

# **PARENTAL CHOICE IN EDUCATION: A CASE FROM PAKISTAN**

BY

**ABDUL REHMAN KHAN**

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The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

- Professor Nancy Kendall – Department of Education Policy Studies – Chair
- Professor Lesley Bartlett –Department of Education Policy Studies – Member
- Professor Gay W. Seidman – Department of Sociology - - Member
- Professor Jonathan Mark Kenoyer – Department of Anthropology – Member
- Professor Mark Johnson –Dept. of Ed. Leadership and Policy Analysis - Member

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## **DEDICATION**

**I want to dedicate my dissertation to the memories of my loving mother,  
who raised me with unconditional love and care,  
who remembered me in prayers and raised hands to Allah,  
for my health, happiness and prosperity.  
I miss you “Dada”, I miss your prayers and I miss your love and care.  
May you rest in peace – Aameen.**

# Abstract

## Parental Choice in Education: A Case from Pakistan

Abdul Rehman Khan

Under the supervision of Professor Nancy Kendall, at the University of Wisconsin-Madison

This dissertation examines how parents from three locations in Balochistan, Pakistan, experience and practice educational choice for their children. Drawing on critical theories of class, geography and gender, and mixed-methods primary data collected in the three locations, the dissertation explores three key questions: 1) *What types of educational choices and systems were available to urban families versus those available to rural families, boys versus girls, richer families versus poorer families?* 2) *How does the structure of the three most common education systems (public, private, and Madaaris) impact institutional-level experiences and outcomes?* 3) *How and why do parents say that they make a choice and/or preference for a certain type of schooling and education?* Findings of the study indicate that parental educational “choice decisions” mostly revolve around the issues of 1) physical accessibility to multiple institutions, 2) perceived outcomes of each type of institution, and 3) perceived safety and morality to each type of institution. Parental preferences and decision-making rest on a different set of perceived risks and benefits to schooling than are commonly assumed by proponents of school choice. “Choice” is so deeply over-determined by geography and family wealth, and multiplied by gender norms and concerns about safety, that framing students’ educational experiences as being a result of parental free choice misunderstands the reproductive nature of Pakistan’s current education system. The study further concluded that instead of serving as a tool

to eliminate social inequalities, transform class status, and increase social cohesion, the public education system in Pakistan, in fact perpetuates these inequalities and reproduces a class-based society. Pakistan's overall education system is assisting to maintain a status quo and these institutions are preparing children for life in the economic, geographic and gender classifications into which they were born. The public school system and the Pakistani state are expected to play the more egalitarian role that was promised post-independence. When the public schools fail to produce opportunities for social, economic, and geographical movement, people are much more likely to express dissatisfaction with the system and to express hurt and upset over the state's lack of care for its poorer citizens. This may have significant repercussions over time, as poor citizens feel there is less and less that they gain from the state.

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## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

Dedication.....	I
Abstract .....	II
Acknowledgements.....	IV
Table of Contents .....	VI
List of Tables.....	X
List of Maps/Figures.....	XI

### **CHAPTER 1:**

1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.1.1 Research Questions.....	13
1.2 Conceptual & Analytical Framework.....	14
1.3 Methodology.....	21
1.3.1 Rationale for Research Site Section.....	25
1.3.2 Data collection & organization.....	28
-In depth Literature Review (Content Analysis of Secondary Data)...	28
1.3.3 Research Sampling .....	32
1.3.4 Primary Data Collection.....	33
1.3.4.1. Field Research Tools.....	34
i) HH Survey .....	34
ii) In-depth Interview – Parents.....	35
iii) Other Interviews .....	36
iv) Observations .....	37
v) Field Notes and Analytical Memos .....	41
vi) Data Management.....	42
1.3.5 Data Analysis.....	42
1.3.6 Logistics.....	47
1.4 Literature Review.....	50
1.4.1 – International Perspective on Parental Choice.....	50
1.4.2 – The Case of Pakistan.....	58

### **CHAPTER 2: Education in Pakistan 65**

2.1. Education in Pakistan .....	65
i) Public Sector School .....	68
ii) Private Sector Schooling.....	69
iii) Faith Based Religious School .....	70



2.2 Broad Comparison of the Three Streams of Education.....	71
2.2.1 Public Sector Education & Schooling System .....	71
- Policy and Management .....	71
- Finance .....	73
- Academics .....	77
- Access .....	89
- Perceived Outcomes .....	92
- Gender Participation.....	94
2.2.2 Private Sector Education System in Pakistan.....	99
- Policy and management.....	99
- Finance.....	101
- Academics .....	104
- Access .....	108
- Perceived Outcomes .....	112
- Gender Participation.....	113
2.2.3 Faith Based Education System in Pakistan.....	116
- Policy and management .....	119
- Finance .....	123
- Academics .....	126
- Access .....	133
- Perceived Outcomes .....	136
- Gender Participation.....	137
 <b>CHAPTER 3: Research Locations, People and Institutions</b>	 <b>140</b>
PART 1: Locations and People	
3.1. Research Locations and People.....	140
3.1.1. Pakistan .....	140
3.1.2. Balochistan.....	144
- Balochistan Educational Profile at a Glance ...	150
3.1.3. District Quetta.....	153
- Educational Profile, Quetta.....	156
3.1.4. Research Location in District Quetta .....	160
- Village Baacha Khan.....	161
- Village Khan Baba.....	165

3.1.5. District Pishin .....	171
- Educational Profile, Pishin.....	174
3.1.6. Research Location in District Pishin .....	178
- Village Malakaan.....	178
<b>PART II: Research Locations' Institutions</b>	
3.1.7. Research Sites' Educational Institutions at a Glance.	186
1. Public Schools.....	186
2. Private Schools.....	193
3. Madaaris .....	195
 <b>CHAPTER 4: Parental Choice in Balochistan</b>	 <b>197</b>
4.1 – Concept and Purpose of Education.....	206
- Global & National Literature.....	206
- Parental Point-of-view.....	208
- Western Education as Model for Economic Development.	210
- Islamic Notion of Education & Schooling.....	218
- Education for Both (This & the World-After).....	225
- Education as Means of Status Quo.....	228
4.2 – Institutional Access (Distance & Affordability).....	234
- Physical Distance.....	237
- Safety as a Concern.....	244
- Financial Affordability.....	245
- Political & Feudal Interference.....	255
- Local Cultures and Traditions.....	257
4.3 – Education Quality.....	260
- Curriculum.....	261
- Teaching and Administrative Staff.....	279
- Physical infrastructure.....	289
4.4 – Additional Factors Influencing Parental Decision-making.....	283
- Perceived/Desired Educational Outcome.....	293
-Institutional Policy-making, Management & Supervision...	303
- Corporal Punishment .....	309
- Social Support.....	313

<b>CHAPTER 5: Implications, Conclusions and Policy Recommendations</b>	<b>321</b>
5.1 – Implications and Conclusions .....	321
5.2 – Policy Recommendation .....	327
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>334</b>
<b>ANNEXES.....</b>	<b>356</b>
Research Consent Forms.....	359
Research Protocols.....	362
Systematic and Comparative Analysis Framework .....	388
A Broad Comparison of Educator Sector/Institutions in Pakistan.	389
Institutional Comparison in the Research Locations.....	393
Key-finding a Tabular Presentation.....	395

## **List of Tables**

Table 1: Literacy – Population 10 Year and Older	55
Table 2: Gross Enrollment Ratio at Primary Level	55
Table 3: Net Enrollment Ratio at the Primary Level	55
Table 4: Twenty-Year Public Education Expenditure (as % of GDP)	68
Table 5: Number of Primary Schools in Pakistan 2015-2016 (Boys, Girls and Mixed)	90
Table 6: Primary Net Enrollment Rates for Boys and Girls in Pakistan (2002-2009)	91
Table 7: Net Enrollment Rate at the Primary Level (Age 5-9) – Excluding Kachhi Class	91
Table 8: Number of Private Primary Schools in Pakistan – 215-16 (Boys, Girls & Mixed)	109
Table 9: Madrasah Board ( <i>Wafaq</i> ) in Pakistan	115
Table 10: Literacy – Population 1 Years and Older – Quetta	151
Table 11: Literacy – Population 10 years or Older – Pishin	169
Table 12: Approximate Distance from Educational Institutions	232
Table 13: Average Institutional Cost	243
Table 14: A, B, C: Enrollment Distribution – Access (Class, Gender & Geography)	254-255
Table 15: A Broad Comparison of Educator Sector/Institutions in Pakistan (Chapter-2)	389
Table 16: Institutional Comparison from the Research Locations (Chapter-3)	393
Table 17: Key Findings: A Tabular Presentation (Chapter-4)	395

## **Maps and Figures**

- Map – Pakistan	134
- Map – Balochistan	138
- Map – Quetta District	147
- Map – Village Baacha Khan Area	155
- Figure 1: Enrollment Distribution – Village Baacha Khan	158
- Map – Village Khan Baba Area	159
- Figure 2: Enrollment Distribution – Village Khan Baba	163
- Map – Pishin District	165
- Map – Village Malakaan Area	173
- Figure 3: Enrollment Distribution – Village Malakaan	176
- Figure 4: Socio-economic Status	256
- Figure 4: Systematic and Comparative Analysis Framework	388

## CHAPTER – 1

### 1.1. Introduction

Researchers claim that education in a poverty stricken and heavily populated country like Pakistan provides young people with the opportunity to make something of their lives through learning (Evans and Boling, 2008). This claim commonly rests on the assumption that everyone has equal access to the same kind of schooling, and that schooling plays a meritocratic role in redistributing social and economic opportunities. Thus, this literature assumes that schools give (or could give) all pupils, regardless of their backgrounds, equal preparation for an opportunity to pursue something ‘good’ for life.

Unlike in most OECD and more industrialized countries of the world, most Pakistanis still, even after 70 years of independence, struggle with merely gaining access to education. For instance, the primary level Gross Enrollment Rate (GER)<sup>1</sup> was 89%, while the Net Enrollment Rate (NER) was only 57% (53% girls and 60% boys) in 2014-15. According to the latest Pakistan Social and Living Standard Measurement (PSLM) Survey and Pakistan Education Statistics (2014-15), the overall literacy rate (10+ years) was only 60% (70% for males and 49% for females); the data show that literacy rates are significantly higher in urban areas (76%) and more prevalent for men (82%). Rural areas and rural women had the lowest literacy rates, at 51% and 38% respectively.

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<sup>1</sup> The Economic Survey of Pakistan 2009-10 defined GER as the number of children attending primary school (irrespective of age) divided by the number of children who ought to be attending.

In Balochistan,<sup>2</sup> where I conducted my dissertation study, official Government of Pakistan studies show that the total literacy rate was as low as 44% (61% male versus 25% female), while the total Gross Enrollment Rates are 71%, (87% for boys versus 51% for girls). Likewise the total Net Enrollment Rate (NER) in the province's primary schools was only 46%, which means that more than half of young children (between the age 5 to 9), particularly girls (only 35% enrolled), are still out of schools in the province. The situation in the rural areas of the province depicts an even grimmer picture; for instance, in Dera Bugti district the total NER is as low as 28%.

According to the latest 1973 constitution of Pakistan, the state is responsible for providing education to the entire population of the country. Pakistan has officially adopted numerous international covenants, such as the EFA, Beijing Plus, MDG and others, that similarly declare access to a (quality) education to be a human right. As the educational statistics above indicate, however, the state has been unable to fulfill its constitutional promise of educating all of its citizens (Memon, 2007; Hoodbhoy 1998). Unfortunately, none of the national and international obligations have been fulfilled so far, and researchers do not anticipate any rapid change in the near future (Hoodbhoy, 2006). Since Pakistan's independence in 1947, demand for formal education in Pakistan has been high, but the demand has not been met due to scarce resources and a lack of political will (Memon, 2007). Consequently, non-state actors (for-profit and non-profit institutions, including Madaaris<sup>3</sup>) stepped into the vacuum and put down roots.

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<sup>2</sup> Balochistan, the largest of the four provinces of Pakistan, spreads over an area of 347,190 Sq. Kms., forming 43.6 per cent of the total area of Pakistan. It has clustered population and is smallest in proportion as compared to that of other provinces. Balochistan is the least developed of the four provinces of Pakistan.

<sup>3</sup> Madrasah is a faith-based Islamic educational institutions; madaaris is plural of madrasah.

While many researchers have laid out arguments for why educational access remains a problem in so much of the world, several researchers argue that Pakistan has, unfortunately, inherited a systemized, class- and gender-based educational structure since its inception (Farah et al, 2006). The British colonial powers left behind an educational legacy of three distinct streams of education in Pakistan, roughly divided along socio-economic class lines: the Madaaris catered to rural and very poor children; the vernacular-medium (Urdu-medium) public schooling was for working and lower-middle class children; and the English language schools were for the urban middle and upper classes (Farah, et al. 2006, Rahman, 2004). Despite gaining independence from the British in 1947, Pakistani politicians and bureaucracies have been unable to overcome the old class-based system and provide the common people with a good and equitable public education system (Hoodbhoy, 1998). Instead, the educational system is captured by larger feudal processes (of power), which dominate national and local politics, society, and decision-making. As Kabeer, Mumtaz, & Sayeed (2010) explain:

Rural society in Pakistan is made up of social groups whose position within a hierarchical structure of relationships determines the assets they control as well as their access to crucial relationships and resources in the wider economy which make it possible to survive and prosper (Rouse, 1983). Gazdar (2002) terms these ‘parochial communities’ to distinguish them from the imagined ‘civic’ communities of community development literature and to draw attention to the bounded nature of the affiliations, claims and obligations which define their membership. (p. 5)

Moreover, policies and processes formulated by the politicians and bureaucracy have facilitated the widening of the societal fragmentation resulting in class-based social service distribution. Famous educationist Pervez Hoodbhoy states:



Given the class structure of Pakistani society, and the state's patronage of feudalism and tribalism, there are no easy solutions to this fundamental problem. Education cannot be freed from inequities unless there is a social revolution - which is not on the horizon. (Hoodbhoy, 2006, page-29).

Some hail the private sector as one of the rescue paths (Andrabi, et al 2008 and 2012); however that is still in debate.

The history of private schools, deeply shaped by national politics in Pakistan, is a complex one. Private schools have ebbed and flowed significantly over the past 60 years. As Baqir (1998) noted, "in 1947 the private sector owned 43% of the primary schools, while the government owned only 4%" (p.177). However, with the move towards increased nationalization in 1972 (by the then Prime Minister Bhutto who advocated for a socialist structure), the influence of private schools decreased. Nonetheless, with General Zia's de-nationalization efforts after 1979, and particularly the 1983-88 five year plan, momentum swung back to the private sector. General Zia, inspired by the neo-liberal concept of state, wanted the private sector to come forward and play its role. Private schools have grown steadily since that period; now, they account for more than one-third (37%) of total school enrollment in the country (Andrabi, et al 2012; Pakistan Education Statistics, 2014-15). Alongside secular schooling, the faith-based school system (Madaaris) also flourished very rapidly, especially after the de-nationalization of Pakistan's educational institutions, which occurred during the era of the Soviet-Afghan war and Iranian revolution. Although the number of Madaaris is debated, the official statistics of Pakistan

reported that there were 284 in 1947, approximately 2000 in the 1980s, 12,500 in 2007-08, and 32,000 in 2014-15 (Ministry of Education, 2016).<sup>4</sup>

As the total population has increased in Pakistan, the number of modern<sup>5</sup> secular schools and Madaaris has also increased, but schools of Pakistan (including public schools, private schools and Madraaris) have been severely criticized, particularly after the rise of Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the tragic events of 9/11 in the United States. National literature has described the public school system as conservative, out-dated and low quality (Hoodbhoy, 1998; Memon, 2008). Andrabi and others warn of the dangers of Madaaris (Andrabi, et al. 2008). The international literature has reframed the entire Pakistani education as violent; for instance, a Washington Post story from January 17, 2010, quoted by Winthrop and Graff (2010), states, “with a curriculum that glorifies violence in the name of Islam and ignores basic history, science and math, the public education system [in Pakistan] has become a major barrier to U.S. efforts to defeat extremist groups” (p-3). Private schools, on the other hand, are seen as institutions serving the needs of only the small upper class urban population of the country (Rahman, 2005). Madaaris are regarded as being affiliated with sectarian violence, serving as *Jehad*<sup>6</sup> factories and promoting terrorism (Freedman, 2001; Singer, 2001; Hussain, 2007; Malik, 2008).

Until 2004, I lived and worked in Pakistan for my entire life. I attended public sector schools through high school, college and university. I have taught in a private school in Pakistan and have been actively involved in the development and education sectors through my entire

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<sup>4</sup> Unofficial statistics are quoted as high as 45,000 by some researchers and scholars (see for example, Qasmi 2005; ICG report 2002; Thomas Friedman NY Times, 2001).

<sup>5</sup> The word ‘Modern’ is used in all Pakistani official and non-official literature as a synonym for the contemporary secular public and private schools in Pakistan.

<sup>6</sup> Jihad is fighting in the name of Allah.

professional career. As I saw it, the widespread criticism of the Pakistani education system, and particular the popular narrative regarding Madaaris, was not convincing. Much of the opposition to Madaaris has focused on apprehensions about its out-dated curriculum, and the limited opportunities and viewpoints which these schools are said to offer to children, but the views of local stakeholders (the education providers and the recipients of the services for their children) are rarely solicited that how and why they make particular educational choices.

My inquisitiveness on this subject led me to explore the literature, which I would characterize as falling into one of two camps. The first represented the Madrasah as an institution promoting militancy, terrorism and fundamentalism, as recruiting *Jehadis*<sup>7</sup>, and as the only source of education for the poor and deprived. The second discussed the notion of parental choice and was written with a western market perspective. However, both of these trends in the existing literature based their conclusions on secondary source data, relying on numbers rather than the attitudes, practices, and on-the-ground realities of local Pakistanis. Through my personal and professional experiences, I had learnt that each one of the educational tracks in Pakistan (public, private and Madrasah) has its own circle of constituents and its own logics and relationships with the other systems. While there are significant ideological and institutional differences among these systems, they are primarily differentiated by who they serve, differences that can be explained by class, geography, and religiosity (as argued by Rahman, 2004, Farah et al, 2007; Zia, 2003).

In Pakistan, “school choice” means something distinct. It is neither offered nor supported by the state or community structures; instead, different school systems serve different kinds of students and families. In so doing, the educational system as a whole reflects and (re)produces

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<sup>7</sup> People participating in Jihad.

class and gender hierarchies that are firmly embedded in all aspects of rural life. Different researchers and scholars working from “choice” traditions have identified a number of factors that influence parents’ decision on where to send their children to school. These include, centrally: the cost of schooling, the quality of schooling, the perceived benefits from schooling, the social status of the parents, geographic location of educational institutions, parents’ capacity to educate their children, disciplinary practices and the social atmosphere at school (Iram, et al, 2008; Morgan and Blackmore, 2007; Gibbons, 2006/07; Checchi and Jappelli, 2004; Sawada and Lokshin, 2001; Williams, 1996; Echols and Williams, 1995). Existing choice literature emphasizes experiences in Global North countries (such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and others). Here, the literature argues, parental choice is concerned with the ways that parents respond to the quality of education and the perceived future benefits from a particular school or the type of education (Maddaus, 1990; Brouillette, 2001; Sanders, 2001; Ball, 2003; Morgan and Blackmore, 2007). In less developed countries and impoverished communities, though quality of education may be of concern, scarce resources, limited access to information about the quality of education, and limited options in rural settings mean that most of the population’s educational decisions are more likely to be made on the bases of affordability and access. Moreover, in many Muslim societies, religious beliefs and prevailing social and cultural norms also play an important role in shaping parents’ educational choices.

Keeping in mind the social, cultural, religious, and economic factors that influence parents’ educational decision-making, I ask what factors keep the children of Balochistan from better educational outcomes. This study will show what parents’ educational (or non-educational) priorities are for their children, whether they attend public schools, private schools, Madaaris, or do not attend school at all. Furthermore, this study will also provide insight into

what kind of education these varied types of institutions offer to different children belonging to different social classes.

### **1.1.1. Research Questions:**

This dissertation explores how, when, and why parents make decisions on their children's schooling and education in Pakistan, particularly in Balochistan province. I ask:

- 1) *How is the Pakistani education system structured? What types of educational choices and systems are available to urban families versus those available to rural families, boys versus girls, richer families versus poorer families? (How) does the structure impact institutional-level experiences and outcomes?*
- 2) *What are the prominent curricular, instructional, and administrative differences among the available educational systems in Balochistan? How do these relate to class, geography and gender?*
- 3) *How and why do parents choose a certain type of schooling and education in Balochistan? Why do some parents prefer Madrasah rather than a formal public school?*

## **1.2. Conceptual and Analytical Framework:**

This section describes the critical theories of social reproduction that contribute to the dissertation's analytical framework. Critical theory considers the social, political, and economic contexts and implications of schooling (Wexler, 2009). It considers "issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy, matters of race, class and gender, ideologies, discourses, education, religion and other social institutions and cultural dynamics interact to construct a

social system” (Kincheloe and McLaren 2000, p. 291). In Wexler’s (2009) words, “Marxist Social Theory is about how the social is structured beyond the sum of the individuals and in an organized and collective history of production process that are complex and internally contradictory” (p-65).

Qualitative researchers who adopt a critical theoretical approach are interested in how social values and organization get reproduced in schools and other educational institutions and how people produce choices and actions in society – which is normally influenced by the available educational institutions. Wexler (2009) further argues that the institutional reproductive work that was once accomplished by religion is now increasingly accomplished by education. He stresses the fact that schools are not free-floating institutions. Instead, they are part of the ‘state apparatus’ representative of the dominant political system (Wexler, 2009).

Governance is the process of making and implementing decisions for the masses. In his forward to the book *The Voice of Reason*, Dashti (2007) writes that “in Pakistan, we have different sets of rules to govern our social behavior, political attitudes, religious beliefs and media management policies” (p-x). Dashti (2007) then further explains that “the exploitative nature of the ruling elite and concentration of the power, resources and communications in the hands of a particular group belonging to a particular ethnicity (or class) imply a poor linkage of decision-making processes and their implementation” (p-x). Because the nexus of power in present day Pakistan remains in the hands of the powerful elite, the poor class remains excluded from the decision-making process that effect their own lives.

Marx (1956) claims that “the ideas of the ruling class are, in every age, the ruling ideas, that is, the class which is the dominant material force in the society is at the same time the dominant intellectual force” (p-78). In the case of Pakistan, it appears to be the case that the

people who had access to elite education have ruled the country since its inception. The affluent groups, especially the ones who are more culturally privileged in Pakistani society, such as the *Khans, Nawabs, Sardars, Waderas, and Choudhries*<sup>8</sup>, who often serve as politicians, military and civil bureaucrats, always find a way to make the best education for their children available through elite private and public schools. The schooling that they choose reproduces the next generation of the same ruling class and helps them reinforce their advantage – the cycle has been going on for the last 70 years.

The share of enrollment in private schools increased steadily over the past several decades - more than 33% of the Pakistani population is now being served by the private school sector of the educational system. Private schooling is mainly accessible to the urban, upper-middle-class or the elite class of the society (Rahman, 2005), and this increasing trend is attributed to a ‘social process of segregation’ (Narodowski, 2008). Over time it has been observed that these are mainly the quality educational institutions that produce the intellectual and political cream of the society who govern the society. Due to dissatisfaction with public sector institutions (except for a few elite ones, such as the institutions run by the Pakistan Armed Forces, which are not accessible to the common citizens), demand for private sector institutions has increased, and, in response, the number of such institutions has also boosted. As the middle-class removes their children from a state system in which they perceive the quality of education to have deteriorated, and move them into mid-level private institutions, this creates even greater social and class segregation in the society (Narodowski, 2008), as well as fuelling elite migration to urban areas with greater numbers of private institutions.

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<sup>8</sup> The hierarchies in tribal, social and cultural setup of Pakistan, particularly in her rural areas.

Through my personal experiences of working in different parts of Pakistan, I have observed that in addition to Marx's perspective of class-based reproduction, deprivation is enhanced by prevailing cultural and traditionalist systems as well. Bourdieu (1974) expresses the ideological relations between social reproduction and cultural reproduction generated by educational institutions in a society. He states that people with varied cultural capital come to a common place called 'schools'; the schools play a favorable role for people equipped with dominant forms of cultural capital, though schools are portrayed as being 'neutral'.

Like for many public and private secular school students, Madrasah attendees also maintain a particular cohesive vision of ideal schooling that may involve a principle of division, or defining and differentiating from unlike groups (Bourdieu, 1998). In such thinking, Madrasah attendees develop identities and enact strategies that increase their cultural and political capital in relation to other individuals and collectives. There is some evidence, for example, that the role of the Pakistani Madaaris is to further intertwine religious traditions with the local cultures, thus resulting in a more religiously inclined society (Riaz, 2014). While expressing his concern over the place and role of educational institutions, I find Bourdieu in agreement with Marx – noting that “the educational system makes more thoroughly than any other legitimating mechanism ... the arbitrary nature of the actual demarcation of its public, thereby imposing more subtly the legitimacy of its product and its hierarchies” (p-496). One of the major critiques of the prevailing educational systems (especially the elite public and private schools) in Pakistan is that they have made a great contribution to the reproduction of the structure of unequal power relationships between classes, as Bourdieu, (1974) would say, by contributing to the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among the affluent classes. Moreover, Pakistani society is very



much influenced both by religion as well as education, which interact to play a central role in enabling the maintenance and continuation of the contemporary social structure (Wexler, 2009). Each one of the schooling systems in Pakistan (Public, Private and Madrasah) has its own sphere of constituents. While there are significant ideological and institutional differences among these systems, they are primarily differentiated in who they serve by class. The elite public and private schools serve the affluent class, making up 3% to 5% of the population (Naseem, 2004). The costs of the elite schools are very high and can only be borne by a family that makes at least Pak. Rs. 50,000 per month (Rahman, 2004). These parents are normally from the affluent class and work as civil bureaucrats, military officers, elected politicians, business tycoons, or feudal lords. Public schools, on the other hand, cater to the needs of the vast majority of the poor and lower-middle-class population in Pakistan (Rahman, 2004; Farah, et al 2006). With the emergence of low-fee private schools, the urban lower-middle and middle-class parents may opt to move their children to the low-fee private schools with the hope that these schools will provide a better education for their children (Andrabi, et al 2012). These parents come from blue color jobs and also from the skilled and unskilled labor sector and earn between Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 30,000 a month. Public schooling costs are much lower for parents than the costs associated with schooling provided by the private sector. Nonetheless, Madaaris, as explained by Rahman (2004), are considered to *be the schools for the poor* (Ahmad, 2002; Rahman, 2004). The majority of the students belong to the poorest and most underprivileged class of society (Malik, 2008). Most of the Madrasah students come from families where the household income is less than Pak. Rs.10,000 per month, with the majority of parents working blue color jobs. Only a small exception of families with more money send their children to Madaaris. Generally, these families consider religious education to be an obligation and see modern education as a threat to

morality (Malik, 2008; Nelson, 2006). Few of these families (less than 10%) who send their children to Madaaris are not economically destitute (Anzar, 2003). Madaaris provide free education to all regardless of class or geography. I wish to investigate how this clear class division among education institutions was constructed, how it was understood, and how it resulted in differentiated “educational choices” in Balochistan—an area in which there has been tremendous interest on the part of political scientists and policymakers in the so-called “choices” that parents make to send their children to Madrasah (Rahman, 2004). I wanted to understand: How do parents understand their access to these three types of education? When access to more than one type of schooling was possible, why and how did the parents come to prefer one type of education and schooling over the other? And when and why did parents chose not to send their children to any of these institutions? In other words, this study aimed to tackle the question of “parental choice” in Balochistan from a different angle, one that did not assume that “parental choice” was structured primarily by neoliberal rationalities concerning parental access to information (Tooley, 2005), but that the material realities of a society deeply divided by class, gender, and geography had to be centered in any study of how and why different parents were making decisions that led to different educational “choices”, experiences, and outcomes.

In order to decenter common assumptions about individual parental choice, in my fieldwork I critically examined how different educational stakeholders - Pakistani government officials, religious leaders, Madrasah administrators, Pakistani community leaders, parents, think-tanks, the international development community - influence educational choices through “classed” social settings, and cultural, political, and religious views and practices My goal was to analyze the information in such a way as to reveal relations of power and domination within the

society, which shape the ideas and priorities of the masses, particularly in their actions related to schooling for their children.

According to Carnoy (1992), education is shaped by the power relations between economic, political and social groups. Adopting Carnoy's argument, I attempt to explore how and what kind of education is provided by the Pakistani educational systems (public, private and Madaaris), for individuals from different geographical areas (urban/rural), social classes (rich and poor), and genders (male and female). Thus, this study considers the usefulness of class-based analyses for better understanding the Pakistani education system and the particular role of Madaaris in it, from the perspective of parents, community leaders, and other educational stakeholders. That is, as much as I was interested in understanding what led different parents to make different educational "choices" for their children, I also wanted to understand how people perceived the "choices" available to them, as I felt that the literature on Madaaris in Pakistan regularly misrepresented how people in Balochistan understood Madaaris as institutions, and Madrasah education as an educational choice. I, therefore, made all efforts to help the reader understand how social, political, and economic practices are shaped by the existing educational systems in Pakistan, which in turn shape the overall civil, religious and cultural practices in the society. To do so, I engage critical and Marxist theories, and their varied claims of individual, class, or bureaucratic agency (or lack thereof) in generating system outcomes (Ferguson 1994).

### **1.3. Methodology:**

This section describes and explains the research methodology of this study on *Parental Choice of Education and Schooling in Pakistan*. I start by describing the rationale for picking the mixed methods paradigm and bringing together qualitative and quantitative research methods to

get the most out of my fieldwork and data. Following that is the detailed account of the main data collection tools used with reference to their context, purpose, situation, and the ways in which they were used. Next, I describe the process and techniques that I used for data analysis to assimilate major themes, perceptions, and the knowledge derived from the collected data into the dissertation. At the end of the chapter, I elaborate on the challenges and issues related to my research process and limitations of this study.

As early as the start of the research proposal development phase, I started thinking about the process of research design, development of tools, execution of the fieldwork and assimilation of various components of data for a comprehensive analysis of parental choice in Balochistan. I challenged myself with several intellectual questions so that I would be able to lay out a strong foundation for my research and, therefore, develop a meaningful thesis on parental choice in Pakistan. Some of these questions revolved around finding the best way to answer the most pressing question on how I should proceed towards designing the study, gathering the material to be used as data in this research and moving forward from acquiring this material to making sense of it, and developing an academic thesis that aligns with the intellectual traditions of class-based theories. These challenges guided me to choose mixed research methods – a combination of both qualitative and quantitative research paradigms.

There is a plethora of research methodology literature that argues for the effectiveness of picking a mixed methods paradigm, particularly for questions that try to engage demographic issues and at the same time perceptions, knowledge and attitudes. It is generally argued that studies that combine quantitative and qualitative data offer a greater opportunity to understand issues from various angles (Dumais, 2006). This study encompasses three major research components; i) analysis of the available literature and research from around the world on

parental choice in general, and on Pakistan's education choice in particular; ii) survey of the target area households, gauging their demographics and socio-economic status; and, iii) acquiring knowledge on parents', community leaders', teachers', and other local educational stakeholders' attitudes, knowledge and practices regarding school choice.

The field research design of my study was mainly guided by qualitative research methodology. Qualitative research is more suitable for obtaining in-depth data from participants, and for examining how participants make sense of issues (Eisner, 1991; Eisner & Peshkin, 1990; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Qualitative research methodology enables the researcher to partake in the lives of participants, working with them, and giving voice to their various viewpoints, which allows for increased understanding of the dynamic and multifaceted social realities (Clendenin & Connelly, 2000). I used qualitative research methodology as an umbrella term to refer to several research strategies that share certain characteristics. Researchers who use the qualitative approach are interested in how different people make sense of their lives, and thrive to capture the ways that people talk about and act in response to particular happenings. Their objective is to explore the nuances and understand the patterns of human behavior and experience in people's everyday lives (Creswell, 2009). To gain accurate and in-depth insight, certain qualitative research methods and procedures need to be pursued so that the research results in obtaining rich, descriptive, contextually situated data based on people's spoken or written words and/or observed behaviors. As a qualitative researcher, I believed that assessing people's ideas and actions needed to be handled with great sensitivity, care and skill.

In education, qualitative research is frequently called naturalistic because the researcher frequents places where the events s/he is interested in naturally occur. Researchers argue that action can best be documented and understood when it is observed in the setting in which it

occurs (Bogdan and Biklen, 2003). Qualitative research requires the researcher to be close to his/her participants and build a good rapport with the participants; therefore, researchers tend to collect their data through sustained contacts with people in settings where participants normally spend their time (Berg, 2004). In other words, the entire process of qualitative research is considered to be a situated activity that locates the observer in the world (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Qualitative research properly seeks answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I share the perspective of qualitative scholars and argue that qualitative researchers are most interested in how humans arrange themselves and their settings and how inhabitants of these settings make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social structure, social roles, and so forth (Berg, 2004). Denzin & Lincoln (2005) rightly observe that qualitative research illuminates the historical context, relationships, and underlying assumptions of contemporary developments.

On the other hand, quantitative research provides an opportunity to gather broad-based data (Creswell, 2002). Moreover, quantitative research, as Travers (1969) describes, enhances the viability of deductive reasoning when computable tools are employed to collect relevant data and the results are analyzed with defined dimensions. It is generally argued that quantitative research has been thoroughly embraced in Pakistan and the research landscape is dominated by people counting numbers, in one form or another (Malik, 2012). For instance, Smith (1997) explains, as Malik (2012) quotes; “educational research in Pakistan reflects a strong commitment to quantitative methods and even educational policies are usually shaped by quantitative research purely based on numbers. Pakistani research traditions mostly rely only on numbers, and the particular kinds of issues and causes that such numbers can illuminate.. I am in agreement with

Malik (2012) to break the apparent Pakistani routine and introduce an amalgamation in research and try to introduce a civic, participatory, and collaborative project (Creswell, 2002). Therefore, I, as a researcher, deemed it necessary to supplement my qualitative data with quantitative numbers for two reasons: 1) to widen the horizons in understanding and making sense of the analysis, and, 2), I strongly perceive that, when combined, they will contribute to the how other Pakistani researchers view the reliability and validity of my analysis (Malik, 2012).

As mentioned earlier, my research involved a greater number of qualitative elements and a range of approaches that will be discussed in the following section. The quantitative part was limited to data collected through a household survey, which mainly investigated the socio-economic capital and demographics of households in each of my catchment areas.

I captured the majority of my data through carefully selected qualitative research design. I sampled three rural locations from two districts (Quetta and Pishin) in the province of Balochistan, Pakistan. In each site I carried out household surveys and in-depth interviews with parents, teachers, institutional administrators, community and religious elders. I also conducted detail observations at the community, institution and classrooms level in all three educational institutions; i.e. public, private and Madrasah. Moreover, I also included a few interviews with the policy makers at the district and province level in the sample. This blend of varied types of qualitative research tools offered an effective source of triangulation, ensuring production of more accurate and authentic results of the study.

I was able to conduct this study because of my previous contacts with leaders and organizations in the area, from my previous work with the government of Balochistan, UN agencies and NGOs. These contacts were able to in turn introduce me to local stakeholders, especially local leaders and parents, who were put at ease by my being from the area and by the

connections I had with trusted sources. Because of this, I was able to conduct the research freely, and to better understand the knowledge, attitudes, and practices of the households and communities in the area. I also spent time systematically trying to figure out the kind of interactions taking place between state and non-state actors in and outside of schools, around education. This was similarly made possible by existing connections, my Pashto linguistic skills, and prior working and living experience in the region.

I obtained a comprehensive data set from a planned, mixed-methods data collection approach, believing that the good amount of quantitative and qualitative data from the same villages and families would facilitate my data analysis; hence resulting in solid outcome.

### **1.3.1. Rationale for Research Site Selection:**

I conducted research in a total of three sites in two different districts. Following were a few of the main reasons for selecting the two districts and the three sites within the two districts:

- The geographical point of interest of the study was rural areas in two Pak-Afghan bordering districts (Quetta and Pishin) within the Balochistan province of Pakistan. Balochistan is the least developed province among the four provinces<sup>9</sup> of Pakistan. I deemed it necessary to select this province because of its demographic and geographic location. Except Quetta city – the capital of Balochistan province – the entire province is considered to be rural (Gov. of Balochistan website). Social and physical infrastructure is nominal and development indicators, particularly educational ones, are alarming in rural Balochistan<sup>10</sup> (ASER Balochistan Rural Report, 2013). My question was motivated in part by the literature claiming that in these more

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<sup>9</sup> Other provinces are Punjab, Sindh and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (former NWFP).

<sup>10</sup> Will be presented later in this and the following chapters.



traditionalist and rural areas, Madrasah education should be understood as a process of parents at least in part choosing to send their children to more “radicalizing” schools. Balochistan represents the demographic extremes assumed in this argument. The society is more tribal, traditional and religious in nature as compared to the other provinces of Pakistan (Baloch and Khalid, 1990). Adult literacy rates, child enrollment and primary completion rates are the lowest. The ratio of Madaris to the population is larger than any other province; however, the number of public and private schools is lesser than the others. According to Andrabi, et al. (2005), quoted by Fair (2008), seven out of ten of the Pakistani districts with highest Madrasah enrollment are situated in Balochistan. The districts of Quetta and Pishin are included in that list. Quetta (except Quetta city) and Pishin districts exhibit the traditional rural characteristics of a Pakistani village.

- I selected two villages/small towns in the rural areas of Quetta district (one closer to Quetta city – the provincial capital – and the other a bit farther away). Since Pishin is almost 94% rural, the site selected, however, was only about 27 kilometers from Pishin town; therefore, it had, to some extent, access to Pishin town (the capital of Pishin district with more variety of educational institutions). Taken together, the three sites represent the most common settings for schooling in the province and the country: very rural, without easy access to town (village Malakaan - Pishin), rural, but with access to town if the family is wealthy enough to afford regular transportation (Village Khan Baba - Quetta), and suburban village Baacha Khan - Quetta, which in Balochistan are primarily the areas in and around Quetta.<sup>11</sup>

- The population of each research location varied and on average the range was between 700 to a thousand households, with average household sizes ranging from 5 to 7.

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<sup>11</sup> Please note that for sake of confidentiality I am using pseudonyms for the three selected research sites.

- These three research sites represented a blend of population of rich and poor, rural and semi urban, with a variety of educational institutions, including public, private and madrasah. Two of the three research locations (Khan Baba and Malakaan) have greater influence from Afghanistan (in particular, a high number of Afghan refugees) and have an increased number of Madaaris in the area. This pattern is common in several areas of Balochistan (for instance, districts Killa Abdullah, Loralai, Zhob, Noushki and Dalbandin) and many districts of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan.
- Another important factor in selecting these districts was that I was born in one district and was raised in the other. I have had good ties with the communities and government officials due to my tribal affiliations (belonging to an influential Pashtun tribe in Balochistan) and my professional work in the government and non-government sector for a long time. My ties and prior acquaintance with the communities and government facilitated my research in a severe law and order situation caused by ethnic and sectarian tensions. During the time of my research, Balochistan, particularly Quetta, had been riven by severe ethnic and sectarian conflicts. Moreover, the Baloch insurgency was at its peak, resulting in bomb blasts almost every other day. Beyond these flare-ups, discussing religion has always been a sensitive subject among the rural masses of Pakistan, particularly when there were questions on Madrasah. Such questions would always raise eyebrows in a society extremely affected by “Talibanization.” It would have been almost impossible to conduct this study had I not been speaking the local language or from a strong tribal background or had I not had my personal contacts in the communities, and with religious and political leaders.

### **1.3.2. Data Collection and Organization:**

Methodologically, the study under discussion embarked mainly on two data collection approaches:

- 1) The analysis of secondary data available through the existing literature and datasets
- 2) Primary data collection in the three selected communities and Quetta city.

#### **- An In-depth Literature Review (Content Analysis of the Secondary Data):**

Though a major portion of my literature review was completed before embarking on the fieldwork, I still continued reviewing the literature, particularly literature that was not available to me at the University while in the United States but that was relevant to Pakistan, its educational structures, and specifically the claims made regarding the parental choice of education in Pakistan. The objective of my literature review was multi-purpose: first, to know how much local work closely related to my study was already carried out, which could provide me with avenues for further exploration; second, to help me continue exploring the larger on-going dialogue in the literature; third, to collect locally-generated documents about issues related to educational beliefs and actions, which might enable me to obtain the language and words of the participants (Creswell, 2009) at the local level.

I critically analyzed these documents to capture their conceptual and relational aspects (Berelson, 1952). My specific model of literature content analysis emphasizes the distinctive features (the arguments and evidence) of literature evolving around the subject of educational systems in Pakistan. This study endeavors to achieve the goal of understanding the literature's contents and its underlying motives. Most of this literature was developed to argue for support for or against one or more of the prevailing sub-sectors of education system - public, private and

Madrasah - in Pakistan. Some of it focused on the historical development of education in Pakistan, often written from the perspective of leading thinkers and scholars in different educational organizations. Some of it focused on only one component of the education system (e.g., just Madaaris or private schools), often to argue the benefits or weaknesses of the sector. A subset of the literature on Madaaris argued against the increasingly prevalent outside arguments being made that Madaaris were breeding grounds for the Taliban and terrorism (Malik, 2008; Singer, 2007; Freedman, 2001), but most of these documents, because they were written locally and for local consumption, did not engage with these external arguments. Instead, they focused on data generated by the media without having a real sense of the ground realities.

I looked at the historical and contemporary facts and perceptions in each document, analyzing the socio-political and socio-economic arguments put forward. This approach allowed me to incorporate historical facts and scholars' perceptions about the evolution of Pakistani education systems before and after the creation of Pakistan. I deemed it necessary to look into the historical sources available from within Pakistan as well as outside the country.

To address the contemporary issues, I critically examined the claims and suggestions, pertaining to each educational system and to their comparisons, made by all the study stakeholders; i.e. Pakistani government officials, religious leaders, Madrasah administrators, Pakistani communities, think-tanks, and international community.

Several researchers and scholars and media journalists have written a substantial amount about Pakistan's education system(s). Particularly after 9/11, Pakistan's education system (especially the public sector and Madrasah education) has been under severe scrutiny as it is blamed for producing fundamentalists. I attempted to explore who says what, to whom, why, to what extent and with what effect regarding educational systems/institutions, and in particularly

the assumptions and differentiations made between the madrasah and the public and private education systems.

Following is a brief synopsis of the resources:

*Academic Manuscripts:* Academic books were the primary source of the detailed literature review of this research. Though a few good books existed on Pakistan and its educational systems (public and private) (for example; Naseem, 2010; Saigol, 2010; Zia, 2010; Qureshi and Shamin, 2009; Retallick, 2009; Dashti, 2007; Retallick and Farah, 2005; Rahman, 2004; Dehwar, 1994); there was a scarcity of books on *Madrasah* and its historic role in Pakistan. The few available books that give a more fact-based picture of the Pakistani education systems and parental choice ( for instance, Riaz, 2014; Naseem, 2010; Rahman, 2010; Riaz, 2009; Malik, 2008; Dashti, 2007; Hussain, 2007; Khan, et al, 2005; Qasmi, 2005; Rahman, 2004; Asad, 2003; Riavi, 2003; Zaman, 2002; Zaman, 1999; Dehwar, 1994; Abedi 1991; Al Mujahid, 1976), were chosen to present an overall comparative picture pertaining to the period of the last four decades. I also analyzed curricula and relevant textbooks from this period for the public and madrasah systems.

*Journal Articles:*<sup>12</sup> Peer-reviewed scholarly journal articles, published in recognized and reputable journals, were another major sources contributing to this study. After 9/11, many scholars and researchers have put their efforts into illuminating the world about the Pakistani educational systems (Jamal, 2017; Alif Ailaan , 2016; Alif Ailaan and SAHE 2016; Andrabi, 2012; Aslam, 2009; Latif, 2009; Memon, 2007; Farah, et al, 2006; Tooley, 2001; Lloyd, 2001;

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<sup>12</sup> The articles were selected from journals published in the fields of education, religion, economics and development; such as, *American Educational Research Journal*, *American Journal of Education*, *Harvard Educational Review*, *International Review of Education*, *Comparative Education*, *Journal of International and Comparative Education*, *The Middle East Journal*, *Pakistan Development Forum*, and *The Muslim World*.

Orazem, 2000; Warwick and Reimers, 1995; Quddos, 1990; Qureshi, 1975; etc), and especially *Madrasah* as an institution, its evolution and its function, particularly in the contemporary era (Bano, 2010 and 2012; Winthrop and Graff, 2010; Candland, 2005; Anzar, 2003; Zia, 2003; Weiss, 1986; Tarmizi, 1980; etc.). To date, however, there does not appear to have been any qualitative study discussing ‘parental choice’ in the Pakistani context. The few studies and journal articles that are available (such as, Singer, 2001; Safdar, 2001; Swada and Lokshin, 2001; etc.) were based on quantitative research traditions highlighting only demographics and survey statistics rather than perceptions, practices and attitudes of the Pakistani parents.

*Reports:*<sup>13</sup> I reviewed a wide range of reports, most of which fall into the international development “grey literature” category. These include statistical reports, education policies, reports and working papers on school financial resources, teaching and administrative staff, management structure, details on academic and non-academic facilities drawn from the archives of Pakistan's government departments and ministries, statistical and situation analysis reports produced by national and international educational and developmental organizations and from think-tanks working in Pakistan and around the world on the themes of Pakistani education.

*Media:* Though there was not much historical literature available through the media, their contemporary reports were important sources for the dissertation. Because of the nature of the topic, the subject is highly debated among different actors around the globe. The main sources of print and electronic media were the local, regional and international newspapers for instance, the Daily DAWN; Pakistan Today, Pakistan Times; Pakistan Tribune, Daily Jang, etc., featured magazine articles; such as, the Herald, Jang Magazine, radio and television programs

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<sup>13</sup>For instance, the World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF, USAID, International Crisis Group, USIP, etc.

(mostly produced in the United States and Pakistan); Voice of America, Geo News Network, etc, and selected internet sources.

### **1.3.3. Research Sampling:**

This research entailed both purposive and random sampling. There were no specific population data publicly available from the government published records about the research locations, other than what was available was from the population censuses of the early 1980s and 1998. I therefore approached the union council office of that area and received some estimated unpublished data from them (comparatively newer data) to establish the base of my research sample. I asked for the estimated number of households and then the number of streets in that particular village. For the structured survey questionnaires, in each of the research sites, and keeping in view the number of households: first, I selected the number of streets and then the number of households in each street. For example, Khan Baba and Malakaan are bigger villages; therefore, I selected every third street from North to South and then selected every third household on each side of the street starting from the North. While in Baacha Khan Village, I selected every second street from North to South and every second household on each side of the street. In case the house was vacant or parents were not available then the next household was selected. In total more than 70 households were interviewed in each of the villages during the first round of survey.

The second round of data collection consisted mainly of in-depth interviews with the parents. These interviews were based on purposive sampling. Twenty-five parents with children going to school (Public, Private and/or Madrasah) in each village were interviewed during the household survey round and were identified as willing to participate in the study. Additional

interviews in each village were conducted with; village elders, teachers, School and Madrasah administrators (at local level) and government and Madrasah officials at the district, province and the national level.

Schools and Madaris within the radius of three kilometers were brought into the study; however, if any of the institutions were not available within the radius of three kilometers, the nearest of the same kind was chosen and visited. From each of these selected institutions, the institutional administrator and at least two teachers were interviewed; however, where there was only one teacher then only one was interviewed. A couple of policy makers were included in the sample at the district as well as provincial level from Public education and Madrasah sector.

#### **1.3.4. Primary Data Collection:**

##### **1.3.4.1. Field Research Tools:**

As mentioned above, one of the major strengths of using mixed methods is that it allows for the use of a variety of data collection tools suitable to the situation of my research. Therefore, to best ensure this wide range of options and as I was seeking to triangulate in order to enhance “reliability and internal validity” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 177) of the study, I used the following multiple data collection tools: semi-structured quantitative and qualitative interviews with the household heads; open-ended, in-depth interviews with parents, institutional administrators, teachers, and policy makers. I also conducted institutional and classroom observations (20 to 30 hours of observations per school in each per district); post-observation reflections; and field notes for research location.



*i) Household Survey:*

In the first round, I carried out a survey of the three villages and conducted 226 household interviews (approximately 74 – 75 randomly selected households in each village). The survey research protocols contained partly closed-ended questions, while a major portion of it held semi-structured questions. The initial round of household surveys provided me with understanding regarding the socio-economic status of the household, parental education, information about household children (boys and girls) and their education level and school types, and the process and authority of decision-making for children's education. Moreover, these survey interviews also provided an insight into parents' knowledge of and perceptions about the three streams of Pakistani education system. The other purpose of these preliminary household survey interviews was to select potential parents for in-depth interviews during the second round. It is worth noting that my sample during the initial household survey round also included those parents who opted for not sending their children to any of the available institutions; these interviews were very helpful in highlighting reasons of their particular option and concerns (if any). Each of the household survey interviews lasted one hour to two hours. Most of the interviews were conducted in the houses of the respondents, with a few exceptions, when the parents preferred to be interviewed at another place of their choice, such as their business location, agricultural field and/or workplace. Before the initiation of the interviews, I informed them about the objectives of the research and read out the consent form to obtain their oral consent. More than 90% of the households agreed to participate in the research; however, some of them had questions about the type of research, my personal interests and work and educational experiences, the American interests in the research (since I was coming from the US for this

research), and so on. I made all efforts to respond to their questions with full sincerity and truthfulness.

