased higher education system expansion and privatization.

The Role of Governance in Pakistan's Higher Education System

In distinguishing governance mechanisms between the public and private sector, it becomes apparent that by and large the private sector is seen to function much more effectively in Pakistan than does the public sector. However, upon closer examination, the situation is more nuanced than it may first appear. In a 2012 analysis, Halai suggested that while private sector universities have greatly assisted in meeting the enrolment and access needs of the higher education sector, the vast majority of private sector universities operate as 'degree mills'. It is telling, for example, that only two private sector universities appear in the top ten in rankings undertaken by the Higher Education Commission in 2012 despite the country having 59 chartered private sector universities compared to 73 public chartered universities (Halai: 2013: 777)

In her 2014 analysis of the governance mechanisms between public and private sector

universities, Sidra Usman cites research conducted by the World Bank which lays out clearly the need and importance for institutional autonomy in higher education:

“...institutional autonomy is necessary for higher education to flourish; it can be held in check by the political economy of the state. High levels of state involvement in the management of higher education, or political intervention in institutional decision-making, can suppress innovation, encourage rent-seeking, and politicize the education system...(p.41)

She also identifies politicization and a lack of institutional autonomy as undermining the governing boards of public sector universities, and private university boards as being, generally, better governed in the Pakistani HE context:

Private university boards in Pakistan are more autonomous compared to public sector boards, and hence private universities have a better governance system. There is a clear contrast between the boards of the two sectors (Usman, 2014).

To further the argument of the importance of good governance in the Pakistani higher education context, in their 2012 analysis, Aurangzeb and Asif established a direct causal link, using quantitative regression analysis, between good governance and the overall functioning of the higher education system in Pakistan:

The aim of this paper is to establish a relationship between good governance and management in Higher education sector of Pakistan... The results of regression analysis showed significant positive relation among all the variables, which confirms the hypothesis that good governance and management have positive relation (p. 201)

In 2011, an interesting case study was conducted to determine, what, if any benefits the adoption of a Quality Management System (QMS) at a postsecondary institution in Pakistan could have on the overall governance of the institution. The QMS that was adopted was one espoused by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) with a view to establishing a framework of principles for management, good corporate governance, evaluation and monitoring within this postsecondary institution. What is germane from this study to the present discussion is that the implementation of a QMS system at this institution provided a means for improved governance, yes, but that one of the major recommendations emanating from the QMS implementation was an enhanced role for the Board of Governors at this institution (Chaudhury and Ramy, 2011).

As we can see from the aforementioned references, the existing literature on higher education in Pakistan cites the importance of improving governance mechanisms (inputs) in

order to improve the quality and overall functioning of the higher education system (outputs). A critical missing piece of the puzzle within the Pakistani higher education context does appear to be governance; however, this is not governance defined as legislation, regulation and governmental standards. Instead, it is mostly related to internal mechanisms of governance within postsecondary institutions in Pakistan. Particularly, institutional administrative bodies such as Boards of Governors have been identified in the literature as being in need of reform and change to further the agenda of quality higher education provision.

Using the lens of Neave and Vught's article, it may be argued that Pakistan fits within the state supervisory model of higher education; this is partly due to Pakistan's British colonial heritage which espoused the state supervisory model but it is also linked to several recent initiatives to decentralize and devolve authority related to higher education governance further to the provincial and institutional level. While legal parameters around higher education do exist, the Higher Education Commission (HEC) which is tasked with much of the day-to-day responsibility of running the postsecondary system in Pakistan takes a fairly hands-off approach to higher education. The HEC has, however, recently also seen some major governance challenges:

At the higher education level as well, recent developments have created significant governance challenges...In 2002, the government created a powerful Higher Education Commission (HEC) that helped the sector make huge strides. But the HEC, too, has been affected by the vicissitudes of Pakistan's political turmoil. Until this challenge of governance is resolved and the new government firmly commits to higher education as a priority, reform in this very important sector of education is unlikely to be feasible (Aziz et al., 2007: 12).

In terms of Clark's Triangle of Coordination model, one may argue that Pakistan would fit closer to the market (given its vibrant private sector institutions that are by nature more attuned to the needs of the labour market) and state (HEC involvement). Academic oligarchy, and the policy community by extension, does not play an extensive role in higher education governance in Pakistan. This may be due to a lack of coordination or organization on the part of the academic oligarchy, or it may be due to heavy politicization by the state.

Section Summary

In Chapter 1 (Introduction), the author introduced the context, rationale and main research

questions motivating the study. Chapter 2 (Literature Review) sought to bring together some of the major strands in the comparative higher education literature that relate to the study's main research questions. These included: higher education governance, norm development, policy borrowing and lending, international organizations and education policy, foreign aid, and governance in Pakistan's HE system.

The study's research questions (Section 1.3) lie at the confluence of several areas of the comparative higher education literature. The study is interested in several types of external influences, modalities of governance and actors. For this reason, the literature reviewed for the present thesis must be multifaceted too. The scholarly literature identified in this section is drawn upon, extensively, in making sense of the research findings during the course of the remainder of the thesis, and in particular in Chapter 6 (Discussion) and Chapter 7 (Conclusion).

It should be highlighted, however, that the literature review presented in 2.1 above is not exhaustive and does not represent all the themes addressed in the course of the dissertation. Chapter 6 (Discussion), in particular, brings into play, several works and authors from the literature not addressed in this section, and that were raised and identified following the twin processes of data collection and data analysis.

The next section (2.2), addresses the broader contextual literature related to one particularly important external actor in the context of Pakistan, the World Bank, and addresses both its policy approach to higher education globally, as well as in the context of the Pakistani HE sector more specifically.

2.2: The World Bank and Pakistan's HE Sector

PARTICIPANT: The higher education reforms and whatever is going on is very much a home grown process in Pakistan. it has most definitely been influenced by experts', consultants' knowledge from all over the world, because that's just the nature of the way the higher education system works, that it borrows, looks at, evaluates, assesses literature from everywhere. but the one organization that, while I was at HEC and that we worked with and that we continue to work with today is the World Bank. (University Vice-Chancellor, Private University, Male, Lahore)

Section Overview

This section continues the earlier discussion developed in the Literature Review (Section 2.1), to highlight and profile one particular external policy actor whose impact on Pakistan's HE

sector has been particularly important: the World Bank. Chapter 5.13 further establishes this perceived dominance of the World Bank among all external influencers active in the system today and discusses, from the perspective of the participants interviewed for this study, why this might be so. The purpose of the present section, Chapter 2.2, is to provide a glimpse into the education sector work of the World Bank, and its historical involvement with the Pakistani HE sector through loan, grant and project funding.

The World Bank and Education Policy

The influence of the World Bank in education sector development is generally acknowledged to be extensive and far reaching, especially in the context of transition or developing economies. International relations and comparative education scholars have commented on the remarkable influence that an organization whose primary function is financial lending has had on policy development in the education sector.

The social construction of educational norms, commissioning of research and collaboration with other international organizations (such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), United Nations Educational, Science, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), etc.) coupled with the enormous financial capacity of the Bank has allowed it to become, by many accounts, the organization with the greatest ‘reach’, however defined, in education policy in developing countries.

While the Bank itself is one single entity, the countries it works in are many and diverse; in fact, almost all countries are now voluntary members of the World Bank. The implementation of Bank approaches by country is also diverse. On the surface at least, the Bank attempts to fit each Project that it engages in within the context of the local society in which it operates; critics of the Bank however have long suggested that the Bank is insensitive to local societal needs in favour of efficiency-based reforms that can generate the necessary returns for the Bank’s investments.

The World Bank’s Higher Education Policy

While the World Bank has been involved in education sector development since 1963, the

nature of the sectors being promoted have changed dramatically. Influenced by human capital theory and rates-of-return analysis, the Bank turned its focus from higher education spending to basic education for some time – although higher education was still accorded pride of place among the myriad spending priorities of the Bank. A comprehensive analysis of World Bank policies in higher education would be a gargantuan undertaking involving historical cross-examination of hundreds of Working Papers, Project documents and briefs. The purpose of this section however, is to chronicle, based on a sampling of a few chosen World Bank documents, the overall tendencies of World Bank policy preferences in higher education, especially those that touch on policy prescriptions or provide advice to policymakers.

As early as 1992, a World Bank discussion paper on higher education financing referenced the importance of ‘encouraging efficiency and diversity’ and the mechanisms to achieve these goals in developing countries. At that time, the Bank noted:

The mechanisms through which governments transfer funds for core activities to higher education institutions have an effect on the way in which these funds are used. Too often government concern is with the political acceptability of allocation or with the horizontal equity among higher education institutions and the regions and populations they serve. But such funding allocations fail to provide incentives for institutions to operate efficiently and indeed, may create a general climate that is not conducive to efficiency. (Albrecht and Ziderman, 1992: 51)

From the above, it is apparent that notions of efficiency as opposed to educational quality or equity were foremost among the minds of the authors of this World Bank discussion paper. While the same document discusses the variety of ways in which government funds higher education institutions (via Buffer Bodies, direct allocations to students vs. institutions) some of the core suggestions made in the paper point to the important role that tuition fees play in stimulating a demand-driven higher education system. Therefore, as early as the 1990s, efficiency and private funding of education were seen as important goals for higher education from the perspective of the World Bank.

Just one year later, a seminar was held by the Economic Development Institute (EDI) of the World Bank entitled Improving Higher Education in Developing Countries. A host of topics and themes were raised at the conference but the tone taken on privatization, rate-of-return (ROR) analysis and efficiency was a bit softer (perhaps reflecting the views of the participants at the seminar rather than those of the EDI/WB). The following citation attempts to showcase the

more balanced and nuanced approach taken in this publication:

Higher Education may mean different things to different people. However, the central point about HE is that unlike other forms of capital, it transcends more economic returns. HE returns are the very substance of development and progress, and are difficult to quantify and compare with economic returns. (Ransom et al, 1993: p.1)

However, the same seminar report also notes that ‘funds must be well managed and institutions efficiently run’. The seminar, therefore, showcased a variety of viewpoints ranging from increasing efficiency to increasing equity and access. It is apparent from an analysis of the report that, even in 1993, the debate between private and public financing of higher education was a key point of controversy.

About seven years later, the World Bank put forward a renewed and reinvigorated emphasis on higher education through the work of the Task Force on Higher Education and Society. This report too, in the view of the author, posited a fairly nuanced and balanced view of the role of higher education in the overall development framework. However, like the seminar report quoted above, perhaps this report too reflected the viewpoints of the members of the Task Force (who reflected a range of backgrounds) versus those of the World Bank itself. Consider the following:

Perhaps the most natural starting point for higher education reform involves crafting a vision of a rational system – one based on verifiable facts and justifiable assumptions. To achieve this reform, a transparent and informed dialogue needs to take place, bringing together educators, industry, government, prospective students, and other relevant stakeholders. The system must be customized to fit a country’s stage of development, political system, social structure, economic capacities, history and culture. (World Bank Task Force, 2000: Conclusion)

This acknowledgment that the system must be rationalized to reflect the needs of the society it represents is important because it is a clear rejection of a one-size-fits-all approach to economic development and higher education system reform. Indeed, it is clear that the World Bank largely supported the privatization of higher education, at one time, based on rates-of-return analyses, and considered it preferable for those who could pay to receive access to higher education. It is only later, especially as seen during the period of the above-mentioned Task Force on Higher Education and Society (2000) that the World Bank also acknowledged the important role of public spending for higher education, especially as a means for greater economic development.

The World Bank and Pakistan

This section will outline some of the main thrusts of higher education policy borrowing and lending between the World Bank and Pakistan. Higher education policy projects in Pakistan officially began as early as 1964. While the Bank's projects in Pakistan are extensive and include a number of cross-sectoral projects, an analysis of the World Bank's Web site suggest that at least 11 such projects have fallen within the ambit of higher education starting with the West Pakistan – Education Project (1964). The primary goals outlined at that time in the 1964 agreement included very simply:

IDA funds will be used for the purchase of teaching equipment at fourteen technical institutes, eight in East and six in West Pakistan. These institutes will offer three-year courses in such subjects as automobile, civil, electrical and mechanical engineering....Thus the projects, by providing better education and training, will be making an important contribution to future industrial productivity (World Bank, 1964: 4)

While the West Pakistan – Education Project (1964) focused largely on capital purchases, equipment and supplies, the 1970 Pakistan - Engineering Education Project provided funding specifically for engineering education, including, once again building, supplies and equipment in two of Pakistan's largest engineering schools (World Bank, 1970: 2).

However, since 1964, a series of Projects were subsequently undertaken reflecting perhaps the Bank's turn away from Higher Education spending to one focused on Primary and Secondary Education. The Bank's focus away from Higher Education is evidenced by the fact that, between 1964 and 1995, Bank projects related to education in Pakistan were titled as follows: Primary Education Project, 1987, Sind Primary Education Development Program Project, 1990, Baluchistan Primary Education Project, 1993, North West Frontier Primary Education Project 1995.

A return to a focus on Bank funding for higher education was later evidenced in 2004 with the Pakistan - Public Sector Capacity Building Project which had among its multi-faceted stated goals of civil service reform, improvements to those institutions that imparted training to civil servants in Pakistan:

Strengthening in-country training capacity through support of training institutions (PASC, NIPAs, NSPP): This sub-component comprises up-gradation of civil service training institutions including: building faculty capacity; improving/revising curricula; enhancing infrastructure and IT connectivity; twinning with international institutions; and support for establishment of a National School of Public Policy (NSPP)

(World Bank, 2004: 4)

Funding provided under this project showed recognition of the important role of higher education institutions for capacity building among the administrators and managers of the nation but it still did not showcase an overt emphasis on Pakistan's higher education system.

Only as late as 2009 with the Higher Education Support Program (HESP) did World Bank policy 'lending' in Higher Education become evident vis-à-vis Pakistan. Under the ambit of this Project, \$100million (US) was committed toward Pakistan with the following goals:

The HESP is a development policy credit designed to support the Government of Pakistan's Higher Education Medium-Term Development Framework (MTDF-HE). The overarching, long-term objective of the Framework is to enhance the stock of skilled Pakistanis able to contribute to an economy increasingly based on knowledge and technology. The HESP will support the Government of Pakistan (GOP)'s initiatives to increase participation, enhance quality and relevance and strengthen the efficiency and sustainability of higher education institutions (HEIs). HESP will contribute to the rehabilitation of the higher education sector of Pakistan by helping sustain momentum of the core program and key accompanying reforms being undertaken by the Higher Education Commission (HEC) through the current period of fiscal stress. (World Bank, 2009: 13)

Key outcome indicators identified at that time included broad based measures such as increasing the number of tertiary enrollments, the number of PhD graduates, and the number of international journal publications in Pakistani higher education. What is perhaps most telling is that the World Bank's 2009 HESP Project in Pakistan was explicitly designed to complement an existing Government of Pakistan strategy led by the Higher Education Commission thereby showcasing the Bank's willingness to support existing government (read: indigenous) policy development rather than imposing or lending policy from above.

A few years later, the World Bank engaged in its most ambitious higher education program in Pakistan to date with a total funding envelope of \$300million allocated under the 2011 Pakistan: Tertiary Education Support Project (TESP). An examination of the Project documents for this large scale initiative demonstrate that, similar to the funding provided under the 2009 HESP Project in Pakistan, this initiative was designed to also supplement and build upon the Government of Pakistan's own strategy for the reform of its higher education sector. The 2011 TESP Project document notes:

The development objective of the proposed Project is to improve the conditions of teaching, learning and research for enhanced access, quality and relevance of tertiary education.... The long-term perspective of

the program would support the Government's efforts to continue to carry out system-wide reforms, while providing the flexibility to adjust and refine interventions on an ongoing basis. (World Bank, 2010: 4)

This short overview of concrete World Bank Projects funding higher education in Pakistan, suggests, in the view of the author, a fairly benign involvement of the Bank with Project funding ranging from the early days funding of capital projects for buildings, equipment and supplies to latter-day funding for PhD scholarships, research grants, capacity building and technical assistance, faculty salaries and research networks. However, all are in line with existing government goals and initiatives for the Pakistani higher education sector. How far, and to what extent, did this support from the World Bank contribute to enhancing public vs. private higher education development in the Pakistani context is difficult to distinguish from the historical project documentation consulted by the author.

Section Summary

In an interesting comparative analysis of the World Bank's approach in China and India, Earl Drake (2001) noted that (without drawing on any World Bank documents themselves) external factors related to timing and the governance regime in place within the local society had more explanatory capacity than did the actual funding provided itself. Drake noted that it was India's 'quarrelsome, fractious, decentralized and democratic' (Drake, 2001: 227) nature that made it harder for the Bank to work in this context than in China. Certainly, context matters. However, this author would be in complete agreement with Collins and Rhoades when summarizing the overall findings of the present section as follows:

Given the size and complexity of the Bank, it is difficult to identify ideological underpinnings, and competing perspectives are often at work. (Collins and Rhoades, 2010: 189)

While Collins and Rhoades did indeed find that ideological underpinnings were manifested in the Bank's work later in their paper, certainly, from the point of the author, it is hard to make such a case based on an examination of the actual funding projects undertaken by the Bank. The author would suggest that if one is to look for evidence of policy borrowing and lending from the World Bank, it is not to be found in an examination of the Bank's funding projects (at least not overtly). While it is true that World Bank documents reference extensively the need to achieve efficiency in higher education system reform, no overt mention of perhaps more contentious

approaches such as privatization, deregulation, or decentralization were made. If there is one ‘policy’ or approach that has been consistently evidenced by the author in the case of the World Bank it is certainly a sustained emphasis on the efficiency and effectiveness aspects of higher education systems.

The reader may ask themselves why the World Bank is the only external policy actor addressed in this section. Why not others such as UNESCO, USAID, the ADB, or the British Council? There are two main reasons why the author has chosen to omit these other actors from further discussion within the present chapter. Firstly, as will be showcased later in the present thesis (especially Section 5.4: External Influences by Actor, and Section 5.5: Case Studies of External Influence), the involvement of every other external policy actor in the Pakistani HE sector is minor compared to that of the World Bank. Secondly, the nature of external actor projects - and the documentation available to better understand these projects - is not too dissimilar across external actors. For example, the Asian Development Bank may have much documentation related to its involvement in the Pakistani HE context but the focus of the present thesis is not just on the examination of written documentation from such external policy actors, but also on understanding from the representatives of endogenous and exogenous governors of the system, just what that involvement is. Therefore, for reasons of brevity, the literature reviewed from one particular external policy actor (the World Bank) has been presented above, while the project-based involvement of other actors such as the British Council and the USAID are further addressed in Sections 5.4 and 5.5.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMES & METHODOLOGY

3.1: Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

Chapter Overview

I begin this Chapter with an introduction to the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that are used in this thesis (Section 3.1). I then proceed to discuss the nature of the research methods employed in Section 3.2 (Research methods) and conclude with a final methodological note on the types of software employed in the data collection, analysis and development of the present dissertation in Section 3.3 (A note on software).

Introduction

Comparative education as a field of study encourages us to problematize and question existing approaches to the design and nature of educational systems in an effort to foster continual improvement. As Hayhoe and Mundy (2008: 1) have noted:

At its most basic, comparative education offers a starting point for improving our educational systems and our classroom practices. It also challenges us to think broadly about the link between local practices and global issues and to explore the overlapping value and social systems that underpin the educational enterprise itself.

The purpose of this section is to speak to the historical traditions that have defined the field of comparative education (including comparative higher education). Following this brief overview, the author introduces and outlines the theoretical lens that is proposed for use in the present dissertation: cosmopolitanism.

Research and methodological traditions in the field, span from Positivism (ex: Noah and Eckstein) which saw the use of scientific methods to determine universally applicable truths and laws about education systems to the Phenomenological or Ethnographic approach (ex: Vandra Masemann, Christine Fox) to understanding educational change.

An important - and influential - approach in comparative education theory may be seen in the work of World Order Models Project (WOMP) scholars such as Mazrui (1975). Such scholars have argued that in order to bring about meaningful change, that we must embrace a new set of shared moral preferences and values leading to normative convergence and a shared

world culture. Such a view of world order is also one that has been built upon by contemporary scholars such as Karen Mundy, who, in writing about the nature of global education policy making, challenges us to think of normative ways of global governance that take into account a multiplicity of actors in the international arena.

Theoretical approaches to comparative education are themselves linked to our broader understanding and views of the nature of the world in which we live, i.e.: our lens and philosophy. Among the various models of world order, three of the best studied are realism, liberalism and Marxism. Allow us to, now, briefly touch upon each of these in turn.

Realism (famously espoused by Hobbes and Machiavelli), has historically been primarily concerned with the preservation of a society of sovereign nation states and an underlying balance of power among these same states. Modern scholars such as Hedley Bull, and Hans Morgenthau speak of an underlying structure of anarchic hierarchy to explain the nature of state action in the international sphere. Liberalism, on the other hand, is primarily focused on negative freedom – especially freedom from interference and intervention. Its primary structural arrangement is the free market (a la Adam Smith’s ‘invisible hand’) and the economic principle of comparative advantage. Finally, Marxism espouses a worldview of the collective holding primacy over the individual. Scholars influenced by this tradition speak to the importance of equality and equity and collective/communal ownership (McKinley and Little. 1986).

Finally, emanating largely from Marxism, dependency theory has been widely used in comparative education literature. Authors identified in this tradition include Immanuel Wallerstein, Philip Altbach, Colin Leys, Paulo Freire² and Andre Gunder Frank. Johann Galtung and Ali Mazrui, who espoused a form of non-Marxist socialism, were among the founders of the World Order Models Project, which might be seen as an early form of cosmopolitan thought.

Each of these eminent scholars brings a particular approach to dependency theory that promises to shed light on explaining the nature of certain educational phenomena. The author believes that the research findings of this dissertation involving Pakistan’s higher education system may be viewed through a dependency theory lens. Using, in particular, Philip Altbach’s

² For example, Freire in his celebrated *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has argued that dehumanization between the oppressors and the oppressed, the need for a consciousness among the oppressed, the difference between systematic education and educational projects, the fear of freedom among the oppressed classes, false charity/generosity by the oppressors and the need for a pedagogy of the oppressed that practices co-intentional education.

notions of Centre-Periphery, the author proposes to determine to what extent external influences in Pakistan's higher education system may exhibit ongoing patterns of neo-colonialism and dependency.

Cosmopolitanism

This brief overview of the historical traditions in the field of comparative education leads us now to cosmopolitanism – a theoretical approach, paradigm and lens that the present author argues promises to provide the greatest explanatory value for the subject matter under discussion in the present work, namely the social 'construction' of governance-related norms, values and ideas by international actors in the case of Pakistan.

In many ways, cosmopolitanism might be seen as a current development upon the non-Marxist socialism of scholars who are associated with the World Order Models Project (WOMP) theories (Galtung, 1975; Mazrui; 1975). The application of a cosmopolitanism theoretical paradigm to the present dissertation is most appropriate, therefore, in a study which seeks to make sense of multiple layers of influence in a complex world system. It also places unique primacy on the individual (human agency, local values and cultures), and as a result will be helpful in juxtaposing the externally-influenced vs. the internally-designed preferred future for Pakistan's higher education system.

A key concept in the cosmopolitan tradition – arising, again, from WOMP scholarship - is that of *mutuality*. This concept of mutuality is complementary to that of David Held's (2003) four principles of cosmopolitanism, comprised of equity, autonomy, solidarity and participation (Leng, 2015: 107). As stated by Held:

Cosmopolitanism is concerned to disclose the cultural, ethical and legal basis of political order in a world where political communities and states matter, but not only and exclusively.
(Held, 2003: 469)

As such, the primacy of state sovereignty with which realists primarily identify is cast aside in favour of a multi-layered understanding of governance that includes – but does not centre – the state. As identified by the same author (Held, 2003), other major facets of cosmopolitanism include the strengthening of multilateralism, shared global governance, concern with global injustices, and greater multilateral institution-building.

Constructivism

Constructivist approaches have been used by scholars to make sense of the relationship between humans and the broader environment in which they operate. In the field of international relations (IR), constructivism is a well-known and studied strand of analysis that originated mostly in response to the inability of neorealism and neoliberalism to explain the actions of international actors. John Gerald Ruggie, Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink are among established IR scholars who have shown, convincingly, that the nature and actions of international actors is socially constructed – despite an international sphere characterized by a system of sovereign states (a la classical realism). The author proposes to use constructivism, then, as the methodological paradigm through which the research findings (especially the Literature Review) may be viewed.

3.2: Research Methods

Introduction

This section outlines the research methods used by the researcher to obtain the data for the present thesis. This section, therefore, outlines both the methodological approach that was originally envisioned and chronicles the challenges that led the researcher, in consultation with his Supervisor, to undertake required modifications to the method of data collection. This was done in order to provide as much transparency and openness as possible, and better permit the reader to trust the research findings. It also speaks to several aspects of the ethics component of data collection: informed consent, anonymity, data privacy, recruitment, etc. The Chapter also includes a short note on software modalities that were used and that aided the researcher in collecting, analyzing and writing the present thesis.

As noted earlier, in many ways, this study is about the ways in which what happens out there (externally) has an impact in here (internally). It is well known and commonly understood that developing countries are more exposed to external forces, in many different domains and sectors, due to a lack of financial resources, as well as, at times, expertise. It is furthermore commonly acknowledged that Pakistan's past development trajectory has been impacted by the involvement of international actors such as the IMF, World Bank, USAID – and many others. I

was interested in using Pakistan as a case study to better understand how external forces may be affecting one particular domain within the Pakistani landscape: the higher education system.

While several previous studies have touched on the impact of external actors in Pakistani society, none have addressed their impact specifically on the higher education sector to date. Therefore, in the view of the author, a clear gap in the literature was apparent. Similarly, while other scholars have touched on reforms to the higher education sector of Pakistan, the system's historical development, and management/governance changes to the HE sector, none have sought to examine the impact of external actors on system governance. This study, it is hoped, will therefore allow us to better gauge the impact of the global on the local using governance of Pakistan's higher education sector as a case study.

In order to achieve these objectives, I designed a study that would allow me to chart a vision of a preferred future state as seen by the internal system actors (who I often refer to as the endogenous governors of the system) and the external system actors (exogenous governors). Such a preferred future implies system design - regulatory set-up, legislation, ideal forms of centralization/decentralization arrangements, power sharing between stakeholders, etc. In this sense, the study is comparative because it juxtaposes the views of several different groups/types of actors, one against the other. It also seeks to tease out complexities and nuances within groups. For example, between bilateral and multilateral aid agencies, for example.

The main aims of the dissertation (goals, research questions and rationale as laid out in the introductory chapter), were to better understand the manner in which external policy actors were active in the Pakistani HE sector. I identified the central aim of the study as being an exploration of the conversation Pakistan's HE sector has had for some time with the external. The study was designed to, therefore, explore this dialectic between the endogenous and the exogenous in the Pakistani HE sector. The central pillar, I identified, that would help me determine the nature of (dis)harmony in this conversation would be to explore the preferred future in terms of Pakistani HE governance wished for by the internal and external actors active in the system

The need for a robust research design was self-evident in order for the researcher to reach the goals identified. I needed to find, and then juxtapose, the preferred future wished for by the senior endogenous governors, against those of the exogenous governors. After much reflection, and review of relevant methodological literature (as detailed below), I proposed the use of a

mixed-methods research design for the study. I proposed that the study be designed in an inclusive and expansive way – one that would also meet the needs and requirements of the local context of Pakistan. This section draws on relevant methodological literature to identify why the research methods chosen for the present dissertation were the most appropriate in the context of the study's aims.

Greene and Caracelli (1989) have noted the important connection between research methods and the worldviews chosen by social science researchers. They remind us that the methods we choose have underlying assumptions and may represent particular worldviews or paradigms. For example, Greene and Caracelli suggest that certain research methods such as surveys (associated with quantitative research) may be associated with a realist, objectivist and value-neutral perspective while methods such as interviews (associated with qualitative research) may be associated with constructivist, subjectivist and value-engaged paradigms. The key thesis of their work is clear: when researchers choose certain research methods, they are also choosing (implicitly or explicitly) a certain worldview.

Especially in the context of mixed-methods research, they state that the presence of multiple methods allows for the presence of multiple worldviews as well – a stance that may allow for the integration of greater complexity in research findings. They state:

In theory, paradigms can matter in mixed methods inquiry. Social inquirers can mix not only different ways of gathering, representing, and analyzing data but also different inquiry strategies or designs along with different philosophical assumptions about the social world, our knowledge of it, and our place within it. In theory, mixed methods inquiry can be a means for exploring differences; a forum for dialogue, or an opportunity to better understand different ways of seeing, knowing and valuing (Greene and Caracelli, 1989: 107)

Similarly, Creswell and Clark (2011) highlight the importance of the paradigm issue in their work calling it a 'worldview stance'. Indeed, they highlight the importance of social science researchers identifying their worldview stance in conjunction with, or complementary to, the research methods themselves, and – crucially – identifying if their worldview stance merits a mixed methods study (Creswell and Clark, 2011:3.) These authors define mixed methods research as:

a research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. As a methodology, it involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of the collection and analysis of data and the mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches in many phases in the research process. As a method, it focuses on collecting, analysing and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or series

of studies. Its central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone. (Creswell and Clark, 2011: 5.)

I identified, at the start of this chapter, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks guiding this thesis as being comprised of cosmopolitanism and constructivism. Joining with the above discussion on the perspective, paradigms and worldview stance of research approaches it follows that the constructivist worldview stance I espoused lends itself to a ‘subjectivist and valued-engaged paradigm’. While two research methods were indeed employed in this study, the interview data was given a higher priority not only because it yielded the greatest amount of rich, substantive data, but also because the interview data was in greater harmony with the overall constructivist-centred epistemology and ontology of the research design. As Creswell and Clark state:

Constructivism, typically associated with qualitative approaches, works from a different worldview. The understanding or meaning of phenomena, formed through participants and their subjective views, make up this worldview...in this form of inquiry, research is shaped “from the bottom up”: from individual perspectives to broad patterns, and ultimately, to theory. (p. 22)

While I was open to greater mixing of worldview stances between the quantitative and qualitative approaches employed in this research study, the paucity of survey responses received (as will be fully detailed later in this chapter) did not fully allow for such a mixing of paradigms. Instead, the researcher gives a higher priority in this study to the interview data, the scope and quantity of which surpassed expectations. As such, it is evident that the study is primarily reliant on qualitative data collection methods which Creswell, (1994: 1-2) defines as “ an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic pictures, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in a natural setting”.

The primary use of interview data within this dissertation is, furthermore, particularly appropriate due to the importance it places on giving ‘voice’ to endogenous actors active in the Pakistani higher education context. The nature of qualitative data – both in terms of the process of data collection and analysis – has allowed for greater ‘voice’, and, therefore, mutuality for the endogenous actors interviewed in this study as their worldviews are profiled time and time again

to paint a picture of a preferred future state wished for by the endogenous governors active in Pakistani higher education. Qualitative research methodologies in, some ways, can be seen as more 'emancipatory' in this sense. As Leng (2015) states "the failure of most international collaborative projects between the North and the South in the periods following the decolonisation era has been attributable to positivist thinking – a paradigm or worldview which tends to ignore the indigenous beliefs, values and culture in the developing world (p.106).

Time-lines - Thesis Proposal and REB Approval

A research study was designed and presented to members of the researcher's thesis committee in December 2016. Following review and approval by the Supervisory Thesis Committee, a submission was drafted for the University of Toronto's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board (REB) given human participants would be involved in the study. Approval was granted in April 2017 by the REB to undertake the study (See Appendix A: REB Certificate). Once approved, these same research methods were further 'molded' to fit the data collection reality on the ground in Pakistan. Since approval was granted for a period of one-year and since all required data collection was completed within the one year period, a Project Completion Report (PCR) was submitted to the University of Toronto REB in March 2018.

Research Methods

The dissertation originally included three main parts to its data collection modalities. These were:

- i. Literature Review
- ii. Online survey
- iii. In-person expert interviews

The data collection for this study began with the literature review (Chapter 2), which yielded interesting insights into the nature of publicly-available data related to the subject matter under consideration. This was followed by a broader view of the nature of HE governance espoused by the endogenous and exogenous governors of the system via the responses to the online survey. The in-person expert interviews yielded, by far, the richest trove of information and this is also reflected in Chapters 4 and 5 (Findings). Although the conception presented above is what I had

originally envisioned and is, in fact, what resulted in terms of the data collection results on the ground during fieldwork, I was unprepared for the fact that the survey responses would actually be lower than the in-person interviews. I suspected that the responses for the survey - given their very nature - would far outnumber the in-person interviews (especially among HEIs). This is because the survey was designed to last between 10 and 15 minutes, was available online, and could have been undertaken via smart phones or traditional computers, whereas the interviews took place in-person (necessitating logistical realities of booking meeting times), and generally lasted between 30 and 45 minutes (often upwards of one hour with all formalities considered, such as signing of consent forms, and preliminary introductions).

Overview of Literature Review Stage

In the initial and preliminary stages, the author undertook an analysis of historical documentation from international organizations that had been active in the higher education sector in Pakistan. These included foreign aid from major international donor agencies such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), USAID, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and UNESCO. The goal of the literature review was to parse and tease out the possible/potential development of governance methods, norms and approaches within the ambit of these publications.

For the purpose of compiling the data, the author reviewed reports and publications that were available publicly on-line and through clearing houses and attempted to visit, in-person, the on-site research libraries of the Pakistan country offices of the World Bank, UNESCO and ADB in order to gain access to data not available freely on-line (where possible). Following the compilation of this literature review of the external ‘influences’ of international organizations in higher education governance-related reforms in the higher education sector in Pakistan, the author proposed to categorize and order the data in thematic groupings to better understand the overall nature and extent of the involvement of external organizations in the higher education sector of Pakistan.

As was seen in Chapter 2: Literature Review, the author presented both a general overview of literature germane to the present study from the Comparative Higher Education literature (Section 2.1) and a detailed overview of the involvement of one particular external

actor in the Pakistani higher education sector: The World Bank (Section 2.2). The rationale for only presenting literature from the World Bank (as opposed to other external organizations) was due to the following reasons:

- The World Bank offered - by far - the largest amount of online published literature specific to Pakistan (especially given the large monetary projects it had been involved in). The World Bank was also the organization the author had identified, based on the data results, as having the largest impact on the Pakistani HE system;
- Most other external actors (such as UNESCO) had much less published information uniquely specific to Pakistan;
- Space considerations within the thesis draft precluded the inclusion of a detailed section on each organization's historical involvement within the Pakistani HE sector.

Survey Design and Sampling

Some scholars (Greene and Caracelli, 1989) have argued, that the implementation of a mixed-methods research design allows for the holistic understanding of data – one that is not bound by the limitations of a solely qualitative or quantitative method. The author initially proposed to delve into the nature of external policy influences in Pakistan, particularly related to trends in higher education governance models, using both a qualitative and quantitative approach in a mixed-methods research design that included a survey, as well as in-person interviews.

However, as detailed further below, the survey results (N) were lower than expected, and indeed, lower than the in-person expert interviews. For this reason, the mixed-methods research design, as initially conceptualized by the researcher were no longer deemed to be an accurate characterization of the study following completion of all data collection and will, therefore, be referred to from this point on as a multiple-methods study instead.

In order to better understand the implementation of such governance-related reforms, in practice, in the higher education sector in Pakistan, the author proposed to use a two-pronged approach to explore how far it may be true that external actors have been influential in effecting change in the domestic context in Pakistan. The author proposed to analyze governance-related reforms with the government community (in the case of Pakistan, these would include the Federal Higher Education Ministry, Higher Education Commission (HEC) and Provincial Departments of Education) and within the institutional community (Vice-rectors, Deans and

University Presidents).

A detailed survey questionnaire was developed using a priori designated such as centralization/decentralization, marketization, privatization, institutional autonomy, independence, corruption, board of governors, deconcentration, performance-based management, etc. For this purpose, the author leaned heavily on the analytical framework developed by Dobbins, Knill and Vogtle (2011) for the cross-country comparison of higher education governance modalities.

Initially, it was intended that a random sample of 20 universities and colleges (10 from the public sector (Pakistani HEC recognized institutions) and 10 from the private sector) would be selected to achieve this objective. The survey would be sent to senior leadership at these institutions requesting the completion of the survey from those in the following leadership roles only: Deans, Vice-rectors, and University Presidents. With regard to the government community, 20 survey responses will be sought from members of the Pakistani higher education government sector, including Federal Higher Education Ministry, Higher Education Commission (HEC) and Provincial Departments of Education (See Appendix C: Consent Forms).

I noted above that the results from the online survey were lower than expected. Since this was the case, in consultation with my Doctoral Supervisor and the Thesis Supervisory Committee, it was decided that the survey be removed from the dissertation entirely, and neither the original survey questions nor the survey results were retained. Such a step, it was felt, was appropriate given the paucity of survey results but also because of the incredible richness and quality of the interviews conducted which yielded no less than 258 pages of text that the researcher was able to draw upon during the course of data analysis.

Interview Design and Sampling

Following the initial review of survey responses, it was intended that a minimum of 10 interviews from the government community and 10 from the institutional community in Pakistan would be sought to further tease out and investigate preliminary underlying 'themes' raised in the survey responses. Interviews were to be recorded and transcribed (upon written approval of the participants), and analyzed using qualitative data analysis software.

I conducted 43 in-person interviews in Pakistan between the period of July 2017-January

2018. The following is a breakdown of the interviews conducted (see Table 1):

Table 1: Breakdown of Field Interviews in Pakistan

City	Institutions	Government	Multilateral bodies/IGOs
Karachi	12	0	0
Lahore	12	1	0
Islamabad	11	1	6
Total	35	2	6

It was proposed that the interviews be semi-structured in order to allow for the greatest level of flexibility in taking the discussion into avenues that may not have been hitherto considered. According to Merriam (2009), such semi-structured interviews allow for some structure in the initial phases of the interview, but that the subsequent bulk of the interview is comprised of open-ended or loosely-defined questions/issues to be explored. A copy of the full set of interview questions, as approved by the University of Toronto REB, is included as Appendix B: Interview Guide.

Following the completion of both steps (Survey and Interviews), the data compiled and the main governance-related themes (as understood by those internal to the Pakistani higher education community) would be mapped out. It was the author's intention to develop appropriate visually compelling ways of presenting these major themes (such as charts, tables and Word Clouds). An example of such a Word Cloud that resulted following completion of data collection by the researcher is included in Appendix D: Word Cloud.

The data thus compiled was contrasted with the findings of the literature review with the intention of drawing substantive conclusions regarding the nature, degree, and variety of external policy influences in Pakistani higher education. As such, the author undertook a fundamental juxtaposition of the preferred state for Pakistani Higher Education Governance (models, norms, approaches, needs) as identified by those endogenous to the State as opposed to the models, approaches and norms espoused by those exogenous to the State (international organizations such as the WB/ADB/UNESCO). The final result, it was hoped, would be insights into ways that exogenous governance approaches and influences may be integrated/adapted in ways that are in harmony with governance needs, models and approaches endogenous to the Pakistani state.

Informed Consent

The researcher attempted to exercise great care to ensure the highest levels of research ethics were being followed at all stage of the data collection process. In this regard, a few notes are worth mentioning at this juncture. The University of Toronto research ethics board (REB) required that the text of the participant recruitment letter, consent form (both individual consent form and organizational consent form) also undergo review during the REB process. Therefore, the text of the consent forms used was approved by the University of Toronto REB in advance and included a note as follows:

If you have any questions related to your rights as a participant in this study or if you have any complaints or concerns about how you have been treated as a research participant, please contact the Office of Research Ethics, ethics.review@utoronto.ca, 416-946-3273.

A full copy of the consent forms (as tailored for Institutions and for Organizations) is included as Appendix C to the present thesis. Several versions of the participation request emails and consent forms were designed, including:

- Participation Request – Institutions
- Participation Request – Government and Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)
- Consent Letter – Institutions
- Consent Letter – Government and Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)

It may be worth highlighting that, despite the possibility of organizational consent being available to all recruitment sites, at no juncture was the use of organizational consent invoked during the researcher's data collection on the ground in Pakistan. Indeed, it was not expected that organizational consent would be needed often in the first place since senior administrators, government representatives, and IGO representatives were involved in the study (non-vulnerable populations in a position to offer informed individual consent).

Anonymity, Data Privacy and Retention

Consistent with the University of Toronto's Data Security Standards for Personally Identifiable and Other Confidential Data in Research, identifiable data kept outside a secure server environment was kept encrypted at all times. For the purposes of the present study, this

included the list of participants and their contact information, as well as the audio-recordings and/or transcripts. During fieldwork in Pakistan, the researcher stored all electronic items on his personal password-protected laptop. Only the researcher and supervisor have had access to the raw data, surveys, audiotapes, and transcripts. The researcher submitted to the University of Toronto REB that all confidential participant data would be destroyed two (2) years following data collection. Electronic records would, similarly, be electronically deleted and physical records (paper copies) subjected to shredding.

With regard to anonymity, the participation requests and consent forms highlighted that all participants would be anonymous within all research writing and publication. However, a nuance is worth mentioning at this juncture. While no participants would be named and all data reported in the aggregate, it was agreed (in the REB submission) that should interview participants name specific international organizations (such as the World Bank, for example) that these would be reported by name in the study results. However, should a specific individual working within a specific organization (such as Mr./Mrs. XXX working at the World Bank) be named by a participant in the interview, the name of said individual will not be reported. In other words, organizations (such as the Higher Education Commission or the World Bank) may be named but individuals working within them would not be. This approach is to be distinguished from the academic institutions that participated in the study because at no time was any institution/HEI to be reported by name in the thesis findings.

Each individual and organization was thus reported in Chapter 5: Findings using the following convention based on its identifying characteristics:

Institution/Organization type (multilateral organization, university/college, etc), Participant title (Dean/President, etc), Sector (public or private), Gender (female/male), and Location (Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad Capital Area).

Participant Recruitment

Once the researcher arrived in Pakistan, in June 2017, he immediately undertook a campaign to reach possible participants at Pakistani HEIs. Recruitment for the purposes of this study was undertaken by me (as the Principal Investigator (PI) via e-mail to senior administrators and policy makers within the Pakistani higher education community whose contact information

was in the public domain.

It was initially intended that senior administrators from a random sample of Pakistani universities and colleges be targeted, as would select policy makers from the Pakistani government and IGO community, however as data collection realities became apparent on the ground, the importance of snowball sampling (further elaborated below) became more and more pronounced.

Once a positive response was received following the invitation to participate in the study, the researcher followed-up with further details on the study, including a copy of the consent form and proceeded to fix a time for an interview/questionnaire link. If no response was received within a week, the researcher followed-up via e-mail or phone call. If a negative response was received, the researcher acknowledged receipt only and no further contact was undertaken.

A Note on Language

While Pakistan has two official languages: Urdu and English, the de facto lingua franca within the education sector (including government) is English. The provision of all materials by the researcher was in English only. It was intended, however, that should an administrator or policy maker request to undertake an interview in part or in whole in Urdu, the PI (who is fluent in Urdu) would have been happy to oblige, and make required accommodations. This was also read out to each participant (I.e.: the option to use Urdu) prior to starting each interview (see Appendix B: Interview Guide). It should be noted that no participant highlighted the desire to use Urdu during the course of the formal interview, although much of the initial and concluding discussions with participants that were not part of the formal interview took place in Urdu.

Data Tracking and Snowball Sampling

Data collection modalities, no matter how well intentioned, often brush up against harsh realities once faced with the actualities in the field. My preconceived notions of what recruitment methods could be like had led me to believe that sending several dozen requests for participation each week would lead to organizations and individuals coming forth of their own accord in large numbers. This did not materialize as expected (to say the least). Despite assurances to the potential participants that the study was being undertaken through a recognized institution (the

University of Toronto), and had passed an ethical review (REB review at the UofT), it was often the case that the researcher's request was entertained only after a referral - commonly, known as snowball sampling. While this was expected, certainly, by the present researcher, what was unexpected was the degree and extent to which snowball sampling would end up being crucial for the researcher to meet his data sample needs.

I designed a simple database (tracking sheet in Microsoft Excel) where I, first, listed all the names of HEIs recognized by the Pakistani regulatory authority. This was easy to locate given that the HEC publishes this list on their website. This list also includes a link to the institution's website - and, at times, generic contact information for the institution in question. However, the really difficult task came in terms of finding the names and emails of participants, especially at the required level of seniority (President, Vice-Chancellor, Dean). For this purpose, the researcher spent much time locating information from institutional websites, and/or calling the institution to get the required contact email. This also applied to representatives from Government and members of the IGO community. A typical example, from my tracking sheet, of steps needed to get to an interview is the following (using pseudonyms). This example should also serve to illustrate the earlier notion of the importance of snowball sampling:

- July 27: Spoke with Mr. Anwar by phone requesting referral for University President;
- Aug 22: Sent email to Mr. Halai on referral of Mr. Anwar;
- Aug 25: Sent formal interview participation request to President c/o the Chair of the Board of Governors;
- Sept 19: Conducted interview with University President

Once the interview was completed, the researcher had to, of course, ensure appropriate and adequate follow-up on multiple touch points including:

- Emailing the participant to thank them for their time, to email them a copy of his/her signed consent form, and to request for them to complete the survey ;
- Emailing a copy of the completed transcripts (where applicable);
- Requesting survey completion (often 2-3 reminder emails needed to be sent)

Looking back at my tracking sheet, I am amazed by the sheer number of emails I must have sent during my data collection period in Pakistan. While this would be hard to correctly ascertain, I would estimate it at several hundred at least. Despite this, the importance of referrals above all

(snowball sampling) in the Pakistani context cannot be overstated. While the researcher is unsure of what may have been the cause of the lack of a greater response rate some possible explanations may be proffered:

- Mistrust of external (non-Pakistani) research as the study was being conducted under the overall auspices of a Canadian university;
- Security concerns, especially among the Government and IGO community in the Islamabad Capital Area;
- Concern over the subject matter under discussion as being contentious: impact of external actors on the Pakistani higher education sector;
- Lack of time

The nature of snowball sampling also explains why the initial few weeks in Pakistan yielded few results (read: survey hits or participant interviews), while the researcher's final few weeks in Pakistan were much busier (I fondly remember one day where I conducted three interviews in the same day in late November 2017).

Study Abroad Compliance Requirements

The University of Toronto requires that students undertaking university sanctioned research outside Canada register with, and abide by, the policies, rules and regulations of its Study Abroad office. This office ensures that students undertaking research in foreign countries do so in a safe environment where risk is minimized. In particular, when research is being conducted in situations that are deemed volatile or hostile, additional compliance requirements are required on the part of the student.

The Study Abroad office relies on the federal department of Global Affairs Canada (GAC) to determine the level of risk in foreign jurisdictions. GAC publishes the level of risk it perceives exists in all countries on its website <https://travel.gc.ca/travelling/advisories>. For the purposes of the present study, the level of risk present in Pakistan, as ascertained by GAC, was taken into account by the University of Toronto's Study Abroad office.

At the time of completion of the Safety Abroad compliance requirements by the researcher (early 2017), most of Pakistan was deemed to be at the highest level of risk possible in GAC parlance (Category 4: Avoid All Travel), with the exception of the major urban cities (metropolitan areas) of Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. Therefore, in order to travel to Pakistan

for data collection, the author undertook to not conduct research outside of these urban centers. This was agreed to in the form of a contractual Safety Planning Record, signed by the researcher's Doctoral Supervisor, and – given the level of risk involved within Pakistan – the Head of the researcher's home academic department at the University of Toronto.

The reason why the above is referenced in this section of the dissertation is because of the impact that meeting the safety requirements of the University of Toronto had on the researcher's data collection modalities. In particular, the researcher was unable to follow through on his original goal of including institutions throughout Pakistan in the study sample as it was not possible to travel to and reach parts of Pakistan outside the cities of Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. Indeed, in the researcher's original ethics application, the following was noted:

The sample size will be randomly selected, controlling whenever possible for the proportional number of institutions located in each province. For example, if one province has 1/5th of the total # of institutions in the country, the researcher will attempt to source 1/5th of the total 36 responses from this province. This will allow, it is hoped, a measure of geographic proportionality in the sample size.

The above-mentioned geographic proportionality had been desired to allow for a certain measure of generalizability to be borne out of the study. However, compliance requirements related to safety and risk-control did not allow for the researcher to travel throughout the country and collect data from a broad cross-section of institutions, as originally envisioned. However, these three major urban centers do still allow for a largely amount of generalizability from the present study given that 54% (99 out of 183 institutions) recognized by the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan are located in the cities of Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. The three sites (Site #1, Site #2, and Site #3) are demarcated in the following map of Pakistan (see Fig 4):



Figure 4: Map of Pakistan and Data Collection Sites

However, it must be acknowledged that the voices of the participants in this study originate from Pakistan’s urban centers only, and none of the institutions involved are from Pakistan’s large, rural areas. Similarly, it must be acknowledged that participation from several provinces in Pakistan is missing in this study, including from the provinces of Baluchistan, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, Gilgit-Baltistan, and Azad Kashmir.

Identifying Endogenous and Exogenous Participants

While this dissertation acknowledges the fluidity of participant identities – their professional affiliations, education, gender, and ethnicity – it is important to outline who this dissertation considers to be an endogenous participant and an exogenous participant. The author acknowledges that, such identities may not be best identified in such a binary manner and participant identities are dynamic. However, for the purposes of this dissertation, the researcher identifies all participants on the criteria of their professional affiliation alone. For example, a representative of the USAID is considered an ‘exogenous’ participant whether or not they were born/raised in the domestic Pakistani context, received their schooling abroad or not as the case may be, or whether they were ethnically Pakistani. Another example, might be a senior university governor who is considered ‘endogenous’ for the purpose of the present thesis – yet,

has spent the vast majority of his/her life outside of Pakistan.

Such a binary nature of understanding endogenous and exogenous participants by professional affiliation, while limiting, is used in the dissertation to differentiate between endogenous and exogenous participants. On this note, it is worth highlighting that – with the exception of two individuals – all exogenous participants were ethnically Pakistani (in other words, senior staff that were locally engaged by the external organisations they represented).

Balancing Participant Numbers

In discussing the research findings there is one important matter to consider: there are many more interviews with representatives of the endogenous governors of the system (institutional leaders and government representatives) than there are with the exogenous governors of the system. As a result, it may appear - at times - that the author leans on the endogenous voices to a much greater extent than he does on the exogenous voices. It is worth bearing in mind though that the representatives of the international non-governmental organizations should be accorded considerably more weight as they represent large, complex organizations that have significant impacts on the system. While we may, therefore, compare the views of a senior representative of the World Bank with a university Dean - a greater plurality of voices would be needed in such an instance from institutions in order to provide adequate balance.

3.3: A Note on Software

The author had not used software programs (other than those more commonly used in academic settings such as Microsoft Word and Excel) during the first three years of his doctoral degree (including coursework, comprehensive exams, thesis proposal development/defense and ethics board review). However, it quickly became apparent that using some additional software resources during the thesis phase of the doctoral journey may provide some benefits. The purpose of this short section is to speak to the kinds of software used in the present thesis as it could be seen to, potentially, impact on the data collection and analysis and, therefore, the end product: the thesis. The main purpose, then, of the inclusion of this section is as an elaboration

on data analysis and writing techniques, within the context of the overall Methodology chapter, in order to help the reader better understand an important component of the process leading to the research findings.

As mentioned in Section 3.2, the author initially designed a mixed-methods research program that attempted to incorporate the benefits of both a qualitative and quantitative research design, (however this was later revisited and is now more accurately characterized as a multiple-methods study). In doing so, the author hoped to marry the richness of qualitative research studies with the breadth afforded by quantitative modalities of understanding data (Greene and Caracelli, 1989)). As such a survey was designed on the quantitative side and semi-structured interviews on the qualitative side. The survey questionnaire was designed in Typeform, the data analysis undertaken using Dedoose, and the entire thesis written using Scrivener. Briefly, the rationale for the use of each program is provided below.

Survey Collection: Typeform

While the content of the survey questions was included in my ethics review application to the University of Toronto's research ethics board, the actual delivery mechanism of the survey was not. While the author had always intended for the survey to be conducted online, it was not immediately apparent which survey program would function best in the context of Pakistan. Some considerations included (i) data safety and privacy, (ii) the actual look and feel of the survey, (iii) cost of purchasing software programs, (iv) survey functionality on devices such as smart phones and tablets. Following review of various options for survey delivery (including such options as Google Forms and Survey Monkey) the author decided to use an online survey program named Typeform.

Typeform allowed the author to design and deliver the survey questions via an intuitive and custom-designed link: <https://governance-survey.typeform.com> (thereby showcasing a certain degree of professionalism, it is hoped). The survey was also intuitive and flowed from one question to another step-by-step (as opposed to several/all survey questions at the same time), thereby preventing the end user from feeling overwhelmed by the number of questions. Furthermore, Typeform boasted an affordable pricing structure for academic purposes and also used comprehensive data protection and privacy measures. Finally, and perhaps most

importantly, Typeform allowed for content delivery on smart phones. Given the seniority of the survey participants (Deans, Vice-Chancellors, Presidents, senior government/IGO representatives, etc.) the author felt that it would be better to allow these individuals the option to complete the survey on their smart phone devices. In other words, it was hoped that response rates would increase given the flexible delivery modes afforded by Typeform.

Qualitative Data Analysis: Dedoose

Once the data collection was complete, and the survey and interview transcripts were ready, the author proceeded to undertake data analysis to better understand the research findings. With almost 43 transcripts (comprising approximately 258 pages of verbatim text (6 pages of average single-spaced text per interview)), and 22 survey responses, the author decided to turn to commercially available software programs to assist in making sense of the reams of raw data. The major considerations in choice of software programs included (i) the learning curve for the software programs (ii) cost, (iii) flexibility of use (cloud-based or individual software licenses per machine), (iv) the ability to analyze largely qualitative data (but able to handle quantitative data as well). Given the fact that the vast amount of data collected for this thesis was mostly qualitative (transcripts), the author excluded many of the commonly available quantitative software programs such as SPSS and STATA. With regard to the major qualitative programs available for use, among the most common and readily available commercially were NVivo, Atlas.ti, and Dedoose.

After some research, the author decided to use Dedoose for the major components of data analysis. Dedoose's cloud-based approach (allowing data to be analyzed anywhere an internet connection was available), intuitive and easy-to-learn interface, flexible pricing structure for academic purposes, and ability to handle both qualitative and quantitative data proved to be a winning combination, in the eyes of the researcher. Furthermore, the author's home university (the University of Toronto) offered data analysis workshops for graduate students, and the author was able to participate in such a qualitative data analysis workshop with a trained expert (*Using Dedoose for Qualitative and Mixed-methods Research workshop, March 8, 2018, OISE, University of Toronto*) and was issued a certificate of attendance for this purpose).

The author spent several months inputting data into Dedoose which included some of the

following major steps:

1. Developing a 'code tree': the major themes of the interviews and surveys were grouped together into various areas (ex: governance, external actors, privatization, etc.) and a code tree comprising 80 codes was developed and inputted into Dedoose;
2. Inputting 'cleaned' transcripts: all transcripts were cleaned to remove identifying information pertaining to the research participants, and then imported into Dedoose for analysis;
3. Analyzing the data: each transcript was subsequently analyzed and codes applied. Upon completion, 817 code applications were completed. Dedoose also allowed for the development of 'memos', conceptual ideas/notes that the researcher wished to develop in the process of data analysis. The author developed 37 unique 'memos' in Dedoose in the context of data analysis, in addition to the code applications.

While not applicable in all circumstances, several of the 80 codes designed for use in Dedoose lent themselves to 'code weighting'. Code weighting is commonly used to assign relative meaning – in the form of an index or rating – to qualitative data. For example, code weighting can be applied to sentiments and qualities. This approach is often commonly used in the context of interviews to ascribe relative importance to certain ideas, notions or concepts and can result in a richer – and, arguably, deeper – presentation of qualitative data. Furthermore, with 817 code applications made to 258 pages of interview text, enough code applications were made to allow for the weightings to be particularly meaningful.

The application of code weighting was undertaken in my thesis in a methodological manner, where applicable. In all circumstances of the application of code weighting, a simple 5-point scale was used, with 1 being 'low', and 5 being 'high'. For example, in the use of the code weightings applied in Figure 3 below (Levels of State Control Preferences by Sectoral Participants), the importance assigned to state control are presented numerically by participant grouping.

Why apply code weighting in the first place? While researchers working with qualitative data have several options for presenting their data and findings, the application of code

weighting allows for the incorporation of an entirely independent dimension of according meaning to the data. For example, it allows for the reader to ascertain, numerically, what level of importance or significance participants within the data sample may have accorded to certain issues.

In the case of this study, the use of weightings was applied judiciously – and only when it was felt by the researcher that further meaning could be gleaned from the data with the use of the weightings than without. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the author was trained in the process of code design, application and weighting within the Dedoose software program at the University of Toronto prior to undertaking the necessary steps of data analysis.

Thesis Compilation: Scrivener

Once the major preliminary steps of data collections, transcript development, and data analysis were complete, the author turned his attention to thesis writing. During the course of a 12-week online module that the author followed in 2017, named the Dissertation Success Program (DSP) (offered by the National Center for Faculty Development and Diversity (<https://www.facultydiversity.org/dissertation-success-public>)) - a writing software tool named Scrivener had been highlighted. Scrivener, it was suggested, offered dissertation writers a tool to write long manuscripts that was materially different from other software programs such as Word. The program, it was claimed, was primarily designed to assist in the development of long pieces of writing - books, plays, manuscripts, and yes, theses.

Upon closer examination, the author noted that Scrivener's interface combined elements of a notebook, cork board, dossier, and Word and was particularly conducive to breaking down the thesis writing process into smaller chunks - in other words: a project management tool. It also allowed for easy tracking of word counts and the setting/measuring of writing goals. The program also provided a handy management system for various documentation (research documents, PDFs, Dedoose image files, appendices, etc) Scrivener allowed the researcher to see the main take-away from each section at a glance and was thus useful for getting to the main story-line of the thesis.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS (PART I): GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS

4.1: Governance Arrangements

Introduction

There is theory, and then there is practice. Governance arrangements in Pakistan's higher education sector may be described as working well - on paper. However, practically speaking, many aspects remain far removed from the intentions that the original drafters of well-intentioned policies may have sought.

As I found myself in the offices of senior institutional leaders, intergovernmental organization representatives and government sector leaders, I found it helpful to begin my conversation with these individuals with an open-ended question. I often asked my participants, simply, to speak to their interpretation of what 'good governance' may mean in the context of Pakistan's higher education sector. This section speaks to some of these first-person views elicited by the senior governors of the system, interviewed in the context of the present thesis.

This simple question, not originally included in my interview guide' proved to be illuminating as it allowed me to quickly grasp - and summarize - an individual's overall perception of what good governance meant for them. It also allowed me to bifurcate their views by their particular characteristics. For example, good governance for private sector institutional leaders meant something very different to what good governance implied for an education-sector specialist at an international non-governmental organization.

On the part of institutions, good governance implied aspects such as "strategy", "stakeholder management", "operational and resource management", "meeting statutory requirements (legal and financial)", "adhering to SOPs (Standard Operating Procedures)", "conducting of financial audits", "system-centric processes" (as opposed to person-centric processes), "deviation from operational guidelines", "diluting the powers of VCs and Deans and giving more power to committees and faculty". Other institutional participants approached their answer to this question based on a virtues framework: "carrying out tasks with honesty and integrity", "merit, transparency, honesty", "good leadership and management", "openness, transparency and trust in the system".

Some institutional participants also highlighted their views of deficiencies in governance

of the higher education sector noting that the “lack of clarity” between the roles and responsibilities of various government levels was a major barrier to good governance in the context of Pakistan’s HE sector. Another participant highlighted his contention that little thought had been accorded to the “structure, composition, performance, and evaluation of governing Boards”. Yet another institutional leader (the Vice-Chancellor of a major public university in Karachi) stated that, in the context of his institution, good governance implied the completion and full implementation of the ISO-9001 (International Organization for Standardization (ISO)) certification system at their institution to be a major benefit for them as far as the enhancement of good governance was concerned, as the process of seeking this certification required them to document, analyze and justify all of their processes and procedures - and to audit them on a regular basis. Indeed, the response from this Vice-Chancellor finds some credence in the academic literature. In their 2011 analysis of the implementation of the ISO-9001 standardized system at a Pakistani university, authors Samina Chaudhry and Muhammad Ramy highlighted the positive governance benefits that flowed from the implementation of the systematized processes and procedures inherent in the ISO 9001 model through the establishment of a framework of principles for management, good corporate governance, evaluation and monitoring within the Pakistani postsecondary education sector (Chaudhry and Ramy, 2011).