*ii) In-depth Interviews with Parents:*

Initially, my plan included conducting around sixty (20 purposefully selected households in each village) in-depth individual interviews with parents in the second round of data collection; however, keeping in mind the size of the population, I carried out more than my originally-planned number. On average, I conducted 25 interviews at each location. In this round of interviews, I mostly used semi-structured and unstructured interview protocols for detailed and in-depth interviews. These interviews were spread over multiple meetings with parents, ranging between 2 to 3 meetings depending on the willingness and availability of the respondents. The purpose of these interviews was to get an in-depth understanding of their knowledge of the existing education systems in general, and the respective institutions that their children attended in the province and villages more specifically. I also asked parents about their experiences with these institutions, why they preferred one over the other, and how they made educational decisions for their children. These interviews provided me with insight into their expectations for education, their actual experiences, their reasoning for making choices, and their claims regarding prioritization of education and schooling for their children. These interviews were interesting, as some participants felt at ease and wanted to talk for hours over a traditional cup of tea. However, I believed that time was of the essence for the villagers due to their round-the-clock engagements necessary for earning a living; therefore, I was very sensitive to the valuable time of those parents who I interviewed, and I made sure that each of the individual interview sessions finished in around 2 hours. Indeed, I met all the parents at least twice, and

several parents agreed to meet more than two times at either the same or a different location at the convenience of the interviewee. For these interviews, I again read the consent form out loud and received their oral consent.

*iii) Other (Institutional, Community and Policy Level) Interviews:*

Outside the household level, I interviewed several individuals relevant to this research. One public school headmaster/principal, one private school headmaster/principal, and one *Madrasah* administrator, as well as two teachers from each sector at each location were interviewed at the institutional level (total 15 interviews), and a religious scholar, and a village/community elder at the community level in each of the selected research locations (total of 5 interviews). Furthermore, I also interviewed public sector and *Madrasah* officials who were mainly involved with the policy-making and overall macro-level administration at the district and provincial level (total 2 interviews). I was also able to interview an individual engaged in *Madrasah* policy making at the National *Wafaq* (National *Madrasah* Board) level.

These interviews provided me with an understanding of local communities' views of parental choice when it came to schooling for their children. They enabled me understand how the community and school-level management value parental choice. Furthermore, these interviews also helped me understand the local cultures, traditions, and views on education (especially from the community elders and religious leaders) and the available educational facilities and the type of education (from *Madrasah* and School administrators) for children in that community. Interviews with the institutional teachers were critical to giving an in-depth insight into teachers' academic qualifications and work experiences, their access to certain

professional development opportunities, their attitudes towards various types of education, and, most importantly, their learning and teaching approaches.

*iv) Observations:*

Observations were one of the most important tools of my research's data collection methodology. Observations (in any situation) are conducted with an aim to produce collective facts rather than just an individual's knowledge. To achieve this objective, Berg (2004) and Opie (2004) suggest that it is direly needed that such observations are systematically recorded, and carefully interpreted and analyzed. In my case, I played the role of active observer and passive participant at the community level as well as at the educational institutional level to seek an answer to many whats, hows and whys. I tried to observe what people say and what they do.

The study involved three types of observations:

- One, ***the community level observations*** – where I attempted to observe community level collective responses to education in particular, and common social interaction in general. For example, I investigated where were the schools located in the community, how much the community took part in schools' affairs, and how supportive were the people towards their children's education. Before, entering any community, I contacted an influential villager to seek his permission and guidance on how to approach the community. In general people were cooperative; however, it was necessary to gain their confidence before embarking on research in a specific location. Strangers are quickly pointed out by the villagers and their activities are objected to without the knowledge of the residents. I made all possible efforts to properly convey the objective of my visit, my plans and the tentative length of visit to the community elders and the *Imam* of the mosque so that they could inform the community in

case there were any questions. Generally, along with a community resident/informant, I strolled around the village to see where the schools were located and if they were accessible to the majority of the population. I also explored if there were any parent-teacher village committees established or if there was any other mechanism where teachers and parents met regularly to discuss school affairs and/or children's educational progress. It was also a good opportunity to explore communal interaction taking place at local mosques, as the majority of the rural community members (males) attended the mosques multiple times a day. I also attended the mosque congregation during several prayer times. I was able to see a few parents discussing their children's *Quranic* education progress with the *Imams*. It is noteworthy to understand the important and influential role of the mosques and *Imams* in Muslim communities. My previous work experiences taught me that it was crucial to gain the trust of the *Imams* before embarking on any kind of activity in a community.

Besides specific educational information, the community observations enabled me to better understand the socio-cultural, socio-economic, and socio-political environment prevailing in the village. I used unstructured/loosely structured protocols for keeping myself focused on the type of information that I needed. Nonetheless, field notes were the most powerful tool for recording anything interesting and relevant not covered by the questionnaires that I had structured for various interviews. Information gathered through these observations are laid out in the following chapter on analysis.

- Two, I made efforts to visit at least two of each type of the educational institution.

***Observations at the institutional level*** provided me valuable information regarding the physical, economic, social, and cultural environment of these institutions. Before visiting any public school, I sought out an approval from the District Education Officer (DEO) of the

respective district. However, for the private school and the Madrasah, I approached the institutional administrator at the local level because they were the owner-operators of the institutions. This was a very good opportunity to observe the physical infrastructure and make a visual observation among the institutions from the three streams of education.

On a personal and individual level, I was able to examine the type of relationships and communication taking place within the institutions between teachers, other staff, students, and administration. Moreover, I was also able to study the kind of interaction (if any) taking place between the parents and the teachers or institutional administration regarding their child's education and his/her progress.

Luckily, at one location, I was invited by a private school teacher to attend parents' visits and meetings with the school administrator and teachers to observe what and how they discuss their children's educational progress. The meetings took place at the beginning of the month, and several parents visited the school as they had to pay the monthly fee as well as chat with teachers on pupils' educational progress. At a couple of schools (a private and a public school), I arrived at school early in the morning to conduct some observations at the school start-time and stayed until after the end of the school day to see what percentage of children use vehicles/motorcycles to commute to and from schools. I also observed how the students were greeted when coming into and leaving school.

- Three, I planned to conduct at least two *classrooms observations* lasting about two to three weeks in each of these institutions. Just like the community visit, I had to seek permission from the school administrator to allow me sit in on the class. It seemed like the public school staff was used to research visitors and did not hesitate to allow me to sit in, talk with them, and observe the school affairs and classrooms. However, the private school and Madrasah

administration, though willing to talk with me, were reluctant to let me observe their classes. After discussing the intent of my visit with them at length and conducting their individual interviews, I was able to seek their consent to sit in on a few classes and observe the routine classroom activities. I attended two classrooms for a good amount of time (approximately 4 to 5 hours a day) on various days in the public schools. On the other hand, only two school administrators (one private school and one Madrasah) agreed to my classroom visit. The others thought that I would be a hindrance to the classroom environment if I sat in for an extended period of time, though they accompanied me to various classrooms for a short time to meet the teachers and students while actively engaged in class. I would like to note that school and Madrasah children were not the direct subjects of the study; however, classroom observations were carried out in order to get an overall picture of the class administration, management, and the physical environment of the different classrooms.

This was a crucial part of my study, especially for understanding learning situations within the classroom. Besides getting first-hand knowledge of the course contents and styles of instruction, I was also able to observe the kind of teacher-student relationships taking place across the three systems. Luckily, throughout the course of my visit I was able to attend at least one middle school (between grades 6 and 8); however, the other schools I was able to visit were all primary schools. I believe that in the middle school, I was able to better comprehend the student-teacher interaction. At the primary level, it was mostly the teacher delivering the content without much response from the pupils. At the Madrasah the class I observed was considered to be a middle-level class. Some of my classroom visits overlapped on certain days when I attended public or private schools in the morning and the Madrasah in the late afternoons and evenings. These visits were very helpful in making a comparative

analysis. I would also like to mention that I did not take any notes while conducting my classroom observations to avoid any attention from the students and teachers; however, my observations were recorded in my field notes as soon as I left the institution. Within the classroom, I was just a passive listener, observing and attempting to limit my hindrance as much as possible. The specific details and the outcome of the classroom observations in these various institutions are presented in the coming analysis chapters.

v) *Field Notes and Analytical Memos:*

During the course of my extensive fieldwork, I attempted to note all sorts of important and relevant information that I came across, which I thought might be useful for my analysis. These field notes were mainly the product of the several structured and unstructured as well as formal and informal observations that I made at the community, institution, household, and office level. I documented various types of social, political, cultural, and traditional interactions taking place in these communities and institutions. I also took personal notes on day-to-day basis documenting the barriers and challenges that I faced before, during, and after the field data collection phase. These notes were very helpful in identifying, recording, and describing my data. At the time of analysis, I realized that besides the interviews, discussions, observations, and literature, a big chunk of my data came from my analytic memos, which I started writing at the outset of my field work and continued writing throughout the process of data analysis. For some of the information that I had not been able to gather from other sources (or I missed out), my memos effectively filled in the gaps. Also, these memos reflect my analytic synthesis of the information and/or situations.



*vi) Data Management:*

Data management is one of the most important components of research during and after the data collection process. In fact, the data management (and the analysis) process started right from the very beginning. I put all my efforts into immediately transcribing and typing my field notes from observation, interviews, discussions and documents; however, on some days it was not possible because of long days at the schools and/or in the villages while conducting interviews. I continuously kept a good log of the dataset. The data was sorted and filed according to the specific location and type to keep an updated record. To ensure the safety and confidentiality of the data, I stored the dataset under lock and key at all times. Besides the data coming from my survey, observations, interviews, and relevant literature, I also kept track the notes that I wrote recording my own thoughts before, during, and after data collection.

**1.3.5. Data Analysis:**

After the cumbersome job of conducting fieldwork, it was one of my biggest concerns to effectively understand the nature of the material and the knowledge recorded in this huge set of recorded information. Data analysis was a continuous process right from the initiation of the fieldwork process and continued until development of this academic thesis. My process of data analysis benefitted from various angles and sources, including my own research knowledge and background, valuable insight and guidance from my academic advisor, and academic readings that outlined the processes and paths adopted by various scholars for their data analysis.

Overall, it is argued that a mixed-methods approach offers the best combination of data for this kind of study – both quantitative data from my household surveys and statistics taken from the literature, and qualitative data collected through face-to-face in-depth interviews.

Quantitative data makes it possible to draw statistical inferences about correlations between different variables in parental choice, but it does not in itself allow for an understanding of why or how these variables interact (Alsuiadi, 2015). To gain the answers to why and how, qualitative data is necessary. Qualitative data provides richer data collected through interaction allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of people's perceptions and attitudes, strengthening the quantitative data. In this study, therefore, the quantitative method was complementary to the main qualitative method (Schutt, 2011).

I organized the survey data in excel spreadsheets in their respective location folders and designed some tables (for instance, on community demographics, availability of community resources, etc.), using the simple spreadsheets. In the second round of the analysis, I derived some tabulation using some simple statistical formulas and inferences for various desired variables, deducting and analyzing a contrast among various variables.

Qualitative analysis is not based on statistical formulas or inferences. Scholars offer guidance on how to conduct qualitative analysis but do not offer a recipe for doing so (Patton, 2002). Therefore, the final findings of the study are necessarily unique, relying on the interpretation of the researcher. Patton (2002) also states that since there is no specific tool to analyze qualitative data, the challenge remains with the researcher as to how s/he makes sense of the data. Bogdan and Biklen (2003) consider the data analysis process to be like a funnel, where things are open at the beginning (or at the top) and more directed and specific at the bottom. Thick and rich description of the data provides the grounds for qualitative data analysis. Data description plays a vital role in data analysis, because a good description of the situation takes the data analyst as well as the future reader back to the real situation (Creswell, 2009). According to Geertz (1979) and Denzin (2003), classic qualitative studies share the capacity of opening up

the world to the readers, and such studies enable readers to understand the phenomena from years earlier, with all its attendant meanings and significance.

Since qualitative data collection is naturalistic and fluid in nature, therefore, the distinction between the data collection and analysis is less evident (Patton 2002; Creswell, 2009). The analysis of qualitative data is cyclical (Schutt, 2011). This characteristic of the qualitative data analysis process makes it a continuous process, one which requires that the researcher continuously keep track of the data (Creswell, 2009). As the data increases in volume, the researcher gains a more in-depth understanding of the situation, based on the emerging patterns; this understanding allows a researcher to confirm or disconfirm a particular hypothesis or theory (Patton, 2002). Keeping this perspective in view, I considered the constant comparative data analysis method (proposed by Glaser, 1965) helpful because of the on-going nature of the analysis of the data received from the relevant literature as well as the field during my research process. According to Glaser (1965), the constant comparative method can be described as an evolving process progressing from one stage of analysis to the other as the data comes in and the patterns develop. According to Schutt (2011) this constant comparative procedure highlights the arrangement of factors that had to be present across multiple cases to produce a specific outcome from the available data. I started with a comparison of incidents applicable to each category of the data through integration of categories and their properties. I followed the outline of Glaser and Strauss's constant comparative procedures.

Since my fieldwork entailed an adequate amount of time and resources, as anticipated, I gathered a thick dataset, resulting in thick description of the research subject. My data analysis moved step by step – starting from individual and group units and moving to the broader themes and concepts. My analysis highlighted the key issues that hinder people's access to better

educational opportunities in our target locations. Since my data set involved people's experiences, the critical events and incidents in the lives of my subjects constituted self-contained descriptive units of the analysis; for instance, how the nationalization and denationalization of the education impacted the views of the community, particularly the older generation who were either themselves students or were sending their children to schools in that era. In Pakistani society, especially in Balochistan, individual's lives are influenced by events, policies, and political processes; hence, my analysis also illuminates the administrative, bureaucratic, and political processes that affect the lives of the people I encountered in my research.

In brief, my data analysis process on parental choice in education involved the following steps, moving from simple to more complex – from individual codes to broader concept categories and themes:

- i. My initial step was to immediately process the information and record notes, including the things that most piqued my interest, the timeline they occurred and the main highlights. I made an attempt to thoroughly read all of the dataset multiple times to understand the depths of my own data.
- ii. Next, I would conduct an immediate analysis of whatever pieces of information I gathered through one of multiple procedures. Then I started organizing, generating, and identifying the broader but meaningful categories, themes, and concepts of information using mostly open-coding. This grouping of the data mainly evolved from the research questions that I asked, or they naturally emerged from the data as the study was conducted (Strutt, 2011).

- iii. Having identified the broader categories, themes, and concepts (for example, how did the parents perceive the objectives of education, access to school, etc), in the next step of the analysis, I explored the relationship between/among these themes and categories.
- iv. Next, I looked into the patterns/themes and description emerging from the data according to the major theoretical concepts in the study, like economic, social and cultural capital, parental educational backgrounds and their preferences/expectations for their children, school and classroom experiences and activities, etc;
- v. Coding the data in detail (in the form of sub-codes) was the next step. As qualitative researchers suggest, I established codes over several rounds of coding, allowing for a deeper reading of the data and more thorough analysis.
- vi. Integration of the patterns/themes and descriptions came next. After this integration, the identified patterns/themes and descriptions were named. Detailed Systematic and Comparative Analysis Framework diagram with prominent themes is attached as an annexure.
- vii. Once the themes were known, I was able to draw some conclusions, particularly concerning educational issues in Pakistan, which influenced how parents made choices concerning the education of their children.

Moreover, I attempted to use the 6-Cs (context, cause, condition, covariance, consequences, and contingencies) approach to measure the suitability and appropriateness of the codes and concepts. The majority of my data analysis was manual – I employed some of the techniques that I learned in my Grounded Theory class as well as in methods workshops that I attended prior to embarking on my dissertation research.

### **1.3.6. Logistics:**

Before embarking on my travel from the United States to Pakistan, I made a few prior arrangements to move faster, effectively, and efficiently. I contacted some of my acquaintances to acquire their support for my research. A few friends from local NGO agreed to provide me with some basic but necessary travel support by providing their vehicle for the initial visits to my selected locations. They also allocated a spot with a table and chair in their office where I could prepare for my field work, set up my work plan, and pilot my research protocols in a local community (with the same traits of the research locations). They also identified two experienced research assistants (two of their previous project employees) to help me in the field, and who I initially contacted and interviewed via Skype. Moreover, I contacted the District Education Officers of Quetta and Pishin to seek their official written approval to visit public schools in my research locations. Since, authentic data on the number of private schools and Madaaris was not readily available; I attempted to identify some key informants from the research areas to appraise the research locations' demographic, social, and physical properties.

Upon my arrival in Quetta, the capital of Balochistan province, I visited the relevant provincial government departments, including, the Education, Planning and Development, and Social Welfare and Women Development Departments. Besides these, I also visited the Industries Department to gather some data on the number of private schools and Madaaris. Some of the other offices that I visited included the District Education Officers (Quetta and Pishin Districts), the Provincial Educational Directorate, the Textbook Board office, the Provincial Census Office, and the Union Council offices in my research locations. I also made a courtesy visit to the offices of the District Deputy Commissioners (Quetta and Pishin Districts) to seek their support in case there were any law and order situations while I was in the area. In the

private sector, I met with the All Balochistan Private Schools Association to get some data on the private schools in my selected research locations, and I visited some NGOs working in the education sector in the province. I also visited a couple of large high-level Madaaris to seek their help acquiring some data and for support of my visit to the research locations. I also paid a courtesy visit to the Provincial Chief Minister and his Political Advisor (who were prior acquaintances) and let them know about my research objectives and field data collection plan. They were excited and offered to facilitate whatever I might need for my research. The Political Advisor called the relevant Deputy Commissioners and requested that they extend any form of support I needed.

Internally, I arranged a three-day training in Quetta city to extensively train the two field research assistants on research ethics, human subjects research, data confidentiality, and the research protocols to help me administer the first round of my household survey. Later we collectively arranged the piloting of the research protocols in a nearby village (with almost the same characteristics) and made necessary alterations to the research protocols where needed. After piloting the protocols, I made my initial visit to the research locations and met with my influential community contacts to seek their approval and support, and to execute the research in their area. Fortunately, in all the three locations, people were supportive of the research; however, they expected that they would get educational support once the study was finalized and recommendations were made. Indeed, I informed them that this was just an academic research project, and that the purpose of my visit was to conduct the study and attempt to make their voices heard by policy makers.

Within a week of my initial visit, the formal research started. For at least ten households, I administered the household survey questionnaire and made the research assistants observe.

Later, for about another ten household questionnaires, I made my research assistants administer the questionnaire in my presence. After a satisfactory completion of their hands-on training, I let them administer the household questionnaire independently; however, twice a day they updated me on the progress – once during the lunch hour and again at the end of the day. In the evening, I reviewed all the questionnaires from the day, and in the early morning on next day, I provided the research assistants with feedback before we proceeded to the next households. I made the research assistants revisit a household if there were any flaws or inadequacies in how they filled out the questionnaires.

While the research assistants performed the household survey, I administered interviews with the school and Madrasah administrators, teachers, and community and religious elders in the same community. Moreover, I made all efforts to utilize the available time and resources as efficiently and effectively as possible so that interviews, as well as institutional and classroom observations were conducted in a professional and timely manner. Most of my afternoons and evenings were spent in the community observing the social, cultural and economic activities of the community members. I personally conducted all the parental interviews without the involvement of the research assistants. I made some good friends during this research and spent several overnights in the village in district Pishin. During the field research of the villages in Quetta district, I spent the entire day in the field and then went back to Quetta city for the night.



## 1.4. Literature Review:

Earlier in the chapter, I presented some literature which was more relevant to the education system overall. In this section, to help further guide my study, I draw on the literature particularly discussing school choice internationally as well as the literature specifically on Pakistan, highlighting various factors affecting parental decisions and preferences for educating their children.

### 1.4.1 *International Perspectives on Parental Choice of Schooling and Education:*

International literature on ‘parental choice in education’ mostly focuses on parents’ political and economic perspectives. The available literature reveals that in developed countries the proponents of ‘choice’ promote such policies by advocating for ‘equity’, ‘excellence’, ‘safety’ and ‘the right and freedom to choose’ the type of schooling that they desire for their children (Maddaus, 1990; Brouillette, 2001). However, critics of ‘choice’ policies in the western hemisphere see ‘choice’ as a source of widening societal gaps between people with more resources and people who are faced with poverty, a stratification brought about by existing societal classes and social and structural inequalities (Ball, 2003; Nechyba, 2003; Hughes and Lauder, 2002, Williams; 1996). In other words, choice is variably thought of in terms of either; i) driving school excellence, safety and equity through parent-led competition (Maddaus, 1990), or, ii) driving increasing social segregation and inequity (Ball, 2003; Nechyba, 2003; Hughes and Lauder, 2002, Williams; 1996).

The wide-ranging literature on parental choice in schooling illuminates very interesting debates evolving around the globe in the recent past. In the developed world, such as the United States, Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, and the European Union, school choice is one of the most controversial educational reforms (Maddaus, 1990; Boyd & Lugg 1998; Brouillette,

2001). Both sides present quite strong and convincing arguments for and against parental choice policies. Forsey, et al. (2008) are skeptical about school choice policies made around the world, viewing such policies as conflicting with their own commitment to providing excellent state-run public schools for all children. They state that opponents of school choice policies are “not arguing for the curtailing of choices being made available to people” (p-23), but rather, that “the options available to people have all too often become more limited in the new choice environments produced across the world” (p-23).

The literature reveals that the advocates for choice models tend to assume that people living in different areas and with different social and economic backgrounds will have equitable access to a similar menu of educational options. Most advocates for choice models also take for granted that choices are based on measures and perceptions of the quality of education. The choice proponents also presume that the state is incompetent and the only way to make public schools function better is to put them in competition with each other and/or with private schools. I believe that these assumptions taken together in turn assume that consumers are acting within a perfect consumer model – that is, that parents are rational actors, who, with perfect information about school quality would rationally make the choices the theorists predict. Indeed, they make assumptions about what constitutes quality schooling or a quality education, and about the reasoning that will inform parents’ choices; for example, they assume that parents will not worry about how close a school is when making their decision. Choice advocates imagine that choice models will function like an ideal free market, assuming that parents have good information about schools, and that schools will equally accept all comers.

The arguments of choice advocates, particularly in the west, reveal that they are less concerned with the prevailing inequalities that shape school choice. Furthermore, they also pay

little attention to the broader inequalities that may affect children's educational outcomes. Let parents choose any school they want, choice advocates argue, and in time schools will be real meritocracies whose outcomes reflect nothing but individual talent and hard work. They assume that what happens in families and communities (social, economic, etc. events) has no impact on school outcomes.

In the United States, parental choice emerged as an issue since 1950s (Brouillette, 2001), when the Nobel Laureate economist Milton Friedman asserted that the problems troubling public schools in the United States arose from the fact that they were more like public monopolies. Brouillette (2001) suggests that like in many other countries, the debate over school choice in the United States also revolves around "the right, freedom, and ability of parents to choose for their children the safest and the best schools" (p-3). However, an important question still remains unanswered; namely, do all parents get access to the best schooling for their children? Those parents who have the resources choose 'popular schools' (e.g. the schools with good quality, excellence in academics, and that are competitive) and often have undue influence over admission. In reality, educational options are linked to parents' income and resource-level, leaving working-class parents, who lack the same level of resources, with little real 'choice' (Hughes and Lauder, 2002). Uneven societal structures give some access to the best options, while the others survive on 'whatever is available'. For example, as Nechyba (2003) points out, the public education system in the United States often compels parents to purchase schooling for their children in a market in which educational quality depends mainly on the price of housing. So, public educational quality is directly proportional to the quality of housing, which produces vast inequalities in educational opportunities and outcomes; consequently, the phenomenon closely reflects differences in race and class.

Therefore, Nechyba (2003) senses a dire need to carefully design educational policies which can address the issues of inequality and inefficiency in the US education system.

In his research, Ball (2003) clearly establishes a strong link between the dynamics of school choice and the local conditions, possibilities, and histories. In his discussion of the relationship between social class and education policy, he offers two arguments. First, he argues that in developed societies around the world, social and educational policies “are primarily aimed at satisfying the concerns and interests of the middle class. This classed nature of policy thinking presents the middle class with strategic advantages in education” (p-24). Ball (2003) further argues that “the middle class is active in various ways in influencing and effecting education policies in their own interests” (p-24). Ball’s deliberations confirm Marx’s (1956) assertions about class relations and their effects on school choice. As Marx argued, “the ideas of the ruling class are, in every age, the ruling ideas, that is, the class which is dominant material force in the society is at the same time the dominant intellectual force” (Marx, 1956:p-78). Ball’s research also reveals that the urban middle class is in a more advantageous position than their rural counterparts (Ball, 2003).

Maddaus (1990) examined the relationship between choice and excellence. Looking at different data from various studies in the United States, the author is of the view that “consumers (parents and students), service providers (teachers and school administrators) and the society (local policymakers and the state) have had varied, sometimes conflicting, perspectives on educational goals” (p-272). The obvious questions remain: What will the state policymakers propose, what can teachers and administrators offer, and how much support will parents and students receive within their localities to achieve excellence? Though the coordination of the

three stakeholders is crucial to reach the goals of excellence, it has been a great challenge to achieve excellence in all educational institutions.

The availability of information about schools and the interaction between schools and parents is an important component of parental choice in education. Many scholars assume that parents will engage in more purposeful information searches when school systems are designed to make their choices matter more and when the benefits of being informed increase (Teske and Schneider, 2001). However, Henig (1994) argues that basic information about local schools is not easy to reach and can be hard to find. For example, “principals and the school board in the federally-sponsored 1970s voucher experiment in Alum Rock, California, did not provide much information to parents about school performance” (p. 120). Wilson (1992) found that even the most basic information about schools in the districts (in the United States) he studied was not generally available, and he could not gather information about test scores, grade retention, graduation, and attendance rates from many choice schools. Thus, in such situations when there is a shortage of easily accessible public information about schools, it is difficult for the parents to make informed decisions.

When the Education Reform Act was enacted in Britain in 1988, school choice gained “further political and international visibility” (Boyd & Lugg 1998, 8). Synthesizing the act, Boyd & Lugg (1998) argue that it was based on five premises which capture the logic of the supporters of increased school choice; namely, that parents have the fundamental right to determine all matters regarding their children; parents are normally better judges of their children’s needs than a bureaucracy; choice would increase parental involvement and, in turn, the child’s motivation; competition between schools would lead to better performing schools; and finally, that parental involvement and increased competition will make schools more

‘consumer responsive’. Nonetheless, like in other industrialized countries, in the UK the counter-arguments in defense of a neighborhood-based school admission system claim that teaching proceeds better in a stable environment where teachers are not under competitive pressures. Classes in a choice-based system may suffer higher pupil turnover, which can further disrupt teaching. And, the distances that pupils have to travel will be greater under a choice-based system, a situation which may have an unfavorable effect on achievement because of tardiness, the hassles associated with longer commutes, or time pressure. But the biggest concern about wider parental choice seems to be that even if it has the potential to boost student achievement; this boost may come at the cost of increased equality across schools. The fear is that if the most disadvantaged families are the least able to exercise choice, then those students who are less socially disadvantaged will end up concentrated in schools with the best resources and teaching, and any gains from increased competition are unevenly distributed (see Gibbons, 2006-07).

In an effort to understand the motivation underlying parents’ decisions, Echols and Williams (1995) conducted further analyses of the Adler et al. data. Their analysis revealed that although the majority of parents believed that good education was extremely important, issues of academic quality were not their main reason for rejecting or choosing a school. Most parents did not feel the need to examine all of the alternatives; rather, they wanted to find the closest school with a strong disciplinary climate and a positive social atmosphere. The research raises questions about the validity of the assumptions underlying market-model approaches to education.

Morgan and Blackmore (2007) and William (1995) argue that school-choice models put schools in competitive relationships with each other, but those relationships are also powerfully

mediated by the interaction of local economics and social conditions linked to geographical and social settings. This means that school choice models actually create further social segregation and re-entrench a hierarchical class-based society. For instance, Morgan and Blackmore (2007) reveal that economically sound parents in rural Australia were more attracted to the private schools which were competing with other public schools by providing a better educational environment and school transportation.

Narodowski's (2008) study on school choice in Argentina highlights the adverse effects of school choice. According to the author, the enrollment rates in private schools increased steadily in the past several decades, even without state subsidies to schools or parents in Argentina. He concludes that this trend is attributed to a 'social process of self-segregation' (p-138). As the middle class removes their children from a state system in which they perceive the quality of education to have deteriorated, an unconscious social segregation develops in Argentinian society. In this case, however, the choice supporters may argue for some incentives and/or subsidies, like school vouchers, which may allow poor children to access the same schools attended by wealthier children. However, in case of less-developed and heavily populated poor countries, I argue that the biggest obstacle to choice policies is the availability of educational subsidies (e.g. vouchers; widespread availability may not always be possible). Therefore, the only viable source of education for the majority of the population in such countries continues to be the public schools, which, in most cases, are already faced with several challenges, like scarce teaching resources, unqualified teaching staff, out-dated curricula, and a lack of physical infrastructure.

The majority of scholars and researchers (with few exceptions) from the west have focused their research on the effects of choice in urban settings (for instance, Andre'-Bechely,

2005; Ball, 2003), where parents' reasons for their educational preferences and choices differ from those of rural parents. Furthermore, this oversight is also evident in studies that looked at the question of parents' educational preferences and choices with an economic lens, seeing education only in terms of inputs and outputs; these studies have not given much consideration to how choice can be influenced by on local cultures and religious traditions. Though there are some researchers who have also looked into Catholic schools (for example, Morgan and Blackmore, 2007), their results reveal that parents send their children to these schools because of the quality of education, not merely on the basis of faith-based beliefs and/or relationships. However, Sanders (2001) finds that the US Catholic schools enhance the ability of parents in promoting Catholic values and beliefs but have no effect on educational outcomes, except for minorities.

Likewise, another study was carried out by Ichilov and Mazavi (1997) to examine the educational and socio-cultural implications of educational choice for the Arab community of Jaffa, a generally low SES suburb of Tel Aviv. The authors argue that Arab parents in Jaffa seem privileged to have a wide selection of educational institutions. But their study reveals that the pattern of choice between state and other faith-based schools has been unfavorable to the local Arab community because parental choice was primarily taken advantage of by the local families who were affluent. Moving from one school to another was virtually impossible for the poor, and consequently, poor students who needed to change schools often dropped out altogether. Ichilove and Mazavi also argue that the unequal structure of educational opportunities sustains intra-community socioeconomic inequalities. Their analysis also focused on the economic impetuses behind choice and did not provide much information about how religion and culture, as opposed to class, affected parental decision-making.



### ***1.4.2 The Case of Pakistan***

Access to any type of schooling is still a challenge of majority of the children in Pakistan. The above presented facts and figures on the prevailing educational situation authenticate the argument that Pakistan's education systems are unable to fulfill the wishes of Pakistani parents, particularly the poor rural parents. Despite the claims, there are still large areas of Pakistan that the state is unable to service, and even when the government provides schools, they lack provision of quality education. Therefore, even if more children were able to acquire access to these public schools, it does not necessarily mean that they will receive all the desirable outcomes (Wheat, 2010). In such a situation, when the options are limited, the impoverished parents have no choice but to make compromises with quality. As noted above, unlike many developed nations of the world, a large population of Pakistan still, even after 70 years of independence, struggles with merely gaining access to education. Millions of children are still out of school (Alif Ailaan, 2014). Through this study, I explore two very important questions: where are these children during the school day? And, why are they not in the public schools?

However, before going into the details on parental choice, it is important to understand the meaning and the concept of 'parental choice of schooling' in Pakistan. Unlike many western countries, the Pakistani state system neither offers school choice nor supports it. All the three educational streams, public, private and faith-based, work independently. Therefore, it is totally up to the discretion of the household and parents to make decisions about adopting a certain stream of education based on their internal household priorities (social, traditional, cultural, religious and economic) and/or the prevailing educational situation outside the household with regard to physical access, institutional environment, safety and security, and perceived outcomes.

This study attempts to find out what factors affect the educational preferences and choices of Pakistani parents, particularly parents in Balochistan.

Hill and Roskam (2008) argue that ‘choice’ in the education literature is usually connected, more or less, to the broader debate over neoliberal states in the developed world relinquishing their social responsibilities and leaving the field of education wide open for market provision. In the developed world, a major debate revolves around the ‘market model,’ where different educational institutions are the major forces driving ‘choice’ as well as the main players in creating demand and therefore supply. Parents’ choice, to a large extent, is influenced by the outcome of the institutions in terms of its academics as well as future prospects. Although in Pakistan the state is mainly responsible for the provision of education, non-state actors are becoming more and more active as a substitute to the public system. In the majority of cases, parents look for quality, and therefore, a long-term economic outcome. Indeed, there is also a convincing argument that the existence of the private and faith-based sectors, as a choice, creates social segregation (Rahman, 2004). Commenting on the neoliberal arguments about the provision of education, Lall (2012) noted that Pakistan has seen an increasing provision of education by non-governmental institutions for the poorer sections of Pakistani society for more than 20 years. It’s not the emergence of the neoliberal state that explains this trend (like in the west and even some South Asian countries like India); the increase in non-governmental provision of education has only occurred because the state has been unable to fulfill its commitment to provide sufficient resources, and/or the state has been consumed by corruption.

Unfortunately, in the case of Pakistan, the country inherited a systemized class-based educational structure, directing the masses in three distinct directions – poor to Madaris, lower middle to public schools (because of their closer proximity and financial affordability), and the

minority upper middle and upper class to the elite educational tier. In spite of getting independence, Pakistani politicians and bureaucracies have been unable to throw away the old system and provide common people with a good equitable public education system (Hoodbhoy, 1998), which could help Pakistan gain the status of a socially prosperous and economically established country.

As in Jaffa, the choices for very poor households in a poor locality in Pakistan are few and narrowly constrained. Thus, parental strategies to gain access to scarce opportunities and to support their children as they move through the educational system depends on the navigation of complex networks of social, religious, and economic obligations. In many developing countries, there are large regional differences in educational opportunities and in the quality of schooling (USAID, 2003). The USAID (2003) 12-country study further confirms that “a shortage of (primary- and especially secondary) schools, particularly in rural or isolated areas, is a significant factor associated with low enrollment rates in eight of the 12 countries (including Pakistan) studied” (p-8). Several case studies indicate substantial regional gaps in schooling, with particularly low levels of attainment in less developed regions, such as the Pakistani province of Balochistan. In Pakistan, the regional gaps are large. For example, the literacy rates, Net Enrollment Rates (NER), and Gross Enrollment Rates (GER) are much higher in urban areas as compared to rural areas. Furthermore, different quantitative studies have clearly shown substantial school enrollment gaps between relatively prosperous areas (provinces and/or districts) and relatively poor districts. For example, in Punjab, a prosperous province, school enrollments are much higher than in the least developed province, Balochsitan. See the following few tables for a broad comparison:

**Table: 1      Literacy – Population 10 Years and Older**

National and Province	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
<b>Pakistan</b>	82	69	76	63	38	51	70	49	60
<b>Punjab</b>	82	73	77	65	45	55	71	55	63
<b>Balochistan</b>	78	42	61	54	17	38	61	25	44

Source: PSLM, 2014-15

**Table: 2      Gross Enrollment Ratio at the Primary Level (Age 5 – 9) – Excluding Kachhi<sup>14</sup> Class**

National and Province	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
<b>Pakistan</b>	105	102	103	93	73	83	97	81	89
<b>Punjab</b>	110	108	109	98	85	92	101	92	97
<b>Balochistan</b>	104	83	94	81	38	62	87	51	71

Source: PSLM, 2014-15

**Table: 3.      Net Enrollment Rate at the Primary Level (Age 5 – 9)  
(Excluding Kachhi Class)**

National and Province	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
<b>Pakistan</b>	67	66	66	57	48	53	60	53	57
<b>Punjab</b>	70	71	70	60	54	57	63	51	61
<b>Balochistan</b>	66	56	62	52	27	40	56	35	46

Source: PSLM, 2014-15

<sup>14</sup> Pre-grade 1.

Lall (2012) and Andrabi, et al. (2012) optimistically argue that, even though there is a large education gap between the rural and urban, the recent boom of low-fee and NGO schools will help narrow this gap. According to Lall (2012) this narrowing is going to happen due to the explosion of low-fee private schools catering to the lower middle classes and the poorer sections of society. My research contradicts this claim; this might be true, to some extent, in developed provinces like Punjab, but the people of remote and rural areas, like Balochistan, rural Sindh and rural KPK, FATA, and Gilgit-Baltistan are still far from realizing the dreams of finding alternatives to the public sector. Traditionally throughout Pakistan, and currently in rural Pakistan, the choice in education for the common masses has been between the government schools and the local faith-based Madaaris. Many researchers and academics are of the view that these are the two institutions that cater to the needs of vast rural population of Pakistan (Ahmed, 2009; Bano, 2007; Candland, 2005; Khan, 2005), and that parents have to choose between the two. However, since the state-sponsored education sector is failing to gain popular support (Bano, 2012; Hoodboy, 2005), Madaaris are likely to benefit from the situation because they offer a free source of education to the poorest families faced with economic and access constraints in Balochistan, particularly in rural areas. A number of researchers, using the cross-sectional data for the likelihood of school entry in Pakistan, have concluded that access is one of the most powerful factors, particularly in case of girls and rural children, contributing to school entry (Wheat, 2010). The sub-factors include the presence of a primary school in the local community (Wheat, 2010; Sawada and Lokshin 2001; Alderman et al 1995), the distance to the nearest school (Alderman et al 2000; Durrant 1999; Sathar and Lloyd 1994) and travel time (Alif, Ailaan, 2016). A study related to the socio-economic factors which affected the parental decision of school choice for their children was conducted by Iram, et al (2008) using the

secondary data from the Household Expenditure Survey in the province of Punjab in Pakistan. This quantitative study conducted that quality of and access to education were the paramount factors influencing parental decisions in favor of a particular school. The participants also informed the study that higher enrolment in private schools was because of the better quality of education they offer. Lower costs of schooling were the dominant reasons to increase the enrolment in public schools. Iram et al.'s (2008) study also revealed that parent's education, and income was positively and strongly influenced the private school enrolment. Urban parents were more inclined to enroll their children in private school. I would argue that this study also points to the existence of inequalities between urban and rural and rich and poor; the urban population had better access (in terms of physical distance as well as financial affordability) to quality education than the rural population.

Lloyd et al. (2002 & 2005) also cited some studies conducted in Africa and South Asia that have universally found access to be a statistically significant factor explaining cross-community variations in school entry or enrollment (Bommier and Lambert 2000 for Tanzania; Handa and Simler 2000 for Mozambique; Beutel and Axinn 2001 for Nepal). When results are disaggregated by sex, it would appear that access may be more important to the enrollment of girls than boys, particularly in societies that are strongly segregated by sex (Wheat, 2010; Sathar and Lloyd 1994). A mixed-method study by Lloyd et al. (2002) conducted in rural Pakistan concluded that enrollment, particularly in the case of girls, is highly responsive to the presence of single-sex girls' schools inside the village. Though access proved to be the most important variable, Lloyd et al. (2002 and 2005) further suggests that parents also look for quality, school environment, presence of physical facilities, and teachers' presence. My study also concluded that 'access' and 'quality' were two of the most important factors identified by parents while

making decisions about their children's education. The discussion on access is presented at length in the forthcoming analysis chapter.

## **CHAPTER – 2**

### **2.1. Education in Pakistan:**

“Our education system must provide quality education to our children and youth to enable them to realize their individual potential and contribute to development of society and nation, creating a sense of Pakistani nationhood, the concepts of tolerance, social justice, democracy their regional and local culture and history based on the basic ideology enunciated in the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.” (Ministry of Education Vision 2030 - Pakistan’s Education Policy 2009)

In this chapter, I present an analytical overview of the three streams of contemporary Pakistani education systems, followed by more specific characteristics of these institutions in the country. The information on the existing education systems in Pakistan is primarily based on the analysis of available plethora of literature, while some portion of the analysis is derived from the research data as well. A comparative analysis is also briefly presented at the end of the chapter in a tabular form.

The of education system in Pakistan, implies to the collection of institutions that participate in delivering formal education (public and private, for-profit and non-profit, and religious) to masses in Pakistan, their administrators, teachers, students, physical infrastructure, resources as well as applicable rules and regulations. The content takes into account the institutions that are directly involved in financing, managing, operating or regulating such institutions (such as, government ministries, regulatory bodies and accreditation boards, etc.). Moreover, in the education system, I included the governance patterns that guide the individual and institutional policy and management interactions within these institutions.

Before discussing the above mentioned details, I would like to lay out a brief historical sketch of the foundations laid out for education. In November 1947, soon after the independence



and establishment of Pakistan, the first conference on education was held in Karachi, the then capital of Pakistan, under the instruction and guidance of the first Governor General and founding father of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. In his inaugural speech he emphasized that;

“The importance of education and the right type of education cannot be ignored as our first priority. Under foreign rule for over a century, in the very nature of things, regretfully sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people, and if we are to make any real speedy and substantial progress we must earnestly tackle this question and bring our educational policy and program along the lines suited to the genius of our people. We must consider our consonant worth, our history and culture, and the modern conditions and case developments that have taken place all over the world.”

Following the colonial legacy Pakistan inherited a mass of uneducated population after its independence in 1947. Pakistani leaders, such as Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan suggested prioritization of educating the Pakistani population and directed the government missionary to put educational-uplift on the priority agenda. During the first educational conference, among other things, Jinnah suggested curriculum revision, diversification of courses, compulsory religious instructions and development of administrative machinery. The curriculum revision to include both the religious and the modern education available to all. However, both the founder leaders did not remain with Pakistan for a very long<sup>15</sup>; therefore, the policy could not be implemented in its true sprits. Since then several policy announcements have been made by *Sikander Mirza, Ayub Khan, Bhutto, Zia, Benazir Bhutto, Sharif, Musharraf* and *Zardari*<sup>16</sup>; unfortunately, the grim picture of education could not be eliminated.

Like the other two constitutions (1956 and 1963), the article 37 of the (latest) 1973 constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, also puts the responsibility of free basic

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<sup>15</sup> Muhammad Ali Jinnah (the first Governor General) died in 1948, while Liaquat Ali Khan (first Prime Minister) was assassinated in 1951.

<sup>16</sup> Pakistani civilian and military rulers – presidents, prime ministers and military generals

education provision on the state. Primary education is recognized as the basic right of every child, which the state must ensure within the limitations of its resources (Hoodbhoy, 1998).

Article 37 of the Constitution, in the Chapter on Principles of Policy, asserts that:

The state shall remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period.

The article 37 of the unanimously agreed upon (by the political parties) Constitution of 1973 declares:

To promote the educational and economic interests of backward classes or areas with special care and remove illiteracy through providing free compulsory primary and secondary education.                      - Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973

Several scholars argue that Pakistan, unfortunately, has inherited a systemized class-based educational structure since its inception (Farah et al, 2006). The British colonial powers left behind a legacy of various streams of education in Pakistan – roughly divided along the lines of socio-economic class (Farah, et al. 2006, Rahman, 2005). Naseem (2004) noted that, despite Jinnah’s vision, education policy discourse in Pakistan has still largely been guided by the transposition of an educational vision that is grounded in the colonial discourses of education on the one hand, and the global modernization and developmentalist discourses on the other (Naseem, 2004). In spite of getting independence, Pakistani politicians and bureaucracies have been unable to discard the old system and provide common people with a good equitable public education system (Hoodbhoy, 1998).

Pakistan has three types of schooling systems: 1) Government, 2) Private, and 3) Faith-based Religious Institutions. As Rahman (2004) explains, based on their purpose, type of

education (e.g. curriculum/ teaching methods, etc.), and the cost and expenditure to parents; each of these tiers can further be divided into three major groups (discussed below); nevertheless within these each groups there are sub-groups. Interestingly, in contemporary Pakistan, there are almost 17 different sub-types of functional educational institutions. However, this thesis, in the section below briefly gives an overview of the more common schools under the three systems and explores that who are their respective constituents in Pakistan. A detailed discussion will follow to provide an in-depth understanding on their operations; including policy and management (governance, and organizational structures), finances (funding, expenditure and costs), academics (curriculum, medium of instruction and teaching staff), access (physical distance and affordability), perceived outcomes (opportunities and employment prospects) and gender participation.

**- Public Sector Education & Schooling System:**

These are the type of schools that are entirely supported by government funds collected through taxes and foreign donor loans/investments. Instead of uniformity; public sector schooling, is further divided into the following three major sub-categories in Pakistan, such as:

- i) Elite public schools (e.g. armed forces' schools, cadet colleges, etc.). These institutions mainly educate the children of the army officers and some elite civilians;
- ii) Semi-autonomous elite educational institutions (e.g. Aitcheson, Lawrence College, and Burn Hall). These schools are considered to be only for the privileged bureaucrats, established politicians, big landlords and business class;
- iii) The common vernacular public schools (e.g. public schools available all over Pakistan).

Majority of these institutions are functional under the provincial supervision, however,

there are some which are under the federal government. These are considered to be school for the poor and lower-middle class citizens of the country.

- **Private Sector Education & Schooling System:**

This category includes all formal schools that are *not* public, and may be founded, owned, managed and financed by actors other than the state, even in cases when the state provides most of the funding and has considerable control over these schools (teachers, curriculum, accreditations etc), (Kitaev, 1999: p41). With reference to Pakistan, there has been a significant growth in the share of education in the private sector, both in terms of the numbers of schools, as well as the proportion of children enrolled, particularly since the denationalization of private schooling in Pakistan in 1979 (Andrabi et al. (2002). Private schools in Pakistan can further be divided into the following prominent sub-categories:

- i) Elite Private Schools (e.g. Karachi/Lahore Grammar Schools, Beaconhouse Public Schools, City Schools, etc). Children of the Pakistani upper and upper middle class elite – civil bureaucrats, businessmen, and landlords attend these sophisticated schools.
- ii) NGO administered private schools (e.g. citizens' schools, helpers association, etc.) such institutions vary due to their financial and administrative structures. They cater to the needs of both elite and non-elite group children, depending on the NGO's stature as well as the fee structure. In general they are neither highly expensive nor very low-fee.
- iii) Low cost/Low-fee private school (e.g. owned by small entrepreneurs). After the public schools they are the most available option in modern/contemporary secular

schooling for middle and lower middle class population to educate their children, both in urban as well as rural areas of Pakistan.

- **Faith-based Religious Education and Schooling System:**

These are also considered to be part of the private sector; however, due to their significant educational role in the world, particularly Pakistan, majority of the academicians and scholars categorize them as a separate stream of education. These are the type of institutions which are run by non-state actors coming from particular schools of faith (or thought) providing formal education in Pakistan. They include:

- i) Missionary Schools (e.g. Catholic/Christian Schools). These institutions offer modern education along-with (some) Christian theology and are functional under the supervision of Christian/Catholic missionary. Most of them are urban-based and majority of their cliental comes from middle and upper middle class.
- ii) Private Islamic Schools/Modern Madaaris (e.g. Iqra schools, Iqra Rozat-ul-Atfal). These are a newer type of schools, with huge concentration on Islamic trachings; however, they provide an integrated education of modern as well as Islamic subjects. They cater to the needs of middle class parents who want their children to be educated in both religious as well as modern day subjects.
- iii) Madrasah (available throughout Pakistan). These are traditional Islamic schools largely providing Islamic education only. They are considered to be the most accessible institutions and ‘school for the poor’, operated and managed by mainly individual Islamic scholars.

In accordance with the constitution of Pakistan, there are no laws to restrict any group and/or class of society to send their children to any of the mentioned educational institutions; however, it's the question of affordability and access (Naseem, 2004) for parents. Since the available data from various sources demonstrate that vast majority of the children of Pakistan attend one in each of the categories; therefore, we will discuss the characteristics of only those institutions in detail. They include common or regular vernacular Urdu medium schools (in public sector); low-cost or low-fee private schools (in private sector); and, Madaaris (in faith-based religious education sector).

## **2.2. Broad Comparison of the Three Streams of Education:**

### **2.2.1 Public Sector Education & Schooling System:**

#### **- Policy and Management (Governance and Organizational Structures):**

The Constitution defines the division of responsibilities between the provinces and federal jurisdictions. The federal ministry of education works as an umbrella and has the overall responsibility for the development and coordination of national education policies, plans and programs, including curriculum development<sup>17</sup>, while implementation of the policies is the responsibility of the local provincial administration. Each of the four provinces<sup>18</sup> has their own departments of Education. Moreover, until 2010, control over the educational budget and educational curriculum were also under the purview of the federal government, which was often

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<sup>17</sup> However, since the 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendments of 2010, the curriculum development responsibility is now delegated to the provinces.

<sup>18</sup> Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and Khyber-Pakhtoonkhwa (former North-west Frontier Province – NWFP)

seen as evidence of the interest of the federal government to control the nature and direction of education (Andrabi, et al, 2006) by the provincial educational authorities. However, under the 18<sup>th</sup> amendments (2010) in the 1973 constitution of Pakistan, these were delegated to the provinces. The four provinces now develop their own plans and execute them according to their situations and available resources, in light of national education policies. At provincial levels, the administrative head of the Education Department is ‘Secretary’ or in certain cases there are two secretaries: one for schools, designated as Secretary (Schools) and the other Secretary (Higher Education). They are supported by a number of additional and deputy secretaries and other staff members. Since the introduction of the devolution plan in the education sector in 2002, most affairs of the school education were dealt with the Executive District Officers (EDO) - Education. For example, policy implementation, supervision and monitoring of schools, recruitment and transfers of teachers were the main functions of the district governments<sup>19</sup>. EDO (Education) is supported by District Education Officers (DEOs) male and female, and Deputy District Education Officers (Dy. DEOs) male and female and other associated staff. Other key roles and responsibilities such as policy formulation, teachers’ training, and budget allocation to district governments, to a large extent are, still with the federal and provincial governments.

A state run schooling has four levels; i.e., primary level (pre-primary or Kachhi to grade five); middle level (grade 6 to 8); secondary level (grade 9 & 10); and higher secondary level (grade 11 & 12). The first ten years of education is imparted at school level while the two years of higher secondary education is delivered at the college level, called intermediate college. At the end of grades 5, 8, 10 and 12 the students are required to pass an examination administered

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<sup>19</sup> The present government abolished some functions (particularly administrative functions) of the devolutions plan in 2010-11; hence, powers go back to the province instead of the districts.

through provincial or federal education boards to qualify for the higher stage of education in Pakistan (Hoodbhoy, 1998). At the school level, the institution is headed by a school Headmaster/Principal, who is supported by a Deputy Headmaster/Vice Principal. However, this structure mainly exists only in schools that have higher student enrolment/attendance and/or middle and high schools. There are thousands of schools in the country that are one or two-teacher staffed primary schools who perform all the administrative and teaching functions.

The government monitoring structure is considered to be highly politicized and bureaucratic; however, lacking effective monitoring system; therefore, resulting in weak governance and management right from the provincial secretariat level to the school. Interference from the elected political representatives makes the situation worse, where the local officials consider themselves responsible to the political representatives rather than to the education system. Moreover, the responsible officials frequently complain of lack of funds to limiting their movement (fuel and per-diems) to the far-flung areas of their constituencies.

On the other hand, elite public schools, though considered to be under the public sector umbrella, are normally governed by a board of directors/governors and function as autonomous entities. These bodies are responsible for monitoring individual institutions; hence, keeping a more effective watch than that of regular public schools governed by the education department.

#### **- Finances (Funding, Expenditures & Costs):**

The SPDC (2003) study confirmed that in Pakistan the districts with higher literacy levels had higher levels of social and physical development. Over the period of time; it has been generally observed that basic schooling investments in Pakistan have been low and growing less rapidly than other average low income countries (Husain, 2005). Husain (2005) further argues



that if Pakistan had sufficient investment in public sector education (which is the sole source of mass education) per capita income of Pakistan would have been almost double than what it actually is and the record on poverty much better.

There is almost a unanimous agreement among the academicians that Pakistan's educational spending has never sufficiently covered nation's educational needs (Memon, 2009). Though a 2002 World Bank report on education financing concludes, that theoretically, there is no optimum level of expenditure a country should devote to education; many scholars and policy makers argue for at least international minimal standard allocation of 4% GDP in Pakistan. Whereas, generally, Pakistan has been allocating roughly around 2% of its GDP for the last several years. See the table below for a glimpse of education budget allocation during the last two decades in Pakistan<sup>20</sup>:

**Table - 4: Twenty-Year Public Education Expenditure (as % of GDP)**

<b>Year</b>	<b>1991 – 1992</b>	<b>1994 – 1995</b>	<b>1997 – 1998</b>	<b>2000 – 2001</b>	<b>2002 – 2003</b>	<b>2005 – 2006</b>	<b>2007 – 2008</b>	<b>2009 – 2010</b>
<b>Education Expenditure (as % of GDP)</b>	2.2	2.4	2.3	1.9	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.0

*Source: Available literature from the ministry of education, Pakistan and international donors such as UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, and the World Bank.*

The Brookings Institute Report (2009) noted that under-investment by the Pakistani government, over the last two to three decades, has left the Pakistani public education system in disarray. On the other hand, the meager financial resources that are allocated are manipulated as fund for politicians to generate profits for themselves and their political supporters. During my interview with a government official in provincial capital Quetta, he revealed that:

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<sup>20</sup> These are just a few examples both from the military regimes and the civilian governments.

The PSDP {known as annual development plan} does not name a specific location for the schools, but makes umbrella grants for dozens of schools throughout the year in the province. Provincial chief minister obliges the member of provincial assembly (MPA) through these funds as perks to gain their political support – and the same happens with the recruitment of teachers and other staff, who are allocated in the political their own political constituencies.

– A government official in Quetta

Hence, the lower level vernacular public schools continue experiencing difficulties in improving their status and image. These schools from the very beginning<sup>21</sup> have faced challenges like insufficient and inadequate school buildings, lack of essential facilities, untrained or poorly trained teachers especially in the remote areas, lack of classroom resources/teaching aids and unavailability of textbooks (Rahman, 2005).

Furthermore, as a result of decreased investment the salaries of teachers in these vernacular public schools are almost one-third as compared to their counterparts from the elite public or the elite private schools (Andrabi, 2006). Classes are over-crowded particularly at the primary school level where Student-teacher ratio is around 57:1, and from a gender perspective where culturally girls are allowed to only attend schools with female teachers this girl student ratio rises to almost double (UNDP Country Data Sheet 2008). As per UNESCO data of 2006, educational supplies were scarce in these schools; for instance, more than 80% of the schools did not have desks for students to use; text books were not available to more than 59%; while around 15% of the schools did not even have a blackboard for the teachers to teach.

Looking at the grim picture and condition of the Pakistani public schools it can clearly implied that the government expenditure is minimal in educational investment Rahman (2005)

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<sup>21</sup> Since the independence of Pakistan in 1947.

estimates a minimal cost per student per year (only tuition) at the primary school level as Pak Rs: 2,264.5 (~US\$25), is spent by the government. Some other estimates, report that an average, Rs. 3000 to 6000 (=US\$ 30-60) per year (only tuition) is paid by the State, of which a nominal portion is also shared by parents. It is propagated that public school is free up to grade ten in Pakistan. Theoretically true, but the government schools charge students/parents a small annual registration fee. Also, since books and supplies are not available to most of the students, the parents are responsible to buy books and supplies for their children. Furthermore, for majority of the population schools are not available closer to their homes or neighborhoods; students have to travel to the farther areas where they are available; in which case the parents are required to bear the transportation costs for their children as well. The cost of schooling for parents particularly increases for girls owing to their normative restricted mobility and prevailing insecure safety and security situations. They are required to have a safer mode of transportation and company of a male to and from the school on daily basis. This represents a double challenge for girls' education because than the male chaperones have to quit work and accompany their children in the mornings and afternoon, and if that is not possible the child drops out of school

According to a Brooking Institute Report (November 2009) Pakistan's education spending began to decline when policymakers lost focus on education as a means of individual empowerment, social justice and economic development. As a result dominant social class was birthed that catered only to the elites. Quite a prominent social and political division was observed over time between the majority common citizens and the upper elite class (Hoodbhoy, 1998). The elite class (with huge investments) either developed a tier of the elite public schools or moved to private schools. Since then the elite public schools have continued receiving substantial support from the government through public sector elites working in civil and

military bureaucracy. Although they are also known as ‘public schools’ but they present an impressive educational institution which can be compared to any educational institutions with reputable standard from the developed world (Rahman, 2010). They reside in elegant buildings and are equipped with the latest teaching-learning technologies. Their major resource-base is the government funds as well as elite philanthropic donations. They receive funds from the Ministry of Education far more than a common public school (Naseem, 2004). Naseem (2004) further noted that major chunk of the public sector education’s annual budget goes to these institutions; the budget documents do not differentiate between the elite and non-elite public schools. Besides, they charge the students huge tuition fees which leverage them to hire highly qualified teaching and administrative staff (Rahman, 2005; Rahman, 2010). The cost ranges between Rs. 30,000 – 150,000 per year per student – paid by State and parents. According to Rahman (2005) citizens from the upper class; the civil bureaucrats, military elites or high class business community with earning more than Pak. Rs. 50,000 per month can only afford these schools. Likewise their expenditure per student per year are multi-folds as compare to a common public school. Most of the schools are established in posh areas of the major cities while the ones away from the cities are located in the beautiful hilly areas offering all sorts of sophisticated and modern residential facilities for their students and teachers.

- **Academics (Curriculum, Medium of Instruction, and Teaching & Administrative Staff):**

i) *Curriculum:*

School curriculum is also one of the major debated topics among the educationists and intellectuals. Though there are Textbook Boards established in every province; still there is a big

variation among the text books used by the elite and not-elite public schools (Naseem, 2004). In the elite public schools students start learning basic science, social studies and geography right from the upper primary school; general science, along-with the upgraded social studies, Islamiyat<sup>22</sup>, math, etc at the middle level; while subjects of applied sciences (physics, chemistry, biology, and mathematics) from the higher grade classes. Urdu and English are taught as language and literature subjects from the elementary level. Teaching religion is also part of the curriculum; however, it remains to the basic level of learning Quran, *Hadith* and moralities throughout the school age.

On the other hand, in the common vernacular public sector schools, students up to primary level, learn only the basics of Urdu alphabets, social studies and religion (Islamiyat). They hardly learn the basics of writing and reading. Since majority of the school children come from families that speak native languages other than Urdu; (eg. Pashto, Panjabi, Sindhi) therefore, their time is primarily spent in learning Urdu language. English as a subject is included in the curriculum from grade six (Rahman, 2004, Rahman 2005a; Ahmad, 2011). Though, some provincial governments introduce basic English at primary level as well, but that still remains a dream for majority of the public schools, particularly in the rural Pakistan. Students at the high school level (grade 9 and 10) are introduced to science subjects and these are taught in Urdu; while teaching science subjects in English starts only after matriculation (grade 10), at the college level. At the high school level students are also taught Islamic studies (Islamiyat) as a mandatory subject. Both science and humanities tracks have prescribed and fixed curriculum and students have no choice to choose between one or the other subject.

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<sup>22</sup> Islamic education as a compulsory subject

Pakistan's public school curriculum content is highly criticized by scholars and researchers. Many have termed it as 'rigid', 'out-of-date', 'old-fashioned', irrelevant', gender-biased' and 'provoking extremism' (Hoodbhoy, 1998; Mahboob, 2007; Naseem 2004). Khalid (2007) while analyzing the Education White Paper of 2007 argues that even the Government of Pakistan has made a few 'confessions' particularly regarding the curriculum taught in public schools. As under the heading "Textbooks and Learning Materials," the White Paper concludes that administrative control of the Federal Government on the preparation of curricula and textbooks has been responsible for stagnation in this area (p. 18). Textbooks are of poor quality, overflow with "information narrated in a confusing manner," and, in many cases, are "full of printing errors," Khalid (2007) adds.

Until recently curriculum development has been under the purview of the ministry of education in the federal government; and it was claimed that curriculum development was undertaken through a consultative process with the provincial governments through their respective education departments. In the recent years, this responsibility has been delegated to the provinces using federal guidelines and policies. Unfortunately, certain provinces, such as Balochistan in particular, does not have the technical capacity to revise its curriculum according to the wishes of its constituents. Keeping in view the constraints it seems that it will take almost a decade to reach the stage where Balochistan can develop its own curriculum.

Curriculum development is an ideologically driven process often leading to heated political debates in the country (Nayyar & Salim, 2003). Textbooks are of great importance in any consideration of educational reform in Pakistan because in majority cases textbooks are the sole reading material that the students will have access to and which the teachers will use as an instructional resource particularly in public schools. Majority of the public schools in Pakistan

have no audio-visual support, except for the black-board and chalk, in teaching and learning (Naseem, 2004); hence the impact of textbook could be immense on the students. On the other hand where some meager facilities are available, the teachers, however, could neither make effective use of these resources nor do they acknowledge the value of these resources for teaching and learning in their classrooms (Muhammad and Kumari, 2007). In the recent past, particularly after 9/11, Pakistan's education systems (mostly the public schooling and Madrasah education) came under severe criticism for not providing students with modern education promoting 'global citizenship'. Rahman (2004) while sharing the results of his survey, reveals that majority of the public sector (and Madrasah) students are inclined to biases towards other non-Muslim nations. There have been several reports on the inadequacies, biases, and other weaknesses in prescribed Pakistani public school textbooks (Nayyar & Salim, 2003; SPDC, 2003; Naseem, 2004). Moreover, Pakistani public schools are more teachers centered where the students are silent listeners and are expected to merely obey the teacher. According to UNICEF (2003) report Pakistani education system does not usually allow for a participatory role by the child nor does it stress the development of his/her creative and critical thinking ability (UNICEF, 2003).

Like textbooks, the conduction of secondary and higher secondary examinations in Pakistan is centralized under various boards of examinations. However, examinations at the 5<sup>th</sup> grade and 8<sup>th</sup> grade are conducted at the school, except if any bright students desire to compete for scholarships which are conducted through the boards. Examinations are held annually in all public schools of Pakistan and are the only criterion to promote the student to the next class or retain him/her in the same class (Memon, 2009). Students in the government schools registered with the examination boards sit for the secondary school examination - at the end of grade 9 and

grade 10 respectively and sit for the higher secondary examination at the end of grade 11 and 12 of the higher secondary school (normally the intermediate college). Public education system's examinations are almost 100 percent based on the content of the textbook. Having been the student of the same system, I argue that these examinations promote only knowledge recall and reproduction rather than production of critical thinking. Since there is no critical thinking and just a rote memorization in the learning processes; if a topic was not taught by a teacher (for any reason) and that becomes part of the examination paper, the students feel helpless and consider the specific question 'out of course', only because it was not taught by the teacher, though it was part of the curriculum. The SPDC evaluation study rightly portrays the role of testing and examination in Pakistan, by stating that they (the examinations) do not test understanding, reasoning, originality or creativity (SPDC, 2003). The same is confirmed by the annual Status of Education in Pakistan Report (2010) which reveals that more than half of Pakistani primary school students could not read a sentence in proper Urdu. The same study further reveals that arithmetic achievement was even poorer as only 44% of the children were able to solve a two-digit subtraction sum (Status of Education in Pakistan Report, 2010).

*ii) Medium of Instruction:*

Medium of instruction has been one of the most controversial issues in Pakistani Public education system. Pakistan is a multi lingual country and there have been strong arguments to choose, Urdu, English or mother tongue as medium of instruction. Rahman (2005a) considers English language as 'passport of success to only the privileged'. In other words, the common people who have no or less command of English language get restricted to be successful and play a policy and governance level role in Pakistan. Only few, such as the leaders of the religious political parties may get access to the higher forums such as the provincial and national



assemblies and the senate, though they are not English literate. However, in Pakistan the trend shows that the real policy makers are the English language literate civil bureaucrats and military generals, not the elected representatives.

The proponents of Urdu as medium of instruction symbolize Urdu as ‘source of unity and integration’ of the Pakistani people. While analyzing the educational white paper of 2007, Khalid (2007) in the SPDC’s Policy Perspective Journal argues that any opinion opposing Urdu as medium of instruction is an unholy intent to provoke narrow nationalistic sentiments and serve the cause of those who believe, not in one federally united Pakistan, but in a confederation of many ethnic nationalities. Ahmad (2011) also states that Urdu is Pakistan’s national language and considered as a symbol of national unity.

Indeed there is large number of critics of both these languages (English and Urdu) to be the medium of instruction in the public school. Coleman, (2010) while Andrabi noted that there are believed to be 72 living languages in the Pakistan, not including English. The number of speakers of these language ranges from the tiny Aer language (150 speakers) and Gowro language (200 speakers) up to Western Panjabi with nearly 61 million speakers (38% of the population) (Lewis, 2009). In the British Council report Coleman (2010) further elaborates that fourteen of these languages have at least one million speakers each; hence, in total they are spoken by 134 million people (85% of the population). It is also argued that Urdu, the national language, comes in fourth place among the languages with the largest number of speakers. Less than 7% of the population has Urdu as their first language; hence, Punjabis, Pashtuns, Sindhis and Balochis should have their native languages as medium of instruction in public schools of their respective areas/regions (Ahmad, 2011).

During the British colonial era the education policy was that Urdu should be the medium of instruction for the common masses whereas English should be the medium for the elite (Rahman, 2005a; Kumar, 2000; Hoodbhoy, 1998). Malik (2012), while quoting various researches, elaborates that British colonizers attempted to achieve cultural imperialism by promoting the following activities: (a) introducing anglicized educational institutions, (b) using English as a medium of instruction in these institutions and declaring English the official language of the colonial government, (c) transforming the upper class Indians lifestyle attitudes into that of British lifestyles through education (Lewis, 1962; Vakil & Natarajan, 1966). Lord Macaulay established English as the language of administration, education, and culture in the subcontinent of India. He emphasized, “We need a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals, and in intellect” (Macaulay 1835, as cited in Aggarwal, 1983, p. 5, and Naik & Nurullah, 1951, p. 101). Kumar (2000) argues that with the inception of Urdu as medium of instruction the role and power of Sanskrit<sup>23</sup>, Persian<sup>24</sup> and/or their native languages slowly vanished. This colonial era policy was criticized by the Indians as early as the 1880s for effectively distancing the people of Indian sub-continent from their sociolinguistic roots (Kumar, 2000). Kumar further noted that since people in general were not educated in their native languages, so they lost access and connection to the sources of their folk knowledge (Kumar, 2000; Rahman, 2005a). For instance, Hindus were not educated in Sanskrit and Muslims were not educated in Persian, such that both groups lost contact with the literary sources of their native cultures (Andrabi quoted by Coleman, 2010).

In contemporary Pakistan, Urdu is the medium of instruction in more than two-third (70%) of the government schools, 22% are Sindhi medium (only in Sindh province) and around

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<sup>23</sup> Language for Indian Hindus

<sup>24</sup> Language used by Muslims for official purposes

8% are others (Pashto, Arabic, etc.) in the rest of three provinces, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Gilgat-Baltistan. Though Urdu is the medium of instruction in government schools yet it is the first language of only around 7% of the population in the country. There is a recommendation in the recent education policy (of 2010) that in the near future English will be the mandatory medium of instruction for certain subjects in government schools as well, whereas English remain is the first language of the elites in Pakistan. It is estimated that approximately 92% of children in Pakistan do not have access to education in their mother tongue<sup>25</sup> (Coleman, 2010). Since neither Urdu nor English is the language of the majority; therefore, the students invest their time in learning these languages before they can really start to learn knowledge content in other subjects. To conclude, for most of the Pakistani children education is often delivered in a language that the children do not speak at home and is hard to understand; hence spending substantial time to first overcome this barrier, later proceeding to any further learning. During the course my work in the education and development sector in Pakistan, I came across many parents and families arguing that neither Urdu nor English is their native language; both are foreign to them and their children have to make extra efforts to overcome such bottlenecks in order to perform to certain standards in the schooling systems. Between Urdu and English, majority of them, preferred to learn English, for two main reasons, firstly, speaking English associates them with elite and well do to class and secondly, at the least, they learn a language which is internationally recognized medium of communication.

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<sup>25</sup> 93% of the 70% of children in Urdu-medium government schools = 65% of all children + almost 100% of the 30% of children studying in private schools = 95% (Coleman, 2010)

### *iii) Teaching and Administrative Staff:*

In Islamic and Pakistani culture and tradition, teachers are highly respected and a teacher is symbolized as a spiritual father. Like I, many Pakistani children and youth have idealized their teachers throughout their educational journey. Many of the teachers have played a pivotal role in evolving the lives of their students through their hard work, inspiration, mentorship, guidance and dedication (Alif Ailaan, 2016). Yet, in general, public perception about Pakistani public sector teachers is significantly negative. They are seen as incompetent to show any mastery over the subjects they teach and adequately perform their jobs (Memon, 2009). They are notoriously known for their chronic absenteeism from their work, lack of motivation and being only interested in getting their salaries (Alif Ailaan, 2016). Instead of teaching the children, they are more interested in serving the political interests of the politicians and their unions to secure their jobs. They are also blamed for not connecting with parents and non-receptive to parental involvement in school affairs to achieve the overall benefit of the child in succeeding through the education system.

The National Education Policy 1998 – 2010 states that the basic qualification for a primary school teacher in the country is matriculate with a Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC). For middle(elementary) schools its is intermediate with a Certificate in Teaching (CTC) and for secondary education and higher secondary it is the Bachelor of Education (B. Ed.) and Masters degree respectively. The said policy further elaborates that in all the provinces teachers are recruited and deployed on the post of Trained Graduate Teachers (TGT) which is further categorized as Junior School Teacher (JST) and Senior School Teacher (SST) by the provincial education departments. UNESCO (2007) assessment report states that only 5% teachers are not trained in the public sector, while the number of untrained teachers is much higher among the

private school and Madaaris. However, the quality of teacher training and their outcome is highly contested in varied discourses (Hoodbhoy, 1998; Rahman, 2004-05). For instance, in a study on the use of text books in Pakistani schools Muhammad and Kumari (2007) noted that in addition to the other pedagogical issues, there were also problems related to the quality of content provided in the textbooks; however, due to their limited knowledge and expertise the teachers were not able to clarify those errors or mistakes on their own (Muhammad and Kumari, 2007)

Teachers' educational qualification to teach a relevant subject is not given due consideration particularly below the high school level. I looked at the National Education Management Information System (NEMIS) data bases and other relevant sources, to find out the teachers appointments and posting relevant to their qualification; unfortunately, I was not successful, because the data is only organized around gender and general qualification; not around qualification of teachers with respect to their subject of specialization. The data bases also lack information on teachers with respect to their subject expertise; however, there are several examples which infer that there is critical scarcity of adequately qualified teachers in the country. For example, the National Education Policy 1998-2010 highlights this issue (particularly to teach science subject) as "it could be usual to find a school, where there are no vacant posts, but science and mathematics teachers are in short supply" (p. 47, section 6.1.5 p.37); hence, science subjects are taught by non-qualified teachers. It has widely been observed that majority of the teachers do not have proper qualifications and specialization to teach a particular subject (SPDC, 2003) and in many instances science teachers have qualification of humanities subject. Furthermore, owing to non-proficiency in English language, majority of the teachers teach a variety of subjects (including science) in Urdu even at the higher secondary school level. The said Education Policy further states that the situation is worse in female

schools, “Even in townships and cities, the female secondary schools do not have teachers in English, Science and Mathematics.” (Section 6.1.6, p.38). On the basis of a comprehensive review of the state of education in Pakistan SPDC (2003) confirms that in Pakistan there is a critical shortage of qualified teachers, mainly females, in general, particularly so in the rural areas.

Teachers’ appointments, postings and promotions are highly politicized in Pakistan and this is no new practice rather the same has been practiced for decades (Hoodbhoy, 1998). Their appointment and posting has been a great source for the politicians to oblige their constituencies (Khan, 2005; Andrabi, et al, 2008) and retain their political status. It is unfortunate to note that the politicians do not lose elections for schools being non-functional in their areas but lose popularity in failing to provide jobs (in public sector) to their constituents; therefore, the education department has become an employment agency rather than providing service to the masses in ensuring that qualified and competent teachers are employed to transfer knowledge and prepare young people to participate in building the country. Education department is one of the largest employment providers in the country and more than 75% of the education budget is allocated to teachers’ salaries (Alif Aalian, 2016).

On the other hand, the management and administrative staff are either from the teaching cadre or are deployed from other departments (non-education) through their political influence. There is also generally a strong culture of nepotism and favoritism in the public sector, with transfers and postings often made to oblige powerbrokers at the various tiers of government (ICG Report, 2004). The said report states that political appointments in the public school system are common, and civil service bureaucracy often makes it difficult to hold appointees accountable (ICG Report, 2004). Majority of them are not qualified in the areas, such as human resources,

financial and institutional management, required for managing and administering these public institutions (SPDC, 2003). Moreover, this does not only occur at the school level; same is the case at the education directorates at the federal, provincial and district levels where technical decisions regarding promoting education (through curriculum development, teachers training, etc) are made by non-educationists.

Nevertheless, the teachers in the Pakistani public sector, particularly in rural areas (where the majority of the Pakistani population resides), face many challenges which I deem necessary to be highlighted and their voices are heard. Though better than their counterparts in the low-fee private schools and Madaaris, teachers are generally low paid. Many teachers consider their low salary structure, lack of professional development opportunities and job promotions, high cost of travel to and from school, being far away from their homes (not posted closer to their homes) and issues around security and safety (particularly a key concern for female teachers) consequently minimizes their motivation and enthusiasm in performing their job. Furthermore, inadequate educational teaching and lack of physical facilities, classroom challenges (for instance, large classroom size and multi-grade teaching, with a ratio of one teacher to 37 students), lack of parental involvement/interests, political involvement in school affairs, and non-teaching duties (such as, election duties, conducting population census, etc) are also considered bigger constraints in meeting their job requirement successfully (Alif Ailaan, 2016b; Khan, 2005). However, since they have to feed their families; therefore, they stick to their jobs. Furthermore, since teaching jobs are not considered prestigious and financially rewarding, for many in Pakistan, particularly males, teaching is not a career of choice; but the last resort or employment option (Aly, 2007). Indeed, there are still hardworking and dedicated teachers, who, despite of

the trivial remunerations and unsatisfactory teaching environment, are committed to the noble profession of imparting knowledge (Alif Ailaan, 2014).

**-Access to School (Physical and Affordability):**

I would like to begin this section with data from the UNESCO-EFA Global Monitoring Report (2010), which states that, gender, wealth and household location strongly influence the likelihood of a child being out of school. The report reveals that in Pakistan, 49 per cent of the poorest children aged 7 to 16 were out of school in 2007, compared to 5 per cent of children from the wealthiest households. The following deliberations highlight some facts relevant to the three; i.e. physical access, affordability, with special reference to girls.

*i) Physical Access:*

Evidence reveals that more than 25 million children, 13.6 million girls and 11.4 million boys, (age 5 to 16 years) are out of schools in Pakistan, and 70% of them have never been to school (Alif Ailaan, 2016), one of the main reason being their limited mobility particularly in far-flung rural areas of the country to access proper schools. A survey of 32 districts in 2010 revealed that more than 20% of Pakistani children did not have access to any type of school in Pakistan (Pakistan – Annual Status of Education Report, 2010). However, as compared to the private schools, public schools still have a much wider spread in the country. Indeed, there are several far-flung areas in Balochistan and Sindh provinces and Gilgit-Baltistan, FATA and Kashmir regions; where the government education department has limited outreach and the children have to travel very far to access schools; for instance, in the entire district Washuk of Balochistan province, students from some villages have travel more than 20 kilometers to reach the closest high school. Restricted mobility owing to culture, lack of security, and long distances



deteriorates the situation for children particularly children of primary school age and even worse for females (of all ages) to attend a school, for the fact of non-availability of schools in closer proximity to their houses. Alifailaan (2016) reports that 76% of children enrolled in the public school commute to school daily on foot. The report reveals that for 13% girls and 5% boys distance to school and travel time are the major reasons for their dropout from the schools. Please note that the report noted an average for Pakistan; nevertheless, children in the rural and remote areas' are greatly affected by the fact. The two prominent factors affecting girls education (non-attendance or drop out) with regard to proximity of the school are: i) daily insecure commute for girls between the school and home; and, ii) non-availability of female teachers in schools – which relates back to my argument of challenges for female teachers in commuting between their residences and the schools.

Moreover, the education sector is much more politicized than any other social development sector in Pakistan. Like teachers' appointments, postings and promotions, establishment of a school in a particular neighborhood/village is also highly influenced by political and tribal powers. In most cases school building and construction projects are awarded through political influence (Rahman, 2005). Alderman, et al. (1995) and Gazdar (1999) noted that there is evidence that one of the most important factors in determining the establishment of new schools and the allocation of resources to existing schools was pressure from powerful in local areas who benefit directly from profitable school construction as well as from the privileges of political patronage (Alderman et al 1995; Gazdar 1999). Unlike in the other countries, the elected politicians (for the National and Provincial Assemblies and the Senate) of Pakistan are allocated annual 'development' funds to be used for progress and development of their respective constituencies. In other words it is an amount that is used as bribe to acquire political

support in the name of development. Besides their own ‘development’ funds, because of their political powers, they influence the government authorities to install development projects as per their priority areas, which may or may not be need-based. Alderman et al (1997) argue that availability of schools in the community can be considered beyond the control of individual households in rural Pakistan, based on a weak relationship between school location and community characteristics.

While working in Balochistan, at several occasions, I have personally observed that ‘right projects’ were not installed at the ‘right places’. In the course of my official visits to one of the districts in Balochistan province, I found that there were three well-designed school buildings constructed through the *Nai-Roshni* Project, the World Bank Education Project and the Member of National Assembly (MNA) funds project respectively in a small village with around a couple dozen households in the catchment area and merely 14 students enrolled. Only one of the building was effectively used as proper school while the other two buildings were used as ‘guest houses’ for the influential of the area. While at a distance of around two to three kilometers, a village, with more than a hundred and fifty households, had only one primary school (with a two-room mud building) attended by approximately two hundred students. It was a mixed-gender school and five grades were taught by only two female teachers. On the same time, there were many other surrounding villages which did not have any type of school and many children were on the streets instead of schools.

*Access – with affordability:*

As mentioned in the earlier section on finances; though the constitution directs for free education and governments have consistently claimed in doing so, it is highly contested by educationists and researchers. They argue that these are empty rhetoric but reality; parents still

have to pay for children's annual registration, books, uniform, transportation and miscellaneous (as from time to time students are also asked to contribute money for classroom activities) (Rahman, 2004). A recent study of around 1000 respondents conducted by Alif Ailan (in 2014) estimates the total annual expenditure per student as PKR. 31,000 approximately that includes different expenditures (excluding the tuition fee); such as the tuition fee, cost of uniforms, textbooks, transportation, school supplies, school bags, pocket money, and so on. Lloyd, et al. (2002) noted that as compared to elite public, elite private and low-fee private schools, costs at the public schools are the lowest to parents. Even the low-fee private schools costs are almost double the cost of public schools to parents (Lloyd et al, 2002).

On the other hand, since majority (around 60%) of the population in Pakistan lives below the poverty line; therefore, these expenses incurred in public schools, even if meager are considered an extra burden for the families. Indeed, poverty is another major reason preventing children from attending school in Pakistan (Aliailaan, 2016). Alifailaan report further highlights that 17% of girls and 15% of boys drop out of school because their parents believe education is too expensive.

**- Perceived Outcomes (Economic Opportunities/Educational & Employment Prospects):**

Various studies substantiate that the productivity benefits of education are huge. Just one additional year of education can increase productivity in employment wage by 10% even after controlling for other factors (Husain, 2005). Another study of 98 countries conducted by Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2004) also validated that the average rate of return increases by 10% for every year of schooling. However, in the current competitive job market employers classify employees' qualification not only by the number of years of schooling (high school,

college and/or university) but also by some additional desirable characteristics (e.g. problem-solving skills, communication skills, leadership skills, etc.) that cannot be directly observed through a degree (Spence, 1973; Stiglitz, 1975; Weiss, 1983). Variety of literature has also looked at what school traits envisage academic achievement or labor market performance. Alifailaan (2016) quoted some studies noting that school effects literature typically entails the identification of certain type of school distinctiveness and observes their effectiveness in predicting academic success or labor market performance through education production functions (Hedges, Laine, and Greenwald, 1994; Hanushek, 1986). With reference to Pakistan, various systems and tiers of educational institutions predict different outcomes in the labor market. In general, Husain (2005) argues that there is serious mismatch between the jobs demanded by the emerging needs of the economy and supply of skills and vast majority trained manpower in the country.

According to researchers and academicians, Pakistani public sector education, particularly the lower-level, lacks the cognitive, social and marketable skills development approaches among students; does not offer modern and global curriculum required by the global economy; and, does not teach English language; therefore, its students are unable to compete for jobs and/or lack to climb the educational ladder (Rahman, 2005; Alif Ailaan, 2016). On the contrary, the counterparts in the elite public and elite private schools, where the above mentioned characteristics are offered to/inculcated among the students, the results are totally different. The Alifailaan (2016b) survey data of three large cities in Pakistan shows that with an increase in exposure to private top tier schooling, the salary gap with government low tier schooling widens to over 100%. It is an evident correlational fact that the higher the education from an elite institution, the higher is the pay, social status and options for moving up the economical and

social ladder; hence, inculcating a class-based structure that promotes class capital (Rahman, 2010; Retallick, 2009).

It is also argued that the technical and vocational training (given by the government institutions) has failed to keep up with the emerging skill gaps; therefore, resulting in widened distance between the job market and the public sector education graduates. Due to the lower quality of education in public schools many scholars argue for less economic and employment opportunities available to the graduates of these schools, particularly with education only up to high school (ten grades). Moreover, though many students want to study further, but due to economic constraints and familial obligations, majority of these students quit higher schooling to meet their own and their family survival needs (Rahman, 2005) by starting lower level service jobs in the public sector (including becoming a teacher) or go towards private labor market. Public education sector, indeed, is one of the largest sectors providing employment to the Pakistani youth; however, in return, for the most part, this sector has been unable to produce qualified technical human resource for the current competitive labor market.

#### **- Gender Participation:**

Education is a universal and fundamental human right, recognized by the international human rights conventions as well as the religion of Islam (the basic driver of Pakistan's educational policies). However, according to the United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) in Pakistan, some 25 million children (age 5 – 16 years) are out of schools, of which close to 60 per cent are girls (the Daily Nation, May 8, 2011 and Alifailaan, 2016). As referenced above, the UNESCO-EFA Global Monitoring Report (2010) noted gender to be strongly influencing the likelihood of being out of school. Highlighting the gender issue the UNESCO-EFA report states

that poor girls living in rural areas are sixteen times less likely to be in school than boys from the wealthiest household living in urban areas. Indeed, in Pakistan, there is a substantial difference in the number of single-sex school (boys vs. girls), fewer primary schools for girls than for boys. According to the Pakistan Ministry of Education (2015-16), there were 146,277 primary schools in Pakistan; of these, 54.54% schools were for boys, 32.11% for girls and the remaining about 13.35% were schools with mix enrolment of both boys and girls. Investigating further, the data shows a large variation among the provinces and regions of the country. Looking at the provincial status, Punjab has the least gender-disparity in primary level educational institutions while the data portrays an alarming picture when analyzed for the less developed province like Balochistan, where 70% of the schools are for boys, one-fourth (26%) for girls, and 4% are mixed-gender schools. Please note that the gap regarding the availability of gender-based educational institutions widens at the middle, high and higher secondary level. As an example, I organized the table below to reflect the number of boys and girls primary schools by province or region.

**Table - 5: Number of Primary School in Pakistan 2015 – 2016 (Boys, Girls & Mixed)<sup>26</sup>**

Province/Region	Boys Schools	Girls School	Mixed Schools	Total
<b>Pakistan</b>	79,788	46,961	19,528	146,277
<b>Punjab</b>	19,344	20,744	12,805	52,893
<b>Sindh</b>	32,605	9,964	3,118	45,687
<b>Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa</b>	13,753	8,768	1,863	24,384
<b>Balochistan</b>	8,148	3,066	395	11,609
<b>Azad Jammu and Kashmir</b>	2,309	1,913	711	4,933
<b>Gilgit-Baltistan</b>	570	284	183	1,037
<b>Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)</b>	2,940	2,145	54	5,139
<b>Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT)</b>	119	77	399	595

*Source: Pakistan Education Statistics, 2015-2016*

A UNESCO (2010) report points out that the gender gap further widens when compared geographically between urban and rural settings. For instance, in urban areas of Pakistan 27% of primary schools are for boys, 24% for girls and 49% of the schools are mix-gendered schools. However, in rural areas 47% of the schools are for boys and only 33% are girls' schools; while 20% are co-educational schools (UNESCO, 2010). The data also shows that co-educational schools are lesser in number in rural than the urban areas, which infers cultural limitations; that there is low acceptance of gender-mixed schools in rural areas than the urban areas. Thus overall, lesser the number of schools the lesser will be the rate of girls' enrollment. The data between 2000 and 2010 shows that girls' enrollment has constantly been lower than the boys in Pakistan. The following data-table elaborates the argument.

<sup>26</sup> The data includes public and private primary schools (grade 1-5), pre-primary grades, Gov. supported mosque schools, and other public sector schools (other public sector schools mean public sector institutions run by other than provincial/regional education departments (Pakistan Education Statistics, 2015-16).

**Table - 6: Primary Net Enrollment Rates for Boys & Girls in Pakistan (2000 – 2009)**

<b>YEAR (2000 – 2009)</b>	<b>BOYS – Net Enrollment</b>	<b>GIRLS – Net Enrollment</b>
<b>2000 – 2001</b>	67.5	45.8
<b>2004 – 2005</b>	73.3	55.7
<b>2005 – 2006</b>	56	48
<b>2006 – 2007</b>	60	51
<b>2007 – 2008</b>	59	52
<b>2008 – 2009</b>	61	54

*Source: Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Surveys 2001 – 2008; Pakistan Education Statistics, AEPAM, Ministry of Education. Adopted from UNESCO (2010)*

Likewise, the UNESCO report (2010) further analyzes the statistics and confirms that girls' enrollment has been much lower in rural areas of Pakistan than the urban areas. The gap further widens in the less developed provinces and regions such as Balochistan and the FATA. For instance, in rural Balochistan only 35% of girls of age 5–9 attended primary school (PSLM Survey, 2014–15) – much lower than the national average as depicted in the table below:

**Table - 7: Net Enrollment Rate at the Primary Level (Age 5 – 9) – Excluding Kachhi Class**

<b>National, Province,</b>	<b>Urban</b>			<b>Rural</b>			<b>Total</b>		
	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	67	66	66	57	48	53	60	53	57
<b>Balochistan</b>	66	56	62	52	27	40	56	35	46

Source: Pakistan Education Statistics, PSLM 2014-15

In general, fewer females are literate than their male counterparts. In some districts, according to the Ministry of Education statistics; the literacy rates among females are as low as 2%. Following are few of the districts in Pakistan with the lowest female literacy rates: Dera Bugti, Balochistan (2%), Kohlu, Balochistan (4%), Naseerabad, Balochistan (6%), Musa Kheil,



Balochistan (6%), Kohistan, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (6%), Jacobabad, Sindh (9%). It is also worth-mentioning that among the ten-lowest ranking districts, seven are located in the province of Balochistan.

The same trends translate while comparing male and female teachers availability for these schools. According to Ministry of Education statistics of 2006–07, there were 425,445 teachers in Pakistan; of these 53% were male and 37% female (Education Statistics 2006-07, MOE). Though in urban areas the gap is not prominent, in rural Pakistan it is much wider. For instance, UNESCO (2010) reported that in the same period (2006-07), 61% of the teachers in rural Pakistan were males. The gap further increases in Balochistan, Sindh and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa provinces of the country. Many researchers and scholars attribute several reasons to this phenomenon; including, availability of fewer schools for girls; non-availability of educated females to teach; safety and security problems, restricted female mobility; poor housing and transportation; and so on. At macro level, the wide gender gap in education in Pakistan reveals a missed opportunity of capitalizing on the increased returns for female education (Husain, 2005). Due to absence of women from the labor market as an important workforce, the economic productivity performed at its lowest lower levels; hence, created large imbalances in Pakistani society particularly affecting the rural poor masses with no access to schools.

From the presented analysis I reckon that the biggest barrier to a girl's education in Pakistan is her lack of access to it. Cultural limitations prevent parents choosing a mixed gender schools for their daughters; consequently, restricting access only to single sex 'safe-houses' (Sathar, et al., 1993). Though below the age 12 years, girls can and do attend mix schools, but many parents are of the opinion that due to the unavailability of girls-only middle schools in the near vicinity to continue education; it is useless and waste of time (for both parents and girls) for

girls attending only 5 grades.. Across the nation, education is built to demand rather than supply, meaning that boy's schools often outnumber girl's, especially in rural areas. For the average girl, school is too far, too expensive or not safe enough for her parents to allow her to attend, even if she wanted to. Distance is particularly a problem where parents often fear rape and abduction (Farah, 2007). With school so far away, it becomes difficult for parents to allow their daughter to travel far and even if they are, many dropout early to work at home or get married.

### **2.2.2. Private Sector Education & Schooling System**

#### **- Policy and Management (Governance, and Organizational Structure):**

Just like the public school, more than 33,000 private schools, catering to the needs of more than 6.3 million children (Andrabi, 2012) are also scattered into several sub-categories, such as, foreign private schools (for instance, American, International, and Turkish schools in Islamabad, Karachi and Lahore); elite Pakistani private schools (e.g. Karachi or Lahore Grammar Schools, Roots Education Systems, Froebel, Beaconhouse and City Schools in provincial capitals and larger cities); the old missionary schools established by Catholic and Protestant churches; private English medium schools (available in cities serving medium class citizenry); the non-for-profit NGO run schools; and low-fee private schools (serving the lower working class). Low-fee private self-owned schools make around 80% of the private schools. Furthermore, more than 75% of the total private school enrollment is at primary level in Pakistan (Andrabi, 2012), which means that a large majority of these schools is only up to the primary level schooling.

Like public schools, private sector schooling also has four levels; such as, primary level (grade pre-primary to five); middle level (grade 6 to 8); secondary level (grade 9 & 10); and

higher secondary level/college (grade 11 & 12). However, some elite schools offer junior and senior O and A level (two years each) instead of grades 9 to 12. At the end of grades 5, 8, 10 and 12 or O & A level the students are required to pass an examination in order to be promoted to higher stage of education in Pakistan (Hoodbhoy, 1998). The international schools and O & A level examinations are conducted by the relevant international education body and the Cambridge University UK.

Private schools do not have any regulatory body of their own. Each school system is either an independent private school; for instance, Karachi Grammar School, Sadiq Public School, Islamia School, Tameer-e-Nau School; or works as an affiliate with a specific chain of schools; for example, all Beaconhouse Schools established in the country are functional under the Beaconhouse School System, likewise the City Schools, Headstart Schools, etc. Another category of the private stream of schools is the school(s) functional under the umbrella of a not-for-profit NGO; such as Citizenship Foundation Schools, Helpers Association Schools, etc. In such institutions, the NGOs have appointed school principals to handle the day-to-day school affairs; however, the overall policies and supervisory roles are formulated by and remain with the NGOs. Nonetheless, all the private schools are supposed to have a board of directors/governors as per the government rules required for registration. The same rules apply to the lower-level non-elite private schools as well; however, the small schools are normally property of individuals or a family having names of their family members and friends as board members just to fulfill the registration formality. All the private schools are required to be registered with the provincial or regional education department in their respective province or region or with the federal ministry of education to be eligible to receive financial assistance from the respective government. Registration is also required for examination purposes; their students can appear in

the Board of Education (provincial) annual examinations only if they are registered with their respective regional, provincial, or federal education departments. Nevertheless, each private school or chain of schools formulates their own policies and procedures of management, administration, fee-structure, curriculum, etc.

System of monitoring also varies among the different school systems; Indeed, these systems are more effective because of their nature as private institution – being run as entrepreneurship – where financial interests of the individuals and/or a group are directly involved. Individual schools operating under individual owners are directly monitored at the institution level, while a group (chain) of schools is monitored by the owners at a central level through local school principals. Undeniably, private schools, on one hand, compete with the public schools; and, on the other hand, have to compete amongst themselves to attract more students and widen their profit maximization. Furthermore, all the private educational institutions are directly accountable to the parents who pay a substantial amount as school fee for their children's education on monthly basis; therefore, they would like to create and maintain a good reputation among their constituents.

- **Finances (Funding, Expenditures & Costs):**

Major source of funding for the private schools is either the financial support provided by the government, international donors and/or the monthly fee collected from its student body. The elite private schools mainly depend on the large sum of the fee charged to parents. In addition to the students' fee, the non-elite NGO schools are normally funded through different educational projects in the country; while others (individually/family-owned) receive funds direct from the international donor community through the government (the federal and provincial education

foundations). In addition to the National Education Foundation, every province in Pakistan has an Education Foundation that are mandated to provide financial and technical support to the private schools (both not-for-profit and for-profit). All of these Foundations are supported by the state as well as the international and multi-lateral and bi-lateral donors, such as Global Affairs Canada (GAC – formerly called CIDA and then DFATD), Swiss International Development Agency SIDA), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Australian Development Aid (AusAID), the World Bank and so on through different development assistance projects. For instance, Balochistan Education Foundation is funded by the World Bank with an objective to support establishment of low-fee private community-based schools in rural Balochistan; and also support the existing private schools, particularly the ones with a larger number of girl students in their schools. These Foundations distribute funds to the private educational institutions annually.

As mentioned, charging fee from the students is a major source to finance and keep the schools functional. Elite schools charge between Rs. 20,000 to more than Rs. 100,000 per year per student; while the NGO and non-elite schools' fee structure ranges from as low as Rs. 1,000 a year to nearly Rs. 10,000 per students a year. Though individual philanthropy is also one of the sources of income for the private schools, but it is very minimal; bigger share of such funds normally go the faith-based educational institutions.

As for the public schools, the costs for private schools also vary. There are a number estimates available presented by researchers and economists. Rahman (2004 and 2005) estimates the cost per student per year of an elite private school somewhere ranges between Rs. 36,000 and Rs. 96,000 (depending on the level of the school). According to a latest survey of around one thousand individuals conducted by Alif Ailaan (in 2014), the total per annum educational

expenditures for a primary level student was Rs: 58,808 (including all types of costs ranging from the tuition fee, private tutoring, uniforms, transportation, to pocket money. Indeed, most of these costs are paid by the parents. According to a qualitative analysis of government, NGO and private rural primary schools (i.e. low-fee private schools) as per his research in various parts of Pakistan, Khan (2005) came up with the following comparative figures regarding average monthly tuition fee charged by public, low-fee private and an NGO school. Khan (2005) noted that the average monthly fee was the least around PK. Rs. 29.00 per month in public schools compared to Rs. 121.00 charged by low-fee private schools; and, Rs. 108.00 charged by the NGOs. Though, as per these estimates, costs of the non-elite private schools are not as high; but still they are unaffordable for majority of a population (62%) which lives under \$2 a day (UNDP-HDI, 2007; the World Bank, 2014)). Therefore, majority of the parents opt for either the public schools or Madaaris to educate their children or they might even choose not to send their children to any of the institution for education; instead ask them to support the family economically through working in the labor market.

There are several for and against arguments with regard to the cost and expenditures of private school. Several researchers argue that private school's overall expenditures are even lesser than the public school because of the low over-head costs and teachers' lesser salaries (Husain, 2005; Andrabi, et al. 2006); therefore, the public sector schools should also be either privatized or the government should adopt the same strategy in teachers' appointment (appoint them on contract not on permanent basis) and reduce the large administrative structure. Indeed, in two related papers in 1985 and 1987, Jimenez and Tan examined the role of private education in Pakistan. Based on a school mapping exercise conducted in 1983, the authors noted that there

had been a large increase in the number of private schools, leading to substantial cost savings for the government in the provision of education.

- **Academics (Curriculum, Medium of Instruction and Teaching & Administrative Staff):**

*i) Curriculum:*

Due to comparatively better academics and better control and supervision, all private schools have maintained a higher standard of education than the public schools in Pakistan (Andrabi, et al., 2006). Curricula of the elitist English-medium private schools are different and in many cases offer their own curriculum (Naseem, 2004) giving a foreign/western touch. Majority of the elite private schools also prepare students for the O and A level examinations conducted by the University of London/Cambridge University in the UK. For instance, the medium of instruction and curricula of urban elitist schools like Beaconhouse, City School, Froebels, is altogether English except for Urdu. Urdu is the only language book taught in these schools. The books are generally adopted from the western countries and are not produced by the Pakistani Textbook Boards till 8<sup>th</sup> grade. They start teaching science and arts, Pakistan studies, social studies and religion from the elementary level, thus, most students study books originally written for western school children (Rahman, 2005). From grade 9 onward, many of these elite schools offer two streams of textbooks (dual system of curriculum) within one school; i.e. the international standard junior and senior Ordinary levels (O-Level) and junior and senior Advance levels (A-level). Foreign published books are prescribed to prepare students for the international level Ordinary level (O-Level) and Advance level (A-level) examinations, and Pakistani textbook board books are selected only for those students who want to appear in the Pakistani

system matriculation (i.e. grades 9 and 10) examination. It is generally observed that majority of the students from these schools take the British Ordinary (O) and Advanced (A) level school certificate examinations.

The non-elite private schools use the government curricula with the addition of English language texts starting at grade 1 or even before that at the kindergarten level. In rural areas of the country majority of the private school teach subjects in Urdu while in urban areas there is a mix – often in English, still a few subjects in Urdu. Students of these private schools appear in the same middle and high school standard examinations along with the public school students conducted by the Board of Examination (under the Department of Education) with a few exceptions, such as the Aga Khan Board. The Aga Khan board caters to the Aga Khan schools (mainly in Karachi and Northern Areas of Pakistan).

ii) *Medium of Instruction:*

Right from the kindergarten, medium of instruction in the upper level (elite) private schools is English except for the subject of Urdu. Their teachers and administrative staff are, normally, well qualified and well conversant in English language (Rahman, 2005; Khan, 2005). However, the other private schools, including some non-profit NGO schools, though theoretically call themselves ‘English medium schools’; teach English only as a subject, while all the other subjects are still taught in Urdu, particularly at the primary school level. In fact these so-called ‘English-medium schools’ are English-medium only in name (Rahman, 2005). Primary school level teachers in these low-fee private (and NGOs) schools have lower level education (grade 10 or 12) and are mostly graduates of the public sector education system (in most cases); therefore, their spoken English is also very basic; hence, more comfortable teaching the subjects in Urdu than English. Nevertheless, these schools are still considered better than



their counterparts in public sector because in public sector majority schools English is not taught at all at the primary level schooling.

*iii) Teaching Staff and Administrative Staff:*

The characteristics of private Pakistani schools are wide-ranging and depend, to a large extent, on the type of private school (ranging from a day school to a highly sophisticated boarding school) and its function. In the private sector teaching and administrative staff's qualification and experience also vary. Generally, the elite private schools are extremely expensive, established in buildings with elaborate facilities, equipped with highly sophisticated learning instruments and tools, and have highly qualified personnel (both in administration and teaching cadres). These schools offer better competitive salaries and incentives in the shape of bonuses to their employees. Since they are exceptionally expensive; therefore, they provide excellent education to the children - only a small but powerful elite section of the Pakistani population (Coleman, 2010) and rationalize the high price and elaborated expenses of their instruction.

A comparative study of public and private school teachers in the United States by McLaughlin, O'Donnell, & Ries (1995), concluded that private school educators express a higher degree of satisfaction for their job; while talking to private and public school teachers, my research in Balochistan also confirmed the same. Though private sector schools teachers earning were reported much lesser than their counterparts in the public schools, but, except for their lower salaries, they showed higher satisfaction level. Andrabi (2006) argues that teachers in non-elite private schools receive around 40% – 50% of the pay of government teachers allowing

more money for the owners to invest in better facilities<sup>27</sup>. Probably availability of better teaching and working environment had increased the satisfaction level of teachers in private schools. On the contrary, in private schools teacher turn-over is much higher than the public sector and many speculate that the reason that private school teachers have a greater turnover rate than public schools is attributed to the salary differential (McLaughlin, O'Donnell, & Ries, 1995).

McLaughlin, O'Donnell, & Ries (1995) also argue that other factors that seem to contradict the performance of private schools have to do with the caliber of teachers and administrators. Andrabi et al. (2012) concluded that teachers are mostly untrained; the vast majority (95%) of them are educated to at least to 10th grade, and, in fact, only two-thirds have 12th grade and above. Furthermore, many critics argue that private school teachers are less likely than public school teachers to possess teaching experience and certified by a teacher training institute. According to the UNESCO education census assessment report (2007) there were more than half (51%) of the private education sector teachers untrained. Some other researchers take these figures, particularly for the low-fee private schools up even to more than 70% being untrained.