Lastly, for the representatives of external IGOs, “good governance” meant several things. For one participant of a multilateral IGO it implied Pakistan’s institutionalization of the higher education sector, and the formal implementation of systematic processes and procedures in the sector.

In concluding this section, it is clear that the concept of the constitution of “good governance” means many things to many people. As the participant responses above have shown, the concept of good governance can be approached from many angles. It can speak to processes and procedures, or speak to values and virtues. It can be input-based or outcome-focused. One can approach the question, furthermore, from a deficit standpoint: namely, to identify what might be missing from good governance. While most participants identified processes and characteristics of good governance in their answers, only one participant spoke to the importance of power sharing. This point foreshadows one of the major findings of the present thesis: namely, the wholesale lack of “shared governance” as a concept in the

Pakistani higher education sector, with an over-emphasis on following operational processes.

4.2: Levels of State Control

The question of the adequate levels of state control was also addressed early on in the course of my interviews in Pakistan. Senior institutional, IGO and government leaders were asked their opinions, when probed, on their own perceptions of the appropriate levels of state control in the context of Pakistan. Responses from participants were coded and, in addition, a weight assigned to the code (Levels of State Control) to determine, based on answers, what depth (weight) each participant attached to the amount of state control over higher education as being ideal in the context of the Pakistani higher education sector.

The higher the weight assigned (5 being the highest), the greater the importance the participant attached to state control being important or necessary in the system, as opposed to a lower weighting (1 being the lowest) which suggested that the participant leaned towards a preferred ‘state supervision’ (steering from a distance) model. Figure 5 below draws out some of the differences between the perceptions from the various sectoral participants.

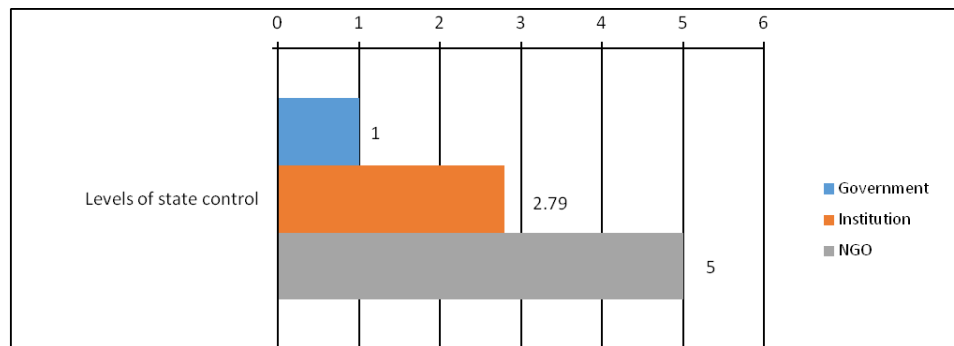


Figure 3: Levels of State Control Preferences by Sectoral Participants

As can be immediately gleaned from the visual above, non-governmental organizations suggested that greater state control (read: regulation) was the most appropriate for Pakistan’s higher education sector (weighting of 5), while institutional leaders (perhaps not surprisingly) suggested that a somewhat even-handed and balanced regulatory approach (as reflected by an overall weighting of 3) was adequate. Government leaders in Pakistan provided the lowest support for state regulation.

On the part of the responses from institutions, the following excerpt is illustrative of the above-mentioned ‘balanced approach’ from institutions:

PARTICIPANT: Balanced approach. I think obviously universities need to be autonomous to pursue whatever research areas in academic programs, they want to pursue. Yes, at the same time they should follow a general guidelines, regulations, which are prescribed by the regulatory bodies, if they want their degrees and programs to be accredited by that regulatory body. Otherwise, the university is fully entitled to run their own program which is not accepted by a regulatory body. It depends on the stature of the university. So yes a balanced approach that is a need of some regulations but at the same time they should be enough autonomy within the university. (President, Male, Public University, Islamabad)

Inherent in most institutional responses was recognition that Pakistani institutions needed some direction, policy control and regulation from governments. However, that this very same approach should not be too top-down or hierarchical was a common institutional response. Often, it was apparent to the researcher that institutions felt that they, themselves did not require greater state regulation. However, in the interests of the overall reputation of the sector and in terms of protecting Pakistani students and customers from unscrupulous operators, it was recognized that state control was not only tolerable – but necessary.

What accounts for the greater support for state control exhibited by international non-governmental organizations on the other hand? One multilateral agency representative suggested that greater control over higher education was helpful especially in the context of greater standardization and harmonization across the region. Another agency representative spoke to greater Pakistani state regulation of the higher education sector being necessary in the international rankings competition game, but also because the HE sector in Pakistan itself was not fully mature. The following quote from a bilateral agency representative is illustrative:

My personal opinion is that in a country where the higher education sector is a new trend is that it is better that the sector is regulated by the government at least initially. Like babysitting the institutes and providing them the opportunity to grow and supporting them when it comes to matters like degree courses. Otherwise institutions would start all kinds of programs of their own and it may become difficult for the government to regulate. The HEC accredits and attests degree programs for international partners. Without regulation, it may become impossible for the international partners to have faith that the degrees awarded were according to established SOPs. In a developing country there is a lot of need for greater opportunities for higher education for young people however it is also important to have good regulation of the system itself. This despite the fact that universities are autonomous institutions by law, as per their regulations and charters. Regulation helps in maintaining high levels of quality and this is needed to, for example, to effectively participate in the global trend of university rankings. (Bilateral Agency Representative, Male, Islamabad)

Perhaps the most surprising response with regard to the appropriate level of state control was to

be seen in the words of a Provincial higher education commission representative who suggested that:

So I'm a staunch believer of autonomy of universities. If I have my way, government should have no say at all in the universities.... My experience is that with the involvement of government the quality of governance leaves a huge negative impact on the standards. (Provincial Higher Education Commission Representative, Male)

In summarizing the overall findings related to the question of appropriate Levels of State Control, the researcher would suggest that the Pakistani government representative at the provincial level argued for the least possible control (weighting of 1; greater autonomy and less regulation), while institutional governors leaned towards a balanced approach (weighting of 2.8), and IGOs favoured the most state regulation (weighting of 5, less autonomy and more regulation)

4.3: Higher Education Commission (HEC) Regulatory Oversight

The previous section addressed the nature of state control that participants felt was necessary in the context of Pakistan. This section addresses the overall regulatory oversight provided by the Pakistani state at the federal level through the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan (HEC).

It would be entirely appropriate to state that this body represents a lynch-pin for governance of the HE sector in Pakistan. While certain education powers have been devolved to the provinces according to the Constitution, the HEC represents nothing less than the center of the regulatory universe for the Pakistani higher education community. Given this reality, participants were asked to proffer their views on the nature of governance exercised by the HEC.

Institutional participants, on the receiving end of direction, painted a picture of a buffer body that was highly prescriptive, controlling functions that in Neave and Vught's typology of state-control vs. state regulation would tend strongly towards state-control. Functions that were prescribed by the HEC, for both public and private higher education institutions included the following, as stated by participants:

1. Degree attestation;
2. Degree recognition;
3. Institutional rankings;

4. Ability to blacklist institutions;
5. Control over provision of grant funding (for public institutions only);
6. Approval of new campuses;
7. Prescribing the subject that a Doctoral Supervisor must hold a degree in in order to supervise doctoral students in that area;
8. Minimum #s of faculty in a 'Department' ;
9. Listing the names of journals acceptable for publishing (high impact factor journals) for seniority and advancement decisions;
10. Salary levels;
11. Policies governing the establishment of institutional offices like Quality Enhancement Cells (QECs) and the ORIC (Office of Research, Innovation and Commercialization)
12. Direct disbursement and allocation of graduate scholarships (not through institutions);
13. Quality assurance;
14. Launching of new PhD programs
15. Credit hours for courses;
16. Curriculum design;

As is well known, the set-up of the HEC (and its precursor, the University Grants Commission (UGC)) in Pakistan was originally borrowed from its former colonial governors: the United Kingdom. A regulatory approach was implanted whole-sale in the Pakistani domestic soil which, as I have argued elsewhere in this thesis (Section 7.2: Policy Recommendations), was not conducive for the system, especially since it did not have a local academic oligarchy and highly developed traditions of academic self-regulation.

The regulatory authority we have functioning in the Pakistani HE context is, arguably, a strange creature in terms of its set-up as, at its most fundamental conceptual level, it is a buffer-body, but one that acts like a Federal Higher Education Ministry. It is arms-length from the government, but at the same time is highly prescriptive as if it were within the state bureaucracy (as per the illustrative 16 functions it exercises above). The HEC's approach towards regulation of the HEC sector has been received in mixed fashion from the local institutional governors I interviewed within the ambit of the present thesis. What I was interested in determining, above all, was the variety of views exhibited by the various senior participants in my study (institutional governors, external policy actors and government representatives) with regard to the oversight functions exercised by the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan.

Before presenting some of the main data points with regard to this theme, the author would like to acknowledge the incredible convergence of views showcased by the institutional

governors of the system vis-a-vis the HEC's oversight on the system. There was widespread agreement among both public and private sector institutional leaders that the HEC had exercised large amounts of control in institutional affairs, that there was bureaucratic overreach, that institutional autonomy was limited and that the HEC controlled a plethora of functions that have, traditionally, been the purview of HEIs. The following thematic excerpts serve to illustrate the overall mood of the higher education sector in Pakistan:

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Illustrative Excerpt</u>
HEC Oversight as Curtailing Faculty Autonomy	It is after the creation of the HEC that the autonomy of the universities has been slowly curtailed and in the name of efficiency, in the name of lots of other things, quality control, etc....I find that the HEC can control almost everything: they control, They are the ones who give travel grants, they give higher salaries, or normal or higher salaries. But in QAU and all public university, kind of enterprises, public enterprises, they give a higher salary- they control everything. They also determine the courses and so on, so this is new. I find that overall, the level of autonomy which the faculty used to enjoy has gone down in Pakistan. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)
HEC Functions Overlapping with University Boards	PARTICIPANT: I think the best model is that universities be established through an Act of Parliament. And practically every power that the HEC exercises is also written as a power of the Board. So it means, something has seriously gone wrong with the governance of the universities. That means that these guys who are sitting on the Board of a university or in the top management are not taking defensible professional decisions. And then that's why all these powers, practically speaking, got concentrated with the Federal HEC. (University Vice-Chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)
HEC Driving System Behaviour Through Rankings	[INTERVIEWER]: I find it interesting that you follow the direction of HEC very closely, yet you receive no funding as you are a private institution. Even in the absence of funding? [PARTICIPANT]: Yes, even in the absence of funding we follow their directives. There are several reasons for that. First, we are competing with other universities. When people go about selecting a university they are very interested in seeing if higher education is implemented. Secondly, standards and rankings come into play which at the end of the day is set by the HEC. Thus, we are always trying to live up to those standards that make our university very attractive. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Rawalpindi)
HEC Control over Scholarship Disbursements	PARTICIPANT: There are certain areas where HEC has to take more careful deficiencies like disbursement of scholarships, foreign scholarships. In the present system, they disburse scholarships on the basis of direct process. I have rather suggested that they should disburse their scholarships through universities. Because it's very easy for the university to take feedback and have a better control on their scholar. Rather than HEC governing whole chunk of thousands of students and taking their feedback. That is very difficult for HEC to take feedback of ... keep a track of every scholar. (University Dean, Public Sector, Male, Karachi)
HEC Control over University	Now practically currently HEC is even regulating. They have become more of a regulator now. Where it says okay that if you want to reach this level, if you want to do relative training what the best methodology of doing relative training is. You will see

Operational Practices	guidelines sent to the university. What should be the duration of a semester? You just name, how many faculty members you should have in a department at different levels. So practically for all universities, HEC is a regulatory authority, regulating the higher education in Pakistan. Even though they never publicly say that. (University VC, Male, Private Sector, Islamabad)
HEC Control over PhD Standards	For example, all my rules such as academic program rules, PhD MS rules, are all formulated considering HEC directives. In fact, recently HEC has been in particularly supervising the evaluation system of PhD and MS standards. A recent directive they passed which we immediately implement was that of: no PhD program can be launched without the prior approval of HEC. (Dean, Private Sector, Male, Rawalpindi)
HEC's Operational Focus	[PARTICIPANT:] No, I think they should stick to the federal level, but the focus should change to the governance structures and less focus should be on the operations. Did you know that I'm teaching a basic management course to the first year Freshmen, at a public university, and that is reviewed by HEC? They tell me what the grade breakdown should be like; they handed out a circular on what the normal distribution should look like for grading. And the absurdity of all is that if I take leave during the semester and two classes are going to be taken by someone else, that person must have a degree in the same subject area...they're so obsessed with the operational aspects that they (HEC) have forgotten the bigger picture. (Dean, Public University, Male, Lahore)
HEC Inaction Contributing to Vacant Board Seats	[PARTICIPANT]: Right now just imagine we have been asking them... because on all those bodies there has to be representation from the Sindh government education department. It has been 6 months we have asked them; give us one individual's name that is qualified to represent you on our committees. There has been over 6 months and they're still sitting on it. (Dean, Private Sector, Male, Karachi)
Lack of HEC Administrator's Familiarity with Educational Culture	[Participant]: Of course the higher education commission is necessity of the community and HEC is trying to incorporate some basic laws for the welfare of the community and community based education but unfortunately still HEC has not understood its role in the community because the people who are holding the positions in the HEC most of them they are not professors neither are they proper technocrats nor are they the people who had been involved in or associated in educational institutes so that's why they are not so much familiar with the educational culture. (University Dean, Public Sector, Male, Karachi)
HEC Controlling all University Roles except Teaching	[Participant]: HEC was supposed to set the direction of the universities for the development of the country and the society. As of now HEC has abrogated to itself many of the functions of the universities. The only function that I think they are not yet taken up is probably the teaching itself. So starting with the induction, starting with design of the curriculum, starting with the credit hours of each course going up to deciding about how many credit hours a program should have, how many programs a university should be offering, what should be the level of the program, what should be the qualification of the teacher, who should teach a particular course, who should teach a particular program, prequalification of the faculty, award of the degree, check of the degrees nearly everything is being dictated by the HEC. So HEC has become a university itself. (Dean, Private Sector, Male, Karachi)

While one could have predicted a certain level of dissatisfaction from the institutional governors of the system towards the regulatory oversight they are subjected to by the state regulator, the

author was wholly unprepared for the uniformity of responses proffered from those on the receiving end of the HEC's oversight. There are significant levels of micro-management and control exercised by the technocrats and bureaucrats that work within the HEC in Islamabad, as well as its regional offices in various provinces throughout the country.

Of course, the author was also interested in understanding the views of those exogenous policy actors active in the system to determine if they - too - had similar reservations about the HEC's oversight functions. The evidence collected, from senior representatives of IGOs also suggests a perception of ineffective governance exercised by the HEC, however, for very different reasons. The participant's voice highlighted below suggests an HEC staffed by individuals who are not appointed on the basis of merit but rather on the basis of their connections to the dominant political ruling elite:

PARTICIPANT: Well, I think definitely, if you have a good regulator in the form of Higher Education Commission, regulating the higher education in the country, you definitely need effective regulation and control over the service providers in the higher education. Whether they be in public sector or the private sector. But at the moment, I mean the regulation and the control by the Higher Education Commission is not effective. And the reason being that our education commission is as I said, is really made by incompetent people... Because I know most of them personally, they are political appointees. If they don't deserve to be there but they happen to be there, just because they had political connections. (Multilateral IGO Representative, Male, Islamabad)

Similarly, the IGO representative referred to below suggested that the HEC's ineffectiveness, in his view, was linked to the matter of a lack of understanding between the HEC and the needs of the industry:

The Higher Education Commission was established back in 2002. General Musharraf introduced certain procedures, systems, for those institutions at that time...there is a skills gap. And that's something we need to bridge that skills gap. Like each year, our universities are producing thousands and thousands of graduates. But they are jobless. Because there is a skill gap between the private, public sector and the universities. And this is one of the governance (issues) I have seen in the Higher Education Commission that they are not able to bring some kind of reforms in the public and private sector universities, that how to bridge the gap. (IGO representative, Male, Islamabad).

Section Summary

It is clear that the HEC's oversight role in the domestic Pakistani HE context was seen as being problematic by both the endogenous and exogenous governors of the system, though for vastly different reasons. Figure 6 (below), groups the overall belief in the HEC's oversight

functions (the presently functioning HEC model) is grouped by the three main types of governors in the system: institutional leaders, government representatives, and IGO representatives (weighting of 5 implies greater ‘approval’ of the HEC model). Not surprisingly, the government representatives’ voices suggest a larger belief in their oversight functions (weight of 5), IGO representatives have some reservations (weight of 3.8) but still have general belief in the model, while the institutional leaders interviewed for the present thesis suggest the least overall approval of the presently functioning HEC model (weight of 2.9).

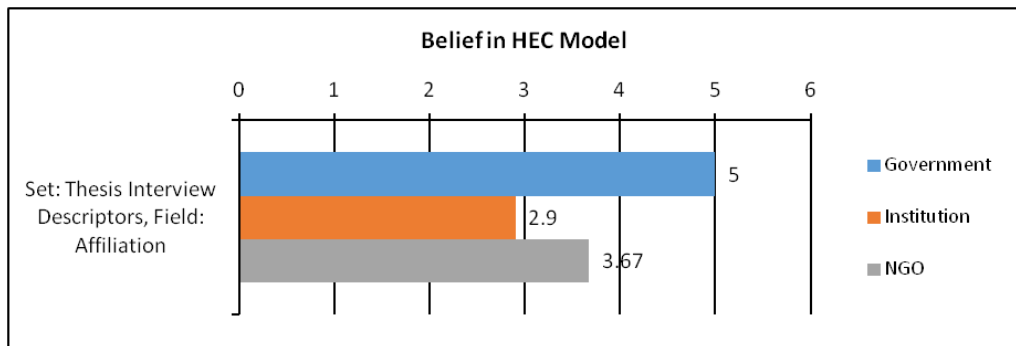


Figure 4: Belief in HEC Model - Preferences by Sectoral Participants

4.4: Shared Governance

[Participant]: I think there is not much of a positive role they (when asked about shared governance for faculty, student groups, NGOs) can play given the history and the types of issues that they come up with. So I would not recommend that NGOs and political parties and student organizations be formally given a big role in the governance of universities. (University President, Public Sector, Male, Karachi)

The above excerpt aptly summarizes the overall mood regarding the concept of shared governance in the Pakistani higher education sector. A key concept captured within the idea of shared governance is that the state is not the only/central actor and that the state does not know best. Rather, in order to extrapolate the best/ideal policies in any particular case, the state must consult, negotiate and engage with the sector.

Differences in governance patterns of the postsecondary education sector of any society reflect the choices made by the primary decision-makers within that context; however, they also reflect the broader ‘push and pull’ factors of the various stakeholders within the sector. In the case of universities and the postsecondary sector (writ large) of any country, one may identify

various groups such as students, faculty, governments (at all levels), industry, and the media as all being part of the many stakeholders whom the university ‘impacts’ in some way.

The classic model of university governance of a ‘community of scholars’ – the historic approach used in several countries in Europe (but perhaps best epitomized today in Italy) – is one where large tracts of ‘power’ related to university governance are vested in, and exercised by, scholars or faculty. This model, sometimes referred to as academic oligarchy (Clark, 1983) has brushed up against, most notably, New Public Management (NPM)-based modalities which borrow approaches associated with the private sector to focus on, among other techniques, managerialism, performance contracts and institutional evaluations ((Braun, 2001).

While a historic tradition of learning and scholarship has existed in the region now known as Pakistan for millennia (for example, in the regions of Nalanda and Taxila), I was interested in understanding how far the present-day make-up of Pakistan’s postsecondary education sector incorporated approaches that can be collectively grouped under the umbrella theme of shared governance. Shared governance, might be one way to understand to what extent power is diffused, between the extremes of an academic oligarchy (community of scholars), and a top-down, hierarchical New Managerialism-styled approach on the other hand.

In order to better understand governance decision-making approaches in the context of Pakistan, I probed my participants to speak to their understanding and conceptualizations of this notion of shared governance. I wanted to know if they thought it was legitimate, appropriate, and if it even existed in the context of Pakistan. Most importantly, for the purposes of the present thesis, I wanted to know how the vision of a preferred future of the concept of shared governance on the part of external agencies (international organizations and donors), compared and contrasted with the vision of indigenous governors in the system and local institutional stakeholders.

This section, therefore, provides some of the evidence and voices of the participants in my study when asked about the concept of shared governance. The section begins by providing thoughts from participants on whether shared governance exists in Pakistan’s postsecondary education sector and then moves on to break down power-sharing to specific sub-groups: notably, faculty, students, political parties, and members of the media. In order to provide a brief case study of shared governance, the nature of policy consultations between the Higher

Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan and the broader stakeholder community are provided. As student activism has a particular history in Pakistan, this section also provides some views from my study participants on this issue – a historic anomaly when viewed in the context of university governance patterns across much of the Indian subcontinent and indeed the wider world.

It should be noted that, ultimately, the voices of faculty members and students are missing from the present dissertation, as it was not feasible to include them in the research design. Since this dissertation concerns itself principally with the impact of external agencies on higher education system governance, it was deemed appropriate by the researcher to seek out the voices of the active ‘governors’ of the system only, namely institutional administrators, government leaders, and representatives of external agencies. It should also be noted that no specific views from external agencies/actors have been included in this section on faculty involvement in governance; however, the broader existence of a Policy Community, that is touched upon in section 5.5, does include the views of these international development partners.

Faculty

In this sub-section, I use the term ‘faculty’ as inclusive of all those who may use any of the following titles: teachers, scholars and researchers. The term does not include university administrators (some of whom may also be faculty members) as individuals with these roles are addressed elsewhere in this dissertation. The following table groups the data evidence specific to the area of faculty involvement in shared governance by theme:

Theme	Participant Voice
Faculty Involvement in Academic not Administrative Matters	PARTICIPANT: There are two things. One is academic excellence. And one is academic governance. One can be an excellent researcher, an excellent teacher, master in a subject, but not necessarily a good administrator. So both are important for the success of the university. You need excellent researchers. You need excellent teachers but you also need excellent administrators. So there are some statutory forums like academic council, like higher research councils which are duly represented by the faculty, departments. And also at the department level, they have a department board of studies. So yes I think sufficient forums are available for them to participate. (University Rector, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)
Unofficial Discussions as Opposed to	PARTICIPANT: My opinion would be, at our university we do take, the faculty into consultation. We have groups with the Dean who meets the faculties on regular basis. And Dean meets the students on a regular basis. A Dean makes

Consultations	sure that all cross section of students and his faculty members are consulted and any problem that they wish to highlight, they are encouraged. It is not really strictly on official basis, but it is more of a friendly nature, that we like to know what students are thinking and what is the change in the management they would like to see. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)
Existence of Academic Self-Governance	[Interviewer]: Can you please comment on academic faculty involvement in governance at your institution? [Participant]: I believe in all universities academics play a greater role. Academicians govern the university. I am still active and teach two different courses to second year students in the Electric engineering department and sometimes in the computer science department. The directors of campuses along with the heads of departments, all teach as well. As such, all faculty members and are in tuned with student life. (University Vice-Chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)
Belief in Power-Sharing	[PARTICIPANT]: When I joined this university two years ago the governance here was exclusively hierarchical. Decisions came from the top. However, I have been arguing with my university recently that at department and faculty levels there needs to be greater roles to perform. I believe inputs from different faculties will ensure to be more productive and fruitful as it offers vast solutions to problems. Also, maintaining qualities, participation and involvement will create ownership and will allow them to exercise their roles and become part of it and they can become enthusiastic. Yes, I believe sharing across, is the way. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)
Primary Role of Pakistani Faculty as Teachers not Researchers	[INTERVIEWER:] You've been an academic right? Did you think that you were disempowered when you were an academic? Did you feel only more empowered once you came into an administrative role? My experience has been that professors in other countries, especially Western context have an enormous amount of power. [PARTICIPANT:] They do, but then you have to remember something, what is a University in the West? [INTERVIEWER:] Nothing but a conglomeration of academics [PARTICIPANT:] Whose primary job and vocation is? [INTERVIEWER:] Research. [PARTICIPANT:] What are universities in Pakistan? Teaching, teaching and teaching. (University Dean, Public Sector, Male, Lahore)
Faculty Empowerment Requires Sectoral Maturity in Pakistan	PARTICIPANT: Actually you are quoting example of Italy but the same thing (I experienced) in UK when I had studied for about 5 and half years. Same very much in all European universities as well as in US. They took years and years, decades to reach to this stage. We are not at that particular stage. So yes the faculty is involved very much in all decision making activities let me tell you. They are giving their inputs so very much. Now as far as the thing to make them completely independent, I think yes, they are being done, but it would need some more time. We are not in a maturity stage. So I would say it may take some more 10 to 15 years when we reached to that stage, where the developed countries have reached. (University Pro-Vice Chancellor, Public Sector, Male, Karachi)

HEC Functions Curtail Faculty Autonomy	I find that the HEC can control almost everything: they control, They are the ones who give travel grants, they give higher salaries, or normal or higher salaries. But in QAU and all public university, kind of enterprises, public enterprises, they give a higher salary- they control everything. They also determine the courses and so on, so this is new. I find that overall the level of autonomy which the faculty used to enjoy has gone down in Pakistan. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)
On Faculty Associations	PARTICIPANT: There is such a body but you see it doesn't come together all the time. It comes together in moments of crises and it is called the All-Pakistan Staff Association. But as I said, it doesn't meet except in times of crises, which is once in several years. So it's an informal kind of organization, composed of, what happens is that, comprise the members of the different faculty organizations. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)
Policy Borrowing Vis-à-vis Academic Collegiality	[PARTICIPANT]: For _____(participant's institution) the best thing was that the faculty would be there and they would have 2 great advisors from abroad for example we had one from NCAD, and one from McGill. So those people, they were tremendous. They would understand our concerns because from faculty to faculty, heart to heart. That would give the best input for the board; we would call it MC, management committee. That was the best model I saw. (University Vice-chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Karachi)
Perception of Faculty Needs only Related to Employment-related matters	[Participant]: So couple of things, at the end of the day, modern universities are very conscious of the bottom-line. So the fiscal environment in which they exist is very different from 40-50 years ago and if you have to be conscious of the bottom-line you cannot let staff determine their own compensation, levels and schemes. So clearly one thing there and you cannot have faculty committed to one type of university activity which is teaching to determine what the university could be in the future... Why do we need a broader revenue base? Similarly it is not clear to me that faculty are placed to determine whether you start a new program or expand the size of enrolment. All those require business judgment as well, which is not necessary what the faculty is best placed to do. So my sense is that most universities, large, multi-departmental organizations require professional management and therefore it's a good idea to have that. (President, Public Sector, Male, Karachi)

As can be gleaned from the above participants' voices, power-sharing with faculty seems to be fraught with contradictions. While two institutional participants believed in the existence of at least some kind of academic self-governance and power-sharing with faculty in Pakistan, most participants noted a dearth of faculty involvement in university governance-related matters. Some participants highlighted their views of faculty as teachers only – not administrators. Yet another participant noted that, for him, the status of university faculty as researchers first and foremost in developed country contexts afforded great explanatory capacity for why university faculty in Pakistan, who are primarily focused on teaching, did not enjoy the level of power that

their colleagues in developed country contexts perhaps did.

I would make one observation related to the lack of faculty associations and collective bargaining, and its spill-over effects. As has been seen thus far, no collective organization or union of faculty seems to exist in Pakistan – at least not one that is actively functional. As stated by a private university Dean above, it was his understanding that a Pakistani staff association existed, namely the All-Pakistan Staff Association, however, that it was also his understanding that this was not a formal body and only really met in times of crises or major upheaval every few years. In other words, this body was not formalized or institutionalized in any way and was purely ad-hoc with no permanent structure, funding or resourcing.

The President of a prestigious public university in Karachi (quoted above) immediately understood faculty involvement in governance to be related to one matter, and one matter only: the terms of their employment. Be it staff retention, seniority and promotion, compensation levels, or various other HR matters. This response was fairly indicative and typical of the ‘average’ belief that system governors believe concerns faculty the most.

A further observation I would make is based on the views of a private university Vice-Chancellor (quoted above) who stated that, in his experience, faculty self-governance was displayed most vividly for him while academics from universities in the West were also present in the governing structure of the institution. This individual highlighted the best practices or policy diffusion that occurred naturally when academics for whom notions of academic self-governance were normalized were also present. This participant used the examples of academics from the National College of Art and Design (NCAD) in Ireland, and McGill University (Montreal) and stated when these foreign academics were present, they actively solicited the views and feedback of their Pakistani academic colleagues - in other words, without the Western faculty members present, the views of the Pakistani academics may not have been taken into account.

However, faculty involved in shared governance can work through many different levels and in many other capacities that have little to do with employment. These could be related to the university’s vision, mission and values, the university’s engagement with industry/private sector, and/or international partnerships abroad. When probed to speak to the nature of faculty engagement in the postsecondary education sector of Pakistan, participants did not usually speak

to this latter kind of engagement that faculty could have. If there is any one body or association however that does represent the interests of faculty in Pakistan, it is the Federation of All Pakistan Universities Academic Staff Association.

Federation of All Pakistan Universities Academic Staff Association

The Federation of All Pakistan Universities Academic Staff Association (FAPUASA) is a body that represents the interests of faculty and staff at Pakistani universities. However, the present researcher was unable to locate much information pertaining to their activities, organization, funding or status. It does not appear, for example, that the FAPUASA maintains a fully functioning website, and reaching spokespersons or representatives for the organization is therefore difficult. During the course of many interviews and conversations that the researcher had in the cities of Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad, only once was this body referenced. Let us consider the following excerpt which speaks to the FAPUASA's involvement in the Pakistani HE sector:

INTERVIEWER: But at the national level, is there a way to advocate at the national level or across Pakistan.

PARTICIPANT: Yes there is. Its very strong. Its called Federal Universities of Academic Institution something like that. Which is a very strong union. So they are ...

INTERVIEWER: Are they active?

PARTICIPANT: Yes, they are very active. They give lot of briefs to HEC all the time. So that is called Federal Association of Academic, University Academic systems like that. They are very strong. And they have regular consultation. HEC has regular consultation with them. When I was in HEC, I used have four or five meetings every year with them. And they have a very strong voice on various issues. And sometimes they want much more relaxation then we want to have. And sometimes they really are not ... sometimes they feel they are politically motivated rather than quality motivated. But there is ... as in a short answer, yes there is. (University Vice-Chancellor, Public Sector, Male, Rawalpindi)

While the Vice-chancellor whose voice is profiled above references the active involvement and bargaining role the FAPUASA plays within the Pakistani government authorities. However, this was the sole time the FAPUASA was referenced during the course of my various interviews, indicating to the researcher, that while the FAPUASA may be a duly constituted representative body of Pakistani university faculty, by and large, they are relatively weak and unknown across the Pakistani HE landscape. Nevertheless, some media outlets have, at times, profiled the advocacy work of the FAPUASA. For example, in one instance, the FAPUASA's opposition to a government proposal to allow Vice-Chancellors to be appointed to public-sector institutions in

the province of the Punjab who were not themselves PhD-holders (The Express Tribune, May 22, 2018), while in another similar media story, the FAPUASA advocated for further limiting government involvement in the appointment process, stating that “the role of the Higher Education Department (HED) should be minimized in the affairs of universities and more autonomy should be given to varsities”. (The Express Tribune, April 3 2018)

Media

It may be helpful to provide some clarity vis-à-vis the involvement of members of the media (print, news, and social media) in shared governance of the higher education sector. In speaking to the role of media in shared governance, what is implied is the development of space for a healthy – and ongoing dialogue – of matters that concern the higher education sector. It does not imply simply the reporting of higher education-related stories in media circles. At its core, the inclusion of the media as a stakeholder within the ambit of a shared governance paradigm reflects a view of a free, transparent and open media as being crucial to the functioning of a healthy and democratic society.

While the Pakistani media does include higher education as a core theme in their reporting, the provision of various viewpoints from an active (read: investigative) journalism angle is not present, in the viewpoint of the author. Furthermore, as will be shown through the participants’ voices, there is a concretized mistrust of the media in the higher education sector which may be highlighted as one focused on ‘sensational’ reporting – namely, the hunt for stories that will ‘sell’. At least two university governors did, however, suggest that the media could play a positive role in the sector, if given such an opportunity.

Theme	Participant Voice
Media Interest in Reporting on Deficiencies only	[Participant]: Students groups are okay. Not the media because media exploiting the weaknesses only for their own purposes. (University Vice-chancellor, Private sector, Male, Karachi)
Possible Role for Media in Consulting with Academics	[PARTICIPANT]: I think there is a space for media where it can step in to play a positive role....As such, I believe the media can play a positive role and by having some sort of consultation by known academicians would prove to be beneficial as well. (University Dean, Private sector, Male, Lahore)
Media as	I would stay well away from the media! The media is a mafia in Pakistan. Pakistan

'Mafia'	is basically a country which is a series of mafias. (University Dean, Public sector, Male, Lahore)
Media Focus on Negative Reporting; Positive HEI Actions Unreported	Media most of the time promotes negative activities they never say that the University of Karachi or the University of Punjab or any university has produced 200 PhDs in the discipline of economics, political science, psychology, physiology and other disciplines but if there is any mishappening or sort of some other kind of negative activity, one person has been caught in the charge of plagiarism then they would be promoting. All the time you would be seeing only one person but you forgot 199 so negative mentality would not promote a positive sense of responsibility (University Dean, Public sector, Male, Karachi)
Possible Role for Media in Proposing Solutions	So, they may contribute to the richness of the discourse and let the universities respond to it on their own terms. Media plays a similar role; they need to continue developing capacity in order to present sensible solutions within the discourse. And leave implementation to universities, as media and political parties have a great deal of outreach to the general public. (President, Private University, Male, Karachi)

The above discussion related to the media's role in shared governance has largely touched on traditional media sources (print journalism, news broadcasting, etc.) however the importance of non-traditional media sources (blog posts, online newsletters, etc.)³ should not be overlooked, especially since such non-traditional media sources may be where members of policy communities communicate their ideas into the broader public domain. One may hypothesize that where non-traditional media sources are present and are being effectively utilized, shared governance and policy communities may more effectively thrive as these are ideal venues for those in 'non-power' positions to play a role in influencing the policy discourse. In this regard, during the course of data collection, only individual endogenous governor mentioned such a non-traditional media source. This university Dean in Karachi did post on his own blog (which pertained to HE issues in Pakistan), however, to what extent his online posts influenced the mainstream policy discourse is hard to ascertain/measure.

Political Parties and/or Politicians

The involvement of political groups in shared governance in the Pakistani higher education context takes place by necessity. Political appointments on postsecondary education governing

³ Examples of such non-traditional media sources from the North American context include: University World News (<https://www.universityworldnews.com>) and University Affairs (<https://www.universityaffairs.ca/>)

boards are the norm rather than the exception, in the case of both public and private institutions. Such appointments, ostensibly for oversight purposes by government, involve the inclusion of ‘distinguished’ individuals to governing boards, of whom some may be politicians.

Similar to the approach seen with faculty, and members of the media, an overall distrust of the involvement of political parties in shared governance is showcased by the participants in this study. Interestingly, the involvement of political parties is often seen as being tied to identity politics and the promotion of extremist views. As will be seen in the next section on student involvement (or not) in shared governance, the participation of both political parties and students in decision-making was seen as being primarily driven by an extremist agenda from the participants in my study.

What is also, indeed, immediately noticeable is that the study’s participants did not at all consider as viable the inclusion of political parties or politicians in the sector’s discourse. Among the various ways that political parties may approach their involvement in the education sector is through publishing sponsored research that proposes an education sector platform or agenda. Such an agenda may involve promises in party platforms for greater funding, if elected. Or it may involve the promotion of certain causes related to education in the Legislative Chamber or Senate of Pakistan. While not exhaustive of all participant views on the subject, I was struck by the complete and total absence of any meaningful involvement that institutional educational governors felt could be played by politicians and political parties in the education ‘space’ in Pakistan.

Theme	Participant Voice
Politicians with Personal Agendas	As for politicians, I believe they tend to have an agenda and do not think they make a great deal of difference. I once sat in a meeting at a public-sector university where I noticed a person making suggestions who happened to possess a heavy political background. More so, I did not see any fruitful contribution from that person even though they were educated and enlightened. Furthermore, I believe because of his political background his vision was limited to his personal agenda and thus conflicting to the university’s goals. (University Vice-chancellor, Private sector, Male, Islamabad)
Politicians as Lacking Academic Training	I strongly believe that with reference to Pakistan if you ask, I cannot and will not say that political parties should be consulted. INTERVIEWER: Can I ask why? PARTICIPANT: I would love to answer that. A) That the political parties that we represent here in Pakistan, most of legislative, what should I say, candidates or our

	MNAs or MPAs, political leaders are not educated themselves. This is majority that I'm talking about Aamir - that is the dilemma of Pakistan. If they do not have legitimate degrees or proper education, irrespective its from Pakistan or from abroad. The leader that we have in the senate, in the houses, what's the point, you see. They cannot be consulted for selecting or planning our education. (University Rector, Private Sector, Female, Lahore)
Involvement of Political Groups as Linked to Aggression and Extremism	Their own political considerations, their own political preferences and their involvement in various types of activities which usually create interest articulated groups in the educational institutions especially in Pakistani universities especially University of Karachi while we see here with every political party has a student wing and directly or indirectly they maybe or may not be but mostly they are involved in aggressive politics, extremism and politics for their own for the one group not to allow others on the basis of might is right (Dean, Public sector, Male, Karachi)

Students

Certain geographic areas of the world (for example, Latin America) are strongly associated with high levels of student activism today. Others have been associated with student revolts and protests – so much so that they have been known to topple governments. Even as a young undergraduate student, the author remembers learning (with a certain amount of awe) about the historic Mai 68 (May 1968) period of social activism in France wherein, a social movement initiated by students (against a variety of establishment institutions) largely brought the French economy to a standstill. The reverberations of Mai 68 have been felt in France, especially, for decades but the lessons learnt about the power of students from this event are being taught in classrooms around the world to this day.

Student involvement in decision-making and governance in Pakistan has a troubled history. As related by my participants, the 1970s was a period that saw great social upheaval on the part of students in Pakistan. The military government of General Zia-ul-Haque had shut down political parties across the country and the lack of political expression that this action engendered resulted in a spill-over effect whereby political activism migrated to university campuses. Eventually, President Zia-Ul-Haque also banned activism and student protests in postsecondary institutions, and since then ensured that students would no longer be able to immobilize society and threaten ‘social harmony’ in the way they had in the 1970s. Since that time, student unions in Pakistan have been banned by the government and rendered illegal.

It was with little knowledge of the above historical context that I asked participants for

their views on the role that students (including student activism and student unions) could play in shared governance in the Pakistani higher education sector. Over three decades after the 1984 ban, attitudes towards the ‘appropriate’ role of students remain the same: namely, that student activism, especially through student unions, is not an eventuality that Pakistan is ready to accept.

The following views elicited by my participants are indicative of the various concerns raised around student governments, and have been pronounced uniformly by institutional governors from both public and private institutions. They paint a picture of students as being highly politicized, and not institutionalized enough to make a serious contribution to the political discourse in Pakistan generally speaking. The section summary provides some concluding statements from the researcher related to the impact that weak student activism (and an overall culture of shared governance) may have on the way that external agencies and international organizations impact the policy discourse in the context of Pakistan.

Politicization of Student Groups

The following excerpt suggests a lived situation by a university vice-chancellor of students at a particular institution in the city of Multan (central Pakistan) becoming indoctrinated at the time of admittance into the institution. It is my observation also that this quote suggests that students from rural areas (or from disadvantaged backgrounds) have less of an ability to ‘resist’ the advances of various groups, some of whom may be attempting to ‘sell’ a hard-line religious ideology:

INTERVIEWER: Can I ask why not student unions?

PARTICIPANT: .. we are reticent about having student unions because they become very political. When I was at Multan University, at the time of admissions, there were stalls set up and they would grab the students and inculcate and indoctrinate them with their own ideology. I think that was very dangerous. And then, if you have religious bodies as political bodies then it’s very difficult for students coming from rural areas to bypass them. It creates a lot of problems. (University Vice-Chancellor, Public Sector, Female)

While acknowledging the need for student involvement, a Pro-Rector in Islamabad highlighted the importance of not ceding space to radicalism and fringe groups through the involvement of student unions on campus. For this individual, it appears that a very real association between student activism and radical politics had emerged:

PARTICIPANT: There is no doubt the involvement of students should be there. Having said that, the past

experience of students unions have not been very good. And they were sort of patronized by political parties. So we need to find a mechanism whereby that model is not repeated so that the students union become influenced by the political parties, and in fact become one of their arms into their campuses and sort of advocate for them... but on the other hand, definitely there is a need for involvement of students even into the managing affairs of the institute. (University Pro-Rector, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

Student Activism as Supplanting Legitimate State/Institutional Authority

The fear of student activism in Pakistan manifests itself as a fear of the discord that would ensue if students were allowed some level of political activism. Such potential discord is rooted in the past experience of many university administrators in the period of the 1970s, in particular. The following participant speaks to the nature of the ‘havoc’ that took place during this time:

[Participant]: Involving students at this stage in Pakistan would be a step back as I am reminded of what happened at universities in the 1970s where students played havoc, academic calendars were never followed, a lot of political interferences and academic standards fell. Therefore, we Pakistanis would not like that age to return.

[Interviewer]: You mentioned the 1970s; can you expand a little bit further?

[Participant]: I am talking about a period before the arrival of Zia-ul-Haq? I was in a university in Lahore in earlier 70s before they came into power. These were really bad times. For example, graduation used to take six years rather than four because of student arrests on campuses. (University Rector, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

Concerns as those of the Rector cited above were also voiced by other senior institutional governors who noted, in one instance, that some student groups had become so highly politicized that even senior university appointments (such as that of Professor or Vice-Chancellor) could simply not take place without ‘approval’ from the students.

The Curious Case of Punjab University

One of the largest institutions of higher learning in Pakistan, the historic Punjab University, is beholden to the interests of the Jamaat-e-Islami (a political organization and social movement) according to several of my participants. The case of Punjab University was often characterized as a worse-case scenario of what can happen, if, students are allowed to organize and play an active role on university campuses in Pakistan. The charge made by several participants, as epitomized in the following excerpt, is that the Jamaat-e-Islami, a group that sees itself as being rooted in Islamic religious ideology, would not hesitate to organize itself on university campuses across the breadth and width of Pakistan if given half the chance by university administrators through the ‘opening-up’ of universities to student politicking and activism:

But to answer this question...its is actually .. a fact that formally, student unions have ceased to exist, do not play (a role). But informally, they do and they are (existing) .. some of them are very active in university affairs and in some universities, Punjab University for example, the Jamaat which is a student union belonging to the Jamaat-e-Islami which is a religious party. They do not exist formally but they see to it that certain codes of conduct which they have determined to be Islamic are carried out. ... they used to influence the hiring of faculty. They used to influence the you know, assessment, giving marks etc. So actually many members of the Punjab University are now those who show affiliation with this group, otherwise they wouldn't have been hired. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

Student Activism along Social Fault Lines

It may be argued that where student activism, and indeed activism of any kind, is most impactful is in an environment of 'shared' concerns that galvanizes the parties concerned to take action. This may be, for example, for or against a particular policy, regulation or piece of legislation. However, where activism takes place primarily along ethnic, tribal or religious fault lines, 'collective' activism may have a harder time emerging. The picture that has emerged from my study, as it pertains to student unions and student activism in Pakistan, is one of a fractured, unprofessional, disparate and unorganized (not to mention, illegal, given present governmental policy banning student unions) conglomeration of student bodies that break down primarily along social fault lines such as ethnicity, tribalism, religion, caste, political affiliation or immigration status (for example, Mohajir (immigrant) or not).

[PARTICIPANT:] To begin with student groups, our students are not mature enough to do this sort of thing you are talking about. When you're talking about an NUS (National Union of Students, United Kingdom), you're talking about a body which goes across many universities. I remember in England the NUS represented a highly respectable structure. Over here the moment you set up a student society it is going to get politicized. One of the reasons (participants' current institution) did not have a student union was because we knew it was going to get politicized. We tried it in (participants' previous institution) by having student societies and they were all politicized within the first day. How they get politicized is its actual political affiliations, through caste systems. that's how people get elected. 'I'm from the frontier, so I'm going to get all the frontier votes.' In this country if you want to have a student union, its a basic invitation to the Jamaat to create havoc. Punjab University being the best example of how student societies failed. (University Dean, Public Sector, Male, Lahore)

Cultural Factors Influencing Student Engagement

Most of the participants in my study, while united in their views of student activism as being counterproductive in the context of Pakistan, struggled, nevertheless to explain why - in their views - the situation was the way it was. Participants highlighted the experiences of the past (i.e.: student activism as being disruptive) and what they imagined would ensue in the future if

student unions were allowed a role in organizing (and by the same dint, an involvement in shared governance). However, few could proffer an explanation for this lack of professionalism and, in the words of one participant, maturity on the part of student groups.

One explanation may be found, according to an experienced Dean in Karachi, in societal attitudes of respect (dependency on cultural adherence to social norms) and adherence to authority more broadly. The excerpt below showcases the participants' view, in his own words, with respect to the treatment by students of elders in Pakistani society and the development of dependent (or as the participant suggests, 'semi-slavish' attitude). However, in the view of the researcher, the same point can be extended to authority figures in Pakistan generally speaking and not just elders.

PARTICIPANT: I found students as a body not the individuals. As a body, highly immature. Most of them playing for some vested interests. Those vested interests could exist within the institution like lobbies based on religion, based on ethnicity, based on certain ulterior motives, which are not even clearly defined. Or they would be tools of political parties. And they would rather respond to that. They would not have the independence of thinking.

INTERVIEWER: Why do you think student groups maybe here in Pakistan are not as mature, so to speak?

PARTICIPANT: Probably it has to do for the development of the society. Somehow we have a history, history sort of assumes, culture assumes that anybody who is elder has to be respected. And the equation develops in such a way that you become like a semi-slavish attitude, you don't put your views. You really don't talk.

(University Dean, Private Sector, Military College, Male, Karachi)

Another explanation for the broader root causes of a dearth of student activism in Pakistan is provided by the Dean of a private business-only university in Karachi. This Dean, an active social blogger and public intellectual, traces the decline of an overall societal culture of student activism to the lack of students interested in studying in the arts and humanities, subjects that, according to the participant, promote a level of free thinking, reasoning and questioning that is not promoted - at least not to the same degree - by subjects rooted in science-oriented disciplines:

[Participant]: So your question is do you think students should be playing a role in governance of the institution? I think not only the governance of the institution but they have traditionally played an active role in the governance of the countries. So whether it's the Vietnam War or whether it is the recent mobilization that you see in campuses in USA and elsewhere. In Pakistan we have been told that our major problem is science and technology, it is not. Pakistan is not behind because we are bad in science and technology. So it is because although the number of students has increased but the number of students studying liberal arts, sociology, languages, philosophy, that has decreased. So the crucial thinkers and the idea generation is not coming from Pakistan indigenously. (University Dean, Private Sector, Business College, Male, Karachi)

Section Summary

In concluding this section, the author would proffer several comments, based on the research evidence, related to student involvement in shared governance in the Pakistani context. Senior institutional governors from the Pakistani higher education sector paint a picture of any potential student activism and organizing in the country as being wholly dysfunctional. However, it is also the researcher's observation that the troubling picture of student activism, as painted by the research participants, is a result of the very lack of student unions and student activism.

The current situation is worsened by a continuing closure of, and banning of, student activism in Pakistan. Indeed, one wonders if the average Pakistani student may even know how to organize in a concerted, organized fashion at the micro (institution), meso (state), or macro (nation) levels given that, for over three decades, university campuses in Pakistan have been largely devoid of student organizing, thereby depriving generations of students of even a basic understanding of what student lobbying and advocacy could look like, if given the chance to develop.

With regard to the involvement of external agencies and international organizations (such as the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, UNESCO, etc) the wholesale lack of student organizing and activism in the higher education sector, is symptomatic of the overall malaise of a lack of a policy community in Pakistan. It is the author's contention that the provision of competing ideas and viewpoints, and an overall contribution to the richness of the governance discourse that may have been engendered had there been a policy community in Pakistan, would not have allowed international organizations to play as great a role in influencing the system. In other words, the development of a policy community in the higher education sector of Pakistan could have represented a bulwark against undue influence by supranational players not indigenous to Pakistan.

The next section, speaks to the existence (or lack thereof) of a policy community in the context of the Pakistani higher education sector.

4.5: Policy Community

As noted earlier, during the course of data collection in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad,

the researcher attempted to better understand the nature of decision-making and governance in the Pakistani higher education context in order to determine, above all, the nature of interactions between the endogenous and exogenous decision-makers in the higher education sector of Pakistan. One of the key themes that the researcher attempted to explore was that of shared governance between the various stakeholders in the system. This section further explores participant views vis-à-vis the related concept of a policy community, and concludes with a case study of the nature of present-day HEC consultations within the sector.

The previous section (Section 4.4) spoke to the lack of shared governance in the context of the Pakistani higher education sector. Based on the strength of the data evidence from interviews conducted with senior institutional, government and IGO participants, it is apparent that there is little in the way of formalized consultation or participation of many of the key stakeholders within the sector, especially faculty, students, as well as members of other sectors such as the media or political parties. This has resulted in a situation where, I suggest, a policy vacuum has been born, making the sector ripe for influence. It may be hypothesized that, since endogenous voices were not formally being consulted in the design of higher education policy in Pakistan, exogenous influences were able to play an out-sized influence.

An idea complementary to notions of consultation, negotiation and shared governance is that of a policy community (this concept was defined earlier in Section 2.1). By policy community, the author understands a system where consultations and negotiations are held in a lateral or horizontal manner with key stakeholders within that sector. A policy community, if it existed in the context of the Pakistani higher education community, could involve any of the following (non-exhaustive) list:

- Industry representatives;
- Accreditation councils;
- Student associations;
- Faculty associations;
- Municipal governments;
- University/College Ombudsperson;
- External funding agencies;
- Members of government agencies (federal and provincial);
- Sector research councils;
- Buffer bodies (arms-length but reporting to government)

The following excerpts and associated themes draw out some of the key points related to the notions of a policy community in the context of the governance of the Pakistani higher education sector. The researcher's own personal observations are provided for additional context.

The first bullet in the list above is Industry Representatives. Interactions with members of the private sector, including employers and businesses, is crucial for the long-term success of any higher education sector since the employability of graduates and alignment with labour market needs are key aspects of a well-functioning HE sector. The participant below, acknowledges the importance of the inclusion of a plurality of stakeholders in decision-making (given that students are a special type of 'product'), and singles out the market (industry and corporations) as being particularly important to include in consultations and negotiations:

And as far the involvement of other factors are concerned, definitely students and faculty and media, people from corporate sector, other stakeholders, their involvement, we do practice those things and definitely they are quite beneficial. Because what we are producing. Our product is to...where are we going to consume...to be consumed in the market. That's a different setup. In academia things are a bit different... Definitely the market. So their involvement, corporate involvement, and the feedback from other stakeholders, that's also very important. (University Dean, Private Sector, Female, Lahore)

Forums for Academic Consultations

In terms of forums for academic feedback and consultation, one may consider a variety of approaches. These may include:

- Physical conferences, seminars, and workshops;
- Feedback on White Papers, Policy Briefs, and other written documents;
- Teleconferences;
- Public media discussions (via newspapers, blog posts, social media posts, etc);
- Committee meetings (for example, through the HEC)

During the course of 43 interviews, only one participant, a senior university President in Lahore, gave a specific example that could be seen as an example of the existence of a policy community in Pakistan. Using a case study of a biotechnology conference, this President suggested that the Pakistani HEC had put forward a request for feedback and that, at this institution, a conference was convened with various stakeholders that resulted in a 'booklet' – a summary of the conferences' proceedings – and subsequently officially shared with the government through the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan:

PARTICIPANT - How do we give the feedback back to the government, we have been doing this there is a provision of conferences there is a provision of seminars there are group, think tanks there are formed at various levels especially at the universities and within the policy of higher education this is a very formal way of getting together from various aspects, this is a combination of all stakeholders, students faculty members, academicians and industry, everybody is coming at this forum, this is usually once a month and more than that we carry out national as well as international conferences on activities such as that whatever comes out its published in the form of a journal or it is otherwise published in the form of a policy paper or for that matter sort of working paper where there is a problem and somebody has asked us to do something and we organize these functions and objective is that then defined within the terms of reference of that particular problem. (President, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

Another Vice-Chancellor from the Greater Islamabad Capital Area also suggested that there was a higher level of consultation within the higher education sector than might be perceived by those outside the sector. The following excerpt is illustrative:

Yes, there is a Vice-Chancellors Committee that meets quite frequently. There was one yesterday. And these issues are discussed there. And if we have issues with any of the things that are happening there we are at liberty to talk. So, it is not as if they come as autonomous dictators and implant such things here. Its nothing like that. We are aware of what is happening and why it is happening and we have a voice (University Vice-Chancellor, Public Sector, Female, Rawalpindi)

Belief in a Policy Community by Sector

When asked if they believed in the existence of a policy community as a lived reality in the Pakistani context, government, institutional and external agency representatives provided a variety of perspectives. The chart below summarizes the overall belief in a policy community, bifurcated between the three main demographic groupings interviewed for the present study. Figure 7 (below) shows that, while institutional and intergovernmental organization representatives had lows levels of belief in the existence of the concept of a community (scores of 2.08 and 2.25 out of 5, respectively), that members of the government community themselves believed that there was such a community (score of 4 out of 5).

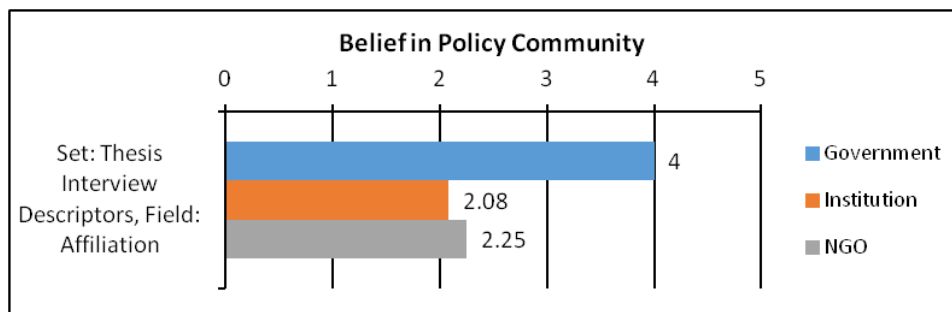


Figure 5: Belief in Policy Community - Preferences by Sectoral Participants

The following excerpt, from a representative of the HEC interviewed for the study, is illustrative of the large difference highlighted in the chart above:

PARTICIPANT: Let me tell you. I think this is one of the institutions of Pakistan which runs so many workshops, seminars, ...symposiums...and brings people in one room or at one platform. Whether they are from the social sciences, media sciences, journalists, military people, academics. I mean you name it. And we sit with them whether its the national donors, whether its the sponsors....Our doors are open. And when we have kind of a workshop or seminar, on any topic you know, the people come from all part of different communities or different like ... we always invite the Ambassadors of various countries or representative from the High Commissions. So they should also become a part of any kind of new idea we are bringing or new scheme we are bringing, or new policy we want to change. (Higher Education Commission Representative, Male, Islamabad)

It is striking, for the researcher, to note that the HEC representative spoke so prominently to the role played by donors, and representatives of foreign governments (Ambassadors and High Commissioners) in consultative meetings organized by the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan. The HEC representative suggestion that ‘this is one of the institutions of Pakistan that..’ suggests, to the researcher, that the HEC representative had benchmarked his organization against public consultation and stakeholder engagement conducted by other Pakistani government departments (ex: the Ministry of Transport or the Ministry of the Environment).

While international organizations and external donor agencies did not have high levels of belief, on the whole, in the existence of a policy community, the difference between multilateral and bilateral agencies is also worth highlighting, as seen in Figure 8 below:

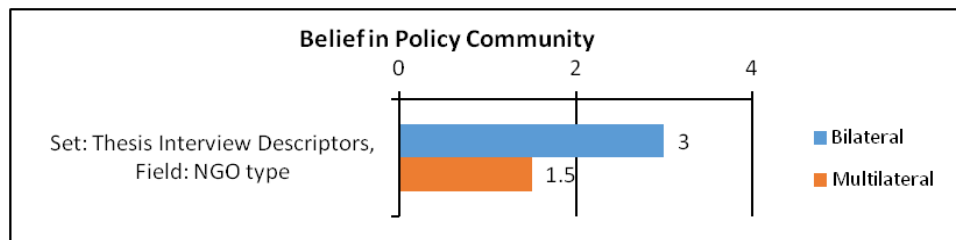


Figure 6: Belief in Policy Community - Preferences by Bilateral vs. Multilateral Donors

In terms of explanatory capacity for the above-noted results, the researcher would note that some of the most significant bilateral aid donors to the Government of Pakistan (such as USAID and the British Council) also maintain strong linkages within the HEC, and provide funding through

active projects. In the case of multilateral agencies, out of the three multilateral agencies interviewed for the present thesis, only one multilateral agency was also a donor agency. It may be that being an active donor, and hence being aware of the disbursement and implementation among stakeholders of donor funding programs, may explain the gap between bilateral and multilateral agencies with regard to an overall belief in the existence of a policy community. The following excerpts are illustrative:

PARTICIPANT: If you go back to 1980s, like when they structural program of the World Bank and IMF came to this country, and then 2001 to, the poverty reduction strategy paper came. And in the poverty reduction paper the government claimed that, that has been consulted with the civil society. It consulted with the academia. Although it was not consulted. It was only done by World Bank and IMF....I mentioned that at the start of my discussion. That there is a gap between the state and citizens. The state even don't consult the citizens. (Multilateral IGO Representative, Male, Islamabad)

PARTICIPANT: I would say that there is huge room for improvement in this regard, as I do not see a lot of consultation happening, in the way it should take place. The biggest stakeholders among universities are the private sector and industry, and unfortunately universities do not reach out to them. They are quite passive, just like the professors, I'm sorry to say. Universities, by nature, are academic institutions and the way the tenure system is structured, the way they are given incentives, this is all based on research - however this is not market-driven research and does not influence government decision-making. (Bilateral International Aid Agency Representative, Female, Islamabad)

It is apparent that government representatives believe in the existence of a policy community in the Pakistani higher education sector. However, the response on the part of the 'downstream' stakeholders in the sector (those affected by HEC policies and regulations) is mixed. Institutional governors, with few exceptions, believed that an effective policy community did not exist. Finally, multilateral and bilateral agency representatives provided a largely divergent view on whether or not a policy community existed, perhaps due, in part to their involvement in the sector from a technical assistance capacity, or from a funding capacity. The following section provides a case study of the on-the-ground working of the concepts of shared governance/policy community in the Pakistani higher education context.