Though the teaching quality of the low-fee private schools is in question, it probably is only the better educational environment (better student-teacher ratio, location, cleanliness, better building, etc.) that gives an edge to the private schools (Alif Ailaan, 2016). Indeed, since majority of the private schools are for-profit; therefore, almost all of these schools are administered by the owners; hence, have kept the school environment attractive for the students and their parents. In Andrabi, et al, (2006) view, private schools are still much better than the

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<sup>27</sup> The main reason for facilities being in deteriorated shape in government schools is because around 80 percent of public school costs are used paying teachers wages.

public schools because they often produce better results; offer a better quality learning environment and rare opportunities for girls to enroll as regularly as boys. In their 2012 study, Andrabi et al. reiterate their opinion that the low-fee private expansion to the rural areas is significant and the learning outcomes are still better than the public sector primary schools (see Andrabi, et al, 2012), mainly because of teacher's regular presence, superior school environment and better student ratio (17:1). Nonetheless, (Hussain, 2005) is of the opinion that the record of these low-fee self-owned and NGO institutions in expanding access is impressive but in imparting quality education it has been mixed. The argument and comparative analysis of the low-fee private school and public schools learning outcome is further discussed later.

Generally, almost in all private schools, there is a good monitoring and supervision system in-place, where teachers are evaluated based on their performance, not on seniority (as in the public sector). The teachers in private schools are employed on a 'hire and fire' basis, practically impossible to do in public institutions due to political and teacher-union's pressure.

**- Access (Physical and Affordability):**

*i) Physical Access:*

Like in many other countries, particularly the neighboring India, in Pakistan also, private schools growth has been phenomenal during the last decade or so (Chudgar and Creed, 2014). Andrabi, et al. (2006) noted that in 1983 there were approximately 3,300 private primary and secondary schools in the big cities of the four provinces of Pakistan. In the year 2000 the same four provinces had over 32,000 such schools, an almost ten-fold increase in less than two decades, and in 2008-09 this number rose to more than 36,000<sup>28</sup>. Since then, according to the

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<sup>28</sup> The same author somewhere else noted the number of private schools as high as 47,000 (Andrabi, 2007).

Pakistan Education Statistics (2015-16) private school population had doubled and there were currently altogether 72,294 private educational institutions in Pakistan – from pre-primary to the degree college (14 grade) level. Out of the total number, more than 63,700 were mix-gender, 4,500 girls-only, while around 4,000 institutions were only for boys.

Up to early 2004, private schools were mainly concentrated in the urban areas – approximately 61% of the total private institutions were located in the urban areas whereas 39% were in rural areas (UNESCO, 2004). However, over the time, this geographic gap has narrowed and currently, because of the mushroom growth of the low-fee private schools, the number of rural-based private schools has surpassed the urban numbers. In 2015-16, around 39,000 were rural and 33,000 were urban based (Pakistan Education Statistics, 2015-16). However, a word of caution, since majority of the Pakistani population resides in rural areas; therefore, the private school rural number is still low as compare to the urban-rural population ratio. Furthermore, more than two-third (over 50,000) of all private schools are located in the province of Punjab – the most developed and populated province of the country; while less than one-third of these schools are scattered over the rest of the three provinces, FATA, Kashmir, Gilgit-Baltistan and Islamabad capital territory. Except Punjab, in the rest of Pakistan, private schools are still an urban phenomenon. At the primary, middle, and secondary levels of education, almost one-third of all students (around 6 million) attend more than 36,000 private schools in the country (Andrabi, et al, 2006; MoE Statistics 2007). Generally, as Andrabi, et al (2006) has concluded, private schools in Pakistan are important phenomena in terms of the stock of education, as well as their growth rate. This growth is an indicative of the departure of the middle and upper middle class students from the public school over time, as Andrabi, et al. (2006) claims. On the one hand, these private schools proved to be more efficient and effective; and on the other hand,

there was huge support extended by the government bureaucracy (particularly for elite private schools), because they provide better education and their own children have been studying in these private schools (Rahman, 2005).

According to Farah et al (2006), in 2004-05, 37% of all children enrolled at the primary level were in private schools, up from 33% in 1999. Moreover, most of the enrollment in these private schools is at the primary level, accounting for 75% of the total enrollment in private schools. In urban centers, private schools account for slightly more students (51%) than the public sector (49%). However, situation in rural areas is presenting a totally different picture, where over 80% of students attend public schools. Though the number of the private low-fee school as substantially increased; the educational markets don't favor the poor (Chutgar and Creek, 2014). Chutgar and Creek (2014), argue (though in Indian context) that primary private schools are more likely to be found in villages with access to drivable roads, mobile phone connections, public health clinics, and general markets. I would like to indicate that with regard to Pakistan (except for the Punjab), the educational data from 2014-15 confirm the same argument that the rural poor still do have access to the low-fee private schools, because of non-availability of such schools.

The increase in number of private schools is attributed to several reasons mentioned in this and the above section concerning public schools' performance and evolving competitive job markets. The noteworthy development in the 1990s was the emergence of non-governmental schools sponsored by the private sector (for profit), communities, and not-for-profit organizations. The movement shows the fact that private schools have made a place in the society and have developed its constituency – introducing a way out for middle class who look for appropriate source of education for their children (Husain, 2005). Indeed, the share of

Pakistan's private schooling sector in educational development is still prominent, particularly in the delivery of elementary and high school level education (Andrabi, et al, 2012).

Jimenez and Tan (1987) also noted – although they caution that the available data does not allow for an unambiguous statement – that despite the growth in private schools, educational institutions did still not service large proportions of the country's population, and this was particularly important in the case of girls in rural areas. Furthermore, (Coleman, 2010) suggests that only the densely populated and modestly prosperous – both rural and urban – are served by these private non-elite low-fee schools. In a highly populated and vastly spread country like Pakistan, private sector is serving only to the needs of a specific class of population (Rahman, 2005) – the influential and rich, who have capital to buy education; therefore, easily accessible to for their children. Due to these two obvious reasons (being urban-based and expensive), there was still a need to fulfill the educational demand of the common masses, where Madaaris found the opportunity to spread and fill in the gaps.

*ii) Affordability:*

Though with the passage of time, the number of private schools has substantially increased both in urban and rural Pakistan; in general, the clientele has still been people living in comparative prosperity. As mentioned earlier, rural population, where poverty rates are higher, still send their children to public schools and/or Madrasah. According to Farah et al (2006), over 80% of the students from rural vicinities attend public schools. Based on tuition and other fees in private schools, Jimenez and Tan (1987) also argued that private schools seemed to be catering only to the rich in Colombia (and mainly urban). In Pakistan as well, the poor masses (62% of the population surviving on less than \$2 a day) of the country-side still cannot have access to these private schools.

- **Perceived Outcome (Economic Opportunities/Educational and Employment Prospects):**

The product of the English medium private schools can roughly be divided into two categories: one, known as the graduates of ‘high-quality private schools’ or the ‘elitist English medium private schools’ – who belong to upper and upper middle class military and civil bureaucrats and elites from the business class community (Rahman, 2005). Second, the graduates of the non-elite ‘English medium’ schools; representing middle and lower middle class of the society. Generally, parents choose private schools, because they trust that these institutions offer a better-quality or discrete kind of education that offer opportunities of more services and better for their children. However, in case of Pakistan, the products of these two streams of private schools follow different paths through competitive exams and processes. The elites (who are less than 2%) attend the elite schools; hence, occupy all the decision power positions after their graduation and in Pakistan because they can easily access those positions. As far as the product of the non-elite private English medium schools is concerned; they are not very different from the product of the state controlled vernacular Urdu medium schools (Rahman, 2005a). They are just one step above in the competition ladder because of their English language and comparatively better environment for networking and developing social capital. Rahman (2005a) suggests that all the products of English schools, even those that are English medium only by name, agree in regarding themselves as elite – it is all about money and power, which they have, not necessarily with regard to talent and knowledge of the advanced world. Coleman (2010) is also of the view that despite of several differences between the public and private non-elite schools it is generally true to say that the learning outcome (for instance, in science, math, and

social studies) of primary level private school (excluding the ‘elite’ schools) are extremely poor – the biggest advantage is probably only English language.

However, Ahmad (2011) is of the view that employment opportunities are much more for the graduates of English medium schools as compare to their counterparts from the public schools and Madaaris. In the contemporary era of neo-liberal markets, all the major national and multi-international companies and organizations working in and outside Pakistan demand for people with knowledge, skills and communication – and they are the things inculcated in youth only by English medium private schools in Pakistan (Husain, 2005). To conclude, we can say that graduates of private schools, particularly the elite private schools, have many more options and opportunities as compare to their counterparts in the public school and Madaaris to participate in the labor market; however, the better the school they had the more the opportunities they will have.

#### **- Gender Participation:**

Historically, Pakistan educational figures have portrayed a bleak picture of gender gap throughout the country, particularly in the rural areas. For instance, the primary enrollment ratio for both sexes was 40 %, while the female primary enrollment ratio was 20 % in 1965. In 1984, according to the 1987 World Development Report (1987, p-31) the total primary enrollment ratio was 42 % while the female enrollment moved upward, but still at a very low 29%. Andrabi et al. (2012) quoted some figures from the Second Five Year Plan (1960-65) of the government of Pakistan noting that in 1959-60 the total primary school enrollment was 4.7 million, only 1.1.million of that was girls. Several proponents of the private sector education argue that the expansion of private schools has played an important role in narrowing the gender gap in



primary schooling in Pakistan. Though in general, the gender disparity is quite prominent in the contemporary Pakistan, but private schools have been playing a vital role in encouraging girls' enrollment. Andrabi et al (2012) points out that private primary, middle and secondary schools have a lower ratio of enrolled boys to girls than comparable public schools. Private schools have achieved a more balanced male/female ratio than public schools despite the fact that a larger proportion of them are co-educational schools. Thus, one contribution of private schools to gender equity has been the possible effect they have had on enrollment through their widespread use of co-educational instruction. Finding of Andrabi et al. (2002) challenges the conventional wisdom that the parents in rural areas in Pakistan are not willing to send their daughters to co-educational schools. To some extent the government figures in the table below strengthens Andrabi et al.'s argument. Andrabi et al (2002) while highlighting the significant roles of private schools, further argue that even private schools for low income households are emerging which charge a reasonable amount of fee bearable by a large portion of the society and helping the communities to even educate their girls in quality schools<sup>29</sup>. However, a word of caution, majority of the private schools (70% or more) offer only primary education attended by students of age below 10 years. Among the girls a high dropout rate (in all educational institutions; i.e. public, Private and Madrasah sector) is noted mainly at the higher primary or early middle level (UNESCO, 2007). The dropout figures are even more prominent in rural context of Pakistan.

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<sup>29</sup> Because girls are considered to be the second priority in traditional Pakistani society.

**Table - 8: Number of Private Primary School in Pakistan 2015 – 2016****(Boys, Girls and Mixed)<sup>30</sup>**

<b>Province/Region</b>	<b>Boys Schools</b>	<b>Girls School</b>	<b>Mixed Schools</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	800	1,018	18,886	20,704
<b>Punjab</b>	566	761	12,805	14,132
<b>Sindh</b>	81	184	3,118	3,383
<b>Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa</b>	32	16	1,227	1,275
<b>Balochistan</b>	73	31	395	499
<b>Azad Jammu and Kashmir</b>	5	12	711	728
<b>Gilgit-Baltistan</b>	8	12	183	203
<b>Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)</b>	31	1	54	86
<b>Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT)</b>	4	1	393	398

*Source: Pakistan Education Statistics, 2015-2016*

Another major credit of the private schools is the provision of jobs to the educated females in a society where only a few types of jobs are considered female-appropriate; teaching being one of them. Andrabi et al. (2012) argue that there is another, possibly greater, impact that works through the supply of teachers; in severe opposition to the public sector, where females are only 36% of the teaching staff, women staff the majority of private schools in Pakistan (Andrabi, et al. 2012). Implying the fact, that availability of female teachers in schools increases the trust of parents in sending their girls to schools and thus enhancing overall girls' enrollment. Nonetheless, the teachers' turn-over due to their low salary is also very common; as soon as the teachers find a more regular (like from public sector) job; they would relinquish these assignment and join the one which pays well and promises for better and long-term future prospects for the individual directly and the overall family indirectly.

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<sup>30</sup> The data includes private primary schools (grade 1-5), pre-primary grades, and private mosque schools.

### **2.2.3. Faith-based Education System in Pakistan:**

History of the faith-based education in Pakistan is as old as the creation of Pakistan or even before. There are two main faiths; i.e. Christianity/Catholic missionary and Muslims that offer educational instructions in the country. The Christian institutions are registered with the ‘church’ as well as with government as ‘private schools’ and offer modern secular subjects along-with study of Bible (for Christian students) and Islam (for Muslim students). The history of the Christian/Catholic schools is very old in the region of Indian sub-continent. The modern secular elite schools, mentioned above, are comparatively a newer phenomenon of almost the past two to three decades. The Christian missionary schools were considered the only elite private schools until very recently. Since they are now considered part of the elite private schools system, being only urban based and very few in the country; therefore, they become out of scope of this dissertation. Emphasis of this thesis lays upon the Islamic Madaris that are spread in every nook and corner of Pakistan.

Before going into details of the specific components of faith-based educational institutions, I deem it necessary to provide the reader with its meaning, concept and a brief historical perspective of these institutions.

Technically, the word Madrasah means ‘center of learning’ in Arabic. A place where *Dars* (lesson) is given to students (Wasey, 2005). The plural for Madrasah is Ma-daa-ris; however, some of the authors use the word Madrasahs or Madrasas as plural. Please note that we will use the word Madaris as a plural in this thesis. Madrasah is the Arabic word of Semitic origin (viz Hebrew Midrash) for any type of educational institution, whether secular or religious (Ahmed, 2010). Ahmed (2010) further claims that the word is also present as a loanword with the same meaning in many Arabic-influenced languages, such as: Urdu, Bengali, Persian, Pashto,

Turkish, Kurdish, Indonesian, Malay and Bosnian. Madrasah is not a word used to define the religious educational institutions of Muslims only but it is an Arabic word which can actually be translated as ‘School’ in the English Language (Wasey, 2005). Madaaris are present throughout the world, especially in the Muslim world, and have been for centuries. They are basically the educational institutions which were established to learn the fundamental nature of religion from religious scholars, but later on, every type of subject; including medicine, physics, chemistry, astronomy, law, philosophy, history and many more were being taught in those institutions<sup>31</sup> (Ahmed, 2010; Hefner, 2007; Qasmi 2005). Although the term Madrasah is used as a synonym for a school; in this thesis the term *Deeni* Madrasah and/or Madaaris is used to distinguish them from western-styled formal public and private schools, which were introduced under the colonial British rule in the Indian Sub-continent. *Deen* refers to faith.

Madaaris system, existing in most Muslim countries around the world, particularly in South Asia, provides free Islamic religious education, boarding and lodging (Qasmi 2005; Rahman 2004; Rahman, 2005; Blanchard, 2008). The system of providing free education, boarding and lodging is also as old the Madrasah itself. Initially, with limited spread of Islam the Madaaris were also concentrated in the Muslim majority areas where people from far-flung areas would come to receive religious education (Tarmizi, 1980). These students were considered as guests and were provided all types of food and lodging facilities by the Madaaris (Qasmi, 2006). Metcalf (1982) further points out that Madaaris fulfill social functions other than providing

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<sup>31</sup> Many of the most renowned Muslims physicians, philosophers, and scholars such as AL-Biruni, Al-Farabi, Bu Ali Sina, Jabar Bin-Al-Haiyan & many more who are very well known for their inventions, which basically laid the foundation of modern sciences, were also educated and trained in these Madaaris, Ahmed (2010).

religious education. Among other things, they serve as centers where people go for advice on Islamic legal matters and for guidance from Sufi saints.

Madaaris, historically, were established in prominent urban centers and people from different areas would travel from their villages and town to specialize in Islamic knowledge, while Mosques were providing basic education at the local level (Zaman, 1999). However, in the recent past, after the colonial intervention in the Indian subcontinent (around 1880s when the local Muslims and Hindus were barred to receive education in modern schools), Madaaris spread throughout India with an aim to educate the Indian Muslims (Tarmizi, 1980; Zaman, 1999; Kumar, 2000; Zia, 2009). These Madaaris were administered at local levels by local religious leaders and activists and governed under the overall guidance of *Deoband* and *Nadwa-tul-Ulama* (Metcalf, 1982). Madaaris' history is long and they varied in size, function, and educational standards overtime and is a large topic for discussion. Here it is out of the scope of this paper; hence, the following is the detailed description of the Madaaris only in present-day Pakistan.

In contemporary Pakistan, there are various types of Islamic Madaaris; however, we will only discuss two types of Madaaris in the following; 1) traditional Islamic faith-based educational institutions; i.e. traditional Madaaris, and, 2) Modern Madaaris also known as the Private Islamic Schools or the New Islamic Schools (Riaz, 2014); i.e. those offering modern subjects (English, Science and Math) along with the Islamic subject (mainly Quranic lessons). In present-day Pakistan, it is comparatively a newer concept of integrated educational concept, which is getting attention of the urban Pakistani masses. Moreover, since the traditional Madaaris are in abundance; therefore, our center of discussion will mainly remain to be those ones in this thesis.

- **Policy and Management (Governance and Organizational Structure):**

- *Traditional Madaaris:*

Within the traditional Madaaris, there are two types of Islamic religious schools in Pakistan: one, informal, the early learning schools, known as *Maktab* or Quranic schools at the village mosque level; second, formal, a Madrasah, which offers more formal and organized education. A Madrasah has four levels; *Abtadiya/Amma* (primary), *Thatani/Khasa* (secondary), *Wustani/Aliya* (undergraduate level), and *Foqani/Almiya* (graduate level) (Rahman, 2005 and Rahman, 2010; Bano, 2010). A Madrasah, unlike educational institutions within the secular system, can provide all four levels of education within the same institution (Bano, 2007). In short, an integrated school with various levels is simply called a Madrasah. Also, primary school is called a *Maktab* – used as synonym for basic education’s formal school in several local languages of Pakistan and Afghanistan; this is the lowest level of learning in Islamic education. However, this paper refers to *Maktab* as an informal institution mostly functional in or/and adjacent to a Mosque.

In a *Maktab* class timing are normally compatible with the students’ work and other engagements’ schedule – as many of their students attend both, *Makaatib* (plural of *Maktab*) in mosques and the regular public/private schools simultaneously. It is worth-noting that there are millions of well-off families as well who currently send their children to receive Islamic education (in the mosques) on daily basis to quench their thirst and relieve from their religious obligation of acquiring Islamic education (Qasmi, 2005). Generally a *Maktab* functions at the local mosque (or at an adjacent room to the mosque) early mornings and in the afternoons. Number of children in *Maktab* depends on the population of the community/village/area where it is located; however, the average number of students ranges between 20 and 60 (Anzar, 2003).

These informal institutions are quite individualistic in nature, where only *Imam*<sup>32</sup> of the mosque is in-charge of all the educational affairs. Community involvement is very limited; only supporting the *Imam* financially and logistically for his living.

In General Zia's era the government introduced another tier of formal schools – the Mosque Primary School. Some authors argue that this was an attempt to actually formalize the existing non-formal mosque schools (Anzar, 2003). Indeed, the interventions were introduced mainly for two main reasons: first, due to lack of resources to provide schools to every village, the government introduced this concept and offered to convert the *Makatib* into Mosque public primary schools in the rural areas; second, to involve the religious institutions in the education sector and thus it was a financial support to the religious sector. Actually, this was, more or less, an indirect way to get political support from those employed by the system in return (Anzar, 2003). A few additional subjects such as Urdu and Mathematics which were to be taught to the students by the local *Imam* and in return the *Imam* was compensated with a small amount as honorarium. The *Maktab* schools operated at different times suitable for the local students and the teachers. Monitoring of these schools involved the local education department; however, the local *Imam* was independent in making and implementing *Maktab*-based policies.

However, after Zia's government these schools were abandoned as the schools did not produce better outputs. Main reason being the teachers (*Imams*) were not qualified enough to teach other subjects than the Quran (Anzar, 2003). Teaching only the Quran was the type of activity which was already taking place satisfactorily even before the introduction of the Mosque Schools. Though the Mosque school component was formally abundant by the government;

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<sup>32</sup> A prayer leader in a mosque responsible for organization of the mosque, leading community prayers, performing other communal religious rituals and teaching Islamic lessons to children.

however, the schools performing well and with a good number of student body, were brought in the main stream public schooling and were named as ‘government primary schools’.

The more formal form of religious institutions is a Madrasah. Madaaris, with the exception of those established by renowned Muslim scholars, evolve gradually, starting with primary education and later introducing higher levels over time. Madaaris with a large student body and large number of teachers would mostly have various administrative levels. Most of the Madaaris are registered with a *Wafaq-ul-Madaaris* (Madrasah Board). Just a word of caution, that almost all the Madaaris (small or large) are governed (by internal policies), and managed and supervised by the individuals who established these Madaaris; the role of *Wafaq* is limited to only their registration/recognition, curriculum recommendation and examinations (only in case of large and high level Madaaris). There are five *Wafaqs* in Pakistan as described in the below table.

**Table - 9: Madrasah Boards (*Wafaqs*) in Pakistan**

Sr. No	Name of Wafaq (Madrasah Board)	Year of Establishment	Head Office	School of Thought
1	Wafaq-ul-Madaaris Al-Salfia	1955	Faisalabad	Ahl-e-Hadith
2	Wafaq-ul-Madaaris Al-Arabia	1959	Multan	Deobandi
3	Wafaq-ul-Madaaris Shia	1959	Lahore	Shia
4	Tanzeem-ul-Madaaris	1960	Lahore	Ahl-e-Sunnat Wal Jammāt (Barelvi)
5	Rabta-ul-Madaaris Al-Islamia	1983	Lahore	Jamat-e-Islami

*Source: Wafaqs' Websites; Bano, 2010; Rahman, 2005.*

After 9/11 when Madaaris came into limelight, due to the international pressure, the government of Parvez Musharraf introduced Madrasah reform which required all Madaaris in the country to get registered with the government. Due to pressure on one hand and incentive of



financial support (sticks and carrots) some of them got their registration with the government while the other refused and only continued their registration with their respective *Wafaq*. There are still thousands of Madaaris (particularly the small ones in rural areas) which are neither registered with the government nor with any *wafaq* yet. They function on individual basis and are not answerable to anyone. However, they are normally a small level Madaaris and they do not issue formal certificates and diplomas. They are managed and supervised by the owner of the institution at local level.

- *Modern Madaaris and/or Private Islamic Schools:*

The private Islamic schools or Modern Madaaris is comparatively a newer concept in Pakistan; therefore, their institutional figures are not available. Moreover, since these Madaaris/schools are registered as ‘private schools’ with the government; therefore, there is no separate data available through the government statistics or any private entity. Some of the known ones include; Iqra Rozatul Atfal, Dar ul Arqam, Hidayah, Quran Academy, School of Islamic and Contemporary Learning, etc. These institutions mainly exist in urban centers in Pakistan, and are self-owned or established as chain of schools by an NGO. Just like the private and public schools, these institutions are administered by school principals, vice principals and teachers (Raiz, 2014). Overall policy guidelines and supervision is provided by the board of directors/trustees and are administered by an administrator at the institutional level on day to day basis. So far, these institutions have built a good reputation among the religious-minded communities; therefore, their number is rapidly increasing in Pakistani cities.

- **Finances (Funding, Expenditures & Costs):**

- *Traditional Madaaris:*

Historically, Islamic societies have maintained a strong tradition of social rebuilding of wealth through government systems, such as *Zakar*<sup>33</sup>, *Ushar*<sup>34</sup>, *Khairaat*<sup>35</sup>, and *Fitrana*<sup>36</sup> (Rahman, 2005). In addition, philanthropic institutions and individual philanthropists have also been actively taking part in the social rebuilding of the society in general and supporting the Islamic educational institutions in particular (Ali, 2009). The use of money for just causes and to facilitate the lives of other human beings, particularly fellow Muslims, has a strong tradition in Islamic societies. Tripp, (2006) argues that Islam also has a strong notion of a ‘moral economy’ and the role of education within this framework has been of great importance. In Islamic political systems funding of social projects through private (as well as public) avenues were institutionalized by the concept of *Waqf* which provides for perpetual charitable endowment that are often predicated on land donation, particularly in the Indian sub-continent (Malik, 2008).

Generally, in the Muslim world and particularly in Pakistan, millions of dollars go unrecorded in philanthropy to these institutions (ICG, 2002). Some of them have permanent individual or organizational sources, while the others survive on sporadic donations received from the communities around them. *Philanthropy in Pakistan: A Report of the Initiative on Indigenous Philanthropy*, by the Aga Khan Development Network, (2000) concludes that the strong religious character of giving in Pakistan co-exists comfortably with different motives. Pakistanis attributed...all forms of giving to an almost equal combination of religious faith

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<sup>33</sup> Islamic tax on wealth

<sup>34</sup> Tax on Agricultural land and crops

<sup>35</sup> Alms and charity

<sup>36</sup> Compulsory human support for the needy.

(98%), human compassion (98%), social responsibility (87%) and civic duty (84%), the report adds. The report also reveals that the donors to these institutions have their own personal intentions. However, most of them do not support any political ambitions behind giving; the main reason given being self satisfaction through giving in the name of faith (Aga Khan Development Network, 2000). Furthermore, they also desire to serve the spread and preservation of Islamic education through these institutions. The ICG Asia report (2002) estimates that Mosques and Madaaris in Pakistan receives around 70 billion rupees (approx. US\$ 0.8 billion) from Pakistani citizens. While elaborating upon government support to these institutions, the report describes the government's share as being very low – for instance, Ali (2009) and Rahman (2005) noted that the expenditure from the government in 2001-02 was around 1.65 million rupees for all the Madaaris in the country – almost nothing as compared to the voluntary funding from individual and other private funding. Furthermore, the amount that is distributed as donations by the government goes to only a few of those Madaaris registered with the government or who have political influence. According to Ali (2009) 32.6% of Madaaris do not receive any financial support at all from any organizational source. Indeed, majority of the small Madaaris are funded by small-scale donations from their respective community households and philanthropists in cash or kinds (Malik, 2008). This amount and/or services provides the children with boarding and lodging services, text books, a small amount of educational supplies, honorarium for the teacher and occasionally a pair of the clothes and shoes.

In her study of Madrasah Deoband, Metcalf (1982) tells us that the pioneers of that seminary took no, or very modest salaries, and lived like poor men. In contemporary Pakistan,

majority of the Madaaris function almost on the traditional patterns, except for a few<sup>37</sup>. The students sit on floor-mats, only blackboard and chalks are used in class-room instruction and text books remain within the institutions which pass through generations. Due to the lower overheads (such as salaries, monitoring and supervision, buildings, and other facilities), their costs are much lower than the public and public sector education (see Rahman, 2005).

On the other hand, a large number of scholars and researchers unanimously agree on the lower costs of Madaaris to parents. Many call them as ‘a school for the poor’ and performing the ‘role of a welfare state’ (Rahman, 2004); the ‘last resort of education for the poor parents’ (Qasmi, 2007), and ‘the most accessible’ of all educational institutions (Zaman, 2007). In a study conducted by Hussain (1994) in various Madaaris; interestingly, (as quoted by Rahman, 2004), almost half (49%) of the respondents noted the reason for joining a Madrasah was ‘economics’ (page, 84). Parents spend a very nominal amount (on average around Rs: 400 to Rs.500 rupees = 5-4 US dollars) a month (Rahman, 2004).

- *Modern Madaaris or Private Islamic Schools:*

As far as the Modern Madaaris or the private Islamic schools are concerned, they function just like any other private schools. They charge fee for their services, ranging between Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 per month (estimates, as I inquired from a private Islamic school teacher during my research), which is their main source of income. Generally, these institutions are established in rented buildings and are equipped with basic teaching and learning material. Parents sending their children to these institutions belong to the middle or lower middle class.

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<sup>37</sup> According to Rahman (2005) some of the Madaaris have been receiving financial assistance from foreign governments and charities; for instance, the Saudi government is said to be helping the *Ahl-i-Hadith* seminaries and the Iranian government the Shia ones; however, there is no evidence available in public.

- **Academics (Curriculum, Medium of Instruction and Teaching & Administrative Staff):**

*i. Curriculum:*

- *Traditional Madaaris:*

The curriculum in basic level *makaatib* (Mosque schools) is generally the learning of Quran only; however, with the passage of time children read basic prose and poetry (in Persian) discussing morality and the basics of the religion (Islam). Students learn reading Quran normally between two to three year and those who wish to memorize Quran spend between three to five years. A Madrasah student not only learns how to read, memorize and recite the Quran properly, but several of the modern Madaaris also provide education in Islamic sciences, Islamic jurisprudence, Logic, History, Philosophy, Civics, Arabic, Persian, English, and many more subjects including computer literacy (Qasmi, 2005). Mission of the most Madaaris in Pakistan is to prepare students for religious duties (Anzar, 2003). Madaaris (through their respective *Wafaqs*) issue certificates of various levels including middle, high and university. The graduating students from a *Madaaris* are called *Huffaz-e-Quran* (Singular; *Hafiz*) those who memorize the Arabic text of the Quran) or *Qari* (who can recite Quranic verses with proper Arabic pronunciation); or those with advanced Islamic religious jurisprudence are known as *Ulama* (Religious Scholar), as many Islamic scholars have interpreted (Ali, 2009; Qasmi, 2005). An Alim certificate (graduated from Madrasah) is equal an MA degree in Pakistan. Generally, Madrasah (excluding the Mosque school/*Maktab*) students' age ranges between 10 and 30 years.

Majority of the *Madaaris* teach *Dars-e-Nizami*<sup>38</sup> texts written in around 1700s' or even before that (Anzar, 2003, Rahman, 2004, Rahman, 2005). The same was further developed by the Indian Muslim scholars towards the end of seventeenth and early eighteen century (Bano, 2012). Traditionally, the emphasis of *Dars-e-Nizami* is on human reasoning (*Mqqulat*) to have a superior training to prospective lawyers, judges and administrators (Robinson, 2000). Robinson further argues that the study of advanced books of logic, philosophy and dialects sharpened the rational faculties, and ideally brought the function of civil governments with better trained minds and better-formed judgment (2000). In contemporary Madaaris, a few books, such as, *Muallimul Insha* written by an Indian Islamic scholar in response to modernity, are also taught. These books advocate for adopting 'real Islamic values' and challenge the modern advances that may encroach on Muslim identity (Anzar, 2003), however, such books are not very common and are not taught by majority of Madaaris in rural areas. The Madaaris in modern Pakistan educate their students to counter what in their views are unorthodox beliefs and some Western ideas. For one or the other reasons, Madaaris have refuted with sacrilegious and western beliefs (Qasmi, 2005). Rahman (2004) noted that since the rise of the west, Madaaris, and even more than them, the revivalist movements outside the Madaaris, refute western philosophies. Thus there are books given in the reading lists for *Aaliya* (Bachelor of Arts from Madaaris) of 1988 by the *Deobandis* refuting capitalism, socialism, and feudalism.

Anzar (2003) provides the following curriculum list for a typical Madrasah:

Year – 1:      Biography of the Prophet (*Syrat*), Conjugation-Grammar (*Sarf*), Syntax (*Nahv*),  
                     Arabic Literature, Chirography, Chant illation (*Tajvid*).

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<sup>38</sup> Evolved by Mulla Nazim Uddin Siharvi at Farangi Mahal, a famous seminary of a family of Islamic scholars in Lucknow, India (Rahman, 2005)

- Year – 2: Conjugation-Grammar (*Sarf*), Syntax (*Nahv*), Arabic Literature, Jurisprudence (*Fiqa*), Logic, Chirography (*Khush-navisi*), Chant illation, (*Tajvid*)
- Year – 3: Quranic Exegesis, Jurisprudence: (*Fiqh*), Syntax (*Nahv*), Arabic Literature, *Hadith*, Logic, Islamic Brotherhood, Chant illation: (*Tajvid*), External study (Tareekh Millat and Khilafat-e-Rashida – these are Indian Islamic movements).
- Year – 4: Quranic Exegesis, Jurisprudence (*Fiqa*), Principles of Jurisprudence, Rhetorics, *Hadith*, Logic, History, Cant illation, Modern Sciences (sciences of cities of Arabia, Geography of the Arab Peninsula and other Islamic countries)
- Year – 5: Quranic Exegesis, Jurisprudence, Principles of Jurisprudence, Rhetoric, Beliefs (*Aqa'id*), Logic, Arabic Literature, Chant illation, External study (History of Indian Kings)
- Year – 6: Interpretation of the Quran, Jurisprudence, Principles of Interpretation & Jurisprudence, Arabic Literature, Philosophy, Chant illation, Study of Prophet's traditions
- Year – 7: Sayings of the Prophet, Jurisprudence, Belief (*Aqa'ed*), Responsibility (*Fra'iz*), Chant illation, External Study (Urdu texts)
- Year – 8: Ten books by various authors focusing on the sayings of the Prophet.

For graduate classes beyond eight years, greater emphasis is paid on interpretation of the Quran and various books written in Persian and Arabic are taught at this stage. In addition, various aspects of Islamic jurisprudence are mastered through different books in Arabic and Persian, which cover all aspects of Muslim life, including banking, divorce, etc (Zaman, 2007).

As can be seen from the above list of subjects, there is no mention of modern sciences, such as Chemistry, Biology or technology. However, since September 11, several large Madaaris

in Pakistan, especially those located in urban centers, have tried to include some basic science subjects in their curriculum. *Wafaqs* of Madaaris (of Shia and Sunni) devise a proper curriculum for different levels of education for all Madaaris (of their respective sect) working under their umbrella. All the students are examined within their Madaaris under strict supervision and awarded certificate and degrees by their *Wafaq*.

- *Modern Madaaris or Private Islamic Schools:*

In the past many middle class parents who sent children to private secular schools chose to supplement the secular education with religious knowledge either by sending their children after school for short-term courses in Islam at Madaaris or by hiring a religious teacher to give Quranic lessons at home to fulfill their religious obligation educating their children in Islamic studies. However, the contemporary concept of the Modern Madaaris or the private Islamic schools is to integrate both modern secular and traditional Islamic education under one roof (Riaz, 2014). Each institution (or the chain of institutions) select their own Islamic curriculum; mainly emphasizing the Quranic studies; while their modern subject curriculum is mostly adopted from the government textbook boards, because the children have to appear for diploma examination (grade 8 and 10) through their respective provincial/territorial government board of examinations.

Several researchers argue that because of the severe criticism of the traditional Madaaris and the public and private secular schools, not providing sufficient Islamic learning, the need of private Islamic school arose to satisfy the need. According to Sana Riaz (2014), the uniqueness of these modern Madaaris or private educational system can be seen in the way it links religious education with middle class values, economic needs and status interests and the way it redefines the concept of modernity in education.



ii. *Medium of Instruction:*

- *Traditional Madaaris:*

Quran's language is Arabic, the students learn reading and memorizing it in Arabic (even though majority does not know the meaning of the text); however, those who wish to learn translation; they learn it in their native language. The other texts (whatever the original language is – Arabic, Persian and/or Urdu) are taught in native/local languages of the students. In the traditional Madaaris, the medium of instruction mainly remains the mother tongue, particularly in the rural based and lower level Madaaris because the students come from the nearby areas. Nevertheless, in urban low level Madaaris, since the students come from various ethnic backgrounds; the medium of instruction remains to be Urdu. While in the middle and higher level Madaaris students are taught either in Arabic or Urdu or both (Anzar, 2003). Moreover, some of the subjects are taught in Persian/Farsi; therefore, students learn Persian/Farsi as well; however, Farsi does not become a medium of instruction in any level of Madaaris (except in some Shia't Madaaris influenced by the Iranian school of thought). Many researchers argue that since the language of instruction in these institutions is either the mother tongue and/or Urdu; therefore, the dropout rates in these Madaaris are lower than the public and private educational institutions because it's much easier for the students to learn and communicate in their native language (however, the current research base is much weaker and more research is needed to authenticate the claim). Indeed, there is plethora of literature available globally which authenticate that learning and achievement is more effective and efficient when knowledge is imparted in mother tongue.

- *Modern Madaaris / Private Islamic Schools:*

As far as the modern Madaaris or private Islamic schools are concerned, like their counterparts in the public and private sectors, the medium of instruction is mainly Urdu; however, students also learn Arabic and English as language subjects during their studies (Riaz, 2014).

iii. *Teaching and Administrative Staff:*

- *Traditional Madaaris:*

Like in other educational institutions (public and private) in Madaaris too teachers' qualifications vary – for a *Maktab* it is normally the *Imam* of the mosque or an elderly senior student who teaches the young children. The *Imam* and/or the senior student may or may not be a *Hafiz-e-Quran*<sup>39</sup> or a *Qaari*<sup>40</sup> but since *Maktab* is a very low level (a primary equivalent or even less) institution; he would be enough qualified to teach the basics of Quran and other basic religious books.

However, the situation changes as the ladder goes up to a mid and higher level Madrasah. A Madrasah teacher has to be *Hafiz*, *Qaari*, *Alim*<sup>41</sup> and/or *Mufti*<sup>42</sup>. However, except their regular training (received while being a student) there is no other specialized institution to train them as 'teachers' (Anzar, 2003). Malik (2008) noted that teaching methods at the Madaaris are characterized to be rigid, teacher-centered and based on rote-memorization (same as mostly in Pakistani public schools) rather than being flexible, student-centered and promoting critical thinking (which the modern educationists expect). Corporal punishment is common in these

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<sup>39</sup> A person who has memorized Quran

<sup>40</sup> A person who recites Quran with the proper rules of recitation.

<sup>41</sup> A scholar

<sup>42</sup> A person who is qualified enough to issue an Islamic decree or edict.

institutions and it is considered a necessary way to discipline the children. Surprisingly, as I gathered from research too, parents sending their children to Madaaris do not object and they also regard it appropriate to inculcate discipline and morality among their children.

Madrasah teachers boast for focusing the human character building in all their students, since it is considered to be their first priority. Moreover, they claim that all their teaching focus morality because that is the only thing which makes a human “human” (Metcalf, 1982). Respects for teachers, parents, helping the poor and those in need are all taught in Islamic teachings; therefore, as they note, their concentration is more on human character building than increasing worldly superficial information (Metcalf, 1982). Madaaris teachers enjoy more respect – as equivalent to parents, because they are considered to be their character-building or spiritual fathers (Zaman, 2002). My research indicates that Madrasah teachers enjoy more satisfaction level (from parents) than the private and public school teachers.

Madrasah administrators are mostly the ones who own the institution; they also perform as the head teacher or principal of the institution. Just like the private and public schools’ principals and headmasters, most of the Madrasah administrators also do not have any formal training and professional skills in administration, accounting and human resources. They bring along some skills from their parent institutions and merely replicate what they have observed from their instructors and administrators. Their monitoring systems are local; therefore, better than their counterparts in the public schools. Since they are in the market of education provision; though they are not much in competition with public and private sector; they still have to compete with other Madaaris in the area to widen their student base, as noted by a Madrasah official in one of my research locations (Quetta).

- *Modern Madaaris or Private Islamic Schools:*

The private Islamic schools have two types of teachers – the teachers teaching the modern subjects; such as English, science and math are public or private schools' qualified while the *Hafiz* and *Qaari* teachers are traditional Madrasah qualified, or, in some instances, qualified of Madrasah as well as a contemporary schools. The teachers in these institutions are also not highly qualified; but, like their counterparts in private schools; they are more disciplined, punctual and answerable to school administration and parents. They are not highly-paid and their hire and fire is as usual as in private schools (Riaz, 2014). Majority of the teachers are not trained from a recognized teachers-training school.

School administration takes place at the institutional level; however, as in any other educational institution in Pakistan; they are not sufficiently qualified in administration, accounting and human resources. Like regular private school, majority of them are the owners of institutions; thus, the owners exercise good monitoring system to build better reputation and rapport so they can increase their student body; hence institutional income.

- **Access (Physical and Affordability):**

- *Traditional Madaaris:*

i) *Physical:*

Madaaris spread over all rural and urban areas; however, if there is no Madrasah in the vicinity, the mosque (which is present in all communities) serves the purpose of delivering Islamic education to the children. There is hardly a single Muslim neighborhood or village that would not have a mosque where the young children go and receive basic religious education. Madaaris are located in cities, towns and villages – mostly in the villages where the villagers do

not have access to any other type of educational institution. The edge that Madaaris have over the public schools is that Mosques and *Imams* provide basic (primary) Islamic education in all the communities/ neighborhoods and villages and then at an older age the student can travel to a higher level Madrasah available in cities, if not in the same or in another neighboring town.

Though there is no authenticated data available on the number of Madaaris in Pakistan and is always contested by the government and non-government entities locally and internationally. The government ministry of education estimates (as of 2015-16) the number of Madaaris to be more 32,000<sup>43</sup>, while some other independent sources' estimates take the number as high as up to 45,000<sup>44</sup> (Singer, 2001) or even more, which gives education to more than 2.25 million youth in Pakistan (Pakistan Education Statistics, 2015-16). Majority of these institutions are affiliated with their respective Madrasah board (school of thought); *Wafaq-ul-Madaaris* being with the biggest number; however, there are thousands of the small Madaaris which are not affiliated to any Madrasah board and functioning independently and are unaccounted for.

*ii) Affordability:*

Madaaris all over Pakistan provide free education, and boarding and lodging to its student body and are considered to be a *welfare state* (Rahman, 2005). The ICG report (July 29, 2002) also confirms that all Madaaris provide free education and also offer free boarding and lodging to students who come mainly from the poorer strata of society and not necessarily from the communities they are based in. Some of them are large enough to accommodate the needs of larger population, especially the ones offering higher levels of education. Some rich and middle

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<sup>43</sup> Pakistan Education Statistics, 2015-16 (these are only the registered with the government)

<sup>44</sup> Please note that this number may be an estimate, as some researchers argue (see Andrabi, et al, 2006); however, the number does not include the Mosque schools or *Makhtabs*; if Mosques are included in the number it would rise to hundreds of thousands.

class families also send their children to Madaaris for Quranic lessons and memorization where they are usually day students (July 29, 2002). Akbar S. Ahmad, a prominent Pakistani scholar, regards Madaaris to be a cheaper, more accessible and more Islamic alternative to education. In short it can be just to say that Madaaris is essentially a *school for the poor* (Rahman, 2005), because, more than three quarters (76.6%) of their student body came from the families whose income was Rs: 5,000 (=US\$ 60) or less per month and only 10% of students' families had an income more than Rs: 5,001 a month. On the other hand, the same study reveals that majority (72%) of the teaching staff also came from the lower income group (with less than Rs: 5,000 of family income per month), and only 11.1% of them had a family income between 10,001 and 20,000 rupees per month (Rahman, 2005). Since majority of the Pakistani population survive below the poverty line (above 60%); Rahman (2005) claims that Madaaris in Pakistan are playing role of a welfare state; hence, they have a great influence over the people, particularly the poorer, and will continue to increase as poverty increases. According to Rahman (2004) parents of the children attending Madaaris are among the poorest. A study conducted by Ahmad in 1976 reveals that around 80% of the children in Madaaris (in larger cities; such as Multan, Gujranwala and Peshawar) came from poor landless peasants, artisans and Imams.

- *Modern Madaaris/Private Islamic School:*

*Physical Assess and Affordability:*

Modern Madaaris or the private Islamic schools are only available in the cities or bigger towns with more population; therefore, so far, they have not extended their outreach to the rural areas of the country. Many of them quote the reasons to be unavailability of religious-qualified and modern-schooled-qualified teachers (Riaz, 2014). Looking at their rapid growth and the

positive-response that they are receiving from the communities, researchers claim, that their growth and outreach will be much faster than we can think (Riaz, 2014).

On the other hand, since they functional on commercial basis, they charge fee (though not as high as the elite private schools), which is still unaffordable for millions of poor Pakistani families in urban as well as rural areas. These schools are also chosen by the parents from the middle and lower middle class, who can afford paid education for their children. I tried to find some more literature, but unable to do so, probably they are still in their infancy stage, and are yet to be focused of researchers and academicians.

- **Perceived Outcomes (Economic Opportunities/Educational and Employment Prospects):**

- *Traditional Madaaris:*

Madrasah provides totally different credentials than the public and private educational institutions to its students for the Pakistani job market. These credentials are normally associated with low ranked jobs and with low income; such as becoming an *Imam*, an Islamic studies teacher, and a religious scholar to teach Quran. Since a very small number of Madaaris supplement religious education with secular subjects; students who enroll in Madaaris full time acquire only religious knowledge and become well versed in religious studies; therefore, find jobs only in the religious sector (Anzar, 2003). Nevertheless, the unemployment rates among the Madrasah students is much lower than their counterparts in public and private sector, because there are hundreds of thousands mosques and Madaaris which can accommodate them as Imams and teachers respectively, as opinioned by a Madrasah official in Quetta during my research. The government statistics show that there are around 80 thousand teachers recruited by these

seminaries alone in different parts of the country (Pakistan Education Statistics, 2015-16).

Moreover, looking at it from another angle, Pakistan being an Islamic country provides good opportunity to religious scholars to play their role in local, provincial and national politics. Since the inception of Pakistan, the religious political parties have been part of politics; sometimes part of the ruling government and other times occupying the opposition benches.

Though Madrasah graduates' scope of employment is limited and they make a meager living (Rahman, 2004); surprisingly their satisfaction level from their jobs is higher than their counterparts in public and private sector, as they also look at it with a totally different perspective; i.e. considering the religiosity aspects and knowing the way to spend their lives according to the Islamic way of meaningful living and being more rewarding in the life hereafter which is eternal (as a Madrasah administrator and teachers claimed during interviews for the research in hand).

- *Modern Madaaris or Private Islamic Schools:*

The graduate students from those Madaaris that teach secular modern subjects along with the religious ones, have better chances to become religious-studies teacher in public schools. It is perceived that the students from the private Islamic schools would have better prospects because of their language abilities (Arabic and English) and knowledge of modern subjects. However, as a world of caution, I suggest that since the private Islamic schools are a newer phenomenon; therefore, some more empirical research is needed.



- **Gender Participation:**

Majority of the girls between the age of 5 and 10 join Mosque schools available within their neighborhood. However, as they reach closer to their puberty age, they have to relinquish their formal education, particularly in areas where there is no separate public or private school for girls because of cultural, social and economical reasons. Traditionally Madaaris are male dominated entities and parents are hesitant to send their daughters to higher level co-educational institutions; therefore, there is no mix-gender high level Madrasah in Pakistan. Keeping in view the demand and the un-filled gap, recent past has observed a larger shift in the situation where not only male but female Madaaris<sup>45</sup> have boosted in number (Bano, 2007). According to *The Guardian* (The British Daily) female Madaaris are expanding at a dramatic rate, educating almost a quarter of a million women and providing more than half of the candidates sitting for graduate level exams every year (May, 14, 2009); since then the number has further increased. The government of Pakistan reports that female students exceed males in their academic achievements, with a larger number registering for graduate exams (MoE statistics, 2009). It is estimated that there are around two thousand registered only-female Madaaris in Pakistan (MoE data, 2009)<sup>46</sup>, these figures have doubled now raising to more than four thousand and five hundred in 2015 (Pakistan Education Statistics 2015-16). Commenting on the roles of the female Madaaris in Pakistan, Bano (2010) claims that female traditional Madaaris gave women economic and social opportunities. Like male students, female students could also now offer private tuition in religious education, increasing their respectability and upward mobility.

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<sup>45</sup> These are Islamic faith-based educational institution only for females.

<sup>46</sup> The number of unofficial Madaaris could be much higher.

Currently these seminaries have provided job opportunities to more than eighteen thousand teachers in different parts of the country (Pakistan Education Statistics, 2015-16).

Female Madrasah is comparatively a newer trend starting around late-seventies (The Guardian), prior to that these religious institutions always focused males. Commenting on the causes of spread of female Madaaris in Pakistan, Bano (2010) argues that besides the importance of religion, the boost in figures suggests that number of female Madaaris has grown because they (the female Madaaris) provide an education for young women from middle income families that responds to many of the pressures resulting from economic and cultural change. If not all the villages, particularly almost all the bigger towns and cities now have a number of female/girls Madaaris (Bano, 2010). The trend from the last two to three decades depicts that the number of the only-*female* Madaaris is boosting now at higher pace than it ever was.

Bano (2010) further argues that parents who want to send their daughters to Madrasah can now find one very close to them. The parents who want their daughters to be educated in female Madaaris generally belong to the lower middle and middle class and the girls between the age of 15 and 25 years. Nonetheless, there are a number of well-to-do families whose daughters attend these institutions. In her research Bano (2010) found out that in parents' view Madaaris provide moral education and promote traditional roles of women and they (students) feel confident about their role and position in the society.

With regard to the private Islamic schools, female participation is still limited. They have mix-gender classes at the primary level; however, the gender segregated classes becomes necessary at the middle and high school level (as required by the Islamic teachings). Female teachers are recruited in some of these schools; however, majority of the teaching staff still remains to be male.

## CHAPTER – 3

### Research Locations, People and the Institutions

#### PART – I

#### 3.1. Research Locations and People:

The first-half of this chapter serves as an introduction to Pakistan, its people, geography, economic and socio-cultural attributes, and educational system. This introduction is followed by a similar overview of the province of Balochistan, and, specifically, two selected districts and three research locations. The descriptions offered in this part of the chapter are based on an analysis of the available literature, most coming from sources in the country, province and the districts. The second half of the chapter contains a comparative analysis of the institutions that I visited in my three research locations. The information in the institutional comparative analysis section is specifically derived from my community, institutional, and classroom observations and the field notes that I had compiled over the period of my field research.

##### 3.1.1. Pakistan:

##### Facts about Pakistan

Pakistan is located in South Asia, with a landmass of 803, 943 sq. kilometers, approximately the combined land areas of France and the United Kingdom, or twice the size of California (Nyrop, 1983; Talbot,



1998). Pakistan is bordered by 1,045 kilometers of the Arabian Sea coastline to the south; the country shares a 2,432-kilometer-long border with Afghanistan to the northwest; 524 kilometers with China to the northeast; 2,912 kilometers with India to the east; and 909 kilometers with Iran to the southwest (Blood, 1994).

Pakistan gained independence from British rule in 1947, and became one of the first countries in the world founded on a religious ideology. The country is comprised of four provinces: Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtun Khwa (former the Northwest Frontier Province), and Balochistan, as well as the Islamabad Capital territory, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Azad Kashmir, and the Northern Areas (Gilgit and Baltistan).

In socio-economic terms, Pakistan can be best categorized as a populous, rapidly growing, middle-income country. While only a country of 45 million people in 1965, by 2015 the total population of Pakistan had exceeded 190 million, with an annual growth rate of around 3 percent (Government of Pakistan, 2015). Estimates indicate that by the end of 2017, the population could be as high as 200 million, if not higher. It is the seventh-most populous country in the world and second among the Muslim nations. The Trading Economics website noted that Pakistan's population is 2.56% of the world's total population, which means that approximately one person of every thirty-nine people on the planet lives in Pakistan (<https://tradingeconomics.com/pakistan>). Indeed, the rapid growth in population and poverty are two prominent challenges for contemporary Pakistan, undermining the entire progress of the nation and posing a series of challenges to the state. For example, according to analyses from 2006, more than 34 percent of Pakistanis were living on less than 1 U.S. dollar a day (Qadeer, 2006; Musharraf, 2006; World Bank, 2002). According to the World Bank's Headcount Analysis

for 2014, if 2 dollars a day was considered to be the minimum per capita daily income<sup>47</sup>, then more than half of Pakistan's population (approximately 60%) was living under the poverty line (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2013-14). Unfortunately, the data paints a bleak picture, as Pakistan registers alarming figures on almost all the human development indicators.

Like many other development indicators, educational figures of the country are also not encouraging. According to the Pakistan Social and Living Standard Measurement Survey, the literacy rate of all Pakistanis 10 years and older is only 60%, and among females it is less than 50%. The same report also reveals that about 43% of primary school age children (between 5 – 9 years old) are not enrolled in school. Total net enrollment at the middle school level (grade 8) and high school level (grade 10) are only 37% and 27% respectively (PSLM 2014-15). All these figures get more alarming in the case of females and in some less developed and far-flung areas of the country.

The majority of Pakistanis reside in rural areas (around 65% in 2016); consequently, the society is more religious and traditional in nature. In general, social relations and family networks are of prime importance; the majority of the people adhere to an ethos of caring for each other as family and community members. Iftikhar (2006) states that without an official social security system in place, individuals look after their parents, siblings, and even grandparents. Within a tribe or a community, family power and strength is gauged by the number of family members, particularly male members; the more male members a family has, the more powerful the family is considered to be. Many researchers argue that this is one of the main reasons that many parents prefer boys to girls. Moreover, because Pakistan is a patriarchal society, males have more freedom of movement, more autonomy in decision-making, and are

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<sup>47</sup> In line with the international standards for middle income countries

seen as community and family leaders (Tarar and Pulla, 2014; Umer et al. 2016)). They help fathers as breadwinners and look after their parents and other close dependents if they are ill or in old age.

Nonetheless, over time, as in many other parts of the world, Pakistani society has evolved, replacing the traditional multi-family household system—which many see as an asset of Pakistani society—with more single-family households, and often, a more materialistic lifestyle, particularly in urban areas (Dawn, March 15, 2009). British colonizers were the first to introduce western culture to South Asia, even before the partition of India (between Pakistan and India); however, the influence of western culture has increased with globalization, free economies, and the introduction of the global village phenomenon by the internet and electronic media. Historically speaking, western culture was entirely incompatible with Muslim culture in many ways. Muslim culture had Islam and Persian-Arabic cultural traditions at its foundation. In contrast, as Abbasi has explained (1992), English culture was a part of the vast Greco-Roman cultural matrix; it was Greek in thought, Roman in law, Christian in religion, secular in practice, and was characterized by a democratic political system and imperial outlook (Abbasi, 1992).

### 3.1.2 Balochistan:

Balochistan is situated in southwest Pakistan, covering an area of 347,190 sq km (134,050 Sq mi). It is Pakistan's largest province by area, constituting around 44% of the total landmass of the country, 80% of which can be classified as intermontane (PDMA Balochistan – Balochistan Profile, 2012). Balochistan borders Iran



to the West, Afghanistan, the province of Khyber Pakhunkhwa and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) to the North and the Northwest, the province of Sindh and the Arabian Sea (with a coastline of 760 km) to the South and Southeast, and the province of Punjab to its East and Northeast<sup>48</sup>. It is well known for widely spread geographical terrain with large tracts of unpopulated land. Consequently, Balochistan has a low population density in most of its districts. The total population of the province was recently estimated to be just under 14 million (2016). Apart from the provincial capital, Quetta city, the rest of Balochistan is considered to be almost entirely rural. Currently, the province is divided into six administrative units, which are further divided into thirty-two units, known as districts.

A variety of tribes make up the people and population of Balochistan; however, the major ethnic groups (tribes) in the province are the Baloch and Pashtuns, which comprise more than 90% of the total population (Gov. of Pakistan Census, 2017). Each tribe is further subdivided

<sup>48</sup> Map Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

into branches and sub-branches. The other ethnic groups in the province include the Brahvi, Hazara, Sindhis, and Punjabis, among others. The Baloch form the majority in the south and east of the province, while the Pashtuns are the majority in the north. Quetta, the provincial capital, has a Pashtun majority with Baloch, Hazara, Punjabi and Urdu speaking minorities (District Profile – Quetta, 2010).

The social organization in the province is mostly tribal, with some modern patterns adopted in urban areas. Pashtuns, Baloch, and Brahvi are tribal and conservative (Dahway, 1994). According to Glatzer (2002), tribal structure is a complex network of different social principles and patterns. As mentioned earlier, these tribes follow a particular code that governs relationships, gender positions, ethics, and the overarching power structure of social life. They adhere to their own values and rules of behavior, which are orally transmitted from generation to generation (Vern-Leibl, 2007). The majority of the tribes living in rural Balochistan still follow most of these codes and rules of behavior, which, in one way or another, continue to impact the lives of millions of people in the province. Tribal leaders and proponents of the tribal system boast of various tribal norms, values, and practices that they insist benefit society. Their tribal system is a model of unity and sovereignty, they argue; it offers communal help in times of need, tribal support to the weak against foreign aggression, it offers enhancement of social capital within the tribe, and is characterized by local and prompt decision-making (Glatzer, 2002). However, several of these traditional rules also restrict the social and economic privileges—even the physical mobility—of many individuals, particularly women (Umar et al., 2016). Umar et al. (2016) also states that the tribal chiefs, a position occupied by males, hold decision-making power at the community and tribal level. The social structure is predominantly patriarchal and the decision of the family head—who in most cases, is a male—is final in all domestic affairs. In



this male dominated society, women have limited influence over decision-making in family and social affairs (Kakar et al, 2016). In general, the family institution is very important because in a tribal and traditional society, the family provides social security during periods of unemployment and financial crisis.

Though Balochistan is the largest province in Pakistan by area, it is the least populated, between 5% and 6% of the total population of the country. Despite its scarce population, Balochistan has a high level of racial, tribal and ethnic diversity. In urban Balochistan, almost every person is bilingual. Balochi and Pashto are the major languages spoken, followed by Brahvi, Farsi, Punjabi, Sindhi and Saraiki; however, Urdu (the national language of Pakistan) is the most common means of communication among the various groups within the province, as well as the entire country.

Islam is the primary religion in Balochistan, practiced by 98% of those in the province. Though the people speak different languages and belong to various ethnic groups, they share the religion, literature, belief system, moral order, and customs of Islam (GoB, 2015). The society values bigger families, and particularly those with more men, as this is a symbol of strength and power in Pakistani tribal society (Dehwar, 1994). Traditionally, large and powerful families have been acting as *Nawab, Khan, Sardar, Malik, Mir, Takari*,<sup>49</sup> etc., for ages. As Umar et al. (2016) noted, these male tribal leaders play a dominant role in the lives of common people, including women and children. Generally, men are the decision makers in almost all the communal and household affairs. Many researchers and human rights activists argue that in Balochistan's male-dominated society, women are treated as second-class citizens, discouraged from receiving an education and from taking an active part in communal affairs (Umar et al., 2016). As Kakar et al.

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<sup>49</sup> Pashtun and Baloch tribal leaders' titles.

have argued (2016), when it comes to their education and health, women are deprived of their basic human rights. Women's mobility is restricted, confined to the tasks of raising children, helping males in agricultural fields, and fetching water and firewood for the home. To understand the mindset of local tribal men, I have quoted a research interview conducted in Balochistan from Umar et al. at length below. One Baloch tribal chief explains the role of women in tribal society as follows:

Our tribal system is based on our cultural norms, which are made by our fore-fathers; tribal setup is the best way of survival of the people. In our tribe, our lives and status are dependent on our prestige, which is directly linked with our women, so, we cannot allow our girls to go to cities to get an education or do any job; in the case of any mishap, the whole tribe cannot face the rest of the society. As people will laugh at them and don't want to make relation with our tribe. The culturally accepted principle is that women must first fulfill their responsibility at home. Women have primary responsibility given by culture as wives and mothers. (Umar et al., 2016, p.27)

It should come as little surprise then, that as Tarar and Pulla (2014) have noted, women are not expected to contribute any financial support to the tribe or family, except in cases of dire need. Consequently, there are very few women who work in the business or economic sectors.

The economy of the province is mostly dependent on the area's natural resources, with the extraction of natural gas, coal and other minerals, as well as agriculture, serving as the predominate economic drivers. Balochistan is the least developed province in Pakistan and known as 'the most neglected' province of the country. Dehwar (1994) noted that even before its affiliation with Pakistan, Balochistan felt a sense of political, economic, and social deprivation.

And since Pakistan's inception, Balochistan has never been treated equally with the other provinces. As compared to the other parts of Pakistan, Balochistan still lags far behind in all aspects of human development. In general, Pakistan's Human Development Indicators (HDI) are among the lowest of developing countries; the development indicators in Balochistan, even within the context of Pakistan, are quite bleak. Some of Balochistan's social and economic development indicators are among the lowest not only in Pakistan but in the world, and they represent a truly alarming situation. According to the first ever official report on multi-dimensional poverty published by the Government of Pakistan in 2016, 4 out of 10 Pakistanis are living in acute poverty, with the population of Balochistan faring the worst among the provinces (Express Tribune, June 21, 2016). The same report noted that multi-dimensional poverty is the highest in Balochistan, revealing that 71% of the population is extremely poor. Furthermore, four of the five most poverty-stricken districts in Pakistan are in Balochistan, where poverty levels are alarmingly high, ranging from between 90% in District Sherani to as high as 97% in District Killa Abdullah.

As of 2014, Balochistan not only had the highest poverty rate in the country, but the province also had the highest infant, child, and maternal mortality rates, as well as the lowest literacy rates in the country (UNICEF, UNDP, The World Bank reports). The 2009 Doctors without Borders report entitled, *Kuchlak, Pakistan: Where Child Birth is a Deadly Part of Life*, speaks to the extent of the problem. The report reveals that infant mortality figures for Kuchlak, a town in Balochistan, were estimated to be around 65 deaths per 1,000 live births. In 2007, the maternal mortality rate in Balochistan stood at an equally alarming 637 deaths per 100,000 live births. That is more than double the national average for Pakistan, which, as of 2005, had the eighth highest number of maternal deaths worldwide.

Social scientists and economists highlight multiple reasons for such an alarming situation in Balochistan. However, there is almost unanimous agreement that the neglect of the federal government (in terms of sufficient financial support), the non-availability of social and physical infrastructure (such as health and educational facilities closer to the villages), the lack of employment and economic opportunities, the lack of education, the lack of political stability, local insurgencies and violence, and, to some extent, conservative tribal culture all play a negative role in people's progress and development (Alif Ailaan, 2016; Dashti, 2007; Memon, 2007; Anzar 1999; Quddos, 1990). Moreover, gender inequalities in education, health, and participation in the economic and political spheres further exacerbates the situation (Umar, et al. 2016; Kakar et al. 2016; Tarar & Pulla 2014; Zia, 2010; Latif, 2009; Khan, 2005; Anzar, 1999).

Political instability and insurgencies in the province help explain why the people of Balochistan consider themselves to be 'ignored' and 'deprived' by the Pakistani government (Dashti, 2007). Since Pakistan's inception in 1947, some people of Balochistan have expressed open political resistance to the state. Several insurgencies and political unrest in the province have resulted in further deprivation and inattention from the federal government (Dahwar, 1994). Educational institutions, health facilities, and hubs of economic activity in the province have been affected by these incidents almost continuously. Dashti (2007) claims that Balochistan's resources (mainly minerals, natural gas, and coastal capital) have been consumed by the federal state, but in return, the state has not fulfilled its obligation to improve the lives of the people in the province. In response, people have taken up arms and fought for their rights. Dashti also states that the people of Balochistan have intentionally been treated like a step-sibling and kept behind so that they are unable to claim their due rights (Dashti, 2007). The political regimes in neighboring Afghanistan and Iran have also contributed to the political and social unrest in the

province. The Taliban regime and the regime of Khumini in Iran have been a source of increasing sectarian violence since the early 1980s. There have been several such incidents impacting law and order, and impacting the lives of common people, particularly women and children. Several times in the past few years, educational institutions of the province (except for Madaaris) faced forceful closure due to these religiously-based tensions.

- **Balochistan Educational Profile at a Glance:**

Balochistan faces serious challenges in the areas of access and quality of education. Balochistan Education Management Information System (BEMIS-2015) data reveals that only about 10,000 settlements out of the province's 22,000 have schools. There is a total of 13,271 public schools in the province, 84% (11,167) of which are primary schools, only 9% (1233) are middle schools, a mere 6% (836) are high schools, and less than 1% are higher secondary schools. Out of those 13,271 schools, less than one-third (3880) were girls' schools (BEMIS 2015). According to official government reports, only 44% of citizens in Balochistan aged 10 years and older had ever attended a school (PSLM 2014-15). Poor girls were the most disadvantaged; nearly half had never been school. Only 18% of women (15 years and older) in Balochistan were literate<sup>50</sup> as of 2015 (PSLM), and this number was even lower (12%) among rural women in the province. Furthermore, among the various provinces of Pakistan, Balochistan has the lowest rate of primary school completion; only 35% of the population has finished primary school. The trend of gender disparity continues through all educational indicators; for

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<sup>50</sup> The PSLM report noted that the definition of literacy has been relaxed in this survey that asks only for stated ability to read and write with understanding. The literacy rate, if measured on international standards, would be even lower than this level.

example, the total female enrollment rate in the province was only 25%, as compared to 60% among males.

The high dropout rate from public schools is a result of both internal and external issues. Corporal punishment—justified as a means “to maintain discipline”—is common, and extracurricular activities are almost non-existent in the schools. Less than 65% of the schools have Parent Teacher School Management Committees (PTSMCs), which were established in 1996 by the government with the help of NGOs. Moreover, the majority of PTSMCs are non-functional, existing only on paper (The Balochistan Point, Dec. 22, 2016). In terms of "missing facilities", around 15% of public schools had no physical building, over 84% of schools did not have water tanks (meaning that they had no regular water availability), 88% had no water facility in the toilets, 46% had no water at all, 80% were without electricity, 98% without natural gas, 58% had no boundary walls, and 77% were without a toilet facility (BEMIS, DoE, 2015-16).

Costs and expenditures of government-run public schools are covered by the Pakistani government. They have a uniform curriculum and examination system. The Government of Pakistan's National Education Policy (NEP - 2009) promises that primary education will be provided to all children 4 to 9 years old. The policy also promises that school facilities will be provided to every child within a radius of 1.5 kilometers, so that no child is deprived of a basic education. The promotion of girls' education has also been assigned a high priority status. However, considering Pakistan's vast geographic spread, this policy may be unrealistic—in both the letter and spirit of the law—as it would require the construction of thousands of schools across the country.

There are less than a thousand private schools in Balochistan, and most are in urban areas. Quetta district has the most private schools—541 to be exact—while districts like Awaran,

Washuk, and Sherani have only one private school in their respective districts. Most of these private schools are low-fee private primary schools. There are very few elite private schools in the province, and found only in Quetta city. (DoE, BEMIS 2015)

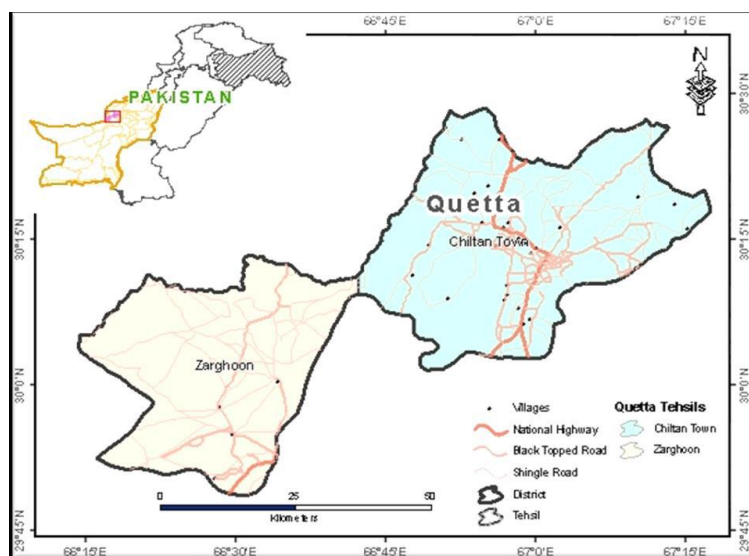
Determining the exact number of Madaaris and their students in Balochistan is a difficult task because there is little reliable information. Data from various sources offer different numbers. Qasmi (2005), quoting Mufti Taqi Usmani<sup>51</sup>, reports that in the early 1970s, 580 Madaaris were established in the Punjab, 72 in Sindh, 23 in Balochistan, and 104 in the Khyber-Pakhtoonkhwa province of Pakistan. As compared to other parts of the country, Balochistan's response to religious Madaaris has been overwhelming. Quoting data from Andrabi et al. (2005), Fair (2008) states that the districts in Balochistan (notably, Pishin, Killa Abdullah, Zhob, Kalat, Loralai, Kohlu) are highly influenced by Madaaris; around 10% of these children attend Madaaris. According to the 2009 figures from the provincial Home Department, the total number of Madaaris in Balochistan was 1095 with an enrollment of around 82,000. However, the Directorate of Industries in Balochistan reported that there were approximately 2000 Madaaris with more than 100,000 students in the province. It is worth noting that this number does not include the regular mosques where people go to attend prayer, and where children congregate daily to study the Quran either in the morning or in the afternoons. There are mosques in every village and multiple in larger towns and cities. The majority of the Madaaris in Balochistan is associated with the *Deobandi* school of thought, following their own curricula. But there are at least five different types of Madaaris in the province, each following a different school of religious thought.

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<sup>51</sup> A renowned Pakistani Islamic cleric.

### 3.1.3. District Quetta:

Quetta district spreads over an area of 2,653 square kilometers. It borders District Killa Abdullah in the West and Northwest, Pishin in the North, Mastung in the South, and Ziarat in the East. Quetta city is the district headquarters, and it also



serves as the provincial capital of Balochistan. Quetta was granted district status in 1975. The name 'Quetta' originates from the Pashto word *Kawatta*, which means 'a fort.' Locally, Quetta is also known by its ancient name, Shaal or Shaalkot, because of its location at the north end of the Shaal Valley, about 1,690 meters above sea level (Quetta District Profile, 2011). Quetta district is the most populous district of the province. According to the Quetta district profile, as of 2010 its population was estimated at more than 1.235 million; by 2015, the population was estimated to be over 1.5 million. In the last three decades, Quetta's population has increased more than fourfold—in 1981 the population was only 380,000. The majority of the population (around 76%) lives in urban areas, while less than a quarter live in rural areas (District Profile 2012). Quetta district has the highest population density and has expanded more than any other district in the province since the 1980s. In 1981, the population density was 144 people per sq. km.; in 1995, it was 255 people per sq. km.; and in 2011 it reached 466 people per sq. km. (GoB/UNICEF, 2011). The district is divided into two towns (i.e. Zarghoon and Chiltan<sup>52</sup>), and

<sup>52</sup> Most part of the Zarghoon town is urban; while Chiltan town mostly consists of rural.



several Union Councils. Several villages make a Union council, and several union councils are part of each of the parenthetically mentioned towns.

Quetta District is a multicultural and multi-lingual area. There are five major communities: the Pashtuns, Balochs, Brahvis, Hazaras and Punjabis. Within each community, there are a large number of heterogeneous groups. Urdu, Pashto, Balochi, Brahvi, Punjabi, Sindi, Siraki, and Persian are the languages spoken in the district. Urdu is spoken by almost all ethnic groups. The majority of the people (around 96%) of Quetta district are Sunni Muslims. There is a small minority of Shia Muslims as well, mainly in the Hazara community, who migrated from Afghanistan and settled in Quetta city long ago. Some other religious minorities, like the Christian, Hindu, Parsi, and Sikh communities, have resided in Quetta alongside the Muslim majority for centuries.

Much like the rest of the province, the social organization in Quetta is mostly tribal, though some modern organizational patterns have been adopted in urban areas. While the joint family system (or extended family-system) is one of the characteristics of the tribal system, in urban areas, such as Quetta city, this predominance of this system is weakening (District Profile Quetta 2011). For instance, in rural Quetta, the majority of people live in joint families, and nuclear families are quite rare. However, in urban areas, where tribal affiliations are becoming weaker, the nuclear family system is becoming more common (District Profile Quetta, 2011).

Compared to other districts in Balochistan, Quetta is an especially important district. Because the provincial capital is located within its boundaries, the district plays a central role in the province. It is the hub of commercial and educational activities, as well as the district most affected by ethnic, political, and sectarian tensions. Educational institutions and economic activities are the most affected sectors during such events. Though better than many districts in

Balochistan, Quetta's social and physical infrastructure development indicators are still among the lowest in the country. Like other districts in Balochistan, statistics on education, health, accesses to drinking water, roads, electricity, and poverty present a grim picture.

In the *Balochistan District Gazetteer Series: Quetta – Pishin* (1907), R.B. Hughes-Buller describes the history of education in the Quetta-Pishin district as follows:

Before the British occupation (1876), no system on Public instruction existed in Quetta and Pishin. *Mullas* [Islamic religious imams] taught the Koran by rote to boys and few girls, and such men as aspired to more extended knowledge of Muhammadan [Islamic] theology and law had to spend some years in Kandahar (Afghanistan) in prosecuting their studies (p.286).

Regarding the indigenous educational system and its operations, Hughes-Buller further states that,

The *Mullas* charged no tuition fees, but were maintained by *Zakat* subscribed by the villagers (generally one-tenth of the produce of the lands and one-fortieth of the flocks), and also by alms, charities and by marriage fees. The same system is still maintained in the district and a rough estimate shows that in 208 such institutions about 900 boys and 90 girls were under instruction in 1903 (p.286).

The historical accounts above confirm that Quetta (and also Pishin) is in closer contact with Kandahar (Afghanistan) than any other city in contemporary Pakistan. In fact, a host of individuals active in Quetta's religious education institutions had travelled to Afghanistan. The above passage also confirms the fact that, before the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Madaaris were the only institutions providing free education to the children of the area. However, with the arrival of the

British on the Indian sub-continent, modern schooling emerged. In 1882 the first modern secular middle school, the Sandeman School, was opened in Quetta. (Sandeman School eventually became a high school, which the author of this dissertation graduated from in 1982, exactly one hundred years after its establishment.) In the following seven to ten years, a few primary schools were established in the Quetta area for Hindu, Parsi, and other minority communities working for the British government. Over time, a number of primary schools were built in other parts of the district. The Pishin primary school was established in 1892, the Kuchlak primary school in 1893, and the Nau-Hisar primary school in 1902, along with a few more in other parts of the Quetta-Pishin district. Hughes-Buller (1907) states that in 1883, there were 43 students in the Sandeman School, 6 of whom were local Pashtuns. By March of 1904, there were 12 schools with a total of 827 students, 226 of whom were local Pashtun and Brahvi students. The number of modern schools in the area, as well as the number of students enrolled in them, continued to increase over time; however, due to various social, cultural and political reasons, the pace at which they grew was very slow. The following section briefly highlights the contemporary educational profile of the district.

#### **- Educational Profile – Quetta:**

As per the Balochistan Education Management Information System (BEMIS) school census, as of 2014, there were 583 public schools in Quetta—350 for boys and 233 for girls. Out of those 583 schools in the district, 417 were primary schools (269 male and 148 female), 82 were middle schools (45 male and 37 female), and 85 were high schools (50 male and 35 female), while only 5 were higher secondary schools (BEMIS 2015). There were 99 non-functional schools. (The reasons why they were non-function were not specified.) However, to

meet the target of the National Education Policy (2009) in letter and spirit, it would require around 2000 more schools (as compared to the mere 600 schools currently operating) to cover the district map.

**Table - 10: Literacy – Population 10 years and Older - Quetta**

National, Province, District	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>Balochistan</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>44</b>
Quetta	79	45	63	76	45	63	78	45	63

Source: PSLM, 2014-15

According to the Pakistan Social and Living Measurement Survey (PSLM) for 2014-15, (the table above), the literacy rate of Quetta district residents aged 10 and over was 78% among males and 45% among females, with an overall literacy rate at 63%. Interestingly, unlike the other districts in the province, the survey found high levels of geographical parity, with only nominal variations between urban and rural literacy rates. However, the gender disparity (male 78% and female 45%) was quite dramatic. The PSLM reported that the primary school enrollment rate (students age 5 – 9) was 46%, and only 41% for public schools (PSLM 2014-15). Within the district, the MICS survey conducted in 2010 reported that the Primary Net Attendance Ratio for children of school-going age in mostly rural Quetta Chilton was 49%, with girls significantly lower than boys (43% versus 54%); and in mostly urban Quetta Zarghoon, the rate was 65%, with girls almost equal to boys (65% versus 66%). This indicates that 51% of children in Quetta Chilton and 35% of children in Quetta Zarghoon were still out of school, which means that those children will either enroll in school at a later age, or never enroll at all. The children who normally do not attend public school go to Madrasah for religious education,

start working for private businesses (like mechanic shops), or scavenge for garbage on the streets to feed their families (District Profile, 2011). The Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) statistics for children in secondary school reveal that there is a significant decline in enrollment after primary school. In Quetta Chilton, secondary school NER stands at 37% (boys: 40%, girls: 34%); and in Quetta Zarghoon the percentage is only slightly higher, at 43% (boys: 49%, girls: 37%). In both Quetta Chilton and Quetta Zarghoon, the NER statistics reveal that most children do not continue their education beyond primary school (grades 1-5) (UNICEF/GoB, 2010). BEMIS (2015) reported that total enrollment for primary school classes was 94,471 students, of which 44,435 were boys and 50,096 girls, which means that in Quetta district girls outnumbered the boys (53% girls vs. 47% boys). However, like in other parts of the province, the gender gap widens at higher levels of education; for example, at the high level there were 6,600 girls as compared to 7,800 boys (BEMIS 2015).

Public schools in Quetta face many of the same alarming circumstances that schools face across Balochistan. A very limited number of extracurricular activities are held within and outside of district schools. Of the few schools that have some sports and cultural activities after school, the majority are located in Quetta city (being the provincial capital). Students who attend schools in rural Quetta are not as fortunate. When it comes to missing facilities, the schools in the district of Quetta are not much better than the other parts of the province. Almost 30 % of public primary schools are without a boundary wall; about 64% of schools are functioning without electricity; 79% are without natural gas; 52% do not have water storage tanks (thus no regular water supply); more than 70% are without any toilet water facilities, and 47% don't even have student toilets. Moreover, 18% of schools in the district do not currently have buildings, and of the schools that do have some type of building, 18% are without a boundary wall. Primary

schools are the most deprived, with the situation getting relatively better in middle and high schools. However, high school students also face difficulties; many lack classrooms, science labs and equipment, libraries, furniture, reading and writing materials, computers, etc. The missing facilities are one of the top reasons students drop out of school, and a source of parents' dissatisfaction with the schools. Only 56% of primary school buildings are owned by the government. The rest they are located in rented buildings or have no physical structure to conduct classes in.

The private school system is the second largest provider of educational opportunities to the children of Quetta district; however, the majority of private schools are located in urban centers, particularly Quetta city. Private schools cater to around 37% of children between the age of 6 and 16 in Quetta district (ASER, 2013), the highest rate of private school enrollment in Balochistan. According to the BEMIS report, there were 541 private schools in Quetta district in 2015; 239 were primary schools, 122 middle schools, and 180 high schools (DoE, BEMIS 2015). In the entire province, only Quetta city has elite public and private schools for the local military and civilian population. A vast majority of private schools, however, are considered low-fee private primary schools. Almost all of these schools are co-educational, particularly at the primary level. However, some private schools cater to the local conservative tribal culture, offering facilities with separate sections for girls led by female teachers.

A large number of Madaaris in the district deliver religious and informal education to local children who, due to poverty or preference, do not enroll in regular educational institutions (District Development Profile – Quetta, 2011). The district development profile states that the government attempted to register the local Madaaris, and make these institutions more mainstream by introducing regular secular subjects in the curricula. However, the registration

rate has been low and many Madaaris remain unregistered. The exact numbers of these Madaaris, and the number of students who attend them, is therefore unknown (2011), and debated among various sources<sup>53</sup>. According to one report, the ASER, 6.4% of children between the ages of 6 and 16 attend a Madrasah in Quetta district (ASER, 2013). According to 2012 figures from the Industries Department, the number of Madaaris in Quetta district totaled more than 500; however, the number of Madaaris is much higher than these figures, as a majority of these institutions are not registered with the government. Moreover, these numbers do not include the mosques where many children go to study the Quran in the morning or in the afternoons on daily basis. Much like the Madaaris throughout Balochistan, the majority of the Madaaris in Quetta follow their own curricula and are associated with a particular school of thought. There are at least five different types of Madaaris in Quetta district each with a different school of religious thought<sup>54</sup>. However, a vast majority of them (over 80%) are affiliated to the Deobandi school of thought.

#### **3.1.4. Research Locations in District Quetta:**

There is no official government data available for Village Baacha Khan and Village Khan Baba<sup>55</sup>, the Quetta district locations I selected as research sites. Therefore, the following data comes from the Union Council office, my household survey, personal observations, key informant interviews, institutional and community profiles, field notes and memos.

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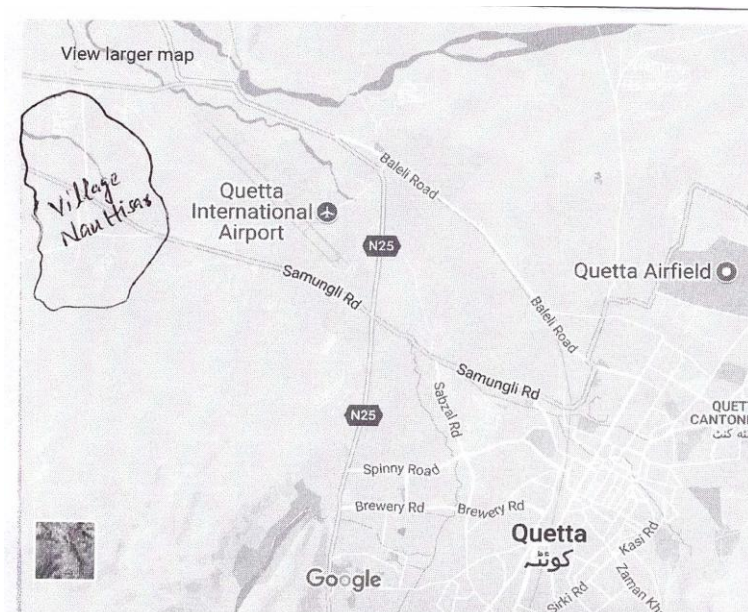
<sup>53</sup> Various entities report different figures – even the government various departments do not agree on what the exact number was/is.

<sup>54</sup> Details given in the previous chapter

<sup>55</sup> These are pseudonyms not real names of the research locations

### 1) Village Baacha Khan:

Baacha Khan village is located about 14 kilometers west of Quetta city, in Chiltan Town (Quetta Tehsil), Union Council Kakaran<sup>56</sup>. The village is divided into two parts – Northern Baacha Khan and Southern Baacha Khan.



To obtain a good educational profile

of the village, I selected both the southern and northern parts of the village for my research. The village is surrounded by orchards and agricultural lands. It is one of the oldest settlements in the district, with a population of around 10,000; however, the specific area my research took place in—an area close to the village’s educational institutions—has a population of around 3,000 (between 500 to 600 households). Based on the household data I collected, the average household is composed of about 7 people, with an average of 5 children under the age of 18.

In Baacha Khan village, the majority of the people belong to Kakar tribe. They are Pashtun by ethnicity and speak Pashto; however, there are a few households that are ethnically Baloch and speak Balochi. Like any Pashtun and Baloch tribes, the majority of the people in Baacha Khan village are tribal and follow the tribal traditions. Men are more active in political, social and communal decision-making. Though a considerable number of girls and women are educated up to at least grade 5, the majority are still limited to home affairs, like taking care of their children and performing household chores.

<sup>56</sup> Pseudonym, not the real name



Middle class residents of the village earn their income from agricultural work or are employed in the service industry, in both public and private sector jobs. According to the estimates of the village head, about 45% of village residents are government employees in Quetta city work for various government departments in and around the village. More than 35% of residents are farmers, he estimated, while the rest of the villagers are primarily businessmen or laborers. My data shows that a majority (n=41) of respondents were earning a total monthly household income in the range of 5,000<sup>57</sup> to 20,000 Pakistani rupees; 21 respondents indicated that their households earned between 20,001 and 50,000 rupees; 8 households earned between 50,001 and 80,000 rupees; and only 5 households earned above 80,001 rupees. In most cases, male members of the household were the primary breadwinners for the family, with a few exceptions (i.e., when male leaders of the family died or were terminally sick). Women breadwinners were mainly tailors (sewing clothes inside their homes), household servants (washing clothes and doing other household chores for people), or embroiderers who worked at home and sold their crafts in the market. On average, these self-employed women made a meager amount, about 8,000 to 10,000 rupees per month, and they normally resided with their extended families (mainly with in-laws) in larger family compounds. These big compounds generally house a number of families; however, each family typically has their own structure, with a minimum of 2 to 3 rooms, depending on the size of the family. Families living in these large compounds take turns using shared bathrooms and a shared kitchen.

The area has a small hospital with basic health facilities, though it does not have any inpatient facilities. For those who need additional treatment, most residents of the village travel to Quetta city, about 15 kilometers away from the center of my research site. A large number of

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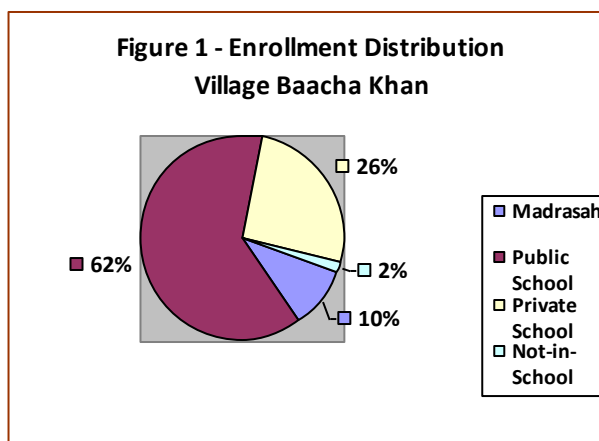
<sup>57</sup> 1 USD = 100 Pak Rupees approximately at the time of data collection – however, it constantly fluctuated.

the village houses have access to piped clean drinking water, but due to electricity load-shedding, most of the time the water supply is disrupted. Consequently, people often fetch water from nearby tube-wells, which were established for agricultural purposes. This water is not quite hygienically clean, however, several household members mentioned that they either boil the water or strain it through a cloth to make it as clean as possible. Apart from the main road connecting the village to Quetta city, the rest of the roads and streets in the village are unpaved. Almost all the houses I visited had boundary walls, drinking water, electricity, and toilets. Some residents with a higher SES—those families who owned land, orchards, and animals—lived in houses with natural gas connections, telephones or mobile phones, and internet access. Many of these families also owned cars and motorcycles, as well as more expensive appliances like televisions and refrigerators.

Village Baacha Khan's Government School is one of the oldest schools in Quetta district, established by the British in 1902 as a primary school which, over time, came to function as a high school. Government high schools are single-sex schools, and the same is true for middle and primary schools. However, there are a couple of private primary schools that are co-educational. (There are also a few private middle schools, but these schools are also single-sex institutions.) The majority of the village's school-age children attend the schools located in the village; nonetheless, some of the families (less than 10%) with a higher SES send their children to elite private schools or the private modern Islamic schools in Quetta city. The majority of students who can afford to attend institutions of higher education typically go to colleges, universities, and higher-level Madaaris in Quetta city.

Regardless of whether a child attends public or private schools during the day, most of the children in the village attend Mosque Quranic education either in the morning or in the

afternoon. The majority of parents—more than 62% surveyed--sent their children to public schools, and about 26% sent their children to private schools. Less than 10% of parents preferred Madaaris instead. Around 2% parents choose neither of these options and their children remained out of any institution.



Since private schooling is a newer phenomenon in rural Balochistan, none of the respondents, all of whom were local parents, were educated in private schools. The majority of them were public-school educated, and a few were exclusively Madrasah-educated. The vast majority of parents who only had a Madrasah education (more than 80% of those surveyed) wanted the same religious education for their children. A few parents, however, wanted a to provide their children with a combination of both modern and religious education in order to give their children the economic benefits of modern schooling while also fulfilling what they saw as a religious obligation. Of course, parents who send their children to public and private schools are not seeking an entirely secular education; a vast majority of public and private school parents thought that Islamic subjects should be taught alongside modern subjects in their children's schools.

In general, the security situation in village Baacha Khan was satisfactory, though it was considerably more dangerous in and around Quetta city and in other parts of the province. Many parents or older siblings accompany children—particularly girls and young children—to and from school; some arrange for hired transportation as well. Almost all the respondents wanted the government to improve the local security situation so that their children could access education without disruption. For their school-aged girls in particular, many respondents

indicated that they wanted the government to provide school transportation services. Currently, the majority (more than 60%) of children walked to school, while others used rented vans, bicycles, and parents' personal cars or motorcycles.

## 2) Village Khan Baba:

Village Khan Baba is located about 24 kilometers northwest of Quetta city on the main highway to Kandahar, Afghanistan. Just a couple of decades ago, it was still a small village, but it has grown rapidly, and today is a town with a population of



around 100,000 people. Located along the national highway, Village Khan Baba is on a critical corridor connecting Quetta city with Afghanistan and the northeastern part of Balochistan with the provinces of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Administratively, it is part of Tehsil Quetta, Chiltan Town, and Union Council Khan Baba. Because of its central location between Quetta, Afghanistan, and the other provinces, Khan Baba has become the second largest town in Quetta district, and a hub of various small businesses. This is a big area, so for this research the southwestern part was selected.

The majority of residents (95%) is Pashtuns from the Kakar, Khilji and Achakzai tribes, and speaks Pashto; however, there are also some Punjabi and Baloch families in the area. Like other areas of Balochistan, the people of Khan Baba village follow Islamic and tribal traditions. The area hosts a large number of Afghan refugees, mainly Pashtuns and Uzbaks, who migrated

from various parts of Afghanistan in the early 1980s during the Soviet invasion and the after the 2001 US attack on the Afghan Taliban regime. They speak Pashto, Dari (Afghan Persian), and Uzbeki languages. Almost all (more than 90%) of our household survey respondents were natives of village Khan Baba; those selected for detailed in-depth interviews were all natives of Khan Baba as well.

Much like Balochistan province and Quetta district, village Khan Baba's development indicators present a desolate picture of the village. Even though reliable data for the Khan Baba area is not available, one can easily observe the grim picture with a close look at the area and the community. One private school administrator employed by a local nonprofit portrays the depressing picture as following:

Literacy is miserably low, particularly among girls. Health facilities are also inadequate, and because of rigid tribal norms, females of the area cannot be examined by male doctors. So in delivery cases, many mothers and innocent newborns lose lives before receiving any (medical) aid. Poverty, illiteracy, lack of environmental protection facilities and diseases, has pushed these marginalized communities to lead sub-human life in most areas of Khan Baba village. — A private school administrator, village Khan Baba

Since Khan Baba has such a large population, for the purpose of this research, I focused on an area of the town where the majority is native to Khan Baba. Most of the educational institutions I studied (all except the college) were close by, between one to three kilometers from the research area.

Village Khan Baba is primarily an agricultural area with numerous fruit orchards and cultivated fields. Currently, however, many of the fields are not farmed because of the scarcity of underground water. The principal occupation of the native citizens of village Khan Baba used to

be farming and raising fruit orchards. However, with the increased population came an increased scarcity of irrigation water and land for cultivation. Many of those who formerly worked in agricultural jobs are now employed in government and private sector jobs. The majority of the new immigrant population works in small businesses or as laborers. Except for some home-based cottage industries like carpet weaving, soap and candle-making, embroidery, and tailoring, there was no industrial unit reported in the area.

According to our survey, the average household size in Khan Baba was six people per household, with an average of four children per household under the age of 18. Of those surveyed, 22 respondents owned small businesses, 19 worked in government and private sector jobs, 10 were farmers, while the remaining 6 were laborers, college or university students, or jobless. The data reveals that the majority (n=38) of respondents were making a total monthly household income between 20,000<sup>58</sup> to 50,000 Pak. Rupees per month; 30 households made between 5,000 and 20,000 rupees per month; 6 households between 50,001 and 80,000 rupees per month; and none of the households had a monthly income of more than 80,000 rupees per month. Just like in Baacha Khan village, almost all the heads of household and breadwinners were male. We could not come across any female head of household in our sample; however, a local Madrasah administrator mentioned that a few of their young male students came from families where their mothers were the only ones making a living for the family, a situation that prompted one village Khan Baba Madrasah administrator to say, “We [Madaaris] are the best and the only sources of support for such families.” (A Madrasah Administrator from village Khan Baba).

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<sup>58</sup> 1 USD = 100 Pak Rupees approximately at the time of data collection – however, it constantly fluctuated.

Almost a quarter of households surveyed had cement buildings, half were Kachha<sup>59</sup>, and another quarter was half Kachha and half cement. Almost all the households surveyed had electricity, drinking water, boundary walls, and toilets. Very few had landline telephones or internet. The most common assets inside individual homes were televisions and refrigerators. If households owned land, they were usually farmers who were natives of the area. Some of the poorer households in the survey raised animals (like goats, sheep, cows, and chickens), and sold milk and eggs in the market to subsidize their household income. Women were most often responsible for taking care of the animals within a given household, while males would take the products to market.

Khan Baba's government school is one of the oldest schools in Quetta district, established by the British in 1893 as a primary school which (much like the Baacha Khan government school) eventually transitioned to serve as a high school<sup>60</sup>. Currently, there is one Government College, three public high schools for boys, two public high schools for girls, and a number of public middle and primary schools in Kuchlak. Several private educational institutions and schools run by individuals or community-based organization also exist in the area. Much like the students in village Baacha Khan, in village Khan Baba most students in tertiary educational institutions (colleges, universities, professional institutions and higher level Madaaris) travel over 25 km daily to Quetta city to attend class.

Though the majority of schools were not very far from the households surveyed, there was a general sense of insecurity among parents. During the last decade or so, village Khan Baba had been highlighted in national and international news because of the presence of Afghani

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<sup>59</sup> Mud-made houses

<sup>60</sup> The author of this dissertation thesis was a student at the same school in 1974 and 1975 in early grades of his schooling.

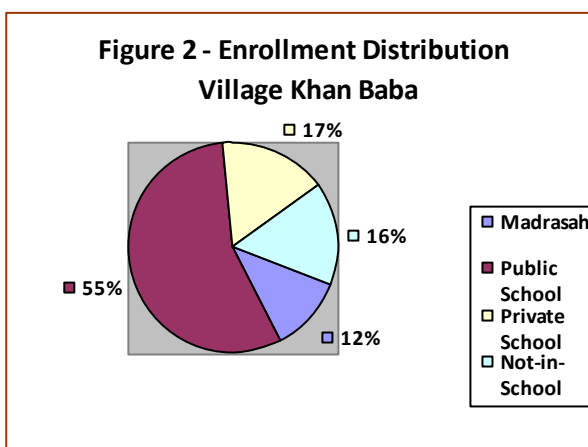
refugees—and the Taliban—in town. There have been a number of incidents which involved the Taliban, local kidnappers, smugglers, and state security agencies. There had even been a few violent incidents, including attacks and suicide bombings on political leaders and Pakistani security agencies, some occurring close to the time period of my field research. Parents were reluctant to send their younger children to school, and especially their girls, because of the security situation. Of those parents surveyed who had children in school, almost all of them (over 90%) had to provide personal protection to their children on daily basis, either by accompanying their children to and from the school or by arranging hired transportation. One father from Khan Baba village who could not afford security for their children stated that,

Education is very important and we cannot leave our children uneducated, we have just to trust God for their safety and security; there is no other way; we can't afford to be with children all the time, let Allah be their protector. — A father from village Khan Baba

As in other research areas, in Khan Baba more than half (55%) of the parents were sending their children to public schools; according to these parents, the public schools were the most accessible and affordable for them. About 17% of parents sent their children to private schools, most often when their children were still attending primary school.

Approximately 12% were sending their

children to a Madrasah. Quite a few households (16%) opted not to send their children to any educational institution after their basic Quranic education at the local mosque. For them education in these low standard institutions was a waste of time. As a parent in Khan Baba said:





Since we don't have high standard educational institutions, which can provide the best education and (economic) returns; it is better that our children, instead of going to these low-standard school, help me in my business. I think my sons can be more beneficial to the family being successful businessman rather than spending 16 years in acquiring education and then be jobless, as many MA pass currently are.

– A father from village Khan Baba

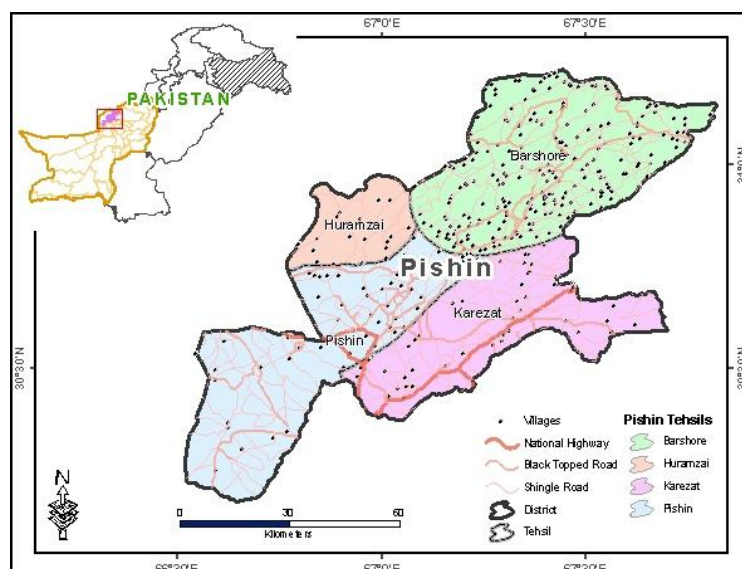
The majority of households (77%) were sending their children to the mosque on a regular basis for basic Quranic education. Regardless of whether the parents surveyed were educated or uneducated, rich and poor, or sending their children to public or private schools, there was no significant difference in the percentage of households sending their children to a local mosque for Quranic education. Less than a quarter of households reported that their children were not attending the area mosque for religious education; if parents reported that their children did not attend religious classes at the local mosque, it was often because their children were too either too young or too old.

In the majority (70%) of cases where both parents were educated, the decision of where to send their children to school was made collectively by both parents; however, the father was still the primary decision maker in almost all cases. Moreover, the head of household—which was mainly fathers (though in some case it was uncles and grandparents)—took on the responsibility of paying any educational costs. A few educated mothers were proactive in their children's education. One local father showed his admiration for his spouse, saying quite appreciatively, “I salute my wife day and night – she has taken away all the burden of my child's education from my shoulders.” (A male respondent from village Baacha Khan).

Parents with higher levels of education (who have at least completed the 10th grade) were more likely to support higher education for girls than the parents who were either less educated or were uneducated. Generally, it was observed that boys' education was given preference over girls, particularly, at the high school level and above. Our data revealed that educated parents were more involved with their children's education and that the majority (74%) made at least one visit to their child's school during the last one month of the interview day. Parents who sent their children to private schools were more likely to make school visits than parents who sent their children to public schools or Madaaris. The smallest percentage of parents who made visits to their child's school was parents who sent their children to a local Madrasah, unless the Madrasah was close to the parents' house, or attached to the mosque where fathers, grandfathers, or uncles went for prayers.

### 3.1.5. District Pishin:

Pishin is the second district in the province of Balochistan selected for my research. Compared to Quetta, Pishin is more rural and traditional, with the majority (around 93%) of the population living in rural areas. The district is located north of Quetta city, sharing its boundaries with Afghanistan



to the northeast, with Killa Saifullah to the east, Killa Abdullah to the west, and Quetta district to the south. Pishin district is spread over an area of about 5000 sq km. The district is divided into 4

Tehsils and 38 Union Councils for administrative purposes. Pishin city is the major urban center and the contemporary district capital, having been first established by the British in 1883 as a civil and military station (Encyclopedia Britannica). The estimated population of the district was around 600,000 (2010, projected from 1981 census). In 1998, the population density of the district was approximately 47 people per square kilometer. In recent years, the district has seen a sizable increase in population density; by 2010, the population density had risen to 71 people per square kilometer, an increase of 24 people per square kilometer in only 12 years. In 2010, the average household size was 7 people per household (District Development Profile Pishin, 2011).