Higher Education Commission (HEC) Consultations – A Case Study

The previous section highlighted the belief held by members of the state regulatory bodies that adequate and appropriate consultation and negotiation did take place within the higher education sector of Pakistan, with concerned stakeholders. Several institutional and external agency participants did, however, speak more specifically to the nature of 'consultations' – in

other words, stakeholder engagement, by the state. While some participants felt that they, or other concerned stakeholders (faculty, students, industry) were adequately consulted, others did not share the belief that meaningful and genuine dialogue was actually taking place between the HEC and sector stakeholders. The following excerpt is illustrative of the belief held by a university Vice-Chancellor that the state higher education authority often gives the appearance of consultation but instead is actually asking those being consulted to simply ‘rubber stamp’ their recommendations:

PARTICIPANT: Typically speaking again there are two versions of answering this. If you go to any especially higher official visit, HEC has so many committees. Vice chancellors are members of those committees or deans. And they sit together and we just facilitate their meetings. And whatever decisions they take that's approved by the HEC board. That's theory again. But in reality what happens is whatever the top management of HEC thinks they want to do it, they practically write down the drafts and many similar things. Then they circulate it among the vice chancellors. them a legal cover that they have consulted the vice chancellors and the faculty members.... So that's happening in all committees. Very few committees where the members come prepared, they really contribute, and 90 percent of the time things are decided by HEC officers. Whatever they want to write, they write. And 95 percent the text remains the same. (University Vice-Chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

The above excerpt, therefore, suggests that while, on paper, consultation with the university sector has ostensibly taken place, that, in reality agendas were set in advance, recommendations and communiques ‘pre-drafted’, and decisions already largely pre-made. The above excerpt speaks to the nature of committee consultation from the viewpoint of an institutional governor. A similar concern is, however, raised by the representative of a multilateral external agency in the following illuminating excerpt:

Because Pakistan is led by committees. Everybody there. But they come and sit on many committees. I have been involved in different issues, different area, they love to form a committee, they love to show we've been consulting each other, they are involved. But for the purpose of sake of ... giving their reasons that, okay we had done this, because they set a committee. (Multilateral Agency Representative, Male, Islamabad)

These two individuals, from very different professional worlds, corroborate each other’s perspective of committee consultations being pervasive in Pakistan but not a good measure of meaningful consultation. Furthermore, a private university Dean in Karachi made the point that despite the HEC noting it has consulted with various groups in their policies and reports, he questions to what extent their views are actually taken into consideration stating that, at the end of the day, policies adopted reflect the views of the ruling elite, and international organizations...

PARTICIPANT: You asked about where these policies and documents come from? Are they copy-pasted, translated - or even not translated - from Canada, the United States, the UK? the HEC people say look, this document is the product of consultative processes and procedures that are done like anywhere in the world. So, in other words, on paper and in rhetoric – whatever you say – at least a lot of it – is claimed to have been done in terms of consultation with faculty, students and NGOs/INGOs, and so on. The key question in Pakistan is whether this was really done. A major question is whether the voices of the people around the table are considered and accepted and whether they are listened to and engaged. And that is not just in the case of Pakistan but also in most of the developing countries. The voices on the table are the voices of the elite, of the government as well as some large donors and big, large international organizations. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Karachi)

This brief case study attempted to problematize and complicate the picture of shared governance as presented by the state authorities responsible for regulating the higher education sector in Pakistan by using HEC-led consultations with sector stakeholders as a case study. It is my observation that the Higher Education Commission does robustly engage in consultation with the sector, primarily (if not only) with institutional governors (Vice-Chancellors, Presidents, etc.) and with donor/funding agencies. However, while the consultations do take place in theory with institutional governors, some university participants actively questioned how meaningful and genuine these consultations actually are. Often, the appearance of active consultations seems to supersede meaningful dialogue (especially through ‘committees’), policy recommendations are set in advance, and the voices of the dominant players (especially donors and external international organizations) seem to win out over indigenous voices.

4.6: Institutional Governance Structures

The earlier sections within the present thesis have spoken to the relationships between the academy and the state. These sections considered the role of stakeholder groups in power sharing, the nature of devolution and delegation of power, considerations related to the appropriate role of the state regulatory body (the Higher Education Commission) and the existence or not of a policy community within the higher education sector. This section considers the governance structures internal to the academic environment in the context of Pakistan.

In particular, this section examines the overall perception of effectiveness of several governance mechanisms or vehicles most often present in the context of Pakistani higher education. These include (1) Vice-Chancellors/CEOs/Presidents, (2) Board of Governors/Board

of Trustees, and (3) Senates/Syndicates. The section concludes with a case study of the preparedness of individuals appointed to institutional governing boards, and makes the case for an indigenous training institute or module for senior institutional leaders (Deans, Vice-Chancellors, Board Members, etc.) operating in the Pakistani higher education sector.

It is germane, here, to highlight some of the structural differences in governance bodies within public and private institutions in Pakistan. By and large, public sector institutions have a Senate or Syndicate (at times, both such as at the NED University of Engineering and Technology) responsible for addressing academic matters and a Board of Governors to address broader strategy, management and fiscal matters. Executive power is usually vested in a Vice-Chancellor. With regard to the private sector, a Board of Trustees often exists alongside a Board of Governors. The title of the Executive office holder varies between President, CEO, Rector and Vice-Chancellor. Both sectors have, as the symbolic head of the institution, the Chancellor who is almost always the Provincial Chief Minister or Governor in the case of provincially-chartered institutions, and the President of the Federal Government of Pakistan, in the case of federally-chartered institutions. The Chancellor, while a symbolic role, is responsible for senior appointments, such as that of the office of the Vice-Chancellor or President.

In summary, when asked by the researcher to speak to their perceived effectiveness, overall, participants named CEOs, Presidents and Vice-Chancellors as being the most 'effective'. However, effectiveness was also equated with power and control for most participants. It is the observation of the researcher that, by and large, despite the existence of governing boards in the Pakistani higher education sector, one-man rule⁴ is exercised most often through the institutional executive office. Checks and balances on executive power are minimal due, in part, to ineffective governing boards, as will be demonstrated later in this section.

Academic Statutory Bodies: Senates/Syndicates

It is the author's observation that, with regard to academic bodies in Pakistani higher education institutions, Senates and Syndicates, especially in public-sector universities, are seen as being

⁴ The term is appropriate, according to the researcher, in the Pakistani context as most senior leaders interviewed were men, however, a more gender-neutral term may be one-person rule.

fairly effective and serve to scrutinize the actions of the executive officer:

[PARTICIPANT]: I think the syndicates and chancellors are very effective, we don't have a board of governors as such but we have a senate which meets once a year. So all these institutions, organizations or establishments within a university are responsible for looking at each and every action of the VC and its administration. (University Vice-Chancellor, Public Sector, Male, Karachi)

Syndicate is the highest body in a government (public sector) university and they give a very tough time to the vice-chancellor because the vice-chancellor has got immense powers he's autonomous, you cannot remove him, its a constitutional post for years, he's like a demigod, so the syndicates try to clip the wings of the vice-chancellor. (University Vice-Chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

While some participants suggested that the large composition of members on such bodies can render them unwieldy at times, that nonetheless, they do serve as (perhaps the only) check on the unrivaled power of the institutional executive officer.

[Participant]: Firstly, regarding senate and syndicate, I believe they hold very large forums that sometimes comprise of fifty to hundred members. As such, reaching a consensus or having a logical discussion is rather difficult in large forums. These forums should consist of limited members with educated backgrounds that can provide sound inputs. (University Rector, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

Senate are not powerful- they are too large, but, syndicates are. And officially its the syndicate which makes the policy and not the Vice Chancellor. But unofficially it's the Vice Chancellor makes the policy and not the other way around. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

It should be noted that the above applies primarily to public-sector universities. In this sector, Senates and Syndicates play an important governance role. As noted above, participants suggested that one of the main issues with public-sector Senates/Syndicates, despite their unwieldy composition, is that they are the only viable governance structure to monitor the actions of the office of the Vice-Chancellor. However, it is the observation of the researcher that despite the foregoing, university vice-chancellors chair the meetings of the Senate/Syndicate, set the agenda, and appoint many of the members to these bodies. Participants noted that, while theoretically meetings of the Senate/Syndicate and its senior member appointments are to be made by the Chancellor (Provincial Governor or Pakistani President), that practically these powers are vested in the VC's office since the Chancellor cannot practically exercise them. For example, the Chief Minister of Sindh, despite being the ceremonial Chancellor of all provincially-chartered universities in the province, cannot him or herself chair each institutional Senate/Syndicate meeting.

Management Statutory Bodies: Board of Governors/Board of Trustees

Above, we considered the data evidence vis-a-vis statutory governance bodies such as the Senate/Syndicate. This section undertakes an examination of the managing boards at Pakistani postsecondary institutions, known by the title of Board of Governors at most public-sector institutions, and as a Board of Trustees at most private-sector institutions.

Governance in Pakistan's higher education sector is closely connected to governing boards of some kind. Even at public sector institutions with an academically focuses Syndicate or Senate, a governing board works alongside other bodies to manage the long-term affairs of the institution, including its financial resources. Oftentimes, the exact composition of the Board is decided by the university's Charter and will outline the number of individuals to be sourced from particular sectors of the economy.

For example, a typical Pakistani university Charter will require that the governing board be comprised of individuals from the judicial, government and academic sectors. An example may be found in consulting the composition of the Board of Governors of Iqra University, (Iqra University Ordinance, 2000: 11) a private postsecondary institution in Karachi which is outlined as follows:

- a. The Chairman shall be the Chairman of the Board.
- b. A Judge of the High Court nominated by the Chief Justice High Court of Sindh.
- c. The Chairman of the University Grants Commission or his nominee.
- d. The Vice Chancellor of a University or an eminent scholar to be nominated by the Chancellor.
- e. The Secretary to Government of Sindh, Education Department or his nominee.
- f. Director Finance who shall act as Secretary of the Board.
- g. President, Chamber of Commerce and Industry.
- h. One scientist of International repute to be nominated by the Board of Governors.
- i. Three persons nominated by the Society.

In terms of the effectiveness of university governing boards, this was identified as a critical recommendation from the 2002 Task Force as well:

5.1.2 In order to ensure accountability for institutional performance, each university must have a strong and independent governing or policy making body that may be called a Governing Board (GB) appointed by the Chancellor from candidates nominated by a nominating committee of the Board, and an independent system of management that is accountable to it (Task Force, 2002: Section 5.1)

Participants interviewed for the present study had several perspectives with regard to the

effectiveness of institutional governing boards in the context of Pakistani higher education. Some senior institutional leaders believed that governing boards were, in fact, effective and functioning as they were supposed given that the individual members of the boards were all distinguished individuals. Others felt that governing boards as a governance vehicle in Pakistan could be improved. The details below provide some further nuances related to the functioning of institutional governing boards:

The participant excerpted below, himself a VC, suggests that the ability to ‘direct’ the members of the Board of Governors/Trustees (read: obfuscate) is something that the executive officer may do, if he or she wishes it. The picture painted by the participant lends credence to the researcher’s overall observation, as mentioned earlier in the section on Executive Officers (above), that an excessive amount of power is concentrated in the hands of the average university VC in Pakistan:

So I've always seen, that's why vice chancellor again takes over. He prepares the agenda items. He tries to manipulate the words. And that means he tried to present facts and tries to hide something which is not done properly. ..very few times I have seen them asking questions or why this thing is like this, why that is it, how did this increase, why this is ... so those type of things are hardly there. ...Again I will say that Pakistan is basically a top level power concentration society. So we have tried to borrow these concepts from the west, making boards and doing all these things. But they are just ways to tell donors or say, no there is a consultative process. We have an oversight. But in reality it hardly comes up. (University Vice-Chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

In certain situations, governing boards at institutions showcasing special characteristics may have special requirements for the selection of their members. Such circumstances may include a role for a particular sector (such as the military sector (which has governed Pakistan for almost half of its history)), or institutions that have special religious denominational links. The following participant speaks to his perception of the greater role academics should play on his institutional governing board, currently dominated by members from the military establishment:

[PARTICIPANT]: This is a very interesting question. My university is military based. The BOG is mostly comprised of experienced army officers who know what their roles are possess vast experiences from sitting on boards in the past. However, I think they are not very highly academic in nature. They should be as with an academic background you are able to understand the functions of what is required and how to maintain quality. I think it is important that the board of members have greater academic backgrounds. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Rawalpindi)

It is the researcher’s observation that, in the absence of faculty representatives (see typical Board composition quoted above) and academics sitting on the governing boards of universities, most

of the functionalities of university governing boards will have to be non-academic by definition. A lack of ‘academic’ expertise (an understanding of the academy) including matters related to institutional autonomy, academic freedom, collegial governance will allow board members, no matter how ‘eminent’, to only address management issues of, for example, revenue generation, etc.

While the composition and selection/appointment of members of governing boards is an important factor, so is the personal, professional and academic background of the individual in question. An academic background, as mentioned above, has been seen by some participants as being particularly helpful for the effective governance of university governing boards to be discharged. However, the participants quoted below also suggest that members of governing boards with academic or professional experience outside Pakistan bring particularly valuable insights for board governance:

Board of governors are important. They usually give the vision. What I’ve seen is, wherever we have some seasoned or foreign, by foreign I don’t mean White or somebody, but somebody who has exposure from outside and he is on the board then his inputs or her inputs are much better than someone...Let me give you an example. Sometimes these board of governors have a person from one of the High Court judges, sometimes an armed forces person, sometimes a bureaucrat all these people are pretty limited, in terms of their educational insights... (University Rector, Private Sector, Male, Karachi)

Peer-to-peer learning from one board member to another is the major point highlighted by the private university President excerpted below; however, the learning that is privileged by this university President is that undertaken by foreign academics:

So, we were lucky by design as well as by fortune as we recruited a number of very experienced global academics who have gone through all this capacity building. So, they in turn, would be a great source of inspiration and learning for board members who did not perhaps have a similar background. (University President, Private Sector, Male, Karachi)

While the practice may be referred to under various names such as capacity building, and learning global best practices it is the observation of the researcher that the inclusion of non-Pakistani (foreign) voices on university governing boards brings a measure of external policy borrowing to university governance in Pakistan. For example, a hypothetical academic from the University of Missouri trained in the governance style of that institution and who is asked to serve on the governing board of a Pakistani university will undoubtedly bring some of her/his understandings of American governance practices, styles and processes to bear in the

Pakistani context. This is not necessarily a bad situation. Postsecondary institutions and their students and faculty the world over, strive to 'global' in their outlook. Incorporating best practices and lessons learnt abroad is not automatically a bad thing. However, the researcher is suggesting that the phenomenon be simply named and acknowledged.

Board of Trustees at Private Institutions

As we have noted above, the academic background of Board members matters, as does where they have received their education and training. In the eyes of some participants at least, being educated abroad results in interventions from Board members that introduces some manner of externally learnt lessons into the domestic context. An additional overlay that may also be worth mentioning is the difference between public and private sector Boards of Trustees at Pakistani HEIs. Since the private sector comprises a large share of the Pakistani HE sector (41%), it is worth dedicating space to differences in the governance modalities of this sector.

One such difference is the impact that private ownership can have on governance. Public sector universities do not, in theory, exist for resource/revenue generation, while private universities do. Some may argue that an institution's private status allows it to be more efficient and streamlined as it must cater to the bottom-line; others argue that the public sector is best suited to catering for the broader public good since public HEIs exist as non-profits. Whatever the case may be, the data evidence, at least vis-a-vis the particular case of governing boards at private sector Pakistani universities, suggests a situation where the Board's de facto inclusion of the institution's private sector investors can be troubling. Let us consider the following two data points:

PARTICIPANT: In private its a very bad situation. Even another layer of governance which is called Board of Trustees. And the one who invested in the private university.

INTERVIEWER: The owner?

PARTICIPANT: So called owners. Because university cannot have owners. That's why the owners are like they are Trustees of the university. So in the private sector you will find relatively more perverse governance than public sector universities... so their Vice Chancellor maybe a puppet in many cases. And the real power is concentrated with the owners. (Vice-Chancellor, Male, Private Sector, Islamabad Capital Area)

[PARTICIPANT]: In private sector universities, the BOG candidates are comprised of a majority of family members. In addition, I do believe there is a dire need for administrative training. (University Dean, Male, Private Sector, Lahore)

Both participants suggest a nuance here that is worth repeating: academic institutions that are run as private institutions may be efficient, but often their power structure is designed to always allow for power to be vested in the hands of the institution's owners and investors (including the family members of these owners and investors). One may argue that matters that are in the best interests of the academic sector of Pakistan, as a whole, may thus be far removed from the major considerations that the owners and investors that comprise the membership of private sector Boards review on a regular basis.

Chancellors

I was often perplexed, during my time undertaking data collection in Pakistan, to see the same names and titles appearing for the office of Chancellor at both public and private sector universities. Generally speaking, the Chancellor in provincially-chartered universities would be the Provincial Governor, while the Chancellor in federally-chartered universities would be the Federal President. Therefore, the Chancellery would be vested in the same individual across a plethora of institutions across Pakistan. For example, the Chancellor of the Dow University of Health Sciences (a provincially-chartered, public institution) is the Governor of Sindh Province. The same individual and office holder is also the Chancellor of Iqra University (a provincially chartered, private institution).

In other instances, the office of the Chancellor will reflect connections to a particular benefactor or sector. For example, Chancellor of the Aga Khan University in Karachi (a federally chartered, private university) is the main benefactor of the university: the Aga Khan (the spiritual leader of the global Ismaili Muslim community), and in the case of Foundation University in Islamabad (a private, federally-chartered university) the Chancellor is the Secretary of Defense, Government of Pakistan (reflecting this institution's links to the Pakistani military).

While it would be beyond the scope of this study to compare across jurisdictions the office of the Chancellor, the researcher would proffer, as an aside, a quick comparison to the Canadian model of the office of the university Chancellor. Generally speaking, in most North American universities, the Chancellor is appointed for their ability to raise the profile of the institution,

establish international linkages and fundraise for the institution. Therefore, individuals who have achieved some measure of public recognition in their professional endeavors are appointed to the post. For example, the Chancellor of Laurentian University in Sudbury, Ontario, Canada is Steve Paikin, a distinguished media personality.

What explains, in the case of Pakistan, the nature of the Chancellery office being vested in the either the Provincial Governor or the Federal President in many instances? It might be a vestige of Pakistan's colonial heritage where power flowed in a top-down hierarchical manner from the British colonial rulers. However, the excerpt from a university Dean below allows us to consider a different lens:

Now in this country, the chancellor is dependent on whether you have a Federal Charter its the president of Pakistan, or if you have the Provincial Charter its the governor...The status that you put forward to have your university approved does not require that you have either the governor or the president as your chancellor... we do it we do it because we're hoping that we will be able to get money from the provincial or federal government, and make them happy, otherwise our case would be pending in the National Assembly for the next 25 years. So governance problems start right at the top....When they go for their accreditation abroad the first thing they are going to object to is that your governance structure has the president of Pakistan as your chancellor; who has the right to remove your vice chancellor at a whim. (University Dean, Public Sector, Male, Lahore)

Therefore, as highlighted above, there is no requirement whatsoever in any policy or regulation that the university Chancellor's role in Pakistan must be vested in a particular office, however, the role is 'offered' to the head of the level of government from whom the Charter is sought in order to have the university Charter or Act in question promulgated in the provincial or federal assembly in a reasonable timeframe. It should also be noted, as highlighted above by the participant, that international accrediting bodies appear to frown upon the ability of a university Chancellor (linked to the State) to remove the Chief Executive Officer, ostensibly, as an impediment to institutional autonomy and academic freedom.

The Pro-Rector at a private institution in Rawalpindi, with strong support and backing from the military sector, notes that their institutional Chancellor, the President of Pakistan, rarely chairs the meeting of the Board of Governors. However, implicit in the excerpt below according to the researcher, is an admission that the role of the university Chancellor being vested in the President is simply not practical as the tasks assigned for the role (such as chairing board meetings) simply cannot be undertaken by an office holder who is also running a nuclear-armed

nation of over 250million people:

...we have a pro-chancellor, who is the Chief of the Army Staff. And then the chancellor is the President of Pakistan. President of Pakistan rarely chairs... he is supposed to chair the Board of Governor's meeting. (University Pro-Rector, Private Sector, Male, Rawalpindi)

The above-mentioned concern voiced above regarding the impracticality of the same individual and office holder overseeing a multiplicity of institutions is voiced by the Head of a Provincial Higher Education Commission in Pakistan, who states, as seen in the excerpt below, that a better governance structure – one that more efficiently utilizes the checks and balances power of the Chancellor's office – may be found in allowing each Pakistani postsecondary institution to have their own Chancellor. Since it is neither possible nor practical from a governance perspective for multiple institutions to be answerable to the same office holder (especially when that office is the highest in the country or province), the participant below makes the case for a different government model:

INTERVIEWER: If you could change one thing regarding governance in Pakistan higher education, what would you change? PARTICIPANT: Change the governance structure. In Punjab, every university has a Governor...So theoretically, technically he is to oversee the universities. It can't be done practically because he is one person, you have 15 or 16 universities. So how would he oversee that...And everyone should have their (own) Chancellor. Not the Chancellor from the board of governors, but their own Chancellor...There would be a check on the vice chancellor. His decisions over the syndicate would be checked, like how he is making his decisions. (Representative, Provincial Higher Education Commission)

This section briefly outlined the nature of the office of the Chancellor, in Pakistani higher education institutions and suggested that the Pakistani model of vesting the role of the Chancellor's office in the same office holder, across multiple institutions, may be a model worth reviewing. Participants interviewed for this study, including the Head of a Provincial Higher Education Commission, suggest that the Chancellor's office could be better utilized, if reformed. The researcher suggests, therefore, based on personal observations and the views of study participants, that consideration be given to the Chancellor role of public and private universities being vested in an office holder selected for their ability to generate revenues and raise the public profile of the institution – and provide a real and meaningful oversight role over the all-powerful role of the Chief Executive (VC, Rector, President) at Pakistani universities.

The Executive Office: Vice-Chancellor/CEO/Rector/President

It has been noted before by the researcher, elsewhere in this thesis, that there is a dichotomy between theory and practice in the context of governance within the Pakistani higher education sector. The excerpt from a private university vice-chancellor speaks to the way governance is structured in legal and regulatory frameworks (for example, university Acts), and the way governance takes place in person. Certainly, it must be acknowledged that much is dependent on the institution's governance 'culture'. However, the following excerpt does fit within the broader trend experienced by the researcher:

PARTICIPANT: But that's sorry what the culture ... that is the illegal way. But if you read the act, act is not written like this. Like my university Act or any public sector university Act. It provides a complete delegation of power framework that who can do what. And practically all important decision making is given to statutory bodies like board of studies, academic council, finance and planning committee, selection board, syndicate, senate...and typically their members run into 10 to 15 in each body. And their vice chancellor chairs those meetings. He doesn't have any special powers. But as I said, since all these guys are puppet guys, so practically whatever the vice chancellor says, it goes through....And that power is delegated to statutory bodies. Practically vice chancellor has most of the power. (Vice-Chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

As can be seen above, it was felt by the participant that despite theoretical power-sharing to various statutory bodies within the university being enshrined in the university's 'founding documents', this type of power sharing simply was not taking place; the locus of control was to be found in the office of the executive. This sentiment was echoed time and time again by various participants, in both the public and private higher education sectors.

Cultural Explanations for Concentration of Power

What explains and accounts for the large concentration of power seen vested in the office of the executive officer of Pakistani universities? For some participants, the answer lay - at least partially - in colonial legacies and public sector traditions. The following excerpt suggests that a top-down approach in terms of power concentration might emanate from colonial legacies:

PARTICIPANT: ... You need to understand the culture of Pakistan. And historically speaking Pakistan remained a British colony. And there always the power was concentrated at the top. Which means the Governor General down to the governors and then to the deputy commissioners. And so that model still exists. So whenever we have an institution, its head typically, even though its not written in the Act. Act clearly says what vice chancellor cannot do or can do. But typically, I've seen the strongly headed vice chancellors they are almost, they bulldoze practically. They appoint puppets at those offices which have some power. And it's one man show in most cases. (Vice-Chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

The excerpt below, in the same vein as a cultural explanation (as espoused above), suggests the presence of a tradition of concentration of power in both the Pakistani public and private sectors:

Now I will make one general point however, which is that the Pakistani public sector tradition and even the private sector tradition mostly is that the leader, the boss, usually has excessive power. So the authority's invested in the top person, one person. My senses are generally excessive perhaps they have found it useful means of getting decisions and moving forward and all of that. (President/Director, Public Sector, Male, Karachi)

According to the researcher, such explanations for (dysfunctional) governance (namely culture and tradition), while perfectly valid, are difficult to justify when a comparative approach is used involving countries that have also been historically colonized by the British but have developed governance modalities and traditions that allow for effective dialogue and negotiation. It seems that, on the whole, Pakistani institutions opt for efficient (read: faster), decision-making, rather than effective (read: best) decision-making. Further data evidence for such top-down, concentration of decision-making modalities in the institutional governance structure of Pakistani HEIs includes the following comment:

Practically my observation is VC is more proactive. And has a more sort of an active role in most of the Pakistani universities. It depends on his personality also. It depends on his management style also...senate and academic councils are also important. So ideally there should be a good balance. They should be healthy sort of a debate and decision by consensus. But if you ask me, between the three which is the most sort of powerful or more effective, it is the VC, followed by the senate and then the board of governors. (University Vice-Chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

PARTICIPANT: Well, practically it is the chief executive. In public sector they call it vice chancellor. In private sector its usually is the rector. He runs the show or she runs the show. The other bodies are more or less ceremonial, and are not decision making bodies. They may be legally required bodies to be present. But most of the work is done by the chief executive. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

Such acknowledgment of the traditional concentration of power at Pakistani HEIs is also echoed in the voices of some of the external policy actors active in Pakistan's HE sector. The following representative of a bilateral aid agency (well-known as being active in the Pakistani education space) acknowledges greater ease in working from the top-down, as opposed to with faculty, Chair-holders or even Deans, directly:

[PARTICIPANT]: In my opinion, initiatives emanating from the VC's office will get implemented. There are Deans that are empowered to take actions on their own but often it is easier to get things done when the Vice-chancellor's office is involved, and the Deans know that their senior management is aware. Such an approach also avoids duplication because Dean's often state their need to contact their Vice-chancellors

before undertaking a project. So, in my personal opinion, most of the work which we do is usually done through the VC's office. (Bilateral Agency Representative, Male, Islamabad)

Case-Study: Preparedness of Board Members

During the course of data collection, some senior institutional participants with lived experience and knowledge of the functioning of governing Boards in the Pakistani context suggested that Board members could be better equipped and prepared for the important task they are asked to perform. For example, the university Dean in the following excerpt suggested that the Board members he had been exposed to did not play a very active governing role:

PARTICIPANT: Unfortunately, in my opinion, that's my personal opinion, that board of governors is not very prepared, not proactive; they meet maybe once or twice in a year. And the members of the board of governors are hardly concerned with what is going on in the universities. So they are only concerned if the matter is brought to them. And they can voice their opinion in a meeting. They may be prepared, but I consider most of them are not very prepared, not very well read about the university and what the university is doing. So the board of governors is ultimately, the authority which sanctions all financial powers, all financial resources, all (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad Capital Area)

The following excerpt from a private university vice-chancellor suggests that, in his opinion, political interference and the nominations of members on governing boards is oftentimes politically-motivated and not based on (academic merit). Transparent and open selection processes are, of course, critical to the effective governing of any institution.

PARTICIPANT: Well, in Pakistan, unfortunately, all three groups are being misused. And all three have groupings and political inclinations which lead to destruction of education. Senates of our biggest universities, public sector universities are a matter of leg pulling of each other. These are meant to be purely academic bodies....In this university we do not have any grouping. Because deans and faculty members are always on board. We have selection board which is transparent. Where vice chancellor chairs and the dean and HOD or principal of a college are part of that selection process. It is not done on some recommendation by some politicians, and purely based on academic standing. (University Vice-Chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

As suggested by the private sector Vice-Chancellor quoted above, nominations of individuals to university governing boards, whatever body that might be, is affected by the involvement of the politicians or, the 'state' writ large. It is the observation of the researcher that while one can see a role for the government, provincial or federal, in public-sector institutional board nominations that receive state funding, it is not clear what the same approach may be able to provide in the case of private-sector institutions, especially since private sector HEIs are also required to furnish extensive reports to the Federal HEC.

Section Summary

We saw in this section (4.6: Institutional Governance Structures), that, by and large, the Executive Office at Pakistani HEIs wields a large amount of influence in terms of governance, compared to Senates/Syndicates and Board of Governors/Board of Trustees. We also highlighted the nature of some dysfunctionality in the governance modalities, as presently set-up in the system.

For example, it was noted that governing boards were often seen as being ‘beholden’ to direction from the Executive Office, that Board members were often ill-prepared for the tasks they were asked to perform, that the composition of Board members at certain types of institutions (such as those run by the military) and at private sector HEIs may raise questions about their effectiveness, and that the selection processes for Board members could stand further scrutiny. The nature of the Chancellery was also examined with the overall impracticality of present system design highlighted.

Overall, the picture that has emerged suggests that Pakistani governance modalities in the higher education sector exist in alignment with global trends: there are theoretical checks and balances that exist in the system, Board meetings are held regularly, and Chancellors are appointed. However, in reality, it appears there is some dysfunction that presently exists in terms of internal HEI governance that does not allow praxis to be in harmony with theory. Concentration of power in the Executive Office is still de jure and power sharing, academic collegiality, and consultation limited.

On the strength of the interview evidence presented above, a policy recommendation that may merit consideration in the context of Pakistan is for the members of university governing boards to only be appointed following the completion of a mandatory in-person training workshop offered by the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan. Such a workshop and training module could include the following components as a preliminary suggested list:

- Historical Development of Higher Education in Pakistan;
- Fiduciary Responsibility of Governing Boards;
- Academic Freedom and Institutional Autonomy;
- Checks and Balances between Institutional Governing Bodies;
- Regulation of the Higher Education Sector – Federal and Provincial

4.7: Devolution Matters

During the course of my doctoral fieldwork, few themes elicited such widespread reaction as did the matter of devolution, as well as its governance corollaries: that of centralization and decentralization. As Bray states:

“Debates about the appropriate locus of control in education systems are often heated and are usually difficult to resolve. The reasons for this are political as well as technical, for the nature and degree of centralization or decentralization influence not only the scale and shape of education systems but also the access to education by different groups” (Bray, 2007: 219)

I cannot think of one interview, out of the 43 conducted with senior academic, government and external agency/IGO leaders across three cities in Pakistan, where both the ‘politics’ and the ‘technicality’ of the ‘appropriate locus’ of control in the context of Pakistan was not breached. This was not only because the theme was touched upon as a question in the interview guide and surveys, but also because the matter of federal vs. provincial control of education, was, in actuality, being debated and discussed in the Supreme Court of Pakistan in 2017. At stake was the Higher Education Commission’s monopoly over higher education regulation in light of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan (as discussed in Section 4.3).

Indeed, germane to the present study, during my time in Pakistan, concerns abounded related to the role of international organizations in Pakistan’s devolution, and, hence, internal governance. An illuminating example of this public debate is seen in the following example from one of the country’s largest, English-language daily newspapers: Dawn (in reference to the energy sector):

Mr. Rabbani (Chairman of the Senate of Pakistan) said this was not the first case and observed that since the passage of the 18th Amendment, some foreign organizations and donors were trying hard to roll back the scheme of devolution....Interference of international donors, especially the IMF and World Bank in policy decisions and legislations, in any form, exposes the national security of the country which can be manipulated to the disadvantage of the state. (‘Centre should exercise authority jointly with provinces: Rabbani’, Dawn Newspaper, January 24, 2018)

In Bray’s typology of centralization vs. decentralization - devolution (which is the reality in Pakistan’s context), is seen as the farthest point in which decentralization as a concept may be taken. Bray cites at least three sub-categories of territorial decentralization, in order of magnitude, namely: (1) deconcentration, (2) delegation, and (3) devolution. Indeed, Bray notes

that:

Devolution is the most extreme of these three forms of territorial decentralization. Powers are formally held at sub-national levels, the officers of which do not need to seek higher-level approval for their action. (Bray, 2007: 209)

Given its central importance to the governance of a higher education sector as a whole, the researcher was particularly interested in the ways that government, institutions and international organizations (in other words, the research participants by sector) active in Pakistani higher education viewed centralization vs. decentralization in the context of Pakistan. I was interested in determining to what extent the study participants aligned on the matter of devolution, especially the endogenous vs. the exogenous study participants. However, perhaps more so than any of the other study participants, the views of the senior federal and provincial government representatives⁵ interviewed for this study are particularly important to highlight here, given their respective vantage points on the topic under discussion. Not surprisingly, these interviews illustrated that the federal government representative was highly favourable towards centralization (and critical of decentralization), while the provincial government interview suggested that decentralization and devolution could offer the greatest benefits to Pakistan's higher education sector development. The following quotes are illustrative:

Federal HEC Representative	Provincial HEC Representative
PARTICIPANT: In my opinion you know this is a centralized body over here. And Higher Education Commission has its own regional centers in every province. In Quetta we have regional center. In Karachi we have for the Sindh and similarly Lahore for Punjab. Instead of having a separate Higher Education Commission of Punjab. HEC should have more emphasis like strengthening the regional centers. And the regional centers are just taking care of the academic institutions or higher education institutions of that province.	PARTICIPANT: I'm a strong believer in decentralization and devolution. In my opinion, the more you decentralize, devolve, the more effective, efficient decision making becomes. So if you centralize more, there would be a delay and misuse of funds and authority. One misuse would be that you will spoil the whole system. If you devolve then the responsibility would increase. Everybody will take their own responsibility. So responsibility would increase and work would be done much quicker.

As can be seen in the quote above, the federal HEC representative notes that devolution is not his

⁵ As noted in Section 3.2, for reasons of anonymity, the names of the participants are not listed. However, each of the two representatives were senior figures in their respective jurisdictions, federal and provincial.

preferred governance model in the case of Pakistan, but he does advise that there are five 'regional centres' for the federal higher education commission that work in each province and are focused on the local higher education issues, while being mindful of national/federal concerns. The federal government representative, therefore, believes that Pakistan is better served by a centralized approach to higher education governance while allowing for provincial needs to be accommodated through so-called 'regional centres'. By contrast, the provincial representative (leader of a provincial Higher Education Commission), suggests that centralization of higher education governance in Pakistan may lead to greater levels of mismanagement, while, on the other hand, decentralization leads to greater ownership and responsibility and, hence, efficiency. At least on the question of the appropriate locus of control over HE governance in Pakistan, there is clear misalignment between levels of government. We now turn to the views, on the question of devolution, from some of the exogenous participants in the study.

The UNESCO representative suggested that Pakistan needs to have its two levels of government working together for the best outcomes in the system but then goes on to say that it is important to maintain norms and standards, and that harmonization and standardization are important in today's 'global village'. Pakistan is not, he says, isolated as a country and must engage with others in this global economy - hence the importance of standards:

PARTICIPANT: I would say, because you used two keywords, regulating and controlling. I see the other way around, maybe a different way around. I think that the problem happening here is also that the provincial authority thinks that the federal level is not controlling, maintaining their influence. What I would suggest through that operation at the university, they need to work together.... But as a nation you need to have a standard classification, harmonization required. And also particularly in higher education, you need to have power of accreditation with other region. Because now we have a global village. We cannot isolate as a Pakistan. Also we need to compare. Also things are ... age of information that ... so what I would say, we need an entity at a federal level to really ensure, to harmonize (UNESCO Representative, field interviews)

The wording used by the UNESCO representative is perhaps explained by the central role that UNESCO plays in the ISCED classification scheme across education systems, a major tenet of which is, by necessity, mutual comparability of education systems.

External Actor Preference for a 'one-stop-shop' Approach

Another good example is the bilateral agency (British Council) representative-who notes that devolution and decentralization have merit as governance modalities; however they are not appropriate in the context of Pakistan because of a fear of variations of standards from one province to another. This representative suggests that it is preferable from the point-of-view of international actors to have a 'one-stop-shop' approach and work with one level of government rather than multiple levels:

[PARTICIPANT]: In my personal opinion, devolution is not the right way out for Pakistan at the present time. You might have heard of the presence of other bodies such as the Punjab Higher Education Commission or the Sindh Higher Education Commission which are now playing a role in the governance of the system. For international bodies however, it is important to have a one-stop shop approach. For example, for countries like Canada or the United Kingdom, should they wish to work in the higher education sector of Pakistan, it would be easier to have one approach over four approaches (to work with). We do talk of decentralization or devolution but that is not the way out at the moment because the university sector is still growing and maturing and without a central approach, there is a risk of not having uniform policies across the country. There has to be some standardization and some body managing this centrally. (British Council Representative, Male, Islamabad)

The point made by the bilateral agency representative is informative as it speaks to a certain self-interest on the part of international organizations active in developing countries, like Pakistan. Regardless of the question of the appropriate locus of control, perhaps, it is informative for policy makers and researchers to keep in mind that it will always be easier for an international organization to fund, partner, monitor and enforce loan and grant agreements with one central government (hence favouring centralization), rather than several sub-national governments. This desire of IGOs to work with federal governments over provincial ones (even those that have some measure of Constitutional responsibility over education) was echoed by the Provincial HEC representative interviewed for this study who suggested that his multiple attempts at working with donor agencies had, to date, been in vain as these organizations uniformly appear to favour working with the Pakistani national government:

INTERVIEWER: So what are their (external actor) views on devolution? Have they spoken to you about this, or they have told that it's a good thing, bad thing, positive or negative?

PARTICIPANT: They think that theoretically it's a good thing, but for them it is difficult to go to five places to negotiate...

INTERVIEWER: Coordination.

PARTICIPANT: ...plus federal government, so its difficult for them. So they out of their own ease they focus their stay on Islamabad

(Interview, Provincial Higher Education Commission Representative)

While territorial decentralization (distribution of powers between levels of government; Bray 2007) may have taken place, a concurrent failure to also transfer accountability and resources will doom from the very start even the best of intentions. Most participants in my interviews agreed on several themes related to devolution and decentralization (discussed later in this section), however a major vein undergirding individuals' views on the debate was a lack of resources from the authorities to whom power had been devolved. A lack of resources (the power to provide funding) is also congruent with a lack of enforcement mechanisms (read: the power to limit cut or withhold funding).

This view is echoed in the World Bank's recent 2018 World Development Report on Education which suggests that devolution or decentralization (including in the specific case of Pakistan) without the appropriate accompanying resources is not conducive to true implementation of devolution:

Decentralization policies aim to increase policy responsiveness and accountability, but many times they delegate accountability for results without the authority or resources to achieve them. In Indonesia, Pakistan, and some Latin American countries, major decentralization efforts have struggled (at least initially) to find the right balance between central and local funding, or between central and local authority. (World Bank, 2018: 193)

The above mentioned World Bank approach is consistent with the view on decentralization highlighted by the World Bank representative interviewed for the present study, who does, in his own words highlight Pakistan's present struggle to find 'the right balance between central and local authority):

The problem we see now is not really with that it should be better or not. Even though HEC has really very positive track record in producing reforms and taking university out of the shambles they were 15 years ago. The problem is more the uncertainty which is taking place now, and by which university, really don't know comes to know who to talk to. Actually as you pretty know also, both Sindh and Punjab have created their own HEC. Which creates a state of confusion. (World Bank Representative, Male, Islamabad)

In a 2012 UNDP-sponsored report, authors Leslie Seidle and Zafarullah Khan gave voice to the same outcomes/results as obtained by the present researcher when they suggested that, the academic community - by and large - felt that the Pakistani higher education sector would be hindered, not benefited by the devolution of the HEC to the provinces:

Opinion leaders, including leading academics, have pressed for the Higher Education Commission (HEC) to remain a federal body despite provincial responsibility for education. For example, Professor Chaudhry Rehman has argued that ending standardized national curricula will lead to provincialization and suggested that some international organizations such as USAID could end their funding for scholarships (Dawn 2011). Other academics called for the creation of a new federal ministry of higher education (Seidle and Khan, 2012: 4)

It is striking for the researcher to note the correlation made between undertaking devolution of higher education on the one hand, and the possibility of external policy actors (in the case noted above: USAID) revoking their support. The suggestion appears to be clear: external actors would rather work with a centralized federal body (ex: the HEC), rather than several provincial authorities who each have devolved powers over higher education in their own jurisdictions.

With regard to the views of the institutional participants in this study, an overwhelming majority suggested that the appropriate ‘locus’ of control with regard to governance and control of universities in the context of Pakistan was the federal or national government level. Important themes were nonetheless highlighted by senior institutional ‘governors’ in Pakistan of which the following table provides an illustrative sample:

Institutional Governors’ Views on Centralization vs. Decentralization

Theme	Illustrative quote
Devolution Inappropriate for Developing Countries	To me education is a federal subject. In most of the times, we in Pakistan we have different provinces. In every single province there are different districts. If you devolve it to the provinces and to the localities, then probably the standard of education in the developing countries cannot be met. This can be done in those countries where the standard of education is already on a very higher scale. And that can be achieved in those countries but not in Pakistan, in other developing countries.
Provincial Bureaucratization	PARTICIPANT: I feel that when we have seen some examples, when it goes down to provincial level, there's much more interference into the working of the university by the bureaucracy, by the politicians because they have more sort of ingress or say into those affairs. Suddenly the university can't hire its own staff, Registrar, Director, Examination, even clerks which have to go through a bureaucratic process. So that increases the interference by the bureaucracy and the politicians.
Lack of Coordination between Authorities	In terms of any governance issues, there is one we currently face: the lack of coordination between federal HEC and provincial HEC. There is no clarity and we often are unaware as to which policies to follow.
Increase in Overhead Costs	PARTICIPANT: As far as we have experienced it, I would consider this to be a negative development. The reason I attribute to this is now we have a Federal Education Commission and the Punjab Higher Education

	Commission. And we don't know exactly what's the role of Federal Education, Higher Education or the Punjab Higher Education Commission. And number 2, what I believe and what I think is that because of the devolution, instead of having a centralized office, the overhead expenses have tremendously increased. Each province has its own Higher Education Commission, its own staff building, resources and lot of finances are being eaten up by this top heavy management system.
Turf Wars between Provincial Government Departments	...the reason why the provincial HECs will not work is because the Provincial Education Department will not allow them to work because you are stepping on their toes. They are filled with complete non entities and the most incompetent people going to the education department because it's a place with no growth in it. Everybody wants to go into the higher provincial services; you don't want to go into the Education Department. You rather go into customs or police because there is money to be made there. There is no money in the education department
Variations in Political Parties and Ideologies	PARTICIPANT: Well, before we even move further, we should clarify where the HEC comes from? The HEC looks to me like a body that is being positioned in the neoliberal framework on accountability, standardization and so on. A few years ago, Pakistan followed a decentralization model where Amendment 18 to the Constitution has charged provincial government equally with higher education. So, how did this help? It did not really help much as it has become a bit of a further mess. Because the different governments in Pakistan are also connected with different parties and that plays a role too in this mess...
Erosion of the Powers of the Chancellor	PARTICIPANT: Now all of that has gotten.. instead of better it has gotten a lot worse. Because your 18th amendment that took away the powers of the chancellor, in effect, and gave them to the chief minister of the province, which meant that the vice chancellor had no longer a direct access to the chancellor. The chancellor used to be the governor or the president and the vice chancellor could literally pick up the phone and talk to them directly. Now that context is broken because the chancellor can only act on the advice of the, either the prime minister or the chief minister.

With regard to institutional participants' voices on the devolution question, several observations may be made. Some participants highlighted the dichotomy between legislation and funding approaches for universities and other postsecondary institutions in Pakistan. For example, one Vice-Chancellor noted that many (if not, most) universities operate under a Provincial Charter and their Chancellors are often the Chief Ministers of the Province; the Chancellors also have a formal role in appointing members of the Board of Governors or Syndicates. Yet, at the same time, most public universities in Pakistan receive the lion's share of their funding from the Federal Government (via the Higher Education Commission), and both public and private sectors

are also regulated primarily by the federal HEC. So, legislation and board appointments seems to be primarily provincial, while regulations and funding seems to be primarily Federal. Similarly, a Dean of a private sector university in Lahore suggested that while devolution and decentralization may have resulted in positive outcomes, implementation and lack of coordination between the partners and levels of government has resulted in an overall poor result of the devolution exercise in the case of the higher education sector. A private university Vice-Chancellor in Lahore commented, furthermore, that leaving aside the question of whether devolution or decentralization was inherently good or bad for the system overall, the main issue at the present time is a lack of clear operational definitions of principles and responsibilities between the various actors in the system - there is, very much, a entanglement and confusion that is inherent. Lastly, a private university Dean in Karachi suggested that one of the reasons why devolution and decentralization have not played out as originally envisioned in the 18th Amendment is because of the nature of party and political dynamics in Pakistan, whereby the Federal Government represents one party and the various other provinces represent others.

Section Summary

I conclude this section by noting some of the contradictions and tensions in the centralization vs. decentralization debate in the context of Pakistan. Above all, I acknowledge the voices of my research participants who showcase a certain degree of uniformity vis-a-vis their views on decentralization/devolution not being appropriate for Pakistan at the present time. Most participants noted that, while decentralization was an interesting concept in theory, and that the desires to promote devolution (often, to encourage more flexible decision-making and governance to take place closer to HEIs) are laudable, that Pakistan's higher education sector had not yet reached the stage where a greater decoupling from state-wide (read: federal/national) regulation in favour of provincial control could offer meaningful and viable benefits from a governance perspective. Above all, a clear convergence may be seen from the data evidence collected for this thesis: with the sole exception of the Provincial HEC Representative interviewed, all participants (institutional, federal HEC and external partner agency representatives) do not concur with the policy prescription of devolution for the Pakistani higher education, sector, albeit for a variety of reasons.

4.8: Levels of Trust

Higher education scholars have noted the importance of trust within the governance paradigm (Tierney, 2006; De Boer 2002; Vidovich and Currie, 2011) with many suggesting that - especially when viewed as a heuristic - in instances when there are greater levels of trust between government on the one hand and institutions on the other, there is an overall greater level of institutional autonomy that results. However, when there is less trust in the system there is greater regulation, more coercion, more management and perhaps more micro-management as well. As such, trust as a concept, is highly germane to governance arrangements and a component of the puzzle of greater or less state-control over the higher education sector in any given jurisdiction.

In order to better understand the fundamental status of trust in the Pakistani higher education sector, I decided to probe my research participants on this question by asking them how they viewed trust between the state and Pakistani academia. The responses I received ranged from those that viewed the underlying relationship as intrinsically positive to those that saw opportunity for further trust-building. Some of the participant views that have the greatest illustrative capacity are showcased in the remainder of this section.

I also wondered if answers to the above-noted question varied by the public or private status of the institution. Public universities, one may argue, may benefit from greater levels of trust from the state given their close proximity from a funding and regulation point of view to the government. However, the following two excerpts, from a private and public institution respectively, are both overwhelmingly positive in this regard. Consider:

[PARTICIPANT]: I think the relationship is very warm and good. For example, my university is making sure that all the directions coming from HEC and all standards prescribed are implemented in letter and spirit. This effort to implement and adhere stems from that faith and trust. We believe the HEC of Pakistan is doing a good job. They have taken onto maintaining and ensuring great qualities in universities. We have full trust and think that they are doing a good job. We are willing to follow them by taking their advice. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

PARTICIPANT: I think there is a complete trust in between government and the educational institutions. We never had any problems as far as the trust is concerned. Let me give an example. That whenever we send proposals for funding of development projects, which comprise of billions of Rupees. So whatever we submit the proposal that's trust upon by the government, by the planning commission and eventually approved by certain justifications with different queries. But they do trust to an extent that our proposals are approved which comprise of millions and billions of Rupees. (University Pro-Vice Chancellor, Public

Sector, Male, Karachi)

While it is evident that both the private and public university institutional leaders quoted above have a good deal of confidence in terms of the level of trust between the institution and the government, it is telling that the private sector university Dean speaks to trust as stemming from the implementation of regulations and standards, whereas the public university Pro-Vice Chancellor speaks to trust as stemming from the approval of funding projects. What then comprises a definition of trust? Is it lack of regulation? Is it greater levels of state funding? The university President quoted below diverges from a positive assessment of trust between the academe and government highlighting some of the many challenges that the government faces with the private sector:

[PARTICIPANT]: I don't think that is a big deal of amount of trust that we have between the universities and the government.

[INTERVIEWER]: Why would that be?

[PARTICIPANT]: That would be that you got a new minister in the government, you got a new secretary of the education department and this new secretary wants to be a show-off so he will start writing stupid letters to all the universities by showing his muscle and by putting wrong sort of alerts on the website. You know for the private sector universities it's very difficult to do damage control, once the department gives an alert on the website or in the newspapers, I mean it would take us years and years to rectify that confusion so that is the bad part, that leads to a mistrust actually... But I would also like to add this little point on account that there have been many fake degrees issued in the private sector that also leads to a lot of mistrust and the government is sort of right in that context. (University President, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

Trust between the State and the HEC

The following excerpt from a university Dean with decades of experience in the Pakistani higher education community made me wonder about the very premise of my question related to trust. While suggesting that levels of trust were low and state regulation high, the participant below highlights that this was, in fact, the *raison d'être* of the Higher Education Commission's formation in the first place (presumably the participant compares the HEC to its previous incarnation: the University Grants Commission). In a strange way, then, the HEC may be said to, *ipso facto*, raise its own levels of trust within government circles and possibly among the international donor agency by not trusting institutions and implementing further regulations.

PARTICIPANT: Well for this I would say that the whole world is actually moving to a model of not trusting people enough and regulating them far more...now there's much more regulation in the name of efficiency, in the name of being responsible, in the name of .. so people have to write reports this that and

etc... Yes - this model comes from the United States where a lot less autonomy is given because they feel that everything should be recorded and shown and so on. So, there's so little trust but and this, I think it doesn't improve anything. On the other hand, I am told, that if this is not there, people will not work....The HEC itself is trusted by the state, I suppose. Or if it is not, then one doesn't know. But nevertheless they are the ones who exercise this control, this paperwork, etc. But as I said, this was the reason why they were formed. So, if they are doing it, they are just doing what they were formed for. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

Trust Enhanced by HEC Ties to Academia

A multilateral agency representative, as quoted below, speaks to the fact one of the ways that he, as someone external to the Pakistani HE system, sees a high level of trust in the system is the extent to which academics themselves (as representatives of the sector being regulated) work and staff the state regulatory bodies. The researcher would concur with this assessment noting the plethora of senior administrators in Pakistani academia who had previous links with government, and vice-versa.

PARTICIPANT: Well, in personal perception, I think to the extent that a number of high level officials come from the academia. That creates a certain level of trust I think as opposed to other countries. Where the HEC or UGC is mainly staffed by bureaucrats, then there is a level of trust, definitely. In fact, not all but most of the Chairmen and Executive Directors of the HEC were from academia...that helps to create and gain confidence and trust. (Multilateral Agency Representative, Male, Islamabad).

Trust between Academia and Industry

While levels of trust between the regulatory authorities and institutions has been discussed above, what may one say of trust between the higher education community (academia) and other sectors in Pakistan? One such important sectoral relationship is that found between academia and industry. Given the fundamental importance of research commercialization and knowledge mobilization today, one may fairly claim that poor relationships, as manifested for example by poor levels of trust between academia and industry would result in either sector - and the country's economy as a whole - not living up to its full potential. One such clue related to the levels of trust between these sectors is showcased by the bilateral agency representative below who acknowledges that there is simply a lack of 'faith' between not only industry/private sector in Pakistan and academia, but also between the government and academia:

PARTICIPANT: I think it's less of a colonial mindset and more so a lack of trust-building. The trust has not been built between academia and industry. The private sector does not believe academia can solve their problems. The government sector doesn't think that the university sector can give them an energy policy for

the country. They would rather hire a World Bank consultant who they think can do a better job. (Bilateral Agency Representative, Female, Islamabad)

As highlighted above, such government lack of trust in the outputs of the Pakistani academic community may manifest itself, for example, through government preferences to use external consultants for research and development, instead of local indigenous researchers from Pakistani academe. In this way, a lack of trust between the Pakistani academic community and its state regulators (the HEC/Government of Pakistan/State Governments) may be linked to a certain increased involvement of external agencies in the sector.

Section Summary

Levels of trust, overall, between the Government of Pakistan and its citizenry is problematically low. The state's inability, historically, to provide basic services and security has resulted in a lack of trust between Pakistanis and their institutions of government. This lack of trust extends between sectors as well. The low levels of trust between the Higher Education Commission (HEC) and the institutions it regulates is manifested by a large amount of state regulation, control and oversight. However, as one university Dean in this section noted, this circumstance should be of no surprise as it was the primary impetus for the genesis of the HEC. In order for the state to have trust in the HEC's regulation of the sector, the HEC must - perversely - mistrust academic institutions. And, as one bilateral agency representative highlighted, lack of trust between the government and its own academic community may result in greater reliance on external consultants and foreign agency representatives.

However, not all participants viewed the levels of trust in the system as being problematic; many felt that levels of trust were high given that state funding continued to be provided in the case of public institutions and institutions allowed to operate (make profits and grant degrees) in the case of private institutions. One external agency representative highlighted the extent to which overlapping allegiances - an HEC senior administrator who was previously a university vice-chancellor, for example - may actually help to increase levels of trust within the sector.

4.9: Public and Private - Sectoral Differences

The private sector accounts for about 41% of all higher education institutions in Pakistan

and the public sector about 59%. Both sectors, therefore, play an important role in meeting the Pakistani state's manpower and development agenda needs. This section explores some of the differences in governance approaches between public and private sector institutions in Pakistan, a key feature of the overall Governance Arrangements for the HE sector in the country. It should be noted, however, that while privatization and marketization were general themes that were brought up in the context of the interviews, none of the interview questions actually directly addressed differences in governance between public and private sector institutions in Pakistan. All information related in this section, therefore, became apparent during the process of data analysis - in a fairly organic fashion.

Perceptions of effective governance between the public and private sectors differed markedly among research participants; the sheer diversity of perspectives was often times breathtaking. From those who believed that private sector institutions were better governed because of a focus on their bottom line and the development of marketable programs, to those who felt that private sector institutions were simply profit-driven family-run businesses. And from those who felt that public sector institutions were weighed down by layers of bureaucratic administration leading to institutional inertia, to those who perceived public sector institutions as allowing for a greater diffusion of power away from the administration to the professoriate. The following (admittedly demoralizing) excerpt is instructive of perhaps the perceived failure of both sectors:

PARTICIPANT: I don't see much difference. Both are plagued by the hunger for power. And therefore, whether its private university where you find a kind of culture of the entrepreneur, where the investor who has made university an economic venture, becomes ruler of everything. So they are not concerned about quality. Not concerned about what quality they are delivering. But concerned about how much money they are making. And similarly, the so called public sector, where they have a pure bureaucratic official mind, watching on time, what time they come, what time they go, their own benefits, their own perks. And no concern for national future. So I don't differentiate between the two. (University Vice Chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

On a positive note, the following two excerpts speak to the notion of private sector institutions being leaner and more responsive to the needs of their constituents because of a focus on the bottom-line, and perhaps in a related vein, a focus on retaining strong (read: performing) faculty only:

PARTICIPANT:generally I would say private institutions are relatively better governed.

INTERVIEWER: And why do you say that?

PARTICIPANT: It is because the bottom-line is carried instead. You can hire easily in private institutions. Its very difficult to hire a person in public institution. And the process is usually more than 1 year long. And its very difficult also to fire them. So once they are there, if they don't work, if they don't produce, if they don't take classes, you can't fire them easily. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

PARTICIPANT: Yeah in terms of governance, definitely. Yes, private sector universities are much better governed because they are very conscious about their resources they spend. So they do not want any resource to [inaudible] or misused or to be used inappropriately. And number 2, the management structure of the private sector university is not top heavy. Whereas in the government sector universities, the top heavy structure, organization structure is top heavy. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

Notwithstanding issues and failures in both sectors (as noted above), perhaps what may be most instructive at this juncture would be a review of the differences between public and private sector governance (writ large) and as perceived by the researcher's participants. While previous sections have touched on specific aspects of the governance enterprise (ex: matters related to shared governance, trust, devolution/decentralization, government oversight and institutional governance structures, etc), this section will address the public/private sector dichotomy, so important in the Pakistani context, in fairly broad strokes. We recall that differences in terms of governance at the board level between public and private sector HEIs have already been addressed in section 4.6.

Family Ownership of Private Institutions

On the other hand, not every participant agreed with bottom lines and profit-driven mindsets being necessarily positive in terms of governance outcomes. One major issue among private sector institutions in Pakistan has historically been concerns around ownership. In such instances, institutions that are ultimately owned by one individual, a family or a group of investors, must ultimately be responsible to those owners. The participant quoted below notes the issues that arise for an academic institution when its control is wholly vested as a private limited company or within a family:

[PARTICIPANT:] In private universities you would be shocked to know that there are private universities here which have private limited companies. The City School system which is going to start a university is a private limited company. The Punjab group of colleges operates as a private limited company, even those universities which have charters as foundations, or trusts as per the law, if they are in the private sector they operate as private limited companies. Lahore School of Economics is basically a private limited company is a family business. Individual (name removed by researcher for privacy reasons), his sons, his brother, his cousins, his daughter in law, they are all there running the place. That is not governance. (University Dean,

Public University, Male, Lahore)

The private sector university Dean, whose words are highlighted below, spent 33 years working in a public sector university (and applauds its governance). He also notes, however, the fact that in his perception, most private institutions in Pakistan are “run by families”:

PARTICIPANT: In the private sector, especially higher education. For example, when I was in NED,⁶ first thing you always think of is education. Money would never come to our minds at all. After 33 years, I joined this new place. And I find it is inverted. Now you think of money first and then think of education. Where is the balance? Luckily, there are certain private institutions like this one; they have a Board of Governors. And they have a system rather than a family. Most of the private institutions run by families. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Karachi)

Donor Agency Preferences for Private Institutions

Much donor agency funding for the higher education sector of Pakistan is directed towards the broader higher education sector (including both private and public HEIs) through the Pakistani HEC. For example, an appraisal of working documents of the World Bank’s two major projects in Pakistan’s tertiary education sector (the 2009 Higher Education Support Program (HESP), and the 2011 Tertiary Education Support Program (TESP)) hearken to both public and private HEIs as being the beneficiaries of the projects. However, the Project Information Document for the 2011 TESP latter does suggest the following as a project goal:

Enhancement of the scale and scope of private-public partnerships (PPPs) in TEIs with a view to promoting further private provision of higher education services (World Bank, 2011: 7)

The above notwithstanding, by and large, bifurcating donor agency preferences for public vs. private institutions in Pakistan through an examination of published materials is difficult. However, this is where the data collected for the present study through the qualitative interviews conducted have provided additional insights. For example, let us examine the views of a university President - herself from the private sector - with regard to donor agency preferences in the higher education sector of Pakistan:

Now when I again compare the Pakistani private and public sector of education, I have clearly seen two or three universities get developed or you know, started or even initiated with this aid that we received. I can quote LUMS. I've seen FC College, I'm not sure if you are aware of it. It's Forman Christian College. It

⁶ NED is a major public-sector university located in Karachi.

used to be FC College but now it's a university. I have seen a change of 180 degrees. I have seen how it developed because of the funding that the US provided. They have excellent facilities now. You enter the premises and you cannot say that its is any less to any international university. The faculty very well developed, well versed, well educated. Again with LUMS I can say that. However, we have so many other universities which we have in the public sector like Punjab University.... So we have Punjab University, major as a public university. Now Punjab University already had that sort of infrastructure which only needed sort of a push. My concern is what is the difference between Punjab University and LUMS and FC College? So, I feel, to answer your question, yes the external factors have influenced heavily in Pakistan. It could be a 50/50 or maybe 60 percent, 40 percent division. That yes the 60 percent was extremely helpful, positive, and beneficial for Pakistani education sector. But maybe 40 percent actually didn't really work out. And it's gone towards the ...the public universities have really not benefited from that. Now LUMS has fees in 100s and thousands in a year for a student. And Punjab University offers masters or a bachelor degree in a meager thousand Rupees or something. You see, that's what I'm saying. The distance between the two sectors is growing. The gap is growing day by day. It's not resolving. (University President, Female, Private Sector, Lahore).⁷

The views identified above are informative in suggesting a potential donor agency preference (in this case, aid provided by the United States through USAID) for private institutions, as opposed to public institutions; what is key to identify above is the impact that such funding decisions may have on the growing distance between the public and private sectors of education in the country. While it stands to reason that donor agencies, when identifying HEI aid recipients, would choose to invest in high-performing institutions, it must be highlighted that often such high-performing institutions tend to be in the private sector. While many such institutions do have needs-based aid and scholarship programs, generally speaking - and as identified by the university President above - these same institutions also tend to be out of the financial reach of the vast majority of the Pakistani population.