From the beginning of British rule in 1883 all the way up until 1975, the current Pishin district was part of Quetta district, and known as Quetta-Pishin district. In January of 1975, Pishin was separated from Quetta, and in 1994 the district was split again for administrative purposes, this time creating the district of Qilla Abdullah. Pishin district is mostly inhabited by Pashtuns. There is almost no ethnic differentiation among them; they speak one common language, have the same religion, and share common cultural values. Their historical and cultural background is the same (UNICEF, 2011a). However, the population is made up of various tribes; some of the major and important tribes include the *Kakar*, *Tareen*, *Syed* and *Achakzai*. Tribes are headed by a *Nawab*<sup>61</sup>. Sub-tribes are headed by *Sardars*. Most of the sub-tribes live together in a village, headed by a *Malik*. However, with the advancement of education and spread of electronic media, the authority of these tribal leaders is dwindling (District Development Profile – Pishin, 2011). Many scholars argue that such changes to tribal society will offer more freedom to local residents—and particularly to the most vulnerable segments of the population—in their personal decision-making and mobility (Khan, 2005).

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<sup>61</sup> Nawab, Sardar and Malik are tribal titles.

All Pashtuns live more or less the same way of life. The family is the basic unit in the social structure. The joint family system is quite prevalent. In many cases even the extended family system (more than two generations) live together within one boundary wall. The senior male member is the head of the family, and decision-making authority lies with him. In Pashtun society, decisions and policies are usually centrally formulated by the elders of the tribe (Glatzer, 2002). Kinship is an important variable in the decision-making process. The role of women in household is limited to certain activities such as cooking, washing, managing the household, and raising the children (Umar, et al, 2014). Women's roles are negligible and marginal at the community level, making little economic participation and impact outside of the house (Latif, 2009). Similarly, the women of the district do not play any role in local politics, though a very small number of women are given permission to cast votes in local and national elections under the instruction of their male family members (District Profile Pishin, 2011).

Pishin is known for its fruit orchards and agricultural land. Residents of the district draw their main sources of income from i) agriculture and farming, ii) small businesses, and, iii) transportation. In addition, herding provides another major source of income for the residents of Pishin (District Profile – Pishin, 2011). Some poor residents who do not own sizable tracts of tribal agricultural land travel to Quetta city<sup>62</sup> or other major cities in Pakistan—particularly Karachi<sup>63</sup>—in search of employment.

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<sup>62</sup> Provincial and district (of Quetta district) capital and the biggest city of Balochistan province.

<sup>63</sup> The Provincial and district (of Quetta district) capital and the biggest city of Balochistan province.

<sup>63</sup> The largest city of Pakistan; situated in the province of Sindh on the brink of Arabian Sea.

### - **Educational Profile - Pishin:**

As per the BEMIS (2015) figures, there were a total of 946 public schools in Pishin—691 for boys and 255 for girls—with a total enrollment of around 67,457—43,312 (65%) boys and 24,145 (35%) girls<sup>64</sup>. Gender disparity persists at all levels of schooling, and the gender gap on the number of schools and enrollment increases at the middle and high school level. For example, there are only five high schools for girls in the district, compared to 28 high schools for boys. The gender gap in high school enrollment rates is just as stark; girls make up only 15% of the enrolled high school population (IUCS, 2011). While there is a total of 794 primary schools in the district, there are only 104 middle schools and 48 high schools in the district. This massive drop in the number of educational institutions at the middle and high school levels is one of the major reasons for low enrollment in middle school and high school; these educational opportunities are simply unavailable, too far from many villages and homes. Most children do not continue education beyond primary school, a trend that is more pronounced in case of girls. The Balochistan Education Department's statistics indicate that 82 non-functional schools also exist in the district, though the report does not explain why they are non-functional.

According to the Pakistan Social and Living Measurement Survey (PSLM) 2014-15, the literacy rate of all residents 10 years and older in Pishin District was 70% among males and 25% among females (a significant gender disparity), with an overall literacy rate at 49%, well below the national average. (See table below)

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<sup>64</sup> Please note that various sources report different data; however, the figures here are from the Balochistan Education Management Information System (BEMIS) Department of Education (DoE), Gov of Balochistan (GoB).

**Table - 11: Literacy – Population 10 years and Older - Pishin**

<b>National, Province, District</b>	<b>Urban</b>			<b>Rural</b>			<b>Total</b>		
	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>Balochistan</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>44</b>
Pishin	80	32	57	69	24	49	70	25	49

Source: PSLM, 2014-15

The PSLM reported that the enrollment rate for primary school-aged children (age 5 – 9) in Pishin was 31%, and only 30% for public schools (PSLM 2014-15). The enrollment rate in public primary schools was 38% for boys, and 22% for girls. In rural areas only 20% of primary school-aged girls were enrolled in public schools. The gender gap widens at higher levels of education. For example, the enrollment rate for middle school was only 28% for boys, and only 13% for girls. At the high school level, the enrollment rate was only 14% for boys, versus 9% among girls (PSLM 2014-15). Only half (50%) of the population aged 10 years and older had ever attended a school; and only one quarter of the female population 10 years and older has ever attended a school.

Like other parts of Balochistan, public schools in Pishin also face the same alarming situation concerning educational and physical facilities. A very limited number of extracurricular activities are held within and outside of school. Of the schools that do offer some extracurricular sports and cultural activities, most are situated in Pishin city (being the district headquarter). Most schools lack many of the most basic facilities; about 84% of schools are functioning without electricity; 96% are without natural gas; 72% do not have water storage tanks (and thus have no regular water supply); the vast majority (90%) are without any toilet water facilities; and 73% do not even have student toilets. Moreover, 14% schools do not currently have buildings, and of the schools that do have some type of building, 52% do not have a boundary wall. 85% of

school buildings do not have a separate classroom for Kachi (kindergarten), and 80% of Kachi classes do not have a separate teacher; among the 20% of Kachi classes that do have their own dedicated teacher, none have degrees in early childhood development. In general, primary schools have the worst facilities, though the situation is only relatively better in middle and high schools. High schools often lack classrooms, science labs and equipment, libraries, furniture, reading and writing materials, computers, etc. This lack of educational resources and facilities is a leading cause of parental dissatisfaction with the schools, and one of the major reasons that students drop out, especially when it comes to girls' schools in tribal and conservative Pashtun society.

The lack of data makes it difficult to calculate precise drop-out rates; however, the Education Department estimates a very high drop-out rate in the primary grades, especially for girls. There are a number of reasons for students to discontinue their schooling, the most prominent of which—especially as they relate to Pishin district—are listed below:

- Poverty: Because the majority of the population of Pishin district resides in the lower income stratum of the country, families are often unable to afford school expenses. Poverty is one of the major reasons that students drop out of school.
- Late age at which children first enter school: Often, schools are located far away from children's homes, and families do not send their children to school until they are 8 or 9 years old. Within a few years, parents consider their children old enough to lend a hand in income-earning activities, or in case of girls, household chores or even marriage, and pull their children from school.
- Low quality of education: There are several factors contributing to the low quality of education; however, the following are the most significant:

- Teachers are generally untrained and under-paid; absenteeism is common.
  - Widespread shortage of female teachers and schools, particularly in rural areas.
  - Lack of basic and necessary facilities at school, like toilets, drinking water, boundary walls, classrooms, and school supplies.
  - People do not foresee a good future economical outcome for their children.
- Physical Accessibility: There is a general scarcity of schools. Of the schools that do exist, their location is more likely to be a product of political influence than community need (Alif Ailaan, 2016). Schools are often located close to the homes of the influential, and far from the rest of the population.

According to the ASER 2013 report, the local private school system is the second biggest provider of educational opportunities (to 13.3 % of children, age 6 to 16 years) in Pishin district; however, private schools are not as common as in Quetta district. All the private schools fall under the category of low-fee schools, and are mainly located in urban locations like Pishin city (the district capital) and in small towns like Barshore and Khanozai. BEMIS reported that as of 2015, there are 42 private schools in the district of Pishin—22 primary schools, 10 at the middle/high school level<sup>65</sup> (DoE, BEMIS 2015). Almost all of the primary schools are co-educational. However, on account of the local tribal culture and conservative society, a couple of these private schools (mainly in Pishin city) offer facilities with separate sections for girls led by female teachers.

Like other parts of the province, a large number of Madaaris are also functioning in the district to deliver religious and informal education to those children in the district who cannot enroll in regular educational institutions due to poverty or preference (District Development

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<sup>65</sup> Middle schools are generally part of the high schools



Profile – Quetta, 2011). The district development profile further states that the local government initiated a registration process for Madaaris and attempted to make the religious schools more mainstream by introducing regular subjects into the curriculum. However, the response rate has been low and few Madaaris were registered. The exact number of these Madaaris is therefore unknown (District Development Profile – Pishin, 2011). But the number of Madaaris and their student population is debated among various sources<sup>66</sup>. ASER reported in 2013 that 9% of children between the ages of 6 and 16 attended a Madrasah in Pishin district (ASER, 2013), a rate that would rank among the highest in Balochistan. According to 2012 figures from the Industries Department, there were over 200 Madaaris in Pishin district; however, the number of Madaaris is almost certainly much higher than these figures suggest, as a large majority of these institutions are not registered with the government. One Madrasah administrator from Pishin suggested that along the Afghan border there is a large number of small primary school level Madaaris connected to mosques with student enrollments ranging between 20 and 50. These numbers do not include the regular mosques where local residents go to attend prayer, and where children go to study the Quran for a couple of hours either in the morning or in the afternoons on a daily basis. There are mosques in every village, and several in the district's towns and cities, almost all of which are affiliated with the Deobandi school of thought.

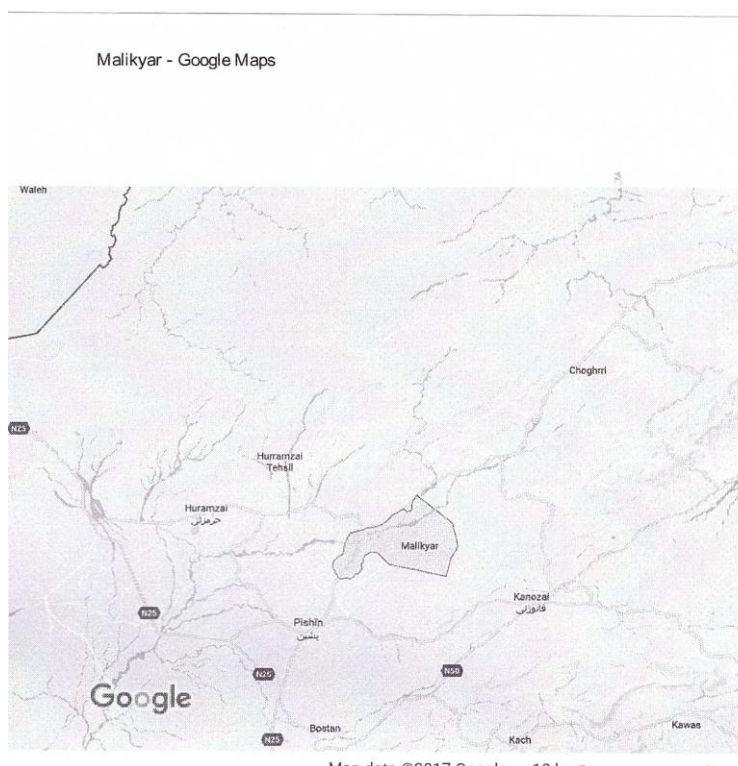
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<sup>66</sup> Various entities report different figures – even the government various departments do not agree on what the exact number was/is.

### 3.1.6. Research Location in Pishin:

#### - Village Malakaan:

The village of Malakaan, which also served as one of my research sites, is located about 27 kilometers northeast of the district headquarter and the major urban center of Pishin. It has a population of more than 5000. The main tribe in the area is the *Tareen* Pashtun, with other



inhabitants of the area belonging to the *Kakar*, *Syed* and *Achakzai* tribes. There is also a small population of Afghan refugees who work as laborers on local orchards and farms. All the residents of the area are Muslim.

Malakaan is mainly an agricultural area with an abundance of fruit orchards irrigated by underground tube wells and the famous mud-built Band Khushdal Khan Dam. Besides the fruit orchards, large tracts of farmland are planted with wheat, barley, melon, and watermelon. Some people also cultivate tobacco leaves in small pockets on their land. The majority of our household survey respondents (n=23) were farmers who worked on their own land, 18 owned small business either inside the village or in Pishin, 15 worked in government or private sector jobs, and the rest held one of a variety of jobs, such as laborer, hawker, cobbler, etc. Moreover, data from our household survey revealed that a majority (n=40) of respondents' monthly

household income was between 20,000<sup>67</sup> to 50,000 Pak. Rupees; the second largest household group (n=31) was making between 5,000 and 20,000 rupees per month; only 4 households made between 50,001 and 80,000 rupees per month; and none of the households surveyed had a monthly income of more than 80,001 rupees. A couple of respondents noted that they did not know their household's total income, and both of these respondents happened to be females. It is also worth noting that 10 of our respondents were females, the largest number of female respondents among our three research locations. Out of those ten female respondents, three were the heads of household because they were widows. Another reason for this large number of female respondents was that many male family members had traveled to the larger cities in the country in order to make a living for their families. For many families, the village itself lacks sufficient employment opportunities.

As per our household survey, the average household size was 7, while the average number of children under the age of 18 was 3.5 per household. Generally, people were more religious, and almost three quarters of the households surveyed were sending their children to a local mosque for Quranic education in the mornings or afternoons; those households whose children did not attend classes at their mosque were either too young or too old to attend.

Almost all the houses in the village have electricity; however, as in other parts of Balochistan, people in Malakaan complained of load-shedding practices that cut off electricity for more than 10 hours a day, affecting the drinking-water supply and the electric tube-well machines that excavate underground water to irrigate the fields. Parents and school officials mentioned unavailability of drinking water to be the biggest problem of the village. The village has a medical facility headed by a male and female doctor and staffed by two nurses; however,

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<sup>67</sup> 1 USD = 100 Pak Rupees approximately at the time of data collection – however, it constantly fluctuated.

there was no in-patient facility, and a general lack of facilities and medicine was reported. People with major illnesses preferred to go to Pishin or Quetta for treatment. Apart from the main road to Pishin, none of the streets in the village were paved, making it very difficult to commute in severe weather, particularly for school-aged children. I witnessed this situation firsthand when I was working in the village.

Half the houses were cemented while the other half were *Kachha* (made of mud). Almost all the households had access to drinking water, and a large number of these households (more than 60%) had access to natural gas as well. This village is located in close proximity to a large forest, and historically, people have harvested those forests for firewood. With the expansion of natural gas delivery to Pishin district, villagers in Malakaan were incentivized to stop local deforestation. This is why, according to one villager, such a large number of households (more than 60%) have natural gas connections, a percentage much higher than some other areas in the province. Cell phones were becoming more common day by day, particularly among the younger generation, while access to the internet was much less common. Televisions, radios, cell phones, bicycles, and motorcycles were the most common assets among the households surveyed. More than half of the sampled households owned agricultural land, orchards, and animals, the majority of which were tended to by family members; however, in those families with fewer male family members, laborers were hired to help maintain their properties.

The area had a number of public schools, including primary, middle, and high schools. Manakaan has three primary schools, one middle and one high school, with separate facilities for boys and girls. Many of the public schools, and particularly the village's primary schools, lacked many basic facilities, like a sufficient number of classrooms, latrines, safe drinking water, desks, chairs, and books. One local parent revealed his anger by saying:

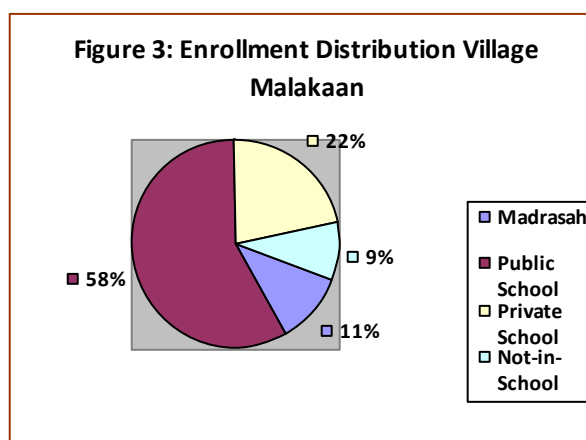
We have long been crying for help (in education), but nobody listens to poor –in big (elite) schools every child is offered with a variety of food, at least five to seven types at a time; but here our children don't even have water to drink.

(A father from village Malakaan)

None of the public schools were co-ed.

However, the only private primary school in the area was co-educational and only had female teachers. The schools were, on average, located within 3 kilometers of the household survey.

Most of the households (58%) interviewed were sending their children to public schools in the



area; private school was attended by 22% children, 11% were in Madrasah and around 9% children did attend any institution in the area. Out of the 13 children not attending any educational institution included majority (9 children; 7 girls and 2 boys) from the households headed by females. Students from the village seeking higher education (those above grade 10) attend colleges, universities and other professional institutions in Pishin and Quetta. Since the village is far from Quetta and the commute cannot be done on daily basis, almost all of these students had to arrange for room and board in Quetta at an extra cost. As one parent mentioned, most girls do not pursue higher education because there are no institutions of higher education in the village. Moreover, because the only low-fee private school in Malakaan only went up to fifth grade, the majority of students who graduated from this private primary school went to the public middle and high schools in the village, except for a few students, who could afford to attend private middle and high schools in Pishin and Quetta city.

Males, particularly fathers, are the primary decision makers when it comes to their children's education and type of schooling; however, in households headed by females, females are the primary decision makers. The majority of households (more than 60% of those surveyed) that sent their children to private schools for primary education earned a monthly income of more than 20,000 rupees. On the other hand, the majority of those with an income of less than 20,000 rupees sent their children to public primary schools. About a quarter of the parents from the sampled households were uneducated, while the rest of the parents (or at least one of the parents in a given household) attended modern schools and graduated from grade 10 or higher. All the households with at least one parent in this educated group had decided to send their children to modern schools. Among the educated parents, a few had chosen to send half of their children to a Madrasah for religious education and the other half to schools where they could receive a more modern education. As one such Malakaan father explained it, "I am trying to make both lives better – so half [of my children are educated] for this world and half for the other". (A father from village Malakaan)

Though most parents across my research sites emphasized the importance of having easy access to schools—especially for their girls—parents who sent their children (all boys) to Madaaris were less concerned about the distance students, particularly after the age of 12 years) had to travel to get to Madrasah. Since obtaining religious education was mostly considered a religious obligation, travelling was perceived as rewarding. Mosque education was the first step for almost all the children in the village. Until children reached the age of 12—or in some cases, the age of 14—parents were willing to send their children to a local mosque for religious education if the Madrasah was far away. However, many parents who sent their children to the

private primary school hoped that the school would expand to serve middle school students by the time their children graduated from primary school.

As mentioned earlier, the vast majority of parents, even those with meager resources, sent their children to school and were willing to allocate a small amount of money for their children's education. Those who decided not to send their children to formal schools cited various reasons for their decision, including their disappointment with the educational system, the schools' inability to meet their desired educational outcomes, and poverty, among other reasons. One parent from Malakaan was of the view, that:

In spite of spending sixteen years in school, which does not give any results (outcomes), I should train my child in doing business with me. I am sure this result will be much better than going to school. I see a lot of MAs (masters' level educated) on the streets looking for jobs; they can't even find low level jobs. (A father from village Malaakan)

The majority of the respondents with a monthly household income under 20,000 rupees wished that the modern educational opportunities would be free for their children. A parent described their dilemma this way: "It's good to have education, but it's not my priority; I have to feed them at night... that's the main concern for me at present. My children can survive without education but not without food." (A father from village Malakaan).

Parents' satisfaction with their children's schooling was highest among parents who sent their children to Madaaris, followed by parents who sent their children to public schools. Parents who sent their children to private schools, quite surprisingly, expressing the lowest level of satisfaction with their children's education. Parents who sent their children to public schools believed that their children were better cared for by local male teachers who had roots in the

area. Some parents expressed the opinion that male teachers were much better than their female counterparts at inculcating discipline in their children. Unlike in Quetta, parents in Malakaan held to traditional beliefs about their children's education, beliefs that were quite unique to this area. For example, many parents believed that strict teachers—even those who practice corporal punishment—are better for their children's upbringing and development. As I learned during my interviews, most parents were unaware of what modern research had to say about corporeal punishment, nor were they aware of the federal prohibition against the practice in schools.

Only a few parents visited their children's schools to follow up with teachers and inquire about their children's educational progress on a regular basis. The majority of parents surveyed (more than 70%) had not made even a single visit to their children's school in the past month. Educated parents were more likely to visit to their children's schools and communicate with teachers and school administrators. A few parents expressed the opinion that there was little difference between public and private schools in the area, and that children themselves—with guidance from parents and teachers—were responsible for their development and growth. One local mother insisted that, if a good job or high social status were the end goals of education, then the quality of the child's education made little difference, nor did it matter if they went to public or private schools. "There is no good or bad school," she said. "Only money and good political connections play a role in securing a job or status." (A mother from village Malakaan)

To conclude this previous section, it should be clear from the data that a few themes are emerging. Those themes include parental attitudes about different kinds of schooling (and schooling at all), class-based differences in parental choice, and parental engagement with the schools. The data also reveals the relationship between gender and schooling, beliefs and



attitudes about male versus female teachers, school infrastructure and facilities across the three sites, among other topics and themes, which will be discussed at length in Chapter 4.

## **CHAPTER – 3**

### **PART – II**

#### **3.1.7. Research Sites' Institutions at a Glance:**

In the following section, I will briefly describe the institutions that I visited during my research; the analysis here is based on my institutional and classroom observations. Madaaris are registered with various Madrasah Boards and are associated with various schools of thought/traditions, including *Deobandi*, *Braveli*, *Shia't*, *Ahl-e-Hadith*, etc. (as mentioned in chapter 2 above). However, in our research locations there were only Madaaris following the *Deobandi* school of thought. As I only discuss the Madaaris that I visited in the research locations, I am only speaking about experiences in and people's perceptions of *Deobandi* Madaaris, and I cannot speak to variation among Madaaris from different schools of thought.

#### **1. Public Schools:**

A typical day at the school would start with a student assembly on the school playground, or in an open area capable of accommodating the school's teachers and student body. The student assembly would begin with a student reciting a few verses from the Holy Quran, followed by collective recitation, led by two or three students, of the Pakistan's National Anthem. Next were the daily or sometimes weekly announcements, usually made by the

headmaster or principal. Normally, students marched in lines to their classrooms, and when the teacher entered the classroom, all the students stood to welcome him or her.

The teacher usually began class by taking attendance, and by asking for students' homework if any was assigned on the previous day. If there was homework, the students would bring their notebooks to the teacher's table and place them in a pile. The "intelligent" and "good" students, as one student described them, put their notebooks on the top of the pile, while the other students tried to squeeze their notebooks into the middle or bottom of the pile. The students generally assume that their teachers are exhausted by the time they finally check the last notebooks in the pile, and, consequently, don't pay close attention to those students' work. Typically, teachers would take the notebooks with them, check their students' homework during their free time, and return their notebooks before the end of the day. As I observed, there is generally no follow up on the homework except for the few written corrections from the teachers. Students were left to figure out the meaning of their teachers' comments on their own. Any student who did not complete their homework would get some sort of punishment; either teachers would make the student stand in the sun for almost half of the class time—a punishment I saw two teachers dole out—or they would hit the student with a stick from a tree or a wooden rod. These practices were more common in the higher primary school and lower high school classes. Although one Headmaster told me that the Pakistani government is actively discouraging the use of corporal punishment, I observed a widespread use of sticks in the classroom, used by teachers to hit the children even when they made small mistakes. Some of teachers even taught lessons while holding their stick.

After collecting students' homework, teachers usually started teaching from the textbook, which was the only teaching aid that I observed. One primary school teacher told me that the

schools received only a few free textbook copies to be distributed among the students, and teachers usually bought their own teacher's copy of the textbook. Therefore, only a few students could access a textbook for free. As one school administrator told me, the state never supplies enough textbooks to meet the schools' needs. If there were only a few textbooks, the students would either share the books or distribute them among the poorest students, while the others who could afford to buy textbooks would purchase them in the market.

I observed in quite a few schools that the day often started with one of the more "difficult subjects," like Mathematics or English. As one school administrator told me, it's best for students to tackle these "difficult subjects" while their minds are still fresh. In English class, teachers would usually start reading and translating the textbook, often asking students to repeat specific words after him or her so that the students could memorize them. In Math classes, the teachers solved equations on the blackboard while speaking loudly, without taking any questions from the students. During my observations, student participation was minimal, and several times one could clearly see the blank expressions on students' faces. Sitting quietly in class is considered "good behavior," and very few students were bold enough to ask questions. One parent who had attended public schools himself told me that students who were not confident that they would ask the 'right question' normally kept quiet in class. The majority of teachers did not encourage any back and forth question and answer with their students, rarely making space in class for students to ask questions. However, at the end of a reading or after solving an equation on the board, the teacher would normally ask quite loudly, "Understood?" Some of the students would loudly respond, "Yes," while the others kept quiet. Almost all of them would try to copy as much as possible from the blackboard into their notebooks. I observed that most students had their own schoolbags, though a few students used a simple piece of cloth to wrap their books and

carry them. One teacher told me that the students using a piece of cloth to wrap their books can't afford to buy schoolbags. Apart from the use of textbooks and blackboards, I did not observe any extra teaching aids used by the teacher to aid in their lessons. In the early primary school grades, the use of repetition after the teacher was common. Each class continued for about 45 minutes, and there were about 7 classes in a typical school day.

Twice a week the students had physical training, or PT classes, where the students go out to the school playground and play soccer or cricket. Some of the students who don't want to play, or are unable to, sit on the side as spectators. Except for a soccer ball provided by the school, in the schools I observed students typically bring their own sports equipment with them from home. In a few schools, however, even a soccer ball was not available for the students to play with. During my observation, I did not see girls playing soccer; they preferred playing their traditional games with each other. As one teacher told me during an interview, soccer is considered to be a "boys' game." During recess or physical training, when the boys were busy playing, I observed girls strolling around the school in small groups chatting or going for lunch at the school canteen or tuck shop. School recess was normally after the fourth, or in some cases, the fifth class of the day.

Students typically go to the school canteen or tuck shop to buy themselves lunch, though some students who could not afford to buy lunch at the school canteen (which usually costs between 5 and 20 rupees) brought their lunch from home. Generally, the teachers would drink a cup of tea with some cookies during their lunch break, and have another cup of tea here and there between their class periods. The majority of teachers preferred eating their lunch at home after school. At the end of the day, when the final school bell rang, all the students would rush to the main door and depart for home.

School classrooms were overcrowded in some grades, but they were decorated by all sorts of posters made by the students—a drawing of a verse from the Quran, for example, or a poem, story, or drawing of a flower. Students with good calligraphy skills could boast that they had more than one poster up in a classroom, and these students were often encouraged by their teachers to draw more and more. School headmasters recognized and acknowledged the teachers and students with the cleanest and best decorated classrooms. One of the local high schools held a ‘best classroom’ competition every month. However, the school did not offer teachers any funds for decorating their classrooms; everything was paid for by the students and their parents.

The schools that I visited ranged in size, from a school with only two teachers to those with about thirty teachers. Not surprisingly, the two-teacher school that I visited was a primary school. Generally, the number of teachers varied from school to school depending on the size of the student body and the number of teaching positions the government officially sanctioned to for that school. On average, the student-teacher ratio was 30:1. One principal said that in the more advanced grades, the student-teacher ratio was about 25:1, though in the lower grades the ratio was closer to 30:1. However, as I observed in multiple schools, some classes led by a single teacher had more than 30 students. During interviews and discussions with school administrators and principals, I carefully asked if their teachers were trained, and if they had any regular opportunities for professional development. I was informed that the public education system requires that teachers be trained, however, there were some teachers who had yet to be trained but expected to be trained soon. There was no available training in Early Childhood Development (ECD). Occasionally, teachers found opportunities to participate in teacher refresher courses, but such opportunities were not commonly available.

Teacher and student absenteeism were visible at my research site. On any given day, I would usually observe that 3 to 5 students were absent from an average class. In schools with few teachers, it was very difficult for teachers to get a hold of absent students and teach them properly. In the case of teacher absenteeism, the remaining teachers mainly focused on maintaining class decorum instead of teaching. In some cases, teachers would mix the grades, a situation that made teaching quite difficult. I observed this circumstance more than once, and in two separate schools. While conducting field work at one of my research sites, a primary school in Khan Baba village that had only two teachers, I observed a situation where one teacher was absent for more than a week. Even though this was a primary school, there were more than 150 students in various classes between kindergarten and 4<sup>th</sup> grade. On several occasions, I could see that it was extremely difficult for the remaining teacher to fully concentrate on any of the classes at one time. He let the students read independently and expended most of his energy trying to maintain the proper decorum and discipline. Comparatively, the schools in Quetta district were better staffed and had lower student-teacher ratios than the schools in Pishin. As one school administrator speculated, this was probably because Pishin schools were far from the area's urban centers, and teachers were hesitant to work in schools far from their homes.

In my research, I saw firsthand the lack of facilities at many schools. The high schools I visited had toilets, but usually not enough for the size of the student body. Clean drinking water was not available in a number of schools, or if there was some water available, there was not enough to meet the needs of all the students in the school. Many of the schools had electric light fixtures—especially the middle and high schools that I visited—but there was usually no electricity because the schools were either unable to pay their electricity bills, or because of regular electricity load-shedding. In some areas, the schools were without electricity for 16 hours

or more per day, an issue that was one of the biggest concerns raised by teachers and parents. One of the schools had a separate room designated as a computer room and library, however, during my stay at the school, I did not see that room being used by students or teachers. At the same site, one teacher told there was less than a hundred books in the entire school, and that all of them had been donated by different teachers; the government had not given the school any support to buy books. While there were two computers available at the school, they were only used occasionally by teachers or administrators, and most commonly, to type up letters or other forms of official communication to their higher ups.

The headmaster or principal of the school would, every once in a while, visited the classrooms during the day to make sure that all the students and teachers were present. The purpose was ensure that school activities were running normal and the students and teachers perform their obligations. It was a type of 'local monitoring' as described by a school headmaster. This was a common practice that I observed at almost all the school that I visited.

I saw very few parents visit their children's school to meet with the headmaster or teachers regarding their children's educational progress. Extracurricular activities were almost nonexistent in the schools, though one school headmaster mentioned that their soccer team was one of the best in the area, and they had traveled to another school about 5 kilometers away for a friendly soccer game before I visited the school. But overall, headmasters and teachers had many complaints about the scarcity of funding for general improvements to the school, whether that was for physical buildings or extracurricular activities.

## 2. Private Schools:

In all three of my research locations, the low-fee private schools were either primary schools or middle schools. In each location, I visited at least one private school and spent a good amount of time - roughly between 5 to 6 hours a day for more than a week. After interviewing teachers and administrators, I would ask if I could sit in and observe classes. Though the principal in Baacha Khan village did not grant me permission to sit in on classes (he thought it would be a disturbance for the students and their teacher), the private schools I visited at my other research sites allowed me to spend 25 to 30 hours in classes. Unlike the public schools, in the private schools, the majority of the teachers were female, and most were consistently on time.

In the private schools, much like public schools, the day would start with the ring of a bell inviting all the students to assembly. One of the students would recite a passage from the Holy Quran, then a group (between 2 to 5 students) the National Anthem, and sometimes, would include a prayer from Allama Iqbal, a Pakistani Sufi poet. All the students were lined up by class, and would stand for the assembly. Almost every day, the teachers would go through lines and check the cleanliness of the students' uniforms and nails. If it was a students' first offense, they were issued warnings to take care of their hygiene; but if it was habitual, the school principal often sent the offending student home to take care of the issue before coming back to school, or the principal asked the student to bring one of his or her parents to school the following day to address the hygiene issue with them. In one of the schools in Khan Baba village, I saw a female teacher cutting the nails of a student after the school assembly.

After the morning assembly, the students proceeded to their respective classrooms. The private primary schools I visited were co-educational. The teacher would start the class by taking attendance and checking the students' homework, if they had any. In both schools, students piled



their notebooks on the teacher's table to be checked later, much like in the public schools I observed. The pedagogical practices of private school teachers mirrored those practices I observed in the public schools as well. Teachers encouraged rote memorization instead of inculcating more advanced cognitive skills, relying on recitation in the classroom, especially in English and Math classes. There was normally one teacher assigned to each class who would teach all the subjects, including English, Math, Science, Social Studies (which was a combination of history, geography, and Pakistan Studies), and Islamic Studies in the lower grades. There was no specific timetable for the nursery or the first-grade classes, but the higher classes would spend around 40 to 45 minutes a day on each subject. Most classes were taught in Urdu, except for English and Math.

At one school that I visited there were two teachers, and at the other there were five, that in addition to the school owner or principal. In the school with only two teachers, the classes were overcrowded and one of them was a multi-grade class (the nursery, kindergarten, and first grade students were all in the same class). However, in the other classes there was enough space to accommodate all of the students. The classroom walls were decorated with different types of wall posters; some were drawn by teachers and some were bought from the market. Of all the teachers in both schools combined, there was only one teacher with a bachelor's degree (having studied up to grade 14), two others were educated through the 12th grade, and the rest were only educated up to 10<sup>th</sup> grade. One administrator told me that none his private school teachers were formally trained in education, nor were any trained in early childhood development (ECD). Most of the private school teachers were recent graduates and none of them had more than three years of teaching experience. Furthermore, from my interviews with teachers, I learned that they had no access to any sort of professional development training. However, the majority of parents

seemed satisfied with the teachers because they were from the same area and spoke the local language. Because these private schools were led by mostly female teachers, I saw at least two different mothers come in to meet with their child's teacher. A school principal in Malakaan village said that his teachers try to meet at least once a month with each parent. Moreover, he said that he meets the parents of each class as a group once every three months. This principal also mentioned that he invites parents and students to the school to reveal the results of students' twice-yearly exams.

In general, both the private schools I visited were clean, but the buildings were small and the rooms congested. Neither school owned their own building; one rented their facility and the other was connected to a Community Based Organization (CBO) office, and so the building occupied by the school was owned by the CBO. Both the schools had boundary walls, adequate classrooms, and each school had a couple of student toilets, though not enough. One school had a regular water supply, while the other did not. However, the students drank water from traditional water containers which were filled twice a day by the school peon (server). The school in Khan Baba had about 200 students, while the school in Malakaan had more than 140 in its student body. The student-teacher ratio was 30:1 in one school and about 22:1 in the other. The later was, comparatively speaking, a much newer school, and was an average school and parents did not regard this school as a "very good school" either. The student fee ranged from 300 to 500 rupees per month, though parents also had to cover expenses for school uniforms, books, stationary supplies, pocket money, and transportation. None of the private schools provided any lunch; consequently, the students either brought lunch from home or bought a snack from the school canteen.

There was no library in either of the schools I visited, neither were there any music or computer classes. Extracurricular activities were occasionally held on some important days. For example, on Pakistan's Independence Day, the students dressed in beautiful costumes and sang various national songs. Some students recited poetry or gave speeches, and parents were invited to school on such occasions and served with some refreshments.

### **3. Madaaris:**

During my visit, I was able to visit two Madaaris, one in Khan Baba village and the other in the Malakaan area. Because of the sensitivity, before going to a Madrasah directly, I sought out a local and influential person who could introduce me to the Madrasah administrator outside the Madrasah. As detailed in Chapter 1, in these meetings I explained the objective of my research and asked if I could come and visit his Madrasah. By utilizing local contacts, I met no resistance from the Madrasah administrators. They always welcomed me and were willing to talk with me.

The Madrasah in Khan Baba village was a mid-level Madrasah with more than 200 students. The school had 10 permanent and 3 visiting teachers. It had 10 classrooms and 7 bathrooms. The higher-level classrooms were furnished with a carpet on the floor and about 10 to 12 desks standing about a foot high in each room. The students and teachers put their books on the desks and sat on the floor to study. While the lower level classes had one desk for the teacher and a couple of desks for students, the majority of students would keep their books on their lap while studying. The buildings' boundary walls were *kachha* (made of mud) while most of the classrooms were cemented. The bathroom walls were made of brick and had sheet-metal roofs. There was an adequate amount of water available for drinking, washing, and for watering the

plants. The Madrasah in Khan Baba village has a vast courtyard, a lawn, and flowers. Some of the students would clean the yard and water the trees and lawns on a regular basis without any expectations of remunerations. Students and teachers had many complaints about the school's lack of electricity, which limited the availability of drinking water and, overall, hindered the school's educational efforts. Some of the students would clean the yard and water the trees and lawns on a regular basis without any expectations of remunerations. In general, the Madrasah was quite clean, in large part because, as the Madrasah administrator told me, the staff continuously reminded their students that "cleanliness is half the *Emaan* (Faith) in Islam—and one has to keep himself and his surroundings clean". (A Madrasah administrator from village Khan Baba).

The biggest and most important difference between the Madrasah and the public and private schools is that in the Madrasah the students were encouraged to volunteer their time and efforts to the basic upkeep of the school. This system is not only an effective way to make sure the work of maintaining the school was accomplished, but students also see this service to the school and their classmates as a way to seek the mercy of the creator. In public schools as well, the teachers often force the students to clean and help maintain the school, but in private schools, where students pay tuition, it is not expected that students should be responsible for cleaning the school facilities. I also saw that the majority of the students at the Madrasah treated the facility like their home because they were in fact living there. The cleanliness of the facility was maintained entirely by the students; no one from outside the Madrasah was hired to do the work.

Besides the classrooms, the Madrasah in Khan Baba had an office, a library (with a few hundred reference books, a few Urdu-language Islamic magazines, and local newspapers), and a few rooms for residential purposes. However, I learned during my field work that the residential

rooms were overcrowded, especially during severe weather. In the summer, the majority of students sleep outside in the open-air courtyard with a mattress, pillow, and a quilt. There was no playground available for the students; however, the majority of students would typically play for a couple of hours on vacant private ground between the *Asar* (late afternoon) prayers and *Magrib* (sunset/evening) prayers. There was a functional kitchen with basic equipment for cooking. However, with no professional cook, all the cooking was done by Madrasah students. The students would take turns cooking and serving meals, with four to six students responsible for cooking each day. This food was also supplemented almost every day with food delivered by the local community.

Academically, the Madrasah had regular Urdu and Math classes, along with the regular Arabic and Persian subjects. They had recently started a beginning English language class, but it was not a mandatory part of the curriculum. The English class was organized twice a week for any interested students during their free time (between noon and 2pm) by a volunteer teacher from the community. I was unable to visit the English language class; however, I was informed that there only about 12 to 15 students in the class.

The Madrasah in Malakaan was a bit smaller with an enrollment of a little over 100 students. The Madrasah had seven teachers and an administrator, who was also a teacher. Three of these teachers were senior level students studying at the Madrasah who would also teach classes in their free time. The building was mostly made of *Kachha*, with 10 classrooms and 5 bathrooms; the bathrooms, however, were bricked and cemented. As in the Khan Baba Madrasah, most of the food prepared at the school was prepared by the Madrasah students; however, a large portion of the food at the school came from the surrounding community on a regular basis. Water was scarce; sometime students would collect water from the nearby tube-

well for drinking or other daily uses. Though the building had electricity, it was unavailable for most of the day due to load-shedding. The administrator's office and the library were in the same room. The library had a couple hundred books, mostly in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu. The Madrasah administrator had a desktop computer in his office which was only for "official use," the administrator noted. There was some open land adjacent to the Madrasah where the students would play soccer in the evenings between *Asar* and *Magrib* prayers.

At the Malakaan Madrasah, basic Quranic knowledge and books on Islamic moralities, rituals, and Persian poetry were taught. Since the school's establishment in the late 1990s, the school has only taught Islamic courses. When I asked, the administrators told me that they wanted to have an English course, but they were unable to find someone to regularly come and teach English, and they did not have the financial resources to hire a regular teacher. Classroom instruction, as in the public schools, was primarily led by teachers. Students, in most instances, would simply sit and listen to their teachers. Teachers in the Madrasah were stricter than their public or private school counterparts; students were punished for any misbehavior or for not learning their lessons properly. Students were severely beaten for not learning the previous lessons by heart, a reality I witnessed on multiple occasions during my prolonged visit to both Madaaris.

The individual class size in both Madaaris was between 20 to 25 students, and class sizes decreased in the higher grades. The administrators and teachers mentioned that the smaller class sizes help them better understand the strengths and weaknesses as well as the personalities of the students, which allow teachers to give individual attention to the students who need it the most. In both Madaaris, most of the teachers also resided in the buildings on campus, and, consequently, were available most of the time for their students. The classroom walls were

normally blank, though some had a few wall posters with verses from the Quran and the sayings of the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him). In one of the Madaaris, a couple of the walls of the residential rooms were decorated with the slogans and flags of a religious Pakistani political party. I did not see any parents come to the Madaaris during the time that I was in the building or staying in the community. The administrators said they do receive parent visitors; however the practice is uncommon unless there is some specific reason for a meeting.

None of the teachers in either of the Madaaris I visited were formally or professionally trained, neither were there any opportunities for formal professional development. Experiential training was more common; most teachers learned how to teach from their years of being a student, from working as junior teachers, from more experienced teachers, and through the experience of leading their own classes. Senior teachers were highly respect—sometimes respected even more than one’s parents. As a junior teacher from Malakaan village noted:

Their parents were responsible for their biological upbringing, while their teachers were their spiritual and religious guides. Islam puts great emphasis on respect for elders, particularly the teachers. – A Madrasah teacher from village Malakaan

Both the Madaaris, though affiliated with the Wafaq-ul-Madaaris, handled their policy making and administrative affairs internally at the institutional level. Most of the decisions concerning management, administration, teachers’ recruitment and firing, academic programs and activities, finances, and community relations were made by the local administrators. Because Madaaris are under increased scrutiny from the Pakistani government and international community, the administrators of both the institutions I visited noted that they had registered with the government (with the Social Welfare Department and/or the Industries Department) as charitable organizations to avoid appearing suspicious. Administrators at both schools said that

they have never received any financial assistance from the government, and thus, would resist any interference with their management or financial affairs. All the students were provided with free education, boarding, and lodging. Their major sources of income were donations and alms (*Zakat* and *Khairat*) from local communities, philanthropists, religious-minded businessmen, and some political elites in the area. Another major source of their funding came from the collection of *fatrana*<sup>68</sup> on the occasion of *Eid-ul-Fitr*. Also on the occasion of *Eid-ul-Adha*<sup>69</sup>, a large number of animals are sacrificed in the local communities, and the animal hides are often donated to the Madrasah, which sells the hides to leather manufacturers in the country.

All the students and teachers were male in both Madaaris because both were single-sex all-boys schools. However, some young girls (mostly under the age of 10) from the community could be seen on campus, attending the adjacent mosques' Quranic education in the afternoons. If older girls (normally above the age of 12) receive additional religious education beyond the basic course they took at the local mosque, they receive that religious education at home from older women and family members. Since the majority of the student body lived in these Madaaris, consequently, one would see students washing clothes and hanging them to dry on wires all around the residential area.

A typical day at a Madrasah would start before dawn with the *Fajar* (early Morning Prayer). After the morning prayers were offered, the students would start their day with individual studies, either reciting the Quran or reading one of their other religious books. They would come together for breakfast with the rise of the Sun, and after that resume their respective classes. There is no particular assembly or gathering like in the modern schools. The Madaaris

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<sup>68</sup> Compulsory charity (for those who can afford) on the occasion of *Eid-ul-Fitr*. *Eid-ul-Fitr* is celebrated at the end of Ramadan (the month of fasting).

<sup>69</sup> *Eid-ul-Adha* is celebrated at the time of Hujj (pilgrimage to Macca)



that I visited conducted their Quran classes (which included recitation, memorization and interpretation) early in the morning, followed by other classes. All the students and teachers sit on the ground, usually in a circle with their backs to the wall; however, if needed, the teachers use blackboards as well. In lower classes, the students repeat the passages that the teacher recites. During the interpretation of the passage, however, the students carefully listen while the teacher speaks. Instruction in all the classes was in Pashto – the local language (translation of Arabic or Persian scripts were orally done into Pashto). Students were given a break from classes for lunch and *Zuhar* (early afternoon) prayer, between noon and 2pm. All the students and teachers sit together for lunch, which is served by a group of their colleagues whose turn it is to serve the meal. After lunch, students often rest, restarting their studies after the *Zuhar* prayer, and continuing their studies until the *Asar* (late afternoon) prayer. Formal classes end after the *Asar* prayer, and students have a period of free time during which they are at liberty study, play, or go for a walk. A communal dinner is served soon after the *Maghrib* (Sun set). Their day ends with the *Esha* (night prayer). Students are typically early to bed and early to rise. Fridays are a day off for students, and they use the time to offer Friday prayers, to go shopping in the nearest city, to visit their homes and families, and to do their personal chores.

## CHAPTER – 4

### Parental Choice in Balochistan

In the previous chapters, we discussed the contemporary institutions functional in Pakistan in general, and in our research locations in particular, which are shaping the choices of parents in education and school preferences. In this chapter, following a *systematic and comparative analysis framework* that I developed for this analysis (see as annexure), I will start our discussion with the three prominent themes and/or factors affecting parental choice that emerged from the data analysis:

- i) *The concept and purpose of education*, for parents and educational services providers (institutional administrators, teachers and policy makers);
- ii) *Access to schooling*; and,
- iii) *Quality of education*.

These major themes and their sub-themes are analyzed in relationship to the demographic factors that systematically influenced beliefs and practices related to these major themes: geography, class and gender (of Head of Household and of children). The analysis, which incorporates mixed-methods data as appropriate, emphasizes how the key stakeholders in the study (parents and educational service providers) make sense of education and schooling, and are responding to the prevailing situation while making decisions with regard to educational (school) choices for their children. As discussed previously, it is also evident from the data that attitudes

and decisions about the type of school that children will attend seems closely associated with particular attitudes regarding the state policies (Lloyd, et al, 2002), responsibilities and parental expectations and on the ground practice. Across each of the three major themes, we contemplate key questions that address these three areas of interest. These include: why do parents say they choose a specific type of schooling? Where are they physically located, and how does this impact “choice”? How are decisions made? Specifically, who is involved, and what factors, logics, and discourses are used to weigh options? How do family demographics (particularly wealth and gender) influence decisions? And how do components of government policy or daily interactions with the state (or lack thereof) shape choice over time, particularly in relation to parental notions of security? The content and analysis of the above questions is derived from the qualitative data gathered through various tools while interacting with the parents, policy makers, educational administrators and teachers.

Before going into detail presentations of the educational concepts and stakeholders perceptions, views and practices, I would like to make a note that, in general, parents can be divided into three broad categories for analysis of school choice:

- i) Parents who send their children to schools for modern secular education including both the public and private sector educational institutions;
- ii) Parents who send their children only to religious education (Madaaris); and,
- iii) Parents who do not send their children to any educational institution, except the basic Quranic knowledge given at the Mosques given at the early age of the child (note that all parents, including those in groups i and ii, send their children to the Mosque schools).

To give a sense of the analysis, let me inform the readers that views, perception and practices of parents in all the three groups are integrated throughout the following sections; however, I disproportionately highlight the views and practices of parents in group three. Although there are very few parents in this group, the majority of these parents come from the poorest families, and in many cases are women-led families. And, on the flip side, majority of the women-led families in my catchment area either did not send their children to school (70%), or they sent their children to Madaaris, which feed and keep the children that are sent. The parents who did not send their children to any schools consistently report that survival is the top most priority in their decisions, and survival is in direct conflict with schooling because of its costs. These families represent the confluence of class and gender inequalities that I argue Pakistani education reflects and reproduces (Bourdieu 1974). They are the most structurally disadvantaged families in the materialist analysis that I offer, and their sense-making and actions related to education systematically differ from families that do not as directly feel the brunt of these dual systems of inequality. As such, they offer important analytic insights into why and how other families try to make “choices” about schooling their children that they believe offer the potential for productive (not just reproductive) ends; what the likely limitations are of these efforts; and how schooling efforts serve, across class and geographic and gender divides, to largely strengthen existing inequalities instead of transforming them. To this end, the analysis gives special consideration to highlight the gender disparities generated by the education system, the social and cultural environment, and parental prioritization; and how these interact with class and geographic disparities to create fundamentally different school systems for different Pakistani children. The notion of individual parental choice becomes much less generative in

such an environment; as de facto, the options available to any child and any family are largely constrained not by educational ideology, but by geography, class, and gender.

#### **4.1. Concept and Purpose of Education**

The concept and purpose of education are debated amongst the world's scholars, researchers, and education policy makers and providers. Variations across cultures, societies, traditions, countries and nations (Halstead, 2004), in both, educational structures and educational meaning, are evident. At the same time, the (often shared) legacies of colonialism, statism, and the global capitalist system on education around the world have also been widely recognized (Carnoy 1992: Carnoy & Samoff, 1990; Bowles and Gintis, 1976). In this section, we will first describe some of the national and international literature concerning the concept and purposes of education. We will then shift to describing the various parental points of view concerning the concept and purposes of education, and the link between these views and parental practices from the research sites. In this second section, we focus particularly on how and why education is perceived as a multi-faceted or uni-faceted concept, and how and why it is considered a source of individual or collective gains. Finally, the analysis will also inform us about the role of contemporary education and educational institutions in generating inequalities in terms of class, geography and gender.

##### *Global and National Literature on Educational Concept and Purposes:*

According to Mahmood Hussain, a famous Pakistani historian and educationist, “education is a social process and it receives its meaning and essential logic from the human society of which it is a part” (Wikipedia, extracted on February, 05, 2017). Indeed, numerous

international education actors argue from the functionalist perspective that in every society, education serves multiple purposes as per the needs and priorities of that particular society (NCERT, 2014). Difference in education is thus viewed as reflecting differences in social (or, often, national) relations and systems. For these scholars, the concept and purposes of education are largely state- or “society”-driven, and are usually viewed as internally consistent because they function to support the “needs and priorities” of the state or society. In many of these definitions, there is an unstated assumption that the “needs and priorities” of the whole society or state can and should take precedence over individual or group needs, or that these collective needs serve all members. That is, current mainstream functionalist arguments generally do not dwell on the possibility that state or social priorities may serve members of the state or the society very unequally, exactly because the state or social system is deeply inequitable. In contrast, Marxist scholars have argued that the purpose of education is in fact exactly to reproduce class inequalities (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Ball, 2006; Carnoy, 1992), and thus to reinforce elite power. While these scholars argue about how this is accomplished (e.g., maintenance of an elite-captured state, creation of hegemonic class ideals, etc.), they agree that the education system serves to reproduce and reinforce the interests of a small elite in the society or the state.

In contrast to these analyses of education in relation to the (re)production of the state or society, Dewey’s perspective of education is a continuous, individualized (though socially-constructed) process of learning which leads to an organized and reflective use of inner forces and potentialities, focusing on interests and problems emerging from human experience (Dewey, 1897). For Rogers (1969) the highest function of education is supporting an individual in dealing with life in its entirety. For some, education is a process that supports human economic stability

or development at the individual, family, and thus eventually national level (Chudgar and Luschei, 2009). Education is considered both the seed for and the flower of individual and national economic development (Harbison and Meyers, 2008); while for others, it's a mechanism of spiritual and religious satisfaction (Wan-Daud, 1998). For some, education is the act of humanizing the human being; for many it is something that can make a contribution to a better living, which can be both related to personality grooming as well as social life; and for others, it is merely a source of economic empowerment.

In this very brief review of the diverse ways in which scholars have thought about the concept and purposes of education, we see a wide range of understandings about who education touches (individual, family, group, nation, etc.), how it does so (inculcation, exploration, etc.), to what ends it does so (social functioning, class reproduction, spiritual flourishing, etc.), and for what shared purposes (economic development, class domination, individual freedom, etc.). From my perspective, the best education processes should be considered as empowering processes, aimed at the most complete and successful expression and use of human and social potential (Striano, 2009).

*Parental Point of View on the Purpose and Concept of Education:*

The data indicate a variety of perspectives among the parents from the three selected sites concerning the purposes and concept of education. Indeed, my data reveal that there is no single concept of “education” among parents: generally, they expect different kinds of schools (public, private and Madrasah) to do different things. This conceptualization of school types as being, in fact, different kinds of schooling, has significant implications for concepts like quality. In the mainstream education development literature, access and quality can be viewed and measured as

unified concepts because there is an assumption that the education system is unified. If, on the other hand, parents believe that private schools should accomplish x, but Madaaris should accomplish y, then the quality of the two types of school cannot be judged with the same set of measures.

Generally, parents divide the education system into two categories: modern<sup>70</sup> education (public and private schools) are expected to take care of their economic needs and social status, while religious education (Mosque-based learning and Madaaris) is supposed to prepare them morally and satisfy them spiritually. (Please note that the term ‘modern’ was commonly used in the Pakistani literature, and by government officials, educationists and our research participants for the contemporary public and private schools as well as the type of education they are providing. Therefore, in this thesis also, it is referred to all types of secular public and private schools and the type of education delivered by these institutions).

*Western (Modern) Education as Model for Economic Development:*

Western development and human prosperity were considered to be fruits of modern education received through modern secular schooling. As advocated in discourses by governments, international organizations and educationists and economists, western education was a kind of development model for majority of the parents as well. For them also, the notion of economic development was associated with the western schooling. They desired to have the same type of universal quality education which is provided by the western and/or developed nations to their masses. Whenever there was a discussion on the improvement of schools and

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<sup>70</sup> The term ‘modern’ was commonly used in the Pakistani literature, and by government officials, educationists and our research participants for the contemporary public and private schools as well as the type of education they are providing.



hence, development, the parents would come up with several examples of progress and development, individually and collectively from the west to associated with their quality education. The majority of these parents were educated, and normally employed and economically better off. Here is how a parent positions his point of view:

Education enables people and nations to compete with other progressive nations of the world. Look at the examples of the world, almost all the countries in the western world has achieved success through better education which they make available to their populations.

– A father from village Baacha Khan

Another parent from the same research location again correlates modern education with the state of national development and happiness – the better the education, the better will be the national progress and development; he states:

Education is a beam of light – it is like a torch to find your way. The nations who followed that light in a proper way are now leading the world and are considered the happiest; those who lacked education are lagging behind in all aspects of life.

– A father from village Baacha Khan

However, many educated segments of the society connected the notion of national development and prosperity not only with the western type of education, but also with the inclusion of all the members of the society; indirectly, they critiqued the prevailing inequalities in Pakistani societies. Just like some parents mentioned above, associating the notion of ‘national development with education’, a private school teacher also considered education to be a source as well as a means to achieve progress and development in all aspects of human prosperity. However, she emphasized the equity and equality of all individuals, particularly

males and females. She was of the view that all should equally take part in the process; otherwise, the education may impart individual benefits to some but cannot fulfill a national development dream; she explained:

Quality education makes nations. Nations are collectively made by men and women. To me, man and a woman are like the wheels of a vehicle; if any one of them is not perfectly fixed the vehicle will not move properly – so if we want to develop well we have to give equal education to men and women both. Unfortunately, our women are currently deprived of their equitable share of education; hence, not playing their role effectively, and we are still lagging far behind among the nations of the world.

– A private school female teacher from village Malakaan

Interestingly, the private school female teacher was seconded for her thoughts on more inclusive education by a private school principal in another research location in Quetta district. According to him, education would provide better collective and societal outcome, only if it is delivered without any systematic inequities of class (rich & poor and majority & minority ethnicities), geography (rural & urban and developed and undeveloped), age (old & young), and gender (male & female). There is a huge contrast among the institutions that allow for freedom of actors; for instance, the private schools providing a larger space to female participation in the social arena. Although we do not see many differences in actual educational quality between the two systems (public and the private), we may see a real difference in the social models they promulgate (Andrabi, et al, 2012). Nonetheless, private schools provide limited access to the marginalized of the society and their gender equality model mainly suits the wealthy. On the other hand, Madrasahs, less sensitive to the gender issue, provide services for the poor, while the

public schools, although lack quality, but provide better access to the marginalized segments of the society across the country. None of the institutions meet all equity goals; in one or another, they create systematic inequalities in terms of class, geography and gender. Almost all the parents voiced again the above mentioned inequalities in Pakistani society. They suggested that, in a society where women make half of the population (51%), where 65% population is rural, and where poor are the majority (in Balochistan around 70%), the nation will not see any physical and social progress and development if these segments are left behind. Like many educated and uneducated parents, the private school principal suggested that:

A country can only flourish when all the people and all segments of the society – men and women, rich and poor, rural and urban, of that country have equal access to education according to their capabilities and interests and where they have opportunities to flourish their skills and benefit their society.

– A private school male principal from village Baacha Khan

For the majority of the parents (around 70%) of children attending the public or private schools, this type of schooling was supposed to ‘earn a better social status and economically sound life’, meaning that they envisaged the gains and expected to receive ‘worldly’ benefits from educating their children through the modern secular schools. Their conceptualization of how modern schooling was to achieve these goals was broad and their expectations were multifaceted; as one of them states:

To me the concept of education is to get to know what you don’t know. It helps you understand different aspects of life, the good and the bad. It enables you differentiate between beneficial and harmful things in life. Education, besides providing you

livelihood, gives a distinction among those who are uneducated. We normally see that people who are uneducated face a lot of hardships. Very few have made their lives successful without proper education.

– A father from village Khan Baba

Among a vast majority of the educated male and female parents (more than 90% and in almost all the research locations), education was one of the basic pre-requisites for present-day survival and development, both socially and economically. In line with the international literature (for instance, see Harbison and Meyers, 2008), education was the only ladder to progress and was considered to be a cornerstone in the foundation of human, social and economic development. It was widely believed beneficial for an individual, and also valuable for the entire society and nation. A parent from Baacha Khan Village in Quetta district puts his thoughts as following;

Education is the most important, basic and essential part of human development, it is something which, for both boys and girls, provides the opportunity to make a good future and be able to play a positive role in the society.

– A father from village Baacha Khan

Several educated parents and other individuals from the research locations, school headmasters and teachers, for instance, broadly considered education at modern schooling to be delivering multi-facet outcomes. Analyzing the educated view of the research participants, I say that they reflect on education as an opportunity and process of promoting awareness, growth, responsibility and self governance. They regard education as a phenomenon of individual, societal and nation-building development. They compartmentalized education into two categories; i.e. good education and bad education; imparted by the source with an objective (to

change the minds towards good or evil). To many, the child was at the center of all the events occurring for change. Although all of them had been part of the prevailing public and private school systems in one or the way (e.g., as students, or serving as teachers and head-teachers), generally they showed their dissatisfaction over Pakistan's contemporary education system for varied reasons. In their point of view country's public service systems, including educational systems, were highly politicized; therefore, individual short-term gains were prioritized over national collective benefits. When education is politicized, then it is not able to deliver the desirable outcome of equal access to prosperity, growth, humanization, societal harmony, and economic empowerment. I had a prolonged and interesting discussion with a long-serving public sector education official on the topic; I am giving here just a glimpse through a small excerpt from what he said:

Education is a tool of self realization, awareness, growth and governance. Good education will lead children to success and bad education will throw them in the ultimate darkness. We need to divert all our individual and national energies to direct our children in the right directions; which currently, unfortunately, are not concentrated where they {the energies} should be.

- A public school male headmaster from village Khan Baba

A smaller proportion of parents from our research locations (mainly in village Baacha Khan, and to some extent in Khan Baba village) approached the concept of modern secular education with a uni-faceted point of view, arguing that the purpose of modern secular education was only to improve the economic future of their children. These parents were comparatively

better off than their many village-mates and did not belong to the poorest segment of the village. Their perception and concept of education and learning largely revolved around education being a tool for gaining individual and collective economic uplift, stability and better societal position. In other words, economic wellbeing was at the heart of most parents' beliefs about the purpose of modern schooling. Unlike the majority of other (poorer and mostly uneducated) parents, almost half of these parents believed that economic progress through modern schooling was conditional on 'quality' education being imparted by 'good' schools. There were distinctive points of views among the poor and uneducated parents and wealthy and more educated parents. Poor and uneducated parents looked at education as a general source of better livelihood, while the educated and comparatively well-off thought more narrowly about how and what they wanted schooling to accomplish; for example, better social status, high level jobs and better income. A mother from one of our research locations states:

There are thousands of examples, even in our area, that educated people earn more; their living standards are much higher than those without any {formal} education. The more the merrier – the better you have quality education, received from good schools, the better will be your income.

- A mother from village Malakaan

Our data does not indicate any significant "choice" variation and/or preference between girls and boys for a specific type of schooling (public or private) among middle and high SES families. As opposed to some literature which suggests that boys get preference in specific school choice over girls (Umer et al, 2016; Noureen and Awan, 2011); for instance, boys are sent to private schools and girls to public schools. Gender disparity was observed related to the access not the type of education or type of school; for instance, boys could walk to school with father

distances but girls would dropout if she was alone (I will analyze the impact of access in the following section). The educated and middle and high SES families mostly sent their sons and daughters to the same of type schools (mostly private schools) without discrimination. A parent stated:

To me sons and daughters are the same – they are my children. If I want to give them the gift of education, I will give them equal shares and of equal value.

– A father from village Baacha Khan

Although for majority of modern school parents, as discussed above, the education provided could achieve both objectives; economic gains and morality. But there were still a few modern school parents who thought that modern schools could not only serve the dual purposes; for them economics and spirituality were two distinct things. Therefore, they supplemented their children's education with Islamic education (through a Mosque and a Madrasah) as well. For them religious education was totally a separate subject:

Religion and economics are two totally different things – they both need to be addressed with proper and relevant tools {education}. One cannot serve both the purposes.

- A father from village Baacha Khan

In all our research locations, more than three-fourth chose modern schooling - more than half of the parents (around 60%) preferred public schools for their children, while a bit less around one-fourth sent children to private schools. The numbers attending private schools in our research locations, in general, were less than the national statistics (33%, according to Winthrop and Graff, 2010) but better than the provincial (Balochistan) average (15%, according to Pakistan Education Statistics, 2014-15). Twenty-five percent attending private schools (in our

research locations) is still quite a prominent number, given that private schools are a newer phenomenon in the province of Balochistan. Nonetheless, a shift in people's attitude towards private schools has created a sort of rivalry between these modern education institutions (Alif Ailaan, 2014). During my interaction with the respondents, not only the parents, but also the private and public school teachers, school administrators and policy makers were critical of the role of the opponent (public vs. private) sector. On one hand, the growth of low-fee private schools was considered to be a response to the educational gaps created due to ill performance of the public sector (Andrabi, et al. 2012); on the other hand, private schools were considered to be merely a sign of prestige by parents (may or may not be with better education quality and outcome) and a beneficial enterprise for those selling education. Andrabi, et al (2012) from the Pakistani context and Chutgar and Creed (2014) from the Indian context argue that low-fee private primary schools are an alternate for the middle class poor families to educate their children. However, parents of children in public schools from our location consider these schools not an alternate to the public schools because of their service for the urban-based population and the wealthy (middle class). Since the poverty estimates are very high (almost 71% provincial population facing poverty), only about 14% population have made their choice in favor for such schools. Balochistan does not truly have a market, as discussed by the 'choice' literature. For many parents (around 70%, who were sending their children to these schools), the concept of private schools was a school with better quality education, guaranteeing better and secure economic future and better societal status for the children (Alderman, et al, 2003). However, for majority among parents (both public and private), these schools were not accessible because of their costs (and distance, if they wanted private schools after grade 5). These schools were



considered to be schools for rich class of the society (Rahman, 2004), who could afford private school fee and the additional costs (as discussed in chapter 2) associated to them.

*Research Participants and Islamic Notion of Education and Schooling:*

In the following I will discuss and analyze first the concept and purpose of education with an Islamic perspective and then I will discuss the concept and role of Madrasah in imparting this education.

*Notion of Education:*

From an Islamic point of view, the concept of education is embodied in the *Quran* (the word of Allah), *Sunnah* (demonstrated through practices by the holy prophet in his life), and *Hadith* (words/sayings of the holy prophet) (Zia, 2003). The three letter Arabic word “*Ilm*” for ‘knowledge’ or ‘education’ provides a useful insight for the analysis of the concept of Islamic education. Education from an Islamic point of view nurtures human character and personality through religious instruction right from childhood up to the time of death.

The process of education in one’s life is channeled through three stages, represented by the three Arabic words *Tarbiya*, *Ta’dib* and *ta’lim* (Halstead, 2004). Halstead explains the mentioned three Arabic terms in detail. He explains that *Tarbiya* comes from the Arabic root *rabd* (to grow, increase) and it refers to the development of individual potential and to the process of nurturing and guiding the child to a state of completeness or maturity. According to Halstead (2004), the second word, *Ta’dib*, comes from the root *aduba* (to be refined, disciplined, cultured) and refers to the process of character development and learning a sound basis for moral and social behavior within the community and society at large. While commenting on the third

term, *ta'lim*, Halstead (2004) suggests that the word comes from the root '*alima* (to know, be informed, perceive, discern) and refers to the process of imparting and receiving knowledge.

During my discussions about the concept of education with religious scholars and teachers (research respondents), they emphasized over and over again that the best of education for all Muslims will be the one which originates from the these three aforesaid sources. Their views were seconded by a majority of the parents (almost 90%) in my research locations, who sent their children to a mosque and/or Madrasah, because they wanted their children to receive knowledge originating from the same source, however, this is comparatively for a short time during the day. Regarding the importance of education in Islam, one of the highly known Islamic scholars in the research area (hereinafter I will refer to him as *Maulana*<sup>71</sup>) whom I interviewed in Quetta city, elucidated the three sources (*Quran*, *Sunnah* and *Hadith*). According to *Maulana*, the pursuit of knowledge is considered a form of worship in Islam. Islam made the acquisition of knowledge a priority obligation for all Muslims. Scholars, teachers and students are blessed in Islam (Tirmidhi<sup>72</sup>). Quran has accentuated time and again that the foundation of Islam is learning. The first revelation from Allah to the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be Upon Him) was an instruction – the instruction of ‘reading’. He was asked to '*Iqra*' meaning ‘read’. “Read in the name of thy Lord who created ..... ” (Quran). The Quran repeatedly mentions the importance of knowledge and education; for instance, see Quran 30:22, 36:36, 39:9, 58:11 and so on.

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<sup>71</sup> Islamic scholars are address as *Maulana* in Pakistan and India.

<sup>72</sup> A book of *Hadith* (Sayings of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH))

For the second source; i.e. the *Sunnah* (Prophet's practices), *Maulana* said that the Prophet (PBUH) himself continuously would go to the Cave of *Hira*<sup>73</sup> to receive his revelation (knowledge) from the Angel Gabriel and would come and impart the same to his followers in *Masjid Nabavi*.<sup>74</sup> He added that Islam doesn't restrict Muslims to any specific source of education as long as it is beneficial; though he suggested that the elders should keep an eye on their children's learning sources so that they get only useful information and education. In response to my inquiry on 'what is useful education?' *Maulana* replied that "any type of education which does not take away your morality and does not shatter your belief system is useful education." With regard to the importance of education in Islam, *Maulana* further stated that the holy Prophet once issued the orders of release of those prisoners of war (though they were non-Muslims) who could teach the Muslim children. This act of the holy Prophet underlines the fact that education can be received from any source. He also narrated the following story to glorify the importance of education in Islam, which is emphasized through practice of the holy Prophet:

According to a tradition reported by Abdullah Ibn Amr (May Allah be pleased with him) and transmitted by Darimi (May Allah bless him), once Allah's Messenger (Peace be Upon Him) happened to pass by two groups in the mosque and he said: Both of them are good, but one is superior to the other. One group is beseeching Allah and praying Him. If He so wishes, He will confer upon them and if He so wishes He will withhold. As for those who are acquiring the

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<sup>73</sup> A cave in the Mount Hira near Maccah in Saudi Arabia.

<sup>74</sup> Prophet's Mosque in Madina in Saudi Arabia.

understanding of religion and its knowledge and are busy in teaching the ignorant, they are superior. No doubt, I have been sent as a teacher. He then sat down amongst them.

Besides the Quranic emphasis on education, we find many sayings of the Holy Prophet on this subject. Highlighting upon the third source, *Maulana* stated that there are dozens of *Hadiths* (sayings of the Prophets PBUH) emphasizing the significance of education. The Prophet has said: “Attain knowledge from the cradle to the grave”. Then the Prophet said: “Acquire knowledge even if you have to travel to China.” This *Hadith* reveals two things; one, you should receive education as far as you can travel for it; second, any form of schooling that does not oppose one’s faith is beneficial, even if it entails travel to a non-Muslim country with no Islamic education.

Generally, the importance of education was highly emphasized by religious entities in the research, be that religious scholars, Madrasah teachers and/or religious-minded parents. Nonetheless, among the religious scholars (and some parents as well), Islamic education was a complete way of life, which therefore required that the spiritual side of education be emphasized. *Maulana* from Quetta, Balochistan argued:

Islam is not a religion in the ordinary sense of the word. It is a *din*, meaning a complete code of life, which is to be adopted in its entirety. Islam combines our activities in this world and in the hereafter and instructs us and our children to acquire knowledge that benefits a human in both worlds.

– *Maulana* from Quetta

There were certain families (ranging between 10-20% from one location to the other) coming from mixed SES (mid and high), opted for religious education without any thoughts of proper education, but mainly to fulfill obligations of Islam – which orders every Muslim man and woman to seek knowledge and provide religious knowledge to their children also. For them, necessary knowledge was only religious knowledge and their goal was achieving contentment and will of Allah not any economic gains. Moreover, for them economic needs for a living could be fulfilled through any type of work (with or without formal education). A parent from one of the research locations expressed his views as:

This world is temporary, we should be thinking of the eternal life – and the path to that is through religious education which helps us shape our lives according to the instructions of Allah and his Messenger (PBUH).

- A father from village Malakaan

There has been a general perception among U.S. and European development actors and some political scientists, and some ‘progressive minded people’ (Hoodboy, 2005) in Pakistan, that religious bodies (Islamic scholars, Islamic political parties and Madaaris) stand against modern secular education. However, my data do not support this argument. None of the Islamic scholars that I met during my research, in urban and rural areas, believed that children should not acquire modern education to meet the livelihood needs in the contemporary materialistic (as several of them defined it) world. Indeed, religious leaders were more likely than parents to argue that “modern education” should be included in religious schools as well (not just modern schools, as most parents argued). For example, *Maulana* argued that historically Madaaris were the main source of all kind of enlightenment in Muslim societies; they have produced great

scholars, scientists and mathematicians. Thus, Madaaris should suffice to achieve the goals of surviving and economically thriving in the contemporary world. Another common argument made is that parents and religious leaders oppose girls' education. Certainly, more girls than boys of school-going age were out of school in the catchment area—roughly 50% to 60%. But the girls (and some boys) being out of school was not attributed, as is sometimes done in current literature, to a blanket socio-religious opposition to girls' education (Noureen and Awan, 2011). For example, *Maulana* stated that:

Those who oppose girls' education are not following and/or representing real Islam.

Islam has instructed both men and women to receive education. As in one of the *Hadith* the Prophet said: "Acquiring of knowledge is obligatory to every Muslim male and female".

– *Maulana* from Quetta

Another religious leader from our research location suggested mass education and awareness for all, and was of the view to give equal importance to male and female education; he said and I quote:

Islam says that obtaining education is an obligation for all Muslim men and all Muslim women, there is no doubt about it, and I am in favor of education for both genders; however, religious education should be given priority."

– A male Madrasah Administrator from village Malakaan

However, several religious scholars, including *Maulana*, were strongly proposing that girls' schooling should be segregated from the boys, they should be taught by female teachers, and girls should commute to and from the school in proper Islamic dress code. I would say that the argument here is not for girls and boys to attend the same schools, but for a separate

education system for girls. This stance, which is rooted in arguments about the morality of different practices (e.g., girls and boys mixing together, girls being seen in public in certain dress, etc.), de facto creates a situation in which girls' education is a distant priority to boys' education, and could look entirely different. For example, if there is no female teacher or there is no separate school, the girls will be left out, resulting in marginalization of 51% of the Pakistani population.

Religious belief shapes parents' and religious leaders' ideas about what would constitute an acceptable education for boys and girls. While boys' public education was seldom described as a moral threat by parents or religious leaders, girls' presence in public spaces, their mixing with boys, and their mixing with men were viewed by some as dangerous to the girls and to society. The best way to overcome these potential problems, according to religious leaders, was simply to focus on religious education, where the potential moral failures of secular schooling would not be present.

Some religious scholars have argued that modern western knowledge is extracted from western secular values and is inappropriate for Muslims because of its secular associations (Halstead, 2004). Other scholars have argued that Muslims should be open to receiving all kind of information. They maintained that "in the minds of good Muslims ... every bit of information or idea from any source whatsoever, can be Islamized or put in its right and proper place within the Islamic vision of truth and reality" (Wan Daud, 1998, p. 309).

In my research locations, parents and leaders were actively engaging the relationship between religious and secular modern education, and most were trying to 'maintain a balance'

between these two. The balance differed by class and gender, as will be further described below, but the notion of a balance remained an important one to many respondents. The theme which came out most prominently from these efforts to “balance” was how to conceptualize and accomplish the formal or informal integration of modern secular education with Islamic education and knowledge. As noted earlier, for most parents, the concept and objectives of each of these types of education was different: modern secular education was supposed to accomplish economic gains and development in the current world, and religious education was supposed to fulfill their spiritual needs now and in the future (Nelson, 2006).

*Madrasah – The Islamic Educational Institution:*

In general, Mosques and Madaaris were the oldest social and religious educational institutions in our research areas. These Madaaris were the basic and middle level – somewhat equivalent to the level of secular primary and middle schools. A little less than a quarter of the parents (mostly poor) sent their children to Madaaris for religious education. At Madaaris, students either spent most of the day time (if it was closer to home) or resided there for longer periods. Most of the parents (90%) who sent their children to Madrasah were satisfied with their choice and generally had no complaints regarding its curriculum, teaching staff or future prospects. The parents choosing exclusively Madaaris for their children’s education had no expectations other than provision of Islamic religious education in addition to the basic literacy. Our data reveals that there were mainly two reasons for sending children to Madrasah; 1) for majority, religious – fulfillment of an Islamic obligation to provide Islamic knowledge to their children; and, 2) for a few, affordability – as both private and public schooling costs were higher than that of a Madrasah.



During our interactions with Madrasah officials, we noticed that they were of the view that imparting education to the young generation at their door steps through existence of Mosque and Madrasah was not only a service but also a ritual obligated by Islam. In a total contrast to the private sector (making money out of education provision, in other words selling knowledge), Madrasah officials were morally opposed to financially charging communities (poor or rich) for receiving knowledge. For them education should be a free and accessible commodity to all segments of the society. However, they still needed financial resources to run the institutions. Support to Mosque and Madrasah, particularly financial, from the communities was voluntary in contrast to the private sector where financial contribution from parents is mandatory; otherwise, their children cannot be part of their system. They proudly mentioned that they were providing free education (and in most cases free boarding and lodging as well) to all so that none of the people in the society are left behind due to their any sort of inaccessibility and/or disability. According to them:

In Islam education is not something to be sold. It is and has always been a free commodity. We are giving free education, free accommodation and free books to all students. Thanks to the kind hearted people who donate from time to time.”

– A male Madrasah Administrator from village Baacha Khan.

*Education for This World and the World-After:*

Families from the middle or higher SES opted for both traditional Islamic and modern education, with an objective to fulfill their religious obligation as well as acquire modern education for economic purposes. Such an approach requires considerable resources. I also met a few households who were sending a few of their children to a Madrasah and others to a modern

school, with the intent of fulfilling their religious obligation as well as achieving economic gains. This parental approach clarifies the underlying assumption that the two forms of schooling accomplish very different ends; when families are poorer, sending some children to accomplish one end and other children to accomplish the other end may appear to parents to offer an affordable approach to assuring current and future wellbeing for the entire family.

Amongst those advocating for religious education, around 50% of respondent parents also wanted their children's education to be complemented by modern education. Almost all of them (over 85% in Quetta and Pishin) sent their children to the nearest mosque as well the private or public schools available in their village. In the same locations, I also met parents (around 1/3<sup>rd</sup>) who sent their children to both the local Madrasah and the private or public school. The schools teach only one subject "Islamiyat" in each grade. The children attending both the institutions, were full time school students but not full-time Madrasah students; after their regular schools they would go to a Madrasah in the afternoons (and weekends all day) and study religion. In addition, I met a parent, who, among his children (all boys), sent half to a modern school and half to a Madrasah with a rationale, as he presented:

I am trying to make both lives better – so half {children} for this world and half {children} for the other {meaning sending half children to school and half to Madrasah} – school for this world and Madrasah for the coming one.

– A father from village Malakaan Pishin

Islam considers education as 'the best gift' for children' therefore, Muslim parents feel religiously obliged to provide the best education. There is also a concept of punishment for parents if they do provide or neglect their children's education (various verses from Quran and

*Hadiths* from the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)). I argue that parents make such decisions to achieve the reward in the world hereafter and children's assistance in family subsistence for now. However, these decisions are normally based more on the children's capabilities, attitudes or more inclination towards a specific type of education. In early childhood parents make these decisions that so and so will go to Madrasah and others to a school. Also, to a greater extent, since the modern and public schools in Pakistan do not provide 'sufficient' religious education, parents supplement with other sources.

The recent introduction of the newer private Islamic schools is also considered a response to such needs of the Pakistani society. They provide a newer approach to the integration of the Quarnic knowledge and the modern secular subjects to address the needs of the middle class religious minded masses in Pakistan (Riaz, 2012). It is claimed, particularly by the religious authorities, that Pakistan's modern education is an extraction of the British legacy (Farah, et al, 2006), which alienates the religious values and traditions (Riaz, 2002). Madaaris are obstructing the influence of western ideologies through provision of Islamic education (Qasim, 2005) and are considered to be the protectors of faith's ideology (Zaman, 1999 and 2002). However, contemporary Madrasah education was considered to be out-dated and not meeting the needs of the contemporary Muslim society by several educationists from within Pakistan and outside the country (Singer, 2001); and its graduates cannot compete in the modern job market (Rahman, 2004). The majority of the Muslim Pakistani population belongs to middle and low middle class; they desire to find a way that their children are prepared for the present-day economic challenges as well as be good Muslims. Such purposes can neither be completely fulfilled by the public and private schools nor by the traditional Madaaris (Riaz, 2012). Therefore, as Riaz (2004) further noted, to meet the middle class values, economic needs and status interests, the model of private

Islamic education emerged. It was also an attempt to narrow the gap of class segregation of English medium educated and the non-English schools graduates (Khan, 2005).

The concept of the new Islamic or the private Islamic schools (Riaz, 2014), which we briefly discussed above and in chapter 2, was appreciated by several parents; however, none of their children (except one household from village Baacha Khan in Quetta district) was attending such schools because of their non-availability in and around the research locations. The one family, from a better SES level, who was sending their son to such a school had to take him around 15 kilometers away to Quetta city every day by car, which cost the family time (back and forth) and money (fee, books, uniform, food, transportation, etc.) and a company of an adult with the child to and from the household. Mos could not access the facilities because they are exclusively urban-based, and they charge tuition fees that are unaffordable for the majority rural population of Balochistan. Although these schools were not mostly addressing the two pressing issues of class (financially unaffordable for the many poor) and geography (mainly being urban-based), they provided girls to comparatively better quality education by providing separate girls-only classes at the higher level of schooling.

#### *Education as a Mean of Class Status Quo:*

Interestingly, compared to the parental point of view associating modern education with individual and national economic prosperity, the public school teachers generally talked differently. Only one teacher shared parents' point of view. Other teachers felt education was an effective process and medium of communication between/among the generations; where benefits from the individual and societal experiences of the generation or generations ahead of them or

following them are channeled. I argue that education, to them, was a channel of class reproduction within that particular society or family; i.e. the educated channel the information and legacy through education (or schools) to the following generation so that another educated generation is produced. One teacher said:

Better thoughts, new ideas and useful knowledge and experiences cannot be transferred among generations without proper education.

– A public school male teacher from village Malakaan

A young educated parent from Baacha Khan village (who was a teacher in a public sector college in Quetta city), while talking about various streams of education, pointed to the existing Pakistani education system as creator and maintainer of a class system which suits the ruling elite of the country. He was of the view the entire purpose of the education provided was “to maintain a status quo of different layers of the society – the ruling, the working, and the servants.” He said that he was educated in public schools and colleges until his graduate level studies. When the position of a college level lecturer was advertised by the government, he could not pass the employment test because his English was weak, and the test was all in English. After all the employment processes a graduate from ‘Federal College<sup>75</sup>’ was selected. However, he said, that he started concentrating on improving his English language right away and studied in a private English language learning center in Quetta city – for which he had to pay extra fee, pay for transport, buy expensive books and spend a lot of time. After an investment of time and money, in the next round of competition after a year and a half, he was successful to pass the exam. He further said that not only his family but almost all people in his village were poor and

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<sup>75</sup> An elite English-medium college in Quetta city.

could not afford to arrange extra tuition to for their children compete and succeed in these provincial and federal level competitive examinations.

To sum up the discussion on the concept of education, the importance of knowledge and the processes of education, I argue that education has always been a topic of interest, concern and controversy. The analyses above show that all the stakeholders – parents, teachers, institutional administrators, from both the modern as well as religious sectors -- agree that education plays an important role in child's personality, cognitive and physical growth. Based on the findings of the research conducted for this thesis, I am also confident in claiming that all the stakeholders agree on providing equal opportunities to all, including boys and girls, without any sort of discrimination as long as it (education and/or knowledge) addresses the three objectives: i.e. *Tarbiya*, *Ta'dib* and *ta'lim*. Indeed, most of the respondents also concurred, that provision of education to girls was as important as to the boys; nonetheless, the religiously inclined people emphasized that girls should be taught in an Islamic environment. The statistics discussed in the previous chapters on the status of education in Pakistan in general and in Balochistan in particular, however, highlighted a wide gender disparity in institutional presence (for instance, access), attendance (e.g. safety) and achievements (i.e. quality), in both the modern and religious institutions, affecting choice. Parents in our research locations had reasons to send or not the children to schools; however, these reasons somewhat differed for boys and girls. I argue that there is a big breach between what people say and what they practice in reality, which will further be discussed and analyzed in the following sections.

Needless to say, that major divide still remained on the purpose and processes of education imparted by the various institutions. Majority of the religious entities would argue that

all types of education should be molded into religious perspectives aiming at responding to the dual purposes of human existence; i.e. economic and spiritual uplift. On the contrary to Islamic education, the modern education emphasis was merely on the progression and social and economical growth of a child in the world in which s/he is living, as the religious entities perceived. In our research location parental attitude and practices; hence, preferential choices, sometimes, were not hindered by the access or the quality; but were guided by the sense they were making of education. For instance, though some of the houses were in nearer vicinity to a Public school and Madrasah; still they were sending their children to a private schools as they mentioned that they; i) could afford the costs of private school, ii) were looking for quality education for their children, and, iii) had a positive opinion regarding future prospects in terms of outcome. On the other hand, some of the parents who had modern schools closer to their homes than a Madrasah; yet opted for a Madrasah. For such parents major reasons were to follow the religious instructions of educating their children and fulfilling an Islamic obligation.

On the other hand, to many parents (more than 70%) advocating for modern education and schooling, contemporary Madaaris were functional totally for a different purpose – only religious education, which is good for spirituality but no more for economic and social uplift of Muslims, as they historically used to be. And, to many public school poor parents, private schools (the ones available to them in the research locations) were just for a small wealthy class of the society. A parent sums up the educational and institutional comparison in the following words:

Neither the Madrasah nor the Private School – It's only the public school education which is accessible and, to some extent, beneficial to the middle class of the society. At

least they provide free education and their teachers are the most qualified among Madrasah and Private sector teachers. I don't have a good opinion regarding Madrasah and its education. Their education is outdated and no more beneficial and relevant to the world. They are not playing a positive role as they historically used to. I don't see any benefit of the private schools either because they represent only a small portion of the society. You see in the developed world they do not encourage private schools because in public schools they give good and equal education to all the children of the society.

– A father from village Baacha Khan

I would argue that education in general is multi-facet and multi-dimensional in itself; however, school systems take care of the purposes the way the people want them to be; for instance, the emergence of the new private Islamic schools is actually a response to the desire of the people – integration Islamic and secular education. Most parents viewed the goal of schooling as primarily to support wellbeing in this world; therefore, they would make a “choice” for the type of education (between private and public) which serves this purpose for them. Schooling was a path to basic survival and they (due to various constraints) thought that only public schooling could help them achieve that objective. On the other hand, for those who could invest time and resources, the purpose of education was larger; they hoped for upward social mobility through schooling. Therefore, they looked for ‘quality education.’ Further, parents emphasized that the secular school should not conflict with religious teachings. The concept and purposes of secular schooling are equally applicable across all classes (and perhaps more necessary for poor children), but they are not equally applicable across genders, as mostly, only boys are supposed to achieve financial security. However, to minimize the disparities and achieve collective educational goals from the modern secular education and schooling, perhaps it



is really more appropriate for girls and boys to be separated after a certain age at least, so that girls' access problems are minimized. The issue of access will be discussed in the next section in detail.

Religious education, on the other hand, mainly serves the purpose of spirituality and morality for the Muslim societies of the world in general and Pakistan in particular. Schooling in this sector operates differently in its logic at various levels (Mosques and Madaaris). Religious schooling has different purposes and is required equally of all families. Children may not be able to enroll full time in Madrasah and/or a secular school but all children can go to Mosques and they basically do. This logic operates at the mosque level, at least until girls hit the age of puberty, but it does not operate for Madaaris, where only poor children de facto go. Indeed, the views and practices of all the stakeholders, particularly parents, varied based on their education, knowledge, class, gender and geography. In general, education and schooling was classified into compartments – Islamic education handling the morals and modern secular education taking care of the economy. This is reflected consistently throughout the analysis, which will reflect in the following sections of this chapter.

## **4.2. Institutional Access (Distance & Affordability):**

The 1973 Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan has promised to its citizens in its Article 37 (b) & (c) that:

The State shall remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory education within the minimum possible period; make technical and professional education generally available; and higher education equally accessible by all on the basis of merit.

According to the Education for All 2015 National Review Report, one key policy reform with positive implications for education was the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment in the Constitution by the National Assembly of Pakistan in April 2010 and insertion of Article 25-A. Following the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment, free access to school education was recognized as a fundamental constitutional and enforceable right of all children of age 5 to 16 years. Article 25-A of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan states:

State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law.

In light of the above directions, the government of Pakistan is obliged to provide free and compulsory education to its masses without any discrimination. However, around 25 million children (13.6 million girls and 11.4 million boys) between the age of 5 and 16 are still out of school (Alif Ailaan, 2014). An estimated 70% of these out of school children had never been in a school (ibid). On the other hand, 13% of girls and 5% boys dropout from the schools were merely because of the distance to school and travel time (Alif Ailaan, 2014). The same report further noted that because of poverty and unavailability of sufficient low-cost transportation,

76% of public school children daily commute to schools on foot. In Pakistan in general and in rural far remote areas in particular, a notable number of households still do not have any schools close to their home (PILDAT, 2008; Mustafa, 2004) and the high level dissatisfaction from the education in Pakistan partly stems from the deficit of access (Aziz et al, 2012). For instance, for 22,000 settlements in Balochistan, there were only approximately 13,000 schools available (District Profiles Balochistan, 2011).

In Pakistan, 17% of girls and 15% of boys drop out of school because their parents believe that education was too expensive (ASER, 2013). In Balochistan the situation is grimmer because of poverty (multidimensional poverty = 71%, while at national level it is 60%) and lack of resources (UNDP Pakistan, June 2016). The vast majority of the poor rural public school parents in our research locations were not paying a fixed monthly fee but had to pay all the other costs associated with the schooling and education.

As mentioned above, physical and financial access to education and schooling are the crucial issues for majority of the poor in Pakistan. Undoubtedly, this is more true in case of girls, where parents prefer single-sex schooling for their daughters. Farah (2007), while analyzing the Pakistan Integrated Household Survey (PIHS) of the previous years, pointed out that the past decade has shown the highest dropout rates with minor variations, particularly for students transitioning from elementary to middle (and high) schools. Girls' dropout rates are comparatively higher than those of boys in both rural and urban areas. According to the ASER (2013) report, in Balochistan, 34% of school age children (between the age 6 and 16) were out of schools in 2013; among them 25.5% were never enrolled in any school – girls comparatively more than the boys (Farah, et al 2006; Farah, 2007). In the school “choice” literature, particularly

in a less developed country like Pakistan, the role of physical access has been fairly extensively explored as a factor in parents' decisions to enroll their children in school (Lloyd, et al, 2002). Moreover, studies conducted in South Asia show that the communities that have an educational institution available in close proximity enhance the probability of enrollment and retention, particularly among the girls from the same community (Chudgar and Shafiq 2010). The findings of my study are in line with the findings of the studies conducted by Lloyd et al. (2002) and Chudgar and Shafiq (2010) in various rural settings of South Asia, confirming that children's, particularly girls' enrollment in rural Pakistan, is highly responsive to the proximity of a school, and for girls the proximity of an all girls' public school inside the village (Lloyd, et al, 2002). However, gender disparity is common throughout the province of Balochistan (Umer et al, 2016; Tarar and Pulla, 2014), including our research location, which we will discuss in detail in the following. Indeed, in our research locations, some of the schools were though closer to homes; but financial affordability of schooling was one of the major obstacles for several households to access these schools in research locations because of the prevailing chronic poverty (Jamal, 2017). The aforementioned facts highlight a large gap between policy directives and the real situation on the ground, as well as between what the people say and what they do and experience. The following section discusses the role of physical distance, safety and security, affordability, political interferences, and prevailing culture causing hindrances or promoting access to schooling and education across the three streams (public, private and madrasah) .

### *Physical Distance:*

Balochistan is the least developed, least populated and the largest province of Pakistan covering around 43% of the total landmass of the country. The province is sparsely populated in scattered 22,000 settlements. However, according to the Pakistan Education Statistics (2014-15) there were a little over 13,000 public (primary, middle and high) schools available for them. Girls-only schools made less than one-third (around 3,900) of the total figures. Had the state wished all the children to be schooled, the data indicate that thousands more sex-segregated were needed to reach out to all these settlements (Balochistan District Profiles-2011). In Balochistan most schools (86%) are still public schools (Pakistan Education Statistics, 2014-15; ASER, 2013); many researchers claim that state is the only institution that has the capacity to reach the vast majority of the population and often to finance education in remote areas (Lall, 2012; Zia, 2010; Retallick 2009; UNESCO 2002).

In my study, more than half (60%) of families were sending their children to public schools. The second largest group of parents

(almost a quarter) had enrolled their children in private schools to receive modern education; of this 25%, almost all were parents of young children, majority educated with at least grade 10 and

**Table: 12. Approximate Distance Between the HH and Educational Institutions**

<b>Location: Village/District</b>	<b>Type of Educational Institution</b>	<b>Apprx. Distance in KM</b>
<b>Baacha Khan/ Quetta</b>	Mosques	0.5 – 1
	Public Schools	1 – 2
	Low-fee Private School	1 – 2
	Madrasah	3 – 4
	Elite Schools/Modern Islamic Schools	15 Quetta
<b>Khan Baba/ Quetta</b>	Mosques	0.5 – 1
	Public Schools	1 – 3
	Low-fee Private School	2
	Madrasah	1 – 3
	Elite Schools/Modern Islamic Schools	24 Quetta
<b>Malakaan/Pishin</b>	Mosques	0.5 – 1
	Public Schools	1 – 3
	Low-fee Private School	1 – 2
	Madrasah	2 – 3
	Elite Schools/Modern Islamic Schools	27 Pishin 80 Quetta

living within 1 to 3 kilometers of the private primary schools. Public primary, middle and high schools were available in all the research villages. However, most of the private schools were up to primary level. Combing the claims of available literature (Alif Ailaan, 2014; Aly, 2007; Alderman et al, 2003) and the views of my research participants, I came up with the three most common reasons for non-availability of higher level private schools;

- i) Since private schools are relatively newer phenomena in rural Balochistan so far, they mainly cater to primary or middle grades at the village level.
- ii) There is a lack of higher level qualified teachers<sup>76</sup>; and,
- iii) There was no demand at all for the higher level private schools because of inability to afford them.<sup>77</sup>

All these public and private schools were located within a radius of between one to four kilometers; for some children they were at a walking distance, while for others it was a good bicycle, van or a car ride. The higher level private schools were largely located in urban centers such as Quetta and Pishin, at a distance between 14 to 24 kilometers. My data support the argument that a strong public school system is essential for access, because private education opportunities cluster in more urban areas and cater to better off families. The role of the state is crucial; left only to the market, there would be no school system in very poor rural areas (Chudgar (2014).

The state has openly admitted to the facts on the ground, as mentioned in several State's official documents and policies.<sup>78</sup> The most important reason for non-enrollment or dropout is

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<sup>76</sup> Availability of even a qualified primary level teacher was mentioned as one of the biggest challenges by two low-fee private school administrators.

<sup>77</sup> Several of our respondents stated that if they could financially afford, they would prefer sending their children to private schools with better academic and physical facilities in the urban centers like Quetta and Pishin.

that students live a longer distance from school and lack physical facilities in schools<sup>79</sup> (National Plan of Action, Ministry of Education, 2001); both of these factors are the biggest hindrances, particularly for girls. In all of our research locations, distance from a school was mentioned as one of the basic determinant for child's enrollment in a particular school, particularly by parents with low socio-economic status (SES). Most of the parents (70%) wished for a school closer to their doorsteps because they could not afford to arrange for transportation and/or to accompany the child to school (for security reasons) on daily basis. This was further emphasized in case of girls and primary level young children. As one parent said:

No doubt, the government has established several schools in the area; but still they are far from our homes; too tough for small children to walk in severe weathers.

– A mother from village Malakaan

In general, among the two, public schools were the most accessible institution (in terms of distance as well as affordability) for the parents who wished to provide a modern education to their children in all the three locations. Indeed, during research, the actuality was time and again brought to our attention by the public school officials. Several officials acknowledged that public sector schooling was not meeting all the required standards of good modern education, still it was the only available source for parents to school their children at their door steps; hence, in other words there was a tradeoff between the access and quality. Our data shows an alignment between the views of some parents (discussed above) with public officials. Though they

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<sup>78</sup> Various National Program of Actions and National Education Policies

<sup>79</sup> For instance, see National Plan of Action, Ministry of Education, 2001; the District Development Profiles 2011, Government of Balochistan.

compromised over the quality, those parents were contented that there was at least a school and their children were attending that. A public sector official in Quetta stated:

I know there might be some complaints against our school's performance, particularly in the far flung rural areas; however, people should acknowledge the fact that we are not a developed country, our education may not be the best, but children are at least getting some free education at their door steps.

- A public sector education department official in Quetta.

As mentioned in chapter 2, though the government education statistics of 2014-15 show the number of Madaaris (around 3,000) less than the public schools (around, 13,000) in Balochistan; nevertheless, these figures identify only those registered with the government. There is a large number of unregistered Madaaris (and also bigger Mosques) which brings the number closer to or even higher than the secular schools. Indeed, almost all the 22,000 settlements of Balochistan province have access to Mosques within the village. Although mosques do not provide formal education, as madaaris do, they impart basic Quranic knowledge and basic literacy to children of the community in the mornings and afternoons for 1-2 hours (Anzar, 2003). Parents have an option directly on their doorsteps –Mosque Education – and almost all take it. The other education option they have is relatively close to them – public schooling – and many but not all take this. Then the parents have an option that is limited and far away and only wealthy (and some educated) can or do take this – the private schools. And then for poorer parents, Madrasah becomes an option that they take sometimes as well.

As compare to the public and private secular educational institutions, more religious institutions (including mosques) were in the proximity of the research locations. More than one



Mosque was present in all the research locations, while two of the research locations (Village Malakaan and village Khan Baba) had a Madrasah within a distance of two kilometers, and the third location (village Baacha Khan) had one farther than 3 kilometers from the center of the village (table above); however some households in our research area had a closer access to Madrasah. Mosques and Madaaris play an important role in Balochistan, especially, in case there were no school in the closer proximity, and if the people wanted their children to be exclusively educated religiously. A parent from the aforementioned household said that:

In these circumstances when there is no school around, I think *Mullah Sahib* (the *Imam* of the Mosque) is giving some knowledge, which I think is sufficient enough for them {the children} to differentiate between good and bad and know the way to offer their rituals.

- A mother from village Malakaan

My data from the household survey, personal interviews with institutional officials, including teachers and administrators, and even interviews with the parents informed me that there was a hidden rivalry between the public and private school officials. However, neither the modern education parents nor the officials showed any sign of competition or rivalry between them and the Madrasah officials. The majority of them considered Madrasah an entirely different stream, not to compete with regards to education. Nonetheless, Madrasah officials emphasized their important social and educational role; they were proud of their dual role playing in the society – providing educational as well as social services through Mosques and Madaaris to the communities at their door steps. The most important concern that was commonly and widely expressed by the Madrasah officials was lack of government financial support to Madaaris as compared to the public and private sector educational institutions. Several of the Madrasah officials that I met and interviewed desired at least some type of legal and financial support as

provided to public sector by the government as well as the international community. By financial support, they meant some administrative costs and teaching staff salaries, and by legal support, they meant full and wide recognition of their diplomas and degrees. *Maulana* and a few other Madrasah officials (two from my research locations) were of the view that if they were provided some academic support (books, supplies and teachers), they would perform better and can fill in the educational gaps where the public sector is unable to reach. They were certain that the educational catchment area (in other words access) would increase with lesser costs to the government and communities than the public and private schools:

We can provide excellent academic opportunities to the communities as well as the government, if we were provided with even half of the financial support that the government schools enjoy. We can teach extra subjects if we could afford recruiting more teachers. Our teachers will perform if they were provided training in modern subjects.

- A Madrasah official in Quetta

I reminded them of the *Maktab* or Mosque school experience that was not very successful. In response, all the three religious scholars (the Madrasah administrators) unanimously said that that was just a ‘kind of bribery’ by General Zia-ul-Haq and an ill-planned initiative to please the religious sector and to seek political support from the Americans to get them involved in the fight against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. However, they firmly believed that Madrasah and government officials and well known Pakistani educationists could devise an effective educational strategy. They felt such efforts would be like the modern Islamic schools (briefly discussed in chapter 3) available in the cities, but would be not-for-profit (almost like the public school structure). On my inquiry for extension to girls’ schools as well,

they repoded that the model could be used for girls and with the passage of time these schools could be extended to single-sex schools as well. However, keeping in view the low literacy rates among women, they were not sure if they would be able to find female teachers soon.

*Safety and Security as Concern:*

During the last two to three decades, the province of Balochistan has witnessed a large number of ethnic, sectarian, political and law and order events, which adversely affected the lives of the people in the province. The research locations are situated in the circle of the overall unrest. Quetta and Pishin districts have particularly been highly affected by these incidents. Quetta, being the largest city and the provincial capital, has seen the largest number of devastating suicide bombing, ethnic, religious and sectarian violence, and separatist insurgency (struggling for separating Baloch inhabitant areas of the province from Pakistan) and target killing during the past decade, compelling a large number of school closures and mobility restriction of young children and females. Moreover, the province of Balochistan in general and the districts of Quetta and Pishin are heavily affected by the political instability and wars in the neighboring Afghanistan and Iran. All the three locations are in the closer proximity of Afghan-Pakistan border and are faced with a large influx of Afghan refugees, particularly the village Khan Baba.

In our research locations almost all the parents, particularly the poor (70%) who could not afford transportation to and from the school, showed great concern over the overall prevailing law and order circumstances. Parents were even more concerned when the school was far, the household did not have a group of children to walk together, or there was no adult male

to accompany children to schools. In many cases, as a few parents mentioned, in case they were unable to access schools closer to their homes, they might even consider not sending their small children and girls to a school because of security and safety concerns; hence, a child, particularly a girl, remains without education. Parents prioritized children safety over education, especially in Khan Baba village. I came across two poor households whose (female) children were out of school because the schools were far away (at a distance of around 2 kilometers), there was no secure transportation, and there was no adult, preferably a male and an older lady, to accompany the child to and from the school on daily basis. One of them informed me that a mother was alone in the house and the father had to leave home very early (before sunrise) for his work and return late. The other household's male was working in Quetta city and was visiting home only over the weekends. The grandmother was too weak to walk long distances every day and cross the busy highway on their route. However, the children from both the households were attending the village local Mosque for Quranic education. The Mosques were about half a kilometer away from one house and less than a kilometer from the other. Children from the households considered it safe because of their closer vicinity. A parent from one of the same household showed her concern in the following words:

You know {talking to the scribe} the law and order situation is also not good these days, it's better for them {children} to stay home than going far away to schools.