What might be the preference of external actors when considering the public vs. private sectors of Pakistan? Might the data collected for the present study shed some light in this regard? Let us examine the views of the bilateral agency representative in this regard:

PARTICIPANT: I think that quality of public sector universities needs to be improved. We need to change the faculty mindset and their incentive structures. What gives faculty progress, a career path forward? Such a structure should be fair, transparent and totally on merit. And the merit needs to be defined in a way that incentivizes them to connect with community, relevant stakeholders, students, private sector, whomever. And then, based on this, their next tenure is decided. If this can be done, faculty can be improved, it can make a lot of difference in a university. On the governance side, I would say that the selection, the way the university vice-chancellor is selected is important. It can't be just a professor who is near retirement and they get selected because they are senior. I think there needs to be better criteria. Perhaps we need a complete administrator mindset to run a university. And with that we need strong academic Deans to cover

⁷ Forman Christian College (FC College), as well as the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) are private degree-granting institutions, while Punjab University is a public institution, and one of the largest institutions in the country.

the quality aspects. And more of a business model, being more aggressive in marketing. (Bilateral Agency Representative, Female, Islamabad)

The researcher would note that the same bilateral agency highlighted above also provided funding and support in the forms of grants to several private-sector institutions in Pakistan. An underlying belief on the part of this agency representative is evident with regard to private sector universities being better governed in Pakistan than public-sector institutions. It would not be an extreme leap to extrapolate from the data that the views of the funding agency representatives may also directly influence which type of higher education institutions (public or private) are supported financially (by external agencies) and which are not. In the instance highlighted above, an underlying understanding of public-sector universities as being overly political and ineffective may, in very real ways, translate to less donor support for these institutions. At this stage, we may also consider the views of the following multilateral agency representative on the matter of public vs. private higher education institutions in Pakistan:

PARTICIPANT: I would say that, now, we are generally moving towards the private sector. The public institutions are also trying to improve their quality. It's more market driven today, I would say. But public universities here are like those in other countries too. Trying to maintain good reputations. All the renowned professors are mostly in the public universities. So this phenomenon is not only in Pakistan but everywhere also. Public universities are becoming more market oriented too, and this may lead to the differences between public and private becoming further blurred. Another concept is that of affiliation with foreign universities. I would say, rather than talking about public and private, we might say, becoming more market oriented. Within this context, what we need to do is we need to ensure quality. For me all the universities being privatized, it doesn't really matter. As long as government can ensure quality and accreditation for all institutions. That's the important thing. Now private is better than public. If everybody can afford it in Pakistan, or the government would like to privatize higher education more that is okay, as long as quality is maintained. That's the key point. (Multilateral Agency Representative, Male, Islamabad)

As can be identified in the words of the multilateral agency representative - and consistent with the views of the bilateral agency representative studied earlier - donor agencies appear to favour quality higher education providers. Since, in the case of Pakistan, many (perceived) high quality institutions are to be found in the private sector, these same institutions may also be the beneficiaries of donor funding over public institutions. Public institutions are, ostensibly, helping Pakistan meet its tertiary education access goals therefore the donor agency preferences for private institutions may be reframed as a question of choosing quality over access.

Section Summary

Getting beneath the skin of the governance differences between public and private sector institutions is absolutely crucial in the context of developing countries such as Pakistan. Why so? This is because both sectors play extremely important roles in meeting the manpower and state development needs of the country. The total number of institutions in Pakistan is 192 of which the public sector accounts for 59% of all institutions and private institutions about 41%. While public sector institutions account for a much larger share of total student enrollments than private sector institutions, they are, by and large, considered to be less well governed than many private sector institutions (Usman, 2014). In the context of the present thesis, the perceived quality and governance of public vs. private sector institutions may result in differential treatment by donor agencies and external organizations. At least in the case of one instance noted above, a bilateral aid agency representative has suggested that public sector institutions in Pakistan are not well governed; the same bilateral aid agency has also provided funding to several private sector institutions in the country accounting for millions of dollars of donor funding. The researcher would thus summarize this section by noting that the governance differences between the public and private sector higher education institutions in Pakistan have a link to donor funding outcomes.

Chapter Summary

This chapter (Findings (Part I): Governance Arrangements) listed the core findings from the study as they related to governance of the higher education sector in Pakistan. These findings were bifurcated by nine themes ranging from the Pakistani state's regulatory authorities, to the involvement of partners in shared governance. Visions of a preferred future, vis-a-vis system governance, were presented between the endogenous and exogenous actors involved in the system. The findings from this Chapter 4 are further explored, in light of the scholarly literature, in section 6.2, and divergences/convergences between these preferred futures are summarized in section 7.1.

The next chapter (Findings (Part II): External Influences) focuses itself on a review of exogenous involvement in Pakistani higher education. Chapter 5 speaks to perceptions of

external policy actor influence in the Pakistani HE sector; the extent of these influences is detailed by type and by actor. Together, chapters 4 and 5 constitute the presentation of the main findings of this dissertation which are further analyzed and discussed in Chapters 6 (Discussion) and 7 (Conclusion).

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS (PART II): EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

5.1: External Policy Influences

Introduction

We now get to the heart of the present study: an examination of the nature of exogenous influences affecting the higher education sector in Pakistan. While previous academic studies have addressed Pakistan's higher education sector from a multiplicity of angles - from the historic approach (Chaudhry 2004) to the governance approach (Halai, 2012; Usman, 2014; Aurangzeb and Asif, 2011; Chaudhry and Ramy, 2011), none, to the knowledge of the present researcher have addressed the interplay between the internal and the external influences in Pakistan's higher education sector. Such a study is therefore unique in allowing for the examination of this dynamic relationship between the local and global to be more clearly defined in the context of Pakistan.

The author is under no illusion that the academic sector of any society - operates only within its own domestic context. In today's hyper globalized society, the academic sector is more connected to others (funding agencies, international students, faculty exchange, global rankings, etc) than ever. However, the author would submit that some of the factors that make the Pakistani case so unique and compelling are Pakistan's unique colonial past (and subsequent engagement with the 'West'), and it's ongoing dependency on all things external (particularly, Western-focused) as demonstrated by its 'outward-facing' higher education agenda that aims to 'catch-up' with the rest of the world (HEC Vision 2025, Government of Pakistan).

The following sections outline some of the ways, as suggested by my study participants, that external influences do or do not play a role in the Pakistani higher education sector. As noted earlier, the author's aim in the present thesis is not to suggest that such interactions should or should not take place. Rather, it is the author's aim to simply problematize the existing dialectic - particularly between the Pakistani state/academic community and the international community - by showcasing the research evidence of such external influences - primarily centered on governance and policy reforms - in the Pakistani context.

By so doing, the author hopes to make a unique and lasting contribution to the academic

literature on Pakistan's higher education sector, and perhaps even better inform the ongoing conversation of the future engagement of Pakistan's academic sector with the international community. Perhaps the 'highest' aim of this study would be to help policy makers (both internal and external to Pakistan), the academic community and the broader stakeholder community in Pakistan (students, industry, etc) be better equipped for future interactions (and there will, no doubt, be many) between the internal and the external that attempt to improve the higher education situation in Pakistan.

Identifying External Policy Influences - A Dilemma

As opposed to international engagement/collaborations, external policy influences have, perhaps, a negative connotation. The relationship between international engagement and external policy influence can be understood to be the same as that between the concepts of policy diffusion and policy lending (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). The former suggests a relationship between parties that stand on more or less equal footing and are engaged in conversations from the same vantage point, while the latter denotes an unequal situation where one party hails from a position of advantage/dominance/expertise/rank over the other (the recipient). It is in this context that the author has studied and researched external policy influences within the higher education sector of Pakistan.

Given the above - and clearly understood by my research participants - it was naturally harder to localize and trace external policy influences in the Pakistani higher education context. The researcher would submit that all participants - Pakistani and non-Pakistani alike - were keenly aware of Pakistan's colonial history and ongoing economic struggles with international lending agencies (such as the IMF and World Bank) and many suggested that those active in Pakistan's higher education sector (namely, themselves) were not influenced by decisions and actions taken elsewhere. However, often, as the conversations (interviews) progressed, some level of the existence of external policy influences did, indeed, become apparent. The major challenge that often existed for the researcher was identifying these influences - despite assertions often expressed that they did not exist. In this sense, the author - at times - felt akin to an undercover journalist attempting to locate and trace evidence.

In other instances, as suggested by the following participant, external influences in the HE

sector of Pakistan were easy to identify - and in fact, simply a lived reality that was indisputable:

[PARTICIPANT]: Greatly. So, Pakistan is a product of colonization. No higher education that exists in this country is indigenous or of local origin. All of it has been supplanted from outside in essence. That is a historical fact and not contentious. We simply did not have any universities of this type prior to British occupation and their installation of whatever it was they wanted to install...I don't think there is any responsible reflection in either state agencies or private entrepreneurs that is locally grounded. One can argue that every single institution of higher education, whether public or private, is a direct result of some consideration that has nothing to do with Pakistan. (University President, Private Sector, Male, Karachi)

However, this response speaks to a certain historical lived reality in the Pakistani context whereby it is commonly understood (and acknowledged) that the structure and form of the higher education institutions in Pakistan have much to do with their former colonial masters. Nevertheless, my interests - and the primary aims of the present study - are to examine the convergences and divergences between the internal and the external, especially following Pakistan's independence in 1947. Therefore, it is important to delineate that this study will focus its attention on the development of the Pakistani HE sector/system since Independence in 1947.

5.2: Perceptions of External Influences

Before examining the various types of actors or the nature of their involvement, perhaps it may be simply best to begin with overall perceptions of the nature - positive or negative - of external influences in the Pakistani higher education sector, as perceived by my research participants. I would reiterate, at this juncture, the overall seniority of each of the study participants including leaders at the institutional level who were, in all circumstances, at least at the level of a Dean (and many were university Presidents and Vice-Chancellors), and the IGO and Government participants who represented influential organizations active in the Pakistani higher education sector (for example, the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan or the World Bank). With this, I would like to simply underscore the prized vantage point of the study participants - and submit that their views are, indeed, those of the senior members, governors and thought-leaders active in the Pakistani higher education sector.

By and large the evidence gathered suggested that most participants (from virtually all the sectors involved) viewed the involvement of external actors or organizations in the Pakistani higher education sector as fairly positive, with few constraining caveats or nuances. Many

institutional participants in particular, when asked, first noted that the international organizations and international actors that had been present in the system had done so through project funding. These could take the form of funding for scholarships, infrastructure, or travel grants for scholarships. The following excerpt is illustrative of the awareness of international involvement in the sector, and the nuanced approach taken by many participants of the involvement of said external actors:

PARTICIPANT - We have the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, USAID, British Council, we have Australian aid. Then there are certain NGOs that are coming here. UNESCO, OECD, Canadian International Development Agency - CIDA. Education for All, EFA regional bodies then UN Development Program. UNDP and many international and we have influence. Influence has two connotations, 1) influence is when World Bank gives money and it tries to influence policies. It's a negative. In this case, this influence I would take it from a different angle - how does it influence in improvement of our status? This would be a positive side. Somehow or the other these initiations have contributed quite positively. (University Vice-Chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

In many ways, participants highlighted their awareness - and wariness - of overt influence from external actors in the internal affairs of the system but at the same time noted their overall openness to receiving project funding and integrating international best practices that could, eventually, lead to the augmentation of institutional standards (as measured by publishing in top-tier international research journals, greater funding for graduate students (especially PhDs), and greater faculty/institutional level exchange programs. The following two excerpts are illustrative of the views - as expressed by senior institutional governors in the system - of the overall positive nature of the involvement of external actors in the system:

PARTICIPANT: No, I think my perception is that it is a dialogue. And I think that it is extremely helpful for the government and consequently, for the citizens. (University Principal, Public Sector, Female, Lahore)

[PARTICIPANT]: Of course it's positive. There is one argument that I have which is that sometimes they push their own cultural agendas or political agendas for example gender integration or stuff like that without having any sensitivity to the local culture, local beliefs and local practices. So this is the only thing I can think of otherwise... (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Karachi)

While other participants immediately recalled specific instances of external involvement in the system through examples of particular projects funded by donor agencies such as the following:

[Participant]: Yeah here, we saw that USAID or US people, they have given support and they have started a department, Teachers' Education. This was created by the US government for 3 years and now people are receiving education there and they are doing very well. (University Dean, Public Sector, Male, Karachi)

Still others took the ‘long-view’ recalling the metamorphosis of the higher education sector of Pakistan since Independence. Participants who had sufficient historical knowledge of the system, in fact, did speak to the shaping of the system by external partners. Their views seemed to suggest that, yes, in fact international/external actors had influenced the system, but in the distant past in particular. Let us consider the following two excerpts:

[Participant]: No, I would say that it had been influenced. As I said the major changes that took place in the higher education system, 15-20 years ago, those came about through an interaction with international agencies and I think overall that was positive. (University President, Public Sector, Male, Karachi)

PARTICIPANT: The World Bank. World Bank did a preliminary study on higher education just in Pakistan. Specially taking various roles of HEC. And I think they came up with a very positive outcome. They were surprised that how much difference we have made. HEC has organized that body, has made the development in the higher education in Pakistan. And got the quality and the public confidence. Both things. So and then they also supported very actively to Higher Education Commission. (University Vice-Chancellor, Public Sector, Male, Rawalpindi)

As seen from the above, according to the indigenous governors active in the Pakistani higher education system today, there is some awareness and acknowledgment of the role played by international agencies in shaping the system. These external partners, such as the World Bank, undertook studies (for example, Peril and Promise, 1992) and shaped the very nature of the governing forces active in the higher education sector of Pakistan, as we will see later in the present thesis. However, the role of international actors is not - of course - relegated to a bygone era. It is, very much, active in present-day Pakistan, as acknowledged by my study participants. Consider the following from a representative of the World Bank:

PARTICIPANT: I cannot talk on behalf on USAID or the other donors. As far as the World Bank is concerned we are partners. We discuss the policy. We discuss the strategy. And it's almost a two way thing. I mean we learn from the government official and the university, they are pretty experienced. But of course we have our own opinion on whether this or that kind of policy leads to more equity, leads to more equality so on and so forth.

INTERVIEWER: Based on international standards and technical experience acquired through other places is that what it is based on?

PARTICIPANT: Exactly. We discuss every year, aspect of the policy or the strategy of the future plans. And in each of them we say, okay, you want to do this, do you have the means to do this. Or how do you want to achieve it and we discuss a lot. (Representative, World Bank, Male, Islamabad)

The partnership (as spoken of above) is certainly interesting since, on the one hand, one partner clearly has a dominant voice (as may be argued through the control of purse strings, but equally

through control of ‘expertise’), while the other partner (the Pakistani government/academe) has sovereign control over its own higher education sector. Perhaps most compelling for the researcher from the above is the acknowledgment of an ongoing discussion or dialogue between the donor agencies and the Pakistani HEC.

While many participants suggested a positive (overall) impact of external agencies active in the system, this was by no means uniform. Dissenting voices included those who voiced concern of too much influence from external parties in the internal policy making decisions of the state, concerns over corruption between HEC officials and donor agencies, and approaches/ideas being implemented without due regard for the local (read: indigenous) context. Consider the following three excerpts which speak to, in order, (1) an overall perception of an external agenda influencing the higher education sector, (2) perceived HEC dependency on donor funding and (3) policy borrowing (read: policy lending) from external parties (such as teams of international experts) without due regard for the local context:

PARTICIPANT: I think all of them are part of that process which I mentioned. All of them have been influencing directly and indirectly with their own agenda, our education system. And I'm against that interference. (University Vice-Chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

[PARTICIPANT]: Because I see that the elites of Higher education commission are definitely part of this colonial system or mindset. They still always worried that British Council is happy or not happy. Agencies collectively become neo-colonial rulers....They have a lot of funding. DFID and all those things. Lot of funding. So when they come with supposedly 50 crore dollars, 30 crore pounds and they say okay you establish these these things and the government and the hierarchy and the relevant people immediately become... they are going to jump and they get it because they are getting the commission. The people here are getting a commission. (University President, Private Sector, Male, Karachi)

PARTICIPANT: It does happen all the time. Because when a team comes to kind of influence the policy, making process. HEC for example, they head their own ideas which they want to really bring on the table and influence the policy making process of the HEC. And these professionals when they come, they definitely borrow the ideas from the developed countries or their experience of working in other countries. So they sort of bring in all those different ideas to a country without really caring much about the local context. (Multilateral IGO Representative, Male, Islamabad)

Section Summary

Before even delving into the nature of perceptions related to external involvement and influence in the Pakistani higher education sector, the author would highlight the fact that almost none of the research participants denied the influence of external parties in the sector. While the level of involvement - and its nature - was often contested, the author cannot recall instances

where study participants simply suggested that external actors were not present in the sector. This fact alone is compelling as it affirms the lived reality of a multiplicity of partners active in the Pakistani higher education sector - both endogenous and exogenous to Pakistan. A certain ‘normalizing’ of their involvement, therefore, has occurred.

With regard to the nature of their involvement, as stated at the start of this sub-section, the involvement of external actors is largely seen as benign and beneficial by the various research participants interviewed for this study, ranging from the endogenous institutional governors to the government and non-governmental organization partners active in the system. Many participants praised external donor funding for allowing for the raising of institutional standards through various mechanisms of project funding. However, some participants problematized the involvement of external agencies from the outset, noting the involvement of external actors in the very shaping of the governing institutions of the sector, engendering of dependency of mind and money, perceptions of active ‘policy lending’ without due regard to local lived realities. Many participants invoked the HEC’s role in liaising with external organizations, an aspect that will be explored later in the present thesis.

5.3: External Influences - A Typological Breakdown

This chapter started with an introduction to the concept of external influences and examined overall perceptions of their existence in the Pakistani higher education context as understood by the research participants involved in this study. We saw that most participants, on the surface, understand external involvement in the Pakistani context to be largely, though not entirely benign. This sub-section offers a brief review of the nature of external influences by ‘type’ of influence. The author would suggest that this typology may not be germane, necessarily, to other contexts but the author would argue that these would perhaps offer the greatest ‘explanatory’ capacity in the Pakistani context. It is important to delineate these because we have not, as yet, examined fully what external policy influence entails, as understood by the research participants in this study. The perceptions, scale and nature of these various influences comprises the main thrust of this sub-section. The main types of external involvement, as applicable to the higher education sector of Pakistan, may be summarized as comprising the

following:

- Scholarships and Exchange Programs;
- Workshops and Seminars;
- Foreign Aid;
- Consulting;
- Technical Reports and;
- Policy Borrowing

International Scholarships and Exchange Programs

Challenges within the domestic higher education sector in Pakistan are many. One of its most obvious - and perhaps dramatic - manifestations is the perennial search for better quality postsecondary education abroad. Many Pakistani students (those who can, at least) have voted with their feet. This is where scholarships and exchange programs come in to the picture. Pakistani higher education institutions, it is apparent, look extremely favourably on international exchange programs with the Pakistani HEC itself having undertaken a large scale program to send several thousand Pakistani students abroad to obtain PhDs in technologically-advanced countries.⁸ Countries that offer Pakistani students opportunities to study abroad include the largest program donor: the United States but also many other partner nations such as the United Kingdom, Turkey, France, Germany, Cuba and others such as the European Union. The scholarships are often prestigious and include several 'house-hold names' such as the Fulbright, Commonwealth and Erasmus Scholarships. These international scholarships and exchange programs constituted, by far, the most common form of external influence within the Pakistani higher education sector, and it is therefore notable for its scope alone. Let us consider the following from a senior provincial government representative of the Pakistani higher education sector:

PARTICIPANT: If we see the last 40 or 50 years, foreign agencies got involved in scholarships. The students were to be given scholarships for further studies abroad. And the easiest thing to do, it was a demand and a need too; there's still a need of it. That's why several donors still provide scholarships to HEC, which in turn gives to the faculty or the people. Scholarship has been the major source of support to the higher education. (Provincial Higher Education Commission Representative, Male)

⁸ Terminology employed by the Higher Education Commission (HEC), as per HEC website section pertaining to 'Overseas Scholarships'.

Therefore, there is an acknowledgment of the breadth and scope of international scholarships as being wide-spread in the Pakistani HE context; participants were also quite commonly aware of the provenance of these scholarships, as can be seen in the words of the following study participant:

PARTICIPANT: Well USAID has been giving some scholarships. Fulbright has been giving scholarships. Ford Foundation. There were some. Lately there are scholarships from the Chinese government, the French government. So these are government agencies. Usually the scholarships are channeled through the HEC. And that's one role of HEC that they receive the scholarship. They advertise those and the people apply for higher studies, for PhD studies. So that's one role they have. USAID has probably been more active in terms of funding probably the biggest amount has been devoted by it, in terms of providing scholarships to Pakistani students for graduate studies. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

As stated by the above participant, there was wide-spread and deeply-rooted recognition on the part of most parties that the United States provided the lion's share of funding opportunities for Pakistani students to study abroad. Several participants cited the United States as the top-ranked donor in this regard. Funding was accorded, often through the collaboration of the Federal HEC who helped in the arbitration process. While wide-spread positivity abounded regarding the benefits of international scholarships for Pakistani students (and the researcher has not included such evidence/participants' voices for brevity), some participants questioned not the underlying need for the scholarships, but the philosophy behind it in terms of what it suggested about Pakistan's internal capacities. Indeed, the following viewpoint from a study participant succinctly pinpoints this idea:

So most of the funding we have gotten has been invested in these foreign trips and sending of the graduates abroad and funding them and not much, only a minuscule amount of money has been spent on local indigenous scholarships. Only it was during the late, not the initial 8-10 years, after the first 8-10 years, then their attention, after a lot of criticism, was shifted and now I think they are giving indigenous scholarships. This also relates to the view of HEC that Pakistani PhDs are all corrupt, they all can be bought and therefore the only good PhDs are the ones from abroad. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Karachi)

The above highlights an important question for the purposes of the present study: to whom do the benefits of international scholarships primarily accrue? The nation sending students abroad or the nation receiving them? This leads the researcher to take a step aside, for a moment, to examine the nature of international scholarships - so very common in not only the Pakistani higher education context but in many developing countries - as a form of tied-aid.

International Scholarships as Tied-Aid

Aid conditionalities are a commonly accepted (and commonly contested) modality of the broader foreign aid paradigm. One way to view the funding of scholarships for study abroad (such as Fulbright Scholarships) is as a form of tied-aid whereby the industry (academia) in the donor nation benefits more than does the recipient nation. Why might this be? Well, many externally-funded scholarships are only tenable at universities in the donor nation.

Commonwealth Scholarships, for example, are only tenable at universities in the United Kingdom. A scholar from a developing nation in receipt of a Commonwealth Scholarship may not pay tuition fees, but the UK Department for International Development (DFID) will provide funding to a university in the United Kingdom on the scholar's behalf.

A cursory glance at the nature of Commonwealth Scholarships available to students from Pakistan (Website: Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the UK) suggests that said scholarships are tenable only at UK universities and none within Pakistan, including at elite or world-renowned Pakistani institutions. The argument, therefore, may be made that foreign scholarships funded by donor agencies, while a wholly positive and beneficial boon for the recipients, may not, in fact, represent the large-scale benefit for a developing nation as it may first appear on the surface. Foreign aid dollars, from this perspective, are spent on Pakistani students and their development but in actuality, the provision of aid dollars accrues to the donor nations' domestic institutions. These same institutions are able to, furthermore, claim higher graduate student enrollment rates. Indeed, as per the views of the university Dean expressed above, the Higher Education Commission's focus for the first 8-10 years of their existence was on increasing the number of doctoral students in Pakistan but without actually involving domestic Pakistani institutions in the process.

It should be noted that the senior federal government representative interviewed for the present thesis did rebut the idea of scholarships with foreign funds only being used to fund the education of Pakistani students abroad (as opposed to domestically) by stating that, indeed, a large portion of all donor-aid funding is received in the form of scholarship programs but that the USAID scholarship program is being used to fund Pakistani students to study in Pakistani universities.

The researcher would also be remiss if he did not mention the fact that several of the participants interviewed for the study also noted the fact that they themselves had received a scholarship for their studies abroad. From the Dean in Lahore who had held a Commonwealth Scholarship, to the Dean in Islamabad who went abroad under the auspices of the Erasmus Mundus program; it should be acknowledged that many of my study participants - some of the senior institutional governors in the Pakistani HE system - had studied abroad and were themselves the beneficiaries of the said international scholarships.

Workshops and Seminars

A further commonly accepted modality of external influence in the higher education sector of Pakistan, as understood by the research participants in this study, was through the convening power of international organizations. From this perspective, external actors play a vital role in shaping and informing domestic policy through the power of their 'good offices'. A powerful example of this very same convening power in the Pakistani context is shared by Altaf (2011) in *So Much Aid, So Little Development: Stories from Pakistan* where the author chronicles, step-by-step the inner workings of a major World Bank aid project in Pakistan (the Social Action Program (SAP)). Altaf suggests that the SAP's development from the start was 'pre-ordained' by international experts who then proceeded to try and sanitize the project by claiming consultation with domestic participants.

Research participants were asked in the interviews to speak to various types of external influences and one such 'type' or 'category' that clearly emerged from the data was that of workshops and seminars. Be it delivered in the domestic context of Pakistan or outside it, by Pakistani subject-matter experts working for international organizations, or outside consultants specifically brought in by external agencies or partners to deliver workshops (impart knowledge), a major mechanism for knowledge diffusion and the sharing of what were often termed international best practices was done through the use of workshops and seminars. Pakistani domestic institutions actively engaged in this type of activity, of their own volition.

Several participants noted the importance - and positive work - undertaken by the British Council in the area of conducting workshops and seminars, and especially, in undertaking study tours of senior university/college leaders from Pakistan to the United Kingdom. What was this

program, then, that these participants often highlighted? Through my research, I noted that the reference the participants were making was to the Modern University Governance (MUG) program of the British Council. This program was one that the researcher was somewhat aware of prior to undertaking on-the-ground research in Pakistan (which is why a question about the MUG program was included in the original interview guide for this study) but one that took on new meaning and importance as the interviews progressed. In fact, the program highlights the nature of policy diffusion in the Pakistani context well enough to merit being fleshed out more fully via a case study later in this thesis.

Several other participants also highlighted the impact of multilateral agencies in the area of organizing seminars. Consider, for example, the following from a World Bank representative who notes the importance, within the context of a development project, of senior leaders (managerial staff) being sent abroad for training:

[PARTICIPANT]: I cannot tell the details. But in the past project there were activities focused on managerial staff going abroad, following workshops and so on. That was a big part of the project. (World Bank Representative, Male, Islamabad)

Workshops and seminars organized were not solely designed to be delivered abroad but were often launched in the domestic context as well. The Dean in the following excerpt notes the same, and the author would add, also highlights the World Bank's strong partnership with the HEC in the delivery of said seminars/workshops. It is important to highlight this partnership aspect of the World Bank's operations in Pakistan since, as often stated by participants, activities were (almost always) undertaken with the strong backing, support and encouragement of the federal Government of Pakistan.

[PARTICIPANT]: I think it is in the mandate of the World Bank to be in underdeveloped countries. To launch projects via HEC where they train teachers to improve the quality of education. I got involved because I was a participant in one of the PhD seminars organized by the World Bank through the HEC. (Dean, Private Sector, Male, Rawalpindi)

Therefore, workshops and seminars constitute an important and accepted modality, as referred to by the participants interviewed for the present study, of the involvement of external actors. The importance of one specific program oft-cited in the interviews - Modern University Governance (MUG) program of the British Council - will be highlighted via a case study later (Chapter 5.5:

Case Studies of External Influence) for illustrative purposes.

Foreign Aid

Foreign aid constitutes the third modality that this sub-section will address. While it is a larger catch-all term, it is nonetheless useful as a mechanism to understand the types of external influences that do not fit in the other categories identified by the researcher. We start from the premise that Pakistan has, of course, been the recipient of donor funding and foreign aid for much of its existence, an eventuality of its lack of poor social and economic indicators, and the lack of a strong tax base infrastructure. Donor agencies have provided funding in sectors ranging from public sector administration to rural development to women's empowerment. An illumination of the role of foreign aid, as a modality of external influence, would be germane to the goals of the present thesis.

What may the role of foreign aid, then, as applied to the context of Pakistan's higher education sector look like? An examination of the data gathered suggests that foreign aid, on the whole, plays a mostly modest role (in terms of sectoral impact) when compared to other modalities of external influence such as technical aid, or policy borrowing. However, there is a dichotomy here between the role of foreign aid in the system as understood by the institutional governors in the system, and by the government and IGO representatives in my study. While, by and large, institutional governors felt the role of foreign aid - in the HE sector of Pakistan - was small, the government and IGO partners (plus institutional governors with prior work experience within the federal HEC), felt that foreign aid did play a role in the sector's development, particularly through World Bank foreign aid funding.

PARTICIPANT: In Pakistan most of the higher education thing is from the local funding from the country, tax-payers money. And the government puts that money into higher education for two reasons. First of all we want to report it to the world that how serious we are on human resource development, in HRD. Human Resource Development is quite popular nowadays with donor agencies. So if you show them we have allocated 70 billion for higher education that creates a good impact on them that your strategy has worked. (Vice-Chancellor, Private University, Male, Islamabad).

The above excerpt is representative of the nature of most institutional governors interviewed within the data sample who suggested that the role of foreign aid funding was modest within the HE sector. However, the author has chosen to include this particular participants' voice as it

suggests that, among the reasons why domestic funding is allocated to the HE sector is because it permits donor agencies to look favourably upon the Pakistani government's willingness to engage in this area. In other words, it would appear that in order to attract further donor funding, the Pakistani government first has to allocate its own money to the general pool. The author would suggest that this viewpoint is indicative of the deference afforded to donor agencies on the whole.

The following two representatives from whom excerpts have been showcased are, in both circumstances, institutional governors who held very senior roles in the federal HEC prior to working within academia. Consider their views on the role of foreign aid in Pakistan's HEC, and especially, their understanding of the role of one particular external donor partner:

PARTICIPANT: The higher education reforms and whatever is going on is very much a home grown process in Pakistan. It has most definitely been influenced by the knowledge of experts and consultants from all over the world, because that's just the nature of the way the higher education system works, that it borrows, looks at, evaluates, assesses literature from everywhere. But the one organization that, while I was at HEC and that we worked with and that we continue to work with today is the World Bank. (University Vice-Chancellor, Private University, Male, Lahore)

PARTICIPANT: The World Bank. World Bank did a preliminary study on higher education just in Pakistan. Specially taking various roles of HEC. And I think they came up with very positive outcome. They were surprised that how much difference we have made. HEC has organized that body, has made the development in the higher education in Pakistan. And got the quality and the public confidence. Both things. So and then they also supported very actively to Higher Education Commission. World Bank has supported better. HEC just concluded a program, called Tertiary Support Program. Which is TSP, which was supported 30 percent by World Bank and 70% of Government of Pakistan. But it did provide an opportunity to use HEC's program. And also to help the HEC in implementing that program. I happened to be the first program coordinator of that program. (Vice-Chancellor, Public University, Male, Islamabad).

The influence of the World Bank, through its foreign aid funding to the Pakistani HE sector, would therefore appear to be significant and worthy of further examination. What prompted these senior participants in my study to accord this pride of place to the World Bank? The World Bank's involvement in Pakistani higher education deserves further ink and will be more fully fleshed out in Chapter 6 of the present thesis, where, among other matters, its role in shaping the very governing institutions of the sector (such as the HEC) will be examined. However, let us simply, for now, see the corroboration of the World Bank's involvement from a representative of this same organization:

PARTICIPANT: The main one is this one. Its the World Bank. Its not just...its a fact. In Pakistan, for this reason, donors are mostly involved in primary basic education because this is where everything starts. And The World Bank is also involved in some of the basic education and such skills. But as far as higher education is concerned, obviously the World Bank is the major international player. There have been already two World Bank projects supporting higher education. (World Bank Representative, Male, Islamabad)

When it comes to foreign aid funding, from the World Bank or elsewhere, what kind of external influence is it exactly? The author would suggest that foreign aid funding helps to shape, massage and nudge system development in particular ways because it involves the insertion of a partner (donor agency) that would not have been part of the process if the funding was simply undertaken using domestic taxpayer money. The ways in which such influence is exercised is usually through ‘soft diplomacy’ and through the development of processes, indicators, and decisions on resource allocation. Indeed, as stated in the words of the following multilateral agency representative, donor agencies can influence the policy making process through the loan process which involves negotiations, disbursement and monitoring of the Pakistani government’s actions as stipulated in the agreed-upon donor funding contract:

PARTICIPANT: I think the influence of the multi-donors or the donor community, has been very little on higher education. I don't see it significant, really. Because the interest of the donor agencies in higher education had been very little. But whatever influence they have on the policy making process of higher education, is usually through the loans which they process. And those loans they try to bring in those policy actions which they think are going to help the higher education sector, to improve the quality, the delivery, the service of the higher education. (Multilateral Agency Representative, Asian Development Bank, Male, Islamabad)

At this juncture, the introduction of some figures related to foreign aid disbursements in the education sector of Pakistan may help further advance our discussion of the role that the modality of foreign aid plays in the context of Pakistan’s higher education sector. The table below summarizes total foreign aid disbursements to Pakistan between fiscal years 2007-17. Table 2 (below) shows the provenance of the loan⁹, the type of loan, the name of the project (ex: Global Partnership for Education, etc.) and the amount provided in the base currency (BC) the donor operates in (in millions).

⁹ Acronyms are fully explained at the start of the thesis, however, it should be noted that the IBRD and IDA are arms of the World Bank.

**TABLE 2: FOREIGN AID DISBURSEMENT FOR EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
(FISCAL YEARS 2007-2017)**

Donor	Aid Type	Name of Project / Programme	Base Currency (BC) (\$M)	Amount Committed (in BC)
ADB	Loan	Decentralized Eleme. Educ-Oc	SDR	5.79
ADB	Loan	Punjab Resource Manag. Program	USD	200.00
ADB	Loan	Punjab Millenium Dev Goal Prog	SDR	63.73
ADB	Loan	Punjab Mille. Dev. Goals Prog2	SDR	68.43
ADB	Loan	Punjab Millennium Dev. Goals P	SDR	33.89
CANADA	Grant	Basic Education Project	CAD	8.99
EU	Grant	KP Edu Sec Plan Supp Prog	EUR	40.00
EU	Grant	Sindh Edu Plan Sup Prog (Sepsp)	EUR	39.00
EU	Grant	Sindh Edu. Sector Sup. Program	EUR	30.00
IBRD	Grant	Sindh Glob. Part. For Edu Proj	USD	22.00
IBRD	Grant	Sindh Glob Partn. For Edu Proj	USD	44.00
IBRD	Grant	Global Partn. For Edu. Bep	USD	34.00
IBRD	Loan	3rd Punjab Education Sec Proj	USD	300.00
IDA	Grant	National Edu Assessment Sys. P	GBP	0.67
IDA	Grant	Punjab Education Sector	USD	0.71
IDA	Grant	Baloch. Edu. Supp. Proj - Bep	USD	1.32
IDA	Loan	Balochistan Edu Supp	SDR	14.66
IDA	Loan	Punjab Education Sector Projec	SDR	230.37
IDA	Loan	Higher Education Support Progr	SDR	66.90
IDA	Loan	Sindh Edu. Sector Proj (Sep)	SDR	197.92
IDA	Loan	Tertiary Education Supp. Proj	SDR	71.80
IDA	Loan	Tertiary Education Supp Proje	SDR	70.50
IDA	Loan	Punjab Education Sector Proj	SDR	30.73
IDA	Loan	Sindh Edu. Sector Proj (Sep)	SDR	32.10
IDA	Loan	2nd Punjab Education Project	SDR	225.00
IDA	Loan	2nd Sindh Edu. Sector Proj	SDR	259.60
IDB	Loan	Basic Education For All Projec	IDN	1.44
IDB	Loan	Basic Education For All Proj	USD	8.07
IDB	Loan	Support To The Basic Education	IDN	9.87
NORWAY	Grant	Basic Eduction Improvem. Proj.	NOK	30.00
NORWAY	Grant	Norway Grant Assist, Beip Kpk	NOK	75.00
NORWAY	Grant	Nwfp Basic Education Project	NOK	59.30
U.K	Grant	K.P Interim Support For Edu.	GBP	13.60
U.K	Grant	Punjab Education Sector Proj	GBP	80.00
U.K	Grant	K.P Interim Support Edu. Proj.	GBP	14.43
U.K	Grant	KPK Education Sector Programme	GBP	203.50
U.K	Grant	Punj Edu Sec Prgme2	GBP	350.30

USA	Grant	Sindh Basic Education Program	USD	81.00
W.F.P	Grant	Girls Primary Education	USD	82.60
Source: Economic Affairs Division, Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan (http://www.ead.gov.pk/)				

The following takeaways may be drawn by the researcher based on the research evidence presented in the table above:

- i. The primary/secondary education sector is, by far, the sector of choice for investment by foreign aid donors. There are only two tertiary education projects referenced in the above table, both World Bank partner projects (IDRB and IDA). These are the 2009 HESP and 2011 TESP projects referenced earlier in Section 2.2 (Literature Review);
- ii. The glaring absence of the British Council and USAID as donor agencies, both identified by the data evidence collected for this thesis as constituting among the largest external policy influencers in the Pakistani HE sector. However, as identified earlier, this is not surprising because this thesis has concerned itself with the external actors that have played a role in terms of effecting policy influence in the Pakistani HE sector as a whole, not just through foreign aid. The policy influence of the British Council and USAID remains large and impactful, despite their minimal role in terms of the provision of foreign aid to the sector;
- iii. We see the involvement of external actors that have not been, hitherto, addressed in this thesis including multilateral agencies such as the Islamic Development Bank (IDB), the European Union and the World Food Program (WFP), as well as bilateral players such as Canada and Norway.

The perceptions of the participants in my study paint the following picture: that foreign aid, on the whole, does not constitute the largest form of external influence in the Pakistani higher education sector. However, the funding dollars (as seen in the table presented above) suggest that foreign agencies are involved, most notably the World Bank, in the HE sector of Pakistan (from a foreign aid perspective). In terms of explaining this dichotomy the researcher suggests that given the fact that multilateral donor funding to the Pakistani government accrues directly to the Pakistani Ministry of Finance, and from there to the Higher Education Commission (HEC), it is

unlikely to be on the radar of many institutions who cannot access the funding until it flows from the HEC downward to them.

Furthermore, all the negotiations for education-sector loans take place directly between government and multilateral or bilateral donor agencies; therefore, it is unlikely that senior institutional governors in the HE sector of Pakistan who may be further 'downstream' would see the interplay between foreign aid funding to the Pakistani government and its eventual usage. However, luckily, at least two participants in my data sample were, in fact, among the senior-most employees at the Pakistani HEC and were able to attest to the fact that bilateral and multilateral aid donors do play an active role in policy development and funding, but that the negotiations may be best characterized as a two-way dialogue and not a form of overt policy downloading or lending (according to these participants).

We can, at this stage, bring in an academic indigenous voice with regard to the nature of foreign aid funding in Pakistan. In his examination of the effectiveness of foreign aid funding to Pakistan, Sethi (2008) has stated that Pakistan suffers from what he terms 'the nexus of foreign aid' (Sethi, 2008), and has suggested that Pakistan's overall economic development has been hindered, rather than helped, by six decades of foreign aid. In his conclusion, Sethi goes on to surmise that:

Since independence, Pakistan has been faced with the issue of resource constraint for economic development. The early debate on whether to seek economic assistance from bilateral and multilateral sources remained academic as the first World Bank loan was taken in 1952. Since then, the nexus of foreign aid (the external consultant, the donor and the government/bureaucracy) has worked in tandem to make our economic progress aid reliant. We now suffer from what this research terms as 'aid syndrome'. (Sethi, 2008: 146).

Consulting

Yet another modality of external influence in the Pakistani higher education context was that pertaining to the use of technical experts and consultants. Consultants brought in as technical experts from outside the local domestic context may be understood to be exogenous to the system. It should be clarified at this juncture that the researcher has distinguished in this sub-section those experts or consultants that are domestic or local (endogenous) to the system (in other words, consultants that are Pakistani) and those that are external (exogenous) to the system (non-Pakistani). A grey area, then, in this regard lies with individuals with Pakistani roots or

backgrounds, but who have spent much of their academic and professional career outside the country. The extent to which individual consultants with such backgrounds may be considered 'domestic' is, then, debatable. As such, the researcher has chosen to not address this group, specifically, from the data findings reported below.

As has been the case in earlier sections, the nature of certain interactions depends on who you ask. From a comparativist standpoint, institutional governors domestic to the system had a wholly positive view of the use of technical experts and outside consultants, while those with inner knowledge of the interactions between the HEC and external agencies had a more nuanced view of the use of outside consultants. From the point of view of some institutional leaders, outside consultants brought in international best practices and addressed issues and themes that may have been considered controversial in the Pakistani context. For example, two senior women leaders noted that issues addressed by external consultants at their institutions included matters ranging from family planning/contraception to harassment of women in the workplace. Consider the following:

PARTICIPANT: Recently I experienced visits from the USAID and the British Council, and certain other NGOs too. We also received a visit from the Netherlands. The representative of that an organization spoke to us about workplace harassment. _____ is the CEO. And I came in contact to her. And on my request she visited here. And conducted seminars, lectures, some awareness campaign also about protection of women at the workplace. And guiding female students. And yes, USAID recently conducted their some workshops free of cost. So, yes there are international bodies those are interested and those working to improve the system. But it has to be more in number and frequency. (Associate Dean, Private Sector, Female, Lahore).

From the vantage point of senior leaders active in the system, then outside consultants and experts brought in to opine and elucidate difficult themes is helpful because it removes the burden on the Pakistani practitioner to do the same. Having controversial areas covered by outside consultants could be helpful in this regard. However, in some ways, outside consultants it might be said, were almost treated in the same way as visiting scholars or lecturers might at other academic institutions, perhaps. In fact, as noted above, the institutional participant suggested that the use of outside consultants be increased, not decreased.

This viewpoint of the possibilities that consultants and outside experts afforded to the system contrasted with the viewpoints of those who had witnessed the impact of such experts in consulting with (or within) government. In other words, the use of consultants within institutions

may be understood to be wholly different than the use of consultants within government. In such cases, participants generally suggested that the use of outside consultants, and experts was fairly common and pervasive. Let us examine participant voices in this regard. For example, the individual noted below (who had prior experience within the HEC) recognizes that international agencies such as the British Council and the USAID provided significant technical assistance and training to the Pakistani federal Higher Education Commission:

We learnt technical assistance from them. For example, USAID has a big program, higher education from their own. HEC learnt a lot from them. They were housed at HEC. They provide us assistance but we learned from them. There were lot of programs, training programs. So British Council involved in sharing lot of cost for training in good governance. (University Vice-Chancellor, Public University, Male, Islamabad).

Most notably, being ‘housed’ inside the HEC is indicative of a close connection that goes well beyond the submission of technical briefs, or a one-day workshop. Indeed, it was also noted by other participants within the data sample, that the HEC also ‘housed’ representatives of the World Bank in the form of a ‘unit’ or ‘cell’ within the HEC offices.

Finally, the researcher would highlight an additional aspect of the use of consultants that is germane to the present thesis. The use of consultants may not necessarily only reflect the views of the external agency that the consultant represents. The personal views of the consultant(s) matter too. This is, therefore, primarily a statement that speaks to the difficulties of divorcing individual viewpoints and biases in professional settings. (Indeed, as has been mentioned at the start of this thesis, the author’s own personal biases and prior lived experiences can similarly not be expected to be wholly absent from this text). However, the use of consultants in the context of developing countries, it may be said, magnifies their import because the implementers of the policy may not be able to negotiate (read: push back) from their own side:

PARTICIPANT: I think through the professional staff, the people who are processing a project for example, it really depends on their personal views.

INTERVIEWER: That matters.

PARTICIPANT: Yeah. So the team leader and the consultants that he brings in. They are the one in whatever they think is good for the country in a way.

INTERVIEWER: So its very powerful.

PARTICIPANT: They are extremely powerful. And they sit with the higher education (commission) or the government. And since the government side is generally weak, professionally and technically, so whatever these people bring on the table, so the government side just accepts. (Multilateral Agency Representative, Male, Islamabad).

Indeed, as stated by the above-noted multilateral agency representative, the use of consultants with regard to policy development on certain projects, reflects their role as powerful ‘advisors’, who are likely to almost always ‘have their way’. One can see such an eventuality reflected in the development of any number of educational projects. These could range from suggestions to have greater or less emphasis on public postsecondary institutions vs private postsecondary institutions to meet the labour market development needs of the country, from suggestions on modifications to faculty tenure and retention processes to allocation of additional resources for marginalized social groups. Such deference to ‘outside’ expertise pervades Pakistani society and can be found in most sectors of the economy. In fact, as highlighted succinctly in the following excerpt, a bilateral agency representative lamented the undue reliance that Pakistani institutions (but this could just as easily have been extended to government as well) had on the use of not just consultants, but ‘outside’ consultants. Such a notion may seem peculiar to readers in developed country contexts who may see the reference to outside consultants as pertaining to consultants from major consulting firms (such as McKinsey and Company, or Deloitte) – in the context of Pakistani society, though, ‘outside’ consultants appears to signify the involvement of individuals working outside Pakistan. Consider:

They would rather hire a consultant based in the US for their issues rather than reach out to a Pakistani Centre for Excellence in Energy Efficiency. I will give an example of a company called Higher Electronics International who were trying to achieve greater energy efficiency at their factory in Lahore for some time. However, they were encouraged by an institution (UET Peshawar) to reach out to the higher education sector to increase their energy efficiency and lower their costs of production and increase their profits. This private business was therefore surprised that a Pakistani university could give such inputs as they would have rather reached out to an outside consultant instead. And, in return, the university asked for their interns to be placed in their factories. So this kind of relationship was badly missing. (Bilateral Agency Representative, Female, Islamabad).

Technical Reports

International organizations spend vast amounts of time and resources on the collection of data and the production of technical reports. These range from the OECD’s large-scale assessments (ex: PISA, TIMSS, PIAAC) and accompanying reports (at the system, country, and sub-national jurisdictional levels) to the UNESCO’s reports on the United Nation’s educational goals (ex: the Global Education Monitoring Report (GEMR)). I was interested in better

understanding, from my research participants, how such reports (technical or otherwise) impacted the Pakistani higher education sector.

It was immediately apparent that, by and large, technical reports do not impact the HE sector in the same manner that, perhaps, other modalities of external influences do. The impact appears to be largely diffused. In some cases, participants cited the fact that since such technical reports are not attached to funding, loans or grants, they may not have the impact that the provision of donor funding might.

Few participants suggested that they actually had knowledge of the content of technical reports pertaining to Pakistani higher education – from any organization. The participant highlighted below is an exception to the rule and notes that several reports have been issued by the World Bank – many good – but that the uptake on their implementation is poor. The researcher would, however, draw the reader’s attention to the fact that these same World Bank reports were also constantly used in the Government of Pakistan’s own publications:

[PARTICIPANT:] The World Bank in terms of their reports that have come out on the educational sector, however they have never followed through on any of them. They've had some good reports but I have actually come across reports that are better than the World Bank. The major report that I read which the government of Pakistan constantly quotes doesn't have a single paragraph on governance. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

Indeed, with regard to the Pakistani government’s own use of technical reports, the researcher has chosen to cite a senior federal HEC representative who suggests that not only are such reports considered by the HEC, they also seem to feed into the development of the Government’s own higher education strategy, named the HEC Vision 2025:

INTERVIEWER: Oh, I see. Can I ask you about reports? Reports that come out from UNESCO, the World Bank, on how policies should be implemented, the best practices, the OECD comes out with these reports. Does the Higher Education Commission ever get them?

PARTICIPANT: Yeah. In 2015, yes, we got the ... they put all the reports on their website. And then we published those reports on our websites. And then we reviewed those web reports. And we see what kind of deficiencies. And what are the good things happened. So that we should continue those things. If there are need of improvement ... and so we then have a thorough review. So then we have a vision HEC document. (Federal HEC Representative, Male, Islamabad)

A keyword search by the author of the Government of Pakistan’s long term strategy for the higher education sector: Vision 2025 did not indicate any references to the World Bank, or other international organizations. Indeed, for the author, it was surprising that no globally comparative

figures (including, for example, UNESCO or OECD data on tertiary-level enrolments) were presented in this 90-page document at all. Therefore, while some participants in the researcher's data sample may have been led to believe that the Government of Pakistan closely follows technical reports published by international organizations, the researcher did not see this borne out in the final published HEC Vision 2025 framework document. This does not imply that externally developed technical reports were not used by endogenous drafters of this policy in the initial consultative phases - it suggests, rather, that the final document omitted any mention whatsoever of the involvement of international organizations in this document.

The use of technical reports, therefore, plays a role - albeit minor - in the overall network of external policy influences in the Pakistani higher education sector. Where technical reports do seem to play a role is in the development phase of Pakistani home-grown HE strategies where they are considered, read and cited. In this way, technical reports promulgated from external organizations are able to, in fact, exert an external policy influence in the sector.

Policy Borrowing

In the Literature Review section of the present thesis, the author presented definitions of policy borrowing and lending from scholars in the field (Steiner-Khamsi; Jakobi; Philips and Ochs). It was noted that methods of policy transfer were often undertaken in a variety of ways including through the use of mechanisms such as standard setting, policy coordination, financial incentivization and technical assistance. For the purposes of the present thesis, a reductionist approach to identify 'policy borrowing' was used, primarily to distinguish it as a modality of external influence distinct from the other modalities already discussed above. In this regard, the data collected suggested that certain participants held deep-seated perceptions that policy borrowing did indeed exist in the sector, especially as manifested through the Government of Pakistan's active 'borrowing' of models, norms, and policy documents from other countries, especially the United Kingdom. The researcher would suggest that it would be hard to confirm and qualify such assertions (for example, to confirm, if the Government of Pakistan's Quality Assurance Framework mirrors that of the United Kingdom's). However, the fact that such deeply-rooted perceptions are held in the sector is indicative of the presence of policy borrowing - to some extent - in the sector. Consider the following from a senior Vice-Chancellor:

INTERVIEWER: Would you say the HEC copied the standard and the model?

PARTICIPANT: Yes they copied the model but you cannot do a package deal like this - you have to soil in which the seed can germinate. And if you want to have professors to head these I mean for the ORIC I would happily get a person from the industry to run it I mean it needs a certain type of mind set... (Vice chancellor, Public University, Female, Rawalpindi)

The above participant highlighted the notion that the Government of Pakistan had borrowed (indeed: 'copied') the policy idea of the Office of Research Innovation and Commercialization (ORIC). The participant's views hearken to Michael Sadler's pleas in the year 1900 to not, without adequate reflection and due deference for the local context to transfer educational policies from one jurisdictional context to another:

"We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant" (Sadler, 1900: 310).

Yet another Vice-Chancellor went so far as to suggest that Pakistan had borrowed much of the framework of the United Kingdom and that most of the Pakistani HEC's policy documents would be similar to those of the United Kingdom's regulatory authorities for higher education:

PARTICIPANT: ... So that I think our HEC has adopted 90 percent, 95 percent of framework which UKs ... I think UK also has a higher education council.... I think if you put up any policy document of HEC, read it, 80 percent, 85 percent it would be similar to that agency's document... that's my hunch... Because some documents are quite collaborated, the way they like to report things. So that actually helps HEC to adopt these international best practices. But again I say in Pakistan, and also in every Islamic country, adopting best practices for the purpose of documenting them only and showing them to the international accreditation bodies or donors is one thing. One thing is the spirit of those documents. (Vice-Chancellor, Private University, Male, Islamabad)

The following two aspects of the above excerpt are particularly striking (a) that it would be considered useful to have policy models that are similar between countries in order to allow for comparability, and (b) that having policies that are similar to others (read: the 'norm') allows for the Government of Pakistan to better showcase its commitment's to international donor agencies.

Finally, in concluding this brief expose of participant voices with regard to the nature of policy borrowing as a modality in the Pakistani higher education context, the author would turn the attention of the reader towards the impact that small-scale educational projects may have on policy borrowing at the national level. While, as we have seen above, certain participants held

the notion that policy documents pertaining to the education sector were ‘copied’ by the Pakistani Government, in other cases, policies that began as small-scale educational projects may also turn into nation-wide policy, through the development of a new norm. Let us consider the following from a study participant:

[PARTICIPANT]: Yes, USAID I recognize very well because over the last four or five years they introduced the rolling of the BS education program in Pakistan. They almost entirely reshaped the teachers’ program in all of Pakistan. There were fifteen universities that participated in this initiative where earlier teacher training programs in Pakistan were considered ineffective. Thus, they introduced the BS program, a four-year degree program. They helped the HEC in developing the curriculum and then provided teacher trainings, resources and developed scholarships. This was a five-year program. (University Dean, Private University, Male, Rawalpindi)

The project quoted above is the USAID’s Teacher Training Program, a program that began its life-cycle as a small USAID-funded donor project with a select group of Pakistani universities and, in short order, was taken up across the country. As per the participant quoted above, it would not be far from the truth to state that the very format of teacher training across the entire nation was affected by this one policy intervention and its consequent ‘borrowing’ by the Government of Pakistan. Yet, the researcher would suggest, that it would be against the interests of the Government of Pakistan to acknowledge that it was, in fact, an external agency’s involvement through a small-scale donor funded project (in this case, USAID) that allowed for a new policy normal to be engendered. Indeed, the development of the USAID Teacher Training Program would merit further elaboration and will be considered in the form of a case-study by the author later in the present thesis.

Section Summary

We have seen that several modalities of external policy influences exist in the Pakistani higher education context. While many categorizations of such influences may be possible, the researcher chose to categorize these through a consideration of: (i) Scholarships and Exchange Programs; (ii) Workshops and Seminars; (iii) Foreign Aid; (iv) Consulting; (v) Technical Reports and; (vi) Policy Borrowing. Each modality impacts on the system in different and unique ways, with some modalities exhibiting (arguably) a stronger ‘pull’ on the system than others. Operating one upon the other, each modality does not lie in isolation.

5.4: External Influences by Actor

[PARTICIPANT]: I have heard of programs from the US Embassy and from the World Bank. I believe the major players have been these two organizations and The British Council. (Bilateral Agency Representative, Male, Islamabad)

We have, so far, considered the nature of exogenous policy influences in the Pakistani higher education context in broad strokes. The data evidence collected for this thesis was presented with regard to participants' perceptions as to whether external influences exist, and if they do, what kind of influence it is (policy borrowing, foreign aid, etc.) If we were to hearken back to the broader research questions laid out in the introduction, we can suggest that the data evidence indicates that, yes, external policy influences do exist in the Pakistani higher education context and that these differ significantly by type of influence. What we have not yet considered is how such exogenous influences differ by 'type' of external actor. By 'type', the author understands the various specific international organizations actually active, present and involved in the system. Since the main goal of this thesis is to examine the nature of external policy influences in Pakistani HE, the author would suggest that it would be imperative to actually undertake an examination of the involvement of external influences by type of actor (in addition to the previously studied type of influence).

The goal of the present section is to, then, speak to the types of actors involved (as understood by the senior participants interviewed for this study) and to, in addition, undertake an examination of their level of involvement. The author intends to, then, speak to not only which actors are involved, but also speak to how much is each actor involved. As has been the case throughout the present document, the author's goal is not to take sides or defend the worth of a particular policy action or reform initiative, but rather to identify, name - and perhaps, problematize - the involvement of external policy actors in the Pakistani higher education sphere.

Both in the context of the interview guide, as well as the participants' own general 'given' knowledge of external policy actors that had impacted on Pakistani higher education, the following actors were identified (in descending order of magnitude of involvement):

- The World Bank;
- USAID;
- British Council;

- UNESCO;
- ADB
- Other (including):
 - International Protocols (Washington Accord)
 - Regional organizations (SAARC, CASRC)
 - UNDP
 - Islamic NGOs
 - Bilateral NGOs (GIZ, JICA, CIDA, AusAid)

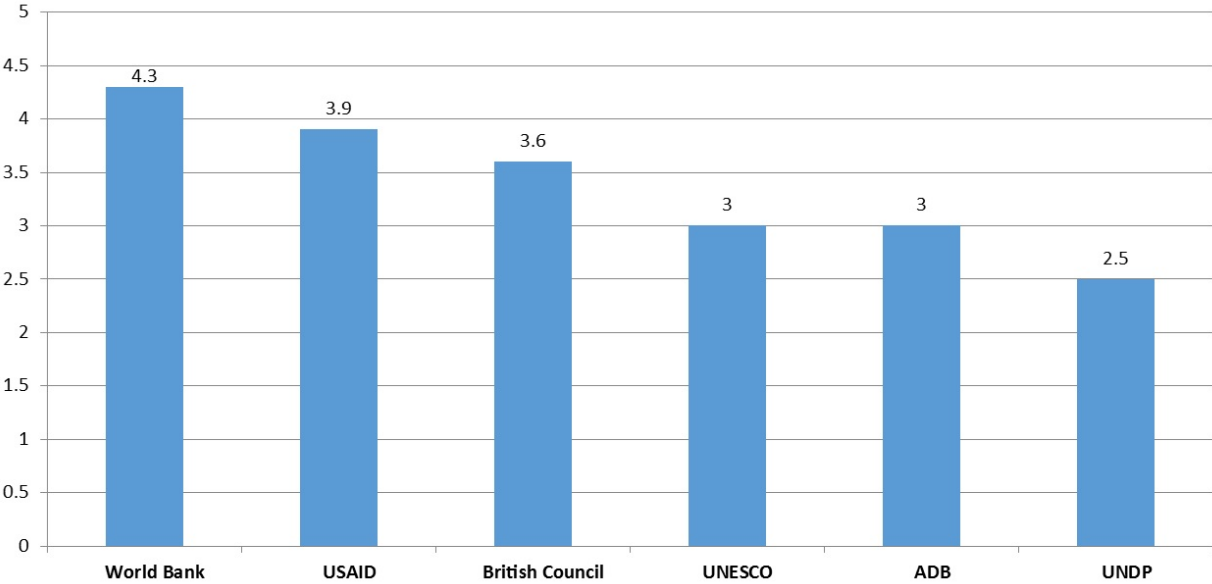


Figure 7: External INGOs involved in Pakistani HE by Weight

The case studies presented in section 5.5 provides an opportunity for the reader to witness, concretely, the impact that the top three major organizations (World Bank, USAID and the British Council) from the above list have on system development and governance. These case studies implicate the data collected for this study and expand upon it to render, in sharper focus, the real-world manner in which external policy influences may be manifesting themselves in the Pakistani higher education context.

What the author has also noticed is the way in which external policy actors carve out separate ‘policy niches’ for themselves within the sector in which they operate. While, ostensibly, no government force or authority (as far as the author is aware) requires that a particular external organization or agency work in a certain domain, this appears to happen naturally; a product of, perhaps, a naturally occurring desire to not step on each other’s toes

and/or duplicate efforts. As a result, some of the following ‘natural’ settling-in appears to have occurred within the Pakistani higher education sector vis-à-vis the involvement of external policy actors, and represents a snapshot of what might be termed their ‘portfolio’ within the Pakistani HE sector (see Table 3 below):

Table 3: Policy Niches of External Actors

External Actor	Primary Niche	Secondary Niche (if applicable)	Tertiary Niche (if applicable)
World Bank	Foreign aid	Policy and technical advice to Pakistani HEC	Publication of technical reports
USAID	Teacher education	Scholarship program administration (ex: Fulbright program; Pakistani PhD program)	Establishment of advanced research centres at Pakistani universities
British Council	Faculty training	Scholarship program administration	Language testing/training
UNESCO	Technical indicator reports	University twinning programs (UNTIWIN)	Application of ISCED Standardized classifications
ADB	Technical and vocational education development	None identified	None identified

The World Bank

It should come as no surprise to the reader that the World Bank’s involvement in Pakistan’s higher education sector has been identified as being the largest in size, scope and depth. As shall be illustrated later, the World Bank’s involvement in Pakistan may be considered from a multiplicity of angles including through project loan funding and via sponsored reports and commissions. The involvement of the World Bank in Pakistan is both historic and ongoing and, it may be argued, constitutes the single-greatest actor of external policy influence in the Pakistani context.

Earlier sections in this chapter (Chapter 5: Findings) have touched on the World Bank through various angles. For example, it was noted in section 5.2 Perceptions of External Influences that some participants were of the opinion that the World Bank had contributed

significantly to the shaping of the present system of higher education in the country. Similarly, section 5.3: A Typology of External Influences highlighted some of the World Bank's impacts on the system seen from the viewpoint of the type of influence (ex: foreign aid funding, policy borrowing, etc.) Furthermore, a brief overview of the World Bank's involvement in higher education, and in the higher education sector of Pakistan more specifically, was presented in the literature review section (Section 2.2) Those viewpoints will not be repeated in this section. Instead, this section will provide a brief overview of some World Bank-specific data points that have not been touched upon elsewhere in the present thesis. The World Bank's case study in the following section will serve as the glue that will bring together all these various disparate sections to concretely demonstrate the involvement of the World Bank in Pakistan.

One of the ways to quantify the World Bank's involvement would be to consider the relative weight of their involvement. As identified in the Methodology section, the participant used a qualitative data analysis program to ascribe meaning to participants' voices; part of this process also included ascribing a weight (or relative importance) to the participants' voices, opinions, comments and examples pertaining to the involvement of external actors. When fully completed and quantified, the relative weightings of participants' voices with regard to the major top six external actors was identified (see Figure 4: External IGOs involved in Pakistani HE by Weight). The data confirms that most participants - be they from the government, IGO or institutional sectors - believed that the World Bank had a sustained impact on the higher education system in Pakistan with a relative combined mean weighting of 4.3 (out of a possible 5).

Indeed, with regard to system governance, the World Bank appears to have played a major role in the governance of the higher education system in Pakistan. As identified by the participant in the following excerpt, perhaps the single-greatest policy reform affecting the HE sector was the re-design of the role of the state regulator which morphed from the laissez-faire, arms-length University Grants Commission (UGC) to the present-day, highly-involved Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan. While both are incarnations of a buffer-body model, the differences couldn't be starker and are tantamount to a move from - to use Neave and Vught's terminology - a State Supervisory Model to a State Control Model (Neave and Vught, 1994). Indeed, the various roles the HEC plays in system governance today are remarkable (as

identified in Section 5.3. HEC Oversight). Consider, the following:

PARTICIPANT: The World Bank. World Bank did a preliminary study on higher education just in Pakistan. Specially taking various roles of HEC. And I think they came up with very positive outcome. They were surprised that how much difference we have made. HEC has organized that body, has made the development in the higher education in Pakistan. And got the quality and the public confidence. Both things. So and then they also supported very actively to Higher Education Commission. World Bank has supported better. HEC just concluded a program, called Tertiary Support Program. Which is TSP, which was supported 30 percent by World Bank and 70% of Government of Pakistan. But it did made and basically that provided an opportunity to use HEC's program. And also to help HEC implementing that program. I happened to be the first program coordinator of that program. (University Vice-Chancellor, Public University, Male, Islamabad)

USAID

USAID has been involved in the Pakistani aid and development sector for several decades now and, after the World Bank, has the deepest level of involvement in the Pakistani HE sphere (see Figure 4 above). As has been the case with the above section pertaining to the World Bank, USAID too has been profiled within various earlier sections of the present thesis; those earlier participant voices will not be repeated here. The author intends to, instead, simply speak to the overall picture of USAID's involvement in the Pakistani HE sector. So, what manner of involvement does this entail? The words of the senior HEC representative interviewed for this study may prove to be instructive in this regard:

PARTICIPANT: Yeah. The biggest donor is the USAID.... Yeah, like USAID, offered us establishing three advance research centers in agriculture, in food technology and the third one is water management.... So these centers are established in 5 different universities in Pakistan.... But like USAID for scholarship program is 25 million dollars. (Senior Higher Education Commission Representative, Male, Islamabad)

As noted above, USAID's involvement includes, more recently, funding for scholarship programs and funding for advanced research centers (focused on certain pre-defined areas such as agriculture). What the HEC representative did not speak to in the above excerpt was USAID's role in redefining teacher education in Pakistan, as we shall see later.

USAID – like the World Bank or the British Council – may be considered a 'household name' in the Pakistani HE sector. Above all, what came to mind for most participants when thinking of USAID's involvement in the sector was (a) teacher training, and (b) scholarships (especially, the Fulbright scholarships program) Indeed, teacher training appears to be the policy niche that the USAID most clearly 'owns' in Pakistan. In particular, USAID's involvement in the

Pakistani teacher education program has been extensive. What began as a preliminary pilot program within select teacher training colleges was adopted by the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan, and later rolled out across the entire country. This is what has caused a deep association to have been born in the minds of many of my study participants in the case of USAID and Pakistani teacher education.

Indeed, the Pakistani higher education sector has truly changed as a result of this program given the massive roll-out and adoption of the initiative across the country. The program is, furthermore, identified by the following two participants in my study in the following way:

[Participant]: They (USAID) developed many educational buildings, especially at Karachi University, as well as in different public sector universities. They developed these and they created a link with the HEC. Link between all universities. This USAID teaching education project - I don't remember the exact name - they have a uniform policy. They provide books, all kinds of teaching aid to the school. (Vice-Chancellor, Private University, Male, Karachi)

PARTICIPANT: ... and with the USAID as well, especially their PRE-STEP program which focuses on teacher training. USAID has constructed a building for our education faculty. It was a turn-key operation. We gave them the land and they built the building, completely furnished and all that. It's a state-of-art kind of a thing. So, these two agencies have played a very important role. (University Vice-Chancellor, Public University, Female, Rawalpindi)

The author visited several university campuses in Pakistan for the purposes of conducting research for the present thesis where a Funded by USAID – from the American People plaque or sign was prominently displayed. In fact, the author recalls visiting a major university in Lahore known for its teacher education program and being given a personal tour of the campus buildings built by USAID donor funding. The point being highlighted here is that USAID has, indeed, left an indelible mark with its involvement in the policy niche area of teacher education within the Pakistani higher education sector.

The USAID representative interviewed for the present study encapsulates this external bilateral agency's overall involvement in the Pakistani higher education sector since the 1950s as follows:

PARTICIPANT: I think USAID is a huge partner and is a significant contributor to the sector since the 1950s. So the University of Agriculture, Faisalabad, has had a partnership with Indiana State University that was a partnership driven by the US Embassy. Similarly, the campus of LUMS in the 1980s, \$10M endowment or grant was given to LUMS and the campus was built. The University of Education as well. IER at the University of Punjab as well. And there are many, many other examples.

INTERVIEWER: Notwithstanding the Fulbright exchange programs and so on.

PARTICIPANT: Yes. And in social capacity-building efforts as well. We have undertaken a \$127M effort focused on four Pakistani universities: UET Peshawar, NUST, Faisalabad University and UET Mehran to

focus on water energy. Pakistan cannot afford higher education for the sake of higher education; it needs higher education for the sake of the economy, for the sake of knowledge creation, to generate jobs, increase productivity and increase entrepreneurship. (USAID Representative, Female, Islamabad)

Indeed, in the words of the USAID representative interviewed herself, USAID has provided significant donor funding for several higher education projects in Pakistan since the 1950s, but perhaps it's single, largest impact on the HE system of Pakistan might be considered to be the USAID Teacher Education Project or (TEP). Section 5.5 further considers the impact of the USAID teacher training program in a case study format of external policy influence by USAID in the Pakistani context.

At least one participant from the data sample also spoke to the involvement of his university within the ambit of the US-Pakistan Knowledge Education Corridor. This program was developed as a deliverable of an October 22, 2015 bilateral visit between the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the President of the United States in Washington. (US-Pakistan Knowledge Education Corridor, HEC, n.d.) While the stated goal of the program was to develop Pakistan's human capital needs and improve the state of its higher education sector, further development of the program in the months that followed saw the main goal of the program emerge to be PhD training for Pakistani faculty.

In fact, it is intended that 10,000 Pakistani faculty be sent to US universities, over 10 years, to obtain doctoral credentials. While the program has strict return-of-service provisions (US-Pakistan Knowledge Education Corridor, HEC, n.d.) for Pakistani faculty, the author would argue that this initiative – laudable as it is – may also be considered through the dependency lens proffered earlier (see section 5.3) wherein a huge beneficiary of the program are, in fact, US-based universities themselves who will receive the scholarship dollars being poured into this program for the training of Pakistani faculty.

British Council

The British Council's involvement in the Pakistani higher education sector, as determined by the composite scores of the participants involved in this study, stood at 3.6 out of 5 (See Figure 4 above). This external actor comes in therefore, third after the World Bank and USAID in terms of its impact on the system. What, then, does the British Council's involvement consist

of? As is the case with most external actors, there is no single endeavor or project that it undertakes; rather it has a portfolio of programs and initiatives. Indeed, as has been noted in the table above, the author has identified the primary niche area of the British Council to be Faculty Training, the secondary niche as Scholarship Program Administration, and, as a tertiary niche, Language Testing and Training. This is by no means a comprehensive list but rather identifies the main domains of this actor as understood by the majority of the research participants.¹⁰

Several participants in the study referenced British Council scholarships (such as the Commonwealth Scholarships) as being an important influence of this particular external actor; indeed several participants had been the recipients themselves of such scholarships! However, the impact of external scholarships has already been considered elsewhere in the present thesis and will not be duplicated here. Instead, the author would like to highlight the British Council's historic involvement in the system as being particularly defining for this international actor compared to others (such as the World Bank or USAID). Many of Pakistan's state institutions were vestiges of the British Colonial era, and the establishment of the higher education sector by and large was no exception. The system still tends to 'pivot' towards the United Kingdom with institutions like Oxford and Cambridge being very much identified as gold standards:

PARTICIPANT: British Council is one. I would consider British Council is doing a very good job. And not recently but from a very long time. Even I think from the start of Pakistan, they are the ones who have contributed lot to the education system of Pakistan. Because we are very close to that. Our education system is very...we borrowed actually everything from them. From the beginning we were trained by the Britishers. Our elderly people those who started teaching, building universities. And Britain helped a lot to build universities. And we have a model like Oxford and Cambridge, and Imperial College and things like these. These are in the back of our mind always. That these are the good institutions and our institutions should be something like this....British Council holds seminars here in Pakistan. They tried to help universities in various ways. In donating books. In training teachers. And giving them materials and things like this. So British Council is one. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

The participant quoted above exemplifies, above all, the fact that despite whatever programs or actions the British Council may be running in the present era in Pakistan, that this particular external actor carries with it a weight that transcends mere funding for programs or technical assistance for training or seminars. Its actions seem to, somehow, carry with it the full weight of a bygone colonized era and perhaps a certain mindset dependency that is hard to overcome. This

¹⁰ For example, the author himself spent a significant amount of time in British Council-run membership-based libraries in Lahore and Karachi during the course of data collection.

‘historic’ aspect of the British Council is also addressed by the following participant (the context of the excerpt below was a training program being offered by the British Council in the participants’ institution):

PARTICIPANT: Well, I mean I don’t know directly, but I would put British Council as an important.... They might not be directly involved in, they are actually... they have certain programs that are directly involved in the education, but primarily ...So, I think a huge.... British Council is doing a wonderful job. In fact, I sometimes laugh at they never left Pakistan and India, actually. (University Vice-Chancellor, Public Sector, Female, Lahore)

Therefore, the British Council, according to the data results, exercises a measure of influence in the Pakistani higher education sector that comes in only after the World Bank and USAID. The British Council’s ‘brand’, however, is very different from those of other external policy actors in Pakistan (both bilateral like USAID) and multilateral (like UNESCO) as it hearkens to Pakistan’s long colonial past with the United Kingdom - and it’s ongoing aspirations/orientation towards its former colonial administrators. The case studies section of the present thesis will address what the author sees as a particularly compelling impact of this external policy actor: the impact of the roll-out of the Modern University Governance (MUG) program at Pakistani degree-granting higher education institutions.

UNESCO

UNESCO has also been involved as an external policy actor in the Pakistani context for some time; however, unlike some of the other external policy actors discussed earlier, UNESCO appears to have focused the vast majority of its ‘education’ portfolio in Pakistan within the primary and secondary education sectors. This is not to say that the other external actors discussed earlier do not also, themselves, focus on K-12 education in Pakistan; rather, the author is suggesting that UNESCO’s efforts appear to be more focuses on the Pakistani K-12 sector compared to its international organization peers. Figure 4 (above) suggests a weighting for UNESCO of ‘3’ (out of 5) which is significantly lower than that of the World Bank, USAID or the British Council. The implication of this result is that, as seen through the eyes of the participants in this study, UNESCO is ‘involved’ in the Pakistani higher education sector as an external policy actor to an extent that is lower by an order of magnitude from the World Bank, USAID and the British Council in particular. One reason for this eventuality, I submit, may be

the fact that UNESCO does not appear to spend money in the sector (foreign aid dollars like the WB), conduct education reform projects (like USAID), or undertake training workshops and seminars that impact materially on the Pakistani HE system (like, for example, the British Council). Nevertheless, this body does have behind it the name and weight, it may be argued, of a highly respected multilateral organization: the United Nations.

Few participants in my study named UNESCO as being active in the system, and none were able to speak specifically to UNESCO's actions, initiatives or projects in the country vis-a-vis the higher education sector. This contrasted markedly with the World Bank, USAID and the British Council. While some participants were aware of the broader United Nations' initiatives in the education sphere (such as the Millennium Development Goals/Sustainable Development Goals, for example) none of the participants were able to translate such laudable initiatives into what the concrete, on-the-ground, impacts might be in the Pakistani context. Indeed, when probed, the senior UNESCO representative interviewed for this study spoke in broad strokes about UNESCO's involvement in the HE sector. Consider the following:

PARTICIPANT: I would say United Nations, particularly I would say that the UNESCO is a kind of standardization. Ensuring that the quality of higher education in Pakistan up with the rest of the world. To help this contact, is provide technical support if needed. Or focus its services if needed. And also to facilitate. I mean our role to facilitate federal, provincial level to have better understanding. To make sure different stakeholders involve. And then genuinely, actively, meaningfully. That's our roles. That we could play. I don't think that particularly in the higher education sector in Pakistan, I don't think governments are really looking forward to have financial support. I don't think so. But higher education sector in Pakistan is like other country also. There is a huge involvement from private sectors in a [inaudible] a lot of have private universities, institution, so what we need to do, we need to ensure the quality and we are happy to support. That' the important thing.

INTERVIEWER: How do you support that? What role for example does UNESCO play?

PARTICIPANT: In UNESCO we have standard classifications.

INTERVIEWER: ISCED right?

PARTICIPANT: And also the higher education also we have a known regional framework in which we bring governments together and we do the capacity building to people.

INTERVIEWER: So you give workshops.

PARTICIPANT: Yeah, something like that. And also if particularly we have a kind of ... we call it unit of network, amongst the universities to network. UNITWIN. University among the network. So fetching an idea. So not only within Pakistan, with other country also. UNITWIN is our UNESCO program. (Senior UNESCO Representative, Male, Islamabad)

As noted here, UNESCO's own representative identifies his organization's involvement in the sector as being a facilitator between different stakeholders (for example, through the UNTWIN project), and providing technical assistance (for example, through UNESCO's ISCED

classifications system). Upon further examination by the author, while UNITWIN has several ‘networks’ and ‘focal points’ identified on their website, none of these seem to be localized in the Pakistani context. While it appears (especially given the viewpoint of the UNESCO representative quoted above) that UNITWIN is active in Pakistan in some manner, the author himself was unable to locate specific details. On the other hand, the author did note that three UNESCO Chairs (List of UNESCO Chairs, UNESCO, n.d.) had been funded in the Pakistani context as follows:

- UNESCO Chair in the Conservation and Management of Historic Towns and Urban Centers (2009), The National College of Arts, Lahore (839)
- UNESCO Chair “Light for Health” (2011), The Pakistan Institute for Engineering and Applied Sciences (PIEAS) (959)
- UNESCO Chair on Information and Communication Technology for Development (2018), Information Technology University, Lahore (1300)

Asian Development Bank (ADB)

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) is less well known outside the Western context as its remit includes, primarily, operations in developing countries located in the Asian context. The ADB is a well-known development partner of Pakistan and has been working in this country since it became a member in 1966. Some of the salient aspects of the ADB’s dossier in Pakistan includes work in public sector management, water, natural resources, agriculture and transport with cumulative project assistance, to date, totaling \$31.1 billion (ADB, 2018 April). Why then, given this external actor’s active and large-scale involvement in the country’s development agenda did the ADB appear with a weighting of ‘3’ only (Figure 4, above)?

The answer, the author would suggest, lies simply in the ADB’s lack of involvement in the sector under consideration in the present study: the higher education sector. Indeed, only \$550 million or 1.64% of ADB’s cumulative involvement in Pakistan has been dedicated to the education sector. A total of 32 education projects have been undertaken to date by the ADB in Pakistan, with approximately 10 only touching on the higher education sector. (Data Library, ADB) Many of these higher education-focused projects, too, appear to have as their focus the Technical and Vocational Education Training Sector (TVET). Indeed, almost all of these 10 projects touched upon various measures to strengthen the Pakistani TVET sector in a plethora of

ways.

An example, chosen at random, of a project document consulted for the present thesis suggests that the projects goals all included strengthening of the TVET sector in various ways; however none of the funds were directed towards the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan (HEC) and instead were disbursed to the provincial education departments. The goals of the project were presented as follows:

The Project, as appraised, aimed to improve the quality of technical education and enhance the employment opportunities of polytechnic graduates by supporting a demand-driven polytechnic system that responds more efficiently to labour market needs. The project objectives were to improve the quality, relevance, external efficiency, and managerial and financial sustainability of the selected polytechnic institutions, including one new polytechnic for women. (Project Report, ADB; 2004: 10)

While not overly active in the higher education sector of Pakistan (although quite active in other sectors), the ADB seems to have found the development of the TVET sector as being its particular ‘policy niche’.

Other

The above sections have addressed the actions, initiatives, and involvement, in relatively broad strokes, of the major external actors active in the Pakistani higher education sector as seen through the eyes of the research participants. These have included, in order of the magnitude of their involvement, the World Bank, USAID, the British Council and the Asian Development Bank. However, this thesis would be remiss if it did not speak to some of the other exogenous actors active in the system mentioned by the research participants.

The Islamic Development Bank (IDB) is a multilateral development bank similar to the World Bank or the Asian Development Bank. The basic criterion for membership is to be a member of the Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC). As Pakistan is a member of the OIC, it is also a member of the IDB and eligible for funding from this organization. The IDB works in several development sectors, including education. However, its involvement in the Pakistani higher education sector has been limited to only one project from among 400. This involved the upgrading of scientific infrastructure facilities at a public research institution: the National University of Science and Technology (NUST) in 2000. The overview for the project, publicly

available on the IDB's website suggests that:

The project will help building expansion and set up infrastructure facilities at various NUST campuses. This expansion will provide strength to the existing R&D and in addition, through provision of equipment it will upgrade the existing science laboratories, thereby enabling update scientific research and training. (National University of Science and Technology, Islamic Development Bank; n.d.)

Indeed, this one project was noted by the following participant in my study who spoke to the lack of involvement in the higher education sector of Pakistan by peer Islamic nations (and Islamic multilateral organizations), with the exception of funding for this one tertiary education institution: NUST.

PARTICIPANT: I think in Pakistan, the formal education sector, you would hardly notice any influence from the Islamic countries. Very minimal. Maybe NUST got some loan for development, some parts of its new campus. Or other than that I don't remember any other visible impact from the Islamic countries. (Vice-Chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad)

However, it is not quite the case that funding for NUST constitutes the only source of financing from an Islamic peer nation. Another public institution, the International Islamic University (IIU) also received project funding, albeit on a bilateral basis from the Government of Saudi Arabia. And, at least according to the following participant, such funding was accorded for the promotion of not only Islamic ideologies/teachings, but also for the promulgation of a particular brand of Islamic ideology used in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism (although such a contention may be easily disputed).

PARTICIPANT: Certain foreign governments have influenced or have tried to influence higher education in Pakistan on ideological grounds. Such as the Saudi funded International Islamic University. The influence in terms of exporting the Wahhabi ideology through establishing campus in I think 8 different countries including Pakistan. It's well funded. And it's a big campus. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

It is, nevertheless, difficult to dispute the historic funding accorded by the Government of Saudi Arabia for this institution, and it's ongoing involvement in the institution's governance – as can be gleaned from the inordinate presence of Saudi-linked academics, and institutions on the IIU's Board of Governors and Board of Trustees. (Authorities of the University, International Islamic University; n.d.)

It should be noted that barely any specific mention of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) was made by the participants in my study, with only a cursory reference by

two individuals made to this particular external actor. The absence of knowledge on the part of my participants does, indeed, speak volumes about the lack of involvement of this particular international non-governmental organization in the higher education sector of Pakistan.

Speaking of conspicuous absences, it should also be noted that barely any participants touched on the impact that external regional organizations may have had on the Pakistani higher education sector. While Pakistan is a member of organizations like the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the Central Asian States Regional Cooperation (CASRC), these organizations do not appear to have invested or been involved in the higher education sector at least within Pakistan. Indeed, at least one participant suggested that SAARC was ‘dormant’ and had not been active as an organization for some time. The author would suggest that the lack of regional cooperation is striking, from a comparative angle, when one thinks of the important work accomplished through regional cooperation in the contexts of South America (MERCOSUR) and Europe (Bologna Process) (c.f: Verger and Hermo; 2010).

Several participants in my study noted the impact that International Protocols (Agreements/Treaties) may have on the higher education sector of Pakistan. This can also be considered an external policy influence although it is perhaps not as localized and easy to define as the involvement of specific bilateral or multilateral organizations. While participants noted certain (what might be termed Protocols) within the ambit of the interviews such as the Paris Club and the Washington Consensus, these have been excluded from further examination by the present author as neither of these initiatives are linked with the higher education sector.¹¹

The Washington Accord, however, was referenced by several participants as having an impact on their institutions - an agreement that sought to develop equivalencies for undergraduate engineering programs in participant nations. The Pakistan Engineering Council (PEC), a country-wide accrediting body for engineering degree programs participated in the Accord and Pakistan formally agreed to the terms of the Accord. One of the participants problematized Pakistan’s involvement in this initiative as follows:

¹¹ The **Paris Club** is an organization that seeks to limit and restructure the debt of some of the most heavily indebted countries around the world, including Pakistan. The **Washington Consensus** is the term given to a set of economic market principles for indebted countries espoused by several Washington-based institutions such as the World Bank/IMF.

PARTICIPANT: they are too much focused on getting the degrees approved by the foreign countries as if we are producing our graduates for the consumption of foreign countries. They are less interested in what are the requirements of the country and the issues and the cultural dynamic of the country. The issue, for example, between a 2 year bachelor degree versus a 4 year bachelor degree has been led by HEC because of its interest in getting an equivalence either through the Washington Accord or through the...so that the students can be easily absorbed in the foreign market. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Karachi)

As noted above, this private university Dean in Karachi was openly against the involvement of Pakistan's state regulator in the Washington Accord suggesting that it had resulted in Pakistan's labour market needs being subsumed under the labour market needs of Western economies. The drive, as promoted in the Accord, to ensure standardization and equivalencies so that graduates are able to be more easily absorbed in various labour markets has left Pakistan's domestic labour market needs coming second to the needs of foreign nations, for example as problematized amply in the work of Meyer and Ramirez (2009). Indeed, a senior Government representative from the Pakistani higher education sector also noted the difficulties of implementation flowing from the Washington Accord as follows:

PARTICIPANT: I think it was a long drawn process. We tried to negotiate. But most of our universities need that implementation. We did agree there. Our Pakistan Engineering Council agreed on that, but to implement that, universities need to be involved. So a capacity needed to be established in the university that either they can implement that particular requirement. So as far as my analysis, on these engineering programs, the defect it has is that it is purely theoretical. They want practical aspects. And these haven't been practiced here. (Provincial Higher Education Commission Representative, Male)

Both participants speaking to the impact of the implementation of the Washington Accord in Pakistan seem to suggest that while the goals were laudable of this particular initiative, that it appeared to be (at least from the viewpoints of the endogenous governors of the Pakistani HE system) an externally-driven process that was light on internal sectoral consultation. The author would note that while this international accreditation agreement was established among the original signatories in 1989, Pakistan only acceded to it in 2017; therefore, perhaps more time needs to transpire before the full ramifications of Pakistan's involvement in the Washington Accord are understood.

Finally, in concluding this section, the author would note that further cursory references were made by the senior participants interviewed for this study (including the government and external agency representatives) of several bilateral donor agencies such as the German development agency (GIZ), the Japanese development agency (JICA), the Australian

development agency, (AusAid) and the Canadian development agency (CIDA); however, since only minor references were made, the author has chosen to exclude them from the present brief expose.

Section Summary

Both the endogenous Pakistani representatives (institutional and government) and the exogenous influencers (external representatives) spoke to the involvement of external influences in the Pakistani higher education sector through a variety of modalities (foreign aid, scholarships, technical assistance). The lack of diversity of the major influential external actors has been striking, however. It would appear, based on the data evidence, that the Pakistani higher education sector has been largely impacted by only three major external actors (World Bank, USAID and the British Council) from a governance and policy perspective. Regional cooperation bodies (SAARC, CASRC), bilateral aid organizations (CIDA, JICA, AusAid, GIZ) and Islamic banks (IBD) appear to have played a minor role in this sector. It is apparent to the researcher that the external influence omnipresent in the system is far from diffuse and is, instead, highly concentrated within three external actors alone.

5.5: Case Studies of External Influence

Introduction

Chapters 4 and 5 (Findings) exposed the reader to the results emanating from the present study, with Chapter 5 in particular addressing the nature, extent and effects of external policy influences in the Pakistani HE sector. This section (5.5: Case Studies) continues the discussion begun in Sections 5.1–5.4, albeit in a practical, case-study manner. Each of the three case studies chosen for presentation in this section address the impact of the largest external actor ‘influencers’ in the Pakistani context, as well as a multiplicity of influence typologies.

Why present these case studies in the first place when the study’s findings have already been discussed in some detail? I submit that these case studies promise to enrich the present study by attempting to translate the broader research themes discussed earlier in a practical manner in the Pakistani HE context. While many examples for these case studies could have

been chosen, the following three have been highlighted based on the fact that they represent the exogenous actors that have had the largest influence on the Pakistani HE sector based on the author’s fieldwork, as well as showcasing a diversity of types of exogenous influences. These three case studies are as follows:

Table 4: Case Studies of External Influence

External Actor	Case study	Typology	Impact on Pakistani HE
World Bank	Technical Reports and Tertiary Education Support Program (TESP) \$300M	Technical Reports / Foreign Aid Funding	Changes to the set-up and design of the state regulator (Higher Education Commission (HEC))
USAID	USAID Teacher Training Project	Policy Borrowing/Norm Development	Country-wide changes to teacher education program delivery
British Council	Modern University Governance Program (MUG)	Consulting/Workshops/Seminars	Instruction of Institutional Governance Modalities to Senior University Administrators

Case Study 1: The World Bank (or, A Tale of an Extraordinary Ideational Brokerage)

It is perhaps apt that we start our case studies with the external actor identified in Section 5.1 (External Influences by Actor) as having the greatest impact on the Pakistani HE sector to date: the World Bank. We may recall, at this time, that Section 2.2 (The World Bank and Pakistan’s HE Sector) of this thesis reviewed, in detail, the historical involvement of the World Bank in Pakistan’s HE sector. We may also recall that Section 5.3 (A Typology of External Influences) reviewed and highlighted the impact of Foreign Aid in the Pakistani HE context and spoke to the World Bank’s involvement in this regard. This case study will, therefore, seek to not repeat ideas raised elsewhere in this thesis but rather, simply, concretize the World Bank’s foreign aid and technical assistance involvement in the Pakistani HE context through an examination of (a) it’s historical role in shaping the very governing institutions of the HE sector

of Pakistan, and (b) its ongoing foreign aid funding envelopes to the Pakistani government for HE sector development.

We start this brief case study with a short glimpse into the World Bank's historical role in shaping the HE sector of Pakistan. Such a lens is important because, as historical institutionalists would say, the rules of the game, govern the outcomes of the game. The Pakistani HE sector's rules - its governing institutions and regulations - have an impact on the system's future output. The following seeks to identify, localize and inform the reader of the nature of the exogenous influences that have played a role in shaping the very governing institutions of Pakistan's HE sector, and especially that of the World Bank.

The World Bank and the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan

We identified earlier in Section 5.3 that the Pakistani Higher Education Commission represents nothing less than the centre of the regulatory universe for the HE sector. The HEC was preceded by the University Grants Commission - inherited as a legacy institution by both India and Pakistan following their Independence from the British Crown in 1947. However, what precipitated the change from the UGC to the HEC, one may ask? Indeed, for the purposes of the present thesis the following question may be posed: was the transition from the UGC to the HEC precipitated primarily by endogenous/domestic concerns, or, was it influenced by exogenous actors in some way?

I submit that the transition from the University Grants Commission (UGC) to the present-day setup of the Higher Education Commission (HEC) was precipitated by the World Bank for several reasons. While appearing - on the surface - to be an indigenous-lead approach (since the Pakistani Task Force of 2002 had no members other than local Pakistanis on its 17-member committee), in actuality, as will be demonstrated below, the groundwork for the regulatory change found its roots/antecedents with the World Bank.

In February 1990 the World Bank published a study titled *Higher Education And Scientific Research For Development In Pakistan*, which made several recommendations for changes to the existing systems, processes, and modus operandi of the HE system of Pakistan. Therefore, already, since 1990, the World Bank had issued its first technical report - a verdict on the difficult situation facing the country - and began building up policy momentum for future

change. Crucially, the report suggested a complete overhaul of the system was needed and the report made several wide-ranging policy recommendations. This interest of the World Bank in the HE sector of Pakistan was not isolated, of course, and represented the broader ideational turn the Bank experienced (and as referred to in Section 2.2) of the late 80s and early 90s from a focus on investment in primary and secondary education, to one also focused on investments in higher education.

Following the 1990 report that was specifically focused on Pakistan, the next major initiative of the World Bank that has resonance for the present study is the World Bank's 2000 Task Force Report titled, *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*. The Task Force report was highly relevant to Pakistan not only because the report was focused on developing countries (of which Pakistan was one), but also because one of the study's members was Syed Babar Ali, a prominent businessman and Chancellor of one of Pakistan's top-ranking institutions (Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS)) at the time. There are two strong indicators that the *Peril and Promise* (2000) report precipitated the change to Pakistan's higher education state regulator, as follows.

Following the publication of the 2000 Task Force report from the World Bank, the Pakistani Government followed up with its own Presidential Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in 2002. The close proximity in terms of time having elapsed between the WB's report and the Pakistani Presidential Task Force, similar names (both were Task Forces on Higher Education), and the fact that both the WB report and Pakistani Presidential Task Force report were lead, in part, by Syed Babar Ali, provides strong indications of linkages between the two processes. However, the Acknowledgments section of the 2002 Presidential Task Force report make this observation (of linkages between the two processes) wholly unnecessary when it is stated:

The World Bank provided funds for the work of the Task Force. Its report (co-sponsored with UNESCO) on 'Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise' triggered the process that lead to the establishment of this Task Force, and often served as a guide to its deliberations.
(Task Force on Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan, 2002: Acknowledgements)

In the Pakistani (endogenous) report, the World Bank is mentioned no less than 20 times. Indeed, the following excerpts from the Pakistani (indigenous) Task Force report of 2002 hearken to how

much it had leaned on the World Bank's policy entrepreneurship:

2.1 Stimulated by the World Bank-UNESCO Task Force Report, titled 'Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise' (2000), the academic community assembled in Lahore and Karachi in February 2001 to consider its recommendations and felt the need for a task force for improvement of higher education in Pakistan.

3.3 In addition to this list, two other reports are significant. These are the World Bank report (1990), entitled Higher Education and Scientific Research for Development in Pakistan (outlined in Appendix 9), and the World Bank-UNESCO Task Force report (2000) on Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise.

Why this emphasis on the Pakistani 2002 Task Force in the present case study? As has been noted earlier, the 2002 Presidential Task Force was directly responsible for the establishment of the HEC - the state higher education regulator - as follows from the report itself:

11.1 The Task Force recommends that there should be a central body known as the Higher Education Commission (HEC). The HEC is conceptually different from the current University Grants Commission and should replace it. Its chief functions would differ significantly from those of the UGC while addressing similar concerns, as follows:

- a) In respect of the quality of education, the mandate of the HEC should encompass all degree-granting institutions, public and private, including professional colleges.
- b) It would support the attainment of quality education in institutions by facilitating and co-ordinating self-assessment of academic programmes and their external review by national and international experts. The recommendations would be reported to the Chief Executive Officers and Governing Boards of the institutions and the HEC.
- c) The HEC would serve the purpose of planning, development and accreditation of public and private sector institutions of higher education.
- d) For universities in the public sector, the HEC would link Federal Government funding with the quality of performance (akin to the principle used by the Higher Education Funding Councils in the U.K.) and the need and justification for institutional development. It would have the capacity for raising funds for itself and for higher education.
- e) The HEC would serve as a national resource for higher education, based on its comprehensive nation-wide information and data on experience in other countries.
- f) The HEC would support planning, development and fund raising for universities and other institutions of higher education. (Task Force on Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan, 2002: Recommendations)

The 2002 Pakistani Task Force report, informed by the policy groundwork laid by the World Bank starting in 1990, precipitated the creation of the Higher Education Commission (HEC) a body wholly different from its precursor. By most measures, it would seem apparent that the UGC's outlook and mindset was one of state-supervision as a primary governance modality, while that of the HEC was one of state-control (Neave and Vught, 1994). The linkages are abundantly clear. The author would submit that the Pakistani HEC is, in no small measure, a

creation of the World Bank, although the processes that lead to its creation were shared with other organizations (especially UNESCO), and members of the 2000 WB/UNESCO Commission (who were from diverse nations and backgrounds). However, fundamentally, the establishment of the HEC can be traced back to the World Bank. Figure 10 (below) serves to highlight the process flow of the creation of the Pakistani HEC:



Figure 8: The World Bank and the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan

Indeed, the above is further corroborated by the data collected for the purposes of the present thesis. For example, the President of a public university quoted below highlights the important role played by the World Bank during the creation of the most important governing institution of the Pakistani HE sector: the Higher Education Commission (HEC):

So my sense is that the World Bank had a lot to do with the redesign of higher education, of the governance of higher education. This happened perhaps 20 years ago. In fact they created I think, there was something called the Universities Grants Commission and then through policy reform the Higher Education Commission was created as a result of discussions with international agencies and experts in this area and so the area, so the structure we have at present owes a lot to, I guess you could call it influence, but I'm thinking simply interactions with international agencies such as the World Bank. (President, Public University, Male, Karachi).

Case Study Discussion

The World Bank is both a financial institution and a lending agency - albeit one focused on poverty alleviation. What this case study has attempted to highlight is the Bank's additional role as an ideational broker. The nexus of policy development and financial power is an influential combination, and has been referred to by Samoff as an Intellectual/Financial Complex (Samoff, 2007). Samoff's work in 2007 critiqued foreign aid to education and the World Bank's education policies suggesting that the World Bank proved to be unparalleled in terms of

influence in developing countries by offering both expertise, as well as financial aid. This case study does highlight the nature of this double-duty played by the World Bank in the Pakistani HE sector. The role that the OECD often plays in the context of developed countries, namely that of an ideational broker (Wolf and Klaus, 2009; Amaral and Neave, 2009), is one played by the World Bank in developing countries.

Staffed primarily by economists and with decision-making lying in the biggest contributors to its coffers (mostly Western countries like the United States), it is not hard to see why it may be interested in the promotion of certain principles and ideologies. For many years, the Bank's interest lay in primary and basic education as its overall approach in the education policy arena was heavily influenced by rate-of-return analysis and human capital theory driven, in part, by the technical work of George Pascharopoulous, an economist at the World Bank. However, the Bank returned to a focus on HE in the 1990s as the importance of HE to long-term societal development became more and more recognized.

Many have criticized the World Bank for being insensitive to local societal concerns and needs. Among these are scholars such as Arthur Collins and Robert Rhoades who have documented the asymmetrical power relations between the World Bank and developing countries (Collins and Rhoades, 2010). For example, in their analysis of the WB's education policies in Uganda and Thailand, Collins and Rhoades documented the existence of a neo-colonial attitude, insensitivity to the needs of local officials, a heavy-handed, top-down approach from the Bank's headquarters in Washington, and an overall promotion of neo-liberal policies.

However, As Earl Drake has argued in his examination of the World Bank's policies in India and China, the Bank has a multiplicity of approaches that depend on a host of factors (Drake, 2001). Just as important as the terms of the loans or grants themselves are factors such as the dominant political aspects of the society in which the Bank is operating. Certainly, the Bank's approach to mandate conformity with certain ideals as a condition of receiving loans (such as reduction in the public sector, imposition of user fees, greater efficiency and privatization etc.) based on Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) are among the many different reasons why the Bank receives so much praise as well as damnation. One thing is for sure; the World Bank plays an unparalleled normative and ideational role in HE policy-making in developing countries, a matter highlighted

through the present case study.

Stromquist (2005) has shown the key role of the World Bank in agenda-setting in the education and development spheres. The above case-study fits in this vein of reasoning by highlighting the agenda for changes to the governing apparatus of the Pakistani HE sector that was promoted by the Bank starting in 1990. Indeed, the social construction of the education agenda has been highlighted by other scholars too who have convincingly highlighted the important role played by multilateral agencies in the educational development sphere (King, 2007).

This case study has simply attempted to showcase the role of this prominent external actor - the World Bank - in the higher education sector of Pakistan. The case study highlights the historic role played by the World Bank and from a constructivist lens, its highly influential policy entrepreneurship through technical reports and the convening of influential task forces that lead - in no small measure though not exclusively - to the creation of the Pakistani HEC. The goal of the present study: to better understand the impact of exogenous influences in the Pakistani higher education sector is rendered into sharper focus through this practical case study that drives home the fact that even the present-day setup of the main state regulator of the Pakistani HE sector was influenced by exogenous actors. In doing so, the author does not seek to pass judgment on these historic realities. Rather, the author seeks to simply name - and perhaps - problematize, these external influences.

Case Study 2: USAID (or, A Primer on Norm Development)

Our second case study considers the external policy actor identified in Section 5.13 (External Influences by Actor) as having the second largest impact in the Pakistani HE sector (after the World Bank): the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). This thesis has spoken to USAID's involvement in several instances in Chapter 5: Findings and will seek to not repeat the multitude of data points presented therein. Rather, the goal of the following case study is to identify one major initiative of this external policy actor that the author would suggest best encapsulates and illustrates the organization's overall ethos and modus operandi in the Pakistani HE sector. This project, based on the data collected, is USAID's Teacher Education Project which showcases USAID's role in re-shaping country-wide program delivery of teacher

education in Pakistan through modalities of norm development and policy borrowing.

USAID and the Teacher Education Project

USAID's Pre-Step Program (now known as the Teacher Education Project (TEP)) has been truly impressive and breath-taking in scope. USAID's own project website for the initiative states:

The Teacher Education Project (TEP) is a nationwide program to standardize and improve the quality of pre-service and continuing teacher education and training. The project works in close partnership with the federal and provincial governments, the Higher Education Commission, provincial Departments of Education, 23 universities, and 79 teacher colleges to plan and coordinate teacher training. TEP uses a combination of technical assistance, grants, scholarships, infrastructure development, and study tours to improve the skills of faculty and administrators. The project is also working to continuously improve the training curriculum. (Teacher Education Project, USAID n.d.)

Therefore, as can be seen above, the TEP project has had multiple modalities and approaches ranging from infrastructure development to curriculum development to study tours. There are two important aspects that are worth drawing out from the above excerpt. One is the fact that USAID's project is being conducted (today) throughout Pakistan (23 universities/79 teacher colleges), and secondly that one of the goals of the program was to standardize the teacher education program.

I suggest that USAID's TEP initiative illustrates the related concepts of policy borrowing and norm development in the Pakistani higher education context. As suggested in Section 5.12. A Typology of External Influences, small-scale educational projects have the ability to impact on national policy by engendering a new policy normal. The USAID TEP began its life cycle as a project with a select group of Pakistani universities and, today, has become a nation-wide initiative. One may see the USAID TEP as a pilot project that simply received wide resonance, or one may see the initiative as indicative of USAID acting as a norm entrepreneur (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998).

If we consider the participant's voice highlighted below, we can quickly grasp the nature and extent of USAID's system-wide reach through the TEP pilot project. In the words of one endogenous governor:

[PARTICIPANT]: Yes, USAID I recognize very well because over the last four or five years they introduced the rolling of the BS education program in Pakistan. They almost entirely reshaped the teachers' program in all of Pakistan. There were fifteen universities that participated in this initiative where earlier teacher training programs in Pakistan were considered ineffective. Thus, they introduced the

BS program, a four-year degree program. They helped the HEC in developing the curriculum and then provided teacher trainings, resources and developed scholarships. This was a five-year program. (University Dean, Private University, Male, Rawalpindi)

Indeed, I remember conducting an interview with the Dean of Education at a university in Lahore, after which we took a commemorative photo together in front of a plaque that acknowledged USAID's role in building the infrastructure for the education faculty. It was only after this interview that I realized that USAID had done so for not just that one education faculty, but several. Indeed, USAID's official website highlights the fact that it has actively built or reconstructed no less than 17 education faculty building in various universities in Pakistan. A 2017 USAID press release for example states:

The newly constructed building is one of the 17 Faculties of Education buildings that USAID has constructed or rehabilitated in order to train Pakistan's next generation of teachers and education professionals. These facilities will serve over 6,500 students and over 500 faculty members each year. (Press Release, USAID; 2017)

In 2014, Fida Hussain Chang's doctoral thesis at Michigan State University examined the impact of reform policies implemented by the Pakistani government to revise the approach towards teacher education in the country and examined, especially, USAID's sponsored efforts to reform the design, curriculum and delivery of teacher education (Chang, 2014). While the thesis examined, essentially, the pros and cons of programmatic reforms, Chang also identified the dichotomy of voices between internal and external actors with regard to this policy change.

Consider the following:

Recent education policy (National Education Policy, 2009) has recognized problematic issues with the quality of teacher education, and it has proposed phasing out the traditional teacher education programs (offered in two modes: both conventional on-campus and market model off-campus), and replacing them with more a comprehensive four-year post-K12 program (Ministry of Education Government of Pakistan, 2009a). This reform program is largely funded by USAID Mission Pakistan (Pre-STEP/USAID, 2010). The new program has been initiated in different institutions and is in the process of evolving in terms of course curriculum, practicum/internship components, and certification requirements. This policy change, however, has received mixed responses from different stakeholders. For example, many government organizations, educators, education reform organizations, and international donors support these changes, whereas some educators and education administrators oppose the new programs. (Chang, 2014: 4)

In other words, policy reforms on the one hand were being promulgated by, largely, international donor organizations, and government stakeholders, while on the other hand, local administrators, educators and teachers were less accepting of the reforms. This is illustrative of a central premise

of the present thesis: that internal and external policy actors do not always see eye-to-eye and a better understanding of this theme will serve to better inform and manage this relationship in the future.

Such sustained focus and emphasis fits in well with the notion identified by the present author in Section 5.13 (External Influences by Actor) of the USAID’s primary policy niche (in the context of the Pakistani HE sector) being teacher education. At that juncture, I also identified USAID’s tertiary niche as being its Centres for Advanced Studies (CAS) project. USAID’s norm development in the Pakistani HE sector can also be showcased through this initiative, especially since the Government of Pakistan’s uptake of the idea was concretized in its official plan for the HE sector (HEC Vision, 2025):

A USAID Funded project has established Centres of Advanced Studies (CAS) at four Pakistani universities to undertake graduate studies and research programs of studies developed in collaboration with three US universities..... HEC plans on building additional Centres of Advanced Studies at more universities and set up Technology Parks at five universities, one in each province, to demonstrate role of applied research in creating knowledge-based economy and increased linkages with business and industry. (Higher Education Commission of Pakistan, Vision 2025, p. 30)

Using a constructivist lens of norm formation (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998), one can once again, see the norm development hypothesis playing out as per the following visual of Finnemore and Sikkink’s ‘norm life cycle’:

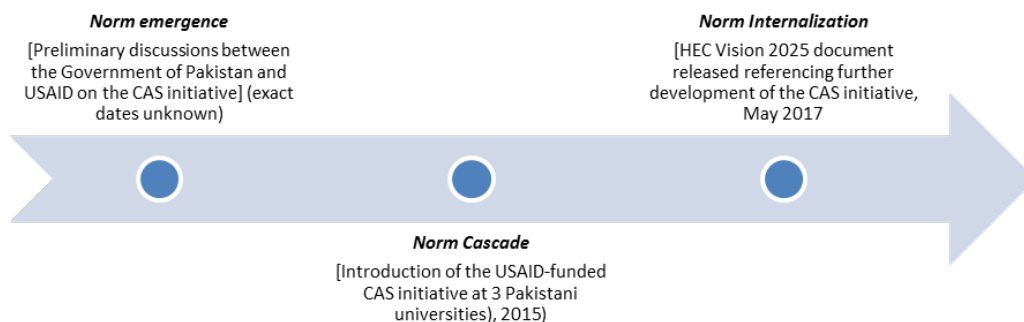


Figure 9: USAID and the Teacher Education Project

Case Study Discussion

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has had a wide-ranging impact on Pakistan’s teacher education system. As one of the study participants

quoted above suggested, USAID has almost entirely reshaped teacher training throughout the country, however re-shaped to what ends and in whose image are germane questions for the present thesis. USAID's own description of the program's goals suggest the desire of standardizing teacher program delivery, although this could be, arguably, USAID's way of raising program quality. Nevertheless, such modalities might find critics who suggest that USAID's measures may constitute nothing more than homogenization and standardization of higher education systems in developing countries in a Western mold (Meyer and Ramirez, 2009).

A system of what has been described as institutional layering (Béland, 2007; Hacker, 2002; Thelen, 2004) may also help us understand the nature of USAID's actions in the domestic education policymaking space of Pakistan. Institutional layering theory suggests that rather than advocating for whole-sale policy changes, actors may opt to slowly change the status quo (policy stasis), through the gradual layering of policy. This can take place through the introduction of institutional arrangements that reflects the preferences of those actors. In this case study, we can understand USAID's actions through the lens of institutional layering by noting that it is not in the interests of this exogenous actor to be seen as influencing Pakistani education policy (as identified in Section 5.11); the introduction of the USAID TEP as a pilot project or layer that functions alongside existing domestic institutions (teacher training faculties) may be seen therefore as a mechanism to modify the status quo. In this case, it may be said to help mold Pakistan's teacher training modus operandi to reflect that of the United States.

Indeed, both the TEP and CAS projects highlighted above could hearken to USAID's norm entrepreneurship in the Pakistani HE sector (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998). Both initiatives were introduced gradually as small-scale educational projects and have since become internalized (since they have been adopted as nation-wide policy) to borrow a phrase from Finnemore and Sikkink's norm life cycle concept. Among all of the external policy actors that have been reviewed in the context of the present thesis, the author would suggest that USAID appears to be one actor that has mastered the art of norm development through the use of small-scale educational projects. The TEP initiative, in particular, has seen wide-ranging impacts on the Pakistani HE sector. While generations of Pakistani teachers will now be impacted by the implicit policy borrowing undertaken by Pakistan in this regard, few endogenous or exogenous actors would find it necessary to acknowledge (or even identify) the external policy influence

played by USAID in this domain.

Case Study 3: British Council (or, How to Govern the Governors)

Our third and final case study pertains to the external policy actor identified as having the third greatest influence/involvement/reach in the Pakistani HE sector (according to the research participants): the British Council. In Section 5.12: External Influences - A Typological Breakdown, the author introduced the Modern University Governance (henceforth, MUG) program under the heading of Workshops and Seminars. The purpose of this case study is to further explore the external policy influence modalities of technical cooperation and assistance, promoted by the British Council, through an examination of one such major initiative that has had an externally driven impact on the governance of the Pakistani HE sector: the Modern University Governance program.

This case study uses evidence from the field interviews collected for the present thesis, from both internal governors as well as a representative from the British Council itself, to build the case that programs such as the MUG initiative constitute a mechanism for external influence which, while quite different from other modalities of external influence such as foreign aid or technical reports, are quite powerful in their own right. This case study is also particularly germane for the goals of the present thesis which has a particular emphasis on the examination of external policy influences in the governance of the Pakistani HE sector.

The British Council and the Modern University Governance (MUG) Program

When it comes to imparting knowledge related to governance within the higher education sector of Pakistan, I would like to submit that no agency, actor (including government, or institution comes close to matching The British Council in terms of sheer magnitude and impact. The MUG program has imparted knowledge related to university/college governance for over ten years in the Pakistani context by facilitating the participation of senior university leaders in study tours at 'leading' universities in the United Kingdom. Indeed, the participants in such study tours were in the same category of senior institutional leaders that the author interviewed during the field interview phase of the present thesis: Presidents/Vice-chancellors/Rectors/Deans. The following is a description of the initiative from the website of the British Council's

operations in Pakistan:

Launched in 2008, the leadership programme is an educational capacity building programme organised for Vice-Chancellors, Deans and Rectors of universities and senior officials of the Higher Education Commission. These trainings are designed to improve the participants' strategic planning and leadership skills, and enhance their capacities by introducing management tools and providing an orientation to working in the universities of the UK. Over 500 people from the senior management including Pro-Vice Chancellors, Pro-Rectors, Registrars, Deans, and Chairpersons of Departments of higher education institutions of Pakistan have been trained so far under the HEC and British Council's leadership programmes in the UK. These trainings/courses are designed to improve the participants' strategic planning and leadership skills, and enhance their capacities by introducing management tools and providing an orientation to working in the universities of the UK. So far the trainings have taken place at Cambridge University, Nottingham University of Reading, University of Glasgow, and University of Edinburgh etc. in the UK. (Internationalising Higher Education, British Council; n.d.)

As can be gleaned from the above, some of the stated goals of the MUG initiative are the imparting of 'management tools', and an introduction to the 'working in the universities of the UK'. Implicit within the program - but wholeheartedly internalized, of course - is the assumption that the emulation of governance modalities in the mold of the United Kingdom is desirable. Given that the United Kingdom does well in international rankings, and has a highly regarded higher education sector by almost all measures, it is assumed that learning the governance modalities of the UK sector will allow Pakistani governors of the HE sector to, also, emulate the good governance of their UK counterparts, and thereby improve the overall standing of the Pakistani HE sector. The MUG program was clearly known - and highly regarded - by many of my institutional participants. For example, let us consider the following:

And we at the universities, we deliberately send our faculty abroad for higher education as well as learning, how the universities are being managed. How resources are being used. And what is the nature of decision making within the university.... And British Council is one such agency who organizes such kind of visits. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Islamabad).

As can be gleaned from the above, governance modalities (how the universities are being managed. How resources are being used) are often actively learnt by Pakistani senior decision-makers from various external contexts. The author would, at this juncture, note the specific mention accorded to the British Council in the above excerpt as well the following:

We did a lot of work with the British Council also. And there was a leadership program in higher education that was with the leadership foundation in UK, again, through the British Council, trying to get to improve the quality of the leadership in higher education in Pakistan and to give them more exposure and training etc...

(University Vice-Chancellor, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

The university vice-chancellor whose voice is profiled above clearly recognizes and identifies with the British Council's engagement in the provision of leadership training in the Pakistani HE sector, as does the individual noted below (with prior experience working in the Pakistani HEC) who recognizes that organizations such as the British Council provided significant technical assistance/training to staff from the Pakistani federal Higher Education Commission:

We learnt technical assistance from them. For example, USAID has a big program, higher education from their own. HEC learnt a lot from them. They were housed at HEC. They provide us assistance but we learned from them. There were lot of programs, training programs. So British Council involved in sharing lot of cost for training in good governance. (University Vice-Chancellor, Public University, Male, Islamabad).

There is little doubt, based on the above data points from the research sample of endogenous university governors in the Pakistani HE sector that the British Council has played a major role in the diffusion of governance modalities in the Pakistani HE sector. However, let us, now, consider the voice of a representative interviewed for the present study from the British Council itself:

[PARTICIPANT]: Basically, when we started working on this project with the HEC almost 10 years ago, our thought was to develop local solution within an international context for the people of Pakistan. Under the MUG initiative, we were looking to develop capacity building for Vice-chancellors. This was because most of the appointed VCs have obtained their education locally and are not as well aware of policies and practices abroad. For example, the United Kingdom is one country that has done so much in this sector. So when VCs in Pakistan participate in this program, we don't just take them to a classroom lecture, we take them to the UK where a Pro-Rector or a Pro-Vice Chancellor or a Director may talk about what the UK has done in terms of research excellence. They learn from their peers and from government officials as well during such study tours. And once they come back, we encourage them to develop their own solutions.. We have managed almost 25 groups to date with the program...First we were working primarily with the VCs and then we realized that we would be able to reach and cover the 150-180 odd VCs fairly quickly within 7 groups or so. What we do now is an induction program whereby a list of every newly appointed VC from private or public is compiled by the HEC and we will take groups of 20-25 people to the United Kingdom under this program. There is also a second-tier program under which we have involved the Deans and Registrars of universities as well. (British Council Representative, Male, Islamabad)

The above, as explained in the voice of a representative from the British Council, includes several matters that are worth fleshing out in greater detail. For example, the program, having begun almost 10 years ago appears to now be institutionalized/internalized so well that members of institutional senior leadership teams, including Deans/Registrars, are also now being encouraged to participate in the MUG initiative (given that almost all existing university heads

(VCs/Rectors/Presidents) have already been part of the program. It is also worth noting that, while the individual profiled above does hearken to the need for developing local solutions, he does, in the same vein suggest that executive institutional heads that have only obtained their education within Pakistan may not be in the best position to effect needed change within their institution. In other words, Pakistani-educated senior governors should, in the words of the above representative, also be educated in the governance modalities used in external contexts. One wonders if, for example, executive heads educated in the United Kingdom would have no such need to be aware of/learn from external contexts. Finally, an extremely close partnership between the Pakistani HEC and the British Council is suggested in the above excerpt given that the Pakistani HEC itself compiles a list of senior leaders for provision to the British Council on a regular basis. In some ways, then, one may wonder if the Pakistani HEC/government has not outsourced governance training for senior leaders of its HE sector to the British Council?

Case Study Discussion

The British Council's MUG initiative showcases several modalities of external policy influence in the Pakistani HE context. Through study tours, capacity building workshops and seminars, and leadership training, over 500 senior endogenous governors within the Pakistani HE context have been trained on governance modalities emanating from a Western, developed country context. The author has problematized - several times - the lack of an endogenous policy community in the Pakistani HE context. The fact that the MUG program has existed for over ten years in Pakistan further drives home the lack of domestic expertise, discussion and policy discourse - resulting from the lack of a robust policy community internal to Pakistan - thereby, necessitating the need for the system to look outside itself for support/expertise/knowledge.

The promotion of capacity building measures in developing countries is by no means new. In fact, many would consider the imparting of technical expertise and knowledge to be well within the mandate of external development agencies like the World Bank. What is interesting to note, for the purposes of the present thesis, is that rather than pursuing the establishment of domestic training resources, external actors like the British Council have, instead, considered it preferable to train the senior indigenous leaders of Pakistan's HE sector abroad, an approach that

is not necessarily in harmony with, what should be, the long-term goal of indigenization. This is why, Section 7.3: Policy Recommendations suggests, as its very first recommendation, the development of an indigenous training institute for Pakistani senior university leaders.

The author highlighted the implicit assumption made within the context of the MUG program that the United Kingdom's governance modalities are worthy of emulation by Pakistan given that their outcomes (the development of a highly regarded HE sector that does well in international rankings) have been positive. However, two flaws in this assumption may be highlighted at this juncture. The first is that some of the most highly-ranked institutions of higher education in the United Kingdom - especially Oxford and Cambridge - lean heavily on a model of collegial/shared governance, with a pronounced role for the professoriate in university governance and in conducting research. This is a model that has taken several hundred years to consolidate. Pakistan's senior endogenous governors, when embarking on MUG-sponsored study tours, do not have similar time frames or resources to work with; they certainly do not seem to have the appetite for promoting collegial governance within their institutions (based on the author's data collection).

The second flaw that may be raised is that governance modalities in any jurisdiction are not constants that persist year after year but are also subject to change and permutation from both internal and external influences. The United Kingdom has an impressive track record when it comes to the Oxbridge and Russell Group institutions, yes. However, it is also the country that has given birth to Thatcherite governance modalities that leaned towards a neoliberal agenda of governance; an approach that has always included a greater role for managerialism. When Pakistani endogenous leaders learn the governance modalities of the United Kingdom, today, it may be fair to ask if they are also learning a particular type of governance approach, for example managerial governance in a Thatcherite mold? The author has been unable to locate the curriculum of the MUG initiative, or identify the nature of the themes raised in the study tours organized by the British Council for Pakistani senior endogenous governors, however the MUG program description (from the British Council's website) does highlight the programs goal of attempting to enhance their capacities by introducing management tools.

Altinyelken and Verger (2013) have problematized the promotion of managerial reforms in developing country contexts, with a particular focus on how such managerial reforms are

promulgated in the first place. In their 2013 edited book, titled: *Global Managerial Education Reforms and Teachers: Emerging Policies, Controversies and Issues in Developing Countries*, Altinyelken and Verger have suggested that while such managerial reforms were, on the surface, intended to address quality and equity concerns, that in reality such measures in their analysis have highlighted a deep underlying preoccupation with economic considerations. While Altinyelken and Verger's work was focused on the elementary and secondary education sectors in developing country contexts, it does have important lessons to impart for the purpose of the present case study. In particular, Altinyelken and Verger have highlighted the key role that IGOs play in the promotion of managerial reform policies. Let us consider the following:

The fact that the managerial approach to education reform has been globalised is, to a great extent, related to the material and ideational power of the organisations backing them. These reforms count on persistent promoters strategically located in very influential and well-connected international organisations, the World Bank being the most outstanding. (Altinyelken and Verger, 2013: 5)

There is little doubt that part of the MUG's goals is the active lending (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012) through capacity-building modalities, of governance strategies and management tools. Whether or not such tools promote a greater managerial approach within Pakistan's HE sector is beyond the scope of the present case study. What is evident, however, is that the British Council, an external policy actor with an influential role to play in the Pakistani HE sector, has developed a policy niche of governing the governors. For over 10 years, and with over 500 senior endogenous governors within the HE sector having been trained to date, the British Council has, by all measures, certainly left an indelible mark on the governance of Pakistan's higher education system.

5.6: Privatization/Marketization

Finally, a last important aspect of my research study concerned the intersection of privatization and marketization in the context of Pakistani higher education, and the views (divergent or not) that were held by the endogenous vs. the exogenous governors of the system. I was, therefore, primarily interested in understanding if there was a way to hone in on the nature of the views espoused by those internal to the system on markets and competition and compare and contrast this to the views espoused by those external to the system. Underlying these

questions was the premise that an emphasis on markets and competition is now part and parcel of the higher education enterprise writ large, not just in Pakistan, but in higher education across the world.

Much of this is linked to matters of governance. For example, greater marketization may entail a pulling back by the state in terms of sectoral regulation. Greater emphasis on higher education for the purpose of driving a human capital agenda may entail a further entrenchment of the state's role in controlling the higher education enterprise writ large. My questions pertained to the need for greater or less autonomy in the system, whether or not participants felt that international actors influenced Pakistani higher education to adopt certain market driven principles and if my participants felt that it may be beneficial for Pakistani institutions to adopt certain organizational governance practices such as performance-budgeting or New Public Management (NPM) techniques (modalities often associated with a neoliberal agenda).

Pakistani Higher Education - Market-based or State- Development Agenda Driven?

One of the many questions I was interested in exploring was the extent to which the senior governors (endogenous and exogenous) of the Pakistani higher education system felt the system was primarily market-driven or state-development agenda driven - and, indeed, what it should be driven by. Therefore, there was an element of what is presently happening in the HE system and what should be happening in the HE system within my interview guide. Overall, my participants suggested (not surprisingly) that a major element of the answer lay in the sector that was under consideration: the public or the private sector. Participants generally felt (again, not surprisingly) that it was natural that the private higher education sector be primarily market driven and that the public higher education sector be primarily state-development agenda driven. However, there were still interesting themes that emerged and nuances that were identified by the study participants. Two of these themes are identified here below.

Private Sector's Spill-over Effects on the Public Sector: Fee structures and staff salaries

Some endogenous participants in my study noted that the differential margins between tuition fees and staff salaries at private sector institutions in Pakistan had spill-over effects into public sector institutions. In other words, the actions of the private sector were also having an

impact (read: driving) the actions of public sector institutions. For example, the two participants quoted below both highlight the impact that greater privatization may have. Consider the following:

PARTICIPANT: It is very much business oriented in Pakistan, unfortunately...because it's benefiting a certain number of people, especially in the private sector. And, not the masses. I believe there isn't a bar on what private universities are charging from students. Sometimes it is quite expensive. Very difficult for parents to manage, if they want their child to get the best education within the country, they have to go for it. So it is very much business oriented. I don't call it market oriented, its typically business oriented. It's a business. And unfortunately, people ask which type of business is best in Pakistan, and one of those types of business is the education business.... Because it's not benefiting generations. It's not benefiting masses. It's just benefiting certain people. And obviously just a few people can afford it. The more you pay, the better you get. That's about private sector. (Associate Dean, Private Sector, Female, Lahore)

The above participant suggests that quality education can be actively bought in the Pakistani HE marketplace and that the higher the tuition fees, the better the quality of the education provided. Which, consequently, has the impact of pricing the vast majority of Pakistani students (masses) out of the (often perceived higher quality) private-sector institutions and to the public universities, which become, in some ways, a poor second cousin to its private sector counterparts. Similarly, the participant whose voice is highlighted below suggests that a lack of governmental regulation over private HEIs allows them to charge whatever the market can bear and this has a detrimental impact on public HEIs whose fee structures are highly regulated. Furthermore, the fact that private HEIs can command higher tuition fees also means that they can pay more for staff salaries - further driving highly qualified personnel to the private sector:

PARTICIPANT: ... private universities have to have some kind of a regularization authority. There should be a regulatory authority over them so that their fee structures are also controlled. Our fee structure is 22,000 rupees a semester and, therefore, about 88,000 for a Masters degree. Which I think is in no way less than the degree given by NUST, COMSATS or any other private sector university. Their fee structures begins at 78,000 a semester and because we are a women's university and want to remain a mainstream women's university and have no quotas and students come on merit from 89 districts across Pakistan, including Quetta, Jamshoro, Gilgit-Baltistan. I think we need to accommodate these women because they are not going to get a quality higher education anywhere else. So, government must have some kind of regulation that you cannot charge beyond this and that you can't pay beyond this. Because they come and poach! If I am giving 150,000Rs to a person who is a fresh PhD and they offer 220,000 why should that person stick around with us? When they can sell themselves in the market, they go to the market. (University Vice-Chancellor, Public Sector, Female, Rawalpindi)

Focus on Marketable Programs at Pakistani HEIs: Demand-Driven

While participants noted their overall perception of the Pakistani HE sector as being

largely market-driven, an interesting theme that emerged from the interviews was that Pakistani HEIs are impacted by the ‘demand-side’ of the equation too. Most Pakistani students, it was suggested, prefer to study within a very narrow band of subjects - areas where they (and their parents) feel they will be able to find secure employment. In this sense, the Pakistani economy also drives the marketization of the Pakistani HE system. Pakistani students will only enroll in subjects where they feel they have a chance of obtaining a job, and Pakistani HEIs will only offer those subjects they (the institutions) feel students will enroll in. This, therefore, suggests that the state of the Pakistani economy - and its diversification of employment opportunities - ultimately has a major role to play in the private vs. public character of the Pakistani HE sector. Consider the voices of the following two participants who both highlight the lack of interest from potential students - and consequent lack of institutional revenue - that resulted when degree programs other than ‘industry-based’ degree programs (like engineering or information technology) were offered at their institutions:

PARTICIPANT: Even if you open... we tried to open a department, the student response was not very encouraging. Students and their parents, they look at higher education as a commodity that they are buying with a hope that with the degree, they'll get job in the market. Now jobs in the market are with the business corporations. So they try to earn degrees which are acceptable or demanded by business corporations. And these days those are IT degrees, business degrees, computing degrees, medicine, pharmacy. Because these are industry based degrees. Engineering. So this is not in a sense, higher education is not an intellect pursuit anymore. It is like a commodity. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

Yes, both actually. Yes, that certainly which I have noticed now, specially in private universities like the present university I'm in and several others, that they are market driven. Students don't take admission in other subjects even when we want to offer them. We do offer liberal arts, there are about ten to twelve students in it. Every time, the university goes into a loss. Because we have still offered them consistently for the last 10 years and every time there is a drop in numbers. (University Dean, Male, Private Sector, Lahore)

And what did the exogenous participants within my study think of the privatization/marketization of the Pakistani higher education sector? One can glean the priorities and preferences of the exogenous governors within the words of the following multilateral agency representative:

PARTICIPANT: I would say, rather than saying the public and private. I think, becoming more market oriented, I would say. So that's a triangle. So within this context what we need to do is we need to ensure the quality. For me all the universities privatized, it doesn't really matter. As long as government can ensure quality and the accreditation. That's the important thing. Now private is better than public. If everybody can afford in the Pakistan, or their government would like privatize to the higher education, and that higher

education, private sector is okay, as long as its quality are maintain. That's the key point. (Multilateral Agency Representative (UNESCO), Male, Islamabad)

Therefore, as seen above, the focus of the particular exogenous governors' voice highlighted above tends towards the provision of 'quality' postsecondary education, no matter the sector (public or private). However, it does appear that a certain tendency to favour the private sector is apparent (c.f: "now private is better than public"). The data evidence appears to showcase a greater level of faith on the part of the international non-governmental organization representative to look towards the private sector to meet the labour and manpower needs of Pakistan, rather than the public sector.

When speaking with my research participants, I actively attempted to understand if Pakistani HEIs (public or private) were motivated by a state development agenda, however, this did not seem to largely be the case. Most (read: all) of my participants, both within institutions, government, and the international organization sector, agreed that state development was important, that meeting the labour needs of Pakistan was important, and addressing unemployment was important; however, none felt that HEIs in Pakistan (both public or private) had that motivation. It appears that, universally, all participants looked largely to the private sector in terms of system expansion and the provision of quality higher education. Even the senior Pakistani government representative from a provincial Higher Education Commission appears to be open to a greater involvement of the private sector in this regard, despite affirming his general belief that education should be a core responsibility of the state:

PARTICIPANT: My view is completely opposite which is that education is basic human right for citizens. And every citizen should be provided with education. The classical European model that we have minus UK, that is free education. From school to university. So whether its Germany, Denmark, Norway or Sweden, they have free education. That's the model we should follow. ... In this country, majority of the population cannot afford. We want to educate everybody as a human resource. If you start charging them 0.2 million for one semester, they can't afford it. But I believe that if a good private sector model comes its good. At one time I studied the Srilankan model. Publicly funded, privately provided services. You can buy those good services. If there is a good model in private sector, let the public money be used for that. (Provincial Higher Education Commission Representative, Male, Lahore)

We are seeing, therefore, a trend whereby the public sector is seen to be providing the bulk of the access needs of the HE system in Pakistan (perhaps at the expense of quality), while the private sector is seen to be providing greater quality (at the expense of access). The words of the private sector vice-chancellor in the following excerpt may be informative in this regard:

[Participant]: If you want to expand the number of young educated people then the public sector must play a bigger role. I believe it is not economically viable for the private sector to expand in all directions. Public sector must go into far flung areas to provide education to the youth in different disciplines. The private sector like always has been playing to its strengths by limiting its role to market-driven programs only. Interestingly, similar programs are being provided in public sectors for nominal costs. However, private universities are focused more on quality than quantity when competing with public sector universities. (University Vice-Chancellor, Male, Private Sector, Islamabad).

The researcher would suggest that understanding the views of the 43 research study participants vis-a-vis the Pakistani Higher Education system's tilt towards public or private, market-based or state-development agenda driven was complex, with many nuances. It is not surprising that everyone agreed that the provision of quality was important, as was access, as was affordability. Finding the way to get there (a magical 'sweet spot') in terms of focus on a particular sector was also difficult to glean. However, a certain greater level of faith can be ascertained in the private sector to provide greater quality higher education, especially on the part of the exogenous governors of the system. Consider the following excerpts from the bilateral donor agency representatives interviewed for the present study:

[PARTICIPANT]: In terms of public, they do not have these aspects. They are highly subsidized. Government pays a lot of money to engineering and medical universities to make engineers and doctors. Whereas the private sector universities are being run as a business; small-scale or large-scale. So, if you talk about the public sector, it is just service delivery. (Bilateral Agency Representative (USAID), Female, Islamabad)

The participant quoted above appears to have a lack of faith in government sector institutions (public DAIs) to do much more than pure service delivery, and the participant quoted below also appears to favour the greater involvement of the private sector - especially in terms of allowing for greater relevance to industry/economy.

[PARTICIPANT]: In my personal opinion, we live in an era of the knowledge economy wherein there has to be a link between the demands of the industry and the human capital that is being produced in the country. I know there are some degrees and some courses which were designed by the public sector (and are still there) but there was a huge gap between what the industry needed and the skills/degrees of the graduates. Personally, I believe that now is the time that the higher education sector should have greater involvement of private industry partners and more industrial linkages because that will allow for the development of graduates that will get jobs in the industry. (Bilateral Agency Representative (British Council), Male, Islamabad)

In summary, the author would highlight the convergence of views between the endogenous and exogenous governors of the system in the following regard: that the Pakistani state is unable to

meet the labour and manpower needs of the country in terms of system expansion and quality. While many believe that the public sector merits further development and it is a core responsibility of the state to do so, that in a situation of scarce resources, it is difficult to pour further money into this sector. Many public-private partnerships have already been seen to be developing at the K-12 level in Pakistan and it may be having spillover effects into the Pakistani higher education sector. However, largely speaking, the overall interest of the exogenous actors appears to be on trying to enhance system quality and access at the same time (hence a concomitant leaning towards the private sector which provides quality), while those of the endogenous governors appears to be on system access for the most part (be it through the public or the private sector). By and large, the exogenous governors also appeared, based on the research sample, to have less faith in public sector institutions than they did in private sector institutions.

Promotion of Market Principles by External Actors

As noted above, an overall leaning towards the private sector was seen on the part of the exogenous actors engaged in the Pakistani higher education sector; however I was also interested in shedding light on whether or not external policy actors promoted certain norms or ideal types of sector development or reform. We examined in section 4.9 (Public and Private Sector Differences) evidence of a donor agency preference for private institutions. The nature and reasons for this have already been touched upon. In this section, the author is interested in examining whether or not the data collected from the research sample could lead one to believe that external policy actors promote a preferred vision for Pakistani higher education that may, or could be, at odds with the preferred vision of the internal policy actors within the system.

With regard to this particular theme (the possible promotion of market-based norms or principles) by external policy actors, the author applied a code weighting in Dedoose and examined the transcripts to determine if any evidence could be located to support this theme - on either side of the spectrum. As far as the research evidence suggests, the author found that there was little evidence to support the overall promotion of market principles on the part of external policy actors but that, where such evidence was present, it presented interesting divergences

based on the type of actor. Multilateral external actors seemed to be less interested in the promotion of marketization/privatization than did their bilateral counterparts. This could be, as one possible explanation, because the work of multilateral actors (World Bank, Asian Development Bank) is largely diffused across a broader spectrum (nation-wide and delivered through the HEC), while the work of bilateral actors is more project-based and, in fact, involves greater direct contact with the HE sector/Pakistani HEIs. Consider the following from a senior multilateral agency representative who notes a preference for public sector funding over the private sector, broadly speaking:

PARTICIPANT: Well, personally, I'm in favour of public sector funding frankly. I mean, takes in... maybe you have kind of regressive taxes system in which you really tax the rich of the country more than the poor. And then you run the institutions. That's public sector. And that you provide this higher education to your people maybe with subsidy or maybe free of cost. Because ultimately they are going to be your citizens and they are paying for it. This all should be instead of leaving it to the private sector and without any regulation. (Multilateral Agency Representative, Male, Islamabad)

And we can clearly compare and contrast the multilateral agency representative's voice above with that of the bilateral agency representative below who suggests an overall lack of faith in the governance/appointment process of public sector institutions in Pakistan, and hence, an overall leaning towards the 'better functioning' private sector institutions.

PARTICIPANT: On the governance side, I would say that the selection, the way the university vice-chancellor is selected is important. It can't be just a professor who is near retirement and they get selected because they are senior. I think there needs to be a better criteria. Perhaps we need a complete administrator mindset to run a university. And with that we need strong academic Deans to cover the quality aspects. And more of a business model, being more aggressive in marketing. (Bilateral Agency Representative, Female, Islamabad)

Promotion of Neoliberal Organizational Governance Modalities

At least from the viewpoints expressed from the exogenous participants within my study (the representatives of the multilateral development banks, bilateral development banks, etc., it was apparent that there was very little promotion of neoliberal organizational governance modalities that was taking place in the system. Within the ambit of the researchers' interview guide, several such governance modalities – oft-associated with neoliberalism – were cited (without making any judgment calls about them). The researcher was interested in gauging if these modalities were looked upon differently or more favourably compared to another from one

type of participant to another. For example, I was interested in exploring if, for example, a need for a bottom-line orientation was cited more frequently by external policy actors compared to those internal governors of the system.

During the interviews, I asked my participants to speak to the impact of any of the following modalities : performance budgeting, adoption of user fees, greater levels of managerialism, bottom-line orientations, deregulation/decentralization, outsourcing of contracts and privatization? Generally speaking participants from all sectors disagreed with the assertion that these modalities ought to play a role – however small – within the functioning of the sector however, each of these will be touched upon in turn in the following paragraphs to paint the overall picture of the ways in which neoliberal governance modalities are seen by the exogenous and endogenous principal governing actors in the Pakistani higher education system as follows:

- Bottom-Line orientation
- Performance budgeting
- Adoption of increased user fees
- Managerialism
- Outsourcing
- Privatization
- New Public Management (NPM) approaches

Bottom-line orientation

With regard to an orientation towards the bottom-line (read: efficiency), my research participants (both internal (institutional leaders and government representatives) and external organization leaders), agreed that the higher education enterprise - in Pakistan or elsewhere - would not be the ideal sector for such measures. It was generally seen to be the case that the Pakistani higher education sector was subject to the differences in funding arrangements between the public and private sectors - the same way that any HE system would be setup across various jurisdictions. However, on the whole, most participants (both internal and external) did not identify with the need to promote a bottom-line orientation style of management. The words of the following vice-chancellor sums up the feeling of most participants in this regard:

[PARTICIPANT]: Look, higher education is the last bastion perhaps in our time of some semblance of the

old aristocracy. If you are looking for efficiency, universities are not the right models to look at. Universities have, and there is nothing wrong with it, have great tolerance for lack of productivity and inactivity. You have many professors who hang about, teach maybe one course and not write a book for five years. So, most of these terms are not applicable and they shouldn't in any way be applicable to universities.... (University Vice Chancellor, Male, Private Sector, Karachi)

Some participants did seem to highlight the fact that while concepts like efficiency and a focus on the bottom-line may be considered anathema to the ideals of what a higher education system or sector ought to aspire to, that nonetheless the system could not help but be affected by the broader tides flowing across related sectors, industries and the economy as a whole. The President of a public sector university in Karachi speaks to this dichotomy in the following manner:

Bottom-line businesses cannot be run that way and like it or not modern higher education has to be conscious of bottom-line issues and so governance and all the aspects of regulation have to be conscious of that as well.... You know I have a small PhD program in some departments. Those things don't make money. The only things that make money are the undergraduate programs then you subsidize the rest but that's okay. There are other benefits from running PhD programs and having research output so while I'm bottom-line, I want you to understand that there are nuances even to a bottom line approach. (University President, Public Sector, Male, Karachi)

No evidence was seen from the senior exogenous governors of the system to suggest a tendency to shift towards or away from a bottom-line approach. With regard to a bottom-line orientation, therefore, the author would suggest that the HE sector is subject to the tides and norms of efficiency sweeping across most countries and that neither the internal nor the external actors within the system felt the need to promote a bottom-line orientation style of management.

Performance-budgeting

The second modality in our list above we will address here is performance-budgeting. A holistic examination of the 43 research interviews through coding and thematic analysis did not reveal that participants (and, notably, exogenous participants) felt that performance-budgeting was needed in the Pakistani higher education context - again, with important nuances surfacing based on the sector (public or private) under consideration. Performance-budgeting, similar to a bottom-line orientation focus (as mentioned above) was not seen to be a desirable trait, generally speaking; however, the Dean of a private university in Lahore provided a notable exception to the rule as follows with a strong leaning towards various corporate-style modalities:

[PARTICIPANT]: I am in favour of performance budgeting, greater levels of managerialism, decentralization and new public management with strong monitoring systems placed by academicians. Lastly, I am not in favour of user fees. (University Dean, Private Sector, Male, Lahore)

The participant quoted above, a Dean, may have been bringing in to the conversation his prior academic knowledge as a Professor of Economics, however, he tempers his statement by noting the need for academics to play strong roles in governing institutions and the need to control tuition fees. This suggests to the researcher an acknowledgment that an institution's performance overall (ranking, for example), needs to also take into account matters of academic governance and access.

With regard to the public sector, an important consideration (in the eyes of the researcher) is the focus (or lack thereof) that the government may have on performance management of Pakistani HEIs. Is there such a focus? Does the Higher Education Commission (HEC) exhibit a tendency to move in this direction or is its approach more *laissez-faire*? The following excerpt from a public university vice-chancellor is informative in this regard:

[PARTICIPANT]: So, we - performance budgeting - HEC to a certain extent follows that, obviously it follows the number of students that you have. There is some because you now have the QEC working and they keep a close eye on the university. (University Vice-Chancellor, Public Sector, Male, Karachi)

In other words, performance budgeting does exist - however, in the guise or incarnation of the Quality Enhancement Cells (QECs) at Pakistani universities - at least according to the participant quoted above. This conceptualization, that the HEC does exercise a high degree of regulation within the sector, has been touched on earlier in section 4.3 (HEC Oversight) however linking the idea of the Higher Education Commission's focus on quality enhancement to performance budgeting is interesting.

Managerialism

Some participants within the research sample linked corporatization/increased managerialism to better quality outputs; however, this was not intrinsically because of what managerialism brought to the institution in terms of better governance - rather, this was because of a linking in the minds of the participants of managerialism to better funding, which would, then lead to better quality outputs at institutions, as seen in the words of the following senior

university vice-chancellor:

PARTICIPANT: I think yes. This is a trend now we are seeing in even government and public universities. Because there is a need for more funding whether in research, or faculty and facilities. And until they sort of adopt a corporate sort of style of management, it will be difficult for them to continue the quality education. So yes. (University Pro Vice-Chancellor, Male, Private Sector, Islamabad)

And, in terms of the exogenous actors within the system? While most did not contribute to the promotion of any of the above-noted neoliberal organizational governance modalities, the World Bank representative interviewed for the present thesis did identify the need to increase the managerial capacities of Pakistani institutional governors, as seen in the following excerpt:

PARTICIPANT: Its basically a huge push for training and decentralizing. Which has been the case through various World Bank projects and other projects. And be the idea of creating the specific institute or specific body to take care of this issue by intense training in managerial issues, fiduciary, procurement and so on. That's need to be done or to be done more.... Definitely, the last project ... I cannot tell the details. But in the past project there were activities focused on managerial staff going abroad, following workshops and so on. That was a big part of the project... (Multilateral Agency Representative, World Bank, Male, Islamabad).

While the author has chosen to not include further details from the excerpt quoted above for brevity, the World Bank representative interviewed for this study goes on to identify training of senior managers/governors as a core component of both the Tertiary Education Support Program (TESP) (the WB's present main HE-focused project in Pakistan) and also, most notably, future projects. Therefore, a major focus of external policy actors such as the World Bank is on the training side of senior internal system governors - an aspect that will be further explored in Chapter 6 and 7.

While several additional modalities were noted in our list above, the data did not point towards these being of significant consequence and therefore has not been discussed further in this section. These include: the adoption of 'increased user fees', 'outsourcing', 'privatization' and the adoption of 'New Public Management (NPM) approaches'.

Section Summary

This section has explored the intersection of marketization/privatization within the Pakistani higher education enterprise. It was noted that while Pakistan's HE sector has a high degree of enrollments from the public sector, that participants (from all sectors) generally felt

that the HE system was overly privatized and market-driven. Furthermore, the present and rapidly burgeoning levels of privatization have spill-over effects into the public sector: for example, in the areas of tuition fees and staff salaries. Certain differences between the types of external policy actors could also be seen in the research sample, with bilateral agencies exhibiting a slightly greater tendency to promote privatization (or the expansion of the private sector) than did their multilateral sector counterparts. It was also noted that external policy actors, such as the World Bank, do have a drive to promote the managerial learning of endogenous governors in the Pakistani higher education system - through, especially, training and workshops. There is little doubt that external policy actors - such as the World Bank - do play a major role in helping shape the endogenous governors of the system.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

6.1: Introduction and Overview

We have reached what might be aptly termed the “so what?” section of the thesis. What do the findings tell us about the nature and extent of external policy influences in the Pakistani higher education context? In many ways, this research is a case study but what really is it a case study of? What contributions does it make to the field of Comparative and International Higher Education? In other words, the author will now attempt to make sense of the research findings in light of the broader academic literature, the data obtained and the theoretical frameworks applied. This chapter proceeds in the following three steps: (1) It summarizes the key findings from the data collected for the study and groups them by theme, (2) it uses the academic literature referred to in the introductory chapter and relates it to in the context of the research findings, (3) it uses the theoretical frameworks identified in Chapter 4 (constructivism and cosmopolitanism) to make sense of the research data. Chapter 7 (Conclusion) then engages with each of the broader research questions originally identified in the Introduction to this thesis to attempt and give a distilled and balanced answer to the questions that began the researcher on this doctoral journey in the first place.

Our initial point of departure related to an identification and problematizing of the impact of external policy actors on system governance in Pakistan. We identified that Pakistan’s higher education system was proving unable to meet the state’s development needs, and that governance of the sector was considered a key reform priority (Presidential Task Force, 2002). We showed that external (exogenous) policy actors were involved in Pakistan’s higher education sector through various modalities (foreign aid, technical assistance, etc.). What we wanted to find out, therefore, was the extent to which external policy actors, in helping with the development needs of Pakistan’s higher education sector, also did or did not impact the governance dimension of the system, and, if so, in what ways.

Above all, I was interested in understanding to what extent the preferred future for Pakistan’s higher education system was the same or different between the endogenous and exogenous governors of the system. The research findings support the hypothesis that external policy actors influence the governance of the higher education sector of Pakistan that this is done

through multiple modalities, that it is pervasive and far-reaching, but that, importantly, it is not done overtly but rather through a state-sanctioned approach that is largely accomplished through partnerships. The author would suggest that, as will be seen through this chapter, many of the ideas, norms, policies, reforms, and educational projects are, in reality developed and promoted by external actors but that, by working under the auspices of the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan (HEC), they take on a domestic or endogenous look and feel. The impact of technical expertise and consultations with external actors is also extremely important in setting the stage for a sector that is impacted by the presence of external actors more so than it itself, perhaps, realizes.

6.2: Discussion of Research Findings - Part 1: Governance Arrangements

Introduction

The research findings presented in Chapter 4 (Governance Arrangements) spoke to a plurality of areas that structure the governance of the Pakistani higher education sector. From the ideal set-up of the state governing apparatus (buffer body, more/less control), to shared governance (students, faculty, media and political parties) – to the institutional governance apparatus (Senate/Boards/Executive officers), responsiveness to markets/industry, need for more/less institutional autonomy, levels of trust and greater centralization vs. decentralization of powers. Indeed, there were many important matters raised with the 43 research participants interviewed for this study related to the overall functioning and governance of the Pakistani higher education sector.

We began our exposé of the research findings with a consideration of what ‘good governance’, simply speaking, may refer to in the context of Pakistani higher education. Contemporary governance scholars such as Austin and Jones (2015) have noted the following in terms of what external governance may imply in the context of the higher education sector:

In many countries the traditional modus-operandi for the government was to steer and control institutions: this approach defined the governing ethos of many governments, although to varying degrees. Universities as public entities were included among those institutions that were subject to the approach. The extent and nature of government involvement in universities defines the state-university relationship: this is the external governance of the academy. (Austin and Jones, 2015: 13)

Austin and Jones also provide several other starting points for a considered definition of governance from a multiplicity of academic scholars and their work is notable in this regard. (Austin and Jones, 2015:1-19) Certainly, there is no one definition that works well in all cases, at all levels of governance (institutional/micro, state/meso, or international/macro). Indeed, as Austin and Jones suggest themselves: “what we want to highlight here is the extent to which there is fluidity in the concept of governance in higher education as illustrated by the various definitions provided above”. (Austin and Jones, 2015: 5)

The present author found himself in a similar scenario after considering the multiplicity of ‘angles’ given by the various endogenous and exogenous research participants within this study. The introductory section of section 4.1 provided a list of aspects that defined good governance in the Pakistani higher education context, according to the participants. Given the centrality of governance, as a concept, to the present work, it deserves greater elaboration and discussion here.

Governance Arrangements

As identified in section 4.1, the author began his discussions with the study participants by asking them an open-ended question (sometimes, to simply put them at ease with a fairly easy question) and then asked what good governance might imply in the Pakistani higher education context. A multiplicity of viewpoints were highlighted by all parties with the majority of institutional participants (endogenous actors) equating good governance with processes such as the ISO 9001 governance standards, or the following of established regulations and SOPs. At times, endogenous participants highlighted their opinions of what good governance might imply from a deficit perspective: namely, noting what a lack of good governance may look like, while others highlighted good governance from a virtues and values perspective.

The researcher did not have the same opportunity (due primarily to a lack of time) to ask this question to each of the representatives of external funding/donor agencies; however at least one representative highlighted that good governance implies the institutionalization of the Pakistani higher education system. None of the study participants - internal or external to the system - spoke to good governance as involving power sharing or consultations with concerned stakeholders, including academics, students or industry. Indeed, this same tendency is seen in the

academic literature on the governance aspects of the higher education sector of Pakistan whereby most Pakistani indigenous scholars have focused on operational and regulatory aspects as the primary inputs and drivers of good governance (Usman, 2014, Halai, 2013, Aurangzeb and Asif, 2012 and Chaudhury and Ramy, 2011).

With regard to good governance, it is apparent to the researcher that self-regulation and self-governance are areas that do not manifest themselves readily in the context of the Pakistani higher education sector due to a large emphasis on the following of process. This can be, perhaps, equated with a similar Pakistani HE sector focus on quantity (enrollments, etc) over quality. The system's governance focus mirrors this tendency to focus on outputs numerically. For the researcher, especially, the lack of a focus from any of the endogenous and exogenous governors of the system on information and power sharing was illuminating.

Levels of State Control

From the open-ended question of the most appropriate forms of governance arrangements in the Pakistani HE sector, we moved on to a short review of the adequate amount of state control over the system. Section 5.2 addressed the perceptions of the senior research participants in the study about relations between the regulatory authorities and the HEIs. The results highlighted that, by and large, external policy actors (IGOs) felt that greater state control was preferable over less; institutional participants generally favoured a middle-of-the-road balanced approach and government representatives advocated for the least amount of control.

Neave and Vught (1994) as well as Clark (1983) have proffered tools for the analysis of governance that have seen long historical endurance; their analytical tools have been expanded upon already in Chapter 2.1 (Literature Review). There have also been more contemporary scholars that have examined the state-academic enterprise relationship (Austin and Jones; Philips and Ochs, Koenig-Archibugi, Steiner-Khamsi). While the body of scholarly literature to draw upon when examining and answering the question of the best mode of authority distribution in any given society is quite rich, the present author has elected, for reasons of space, to touch upon only select works that best help illuminate the concepts, ideas and themes under discussion in the present thesis.

Neave and Vught (1994) attempted to answer the following question: is there a particular

type or model of government regulation that can best achieve the goals of many developing nation governments (access, equity, quality, etc)? In order to answer this question, they posited a conceptual framework of understanding HE governance as comprising two opposing modes of authority distribution:

- (1) State-Control: this approach is characterized by unitary central planning and state regulation by the state;
- (2) State-Supervision: this approach is characterized by flexibility, maneuverability, and innovation on the part of HEIs

While rejecting the extremes of the completely rationally-planned and controlled model on the one hand, and complete laissez-faire, self-regulation on the other, Neave and Vught suggest that a developing nation’s ideal mode of authority distribution may lie somewhere on the continuum between these two extremes, depending on a host of factors that are particular to that state/society/environment. Using Neave and Vught’s typology of state-control vs. state—supervised approaches, we can suggest the following placement of the endogenous vs. exogenous actors in the Pakistani HE system (see Figure 19 below):

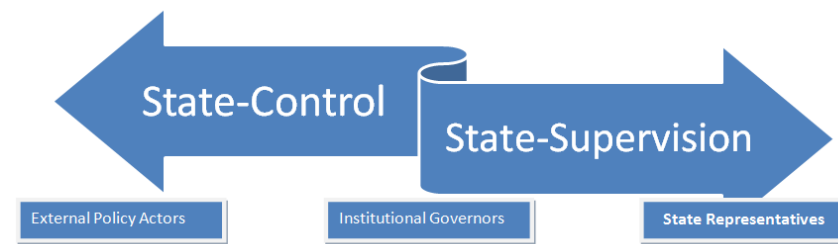


Figure 10: Levels of State Control

As seen from the figure above, some divergence may be identified between those senior representatives currently involved in system governance internally in Pakistan that lean towards to the steering from a distance approach, to the external policy actors that appear to favour tighter regulations. Do these same tendencies as exhibited in the data collected for the present thesis also manifest themselves during ongoing policy consultations and loan negotiations between the external donor agencies and the endogenous governors of the system? Following our review of the adequate levels of state-control, we proceed, now, to an examination of the control provided by the Pakistani state through the auspices of the major state regulatory authority: the

Higher Education Commission (HEC).

Higher Education Commission (HEC) Regulatory Oversight

Chapter 5.3: Higher Education Commission Oversight provided glimpses into the views of the internal and external governors in the Pakistani HE system with regard to the functioning of this important regulatory authority. The author noted in Section. 5.3 the central importance of this body, “the HEC represents nothing less than the center of the regulatory universe for the Pakistani higher education community”.

The data collected suggested that the institutional governors of Pakistani HEIs found the HEC’s oversight functions to be highly prescriptive. The author found some credence of this kind of oversight and highlighted 16 functions or roles that the Pakistani HEC prescribes for public and private higher education institutions. By and large, the data evidence suggested a very low level of belief/approval in the HEC ‘model’ on the part of institutional representatives (especially for reasons of excessive bureaucratic overreach), while IGO representatives seemed to have more ‘faith’ in the HEC’s model, although with reservations expressed relating to the HEC (particularly, staff incompetence and lack of connection with societal needs).

Despite the assertions of the state governing representatives (as per visual presented in previous section), the Pakistani HEC’s actual functions tend less towards the buffer body approach of steering from a distance, and are much more closely aligned with a state-control mode of governance (Neave and Vught, 1994). Indeed, using Bray’s (2007) helpful analysis of ways that allow us to understand the various types of decentralizing and centralizing tendencies, it may be argued that the Pakistani state has allowed for much territorial decentralization (reordering of power between various levels of government) but there is still much functional centralization (no shift in the distribution of powers within authorities). In summary, some tension exists between the belief in the HEC’s oversight between the institutional leaders and the external/government policy actors active in the system.

Shared Governance

In Chapter 5.4: Shared Governance, the author proffered a vision of power sharing, negotiations and consultations within the Pakistani HE sector – as understood by the various actors

interviewed for this study. Overall, the findings suggest a dearth of meaningful actions that governors – both those wearing endogenous/internal hats and those wearing exogenous/external hats – feel that sector stakeholders can play in helping govern the sector.

Specific questions were asked of participants related to the role, they felt, could or should be played by a multiplicity of important stakeholders, including students, faculty, members of the media and political parties in shared governance in the sector. With few exceptions, participants felt that none of these groups stood to play a positive role in helping govern the sector. The potential role of student groups/unions was seen as, simply speaking: “no-go”.

Sporn (1999) defines shared governance as being characterized by horizontal negotiations between various stakeholders that have a stake in the sector. As noted above, there are many such actors that have, historically and currently, been impacted through the higher education sector, in any country/nation/society. Notions of shared governance are also related to those of a policy community – which may be characterized as not necessarily being a system of consensus decision-making, but rather one that actively seeks out – and integrates – legitimate and diverse viewpoints in decision-making. Other scholars, (Shattock, 2002) have considered shared governance from other lenses where, for example, governance from the corporate sector and from within academia are brought together in an amalgamated model.

The data evidence suggests that such horizontal negotiations between stakeholders in the Pakistani HE sector are limited and superficial. With regard to faculty, participants noted perceptions that faculty members were only interested in employment-related matters, that exceptionally high oversight from the HEC has limited faculty autonomy, that faculty associations and unions meet only informally (or in times of crisis), and that limited research roles for Pakistani academics curtailed their sense of empowerment. On the other hand, at least one academic governor (and a former HEC administrator), suggested that the Pakistani university staff association (FAPUASA) did engage regularly with the HEC on a variety of issues.

With regard to members of the media, a general perception was borne out of the research data that while there was some potential for members of the media to play a positive role as a stakeholder within the higher education sector – broadly speaking – that nonetheless, HEIs shied away from engaging with the media as there appears to be greater media interest in reporting on

deficiencies (negative reporting) than on positive outcomes emanating from the sector (positive reporting). Political parties, similarly, did not fare much better (as a sectoral stakeholder), with participants generally unable to conceive of any positive role for politicians or political parties in the education space of Pakistan.

Finally, with regard to student involvement in shared governance, participants almost uniformly suggested student activism was, for them, equated with violence and aggression, that students were often seen as beholden to the aims of religious, ethnic or other political groups, that student activism, when present was almost always along social fault lines. Indeed, these perceptions are affected by the vicissitudes of a troubled history of student activism in Pakistan. As Benavot (1996: 402) suggested, there is a link between democratization and elite or tertiary education because “educational institutions help to create convincing rationales for political action, and they expand social arenas in which political authority can be employed. Education also certifies which members of society can legitimately use their authority and power in these new spheres of action.”

Austin and Jones (2015), in their work on higher education governance, have devoted a section to an exploration of shared governance in the academic enterprise; they have noted that “Consultation, deliberation and compromise are three essential elements of shared governance” (Austin and Jones, 2015: 138). Such a conceptual understanding of governance suggests ways of governing a sector that is in harmony with traditional notions of academic collegiality/oligarchy and academic self-governance but is in conflict with managerial (NPM-type) governance modalities which focus more on central academic managers. Such approaches are on the rise, both in the United States and in the United Kingdom (Austin and Jones, 2015:139) - countries that the Pakistani HE sector often looks to as aspirational ‘models’.

The author would suggest that, based on the research evidence, shared governance exists in the Pakistani HE sector but not in the format traditionally expected. In the Pakistani HE sector, shared governance seems to suggest consultation by government decision-makers with key external actors (donors, funding agencies, technical experts, etc) rather than within its own, endogenous, stakeholders such as faculty or students. While the author would submit that negotiation and consultation with external funding agencies is normal (in the sense there should be accountability for the nature in which donor funding is allocated), it is not normal that such

low levels of shared governance exist between the Pakistani state and its internal stakeholders. The lack of such involvement by sector stakeholders in matters that affect them may result in low-levels of sectoral buy-in, and therefore, compromise on expected outputs/outcomes. With regard to students, Austin and Jones have posited that the way students (as a holistic grouping) are conceptualized matters - either by the institution, or more broadly by the local state/society:

The nature of student involvement and participation in institutional governance and decision-making are significantly determined by the institution's conception of its students and the definition of its student-university relationship. For example, in some universities students are perceived as co-producers while in others they are perceived as consumers. When an institution defines its students as co-producers, the model of governance is more cooperative and egalitarian and invokes notions of students as stakeholders with a strong sense of institutional ownership...with the consumerist conception, students are viewed as clients and participate in governance as service users. (Austin and Jones, 2015: 142)

Building on the notion that the perception of students matters to the way shared governance is conceptualized with students, the author would suggest that the Pakistani higher education community (including senior institutional leaders, HEC government representatives, and external IGOs) perceives Pakistani students as not only consumers, but as consumers that require control and supervision (given the mixed and long-standing history Pakistan has endured with student unions/student activism). This conceptual understanding must evolve for the Pakistani HE sector to attain greater maturity, and further establish shared governance with its sectoral stakeholders. For the present author, this cognitive lock, (Menahem, 2008) cries out for unshackling.

Policy Community

Section 5.5: Policy Community moved the discussion from one about Shared Governance in the Pakistani higher education context to one about the related concept of a Policy Community. While the previous section spoke to the involvement of major sectoral stakeholders such as faculty and students – as well as members of the media and political parties – a policy community could involve various additional actors such as industry representatives, accreditation councils, sector research councils, etc. However, above all, Section 5.5 teased out the present state of dialogue and consultation with the Pakistani HE sector.

The evidence presented suggested that some activities did, indeed, take place in the system that could provide proof of the existence of some kind of policy community; for example,

through conferences/symposia, and the use of a Vice-Chancellor's Committee that interfaced with the Pakistani HEC authorities. However, when the interview results were analyzed and weights assigned to participant responses, overall, the picture that emerged suggested low levels of belief in the existence of a policy community. In this regard, institutional and external policy actors concurred (with almost identical weightings) in noting that they did not believe a robust policy community existed. Members of the government community dissented from this assessment suggesting that they did undertake regular consultations.

One of the most interesting data findings to emerge for the researcher was the fairly large difference between bilateral and multilateral donor agencies with regard to a belief in a policy community. Bilateral donors (such as USAID and the British Council) had significantly higher levels of belief in the existence of a policy community compared to their multilateral agency counterparts. I posit that agencies that are not donors may find their influence diffused within the system, hence lowering the chances of their being consulted and involved in policy and funding allocation decisions.

Finally, a brief case study of Higher Education Commission Consultations was presented in Chapter 5.5 where several participants highlighted that while much consultation appeared to take place on the surface, such consultations amounted often to nothing more than rubber-stamping and endorsement of pre-conceived policy outcomes. It was also noted that committees were often formed as a mechanism to give the illusion of consultation but that such consultation did not, in reality, take place.

Austin and Jone, 2015 have proffered the use of policy networks, as well as network governance, as tools to understand governance processes. They state:

The concept of policy networks assumes that decisions do not emerge within a vacuum of an executive office, but rather through interactions within a complex network of interested parties and stakeholders (Austin and Jones, 2015: 177)

Robust policy networks, where they exist, are in harmony with horizontality and notions of a diffusion of power (aka: shared governance). Indeed, as stated by Austin and Jones, "such governance entails more lateral and less vertical forms of management and the state is viewed as governing with the society and not above it" (Ibid).

The data evidence posits that a policy community and/or policy network does exist but

that it is exceedingly weak in the Pakistani HE context. The findings suggest that the sector often looks outside itself for guidance leading it to consult with not an internal policy network but an external one. An external policy network, in the context of Pakistan, could thus comprise members of the broader diplomatic community, members of High Commissions/Embassies, representatives of donor agencies and external experts.

Interest-Based Approaches

A brief review of Interest-Based Approaches, common in the field of Comparative Public Policy, may proffer a valuable lens to our discussion of governance arrangements and the involvement of exogenous actors in the Pakistani higher education context. This exposé on Interest-Based Approaches, flowing as it does after our discussion of Shared Governance and Policy Community, is linked to some of the key strands/ideas raised in these sections and should be interpreted as such. What I want to raise here is the highly connected nature of these seemingly different discussions.

While I mostly refer to Shared Governance and a Policy Community, authors in the Comparative Public Policy academic tradition capture similar notions using terms such as interests, program constituencies, epistemic communities, and coalition of actors. For example, Zehavi (2012) refers mostly to program constituencies, while Hall (1997) speaks to interests, as well as institutions and ideas, and Moe (2016) speaks to a coalition of actors. What all of these different conceptualizations have in common is a shared belief in the explanatory capacity of various actors (not just the nation state) in explaining policy outcomes. Moe (2016), for example, spends considerable time in explaining the central role of teacher unions in shaping education policy around the world, while Zehavi (2012) considers interest articulation among both public and private program constituencies on various sides of the political spectrum.

Why are interests important in the first place? This is a key question. The presence of interests, as the literature suggests and the author has found through his own research, allows for legitimate and competing viewpoints to be brought into the governance discourse and helps allow for buy-in by sectoral stakeholders. When well-organized, developed and funded, interests (such as unions), conduct their own research, issue reports and share data, participate in government decision-making fora, speak to the media, conduct protests/demonstrations and even

fund political parties. In other words, interests and interest groups can play a prominent role in helping shape not just policy outcomes, but good policy outcomes.

If we apply the tools that interest-based approaches promise to offer us to the present thesis, a key aspect emerges for the author which is this: there is a shallowness of interest-articulation in the present-day setup of the Pakistani higher education sector. The evidence for this shallowness is (a) the considerable lack of well-functioning program constituencies (to borrow Zehavi's terminology) in the Pakistani HE sector, (b) the lack of a robust policy discourse within the various stakeholders of the Pakistani HE sector. Indeed, the lack of consolidation vis-à-vis interest articulation among program constituencies in the Pakistani HE sector (esp. faculty, students, media, business/industry) has actually resulted in an unnaturally large and out-sized influence being played by non-state IGOs (exogenous actors).

Finally, the author references the importance of understanding the role that policy communities and student organizing can have in understanding the nature of, (and concomitant policy prescriptions for reform for) higher education systems in any given context leaning on the scholarly work of Jussi Valimaa. Valimaa (2009) spoke to the importance of integrating social dynamics into comparative higher education research studies in order to gain a holistic understanding of the functioning of any given national higher education system. For Valimaa, without the integration of such social dynamics, comparative higher education research studies would be missing an important contextual piece at best, and be meaningless at worst.

Valimaa advocated for the inclusion of social dynamics in comparative higher education using four categorizations of such social dynamics, including (1) the size of the system and (2) structure of the state, but also two additional categories of social dynamics that are particularly germane for the present dissertation: The collective bargaining power of (3) academic trade unions and the political power of the student organizations...and (4) The traditions of universities and higher education. (Valimaa, 2009: 151)

Valimaa includes the above two categories as being important for understanding the underlying dynamics undergirding the functioning of national higher education systems. What I wish to highlight here is the fact that the third and fourth social dynamic categories that Valimaa suggested were so important to understanding a higher education holistically are weak, and not as well understood, in the context of Pakistan's HE sector. Valimaa's hearkening to the role of

trade unions, student organizations and traditions of academic oligarchy lends credence to my own according of pride of place to the inclusion of these actors for a holistic understanding of Pakistan's HE sector.

Institutional Governance Structures

While much of this thesis has concerned itself with the impact of state-societal relationships, as well as the impact of external actors on the sector's development, matters related to the internal structures of governance within HEIS may also help us in our ultimate quest towards better understanding external policy influences in Pakistani higher education.

Section 5.6 Institutional Governance Structures explored the functioning, design and set-up of internal governance mechanisms common in the Pakistani higher education sector, including the Executive Office (Vice-Chancellor, Rector, President), Senates/Syndicates and Board of Governors/Board of Trustees. The author presented data evidence of some dysfunctionality in the present set-up of several governance modalities. Above all, a rather worrying concentration of power in the Executive Office emerged, to the detriment of power sharing and greater internal consultation. What can the present set-up of these internal governance modalities tell us about the impact that external policy influence can have within the system?

Austin and Jones (2015), quoting Taylor (2013) and Rowlands (2013), suggest that there is some evidence of a global trend to shift power away from academic senates and towards vesting greater power in governing boards. This also appears to be the case in the Pakistani context, although public-sector Syndicates/Senates are still seen as fairly powerful in public sector HEIs. The larger issues arise in the context of Pakistan's large and burgeoning private sector which appears to favour the governing Board approach (and even more so, the Executive Office) and does not, generally speaking, use academic bodies like Senates/Syndicates. Austin and Jones (2015) also quote Mintzberg (1983) in highlighting seven major roles that governing boards often play (such as 'reviewing managerial decisions and performance' and 'giving advice to the organization') and borrow from Hung (1998) who used six different 'schools of thought' to analyze the functioning of governing Boards.

The present author would suggest that of the various schools of thought that may be

examined to explain the functioning of governing boards (Hung 1998), perhaps the one that provides the greatest explanatory power in the Pakistani HE context is that of managerial hegemony, which refers to “the situation when the governing board of an organization serves simply as a ‘rubber stamp’ and all its strategic decisions are dominated and pre-empted by professional managers” (Hung, 1998, p. 107 (as quoted in Austin and Jones, 2015). Managerial hegemony theory allows us to explain the dys-functioning often suggested by the data collected for this thesis among governing boards at Pakistani HEIs, and a consequent perceived concentration of power in the Executive Office. From such a perspective, governing boards can be seen as largely meeting statutory requirements and being primarily ceremonial in nature.

Section 5.11. External Influences presented evidence that external policy actors such as international donor agencies active in Pakistan boast an overall view of public sector HEIs as not functioning as well as the private sector, thereby, perhaps favouring this sector, at times, in consultations and negotiations. Section 5.9 Public and Private Sector Differences also presented some data points showcasing a donor agency preference for private institutions. When applied to the context of the present thesis, the lack of shared governance, concentration of power in the executive office holder, and perceived dysfunction of governing boards, provides further evidence for why external policy influences play such a large and out-sized influence in developing countries such as Pakistan.

When internal governance is seen as being dysfunctional, consultation and negotiation with the sector may be seen as a step that can be skipped. Alternatively, when consultation takes place, it may only be done where true power lies: that is with the Executive Office holder. Neither external agencies, nor government regulatory representatives therefore, it may be argued, have much incentive to engage more deeply within the sector. Consultation may only be with the top layer at HEIs, who themselves are unable or unwilling to effectively engage with either their governing peer bodies (Boards, Senates, Chancellors), or with their internal constituencies. This magnifies the echo-chamber effect of external experts and donor agencies in the Pakistani HE sector to the detriment of effective decision-making, collegiality and shared governance.

Devolution Matters

Section 4.7: Devolution Matters highlighted several important considerations in the

centralization vs. decentralization debate in the context of the Pakistani higher education sector - indeed, few themes elicited greater reaction by the participants in this study than the question of the appropriate locus of control, to borrow Bray's terminology (Bray, 2007).

Bray's analysis (Bray, 2007) has provided three particular references/nuances that have particular resonance for the researcher. The first is Bray's contention that often the motive for changes to a status quo centralization/decentralization paradigm lies in broader political or administrative changes occurring within that society. From this perspective, changes to the appropriate locus of control/authority for education may have nothing (or very little) to do with a studied and considered approach related to the best educational outcomes that centralizing/decentralizing tendencies may have. This is exactly the case in the Pakistani context: the reasons for devolving education to the provinces appears to have very little research/data backing it up. Rather, broader societal changes appear to hold much greater explanatory power for why this jurisdictional authority was devolved.¹²

The second nuance offered by Bray that is particularly meaningful for the present researcher is his insight that most countries and societies have trends that are both centralizing and decentralizing (Bray, 2007). With this in mind, we can better understand the ongoing centralizing tendencies exhibited by the Federal regulator (the Higher Education Commission) in Islamabad, while, ostensibly, education is now a devolved subject in Pakistan and should reside to some extent with the provincial governments.

The third nuance that Bray notes that it may be worth touching on in the context of the present thesis is the lens through which privatization is seen as a form of decentralization by some and not by others (such as Bray). Consider the following:

Some writers describe privatization as another form of decentralization. Certainly privatization may be a form of decentralization in which state authority over schools is reduced. However, it is not necessarily decentralizing. Some forms of privatization concentrate power in the hands of churches or large private corporations. In these cases, privatization may centralize control, albeit in nongovernmental bodies. (Bray, 2007: 209)

¹² The 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan was a grand 'package' of amendments that including the removal of several powers of the President and the Pakistani military (such as that to dissolve Parliament), renaming of a province, and the devolving of no less than 15 Ministries to the provinces of Pakistan. As such, it was not related to 'education' alone and instead was meant to respond to wider political and societal changes occurring in Pakistan at the time.

Indeed, as the author has found and noted throughout this thesis, there is much evidence to suggest that private HEIs in Pakistan actually allow for a concentration of power in the hands of the owner/investor (and/or his/her family). What this may mean for equitable access to the institution and its quality is questionable. Therefore, when applied to the context of this thesis, privatization may be considered a form of centralizing tendency (away from the State, which is, in essence: the people), and into a few private hands.

As Bray (2007: 224) suggests, “it is impossible to reach a single recipe that will be appropriate for all countries. It does seem that societies with strongly entrenched democratic values and well-educated populations are more likely than others to demand decentralized systems and to make them work.” If we marry Bray’s insights here, with the broader literature on democratic consolidation which highlights the importance of state institutions to democratic consolidation (Linz and Stepan, 1996; Diamond, 1999), we can also posit that the maturity needed within Pakistan’s state apparatus was not appropriate to the decentralization imposed on it. Indeed, while devolution and decentralization often have laudable goals, such as the empowerment of local communities, that its enactment in the context of Pakistan - especially without allocation of accompanying resources - resulted in an enterprise that failed before it even began.

The data collected for the present thesis suggested a clear convergence of views from all participants (internal and external) [with the sole exception of the Provincial Higher Education Commission Representative interviewed for this thesis]: devolution of authority over higher education in Pakistan is seen as being generally worse for the system than allowing control to remain in federal hands. With regard to devolution and decentralization, it was also abundantly clear that international partners do not favour the approach endorsed by the 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan which accorded control over education to the provincial governments. Institutional governors posited several compelling rationales as to why devolution was problematic - in their eyes - for Pakistan, including for reasons of increase in bureaucratic overhead costs, lack of clarity over regulatory oversight, concerns over variations in standards, and perceptions of provincial government bureaucracies as being worse than federal ones.

In the context of external policy influences in Pakistani higher education, we can see a strong desire on the part of external actors to favour centralization over decentralization. Section

5.7 suggested that the maintenance of uniform standards, having a one-stop-shop approach for IGOs, and the desire to have some measure of standardization, are compelling reasons for international actors/organizations to favour centralization over decentralization. From this perspective, it is easy to understand why an external policy actor may find it easier to fund, partner and monitor loan and grant agreements with one partner over several (read: provincial governments).

At this stage, we may also bring into our discussion of shared governance the concept of power distance. Austin and Jones (2015), quoting Hofstede, 1991: 28, suggest that:

“Power distance is ‘the extent to which less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally’. In high power distance cultures, it is accepted that less powerful individuals will depend on more powerful members of society, and this is usually found in strong class and caste systems (Davis et al, 1997). The reverse is true in low power distance cultures...Low power distance is associated with decentralized organization structures in which there is consultation in decision-making, while high power distance organizations are more centralized.” (Austin and Jones, 2015: 41)

As applied to the results of the present discussion, the concept of power distance can be used to offer several hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that Pakistan, which by almost any stretch of the imagination is an extremely high-power distance society, is better suited to the maintenance of a dominant paradigm of centralization - as a governance modality. In this vein, we can suggest that decentralization or devolution is simply not appropriate for a society where power distances between actors (especially between the state and HEIs) is so large.

The second hypothesis that may be offered is that the power distance between external actors and internal actors is also - simply speaking - inordinately large in Pakistan. In terms of evidence for this, one may simply consider where power lies (power understood as technical expertise or financial strength, for example) between the external and the internal actors. We can also further complicate this power distance dynamic by bringing the individual characteristics of the representatives working for external actors into play many of whom may be educated abroad (thereby, conferring educational prestige), and often be able to showcase outward signs of dominance (dress, language (English accents), office location in prestigious, highly guarded enclaves). While certainly not easily quantified, the author would argue that the representatives of external agencies (deliberately or not), have a high degree of power distance between them and their domestic Pakistani interlocutors in both government and HEI circles.

Levels of Trust

Section 5.8: Levels of Trust examined the overall levels of trust in the higher education sector of Pakistan, highlighting, in particular, trust between academia and the state, between the state and donor agencies and also between academia and industry. I stated in that section that the low levels of trust between the Higher Education Commission (HEC) and the institutions it regulates is manifested by a large amount of state regulation, control and oversight.

Several higher education scholars have touched upon the nexus of trust and governance (Tierney, 2006; De Boer 2002; Vidovich and Currie, 2011) noting the impact that trust has in explaining governance outcomes. This applies to matters of trust between and within institutions, between the state and institutions, and between institutions and the wider society in which they operate. While Tierney's work examined trust as affecting governance within institutions, his insight that "the importance of faculty involvement in governance for building social capital and a culture of trust within universities, which would, in turn, encourage risk taking and innovation" (quoted in Vidovich and Currie, 2011: 5) is particularly germane to the present discussion related to governance in the Pakistani higher education context where such involvement has been seen to be missing not only at the level of academic faculty, but also other stakeholder groups such as students.

In the context of most developed countries, partners within the trust-mistrust paradigm are, generally speaking institutions and government. However, in the context of developing countries such as Pakistan, there is another, fairly important group to contend with: IGOs/donor agencies. I noted in Section 5.8 that trust between the Pakistani state (as embodied by the HEC) and HEIs was low and that part of the reason for the formation of the HEC was to increase regulatory authority over Pakistani HEIs (which had ostensibly lost the goodwill they had at one stage with the state due to ongoing low outcomes).

However, another - admittedly perverse - nuance I raised was that in exhibiting a lack of trust with its HEIs, the Higher Education Commission (HEC) appeared to be raising its own levels of trust (and perhaps, funding opportunities) with the international donor community who wish, generally speaking, to have good results for their aid dollars. Indeed, based on the insights of a bilateral agency representative I quote in Section 5.8. the pervasive lack of trust between

government and its academic community (a situation worsened by the overall lack of shared governance and an endogenous policy community) may also result in greater reliance on external agency representatives and consultants.

Public and Private - Sectoral Differences

Section 5.9 examined some differences in terms of public and private sector HEIs operating in Pakistan; it especially highlighted some nuances in terms of the treatment of this sector by external actors. Not addressing private sector HEIs in some fashion would be to the detriment of the present thesis given that the private sector accounts for about 41% of all HEIs in Pakistan.

With regard to differences in governance modalities, it was clear that each sector (public and private) feels that it is better governed than the other. For example, while some participants in my study felt that public sector HEIs were weighed down by layers of bureaucratic administration leading to institutional inertia, other participants felt that private sector HEIs were often family-run businesses run as nothing more than profit-maximizing ventures.

What is perhaps most germane for the purpose of this thesis is an examination of perceptions held by the exogenous governors of the system, vis-à-vis which sector might be better governed. Why is this important? Because perceptions of better governance may translate into real, tangible funding decisions that could be of benefit to private sector HEIs in Pakistan. Section 5.9 provided some evidence of donor agency preference for private sector universities in Pakistan; an interesting trend that merits further exploration. Indeed, one female university President in Section 5.9 went so far as to state that public universities have not benefited much from external donor funding and that this, in turn, has led to greater disparities between public and private sector HEIs in Pakistan.

Hall and Biersteker (2002) have provided an interesting thesis on the impact that private authority can have on supplanting public authority in global governance. In their analysis, Hall and Biersteker have suggested that there are several types of private authorities: including 'market authority', (transnational corporations, etc), 'illicit authority' (mafia/criminal networks), and 'moral authority' (IGOs, international multilateral organizations)). As applied to my thesis results, the researcher might suggest that the 'private authority' of external policy actors (such as

the World Bank, USAID, UNESCO, British Council, etc) constitute a form of normative moral authority that allows the Pakistani state to retreat from its historic role in ‘governing’ the HE sector of Pakistan – especially when external donor monies are given directly to private sector HEIs.

The researcher may also note at this juncture that Zahra Bhanji (2008) has argued for a similar shift away from public authority to the benefit of private sector actors with a particular focus on the impact of transnational corporations (TNCs). Bhanji provides a fascinating examination of the impact that private actors (such as Microsoft, Cisco, Carnegie, Gates and Rockefeller Foundations, etc) have had (and are having) in the education sphere as norm entrepreneurs and new global governors. Bhanji’s analysis of the impact of TNCs would also have some application in the context of the present thesis as there is evidence of the impact of TNCs in the Pakistani higher education sector. Several HEIs in Pakistan have benefited from such forms of donor funding, for example. However, these did not tend to be explicitly named, and were often subsumed under the broader country aid (in the form of the interviews) through which the TNC operated. For example, funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation was often seen as, ‘US funding’. Nevertheless, such instances of TNC impacts are present and might merit further examination in future research.

6.3: Discussion of Research Findings - Part 2: External Influences

Introduction

In sections 5.1 through 5.4, the researcher moved the discussion from considerations related to the governance sphere of Pakistani higher education, to one related to the impact of external influences more directly. Perceptions of external influences on the part of the study participants were considered, and a breakdown of external involvement in the Pakistani higher education sector was provided by type (foreign aid, consulting, policy borrowing, etc.) and by actor (World Bank, USAID, British Council, etc.). This section discusses the study findings from sections 5.1-5.4 in light of the research literature. It should be noted that in Section 5.5 (Case Studies of External Influence), each of the three case studies was followed by a discussion of the case study in light of the broader academic literature which will not be repeated here.

In section 5.1 the author opened the discussion by suggesting that even identifying external influences was a dilemma; indeed, it was noted that there was often a negative connotation attached to the term and participants were often reluctant to name this type of interaction as influence. Participants were, generally speaking, only too aware of the struggles that Pakistan had experienced in the past with colonialism and ongoing economic struggles with lending agencies (like the IMF) and therefore reluctant to suggest that they or their sector were still subject to influence in some way. Nevertheless, as the data evidence suggested in earlier sections of chapter 5, external policy influences are very much part and parcel of the present paradigm of Pakistani higher education. My challenge, as a researcher, was to identify these influences, name, categorize and weigh them, and find compelling ways of presenting their story. This section attempts to tell this story with some measure of narrative voice included from the major scholarly voices relevant to the subject matter under discussion.

External Influences in Pakistani Higher Education - The Global Context

Understanding External Policy Influences in Pakistani Higher Education (the title of this thesis), may be aided by a broader recognition of the global forces at play. The present thesis, it may be said, is a particular case study; situating the case study in the broader context may be particularly helpful for the readers. We start with an examination of the nature of global governance and the involvement of international organizations in educational development.

Eric Helleiner (2010) has chronicled the involvement of international organizations (IOs) in the development sphere (including educational development) and suggested that while development was not originally within the mandate of IOs, this happened over time because of both strategic US interests and a domestic push from poorer nations themselves. Helleiner believed that Bretton Woods played a key role in the eventual elaboration of the development regime because the promotion of living standards was a key objective of its planners. Indeed, part of the fundamental beliefs of many IOs that are remnants of the Bretton Woods paradigm (including the World Bank) is that political stability could only be achieved through economic development which is why many IOs provided assistance in the form of debt restructuring, capital flight controls, infant industry protection and commodity price specializations. As applied to the present thesis, Helleiner's arguments that development in the agenda of IOs is a fairly

recent phenomenon and one that is based on economic development leading to political stability is an important one as it helps us understand, in particular, the economic rationales for the work of a key Bretton Woods institution and the one with the greatest primacy/impact in the context of external influence in Pakistani higher education: the World Bank.

While Helleiner's work may help us understand the origins of the work of IOs in the global sphere, Kenneth King (2007) has shown us that many IOs also act of their own accord and volition and become norm entrepreneurs in their own right. King has traced the social construction of the global agenda on education and development and showcased, convincingly, that the narrative of an impetus for action was actually lead by multilateral agencies – not developing countries/Southern governments. From the Millenium Development Goals to Jomtien to Dakar, King has suggested that the agency exhibited by multilateral organizations has been exemplary. The education agenda promulgated by these agencies has been felt across the globe; however, by definition, the impact of the educational development agenda has been greatest in some of the world's poorest countries, including Pakistan. Indeed, while the global agenda on education has dealt primarily with basic (K-12) education, tertiary education (the focus of the present thesis) has also been greatly impacted.

Wolf and Klaus (2009) have similarly contributed to our shared understanding of the nature of IOs and their work in the education policy realm highlighting, through examples of the Bologna Process in Europe and the impact of PISA testing through the OECD, how an issue area as inherently domestic as education can be buttressed by the forces promulgated by IOs. One of the main nuances for the present researcher emanating from the work of Wolf and Klaus (2009) however is their assertion that states often engage in multilateral settings to outmaneuver domestic opposition to their policies; this results in a constant push and pull (contestation) with the state giving up some of its authority (autonomy) in order to gain the legitimacy that can be provided to it from IOs.

In the context of the present thesis, the reader may ask themselves what benefit the Pakistani state gains from this partnership with IOs such as the World Bank? In one way, the answer could be as simple as this: it is due to financial constraints that require the Government of Pakistan to partner with international organizations. The Pakistani state, from this lens, gives up some of its jurisdiction in the education sphere to benefit from the deep pockets of international

organizations. However, a complementary notion could be that the Pakistani state has an equally compelling reason to partner with IOs to gain from their technical expertise and ‘borrow’ their legitimacy. Indeed, a policy reform project that is undertaken with backing from the World Bank carries no small amount of heft in Pakistani circles.

When speaking to the kinds of policy prescriptions promulgated by IOs, several scholars have provided criticisms, indeed scathing indictments. For example, Hinchcliffe (1993) has highlighted the propensity of IOs to promote neo-liberal prescriptions for education financing in their approach and policy solutions. Hinchcliffe’s approach was to consider the neo-liberal arguments for education financing (which are premised on the free market being best able to allocate resources effectively and efficiently) with those stating that without state intervention equity will be sacrificed on the altar of efficiency. If we hearken back to the origins and basis of the involvement of IOs in the development sphere (Helleiner, 2010), we can see some reasons that explain why IOs may naturally gravitate towards policy solutions for education finance that may be called neoliberal and often consist of privatization/marketization in no small measure. Indeed, as shown in section 4.9, we have seen this view expressed by bilateral agencies (in particular) active in Pakistan that view the public sector as top-heavy and imbued with corruption and needing to mimic the private sector in terms of its bottom-line focus. Meyer and Ramirez (2009) are also among the various scholars that have criticized the work of IOs in the education development sphere – however, from the viewpoint of their homogenizing tendencies in particular. In their view, international organizations have often tended to define the same types of educational models and agendas from one jurisdiction with fairly little regard to the local domestic context (c.f Sadler, 1900)

Joining with the historic lens offered by Hinchcliffe (1993) and Helleiner (2010) on the nature of the work undertaken by IOs in the education development arena, we may offer here some further theory on the presence of neoliberalism (writ large) in the Pakistani HE sector. While this dissertation has considered the themes of neocolonialism and neoliberalism several times, this section devotes space to problematizing these two tendencies. Firstly, it must be stated at the outset that the findings of this study suggest that while some neoliberal tendencies are present in the Pakistani HE sector, that these play a minor role, especially vis-a-vis the involvement of external actors. For example, in Section 5.6 under the heading *Promotion of*

Neoliberal Organizational Governance Modalities I noted that “At least from the viewpoints expressed from the exogenous participants within my study (the representatives of the multilateral development banks, bilateral development banks, etc., it was apparent that there was very little promotion of neoliberal organizational governance modalities that was taking place in the system”.

Ritzer (2011) includes criticisms of neoliberal approaches that have particular relevance for the present thesis, namely the downloading or imposition of such principles from external forces/agencies/organizations. Ritzer suggests that:

Neo-liberalism very often comes down to the North, the US, and/or global organizations (e.g. the IMF) seeking to impose their definitions of well-being and freedom on other parts of the world. Furthermore, there is great variation on this among individuals in each of these societies, with the result that these definitions are different from at least some of theirs, but are nonetheless imposed on them. (p. 44).

In the context of the present work, we may consider whether or not the findings of the study lend credence to the idea of neoliberalism (in the form of neoliberal governance approaches) being imposed upon the Pakistani HE sector from external actors. The findings suggest that, while there is certainly sustained interest in promoting efficiency - and, at times, greater privatization - on the part of external agencies active in Pakistan’s HE sector, that, on the whole, such promotion of neoliberal tendencies is minor.

The study explored the presence of what Hill (2009) has suggested comprise neoliberal policies in education, which include “privatization, vouchers, marketization, commercialization, commodification, school fees, new brutalist public managerialism, and the assault on the comprehensive/common school principles and on democratic control of schools” (Hill, 2009: xi). At least in the context of the data collected for the present thesis, few such modalities seemed to be actively invoked - with the possible exception of managerialism and greater levels of privatization.

Mukhtar (2009), has considered neoliberal tendencies in the Pakistani K-12 sector and suggested that these were, indeed, externally driven through the World Bank and IMF, in particular, through their drive to promote greater deregulation and liberalization of the sector. While Mukhtar did not touch upon the Pakistani HE sector, we may draw upon Mukhtar’s thesis to ask if this study’s findings suggest that external actors present may be exhibiting similar tendencies in the HE sector as well. One hypothesis could be to suggest that, as seen in section

5.5, the World Bank's ideational brokering which led to the HEC being positioned as a state-control regulator (Neave & Vught, 1994) could be interpreted in light of a general neoliberal drive towards greater managerial control and imposition of performance standards in the name of efficiency.

In section 5.6, the findings also highlighted the presence of performance budgeting in the Pakistani HE sector, however, in the incarnation of Quality Enhancement Cells (QECs), a policy introduced wholesale across the sector by the Pakistani HEC. One may see, in this mechanism, a further drive towards neoliberalism especially where quality assurance is invoked. Austin and Jones, for example, link the global forces pushing quality assurance within the higher education sector to neoliberal tendencies stating that "quality assurance has become an instrument of governance driven by neoliberal forces external to universities but institutionalized through internal structures" (p. 171-172). Bigalke and Neubauer (2009), in reviewing quality assurance in higher education across the Asia-Pacific region, also link the rise in use of quality assurance mechanisms to an increased drive towards privatization.

We may also, at this juncture, bring into the discussion, the presence of managerialism in the Pakistani HE sector, which Austin and Jones, quoting Deem et al. 2007 define as follows:

Managerialism is an influential ideological movement or belief system that "regards managing and management as being fundamentally and technically indispensable to the achievement of economic progress, technological development, and social order within any modern political economy" (p. 169)

Section 5.5 of this dissertation devoted space to a review of one influential program that has seen large-scale impacts in the Pakistani HE sector; a program, furthermore, promulgated by an external actor: the Modern University Governance (MUG) initiative of the British Council. While I have already discussed and problematized this initiative in that same section, within the context of the present discussion on the impacts of neoliberalism on Pakistan's HE sector, it may be hypothesized that the promotion of greater managerialism (as epitomized through the 500+ endogenous governors that have participated in the MUG program in Pakistan) correlates with the promotion of neoliberalism by external actors. Indeed, as Altinyelken and Verger (2013) have noted in reviewing the impact of such managerial reforms in developing countries, the desire to promote greater managerialism is primarily driven by efficiency and economic concerns. Lastly, as noted elsewhere (section 5.5 and 7.2), the desire by the British Council to

take endogenous Pakistani governors to the United Kingdom (to impart knowledge related to governance and management modalities) rather than develop indigenous capacity-building mechanisms may be seen by some as a contemporary form of neocolonialism whereby the necessary technical expertise is retained in the centre (United Kingdom in this case) instead of being allowed to take root in the periphery (Pakistani) (Altbach, 1977).

As has been seen from the above, many scholars have touched upon the impact of international actors in the education sector (Helleiner, 2010; King, 2007; Hinchcliffe, 1993; Wolf and Klaus, 2009; Meyer & Ramirez, 2009), however few have bifurcated their views between those of multilateral IOs and bilateral agencies. At least in the context of the present thesis as was documented in section 5.5, while a multilateral body (the World Bank) has played arguably the greatest role as external policy influencer in the Pakistani higher education sector, the impact of bilateral agencies like the British Council and USAID has been greater than multilateral bodies such as UNESCO and the ADB. It appears that comparative scholars active in the field have often studied the broader education agendas (like Jomtien/Dakar/MDGs) and the work of major IOs (like the World Bank/OECD) but, at least in the views of the present researcher, there is some lack of scholarly literature to explain the work of bilateral education actors.

6.4: Application of Theoretical Lenses

There are various lenses that can help us chronicle and understand the nature of external policy influences in Pakistani higher education: one of these is the frame or lens of cosmopolitanism. Together with constructivism, it helps the reader understand and interpret the study's findings in broader academic perspective. Earlier sections of the present thesis have touched on aspects of both of these theoretical paradigms with references to the work of constructivist and cosmopolitan scholars. Section 6.5 (Application of Theoretical Lenses) devotes dedicated space to each of these afore-mentioned theoretical lenses and their applicability to the present thesis. The author also includes, for comparative purposes, a Dependency Theory lens, in addition to the cosmopolitan and constructivist lenses.

External Policy Influences - A Constructivist Lens

I start this section with an overview of what constructivism is, why it is particularly germane to the present thesis, and how it can be applied to help us better understand the nature of external policy influences in the Pakistani HE sector.

Ruggie (1998: 856) suggested that “Constructivism is about human consciousness and its role in international life”. Finnemore and Sikkink, in their 2001 work titled: *Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics*, provide, furthermore, the following overview of constructivism:

Constructivism is an approach to social analysis that deals with the role of human consciousness in social life. It asserts that human interaction is shaped primarily by ideational factors, not simply material ones; that the most important ideational factors are widely shared or “intersubjective” beliefs, which are not reducible to individuals; and that these shared beliefs construct the interests of purposive actors. (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001: 391)

Both Ruggie and Finnemore and Sikkink, identify the importance of human agency in the context of constructivism, noting that what we believe and how we came to believe it matters. The primary currency of constructivism, therefore, is the role of ideational factors: norms, knowledge, and ideas. Indeed, constructivism suggests that much around us is socially constructed such that what is right or wrong does not depend on its innate truth, but rather on what the world that has been constructed around us holds to be right or wrong. For example, there have been many major tectonic shifts in our collective global intersubjective beliefs in areas ranging from slavery to women’s suffrage.

Crucially, many constructivists like Ruggie, and Finnemore and Sikkink, work in a space that is beyond that of the nation state: international relations. For a study that finds itself situated at the nexus of the local and the global; where exogenous forces meet endogenous ones, the applicability of a constructivist lens is most appropriate as it privileges not just structures (as Institutionalism would have us believe), or state sovereignty (as Realism would have us believe). Perhaps one can see constructivism being most closely allied with Poststructuralist worldviews that examine the nature of discourse and the use of words.

So how do constructivists work to make sense of the world around them, the world that they hold is socially constructed? A variety of tools and resources are often deployed by

constructivists ranging from process tracing, structured focused comparisons, interviews, participant observation, and content analysis (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001: 395). Indeed, the present thesis has deployed the use of several of these processes that are highly aligned with constructivist research methods, especially interviews, process tracing and content analysis.

For constructivists, understanding how things occur, helps explain their outcomes. As Finnemore and Sikkink suggest:

For Constructivists, understanding how things are put together and how they occur is not mere description. Understanding the constitution of things is essential in explaining how they behave and what causes political outcomes. (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001, p. 394)

While often privileging global ideas, trends and norms, constructivists, do not, at the same time, leave aside the question of what is happening inside states. Indeed, constructivists recognize that:

Not only do different states react differently to the same international norms, ...but the mechanisms by which norms are internalized within states differ as well. Without understanding how these domestic processes worked, we could not understand the political effects of these global social structures. (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001, p. 397)

Therefore, in the context of the present dissertation in particular, which has sought to elucidate the nature of external policy influences in the Pakistani HE sector, we do ourselves a gross disservice if we only examine the actions of external policy actors (through technical reports, foreign aid funding, consulting, workshops and seminars, exchange programs and policy borrowing), without a concomitant devotion of time and space to the domestic processes internal to that same system. The actions - and outcomes - of the same exogenous actors that operate in multiple countries such as the World Bank, USAID, ADB, etc, can therefore be greatly aided by understanding the social construction of the domestic arena too.

This dissertation has sought to examine the constitution of things in the context of the Pakistani HE sector, and in particular its interaction with external actors to identify the political outcomes we can see in the system. From a constructivist standpoint, understanding how externally policy influences are constituted in the Pakistani HE sector can help us shed light on system outcomes. For example, this thesis identified the nature and extent (the constitution) of domestic policy communities and their lack of involvement in the Pakistan HE sector. Indeed, Sections 4.4: Shared Governance and 4.5: Policy Community highlighted the dearth of involvement from many different stakeholders in the Pakistani HE system, be they faculty,

students, members of the media or industry. For constructivists, tracing this aspect of the constitution of things, sheds important light on system outcomes.

This thesis has highlighted that the social construction of the world that encircles domestic policy actors in the Pakistani HE sector does not give them sufficient agency for action. For example, forums for academic participation are limited, consultations with government (Pakistan's HEC in particular) are seen as a rubber-stamping exercise, and dominant voices in stakeholder consultations are those of the elite (see: section 4.5: Policy Community). Furthermore, endogenous actors are hampered by poor internal governance structures (see Section 4.6: Institutional Governance Structures), lack of clarity over state control for higher education (see: Section 4.7: Devolution Matters) and low levels of trust between academia and the state (see: Section 4.8: Levels of Trust).

The present thesis has also identified the role played by international actors in shaping inter-subjective beliefs (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001) internal to the Pakistani HE system. From the World Bank's ideational brokerage and norm entrepreneurship that led, in no small measure, to developing a shared intersubjective belief in the need for reform to the state governing apparatus, to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID's) role in crafting a shared norm for needed reforms to Pakistan's teacher education faculties, to the British Council's development of new, shared, intersubjective beliefs pertaining to HE governance, (see Section 5.5: Case Studies of External Influence), the present thesis has referred often to the role played by these external actors in the social construction of shared intersubjective beliefs in the Pakistani HE space.

We may also bring into play, at this juncture, the constructivist conception of epistemic communities and the role these play in shaping policy outcomes. Such usage of the impact of epistemic communities is highly pertinent to the present thesis which has suggested that the Pakistani HE sector is highly impacted by external expertise. The work of Peter Haas is perhaps best identified with the role of epistemic communities in shaping international policy coordination, and he provides the following definition for our consideration:

An epistemic community is a network of professionals with recognized expertise, and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area. (Haas, 1992: p.3)

In terms of some of the definitional aspects of epistemic communities, Haas identifies that epistemic communities often share certain normative beliefs, moral preferences, and types of knowledge. Often, Haas argues, these knowledge experts may share similar social worldviews given shared social conditioning, especially through formal schooling. Indeed, as applied to the present thesis, we can see the representatives of international non-governmental organizations active in Pakistan as constituting a type of higher education epistemic community. Therefore, the education representative (s) for Pakistan from the USAID, British Council, World Bank, numerous bilateral agencies, etc, all may be seen as constituting a type of epistemic community that interacts, as showcased in the present thesis, in no small measure, with the Pakistani HE sector.

Where the actions of this external epistemic community become problematic is when we note that they have no domestic counterpart. If there is a counterpart, it is exceedingly weak, and suffers from lack of expertise, voice, legitimacy - and above all, agency. Why is this problematic however? One answer to this question can be stated as follows, and as recognized by Haas: members of the same epistemic community may also share the same prescriptions for policy solutions. A reliance on the same exogenous policy community all the time, severely limits the kind of entrepreneurial policy solutions that are needed, I argue, for the Pakistani HE system.

Haas, furthermore, highlights the possibilities and processes that epistemic communities use to impact on the domestic policymaking process:

Epistemic communities can insinuate their views and influence national governments and international organizations by occupying niches in advisory and regulatory bodies. This suggests that the application of consensual knowledge to policymaking depends on the ability of the groups transmitting this knowledge to gain and exercise power. (Haas, 1992: p. 30).

This study has shown, several times, the privileged role that members of exogenous organizations occupy in the domestic Pakistani arena, even going so far as to occupy dedicated space within the Pakistani HEC. The author, therefore, holds that exogenous policy actors, without much doubt, have a privileged perch and constitute a powerful epistemic community in their own right in the Pakistani higher education system. Indeed, as per Finnemore and Sikkink:

The structure of the World Bank has been amply documented to effect the kinds of development norms promulgated from that institution; its organizational structure, the professions from which it recruits, and its relationship with member states and private finance all filter the kinds of norms emerging from it. The

UN, similarly has distinctive structural features that influence the kinds of norms it promulgates about such matters as decolonization, sovereignty, and humanitarian relief. (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998: 899)

International organizations like the UN and the World Bank, though not tailored to norm promotion, may have the advantage of resources and leverage over weak or developing states they seek to convert to their normative convictions. (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998: 900)

External Policy Influences - A Cosmopolitan Lens

David Held (*Cosmopolitanism: Globalization Tamed?*; 2003) has given a compelling defense of the benefits of cosmopolitanism for a new global order. Indeed, he considers a cosmopolitan world view a middle ground between the inward-looking approach of realism that privileges state sovereignty above all else, and rampant globalization that leaves little room for domestic agency. For Held, the concept may be defined as:

“Cosmopolitanism is concerned to disclose the cultural, ethical and legal basis of political order in a world where political communities and states matter, but not only and exclusively.... Cosmopolitan multilateralism takes as its starting point a world of ‘overlapping communities of fate’. (Held, 2003: 469)

Using a cosmopolitan lens, therefore, one may consider the impact of external policy influences in the Pakistani higher education sector as a wholly legitimate political sphere of engagement whereby, in an interconnected world, the Pakistani state and its institutions are fully engaged with broader global trends (be these, for argument’s sake, a move towards greater privatization, deregulation, entrenchment of neoliberal principles, etc.) For cosmopolitans, greater transnational institutions, initiatives and multilateralism is the answer – not less. In this vein, greater involvement of external actors (such as multilateral and bilateral agencies, IGOs, etc.) would be warranted and appropriate.

However, where viewing the data results from a cosmopolitan lens becomes perhaps problematic is when we consider that a fundamental aspect of cosmopolitanism involves engagement between the local and the global (between the internal/domestic and external/foreign) on more or less equal footing. As Held states: “The institutional requirements of political cosmopolitanism include multilayered governance and diffused authority...a network of democratic fora from the local to the global” (Held, 2003: 467). In the case of Pakistani higher education, it would appear that such multi-layered governance and diffused authority does not exist in a way that would allow for a healthy and holistic implementation of cosmopolitan

principles to take place. This is especially so because the parties involved are so unequally placed. As has been documented already, external policy actors involved in the Pakistani higher education sector bring financial and technical expertise that makes them rise head and shoulders above their domestic partners.

Held acknowledges this tilted/slanted situation, by noting that “while governance in the global order involves multilayered, multidimensional and multi-actor processes in which institutions matter a great deal to the determination of policy outcomes, these are distorted in favour of leading states and vested interests” (Held, 2003: 467). In this vein, the researcher would highlight that while greater multilateralism, institution-building and global engagement between the endogenous Pakistani higher education community and its external partners is a laudable goal with many possible benefits to all sides, we would do ourselves a disservice by not acknowledging the ‘leading states and vested interests’ involved. In the context of the present study, such leading voices could be considered to be those of organizations like the World Bank, USAID and the British Council in particular.

External Policy Influences - A Dependency Theory Lens

Some of the eminent Dependency theorists in the Comparative Education scholarly literature include Philip Altbach, Colin Leys, Paulo Freire and Andre Gunder Frank. While this is not an exhaustive list, each of these scholars brings a particular approach to dependency theory that promises to shed light on explaining the nature of certain educational phenomena. Let us attempt, here, to apply the work of but two of these scholars: Paulo Freire and Philip Altbach.

For example, Freire in his celebrated *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972) raises several concepts and themes related to Dependency: dehumanization between the oppressors and the oppressed, the need for a consciousness among the oppressed, the difference between systematic education and educational projects, the fear of freedom among the oppressed classes, false charity/generosity by the oppressors and the need for a pedagogy of the oppressed that practices co-intentional education.

Freire suggests that in order to awaken the oppressed to their existing conditions of oppression, a pedagogy has to be developed both by and for the oppressed to ‘explain to the masses their own action’ (Freire, 1972: 53). During this process, Freire often reminds us that we

must guard against simply switching sides where the oppressed become the oppressors because that is the only model they know. Freire notes that the struggle to be human (humanization) is a universal and historical struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed. It should be noted here that while he makes mention of a ‘colonized mentality’ he does not specifically mention race or ethnicity or any number of other markers of difference. What Freire is concerned about primarily is inequality based on the haves and the have-nots i.e.: between classes. What has resonated particularly for me in Freire’s work is his complete dismissal of the possibility of class struggle being waged by anyone other than the oppressed. In other words, those oppressors who identify with the oppressed and wish to change the unjust social order cannot do so because they are blinded by their upbringing and cannot hope to give anything other than false charity.

When applied to the context of the present thesis, the author wonders how Freire would have, perhaps, viewed the myriad modalities of external influence (foreign aid, consulting, etc) raised in this dissertation. Such external IGOs are largely led by technocrats from an upper-class (read: elite) upbringing, and many have spent most of their lives in Western, developed countries. Likely, I believe that Freire would have simply seen in such modalities, a perpetuation of dependency that has kept certain societies and peoples oppressed in the first place. If we use Freire’s lens, then, it could be posited that Freire would have seen the absence of the oppressed (in the context of this thesis, we could consider these to be the major stakeholders in the HE system: students, faculty, general public, etc) in discussions (absence of shared governance) related to system governance and design as perpetuating dependency. The major IGOs and external agencies cannot, in Freire’s lens, pretend to offer anything other than false charity.

Altbach (1977) highlighted the relationship of dominance and servitude, dependency and neocolonialism that, according to him defines the international center-periphery relationship. Altbach notes that neo-colonialism, in particular (as compared to the complementary notions of Dependency and Center-Periphery) is notoriously hard to prove:

Policymakers in the Third World do not have to accept the aid programs but often find it in their own interests to do so, or they are faced with such severe shortages that virtually any assistance seems helpful. Of the three analytic frameworks used in this discussion, neocolonialism is the most difficult to convincingly prove, since it is linked to elements of the other two concepts and also implies an intentional policy of controls and exploitations through a web of inter and intranational elites. It is obviously not in the interests of donor or recipient to expose these relationships (*italics mine*) (Altbach, 1977: 471)

Philip Altbach's notions of globalization and internationalization are particularly germane to an assiduous understanding of how historical and geographical factors influence the differential impact of globalization in different regions. Altbach has helped us to understand how increased interconnectedness may be resulting in, more and more, a system of winners and losers. Altbach's framework of centre and periphery for example showcases how, despite the global south making their very best efforts to 'catch-up' with the West, will largely remain part of the periphery.

In particular, Altbach has shown through his work (for example, Altbach, 1977; 1993) that the Global South suffers from ongoing issues of dependence and neo-colonialism because the best universities are based in the West, there is a large out-flow of scientific and technical expertise from the periphery to the 'core', international student mobility resulting in brain drain, and the fact that most major journals and publishing houses are based in the West/Core are represent an ongoing pattern of domination, neo-colonialism and subservience. The impact of history is particularly felt because nations subjected to colonialism and the impacts of slavery continue to model their education systems and curriculum (even testing) on their former colonial masters. All of these concepts have resulted in an ongoing servitude of the mind¹³ (Altbach, 1977).

Altbach's words resonate strongly with me. On the one hand, as a researcher and doctoral scholar doing fieldwork in Pakistan, I was finding the involvement of external actors to be pervasive and far-reaching in the postsecondary education sector of Pakistan. Scholarships were being given, projects were being run, consultations and technical assistance was being extended and foreign aid was being provided. On the other hand, the government and international non-governmental organizations were not as open about their involvement - especially not in the context of influencing the system. The researcher would suggest that it almost seemed like the various external actors were, on the one hand quite proud of their involvement through projects, assistance and funding and then, on the other hand, fairly reticent to speak about the impact those same programs were - clearly - having on the system (including system design and governance). Altbach's contention that it is not in the interests of either side -

¹³ It should be acknowledged that the notion of 'servitude of the mind', is also closely connected to the work of the world-system scholar Samir Amin (1931 – 2018).

donor (exogenous policy actors) or recipient (Pakistani HEC, institutions) helps us to reconcile this seemingly intractable idea: namely that external policy actors can be actively involved in a largely domestic policy arena like education without it being in their interests to be seen as influencing the system.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1: Conclusion

Section Overview

This dissertation began in Chapter 1 with the study hearkening to both academia-related and praxis-focused rationales. This Chapter, brings the study's findings and discussion together to distill some concluding thoughts, offer bigger picture ideas, attempt to answer the study's research questions, and offer suggestions for future research. In particular, the author offers in this section an executive summary of sorts, in the form of a distilled summary table of convergences and divergences between preferred futures wished for by endogenous policy actors, and those that are exogenous to the system. Since the author has sought, since the beginning of his doctoral journey, to inform praxis, this concluding chapter offers, furthermore, practical Policy Recommendations in Section 7.2.

Understanding External Policy Influences in Pakistani Higher Education was the title of this dissertation. Looking back, now, the author wonders to what extent the study could be said to have met its goals. It is the author's hope that the study has, indeed, shed light on this area and allowed for the development of a more nuanced understanding of the nature of the dialectic between the global and the local through this one particular case study (namely of the impact of exogenous actors on system development/governance in Pakistan).

Indeed, various authors have hearkened to the nature of the centre-periphery relationship (Altbach 1977) through the use of case studies (Collins and Rhoades; 2010, Drake; 2001). The present author would simply count himself among those who have contributed to the academic literature in the same vein as the above-noted scholars. This dissertation can, therefore, be seen as contributing to our broader academic understanding of the nature of the engagement of international policy actors in developing country higher education sectors.

Divergences and Convergences - Summary Table

I start this concluding and final chapter with the following table that offers one way to understand the points of divergence and convergence between exogenous policy actors and those endogenous to the system. Section 1.2 (Rationale) noted that the present study identified a

particular focus vis-a-vis the involvement of external policy actors in the Pakistani HE sector, namely, their impacts on system governance. Chapter 4 (Governance Arrangements), which dealt primarily with the presentation of data by overall governance themes, identified the variety of views between the internal governors of the Pakistani HE system, and those external policy actors that impacted on it. Table 5 (below), provides a distilled view of the overall areas of convergence and divergence between endogenous and exogenous policy actors, by governance theme:

Table 5: Divergences and Convergences - Summary Table

Higher Education Governance (Policy Area)	Internal Policy Actors (Endogenous Voices)	External Policy Actors (Exogenous Voices)
Levels of State Control	Less Pakistani State Control and Regulation	Greater Pakistani State Control and Regulation
HEC Sectoral Regulation	Significant oversight levels by HEC leading to micromanaging of institutions. Institutional lack of belief in current HEC model but government leaders accept the present model as adequate.	IGO actors believe that high degree of HEC oversight is needed but have reservations with HEC bureaucracy.
Shared Governance	No significant belief in shared governance modalities with various sector stakeholders; where consultations exist, they are often seen as tokenistic	Consultations with external policy actors as established practice; therefore, expectation and belief of shared governance between external actors (IGOs) and government representatives.
Institutional Governance	Concentration of power vested in the executive office holder; Senates/Syndicates seen as functioning well in public sector institutions, although many issues identified with Boards at both the public/private sector levels.	Internal institutional governance modalities often perceived to be dysfunctional and large tracts of power vested in the Executive Office holder; general perception of many private sector HEIs as better functioning than public

	Dysfunctionality related to internal governance proffers one explanation as to why HEC exercises such large amounts of control. Large amounts of executive authority tends to limit shared governance and decision-making;	sector HEIs. No incentive to consult and engage deeply with the sector, given perceptions of dysfunction, thereby, arguably magnifying the echo-chamber effect of external actors.
Policy Community	Wholesale lack of a policy community with no need seen for presence of consultations with sector stakeholders	Belief in importance of policy community, however lack of faith in government consultations with stakeholders
Devolution Matters	Overwhelming belief in a nationally/federally controlled HE governance structure, despite support (in theory) of the benefits of decentralization/devolution; Central issues of lack of coordination between authorities, low levels of belief in provincial oversight, and lack of provincial funding; devolution seen as being misaligned with Pakistan's current developmental maturity	Overall belief in centralization of higher education governance; low levels of belief in effectiveness of devolution. Need for adherence to international standards and rankings. Easier for donor agencies to work with one central government.
Levels of Trust in HE Governance	Low levels of trust between the state and academia manifested as large levels of HEC regulation, control and oversight	External policy actors exhibit greater levels of trust with the state (HEC), when the state itself has tighter control (mistrusts) its HEIs. Pervasive lack of trust between Pakistani HEIs and state may also result in greater reliance on external agencies/consultants.
Public and Private - Sectoral Differences	Weaknesses in governance in both public and private sector HEIs; some endogenous participants claim donors prefer private sector HEIs.	Exogenous actors generally consider private sector HEIs to be better governed and some donor funding directed to private institutions as a result - further enhancing disparities between the public/private

		sectors in Pakistan
Pakistani HEIs - Market or State Development Agenda Driven?	<p>Pakistani HEIs in the public sector are helping to educate marginalized groups (rural groups, women, non-mainstream ethnic groups) however the private sector is the one that appears to drive quality.</p> <p>Some public sector institutional governors voice caution regarding lack of state regulation over private sector counterparts, which are having deleterious effects on public HEIs (tuition/staff salaries, etc).</p>	<p>Provision of quality is important, and having a link to the labour market/industry is paramount; there is greater faith in the private sector meeting those needs than the public sector.</p> <p>Spillover effects to HE sector from the public-private partnerships already mainstream in the Pakistani K-12 education sector</p>
External Influences on Pakistani HEIs	<p>Pakistani institutional governors see greater 'touch points' with bilateral actors than they do with multilateral actors - hence greater 'influence' from bilateral (DFID, USAID, etc) than from the larger multilateral agencies (WB, ADB, etc).</p>	<p>Greater direct contact between bilateral actors and Pakistani HEIs, than between multilateral actors and Pakistani HEIs; Overall, greater levels of touch-points (including at times, embedding within the HEC) between multilateral actors and the Pakistani government.</p>

The summary table presented above allows the reader to review, at a glance, some of the key variations in preferred futures for the Pakistani HE system, bifurcated between external and internal policy actors. It is evident that exogenous actors are not always in complete harmony with the preferred future vis-a-vis HE system governance that is wished for by endogenous actors.

For example, in matters related to state control, exogenous policy actors appear to show a heightened preference for greater Pakistani state regulation over HEIs, than do the endogenous actors (including members of the HEC and senior institutional governors) that appear to favour greater levels of institutional autonomy, on the whole. Similarly, exogenous policy actors appear

to demonstrate a heightened preference for the Pakistani private sector than the public sector.

A need for shared governance/policy community is agreed to, in theory, by exogenous actors but perceptions of sectoral governance dysfunction, including deep-seated culture of power concentration in institutional executive offices, results in exogenous actors not supporting this need (for shared governance) in practice. A pervasive lack of trust between the Pakistani state and HEIs results, furthermore, in the Pakistani state relying heavily on policy expertise and recommendations from external agencies (consultants, technical reports, foreign aid, etc.), and looking from answers without, rather than within.

Why are these convergences and divergences important to highlight? Because exogenous actors impact on system governance in the Pakistani HE sector, as amply demonstrated in Section 5.12 (A Typology of External Influences, Section 5.13: External Influences by Actor, and in Section 5.5 (Case Studies of External Influence). Noting points of alignment, or not, as the case may be, sheds light on our goal of better understanding external policy influences in Pakistani higher education.

External or Internal Influences as Primary Driver in System Development?

Can this study lend credence to the notion that, perhaps, one version of sector development - internal or external - wins out over another? It's certainly a difficult task, fraught with the traps of oversimplification. Some of the matters that must be given due consideration include the following:

- Have we considered the impact of external actors and their policies in other related sectors of the economy? For example, within the K-12 sector? Does the impact of exogenous actors in Pakistan's early years sector have 'upstream' influence on the higher education sector?;
- How are we deciding what constitutes coercion/influencing (neocolonialism) and what might be, more simply, collaboration across borders/internationalization that is, actually, locally driven?;
- How are we understanding the nature of a developing country's involvement with international partners? Do institutional and government leaders in developing nations really speak for their constituencies or are they simply co-opted 'puppets' in a broader neoliberal paradigm? Galtung (1975) suggested that there exist centre and peripheries even within the periphery of the Third World? Are we sure that we are not simply evaluating/researching a dialogue between 'centres' (ex: between the highly (and often, internationally) educated, neoliberally-minded, elites of Islamabad and the elites of Washington)?

Some authors have been able to reach strong conclusions about such relationships. Collins and Rhoades (2010) did not seem to find a grey area in their study of the nature of development banks' relationships with postsecondary institutions in Uganda and Thailand: it did, in their view, constitute an asymmetrical relationship with a top-down, heavy-handed approach exhibited by the World Bank:

Development banks certainly face a difficult task. But despite their challenges, an important question must be asked: Whose version of economic development is to be enacted? The answer seems fairly obvious to us—it is a view of economic development most suitable to the wealthiest nations of the world and consistent with the neoliberal project. (Collins and Rhoades, 2010: 203)

Others have been more selective in their assessment by highlighting the importance of the differential manner in which external actors engage in each country. Drake (2002) for example, has highlighted that it was harder to localize neo-colonial tendencies within the operation of the World Bank in India and China and that aspects (such as the local culture or governing party) provided greater explanatory capacity than did the World Bank's policies themselves:

Given the size and complexity of the Bank, it is difficult to identify ideological underpinnings, and competing perspectives are often at work. (Drake, 2001: 227)

Yet others, are highly critical of the nature of the so-called dialogue, by seeing it as one that is simply between 'centres'. Altbach (1977), saw such modalities as perpetuating dependency and neocolonial tendencies. He states:

The elites in the Third World have strong ties to the elites in the metropolitan nations and are inclined to accept the practices and advice from the "center" as appropriate. Foreign aid helps to maintain political and economic stability and elites in the Third World and in the West find this a suitable arrangement. (Altbach, 1977: 481)

The author, in reviewing the research findings in broader context, would highlight that, on the whole, external policy actors do appear to have a significant role in driving the Pakistani higher education sector through their involvement in the system which may be manifested through a host of modalities including:

- Technical advice and active consultations with the endogenous governors of the system;
- Provision of development aid and undertaking of education projects that can, at times, lead to system redesign;

- Undertaking management training for senior endogenous governors of the system;

One of the author's main contentions - following much literature review, five months of fieldwork and 43 interviews - is that the higher education system in Pakistan (and any nation, for that matter) must be able to continuously evolve and in order to do so, engage in a dialogue with itself. The lack of a locally grounded Academic Policy Community (as showcased in Chapter 5.1) in Pakistan's higher education sector has been a key take-away for the present author. While many accreditation bodies do exist in the sector, there appears to be extremely little in the way of power, influence, or research capacity within the broader stakeholder organizations that have a role in the sector's functioning and development (for example, faculty unions, students, members of political parties or the media, sector research councils, etc).

Since the system cannot have a dialogue with itself (given the absence of an endogenous policy community), the sector looks outside itself (namely to its funders/regulators, or international organizations). And since, much of the state-run governing apparatus of the higher education sector of Pakistan is also highly outward-focused (ex: as showcased through the HEC's ongoing consultations with external partners like the World Bank and USAID), external policy actors take on a larger role in driving the system than it would first appear. Indeed, among the many ironies of the HEC highlighted in this thesis has been, for example, the fact that while it is a buffer body, it controls Pakistani HEIs like a higher education department within a unitary, centralized state (like Russia or China). It also has appeared to maintain this level of control despite having most former Executive Directors (of the HEC) come from Pakistani academia.

External Policy Influences - Gauging the Impact of Central (Headquarters) Policy vs. Locally-Engaged Staff

I often found myself, while undertaking my research interviews with representatives of external policy actors, trying to understand the nuance between the policies/approaches/issues that were, perhaps, resulting from central headquarters vs. from the representative him/herself. For example, while speaking with the World Bank representative interviewed for this study, I wondered to what extent the views expressed were those of Washington where the bank is based, as opposed to the individual representative. Similarly, I wondered if the Asian Development Bank's representative was primarily representing his own views or those of senior bank staff in

Manila. Did the views from London find their way into the British Council interview I undertook in Islamabad, or those of the US State Department in the USAID interview? Bifurcating the personal views of locally engaged staff who work at international non-governmental organizations with the ‘official’ line of those same international non-governmental organizations is a difficult task. Perhaps it is wholly unfeasible to try and disentangle the personal views of the individual from professional allegiances in this way; nevertheless, the author has chosen to list this matter here as a perceived limitation of this study.

International Organizations’ Involvement in Pakistan’s Development - Beyond the HE Sector

The author would also like to highlight the possibility that a perceived lack of involvement by certain external policy actors in the Pakistani higher education sector, as raised within the ambit of this thesis, has no bearing whatsoever on that same IGO’s involvement in other sectors or areas of Pakistan. For example, it was noted in Chapter 5. 14. External Influences by Actor, that the UNDP was not a central actor in the development of Pakistan’s higher education sector. This does not, of course, imply that the UNDP is not engaged in Pakistan’s development; it simply suggests that the author’s data findings highlight that the UNDP is less engaged in the Pakistani HE sector.

Similarly, two regional cooperation bodies were cited in the same chapter (the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the Central Asian States Regional Cooperation (CASRC)) who are, again, not as involved in the Pakistani HE sector but are in, for example, in the development of transportation corridors, building roads, etc. In other words, the lack of an international organization’s involvement in the HE sector’s development, as highlighted in this thesis, should not be conflated with that same organization’s overall involvement in helping address Pakistan’s development needs. Indeed, one of this study’s research findings has been that external policy actors find policy niches in development sectors where they (the external actor) perceives it can have the greatest impact (read: bang for the development buck). In this sense, the author has often felt that there was an invisible hand (a la Adam Smith!) guiding the development work of international agencies.

System Reform Prescriptions - Identifying Dichotomies

One of the central dichotomies identified in the present study is that while Pakistan's higher education system today - by any measure - would be closer to a state-control model with a number of powers vested and actively exercised by the state regulator (the Higher Education Commission), the endogenous governors of the system still lean towards the state-supervisory model with a more laissez-faire approach, relaxing of bureaucratic state requirements and greater autonomy for institutions - as epitomized by many of the higher education institutions in the United States. Every individual and every actor appears to have an answer to the central question of what might the ideal governance arrangement for the Pakistani HE sector look like? However no two answers are the same.

The Pakistani HE sector appears to be buffeted by many winds - some historic and some contemporary. The ship struggles to stay afloat in the presence of such forces. From the gentle breezes of the historic colonial dependencies of the United Kingdom, to the more contemporary winds blowing from the shores of the United States, to the gale force winds of neo-liberalism and more recently, the forces of change resulting from a rapidly morphing relationship with China.

As we identified in section 6.2, the earlier incarnation of the state-regulatory body, the University Grants Commission (UGC) was seen as a weak, toothless body that was too laissez-faire and did not find ways to enhance the quality (read: output) of the system at the levels needed - as a result, the powers that be revised and morphed the state regulatory body into one that favoured an approach of state control (as seen by the remarkable array of functions controlled by the HEC (see Chapter 5.3) - an approach that may be characterized as highly interventionist.

A major dichotomy, then, that may be seen from the above discussion is that the endogenous and exogenous actors involved in the Pakistani HE system wish for quality outcomes not dissimilar to those exhibited by countries like the United States and United Kingdom, without concomitantly willing to leave major decision-making and control to the system itself. Elements of all three of Clark's (1983) authority distribution levels (the Continental, British and American models) are to be found in present-day Pakistan; however, there is a major exception: the presence of an academic oligarchy and policy community, as well

as elements of shared governance, appear to be largely missing.

People Matter

This thesis has suggested that understanding the governance preferences of the exogenous policy actors in the system may shed light on why things are the way they are. In other words, why do external policy actors active in developing countries support certain projects, ideal or norms over others? This thesis has not simply examined the statements and policy documents of external policy actors (the what) but has sought to get beneath the skin of these same policy actors to understand the reasons for certain types of decision-making tendencies (the why).

The author would suggest that while external policy actors are extremely complex and nuanced organizations (Collins and Rhoades (2010), Drake (2002), that they are, ultimately, run by individuals. Understanding the thought processes and - in the case of the present thesis especially - governance preferences of these individuals may allow us to better understand actual policy outcomes from the individuals who, broadly speaking, run programs, champion policies internally, and approve/shepherd project funding. Perhaps more so than anything else, the human element matters.

Linking Shared Governance to Consolidation of Liberal Democracies

Democracy theorists have argued that the creation of stable democracies can be traced on a continuum with simple, procedural, electoral democracies at one end of the spectrum, and matured, fully consolidated, liberal democracies at the other end. Linz and Stepan (1996) have argued that mature, liberal democracies require the existence of a 'democratic political culture' and the creation/development/supporting of secondary institutions. Such 'institutionalization' is also supported by other democratic theorists (Diamond, 1999). Processes, bureaucracy and regulations, while necessary and important, will not, by themselves provide the desired and necessary outcomes.

The existence of a culture of 'shared governance', as discussed several times in the present thesis, can be linked in the views of the author, to the process of deepening democratic consolidation. The data collected from both the endogenous and exogenous governors active in

the Pakistani higher education sector suggests that the sector has a large and outsized focus on following processes (SOPs), and not enough on the development of secondary institutions (a policy community or culture of shared governance), that could lead to further entrenchment and consolidation of existing gains. Such an approach risks continuing the promotion of a model of increased ‘outputs’ (ex: # of universities, enrolment rates, etc) without accompanying quality.

Indeed, one may even draw links to what many in academic community have called the Global Learning Crisis, whereby, it is claimed, the outsized focus over the past few decades on the access front [through major initiatives such as the Education for All (EFA) movements], has resulted in a concomitant loss on the quality front (Van der Gaag & Putcha, 2013; UNESCO, 2015). The access vs. quality conceptualization is similar to the inputs vs. outputs debate that has been considered in the context of this thesis. Without denying that all stakeholders in the Pakistani higher education community are highly interested in quality, I argue that the lack of shared governance in the Pakistani higher education enterprise risks compromising on the quality front. Without greater endogenous engagement in policy development (so commonplace in the Global North), gains may continue to be made on the access front without the necessary gains in quality. Arguably, such gains (if achieved) could ring hollow, and this is not a preferred future state for the Pakistani higher education sector that is desired by any stakeholder.

External Agencies: Public Profile vs. Actual Involvement

The author showcased early on in the present thesis that the publicly available information, pertaining to the involvement of exogenous actors, reveals, in reality, very little about their inner dealings with the endogenous actors within any given society. Publicly available information, especially that put forward by external agencies themselves (as opposed to, for example, critical scholarly literature) appears to be factual and bland - and, often, replete with technical information. It does not speak to, for example, details of the voices that were heard (or not) at consultations on a given policy agenda. Publicly available reports from external agencies often appear, furthermore, excessively sanitized and always seem to showcase a locally-driven agenda. This is, of course, in the interests of the external policy actor to promulgate since it does not wish to appear to be overly involved in driving domestic agendas.

This was highlighted, especially, in section 2.2 (The World Bank and Pakistan’s HE

sector), where the Bank's projects in Pakistan were reviewed (as available publicly online) since 1964. As noted in that section, this literature review of eleven separate projects revealed little about the involvement of external actors in arriving at the desired objectives. Sections 5.1-5.4, by contrast, provided a very different conceptual understanding of this actor's involvement in the domestic Pakistan HE system/context, as revealed by the study's data. The author would, therefore, simply note the dichotomy between the public profiles promulgated by external agencies themselves and caution against using these types of publicly available data to establish conclusions relating to the actual involvement of those same actors in domestic contexts.

External Agencies - Concentration of Major Actors

For the researcher, the lack of diversity of the major influential external actors has been striking. It would appear, based on the data evidence, that the Pakistani higher education sector has been largely impacted by only three major external actors (World Bank, USAID and the British Council) from a governance and policy perspective. It is apparent to the researcher that the external influence omnipresent in the system is far from diffuse and is, instead, highly concentrated within these three external actors alone.

Steiner-Khamsi (2012), for example, makes a central argument in her work that policy-makers in developing countries draw inspiration from a very limited number of knowledge banks such as the OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO. In explaining why this may be, Steiner-Khamsi suggests that policy-borrowing or lending in poorer nations is oftentimes a pre-condition for receiving aid. However, this argument has limited explanatory capacity in the Pakistani HE context where IOs appear to have large-scale influence despite not offering aid funding for many projects/initiatives. For example, in the context of USAID's Pre-Step Teacher Education Program, and the British Council's Modern University Governance program (both explored via case studies in Section 5.5) technical expertise and advice appears to have played a much larger role than did aid funding (such aid may have existed but was likely quite limited). Why might such IOs receive such resonance for their projects/ideas in the Pakistani HE context despite not having it accompanied by funding/aid? One answer might lie in the technical expertise of these IOs having out-sized influence due to the dearth of domestic expertise, policy discussions and norm entrepreneurship. In other words, the lack of a domestic policy community.

Absence of Policy Communities as Vacuums for External Influence

This dissertation has highlighted the impact of exogenous actors in the higher education sector of Pakistan through a multiplicity of angles and lenses. International organizations stimulate changes in domestic education policy making through a variety of levers and policy instruments by:

making use of five governance instruments, namely norm setting, opinion formation, financial means, coordinative activities, and consulting services. Since these instruments differ in their capacity to affect national policies, it is reasonable to assume that the degree of change in national policies also depends on available governance instruments (Windzio, Martens and Nagel, 2010, p. 261-2)

However, some have argued that international organizations, like the World Bank, while extremely active in this space, are not specifically geared to norm promotion (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998). Why do some IOs play a major role in the policy discourse in certain contexts while not in others? What makes some IOs more geared to norm promotion and agenda setting in certain contexts and not in others? These are important questions, especially in the context of this dissertation, with no easy answers. However, the beginning of a response to these questions could include an understanding of the domestic policy-making context and the existence (or not) of a domestic policy community.

Where policy communities exist and where endogenous NGOs, sector organizations, unions, student groups, and media outlets are active in issuing reports, providing statements/press releases, endogenous norm entrepreneurship will thrive. Where it does not exist, a vacuum for policy ideas is engendered, which may be, especially in the context of developing countries, filled by external organizations. In other words, domestic norm entrepreneurship and the participation of local actors in the policy discourse represents a bulwark against exogenous involvement. However, at this stage, the reader may ask if domestic policy/norm entrepreneurship is really preferable to external policy/norm entrepreneurship, especially when external actors like the World Bank lean on a breathtaking amount of expertise and comparative knowledge?

Again, there may not be an easy answer. Sadler, writing in 1900 had noted the importance of considering the local context when considering the introduction of educational reforms from one jurisdiction to another. In the view of the author, Sadler's views are as relevant

today as they were in 1900, despite the massive impact of globalization throughout the globe. Local solutions to local problems, it may be said, are better than transplanted solutions that worked well in one context, but may not in another. Who better to discuss, introduce, analyze, disseminate and adopt policy solutions and reform prescriptions than those most familiar with the local context? It is in this vein of reasoning that the author suggests that domestic policy communities are so critical: they allow for local, considered solutions to be born, which may be better suited for the local context. Pakistan's domestic (endogenous) policy community should play a bigger role in sectoral governance than it does now, allowing the external (exogenous) actors to take a step back.

How can the development of a policy community help in improving sector governance? A couple of examples from the Canadian context may prove illustrative. As recently as February 2019, in the Canadian province of Ontario, a sector faculty association issued a report on the present state of governance at Ontario universities. The report, titled, "Collegial governance at Ontario universities – Report of the OCUFA University Governance Committee", touched on many governance themes and will, no doubt, influence stakeholders within the Ontario HE sector for years to come.¹⁴ Such independent research dissemination is a key role of effective policy communities and is, in the view of the author, conspicuously absent in the Pakistani HE context where external policy actors, instead of internal ones, play a major role in influencing the sector's trajectory.

Similarly, as recently as March 8, 2019, in a press release regarding an upcoming meeting of the Canadian University Boards Association (CUBA) (an umbrella group of all individuals holding positions on university boards across Canada), Queen's University President Daniel Woolf speaks to the nature of the governance challenges CUBA's annual conference would address:

Others have to do with universities' relations with governments, especially provincial governments, where

¹⁴ For example, the OCUFA report suggested the following goals it hoped would result from its report, including: "We are hoping that our data and institutional comparisons can play a role in addressing many of the controversial issues about university governing bodies and practices. Upon conclusion of our research mandate, the OCUFA University Governance Committee will build on the research results to focus on developing a resource document which would outline OCUFA's principles of collegial governance and be used as the basis for an OCUFA policy statement. The committee will also produce an internal "members resource" offering strategies and tools for enhancing collegial governance on university campuses." (p.9, OCUFA)

the extent of provincial intrusion into the autonomy of university Boards, and to some degree Senates, has increased in recent years.....Governments in some jurisdictions will sometimes seek to bypass presidents and go directly to Boards and their Chairs, which creates further problems. (Queen's University, 2019)

No doubt, the 2019 CUBA conference will result in a university sector in Canada that is better informed of governance challenges facing it in the future, and in a sector that advocates more effectively with government as well.

On Cognitive Locks in the Pakistani HE Sector

Some authors (Menahem, 2008; Blyth, 2001) have touched on what has been termed cognitive locks to explain the nature of policy transfer/diffusion (or associated lack thereof) in various sectors. For example, (Menahem, 2008) highlights the important role of ideational transfer, pushed forward by policy entrepreneurs (in her words), in effecting change in the Israeli higher education system in the 1990s. She argues that such policy entrepreneurs played a crucial role in advancing path-breaking institutional change when they re-framed policies through linking cognitive ideas of “what has to be done” with the normative ideas that granted legitimacy to the proposals for reform.

The concept of cognitive locks can be applied in the context of the present dissertation in understanding several normative ideas, so prevalent in the Pakistani higher education sector. For example, as identified through the study's findings, the complete lack of student activism can be seen as a cognitive lock, as can the lack of shared governance. A further cognitive lock is that ideas for reform can only come from exogenous actors. Menahem identified the role of domestic policy entrepreneurs in her study on Israel. In the case of Pakistan, such a dearth of domestic (endogenous) policy entrepreneurs can be said to further curtail ideational diffusion, and prevent the unlocking of the aforementioned cognitive locks.

Towards a Holistic Understanding of External Policy Influences in Pakistani Higher Education

The involvement of external policy actors in developing countries has been ongoing for some time and does not appear to show any signs of abating; indeed, as long as differences exist between nations that are in the core and those that remain on the periphery (Altbach, 1977) external policy actors such as international non-governmental organizations will continue to

function in that important, yet nebulous, grey space, that lies at the borders of the core and the periphery.

This dissertation has outlined some of the ways that external actors play a role in the Pakistani HE sector, including from a historic, system-design angle (6.3: Case Studies), provided a typology of influence (Section 5.3) and identified some of the key external actors in the system (Section 5.4). We have seen that external policy actors do appear to have a significant role in impacting on the Pakistani HE sector, as discussed above.

How should we understand this involvement? The study's main goals were to elucidate the nature and extent of the involvement of external actors, but can we also, in this concluding chapter, offer some final thoughts as to the benefits or drawbacks of their involvement? In some ways, the study has amply problematized and critiqued the involvement of external actors (ex: Section 5.3 critiqued the promotion of external scholarships as a form of tied-aid). However, the underlying nature of involvement of external actors should be considered holistically, taking into account the benefits that they provide, as well as the drawbacks of their involvement.

There should be little doubt in the mind of most readers that a significant portion of the responsibility for provision of educational services lies on the shoulders of the nation state. In the case of Pakistan, for example, when the state is unable to provide access to quality higher education who should we hold accountable? Keohane (2005) suggests that in order to hold states accountable for their actions (or lack thereof), we need more multilateral governance, not less. Similarly, the cosmopolitan worldview (Held, 2003) holds that we need more multilateralism and shared global governance, not less. Mundy (2012), further, champions the need for a multiplicity of actors in the global governance of education. Koenig-Archibugi (2010) suggests the need to bring into the discussion a polycentric lens of understanding educational decision-making that takes into account a variety on non-state actors. Such competing normative ways of understanding the broadening of the education space appears to, almost, constitute a greater democratization of the field; indeed, it constitutes moving away from an understanding of the responsibility for education lying solely on the shoulders of the state. Does this imply that we need more external involvement by exogenous actors in the Pakistani HE sector?

I hold that the promotion of greater multilateral governance in education is an intrinsic good in and of itself, and that using a cosmopolitan and constructivist lens, the inclusion of a

multiplicity of actors in this space is wholly beneficial. A concordant move away from a realist understanding of state sovereignty being paramount is espoused by the present author. However, I also critique the involvement of external actors in the Pakistani HE sector, at times, during the course of the present dissertation. How can the researcher, on the one hand, champion greater multilateral governance in education and yet critique the involvement of external actors in effecting system change at the same time?

In the same way that, I view the involvement of external policy actors (in Pakistan) as constituting an opening up of the education sector to greater accountability and system improvement, I also view the lack of endogenous voices in the Pakistani HE sector as deeply troubling. I suggest that the involvement of external actors works best when the internal actors they engage with also stand on, more or less, some measure of equal footing, i.e. mutuality. Since this is clearly not the case, due in particular to the lack of domestic epistemic communities and endogenous interest-articulation constituencies in the Pakistani HE sector, the external policy actors that do play a role in the system, tend to have their influence, somewhat magnified.

In attempting to better understand the nature and extent of external involvement in Pakistan, the author posits that a need for a holistic comprehension would have us acknowledge, the paucity of endogenous expertise, funding, and above all, voice on one end of the spectrum, and the extraordinary abundance of the same among exogenous actors. Perhaps the very last thing this study seeks to suggest or advocate for is that external actors should lessen, or outright, disengage, from the Pakistani HE sector. Instead, I argue for, simply, greater voice for the endogenous policy actors within the Pakistani HE sector, through the development of, in particular, a robust endogenous policy community and a culture of shared governance.

The introductory chapter of this dissertation raised the issue of mutuality, a key concept that is germane to the present thesis as it is also complementary to the ideals of cosmopolitanism. I stated, in section 1.6, that this thesis aimed to aid in the future interactions between the endogenous and exogenous policy actors to take place in an environment with greater mutuality. Mutuality, can be viewed as a conceptual ideology whose roots, as Leng (2015) explains, lie in World Order Models Project (WOMP) scholarship and Galtung's structural theory of imperialism. Indeed, Galtung's concept of mutuality is complementary to Held's (2003) four principles of cosmopolitanism, comprised of equity, autonomy, solidarity and participation

(Leng, 2015: 107). As applied within the context of the present dissertation, the conceptual framework of mutuality would have us see the lack of endogenous policy communities in the Pakistani HE context as evidence of a lack of genuine mutuality between the endogenous and the exogenous policy actors active in the system today.

Joe Farrell (2007), in reviewing the impact of basic education reform programs on equality of education (over half a century), noted that educational gains - where achieved - see greater explanatory resonance due to domestic economic growth rather than the reform programs themselves. Farrell identified the fact that the early views of the 60s that educational reform and expansion would be a panacea for developing nations did not materialize as intended; rather, in the 70s it became clear that such educational reforms seldom had the effect intended and, in some cases, worsened equality of outputs. Nevertheless, Farrell acknowledged the value of some ground-breaking reform programs that had significant impacts on the system, such as the Escuela Nueva program in Chile, the MECE Rural Program in Chile, and the Aga Khan Schools in Pakistan.

Farrell's hypothesis that educational gains can be helped by educational reform programs in some cases, but that, by and large educational gains have more to do with domestic factors (such as increasing economic growth) has particular resonance for this dissertation. I acknowledge, like Farrell, that the involvement of external stimuli (such as educational reform programs) can help in many cases spur positive system change, but, like Farrell, I too believe that real and most importantly, sustained, educational gains can only be achieved through domestic action. As applied to the present thesis, Farrell's insights would have us view, to use some examples, the impact of the World Bank's foreign aid, the British Council's governance training programs, or the USAID's teacher training reform initiatives as being positive and helpful, but not sustainable. In a nation as immense as Pakistan, while the exogenous can help, it must be through the strengthening of the endogenous forces that purposeful gains will be achieved.

The Way Forward

In 2009, while on a graduate student exchange in Ghana, I was gifted with a necklace with the image of a Sankofa. The Sankofa symbol is that of a bird carrying an egg in its beak,

with its head turned backwards while its feet face forward. The meaning of the image, as explained to me then, was to always look back at where you have come (your past) in order to move forward (towards your future). I wore this necklace for years and only later understood how much symbolism it carried. For example, part of the Sankofa's meaning, is to learn from the past what is good and bringing it into the present in order to move forward through the use of knowledge.

Indeed, today, the Sankofa symbol is used in many different contexts in many different parts of the world, and is particularly widespread, (outside of the African continent) in the United States, where it has come to be associated African-American histories, cultures and worldviews. In some ways, this study has allowed me to implement elements of the Sankofa philosophy within myself. For example, I looked back at my roots growing up in Pakistan to reflect on ways that I could help this country move forward through the creation of new knowledge. I hope I have, at least partially, succeeded.

As applied to the present thesis, the Sankofa philosophy would ask us to remember where we came from to understand better where we should go in the future. This study began with the premise that Pakistan's higher education system had suffered from much historical neglect, and continued to experience forms of malaise that seemed to prevent its upward progress. The system's governance, in particular, was identified as a significant barrier to development. Given the long-standing involvement of external actors in the system, the study sought to understand the nature of external policy influences in the Pakistani higher education system.

The study looked at a host of matters related to governance and external policy influences (Chapters 5 and 6), and identified that external policy influences were indeed pervasive and present in the system and that the exogenous and endogenous actors do not always see eye-to-eye. This has resulted, in the view of the author, in a mismatch of policy prescriptions at times. What might, therefore, be a suggested way forward emanating from the present study? What can it offer in terms of real solutions rather than simply an exploration of the issues (as important as that is)?

The findings of this study hold that the development of a robust policy community is needed within the Pakistani higher education sector that communicates effectively within itself,

and responds in a collective, organized manner when required. In order to reach such a preferred future, Section 7.3 (Policy Recommendations) makes several suggestions and recommendations for consideration by the reader. As a result, this study advocates for ongoing future dialogue between the endogenous and exogenous actors in the Pakistani HE sector that is characterized by genuine mutuality - a state that will only be possible to reach through the development of an effective and inclusive domestic policy community.

7.2: Policy Recommendations

Introduction

Clark (1983) highlighted that the original functions intended to be carried out by a buffer body (like the University Grants Commission (UGC) in the United Kingdom) was to provide a mechanism whereby government involvement in the affairs of academia could be limited by having an intermediary body between universities/colleges on the one hand and government on the other. It was felt that having bureaucratic management of institutions like universities by government was wholly inappropriate; however, providing simple lump-sum (block-grant) funding without government oversight over dispensation of taxpayer funds was not seen as being ideal, either. Therefore, a compromise was found in the development of a buffer-body approach; one that could represent the interests of academia to government and convey governmental requirements to academia. The importance of academic oligarchy in the buffer body model is seen clearly in Clark's writing:

National systems not strictly organized as state systems are likely to depend heavily on the many ways that academic oligarchy can link persons, groups and institutions. When institutions are funded mainly by government, academics normally first seek the privileged autonomy of a direct and unfettered lump-sum grant from the national treasury to the individual institution - leave it on the stump please - with past commitments and budgets guaranteeing an adequate sum. But once coordination in some formal sense becomes probable, as it has virtually everywhere, the common second preference is to have a buffer body that "understands the institutions," is "sympathetic to their needs", and will represent them to government. (Clark, 1983: 140-1)

Many countries around the world having inherited British colonial traditions have continued with the idea of a buffer body; for example, countries like India (which included Pakistan at the time of independence) and Australia, continued with this state institution after Independence – even

calling it by the same name: the University Grants Commission. Pakistan was no exception and continued with the UGC after its own independence in 1947. Uniformly, though, it was felt that the Pakistani UGC became ineffective as Pakistan's higher education sector did not seem to make upwards progress year after year. For decades, Pakistan's higher education sector suffered from poor outputs as measured by low postsecondary enrollments, graduates, research, and institutional standings in world rankings.

If we recall the original functioning and design of the UGC (as mentioned above) we can immediately understand the central role for academia (academic oligarchy, to use Clark's terminology) within the buffer body enterprise. Such academic oligarchy was strong and well established in the United Kingdom at the time the UGC was set-up there; not so necessarily in the countries that 'inherited' the UGC model/tradition. Therefore, at least in the eyes of the author, the buffer body governance mechanism was adopted and implemented in former colonies that did not themselves necessarily boast of a central 'precondition' of the buffer body approach: a strong tradition of academic oligarchy, shared governance and academic collegiality.

It is the contention of the author that the lack of strong traditions of academic oligarchy resulted in the design and set-up of a Pakistani University Grants Commission in 1947 that had nothing to buffer against – since the academic enterprise in Pakistan did not dispense of the same traditions of power sharing between scholars and chairs that were – for example – epitomized through the academic traditions developed over extensive periods of time in the United Kingdom (especially the Oxbridge model). This resulted in a mismatch of governance prescriptions: a buffer body model for countries that did not require it in the first place. The return to a stronger state-controlled model (as per the morphing of the Pakistani UGC into the HEC in 2002) marked this return to – it may be said – a natural governing paradigm wholly appropriate for a system yet to develop traditions of academic oligarchy.

The turn to the HEC in 2002 has resulted in a body that is a buffer-body 'in name only' - rather, its extensive oversight and regulatory functions (referred to in earlier chapters) lends itself to a state-controlled model that would be more at home in countries like Russia or China that are unitary, centrally-controlled, than it would in Pakistan. Given the proliferation of real concerns in the sector – financial mismanagement, corruption, academic dishonesty, fake degrees and poor quality – perhaps, such tighter controls are wholly necessary for the system to mature

and become more adept at self-regulating.

Perhaps – then – effective self-regulation and the development of ‘norms’ of academic oligarchy could be seen as ultimate goals for system development. Stable funding with arms-length control – yet, with strong outcomes emanating from the sector’s own, internal self-regulation. In order to reach such a stage of effective self-regulation, I submit that the Pakistani HE sector may wish to become more ‘organized’: in the sense of the development of mechanisms of internal dialogue, governance, accreditation and oversight. The HEC, as a state-run regulator, does not and will never have all the answers. Yet, without the sector’s own further internal organizing, the sector will be doomed to oscillate between the extremes of a laissez-faire approach that leaves it to flounder on it’s own without sufficient oversight, or to extensive government overreach.

The author has highlighted elsewhere in the present thesis that the lack of a fulsome endogenous policy community results in a sector that is overtly outward-facing; looking for solutions from without, rather than from within. Such external policy influences will likely continue to exercise an out-sized influence on the Pakistani higher education sector without the development of tools for effective self-governance and self-regulation. The recommendations given below are those the author would proffer keeping the following three goals in mind:

- Increased sectoral maturity, with a greater ability to self-regulate;
- Development of a robust, endogenous, policy community;
- Development of a tradition of academic oligarchy in the Pakistani context

(1) Training Institute for University Management

This thesis has primarily concerned itself with two main themes related to the higher education sector of Pakistan: (1) sectoral governance, and (2) impact of external actors. The Discussion and Conclusion sections of the thesis - based on the research findings - have highlighted the author’s main contention of the lack of an internal (endogenous) policy community in the Pakistani context. One of the policy recommendations that may help to mitigate, in the views of the author, the risks associated with the lack of domestic, home-grown sectoral expertise is the development of an indigenous training academy for Pakistani academia. Such an idea also emanated from the views and feedback proffered from the study participants some of whom noted the positive benefits such an institution could bring to the Pakistani

academic enterprise in terms of imparting management and governance knowledge, specifically geared to the sector. Consider the thoughts of the following senior HEC representative on the importance of training for academic leaders:

INTERVIEWER: I believe that you have an HEC body undertaken certain programs to improve governance. And I believe there is one that I can think of specifically, MUG program, the Modern University Governance program. I believe you had taken VCs to places like England in order to showcase best practices. Can I ask you to talk about how the HEC tries to so to speak, empower improvement governance at universities?

PARTICIPANT: I think, in my opinion its not the right way. In my point of view, before appointing the vice chancellor, they should have a 3 months or 6 months training. Maybe overseas, maybe in Pakistan. If we have institutions to improve their leadership, improve their decision-making capabilities...Then either this could be here in Pakistan or it could be anywhere in the world. Maybe US, maybe Turkey, UK....there's a hell of a difference between academia andcivil servants (Higher Education Commission (HEC) Representative, Male, Islamabad)

The above-excerpted HEC representative acknowledges the differential needs of academic leaders versus managers in other sectors of society noting the real differences between governing an academic enterprise and other types of management training. This HEC representative appears open to the idea of training being provided locally or outside Pakistan, however, what is most striking to the researcher is the sheer amount of time suggested for training (three to six months) Other participants in the researcher's present study highlighted the fact that specific training academies and institutes exist in Pakistan already for specific sectors¹⁵. However, no such academy exists within academia. One participant suggested broadening the scope of management of and governance training and spoke to a proposal submitted to the Pakistani government for such an academy/institute:

This country needs the National University for Governance and Management. I actually sat down with Dr. Salman Shah¹⁶ and a group of other people, we sent a proposal to the Pakistan Army that why don't you finance it because your security challenges will not be handled by the way that the economy is being run at the moment. We actually designed a very interesting program for them as well, I even took parts of it, but they did not accept the idea. (University Dean, Public Sector, Male, Lahore)

Modules developed and imparted by the Institute should also include mandatory courses for newly inducted Board Members (including Board of Governors, Board of Trustees and Syndicates). Potentially, representatives from a multiplicity of sectors and backgrounds stand to

¹⁵ The Pakistan Civil Services Academy (CSA) in Lahore imparts training to newly inducted civil servants, while the National Defence University (NDU) in Islamabad imparts training to new military recruits.

¹⁶ Former Finance Minister of Pakistan

benefit: if the trainees come from academia, they will need to better understand management techniques for example, and if they come from the private sector, they must learn about the needs of the academic enterprise including concepts such as academic freedom, etc. Such courses/training modules, could include the following components as a preliminary suggested list:

- Historical Development of Higher Education in Pakistan;
- Fiduciary Responsibility of Governing Boards;
- Academic Freedom and Institutional Autonomy;
- Checks and Balances between Institutional Governing Bodies;
- Regulation of the Higher Education Sector – Federal and Provincial

Taking a page from the Canadian context, for the purposes of comparison, the role of postsecondary governing boards is considered crucial enough for a body to exist that is charged with imparting the learning, development and training so very important for members of governing boards to properly undertake their duties. This body, the Canadian University Boards Association (CUBA), has existed since 1987 and:

“exists to improve the governance of Canadian universities by providing a forum for members of governing boards and board professionals to exchange of information about effective governance in higher education. The association promotes and supports the development of policies and programs that enhance the ability of university boards to discharge their fiduciary duties in an accountable way. The association holds an annual conference for board chairs, vice chairs and board professionals each spring.” (About, Canadian University Boards Association; n.d.)

If such a body merits existence for approximately 97 universities in a nation of 32million people, one may argue that it certainly should exist in Pakistan, a nation with 193 HEIs and well over 200million people (arguing, simply, on the merit of numbers alone). It should be noted that such a training institute could also impart training to both staff and management at the Pakistani HEC. It is certain that the strengthening and further development of policy capacity at the main governing nucleus for the HE sector of Pakistan (the federal HEC) could be a positive and welcome development for the sector as a whole. However, as is noted in the next recommendation (#2 below), it is also suggested that the development of independent policy expertise and capacity through a HE research agency could pay large dividends to the Pakistani HE sector.

In conclusion, the development of an indigenous training facility for Pakistan's ever-expanding higher education sector could offer benefits well beyond the training provided. It could serve as a bulwark against deepening encroachment and involvement of external actors within Pakistan's HE sector; the local governors, being trained and informed on matters related to governance in the academic sector, do not need to look outside Pakistan for such expertise and instead it would be locally provided and locally grounded. Such an institute would also mitigate the need to send academic leaders abroad on study trips and for training workshops; funding thus saved could be reinvested in such an indigenous training institute.

In fact, it appears that steps in this direction are already being taken. In an August 2018 news article, the Chairman of the Pakistani HEC suggests that preliminary steps are being taken for the the development of a "National Academy of Higher Education (NAHE)":

The Higher Education Commission (HEC) Pakistan plans to set up an academy to impart benchmark training to academic and non-academic staff at universities, commission Chairman Dr Tariq Banuri has said. During a meeting with United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Mission Director Jerry Bisson at the Commission Secretariat, Dr Banuri said the commission aimed at establishing a National Academy of Higher Education (NAHE). The HEC academy will provide trainings for newly-inducted and in-service faculty members and administrative staff working in universities across the country. The HEC Academy will also help discover potential academic leadership. (Academia Magazine; August 2018)

Of course, this development is extremely welcome news for the present author. The development of a National Academy of Higher Education, especially one available to both academic and administrative staff is aligned with the findings of the data in the present thesis. However, the author would be remiss if he did not note the fact that the possibility of developing such an institute was made in a meeting with representatives of USAID - a development wholly in keeping with the large-scale influence and impact of this particular external policy actor highlighted in Chapter 5.14. The suggestion for the eventual development of a training institute for university management (a so-called National Academy of Higher Education (NAHE)) provides a natural segue into our next policy recommendation: the development of a Higher Education Research Agency for Pakistan (HERA).

(2) Higher Education Research Agency (HERA) of Pakistan

The author proposes that there is a need for indigenous solutions for the local problems currently affecting Pakistan and that the creation, funding and development of a small body to conduct research specifically focused on the higher education sector of Pakistan could provide great future dividends. The author proposes the creation of a purely advisory and consultative body – to be named the Higher Education Research Agency of Pakistan (HERA), to undertake an annual program of research on the higher education sector of Pakistan writ large.

Critically, such a body should be asked – as a mandatory requirement of all research it conducts – to solicit the views of segments of society which the higher education sector touches in some way, including: faculty, students, industry, university management, members of federal and provincial governments, and members from the HEC. It's body of research could include themes such as “Quality Enhancement of Pakistani universities”, “Industry-Academia Linkages”, “Gender Equality in Pakistani Universities”, “International Students in Pakistan - A State of the Field”, “Student Unions in Pakistan”, etc. It's reports should be sent to all concerned stakeholders, and officially tabled as consultation documents with the Higher Education Commission.

At the present time, it appears consultations with Pakistani universities are conducted on an ad-hoc basis through committees and symposiums. The development of such a duly-constituted formal body (HERA) would institutionalize the idea of ongoing consultation and research to enhance the sector's development and allow it to not rest solely on the shoulders of the HEC. The author furthermore proposes that the HERA's funding be derived partly from the HEC 50%, and partly 50% from the public and private sector universities throughout Pakistan so that there is ownership from both sides over the functioning of this organization. Importantly, the author suggests that a strong rationale may be seen for the housing of such an indigenous higher education research body within the same building/facilities as a potential training institute for university management, including for reasons of cost-savings/economies of scale, and for the possible cross-pollination of ideas/research between trainers and participants at the Institute/Academy, and those undertaking organizing research on the sector.

(3) Vice-Chancellor's Council

During my fieldwork in Pakistan, there were few references to internal organizing on the part of institutions (universities and colleges). Occasional references were made to a Vice-Chancellor's Committee (the Committee), but several limitations of the present set-up and design of this latter structure were immediately apparent. These included: (i) the fact that the Committee seemed to only meet in response to HEC requests and less of its own volition (reactive to government, rather than proactive), (ii) the Committee did not seem to have any funding or broader organizational infrastructure (offices, website, staff) to support it, (iii) it did not seem to have an annual conference, or convene regular symposia on its own, and (iv) it did not seem to be develop any reports, maintaining databases, and undertaking independent advocacy with government. For this reason, the present policy recommendation contains ideas for strengthening this important mechanism for internal communication and dialogue - one that already exists - within the Pakistani HE sector.

The author proposes that the current Committee, as it presently exists become a shared-membership organization – a Council. In this sense, the present recommendation involves a deeper consolidation of infrastructure (the Committee) that already exists within the Pakistani HE sector. Such a Vice-Chancellor's Council, with basic pooled funding from all degree-granting institutions in Pakistan, may easily be able to house a small permanent secretariat. Such a secretariat, could be asked to undertake the various activities and develop the infrastructure identified above that is presently absent in the current Committee setup. The formation of a Vice-Chancellor's Council also has positive implications for the development of stronger domestic endogenous policy communities, policy networks and epistemic communities. Importantly, such a Council would allow for Council members to learn from each other - compare notes and identify best practices germane to Pakistan, instead of being reliant on external sources of ideas, norms, and expertise. While advocacy to government may be an important component of the work undertaken by such a Vice-Chancellor's Council, first and foremost, the Council would help to serve in furthering dialogue, collaboration and information sharing within the Pakistani HE sector.

(4) On Clarification of Federal vs. Provincial Responsibilities

As noted in Section 4.7, the matter of ongoing and wide-spread confusion between the federal and provincial levels of government in Pakistan is a real and shared concern. While study participants often had diverse views to share on the type of role that was appropriate for each level of government (federal vs. provincial), what was unanimously voiced by participants is the lack of clarity that the 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan has engendered in the local context. On matters ranging from state funding for HEIs to submission of accountability reports – the 18th Amendment has led to more questions than answers, despite having been promulgated almost eight years ago.

As the 18th Amendment looks like it is here to stay, a particularly important goal to assist the Pakistani HE sector might be to ensure that the provincial and federal governments of Pakistan clarify the roles and responsibilities of the federal versus the provincial Higher Education Commissions. Consider the case of universities in Pakistan's most populous province: Punjab. Institutions located in this province have both the Punjab Higher Education Commission (PHEC) as well as the Federal Higher Education Commission as regulatory oversight authorities. Both senior endogenous institutional governors, as well as representatives of exogenous policy actors highlighted the difficulty of understanding where jurisdictional authority for the sector resides.

If we examine, the actual text of the 18th Amendment, it appears that the revised Pakistani Constitution makes little mention of higher education, except in areas where non-domestic concerns are involved. For example, Article 70 (4) of the Pakistani Constitution highlights the following two areas as responsibilities of the federal government:

- 3- (External affairs; the implementing of treaties and agreements, including educational and cultural pacts and agreements)
- 16 - Federal agencies and institutes for the following purposes, that is to say, for research, for professional or technical training, or for the promotion of special studies;
- 17 - Education as respects Pakistani students in foreign countries and foreign students in Pakistan (Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 2012: 201-2)

Guidance, therefore, on the appropriate spheres of control and responsibility are not quite spelled out in the text of the Amendment or the Constitution. Rather, it appears that all legislative

responsibilities not fully spelled out in the Constitution, are accorded to the provinces of Pakistan. Education, hence, becomes the domain of the provincial governments ipso facto. A need for further clarification is very much needed as it has been the researcher's experience (and, it is suggested, amply documented in section 4.7) that the lack of clarity is actively impeding the upwards progress of the sector. Such clarity over the appropriate locus of control should be laid out in the form of a written document, perhaps under the auspices of the Council of Common Interest (CCI).¹⁷

(5) On the Reinstatement of Student Unions

The status of student unions in Pakistan remains the subject of much debate. Section 5.4 highlighted the endogenous and exogenous participants' views with regard to this important sector of the academic enterprise. Pakistan's experience with student unions is, in the eyes of the author, a historical aberration that needs to be corrected and revised. It is, quite simply, not in Pakistan's best interests to continue to deprive another generation of young, gifted students with the potential leadership training and organizing skills that student unions provide. Similarly, the Pakistani state and its society writ large, cannot afford to let another generation not have the opportunity to voice their legitimate views, concerns through legitimate organizing via student unions. Section 5.4 spoke to the strong, traditional, historical involvement of student groups in societies ranging from Latin America to France. Student unions have often been at the forefront of societal change. Their potential positive role in the ongoing development of Pakistan's higher education sector is, it must be said, non-existent. Furthermore, in the context of external policy influences in the Pakistani higher education sector, the lack of student voices and involvement constitutes another 'nail on the coffin' of an indigenous policy community,

The evidence and data collected for this thesis (drawing on the views of senior sectoral leaders) suggests some strong reservations on the part of institutions against student organizing. These are legitimate concerns and should be taken seriously. Pakistani institutions, and Pakistani society on the whole, contends with major security issues, ethnic strife, general poverty and

¹⁷ The Council of Common Interest (CCI) is a statutory body under the Constitution that brings the Prime Minister and all Provincial Chief Ministers to a joint table for the main purpose of resolving matters of power sharing and legislative authority in Pakistan.

societal inequalities; such underlying ‘social malaise’, it would appear, may be able to find an outlet in the form of student unions. However, instead of continuing to damn the flow of ideas from this segment of Pakistan’s society, the author suggests using a phased-in approach where student organizing and student unions are introduced back to Pakistan under strict controls and regulations. For example, there may be merit in developing strong federal HEC-promulgated guidelines against disruptive organizing. There may also need to be consideration given to the development of a ‘student-union’ module (perhaps developed under the auspices of the above-mentioned Institute/Academy for University Management) for newly inducted student leaders to be delivered once a year at each university following student elections to outline the historic roles of student groups in the Pakistani context, their banning and re-reinstatement, the impacts students have had on the national discourse in select comparator countries, and on best practices related to financial management (of student funds/ancillary fees).

(6) On Differentiation

Finally, another major policy recommendation emanating from the author’s fieldwork in the Pakistani context has been the suggestion for greater differentiation among Pakistani HEIs by the state/provincial regulators. At the present time, it would appear that HEIs in Pakistan are treated in more or less similar regulatory fashion with reporting requirements and the need to follow certain policies (for example, the establishment of ORIC and QEC units). It is almost certain that the regulatory authorities do implement different criteria based on the type of institution (for example, public vs. private - or a small, urban, liberal arts college vs. a large, research intensive university), however, this does not appear to be done on a basis that is differentiated enough. Implementing the same (or similar) regulatory requirements for all institutions may be egalitarian but it is most certainly not efficient.

Greater differentiation has a link to sectoral governance. Those HEIs performing well on certain KPIs, when relieved of their regulatory burden, may find themselves free to innovate, develop new linkages and, thereby, better their outputs. In one of my interviews, the President of a well-established, public sector university in Karachi suggested that instead of requesting the same reports from elite institutions as they do for early-stage, high-risk institutions, a regulatory body like the HEC could have a differentiated approach where they are employing a different

toolkit for emerging institutions and a wholly different approach for established institutions.

Consider the following:

Well as I said. You would find me answering all of the questions the same way which is I think we have enough incentives to maintain high quality standards and we do that. Therefore having some sort of detailed guide from HEC saying you must fill this out every year and report to us, and how you maintain quality, we find that unnecessary. But at the same time, I can accept the general argument that you do not wish the system as a whole to be producing low quality output then certain minimum quality standards have to be imposed. Unfortunately all of these happen within bureaucratic structures and it's not the principle one finds difficult, it's the implementation of that by bureaucratic bodies. So departments of the agencies, they write every few weeks to get this information and that information.... I can see in principle the need for quality regulation but I also think that that ought to be, in an ideal world it would be done on case by case basis. Some universities would get a lot of intervention and others would simply be left on their own. We know you are a decent university, you've got your reputation to worry about, we know you are not going to be doing funny stuff like handing out too many degrees or not caring about A's and B's, a sort of a low grading standard as well. (University President, Public Sector, Male, Karachi)

Indeed, when compared in holistic fashion to governance modalities employed by other nations for their HE sectors, one might find that the Pakistani state offers a model of state control for its degree-granting HEIs (both public and private), that is similar to one employed for private career colleges (for-profit) in contexts such as the United States and Canada.

Section Summary

Harkening back to the author's main goals as outlined in the Introductory chapter, system improvement is - perhaps - the ultimate goal for the present work. The above six policy recommendations constitute some suggestions, ideas and mechanisms that may lead to greater sectoral maturity, the development of traditions of a policy community, and the ability to effectively self-regulate in the context of the Pakistani higher education sector.

7.3: Suggestions for Future Research

This study has consisted principally in an examination of external policy influences in the Pakistani higher education sector. Several avenues for future research present themselves related to this academic vein of study.

An examination of the overall nature of external policy influences in the elementary and secondary education sectors might serve to provide an interesting juxtaposition to the present

study. While some studies have examined the nature of external influences in the Pakistani HE sector, (Ahsan 2005; Ali, 2012), these have been small in scope with narrower foci (for example, Ahsan focuses on bilateral aid only, while Ali focuses on policy borrowing only). A broader holistic examination of a multiplicity of actors involved in the Pakistani K-12 sector (multilateral and bilateral actors), as well as a range of influence modalities (aid, technical assistance, consulting, etc), might provide interesting and fruitful results for academicians and policy-makers alike. Such a study may integrate, in addition, the broader impact of global education frameworks (Jomtien, Education for All (EFA), Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), in the Pakistani elementary and secondary education context.

Another vein of scholarly research that may be undertaken in the future, arising out of the present study, is a comparative examination of what role the lack of domestic policy communities has on exogenous involvement in developing countries. Could, for example, one develop a measure or index of the health of an endogenous policy community (including, domestic coalitions, interest groups, program constituencies, epistemic communities, unions, etc.) and apply it in a comparative fashion across developing countries? A hypothesis that could, then, be examined in future research may include the following: what correlation does the presence, or not, of healthy endogenous policy communities have on the level of involvement of exogenous actors across developing countries?

Better understanding the nature of the higher education epistemic community in the context of Pakistan would also be a fruitful line of future research emanating from the present study. Haas' (1992) contention that intersubjective normative beliefs and principles are shared among members of the same epistemic community could be further examined in the context of Pakistan's HE sector. This could be done by, for example, seeking a better understanding of the moral preferences between the governing members of Pakistan's HE sector and determining, to what extent, their backgrounds, professions, disciplines, levels of affluence or social prestige, and the sources of knowledge they privilege are shared with those non-governing members of Pakistan's HE sector, such as students, faculty members, community development organizations, etc.

References

- Academia Magazine. (2018) *HEC academy for training university faculty in the offing?* Retrieved from: <https://academiamag.com/hec-academy-training-faculty/>.
- Ahsan, M. (2005). Politicization of bilateral aid and educational development in Pakistan. *Educational Studies*. 31(3), 235-250. doi:10.1080/03055690500237538
- Albrecht, D. & Ziderman, A. (1992). *Funding mechanisms for higher education: financing for stability, efficiency, and responsiveness*. World Bank Discussion Papers; # 153. (Washington: World Bank).
- Ali, Sajid. (2012). Education policy borrowing in Pakistan: Public-private partnerships. In G. Donn & Y. A. Manthri (Eds.), *Education in the broader Middle East: Borrowing a baroque arsenal* (pp. 23-40). Oxford: Symposium Books.
- Altaf, S. W. (2011). *So Much Aid, So Little Development: Stories from Pakistan*. Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore, USA.
- Altbach, P. (1977). Servitude of the mind? education, dependency and neocolonialism. *Teacher's College Record*. (79; 469-493).
- Altinyelken, H. & Verger, A. (2013) Global managerial education reforms and teachers: emerging policies, controversies and issues in developing countries. *Education International*. Brussels, Belgium.
- Asian Development Bank (n.d) *Data library: Pakistan by the numbers*. Retrieved from: <https://data.adb.org/dashboard/pakistan-numbers>
- Asian Development Bank. (2004, November). *Project completion report on the technical education project*. Retrieved from: <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/project-document/69723/pcr-pak-24098.pdf>. Manila.
- Asian Development Bank. (2012). *Private higher education across Asia: Expanding access, searching for quality*. Mandaluyong City, Philippines.
- Asian Development Bank. (2018) Asian development bank and Pakistan: Fact sheet. Retrieved from: <https://www.adb.org/publications/pakistan-fact-sheet>
- Aurangzeb, A. & Asif, K. (2012) Developing good governance, management and leadership in universities and degree awarding institutions (DAIs): A case of Pakistan. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*. (ISSN 2222-6990, Volume 2, Issue 11).

- Austin, I & Jones, Glen. (2015). *Governance of higher education: Global perspectives, theories, and practices*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Aziz, M, et al. (2014) *Education system reform in Pakistan: why, when, and how?* IZA Policy Paper No. 76. IZA Institute for Labor Economics. Bonn, Germany.
- Bartlett, L. & Vavrus, F. (2014). Transversing the vertical case study: A methodological approach to studies of educational policy as practice. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*. (45(2), 131-147).
- Bhagwati, J. N. (1976) *Taxing the Brain Drain*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Bhanji, Z. (2008). Transnational Corporations in Education: Filling the Governance Gap through New Social Norms and Market Multilateralism? *Globalisation, Societies and Education*. (Vol. 6, No. 1, 55–73).
- Bigalke, T and Neubauer, D. (2009) *Higher Education in Asia/Pacific: Quality and the Public Good*. Palgrave-Macmillan. USA.
- Boulding, K. (1968) The “national” importance of human capital. In Adams. W. *The Brain Drain*. Colin-Macmillan.
- Bourke, B. (2014). Positionality: reflecting on the research process. *The Qualitative Report*, 19(33), 1-9. Retrieved from <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol19/iss33/3>
- Bray, M. & Thomas, R.M. (1995). Levels of comparison in educational studies: Different insights from different literatures and the value of multilevel analyses. *Harvard Educational Review*. Vol. 65, No. 3, Fall, 1995, pp. 472-490.
- Bray, M. (2007) Control of education: Issues and tensions in centralization and decentralization. In *Comparative education: The dialectic of the global and the local*. Arnove, R. & Carlos T. pp. 207-232. Lanham, Md: Ronan & Littlefield.
- British Council, Pakistan. (n.d) *Internationalising Higher Education*. Retrieved from: <https://www.britishcouncil.pk/programmes/education/higher-education>.
- Canadian University Boards Association (n.d). *About Us*. Retrieved from: <http://www.cuba-accau.ca/About>.
- Chang, F. H. (2014). *Teacher education policies and programs In Pakistan: the growth of market approaches and their impact on the implementation and the effectiveness of traditional teacher education programs*. (Doctoral dissertation). Michigan State University.
- Chaudhry, A. I. (2004). *Problems and Prospects of Higher Education in Pakistan*. University of Arid Agriculture. (Doctoral dissertation). Rawalpindi, Pakistan.

- Chaudhry, S. & Ramy, M. (2011, June). ISO 9001 (a standard) to develop a robust governance system in higher education institutions: A case study of a degree awarding institute in Pakistan. *Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*. ISSN 2073-7122, Volume 3, Issue 2.
- Chisholm, L & Steiner-Khamsi, G. (2009). *South-south cooperation in education and development*. New York: Teachers College Press & Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Clark, B. (1983). *The higher education system: Academic organization in cross national perspective*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Collins, C.S. and Rhoades, R. A. (2010, February) The World Bank, support for universities, and asymmetrical power relations in international development. *Higher Education*. Vol. 59, No. 2, February 2010, pp. 181-206.
- Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the UK. (n.d). *Applicant Portal*. Retrieved from: <http://cscuk.dfid.gov.uk/apply/applicants/>
- Dawn. (2018) Centre should exercise authority jointly with provinces: Rabbani. *Dawn News*. Retrieved from: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1384891>
- Dedijer, S. (1968) "Early" migration. In, Adams. W. *The Brain Drain*. Colin-Macmillan.
- Diamond, L. (1999) *Developing democracy: towards democratic consolidation*. John Hopkins University Press. 1999.
- Donnelly, C. (2013). Transformation of education policy. Martens K., Nagel A.K, Windzio, M. & Weymann, A. *Public Administration*. 91: 506–507.
- Drake, E. (2001) World Bank transfer of technology and ideas to India and China. In *Knowledge across cultures: A contribution to dialogue among civilizations*. Hayhoe. R and Pan, J. (Eds). Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong.
- Farrell, J.P. (2007) Equality of education: A half-century of comparative evidence seen from a new millenium. In R. Arnove and C. A. Torres (Eds.) *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local*. 3rd Edit. Rowman and Littlefield, 2007.
- Finnemore, M. (1993), International organizations as teachers of norms: The United Nations education, scientific and cultural organization and science policy. *International Organization*. Vol. 47, No. 4, 1993, pp. 565-597.
- Finnemore, M. and K. Sikkink. (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. *International organization*. 52(4), 887-917.

- Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (2001). The constructivist research program in international relations and comparative politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*. 4(1), 391-416. Retrieved from: doi:10.1146/annurev.polisci.4.1.391
- Freire, P. (1972). *The pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Sheed.
- Galtung, J. (1975). Is peaceful research possible? *Peace: research, education, action*. I. 12. Copenhagen: Christian Ejlertsen.
- Government of Sindh. (2000) *The Iqra University Ordinance*. Retrieved from: http://sindhlaws.gov.pk/setup/publications_SindhCode/PUB-16-000047.pdf
- Greene, J. C., Caracelli, V. J., & Graham, W. D. (1989). Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*. 11(3), 255-274.
- Haas, P. (1992). Introduction: epistemic communities and international policy coordination. *International Organization*. 46(1), 1-35. doi:10.1017/S0020818300001442
- Halai, N. (2012) Quality of private universities in Pakistan: An analysis of higher education commission rankings. *International Journal of Educational Management* Vol. 27, No 7, 2013. Pp.775-786.
- Hall, P. A. (1997). The role of interests, institutions, and ideas in the comparative political economy of industrialized nations. In *Comparative politics: rationality, culture, and structure*. In Lichbach, M. I & Zuckerman A.S (Eds.), 174–207. Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, R., & Biersteker, T. (Eds.). (2002). The emergence of private authority in global governance. *Cambridge Studies in International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511491238
- Hayhoe, R. and Pan, J. (2001). (Eds). *Knowledge across cultures: A contribution to dialogue among civilizations*. Hong Kong. Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong.
- Hayhoe, R., & Mundy, K. (2008). Introduction to comparative and international education: Why study comparative education? In K. Mundy, K. Bickmore, R. Hayhoe, & M. Madden (Eds.), *Comparative and international education: Issues for teachers* (pp. 1–22). Toronto & New York: CSPI & Teachers College Press.
- Held, D. (2003). Cosmopolitanism: Globalization tamed? *Review of International Studies*. 29, 465-480.
- Helleiner, E. (2010). Global governance meets development: a brief history of an innovation in world politics. In *Global governance, poverty and inequality*. London, Routledge, ISBN 978-0-415-78049-0., p. 27-45.

- Higher Education Commission of Pakistan. (2002, March). *Task Force for Improving Higher Education*. Available at:
<http://www.hec.gov.pk/MediaPublication/HECPublication/Documents/Task%20Force%20on%20Improvement%20of%20Higher%20Education%20in%20Pakistan%20-%20Report.pdf>.
- Higher Education Commission of Pakistan. (n.d.) *US-Pakistan knowledge education corridor PhD scholarship program*. Retrieved from:
<http://hec.gov.pk/english/scholarshipsgrants/US-Pakcorridor/Pages/default.aspx>.
- Hill, D. (2009). *The developing world and state education: Neoliberal depredation and egalitarian alternatives*. New York: Routledge Publishing.
- Hinchcliffe, K. (1993). Neo-liberal prescriptions for education finance: Unfortunately necessary or inherently desirable? *International Journal of Educational Development*. (13, no.2, 183-7).
- International Islamic University. (n.d) *Authorities of the university: Board of trustees*. Retrieved from:
http://www.iiu.edu.pk/?page_id=4435. Islamabad, Pakistan.
- Islamic Bank for Development. (n.d) *National University of Science and Technology Project*. Retrieved from: <https://www.isdb.org/project/national-university-of-science-and-technology>.
- Jahangir, K. (2008). *Management of higher education reforms in Pakistan: An implementation perspective*. (Doctoral dissertation). Utrecht University.
- Jakobi, A. P. (2012). Facilitating transfer: international organizations as central nodes for policy diffusion. In Gita Steiner-Khamsi/Florian Waldow (Hg.), *World Yearbook of Education: 'Policy Borrowing and Lending*, London: Routledge. (391-407).
- Jakobi, A.P. (2012) Facilitating transfer: International organizations as central nodes for policy diffusion. In Steiner-Khamsi, G. & Waldow, F. (Eds.), *Policy borrowing and lending: World yearbook of education* (pp. 3-17). London and New York: Routledge.
- Keohane, R. (2005). Global governance and democratic accountability. In Wilkinson, R. (ed.), *The global governance reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).
- King, K. (2007). Multilateral agencies in the construction of the global agenda on education. *Comparative Education*. 43:3, 2007, pp. 377 – 391.
- Koenig-Archibugi, M. (2010). Understanding the global dimensions of policy. *Global Policy*. Volume 1 (1), 16-27.
- Legro, J. W and Moravcsik, A. (1999). Is anybody still a realist? *International Security*. Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 5-55.

- Leng, P. (2015). *International University Partnerships in Contemporary Cambodian Higher Education*. (Doctoral dissertation). University of Toronto.
- Linz, J. J. and Stepan, A. C. (1996). Towards consolidated democracies. *Journal of Democracy*. 7.2 (1996): 14-33. Project MUSE.
- Lupel, A. (2005) Tasks of a global civil society: Held, Habermas and democratic legitimacy beyond the nation state. In *Globalizations*. Vol. 2, No. 1, 2005, pp. 117-133.
- Martens, W. & Kerstin, K. (2009). Boomerangs and trojan horses: The unintended consequences of internationalising education policy through the EU and the OECD. *Higher Education Dynamics*. 26(2) 81-107.
- Mazrui, Ali (1975) World culture and the search for human consensus. In, Mendlovitz, S. (Ed.) *On the creation of a just world order: Preferred worlds for the 1980s*. (p. 1-37).
- McKinlay, R.D. & R. Little (1986). The liberal, socialist and realist models. *Global problems and world order*. London: Pinter.
- Menahem, G. (2008). The transformation of higher education in Israel since the 1990s: the role of ideas and policy paradigms. *International Journal of Policy Administration and Institutions*. 21 (4): 499–526. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0491.2008.00411.x>.
- Meyer, J. and Ramirez, F. (2009). The world institutionalization of education. In Schriwer, J. (Ed.) *Discourse formation in comparative education*. New York: Peter Lang. (p.111-132).
- Ministry of Finance of Pakistan. (2017). *Pakistan economic survey 2017-18: Highlights*. Retrieved from: http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_18/overview_2017-18.pdf
- Moe, T. (2016). The comparative politics of education: Teachers unions and education systems around the world. In Moe, T & Wiborg, S. (Eds.) *The comparative politics of education: Teachers unions and education systems around the world* (pp. 269-324). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781316717653.010.
- Mundy, K. (2012) From international relations to global governance in education: A tribute to Ruth Hayhoe. In Mundy, K. and Zha, Q. (Eds). In *Education and Global Cultural Dialogue: A Tribute to Ruth Hayhoe*. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), pp. 13-24.
- National Assembly of Pakistan. (2012) *Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*. Retrieved from: http://na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1333523681_951.pdf
- National Assembly of Pakistan. (2012). *Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*. Retrieved from: http://na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1333523681_951.pdf.

- Naviwala, N. (2015, July 6). *So much aid, so little education*. Dawn Newspaper. Karachi, Pakistan. Retrieved from: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1192624>
- Neave, G. and Van Vught, F.A. (1994) Government and Higher Education in Developing Nations: A Conceptual Framework. In, G. Neave and F.A. Van Vught, *Government and Higher Education Relationships Across Three Continents: The Winds of Change*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations. (2019) *Collegial governance at Ontario universities*. Retrieved from: <https://ocufa.on.ca/assets/2019-02-09-GovernanceReport.pdf>
- Pal, L. (2014). *Beyond policy analysis – Public issue management in turbulent times*. Fifth edition. Nelson Education: Toronto.
- Padure, L., and Jones, G. (2009). Policy networks and research on higher education governance and policy. In J. Huisman (ed.), *International Perspectives on Governance of Higher Education Systems: Alternative Frameworks for Coordination* (pp. 107-125). New York and London: Routledge.
- Phillips, D., & Ochs, K. (2003). Processes of policy borrowing in education: Some explanatory and analytical devices. *Comparative Education*. Vol. 39, no. 4, 2003, pp. 451–461.
- Pross, A. P. (1995). Pressure groups: Talking chameleons. In M. S. Whittington & G. Williams (Eds.), *Canadian politics in the 1990s*, (pp. 252-275). Toronto, ON: Nelson Canada.
- Ransom, A. Siew-Mun, K, & Selvaratnam, V. (1993). *Improving higher education in developing countries*. World Bank Institute (WBI). (Washington DC: World Bank).
- Rizvi, F. The ideology of privatization in higher education: A global perspective. Priest, D. & St. John, E. (Eds). *In Privatization and Public Universities*. Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Ritzer, George. (2011) *Globalization: the essentials*. (Wiley-Blackwell; Malden, MA)
- Salvador S. F. R. Jr. (2013) Is international labor migration good for democratic consolidation? *Peace Review*. 25:1, 97-103, DOI: 10.1080/10402659.2013.759781
- Samoff, J. (2007). The intellectual/financial complex of foreign aid. *Review of African Political Economy*. 19(3): 60---75.
- Schmidt, V. A. (2008). Discursive institutionalism: The explanatory power of ideas and discourse. *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 11, 303-326. doi:10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.060606.135342
- Seidle, L. & Khan, Z. (2012, December) *Federalism and 18th Amendment: Challenges and*

- Opportunities for Transition Management in Pakistan*. United Nations Development Program (UNDP) & Forum of Federations. Retrieved from: <http://www.pk.undp.org/content/dam/pakistan/docs/Democratic%20Governance/Federalism/UNDP-PK-DGU-Federalism%2018%20Amendment%20Report-2012.pdf>
- Sethi, M. S. (2008) *Foreign aid syndrome and aid effectiveness: Case study Pakistan*. *Journal of the National Defence University of Pakistan (NDU Journal)*. Volume-II.
- Soysal, Y. N. (2010). Unpacking cosmopolitanism: An insider–outsider's reading. *British Journal of Sociology*. 61(s1), 405-411. doi:10.1111/j.1468-4446.2009.01296.x
- Spring, J. (2008, June). Research on globalization and education. *Review of Educational Research*. Vol. 78, No. 2, pp. 330-363.
- Steiner-Khamsi, G. (2012). Understanding policy borrowing and lending: Building comparative policy studies. In Steiner-Khamsi, G. & Waldow, F. (Eds.), *Policy borrowing and lending: World yearbook of education* (pp. 3-17). London and New York: Routledge.
- Stromquist, N. (2005, April). Comparative and international education: A journey towards equity and equality. *Harvard Educational Review*. 75(1), 89-111.
- Task Force on Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan. (2002, March). Final Report. Retrieved from: <http://www.tfhe.net/resources/pakistan.htm>. Accessed: November 4, 2018.
- The Express Tribune. (2018, April 3). *FAPUASA goes on week-long protest today*. Retrieved from: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1675769/1-fapuasa-goes-week-long-protest-today/>
- The Express Tribune. (2018, May 22). *Teachers take a stand against VCs*. Retrieved from: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1715770/1-teachers-take-stand-vcs/>
- UNESCO. (2018). *UNESCO Chairs*. Retrieved from: <https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/list-unesco-chairs.pdf> UNESCO: Paris.
- USAID. (2013, September 30). *Teacher Education Project Factsheet*. Retrieved from: www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1871/TEP.pdf (Washington: USAID).
- USAID. (2014, July) *Education Factsheet for Pakistan*. Retrieved from: www.usaid.gov.us/pk. (Washington: USAID).
- USAID. (2017, August 25). *President of Pakistan inaugurates USAID-funded faculty of education building at Karakorum International University, Gilgit*. Retrieved from: <https://www.usaid.gov/pakistan/news-information/press-releases/president-pakistan-inaugurates-us-aid-funded-faculty> (Washington: USAID).

- Usman, S. (2014) Governance and higher education in Pakistan: What roles do boards of governors play in ensuring the academic quality maintenance in public universities versus private universities in Pakistan? *International Journal of Higher Education*. Vol 3, No. 2, 2014
- Verger, A. & Hermo, J. P. (2010). The Governance of higher education regionalisation: comparative analysis of the Bologna Process and MERCOSUR/Educativo. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*. (8:1, 105-120, DOI: 10.1080/14767720903574116)
- Vidovich, L. & Currie, J. (2011). Governance and trust in higher education. *Studies in Higher Education*. 43-56. DOI: 10.1080/03075070903469580.
- Whitney, K. (2006) Lost in transition: Governing in a time of privatization. In *Governance and the public good*. Tierney, W. (Ed). SUNY: University of New York Press.
- Woolf, D. (2019, March 8) *An overview of challenges – both local and global – facing Canadian universities*. Principal's Blog, Queen's University. Retrieved from: <https://www.queensu.ca/connect/principal/2019/03/08/an-overview-of-challenges-both-local-and-global-facing-canadian-universities/>
- World Bank. (1964). *West Pakistan - Education Project*. Retrieved from: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/1964/03/1556904/west-pakistan-education-project> (Washington: World Bank).
- World Bank. (1970). *West Pakistan - Engineering Education Project*. Retrieved from: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/1970/06/1556422/west-pakistan-engineering-education-project> (Washington: World Bank).
- World Bank. (1990). *Higher education and scientific research for development in Pakistan*. (Washington DC: World Bank).
- World Bank. (2000). *Higher education in developing countries: Peril and promise*. Task Force on Higher Education and Society. (Washington DC: World Bank).
- World Bank. (2004). *Pakistan - Public Sector Capacity Building Project*. Retrieved from: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2004/01/2861766/pakistan-public-sector-capacity-building-project> (Washington DC: World Bank).
- World Bank. (2009). *Pakistan - Higher Education Support Program*. Retrieved from: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2009/05/10560986/pakistan-higher-education-support-program> (Washington DC: World Bank).
- World Bank. (2010). *Pakistan - Tertiary Education Support Project*. Retrieved from: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2010/12/13682382/pakistan-tertiary-education-support-project> (Washington DC: World Bank).

World Bank. (2018). *World development report 2018: Learning to realize education's promise*. (Washington, DC: World Bank). doi:10.1596/978-1-4648-1096-1.

Zehavi, A. (2012). Welfare state politics in privatization of delivery: Linking program constituencies to left and right. *Comparative Political Studies*. 45 (2): 194–219.

Appendix A REB Certificate



UNIVERSITY OF
TORONTO

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT,
RESEARCH AND INNOVATION

PROTOCOL REFERENCE # 34375

April 25, 2017

Dr. Ruth Hayhoe
OISE/UT: LEADERSHIP, HIGHER AND ADULT
EDUCATION
OISE/UT

Mr. Aamir Taiyeb
OISE/UT: LEADERSHIP, HIGHER AND ADULT
EDUCATION
OISE/UT

Dear Dr. Hayhoe and Mr. Aamir Taiyeb,

Re: Your research protocol entitled, "Understanding external policy influences in Pakistani higher education"

ETHICS APPROVAL

Original Approval Date: April 25, 2017
Expiry Date: April 24, 2018
Continuing Review Level: 1

We are writing to advise you that the Social Sciences, Humanities, and Education Research Ethics Board (REB) has granted approval to the above-named research protocol under the REB's delegated review process. Your protocol has been approved for a period of **one year** and ongoing research under this protocol must be renewed prior to the expiry date.

Any changes to the approved protocol or consent materials must be reviewed and approved through the amendment process prior to its implementation. Any adverse or unanticipated events in the research should be reported to the Research Oversight and Compliance Office - Human Research Ethics Program as soon as possible.

Please ensure that you submit an Ethics Renewal Form or a Study Completion/Closure Report 15 to 30 days prior to the expiry date of your current ethics approval. Note that ethics renewals for studies cannot be accepted more than 30 days prior to the date of expiry.

If your research is funded by a third party, please contact the assigned Research Funding Officer in Research Services to ensure that your funds are released.

Please note, all approved research studies are eligible for a routine Post-Approval Review (PAR) site visit. If chosen, you will receive a notification letter from our office. For information on PAR, please see <http://www.research.utoronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/documents/2014/09/PAR-Program-Description-1.pdf>.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research.

Yours sincerely,

Matthew Brower, Ph.D.
REB Chair

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Opening Comments

Thank you for taking the time today to sit down with me to discuss what is hoped will be a useful and informative analysis on governance and external influences in Pakistani higher education.

The entire interview should last about an hour and a half to two hours, and is completely voluntary. You may withdraw your participation at any time and you may choose to not answer any question.

The interview will be recorded, with your permission, to ensure your views are captured appropriately but the results are completely anonymous. You/your institution will not be identified by name in the study, only in the aggregate. Only the researcher and supervisor will have access to the data.

I would also like you to know that while I am proposing to conduct this interview in English, I would be happy to switch to Urdu should you wish it at any time. Your responses may be in Urdu if you feel comfortable doing so but the responses will later be translated and transcribed in English.

The final analysis and dissertation will be shared with all participants via e-mail, however should you wish, in addition, to examine and approve the transcript of our interview today, please let me know now. If you would like to review the transcripts, I will e-mail these to you approximately two weeks following our interview, and will ask that you e-mail me back any changes needed within two weeks following receipt of the transcript.

As a reminder, you have signed a consent form for this study prior to undertaking the questionnaire, however I have a copy with me currently and will review the details of the form with you prior to beginning the interview as you may have consented some time ago.

Without further ado, we will now proceed to the main substantive questions of the study.

Governance Arrangements

The following questions seek to determine your views on governance-related matters in Pakistan's higher education system:

1. Do you believe that the Pakistani state should be more or less involved in governance matters related to Pakistan's higher education system (through the Higher Education Commission, for example)? In other words, should the model be one of 'state-control' or 'state-supervision'?
2. To what extent do you feel that it is important for the higher education sector in Pakistan to have a buffer body such as the Higher Education Commission (HEC) present in the system? Do you believe other models (such as direct control over funding and regulation from the federal government) may be appropriate in the context of Pakistan?
3. To what extent do you feel that governance of higher education (for both the system and for institutions) is enhanced or not by the involvement of groups such as the media, students, NGOs and political parties?

4. I will now mention several governance vehicles active in Pakistani higher education. I would like you to speak to your perception of the effectiveness of each one generally speaking: (a) Boards of Governors, (b) Senates, (c) CEOs/Presidents.
5. Do you have any thoughts on the selection process, preparedness and calibre of candidates for positions within the Boards of Governors within Pakistani higher education institutions?
6. Which of the following do you think Pakistan's higher education system is most responsive to: (a) the market, (b) the state, (c) the academic community? Which do you think it should be most responsive to achieve Pakistan's development objectives?
7. Thinking now about Pakistan's 'policy community' in the education sector, which do you think are effective players in governance and policy development (if at all): (a) student groups/unions, (b) faculty unions, (c) provincial government boards, (d) the Pakistani media.
8. Should the state control or leave to higher education institutions, the following functions: (a) board nominations, (b) degree granting, (c) curriculum development.
9. If there was one or more aspect of the governance of Pakistan's higher education system that you would change, what would it be?
10. The Modern University Governance Program for University Management (MUG), a program of the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan, aims to "equip university management with the latest governance tools, and to bridge the gap between management and academia". Are you aware of this program? If yes, what is your perceived effectiveness of it?
11. An important, yet fairly complex, issue of governance is the tension between centralization and decentralization of powers. On the whole, in order to foster the greatest levels of improvement to Pakistan's higher education system, would you argue for or against centralization of education powers? Why?
12. Higher education scholars have noted the importance of trust within the governance paradigm emphasizing how the overall trust relationship between government and institutions leads to for example, greater or less institutional autonomy – or on the other hand, greater regulatory control or coercion. How would you characterize the level of trust between the Pakistani higher education system and the Pakistani government?
13. There are several important examples of regionalization in higher education such as the Bologna Process in Europe and the MERCOSUR project in South America. Such initiatives may lead to important changes in the governance frameworks of the member states within the region that is involved. Are you aware of any regional projects or initiatives that have impacted on Pakistani higher education in recent years (such as through ASEAN)? Have you any thoughts on how such projects may have impacted the Pakistani higher education system writ large?
14. Do you think there is merit in the notion of a more pluralist steering model for higher education in Pakistan, one that takes into account multiple stakeholders such as student groups, faculty councils, public and private institutions and sector councils?

External Influences

The following questions seek to determine your views on the nature of external influences in Pakistan's higher education system:

1. I would ask you to reflect on the international organizations that have influenced Pakistani higher education over the past several years. Which organizations come to mind?
2. Influence may be direct or indirect and take various forms such as foreign aid, technical reports and assistance, policy borrowing, etc. In what way do you think these organizations have exerted an influence?
3. In your informed opinion, do you think that Pakistan's higher education is influenced by external actors? If so, do you think this has been a positive or negative development on the whole?
4. I will now mention the names of some prominent international organizations that have been active in Pakistani educational projects in the past several years. I am interested in your reaction/comments on each one. (a) World Bank, (b) UNESCO, (c) Asian Development Bank, (d) USAID, (e) British Council (f) United Nations Development Program.
5. Are you aware of any instances, examples, or case studies of the Pakistani higher education system itself being influenced by external donors or actors? If so, have these influences in any way been related to governance, administration, state-level regulation, or quality assurance? Can you give me any examples?
6. What role do you think is played by foreign development assistance to Pakistan's higher education system? Do you think such international organizations promote a particular model of education reform or governance? If so, how would you describe it?
7. Do you think that the assistance provided by international organizations to Pakistan's higher education system constitutes, in any way, a form of neo-colonialism or engenders certain types of dependency? Why or why not? Can you give me any examples to support your answer?

Privatization/Marketization

Many individuals now acknowledge an emphasis on markets and competition as being part and parcel of the higher education enterprise writ large. No value judgment is attached to whether or not this is a positive or negative development.

1. Do you think that Pakistani higher education institutions are driven primarily by a market-oriented or state development agenda? In other words, do you feel most Pakistani institutions are governed by the dictates of the market or the state?
2. Do you think that Pakistani higher education institutions are stifled by state regulation and need more autonomy to be internationally competitive, or would less autonomy be helpful in order to guide the system where it needs to go? Does your answer differ in the case of public vs. private higher education institutions?

3. In your informed opinion, do you think international actors influence Pakistani higher education institutions to adopt certain market-driven principles and approaches? If so, how? Can you give any examples?

4. In your reasoned opinion, do you think it is beneficial for Pakistan's higher education institutions to adopt any of the following organizational governance tools? (a) performance budgeting, (b) adoption of increased user fees, (c) greater managerialism, (d) bottom-line orientation (e) deregulation, (e) decentralization, (f) outsourcing, (g) privatization, (h) New Public Management.


INDIVIDUAL CONSENT LETTER – INSTITUTIONS
To: The Participants in This Study

My name is Aamir Taiyeb, and I am a doctoral student in the Department of Leadership, Higher and Adult Education (LHAE) at the Ontario Institute of Studies in Education (OISE), at the University of Toronto (Toronto, Canada). The study will be conducted under the supervision of my doctoral supervisor, Dr. Ruth Hayhoe, OISE, University of Toronto.

Purpose of the Study

Pakistan's higher education system has undergone many extensive changes in recent years. Some of these changes have arisen in response to domestic concerns (students, government, the public), while others may have been influenced by external actors (NGOs, international organizations). It is well documented that external actors have attempted to assist the restructuring of Pakistan's higher education system through education aid and technical assistance. However, what has hitherto been missing in the literature is an understanding of how external policy actors have influenced the governance dimension of the Pakistani higher education sector.

My doctoral research will fill this gap in the literature by shedding light, through a comparative analysis, of the nature, extent and type of external policy influences involving governance-related themes as applied to the Pakistani higher education system. A core feature of this study aims to isolate and compare governance-related models, norms and approaches identified by those actors endogenous to the Pakistani state (internal actors) and those exogenous to the state (external actors).

Methodology

Your institution has been selected to participate in this study based on a random sample of institutions recognized by the Pakistani Higher Education Commission. The sample size includes both universities and colleges (36), with an equal mix of public and private institutions throughout Pakistan, as well as government (10) and NGOs (10).

The study includes a [questionnaire](#) as its baseline methodological tool, as well as semi-structured interviews. The questionnaire is expected to take 10-15 minutes, while the interview is expected to take between 30-60 minutes. Since this study examines governance-related themes, only institutional administrators in the following leadership roles are asked to complete the questionnaire or participate in the interview: (Dean, Vice-Rector, Rector, Vice-Chancellor, Chancellor, and President).

If you have any questions related to your rights as a participant in this study or if you have any complaints or concerns about how you have been treated as a research participant, please contact the Office of Research Ethics, ethics.review@utoronto.ca, 416-946-3273.

Thank you in advance for your participation.

Researcher

Aamir Taiyeb
 PhD Candidate, Higher Education
 Dept. of Leadership, Higher and Adult Education
 Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)
 252 Bloor St. W., Toronto, ON M5S 1V6
 University of Toronto (Toronto, Canada)
 Email: aamir.taiyeb@mail.utoronto.ca

Supervisor

Dr. Ruth Hayhoe
 Leadership, Higher and Adult Education – OISE
 Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)
 University of Toronto (Toronto, Canada)
 #6-219 – 252 Bloor St. W., Toronto, ON M5S 1V6
 Phone: (416) 978-1213
ruth.hayhoe@utoronto.ca

Informed Consent:

I agree to the following:

- I understand the objectives of the research study and voluntarily agree to participate in an effort to advance research in this field of study
- I understand that at no time will I be judged or evaluated, at risk of harm. I understand that no value judgments will be placed on my responses
- I will personally complete the questionnaire available at the following link:
<https://governance-survey.typeform.com/to/hCLrOC>
Please note that this survey can be completed on a variety of electronic devices such as smartphones, tablets, and laptop/desktop computers.
- I understand that the organization and participants' identity will be held confidential by the researcher.
- I understand that research results in the aggregate will be used in scholarly publications (including the researcher's doctoral dissertation). Identifiers will be kept separate by assigning unique codes to each participant and thereby de-linking them. Data that is identifiable will be encrypted and kept separate.
- I understand that all participation in this study is completely voluntary. Participants are free to withdraw from the study without consequence, penalty and judgment at any time during the research collection phase and will have any data they may have contributed withdrawn from the study. Participants may also choose to refuse to answer any questions in the interview and/or questionnaire and may choose to terminate the interview at any time. Withdrawal from the study will be allowed for a period of two weeks following data collection (or, when applicable, two weeks after transcripts are sent to the participant for review, whichever comes later) since it is expected that, following this date, the data will begin to be utilized in the researchers' analysis.
- I understand that this research project poses no physical or psychological harm to our institution.
- I understand that the interviews will be conducted in person or over the phone at no cost to the institution nor the participant between the months of August and December 2017.
- Interview participants can request to review their transcripts prior to use. If this is requested, transcripts will be emailed to participants two weeks following the interview. Participants will be expected to e-mail back any changes needed two weeks after receipt of the transcripts.
- If you would like a summary of the results of the study, please check here. Please note that a copy of the completed report/thesis can be accessed electronically in the University of Toronto Research Repository (T Space) at <https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/9944>.
- I understand that should interviews be recorded, the audio tapes and interview notes will be kept in a secure location in the researcher's personal office and destroyed two years after the information is collected, and that this consent form will also be kept in the same secure location.
- I consent to my interview being audio taped and transcribed by the researcher.
- I understand that a representative from the Human Research Ethics Program at the University of Toronto may review the data for quality assurance

Name

Date

Please keep a copy of this letter for your records.



INDIVIDUAL CONSENT LETTER – ORGANIZATIONS

To: The Participants in This Study

My name is Aamir Taiyeb, and I am a doctoral student in the Department of Leadership, Higher and Adult Education (LHAE) at the Ontario Institute of Studies in Education (OISE), at the University of Toronto (Toronto, Canada). The study will be conducted under the supervision of my doctoral supervisor, Dr. Ruth Hayhoe, OISE, University of Toronto.

Purpose of the Study

Pakistan's higher education system has undergone many extensive changes in recent years. Some of these changes have arisen in response to domestic concerns (students, government, the public), while others may have been influenced by external actors (NGOs, international organizations). It is well documented that external actors have attempted to assist the restructuring of Pakistan's higher education system through education aid and technical assistance. However, what has hitherto been missing in the literature is an understanding of how external policy actors have influenced the governance dimension of the Pakistani higher education sector.

My doctoral research will fill this gap in the literature by shedding light, in a comparative analysis, of the nature, extent and type of external policy influences involving governance-related themes as applied to the Pakistani higher education system. A core feature of this study aims to isolate and compare governance-related models, norms and approaches identified by those actors endogenous to the Pakistani state (internal actors) and those exogenous to the state (external actors).

Methodology

Your organization has been selected to participate in this study given its important history of involvement in Pakistani higher education, in either a funding, legislative or regulatory capacity, and/or through commissioned reports and technical assistance. Your organization has also nominated you as an individual to participate in this study. The sample size includes both universities and colleges (36), as well as government (10) and NGO (10) participants.

The study includes a questionnaire as its baseline methodological tool, as well as semi-structured interviews. The questionnaire is expected to take 10 minutes, while the interview is expected to take between 30-45 minutes. Since this study examines governance-related themes, only senior administrators, and personnel with active knowledge of the Pakistani higher education system are being asked to participate.

If you have any questions related to your rights as a participant in this study or if you have any complaints or concerns about how you have been treated as a research participant, please contact the Office of Research Ethics, ethics.review@utoronto.ca, 416-946-3273.

Thank you in advance for your participation.

Researcher

Aamir Taiyeb
PhD Candidate, Higher Education
Dept. of Leadership, Higher and Adult Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)
252 Bloor St. W., Toronto, ON M5S 1V6
University of Toronto (Toronto, Canada)
Email: aamir.taiyeb@mail.utoronto.ca

Supervisor

Dr. Ruth Hayhoe
Leadership, Higher and Adult Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)
#6-219 – 252 Bloor St. W., Toronto,
ON M5S 1V6
Phone: (416) 978-1213
ruth.hayhoe@utoronto.ca

Informed Consent:

I agree to the following: (Please check all)

- I understand the objectives of the research study and voluntarily agree to participate in an effort to advance research in this field of study
- I understand that at no time will I be judged or evaluated, at risk of harm. I understand that no value judgments will be placed on my responses
- I will personally complete the questionnaire available at the following link
<https://governance-survey.typeform.com/to/hCLrOC>
Please note that this survey can be completed on a variety of electronic devices such as smart phones, tablets, and laptop/desktop computers.
- I understand that the organization and participants' identity will be held confidential by the researcher.
- I understand that research results in the aggregate will be used in scholarly publications (including the researcher's doctoral dissertation). Identifiers will be kept separate by assigning unique codes to each participant and thereby de-linking them. Data that is identifiable will be encrypted and kept separate.
- I understand that all participation in this study is completely voluntary. Participants are free to withdraw from the study without consequence, penalty and judgment at any time during the research collection phase and will have any data they may have contributed withdrawn from the study. Participants may also choose to refuse to answer any questions in the interview and/or questionnaire and may choose to terminate the interview at any time. Withdrawal from the study will be allowed for a period of two weeks following data collection (or, when applicable, two weeks after transcripts are sent to the participant for review, whichever comes later) since it is expected that, following this date, the data will begin to be utilized in the researchers' analysis.
- I understand that this research project poses no physical or psychological harm to our institution.
- I understand that the interviews will be conducted in person or over the phone at no cost to the institution nor the participant between the months of August and December 2017.
- Interview participants can request to review their transcripts prior to use. If this is requested, transcripts will be emailed to participants two weeks following the interview. Participants will be expected to e-mail back any changes needed two weeks after receipt of the transcripts.
- If you would like a summary of the results of the study, please check here. Please note that a copy of the completed report/thesis can be accessed electronically in the University of Toronto Research Repository (T Space) at <https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/9944>.
- I understand that should interviews be recorded, the audio tapes and interview notes will be kept in a secure location in the researcher's personal office and destroyed two years after the information is collected, and that this consent form will also be kept in the same secure location.
- I consent to my interview being audio taped and transcribed by the researcher.
- I understand that a representative from the Human Research Ethics Program at the University of Toronto may review the data for quality assurance

Name and signature

Date

Please keep a copy of this letter for your records. _____