– A mother from village Khan Baba

In short, regardless of the variety of types of schools in Pakistan, many researchers noted that unavailability of accessible schools in rural regions was one of the top reasons that girls and their parents have mentioned in many studies for not attending school (Plan-International

Pakistan, 2012; Naz, 2011; Wheat, 2010; Qureshi, 2004). Class distinction was obvious in research location – big families with wealth could afford to provide their children a safe environment and safe mode of transportation to attend school and receive an education (Tarar and Pulla (2014); while the poor class of the society had to think twice before making any decision of schooling and education. Poor older girls were the most adversely affected segment of the society, because as soon as they enter the age of puberty they have to observe local cultural ethics, such as *purdah* (veil), do not ride bicycles and motorbikes and do not walk alone; thus resulting in her seclusion from the societal affairs (Tarar and Pulla 2014), including receiving and imparting education (Kumar and Verghese, 2005).

#### *Financial Affordability:*

The second constitutional point – providing education without any discrimination – is also not fulfilled in its true spirit. Pakistan has two tiers of public education; i.e. elite public schooling and the vernacular Urdu medium public schooling. There are wide and prominent differences in all aspects of schooling between the two (Naseem, 2010); for instance, teaching and administrative staff, curriculum, physical infrastructure, educational environment and so on (Alif Ailaan, 2016; Andrabi, et al, 2012)). These two tiers, though administered by the state, have entirely different clientele (Rahman, 2004; Naseem, 2004). The elite of Pakistan, military officials, government bureaucrats, high civil officials, business tycoons and landlords send their children to these public elite schools and/or elite private schools (Rahman, 2004). Middle and lower middle class parents have no options, as Rahman, (2004) noted, but to send their children to Urdu medium vernacular schools or low-fee private schools, which are at the lowest of all

educational standards of secular education. Furthermore, the elite schools are mostly urban-based and accessible to the urban population.

According to our household data, none of the parents mentioned ‘no cost’ to them for sending their children to even the non-elite common public schools. Parents, particularly belonging to the lower economic stratum, negated the claims of the government providing free education to its masses. As one of the parents points out:

They {the government} claims that education is free – where is it free? I still have to pay for yearly fee, children’s uniforms, their books, their school supplies, their transportation and their food. Besides, teachers always ask for money for this thing or that thing. We are really tired of these expenses. – A father from village Baacha Khan

According to the Alif Ailaan’s 2015 survey, cost of education for a primary level student was around Rs. 28,000 in public schools and around Rs. 54,000 in private schools per annum (see page xi for details), which comes to above Rs. 2,000 and around Rs. 4,500 per month respectively (average for the country including both urban and rural). However, our data from the research sites reported significantly lower figures. According to our data, public school costs ranged on average between 60 and 200 rupees per month for the primary level; the cost increases as the students go towards middle and high schools (increased costs of books and supplies in particular). Likewise, the low-fee private schools costs ranged between rupees 500 – 1200 per month in our research locations. The gap between the national Alif Ailaan’s and our data figures are probably due to the difference in the transportation costs, which were not very high in our locations, because majority of the students used bicycles or walked to their schools. With regard to the private schooling cost, Alif Ailaan’s sample included all – low, middle and high level,

while our sample included only low-fee private schools. Like in many areas of the country, since majority of the population lived below the poverty line in our research locations, even such a low cost associated with the public schooling was also considered a financial burden by the poor parents (Rahman, 2004). Madaaris, on the other hand, however, provided free education, but they were, as many parents thought, good largely for spiritual, moral and religious education (Bano, 2012; Nelson, 2006). Parents across the three locations considered this divide (between modern secular education and religious education) more natural. There were only a few parents (less than 10%) who thought that a Madrasah could fulfill both the purposes; i.e. spiritual and economic simultaneously. These 10% were mostly religious leaders (e.g. *Imams*).

If we take a closer look at the average costs and expenditures of the three systems of education in Pakistan discussed in chapter 2 and 3, we notice inequalities with regard to geography and class. School affordability was the second biggest concern for parents (almost 70%) while choosing their children's education and schooling. In our research location, most parents (both educated and uneducated and fathers and mothers) showed their concern over the persistent inequalities and were very vocal regarding state's role and responsibilities, which according to them were not fulfilled with sincerity. A parent from our research location felt neglected and criticized the dual face of the government, promoting inequalities, in the following words:

We have long been crying for help {in education}, but nobody listens to poor – in big {elite} schools every child is offered a good place to sit, a good book to read, and a variety of food to eat, at least five to seven types at a time; but here our children don't have even water to drink.

– A father from village Malakaan

On the other hand, however, public schooling was the main and probably the only option for majority of the rural and poor parents (65%) in our target areas. Since they wanted their children to be educated through modern schools, public sector was the only less-expensive source among the limited available sources, which could at least bring them a little closer to their desires and dreams. Madrasah, although free, did not provide modern education (beneficial for their everyday living) and private schools were excluded because of their costs; therefore, while making a ‘choice’ they were ready for a compromise. Here, parents’ main concern was at least some sort of free access to modern education:

Neither the Madrasah nor the Private School – It’s only the public school education which is accessible, and to some extent, beneficial to the lower class of the society. At least they provide less expensive education. – A father from village Baacha Khan

Since majority of the parents in our research areas belonged to lower socio-economic Status (SES), well below the poverty line<sup>80</sup> (in Balochistan the poverty rates are as high as 70%), their main concern was to feed the children rather than to educate them.

It is a common practice that the male elders are the main bread-earners (Umer, et al, 2016). Unlike in the west, there is no state

sponsored system of social welfare feeding the families with only seniors and/or minors. If there was no adult male in the home, either the children (well below the age of 18) and/or females

<b>Table – 13: The Average Institutional Costs (as Reported by Parents)</b>	
<b>Institution</b>	<b>Ave. Cost to parents (Pak. Rupees/ per month<sup>1</sup>)</b>
<b>Mosque</b>	0
<b>Madrasah</b>	0 – 1,200
<b>Public School</b>	60 - 200
<b>Private – Low-fee / Modern Islamic Schools</b>	500 – 1,200
<b>Private - Elite</b>	2,000 – 4,500

<sup>80</sup> The World Bank estimates the poverty line to be an earning of less than US\$1.90 per day per person.



would go out to work to feed their families. Children of the very poor in general, and with no adult males in particular, would normally work in auto shops, labor as house servants, or collect garbage on the streets to make a living and help old parents and young siblings (Abdullah et al, 2014). While the women are dependent on tailoring clothes, doing embroidery work and/or work in the homes of rich to make their living and feed their families. In such situations, for them, the short term survival was more important than the long term prosperity (gained through education). Just as Abdullah et al (2014) observed, the parents from our research locations stated that their hand to mouth living status was not letting them spare theirs or their children's time and limited financial resources to attend school. Majority of the respondents (80%) below the income of Pak Rupees 20,000 per month wished if the modern education was completely free for their children so that they were less worried at least in this regard. Poverty in general, was indirectly creating some other hurdles also. For instance, as mentioned earlier, poor parents were unable to send their children, particularly young children and girls, to schools, because of their insecurity while commuting to schools. Our data indicate that it was more prominent particularly among parents with low SES and with female children. On one hand, they could not afford to spare their time to accompany their children to and from schools on daily basis; on the other hand, they could not afford to arrange rented transportation which could ensure their children's safety. Therefore, poverty compelled their children to stay home. These poor parents did not feel themselves capable enough to fulfill the dual duties of education and feeding simultaneously. A parent was of the view that:

It's good to have education, but it's not my priority; I have to feed them at night... that's the main concern for me at present. My children can survive without education but not without food.

– A father from village Malakaan

Another parent, who expressed her interest in educating her children, however, showed her helplessness in the following words:

We want the best for our children, but sometime cannot provide the best, because we are poor – I know if they (children) are not taken care of properly they will meet the same destiny (of poverty) as we are. – A mother from village Khan Baba

Our data reveals that, except a few, majority of the Madrasah students belonged to the lower SES and the poorest, as Rahman (2004) observed while explaining the characteristics of children attending Madaaris. Since parents wanted to educate their children one way or the other; due to chronic poverty Madrasah was probably the only choice left, where they could send their children for education without any financial burden on their shoulders; rather it was helping them with boarding and lodging as well. More than half of parents (60%), among the ones sending their children to Madrasah, were satisfied with their choice as they thought that at least they were fulfilling some rights owing to their children whether it was by choice or compulsion of circumstances.

The primary and secondary level Madaaris had almost no cost to parents since they were in closer proximity of the villages visited; however, some parents reported a small cost associated with Madrasah education (mainly living and transportation) when the student had to go for higher classes and/or traveled to a bigger Madrasah. As reported by parents, cost of Madrasah education ranged between rupees zero to around 1200 (12 US dollars) per month<sup>81</sup>.

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<sup>81</sup> USD 1 = Pak Rupees 100 approximately

This range encircles a variety of religious institutions; for instance, there is zero costs associated to the mosque; the local Madaaris, although do not charge any fee, but there are some other costs associated, such as transportation, supplies, etc. Likewise, education in higher level Madaaris is free too, but needs a student to pay for travel to and from his/her home, living costs, clothing and miscellaneous. As mentioned earlier, each of our research locations had Mosques and a Madrasah in the proximity and all of them were accessible to the people from all walks of life without any discrimination of rich and poor and urban and rural.

Just like views of the parents presented above on selection and prioritization of a specific institution among the public and private sector, around 10% of parents mentioned their choice of Madaaris exclusively on their basis of religious beliefs and hope for a better eternal life. However, on the other hand, for some others sending their children to Madaaris, was a choice based on the circumstances faced by prevailing geographic and class inequalities. A parent from such category presented his thoughts as:

I don't think that Madrasah is chosen by choice but it's only by the situations of poverty. Once a week children come home and they are no more burden on the family. People gain two types of benefits – One, some sort of free basic education, and two, their living is not burden on the poor families. – A father from village Baacha Khan

There was another category of parents (though very small in number, just three in the entire research process) who despite the availability of public, private and/or Madrasah institutions, did not opt for any type of schooling for their children and chose not to send them to any school, including a Madrasah, at all. Parents in this category (not opting for any schooling)

mostly belonged to the religious families; for instance, *Imam* of a Mosque. They showed concerns over modern schools teaching ‘immorality’, particularly among girls. Nonetheless, among these parents almost all of them wanted their children to be religiously educated through a Mosque (available in their village) for a couple of hours during the day where they could learn basics of the religion; i.e. reciting Quran and learning to perform daily basic religious rituals. Indeed girls were the most affected segment of the society in this case (Kakar, et al, 2016), particularly once they came closer to the age of puberty (age 10 – 12), even if they were from the families of *Imams*. However, girls in the *Imams*’ families were advantaged due to the availability of the source of education; i.e. fathers, mothers and brothers, within their homes.

In light of the Islamic teachings, although almost all the religious scholars pressed upon the equal importance of education for girls and boys; unfortunately, like in case of modern schools, the on-ground practice was totally different. As Bano (2012) found through her research, our data also show significant prevalence of an overall gender gap among the Madrasah students as well (Bano, 2012). There was no girls-only Madrasah available in any of the research locations. In response to my question, they mentioned unavailability of human resources (qualified female teachers) to be one of the basic reasons for unavailability of the girls-only Madaris in the vicinity. And also, some of them mentioned, that in absence of such facility, girls can sufficiently be educated by their males in their homes (father, brother, grand-fathers and/or uncles) on the basics of religion to lead an Islamic life. Generally, there was no concept of or need felt for higher religious education for girls among the parents as well as the religious leaders. However, girls below the age of 10-12 years were attending the nearest village mosques for Islamic Quranic education. Girls at the age of puberty, if wished for higher Islamic education,

had to attend a separate girls-only Madrasah administered and taught by females only (Bano, 2012). Many of the parents informed us that girls who could not travel due to poverty and/or cultural restriction to cities, where the girls-only Madaaris were located, dropped out and were unable to continue any sort of education. A few parents who wanted their girls to be religiously educated and could financially afford, invited a religiously literate woman to their home to teach their girls. A parent's point of view was:

It is the responsibility of each and every parent to educate their children, so that they become good Muslims and know their religious rights and obligation. Since we don't have a good arrangement here for our girls, I have arranged a home religious school for my daughters – the *Moura* (Pashto word for the wife of *Imam* = female teacher) comes home and teaches my daughters basic Islamic knowledge.

– A mother from village Khan Baba

I argue that the analysis above show that all variation and differentiation among the parental attitudes and practices are class-based. It is also evident that “choice” requires pretty extensive resources on parents' parts. And, in this sense, while public education is far from perfect, it tries to at least provide access, while private for-profit models just desert poor and rural children. But even better than public schools in this regard are Madaaris, which are truly open and even closer to free for all. Access is fundamentally about class—and class is related to geography, poverty, head of household education and job, number of adults in the household who could walk children to school, and mode of transportation. Different classes send their children, generally, to different schools, not because they have a choice but because they do not have choices—their choices are fully constrained by class.

*Political and Feudal Interference Hindering Access (and Quality):*

In the province of Balochistan, it is one of the common practices (that I learnt while working with the government and private sector in Balochistan) that local people provide land for building construction/installation; such as for schools, health facilities, and drinking water supply schemes. Besides the financial remuneration for the land, the government also promises to appoint a member (or more, depending on the size of the project) from the land-provider family in the facility, either a teacher, health provider (if qualified), a peon (office servant) or a *Choukidar* (school or building caretaker). In general, land ownership, particularly in rural tribal setups, remains with the rich (or the land lord); consequently, the building installation goes closer to the home of land providers, and also, they get the government jobs. There is also evidence that one of the most important factors historically in determining the location of new schools and the allocation of resources to existing schools was pressure from powerful “feudal” or “military officers” in local areas who have the opportunity to gain directly from profitable school construction as well as from the dispensation of political patronage (Alderman et al 1995; Gazdar 1999; Alif Ailaan, 2014). Relevant to the facts mentioned, the author of this thesis would like to share an interesting story. I happened to visit a remote area of Balochistan province along-with a monitoring mission from the World Bank back in 1994. We found that in one of the villages, there were three large and beautiful school buildings<sup>82</sup> constructed within a radius of less than half a kilometer. Two of the said buildings were constructed for the purposes of primary and one for the middle school within the last three to five years. These schools were closed at the time of our visit; we met a teacher (and a resident of the village) in one of these school buildings. On our inquiry, he informed us that one of these buildings was constructed

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<sup>82</sup> One with 4 rooms, the other two with 6 and 7 rooms respectively.

under the Social Action Program (SAP), the second one under the Nai Roshni School program<sup>83</sup> (I saw the sign board as well), while the third one was built through the Member of National Assembly (MNA) government allocated funds. The teacher further told us that one building was permanently closed<sup>84</sup>, the second had only 11 students and the third (middle) school had an enrollment of merely 14 students. There were three teachers appointed for primary schools (to teach 11 students) and seven teachers for middle school (to teach 14 students). I could not find the number of teachers appointed in the “ghost school”. I would like to let the readers know that this is an influential family and there have always been one or two parliament members elected and/or selected from this family since Pakistan’s inception in 1947. During the same area, we saw that at a distance of roughly two kilometers, in another village, there were two female teachers, teaching a little less than two hundred girls and boys primary level grades in a *kachha*<sup>85</sup> building. This school was established under the community support process and the land was provided free of cost by a community member about a year ago. The community elder from this village stated that though their school was overpopulated (almost 200 students studying in two rooms); they could not enroll a single student from their village in any of the public schools located on *Mir’s*<sup>86</sup> lands (the ones we visited earlier), because those schools were supposed to be only for *Mir’s* workers. Majority of the children from *Mir’s* family were either in elite public or private schools in other bigger cities of Pakistan; such as Karachi or Islamabad, added by the community elder. This was an evident example of unequal distribution of power in rural Pakistan

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<sup>83</sup> An educational enhancement program under the late Prime Minister Junejo’s Five Point Development Program.

<sup>84</sup> I was informed by another community member that it was used as ‘Guest House’ of the Mir (tribal head).

<sup>85</sup> Made of mud

<sup>86</sup> Tribal chief

and state's political corruption which has large geographical, class and indirect gender inequalities, particularly educational inequalities among the masses of the country. Poor people are aware of all such inequalities, but unfortunately, cannot do much about this because of the prevailing class structure, where the powerful feudal and political elite rule and weaker, poorer and marginalized suffer (Hoodboy, 1998). Such examples also confirm that access is 'classed' in itself in Balochistan. Furthermore, this also shows the intersection of different inequalities; e.g. poor girls are having the hardest time in accessing schools. A parent from one of our research locations complained as following:

What a pity! many of the public schools are totally constructed on political basis – the rich gets them closer to their homes, as they have lands to offer to government for construction {for school buildings}; though they can afford transportation.... the poor has still to walk long distances.

- A father from village Khan Baba

As mentioned earlier, during the last couple of decades, several other aspects of school resource allocation have also become increasingly politicized. Political meddling is commonly observed in the recruitment, posting and transfers of the public school teaching and administrative staff as well. In rural areas public sector teachers are more politicized and are always backed by powerful political individuals or parties; these teachers happen to be more answerable to the local political leader than the district and/or provincial education department. As a result of the growing involvement of members of National and Provincial assemblies in the selection and assignment of teachers, a development that has further implications for the supply of schooling in that it affects the extent to which unqualified and non-local teachers are assigned tenured positions in the system, with consequences for poor quality teaching, absenteeism,



school closures and the distribution of “ghost” schools (Alif Ailaan, 2014; Wheat, 2010; Hoodbhoy, 2006). In short, political interferences hinder both access and quality; thus a huge contributor to the deteriorating situation of the state’s education status.

### *Local Cultures Hindering Access:*

Indeed, Balochistani, particularly Pashtun society is a tribal society and they are particular in observing their tribal and local traditions. In general men, particularly the influential in the social environment, play a dominant role in the lives of the people of the tribe they belong. It is observed that they consider their tribal setup to the best socio-cultural system where everybody is accountable for his/her deeds to other tribal fellows (Naz, 2011). However, in this tribal setup, let alone women, even men are not fully empowered (Umer, 2016). My personal observations’ example that I quoted in the above section on political interferences exhibits inequalities persistent in a tribal society, where poor and marginalized men and women are equally the target of class and gender inequalities. As mentioned above in the safety and security section, women, in general, observe particular code of tribal life. Women are considered as the pride and honor of the tribal society and men of that society associate character of women with the honor (Umer, 2016). Soon after her first steps in the adulthood, she is expected to follow certain code, which, in most case particularly for poor, result in mobility, access and relationships restrictions; thus affecting her health, education and social and economical status. The tribal, although applies to both rich and poor; however, the rich can still facilitate for creating a better environment. Pakistani women’s status, as argued by Tarar and Pulla, (2014) depends on their economic condition, social class and geographical area. Women from the upper class families; such as that of, *Khan, Sardar, Wadera, and Malik*, enjoy luxuries and servants as

the men in the same social class. They also enjoy more personal freedom and privileges compared to the women in lower social classes. (Tarar and Pulla, 2014). Many researchers and gender experts; such as Khan (2011) and (Naz, 2011) argue that women face difficulties in all aspects of social life in a tribal society because such societies are structured and function on the basis of gender. The tribal system is debated whether it is uncaring but accessible or more caring but very limited in access for the deprived and marginalized. The tribal have been blamed for not sending their children, particularly girls, to modern schools. However, on the contrary, our research negated the myth and witnessed that most of the parents (over 90%) in our research locations wanted their children to be educated. Among those who desired for their children education, majority (almost 80%) were willing to send their daughters also to schools, if they were provided with a choice for sex-segregated schools, particularly at the middle and high school levels. However, if there was no sex-segregated school then the poor girl child was left with no education. Again it was the poor girl who suffered the most. The class division within the tribal system intersects and interacts with patriarchal system with no option for the poor girls, even there is no female-Madrasah for her. During our discussion, I heard many parents that their daughters had to quit education because there were no higher level schools where only girls could study and only female teachers could teach:

Girls education is good, but we need to have girls schools and colleges in the nearby; the ones we have are far. We don't have resources to make it {the girls' education} possible, so five grades are good enough and home is the best; at least she can assist me at home.

– A mother from village Malakaan

In other words girls' educational rights were contingent to the availability of sex-segregated schools and availability of female teachers. Sex-segregated schooling (only primary level) was made available by the public sector and was possible in Mosques only. At the research locations, neither the Madrasah nor the private sector granted a choice for those who wanted to give their daughters more than primary level education. In response to our question that why the number of girls was less in their school as compared to boys and as compared to the number of public sector girls school; a teacher from a private school was of the opinion that:

Local culture is a huge hurdle in girls' education, especially when there is no girls school close to home. – A female teacher from village Malakaan

Summing up the discussion on access, I would like to present the following three tables (tables 15 – A, B, C) – each one representing a location; which clearly indicate inequalities with regard to geography, wealth and gender across the three locations. Further descriptive details are attached in a tabular form as an annexure at the end of this manuscript.

**Table – 17A: Enrollment Distribution - Access in terms of Class (for Wealthy/Poor), Gender (for Male/Female) and Geography (for Rural/Urban).**

**A. Village Baacha Khan – Quetta District:**

	Total number of Household	Total number of Children	Public School (1 – 2 km.)		Private School (1 – 2 km.)		Madrasah (3 – 4 km.)		Not in School	
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
<b>Household - Wealthy</b>	13 (50k – 80k+)	26	4	5	9	7	1	0	0	0
<b>Household – Medium</b>	21 (20k – 50k)	83	29	27	11	13	3	0	0	0
<b>Household – Poor</b>	41 (5k – 20k)	125	39	36	15	11	12	7	1	5
<b>Household – Poor (F-headed)</b>	01 (5k – 20k)	5	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	76	239	74	70	36	31	16	7	1	5

Percentage Distribution: 61% Public, 25% Private, 9.5% Madrasah, and 2% Out of school.

**Table – 17B:****B. Village Khan Baba– Quetta District:**

	Total number of Households	Total number of Children	Public School (1 – 3 km.)		Private School (1 – 2 km.)		Madrasah (1 – 3 km.)		Not in School	
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
<b>Households - Wealthy</b>	06 (50K – 80k)	22	5	4	5	6	0	0	0	2
<b>Households – Medium</b>	30 (20k – 50k)	71	26	19	7	6	3	1	3	4
<b>Households – Poor</b>	38 (5k – 20k)	103	34	24	5	2	14	5	7	12
<b>Households – Poor (F-headed)</b>	01 (5k – 20k)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
<b>Total</b>	75	199	65	47	17	18	17	6	12	19

Percentage Distribution: 55% Public, 18% Private, 12% Madrasah, and 16% Out-of-school.

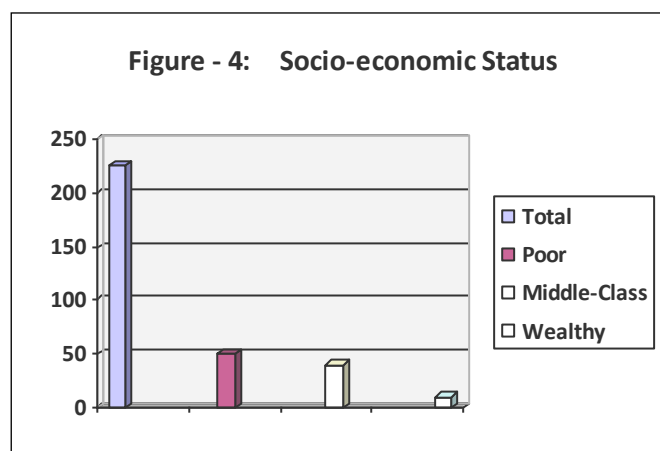
**Table – 17C:****C. Village Malakaan – Pishin District:**

	Total number of Household	Total number of Children	Public School (1 – 3 km.)		Private School (1 – 2 km.)		Madrasah (2 – 3 km.)		Not in School	
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
<b>Household - Wealthy</b>	04 (50k – 80)	11	1	1	5	3	0	0	0	1
<b>Household – Medium</b>	40 (20k – 50k)	99	34	27	13	10	10	2	1	2
<b>Household – Poor</b>	27 (5k – 20k)	90	31	26	9	8	9	0	2	5
<b>Household – Poor (F-headed)</b>	4 (5k – 20k)	13	1	1	0	0	2		2	7
<b>Total:</b>	75	213	67	55	27	21	21	2	5	15

Percentage Distribution: 58% Public, 22% Private, 11% Madrasah, and 9% Out of school.

Village Baacha Khan (Table 17A), with comparatively better access to schools (being a location closed to a bigger urban center; i.e. Quetta city, shows that 86% children from the interviewed household were enrolled in public (61%) and private (25%) school to receive secular education. Also, comparatively a higher percentage of the children (9%) were attending a Madrasah, while only 2% children were out of school. Data in Table 17B shows that in a

comparatively rural location from the same district; i.e. Quetta, enrollment of children drops down (72%) for both the public and private schools – 56% and 17% respectively. On the other hand, enrollment for Madrasah increases (i.e. 12%) and so does the percentage of out of school children (16%). The same trend is visible in the third rural location; i.e. village Malakaan in district Pishin (Table 17C). A total of 80% of households sent their children to public (58%) and/or private (22%) schools. Madrasah catered to 11% households and 9% of children were out of schools. Among the total 20 out of school children, 9 children (45%) belonged to the poor households headed by women, even though these households represented only 3% of all households. Looking at the data from a gender equity perspective, the data show that across the three locations more girls were out of schools than the boys – i.e. out of total of 57 out-of-school children, 39 (68%) were girls, though girls made up 46% of all children in the households. A similar class analysis reveals that in the survey, 50% of families were poor, 40% of families were middle-class, and 10% of families were wealthy<sup>87</sup>. In contrast, only 13 out the 57 (23%) of out-of-school children belonged to the medium and upper class families.



<sup>87</sup> The study households are divided into three groups; i.e. poor with an income of rupees 20,000 or less per month; middle class with an income of between 20,001 to 50,000 rupees per month; and, wealthy with an income of 50,001 and more per month.

### 4.3. Education Quality:

In Pakistan, along with the serious constraints to access to schooling, there is a high-level deficit in the quality of education as well. As discussed in the previous section, there is a large gap between access and demand, particularly in rural far-flung areas of Pakistan; however, even when the government provides schools, researchers, politicians, and parents alike often argue that it does not provide quality education (Wheat, 2010). A variety of international and national literatures address various dimensions of school quality impacting students' cognitive achievements and earnings (Behman, Ross and Sabot, 2002; Alderman, et al, 1996). Researchers and scholars continue debating which investment approach – improving quality versus increasing quantity – is preferable on their relative costs and benefits at macro (government) and micro (families) level (Behman, Ross and Sabot, 2002). Many argue that both quality and quantity of schooling enhances the prospects of development and prosperity of a society, particularly in less developed countries such as Pakistan (Esterly, 2013; Hoodbhoy, 2006). However, in rural Pakistan, the bleak figures reveal that education is neither universal nor is the quality of acceptable standards (Behman, Ross and Sabot, 2002; Sathar, et al, 2002; Swada and Lockshin, 2001). According to Behman, Ross and Sabot (2002), in rural Pakistan, an increase in the quantity of schooling a child receives raises his or her cognitive skills. Their study further concludes that “improving the school quality has the same effect” (Behman, Ross and Sabot, 2002, p-19).

Other researchers claim that quality of education is more important than the number of years a student attends (Glewwe, 2002). The famous American development economist William Esterly also argues that children's attendance in schools is not sufficient for the economy to

grow; even if more children were able to be present at these low-standard schools, it does not necessarily mean that they will achieve all the desired outcomes of social and economic outcomes (Esterly, 2013). Glewwe's (2002) study from Ghana indicated that the rates of return on investment in education were much higher when the quality of education was improved, rather than just the time spent in school.

For most education actors in the research study, the debate about quality versus access to schooling appeared to misunderstand or may ignore the classed relationship between access and quality. Children in more rural villages and poorer households had less access—particularly to higher-quality public or private schools—exactly because they were poor. That is, the issue of access did not exist (or, did not exist in the same way) for wealthy families, because money for transportation or to move to the city meant, *de facto*, that they could increase their access to school options. And the increase in access meant, at the same time, an increase in quality, because the same resources that allowed them to gain access to more schools also allowed them to gain access to other kinds of schools—such as private schools—that were expected to generate better outcomes for their children.

Quality education needs a holistic approach and commitment on the part of the state (UNICEF, 2010); however, as Hoodbhoy (1998) states “education in Pakistan is not perceived as a vital and central need for the Pakistani society. It is, therefore, not accorded the protection {particularly giving attention to its quality} enjoyed by other [social] institutions” (p-4). Several researchers and reports from the UN agencies and other INGOs and national NGOs have concluded that some of the major reasons contributing to the deteriorating educational quality include: political and bureaucratic interference (e.g., in staff appointment and transfers, no merit-based appointments, state corruption, etc.), lack of accountability and efficient administrative

and supervisory practices (effective M&E systems), deficiency in the quality of basic teaching and learning materials (e.g., the curriculum) shortage of qualified staff (teaching and administrative) and insufficient institutional facilities and un-conducive learning environment (Alif Ailaan, 2013; UNESCO, 2012; UNICEF, 2011; Memon, 2007; Hoodbhoy, 2006; Mustafa, 2004; Hoodbhoy, 1998; Bregman & Muhammad, 1998).

Numerous researchers and scholars argue that the vacuum created by the deteriorating situation of public education quality paved the road for interference of the non-state actors, such as the private for profit sector, NGOs, and religious institutions (Rose, 2007; Khan, 2005). Since the late 1970s, the private sector has been active and has, so far, captured more than 35% of the educational constituency in Pakistan (Andrabi, et al. 2012; Pakistan Education Statistics 2014-15). Moreover, the number of Madaaris in Pakistan also expanded from a few hundred (in 1947) to more than 45,000 (registered and unregistered) providing educational services to millions in the current decade (Singer, 2001).

Despite the intervention of the private sector, enrollment figures for modern schools did not show a significant change, because the private sector institutions have limited clientele (urban upper class). Though the logic of private schooling differs significantly from public schooling, and private providers do not view themselves as responsible for generating the country-wide services and results to which the public education system is held responsible, private providers still find themselves criticized for not delivering quality education to the entire Pakistani population without discrimination (for instance, rich vs. poor or urban vs. rural) (Rahman, 2005). This critique, and the interviews I conducted, indicates that there is a widespread understanding that private schooling has largely “creamed off” elite students and families from public schools without providing the population-wide benefits that some laud as



outcomes of privatization (e.g., fueling improved quality in public schools through competition). As mentioned above, it is also worth-noting that the literature in general praises the low-quality private schools but damns the Madaaris.

In light of the international and national literature and the experiences on the ground, I approached the research locations with the intention of asking a broad array of educational stakeholders: how can the quality of schooling in Pakistan be transformed and improved? (Retallick and Dattoo, 2005), and how do parents prioritize their choice with particular reference to academic practices in the various systems available to them?

I found that parents generally understood quality—and included components of “quality” in their decisions about schooling—with particular reference to three pillars, each of which parents used to directly judge the quality of their children’s school and to compare that school to others that were nearby:

- i) curriculum,
- ii) teaching and administrative staff, and,
- iii) physical infrastructure

Though these three components of schooling were widely discussed, it is important to note that most parents did not feel there was significant variation in quality across the Madrasah, public, and low-fee private schools available to their children (except the curriculum of Madaaris). Instead, parents fixated on the variation in the outcomes of schooling for their children, and here, they repeatedly explained that the differences were an outcome of class-based differentiations. In particular, those who sent their children to private schools were able to signal

their wealth (and their children's social capital) to future employers, even though most parents did not feel that the schools themselves differed that much in quality, particularly its curriculum.

#### 4.3.1. *Curriculum:*

In general, curricula should respond to contemporary societal needs and values so that the young generation could be physically, socially, morally and intellectually developed as active citizens (Haider, 2016). Pakistan schools', particularly public schools', curricula has been under severe criticism and is regarded as out-dated, irrelevant, biased, and promoting rote-memorization (Lall and Vickers, 2009; Latif, 2009; Hoodbhoy, 2006). Moreover, from within Pakistan, there has also been a severe criticism of the educational curriculum not fulfilling the needs of the contemporary Pakistani citizenship and society (Lall, 2012). While analyzing the Education White Paper of 2007, Khalid (2007) argues that even the Government of Pakistan has made a few 'confessions' regarding the curriculum taught in public schools (see below). The White Paper concludes that administrative control of the federal government on the preparation of curricula and textbooks has been responsible for stagnation in this area (p. 18). Textbooks are of poor quality, overflow with "information narrated in a confusing manner," and, in many cases, are "full of printing errors," Khalid (2007) further added. Latif (2009) also reported that this curricular reality is recognized by the government itself in its 2001 National Plan of Action:

- 1) Students live a long distance from school and have a lack of physical facilities in schools; 2) students have substandard textbooks and a curriculum that is irrelevant to the needs of the community; 3) schools lack qualified women teachers; 4) schools have a high teacher-student ratio (48:1); 5) students experience gender disparities and bias in curriculum and textbooks; 6) poverty is

pervasive; 7) parents lack an understanding of the value/benefits of education; and, 8) the cost of sending children to school is high when they could be helping at work and home. (Latif, 2009, page-430)

Language of instruction has also been considered a source of class segregation in the Pakistani context (Rahman, 2004). A parent realizing the importance of English suggests that: English is essential in today's world; I wish all our children were taught English as a second language. Learning Urdu and English both are same for us – because none of the two is our first language. Our kids have to learn first their mother tongue {Pashto}, then Urdu and then English. Best will be that we go directly go to English from Pashto, instead of via Urdu.

- A father from Village Malakaan

Researchers are split into three prominent groups over the subject of the medium of instruction. The first group favors teaching Urdu to ensure Pakistani nationhood (Ahmad, 2011; Khalid, 2007). The second supports English to acquire international knowledge and be part of the larger international community (Hoodbhoy, 1998). The third are pro-mother tongue and argue that Urdu is a language of only 7%-8% of Pakistani population (Coleman, 2010). Therefore, education should be given in mother-tongue.

Likewise, the majority of our research participants (around 60%) showed their concerns over the state giving so much importance to English on the one hand; the reality is that only elite students have access to quality English instruction. For instance, the official language of Pakistan is English, but real teaching and learning of English language starts around grade 5 and 6 in the public schools available to the vast majority of Pakistan; while the elite schools start teaching

their students English at the kindergarten level. Many of our parents, particularly the educated parents, shared Rahman's (2010 & 2005) argument that English was a passport to success but available only to the privileged.

The opponents of English as a medium of instruction consider English as the language of imperialists (Malik, 2012). They argue that people were intentionally divided into groups so that different classes of society serve different roles and that power and authority remains in the hands of the rulers, in part through de facto restrictions over language knowledge (Kumar, 2000; Vakil & Natarajan, 1966). That is the policy which our policy makers in Pakistan inherited from the British colonial powers and has continued the same even after the independence (Naseem, 2004).

Like in most of Pakistan, in our research locations' primary public schools also, all students were taught mainly Urdu language, basic Islamiyat (Islamic education), Mathematics, and Science. Only at grade five were some basic social studies and Pakistan studies introduced. Although policy directives were issued by the government to introduce English as a subject in the earlier grades during the last few years, these are not practiced in their true spirit, and, in reality, learning English language commences from grade 6 onward. The medium of instruction in all the public and low-fee private schools was Urdu; for further explanation of subject material, some teachers were using local languages<sup>88</sup> as well. Since most of the low-fee private schools taught English as a subject starting at the pre-primary level, in rural areas they were also known as the 'English Medium Schools'. However, medium of instruction in all these low-fee private primary and middle schools from our locations also remained Urdu, with just some basic English usage for mathematics. The use of English language increased in these private schools at

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<sup>88</sup> Pashto was the local language.

the middle and high school levels. However, that English is also not considered in any way at par with the upper class wealthy elite schools (Rahman, 2004). One of our research participants argued:

These {low-fee rural private} schools are just ‘English Medium’ by name; English taught here is just the same like any other school here. It will take a long time for them to be equal to a school in Lahore or Islamabad<sup>89</sup>.

- A community elder from village Malakaan

Many argue that except for the imported curriculum taught in the elite schools, the content of curricula used in public, low-fee private schools and Madaaris also does not promote life skills and talents and pupils’ ability to think, challenge and be creative (Winthrop and Graff, 2010; Khalid, 2007; Hoodbhoy, 2006). The lessons prescribed in the public schools (and low-fee private schools for that matter, as they also use almost the same curricula) do not inculcate any cognitive skills in children, as suggested by many experts (Hoodbhoy, 2006; Rahman, 2004). Children just practice rote-memorization and follow what their teachers tell them without any questions, almost across the institutions that I visited without a visible variation. The practices of curriculum implementation within the classroom was entirely based on a banking concept (Freire, 1993), where knowledge was deposited rather than created. The curriculum of all these lower level schools (public, private or Madaaris) is created in such a way that lacks the potential of triggering pupils’ thoughts (Rahman, 2004). In contrast, their counterparts; i.e. the elite schools, use mostly English from early on, keep the use of the Pakistani curriculum to a minimum (only Islamic and Pakistan studies), and have trained teachers who are fluent—sometimes mother tongue—English speakers, and mostly trained in modern pedagogy

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<sup>89</sup> Lahore is the capital of Punjab province and Islamabad is the capital of Pakistan.

Although testing children's learning outcomes was beyond the scope of this study, the above mentioned argument is based on my classroom and institutional observations, as I could hardly witness any academic interaction between the students and teachers in any of the classrooms visited. Across all class periods that I observed (which included between 40 to 50 hours per school), less than 10% of the time were children engaged in the kind of activities that teachers, experts and researchers say are valuable, such as student-centered learning. Much of the literature expresses the same concern about the Pakistani school curriculum not promoting student involvement (Qureshi and Shamin, 2009; UNESCO, 2007; Retallick and Farah, 2005; Khan, 2005). In most cases, my observations agree with the arguments that students were just passive learners and repeating what the teachers was saying. For instance, in the last period of the day in one of the public schools, which happened to be a mathematics grade 3 class, the students were asked to repeat a mathematical table ( $3 \times 1 = 3$  and  $3 \times 2 = 6$  and so on up to 10), which the teacher first wrote on the blackboard and then asked the students to repeat loudly. After repeating the tables for a couple of times, he asked one of the students to do the same exercise and asked the rest of the class to follow and at the end it was given as a homework assignment. The students were instructed to memorize and told they would be asked to deliver the next morning in front of the class without looking at the paper. Since I attended that class for several days, I could only observe the same practice of memorization. Many of the students would be good in memorizing the table from 1 to 10, but would get stuck if they were asked in the middle of the table; for example, tell me, what  $3 \times 7$  would be?

I was expecting better from the private school, as the pro-private sector literature argues that teaching and learning quality (hence, the learning outcome) would be higher in private schools (Andrabi, et al, 2012 and 2008; Alderman, et al, 2002; Orazem, 2000 ); therefore, I was

carefully trying to observe the similarities and differences among the public, private and Madrasah institutions. Let me share another interesting example from grade 2 in a private school, where the students were taught English Alphabets, like A for apple, B for bus, C for cat.... After repeating for a few times, the students could utter the same words even without looking at the book in a sequence from A to M; however, many of them did not know the meaning of an apple or a cat (when they were not looking at the pictures in the book); moreover, they were unable to relate A or B or C to something else, except to apple, bus and cat respectively. I could observe the interaction in the class – when teacher closed the book, the students started using English words and telling each other, but were not sure what were the exact meaning of all the words that they were using. Also, there is an extensive literature pointing to the issue of private school teachers being trained in public schools (Alif Ailaan, 2014), particularly in the areas where there were no private schools for long; hence, the process of reproduction in teaching styles that this produces. This seems to be supported in my research and I argue that the same practices were duplicated and followed because the private school teachers (in most cases) are the graduates of public schools so they replicate the same practices as their teachers did with them. Interestingly, in our research locations all of the private school teachers were the graduates of public sector which was confirmed by the response of the private school teachers in our in depth interviews. Since most of the private school teachers are untrained (as educationists) and unable to secure professional development opportunities during their affiliations with the private sector (Alif Ailaan, 2014; ASER, 2013), they also share the same teaching strategies that they inherited from their teachers in public schools and the old curriculum they had used.

I would like to quote another example from a Madrasah class, where the students of second year (students between the ages of 10 to 14) were learning the ‘6-Kalimaat’<sup>90</sup>, – each day I saw that students were given 5 to 7 words to memorize, adding to the words learnt in the previous days until the completion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> ‘*Kalima*’ (singular of Kalimaat). At the end, I observed that the students got good command of the ‘*Kalimaat*’ and could recite them in Arabic. They could utter them precisely the way their teacher taught them; however, unfortunately, they did not have any clue of what they were reciting, because the teachers did not tell them the meaning of these words in Urdu or Pashto. Exactly the same practice I observed in year three class of another Madrasah, where they were learning the six-Kalimaat too. My findings were in-line with what many scholars have mentioned above and I complement their argument that students’ involvement in the entire learning process was merely rote-memorization without any comprehension of what they were learning and what they really meant. And this, generally, was a common practice across the three types of institutions. Most of the books written are just straight passages without any mind-triggering or critical thinking exercises. I could not see any extra interpretation of the textbooks by teachers (because they were just read line-by-line in the classrooms), and found teachers roles not more than reciting the knowledge and issuing the instruction.

The curriculum, as interpreted by several teachers from the three streams of education, was merely the text books; I could not see any extra teaching and learning aids in any of the schools. Literature (through field surveys; for instance, ASER, 2013) confirms the reality on the ground and has sustained the arguments of many teachers that they lack ‘instruments’ to teach better in schools (Alif Ailan, 2014): A teacher in a public school in one of our locations gave a

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<sup>90</sup> Part of scriptures on faith explaining the oneness of Allah.



very interesting example, pointing to two important point; one, no extra teaching and learning aid, and second, texts being very old – out dated; he said that:

We have nothing but only these few worn out and old books from Adam's time (pointing to some Urdu lying books in front of him on the table) here. {Asking me}How can you go to the war field when you don't have the ammunition? Rest assure, old guns {referred to old books=curriculum} cannot beat the precise target {of development}.”

-A teacher from village Khan Baba

Largely, the entire curriculum of the schools was a blackboard, chalk and the relevant subject textbooks. Lack of academic supplies and not having the financial resources to buy such material, even if any teacher wanted to use, were mentioned the major obstacles for improved learning by the public schools teachers and the administrators in our interviews. On the other hand, there is a common perception that even if extra leaning and teaching material were available, since majority of the teachers were not trained in the modern pedagogy (mainly child centered approaches, as Dewey suggests); therefore, they cannot use them properly (Memon, 2009; Hoodbhoy, 2006).

However, I argue that individual efforts, interests and dedication do count and they can make a difference. For instance, I met a teacher who was making his personal efforts to bring something 'new' and 'extra' to his classroom. In the public school Urdu classroom in village Baacha Khan, I saw this teacher with some extra wall-hanging charts which had the vegetables and fruits pictures and names in Urdu. On my inquiry, he informed me that he had brought these charts from his home which he had purchased from Quetta for teaching his own children. He said that they lacked any extra material to be used in the classrooms. On the other hand, in private schools, I was expecting availability of better teaching and learning aid, because of charging fee

and financial resources' available within the schools. One of the teachers from the private school in village Khan Baba said that the owner/principal of the school did not provide them with sufficient supplementary material to make their lessons more productive and interesting for the teachers and students. Generally, I observed that classrooms in the private schools were comparatively more equipped with wall hanging charts with various lessons on English, Urdu and Mathematics. While teaching, I found a female teacher in village Baacha Khan pointing to them in her lessons on practicing addition and subtraction. Nonetheless, the teacher wished they had more teaching aid; such as, learning toys and games particularly in early grades of the primary schools to enhance children's interests in studies and learning. Madaaris, on the other hand, were the most ill-equipped with teaching and learning aids. For them, in most cases, text books were the only source of learning, many of the teachers did not even use blackboards for a single time during my multi-day classroom observations. Most of them (70%) thought that there was no need, particularly after year-2 onward, because their books were in Arabic and Persian and no need was felt for any calculation and writing skills; needed mainly memorization.

On the other hand, knowledge regarding the type of curriculum taught in the schools (both public and private) was very limited among the parents that I interviewed, as the literature on 'school choice', with particular reference to the third world, also argues (Narodowaski, 2008; Maddaus, 1990). My data supports their argument as majority of my parent participants did not have any particular comments or remarks regarding the curriculum taught in these schools, including the educated parents. My data concluded on two main reasons of ignorance on part of parents regarding the curriculum taught in the schools;

- i) being themselves uneducated and unschooled; and,

- ii) lack of their communication with the school in general and their children in particular.

Among those who did not comment on curriculum – being good or bad, 60% did not have time to look into what their children were studying in the schools. The international (western) literature on school choice, assumes that parents have “knowledge” and information to make “good” decisions about what their children are doing and how to judge the quality (Stein, 2011). However, in Pakistan, mostly the notion of “choice” is based on the purpose of education and factors relevant to physical access and affordability (Narodowaski, 2008) rather than the content of curriculum (Zia, 2010; Qureshi and Shamin, 2008; Swada and Lockshin, 2008). In response to my question if they were satisfied with the curriculum taught to their children in their school; an uneducated parent stated that:

I am an uneducated person, to be honest, I don't know what and how should they {the children} be studying in school. For me, it's enough that they are going to school and not wasting time on the streets.

- A father from village Malakaan

In response to the question regarding their satisfaction regarding the curriculum taught in these schools, parents (more than 60% of all parents and around 40% of the educated ones) responded in affirmative; however, their response was not information or knowledge based but for two main reasons – that their children were going to schools and were learning ‘something’. Particularly the uneducated parents in all the three locations did not show much concern over the quality. We will further analyze parents’ involvement and engagement later in the section below on social support to education. A few parents (around 50%) from the private schools stated that they were pleased to see their children could read and speak in English (though very limited).

However, to some parents from public schools and Madrasah in villages Baacha Khan and Khan Baba, merely learning English language was not a solution to the chronic poverty problems and was not considering learning English from the low-fee private schools of any tangible benefit to them in future. Many public school parents and teachers were vocal about the inequalities generated by the private schools; however, commenting on the quality, for them too, low-fee private schools' education was nothing but just a show-off, a sign of prestige, and a profitable enterprise to certain individuals and families who have made education a business and as a source of accumulating wealth:

Wearing a tie or saying A, B, C (English) does not make child better educated. Private schools only do the show offs. I don't see much difference between public and private schools – all what matters is to be educated in mind and soul, which I see none of them fulfilling the objective.

– A father from village Khan Baba

Interestingly, public school teachers from our other locations were also very critical about the quick growth and role of private schools in the communities. They were not convinced that their counterpart rural private schools were out-performing in any way. Likewise, many of these public sector officials at the district and provincial levels were also not persuaded that low-fee private schools were really making a big difference. To some extent, I agree with their claims as I also did not see many differences in quality; what is interesting here is that for better or for worse, the two types of school viewed there are being competition for being “better” than the other. If this spurred improvements (as neoliberals would say), and/or if this leached out resources to focus on aspects of quality that didn't help people (as critical theorists would say), this is also worth noting. Nevertheless, they were, to some extent convinced that the elite public

and private sector schools were performing better (both in terms of quality education as well as the huge social capital associated to them); but all that was possible at a huge cost. They did not hesitate to refer to the large amount of fee those schools were charging; and also huge financial support provided by the private and public sectors, which the regular public schools lacked. In fact these (elite) schools, while receiving too much attention and financial resources, almost all the poor and middle class research participants, considered them to be causing and creating inequalities in the society. They were convinced that if their teachers (public sector) were provided equivalent salary scales, academic facilities, and educational incentives and environment to common public schools, their students (in public schools) will also out-perform. As far as the performance of low-fee rural private schools was concerned, public sector school teachers were ready to perform an open academic competition with private schools:

Why do we think that private schools are better, they are just a new type of business, deceiving the poor and uneducated parents – they just make a show of small little things, otherwise they are just ripping off people in the name of education. I am ready to arrange an academic competition between my students and the students from their {private} school.

- A public school male teacher from village Khan Baba.

Although, assessing the learning outcomes was beyond the scope of this research, my observational data did not find any prominent difference as far as the curriculum of both the public and public systems is concerned. Significant changes in the curriculum can only be observed between the public schools and elite public and elite private schools (Naseem, 2010; Rahman, 2005). The books taught in public and low-fee private schools carry images and lessons which are controversial to many contemporary national and international academicians and

researchers. Many educationists and academicians still think that Pakistani school books do not educate children to be prepared for meeting the challenges of the modern world (Aziz, 2014; Rahman, 2004; Mattu & Hussain, 2002; Nayyar, & Salim, 2002; Hoodbhoy, 1998 & 2006).

Research on Pakistan has, to some extent, pointed out that text books, particularly history textbooks, in Pakistan are biased (Nayyar & Salim, 2002; Aziz, 1993) not portraying true historical events. Moreover, according to some, Urdu, Social Studies, Islamiyat and Civics books depict gender biases and class distinctions; they are ‘too much’ religiously inclined; insensitive towards minorities; politically prejudiced; and are biased when narrating the history (Naseem 2010, Nayyar & Saleem, 2002; Mattu & Hussain, 2002; Aziz, 1993). During my research, in several books, I saw a few lessons so old that I studied them during my primary schooling era (late 1970s). Several organizational reports and researchers argue that Pakistani school textbooks contain gender disparities in abundance (Ullah, 2016; Durrani, 2008; UNESCO, 2004; Mattu & Hussain 2002), and they totally exclude working women, giving the girls the impression that professions are not meant for them (Ullah, 2016; Naseem, 2010; Durrani, 2008). A UNESCO study that examined 194 textbooks from Pakistan’s four provinces for six subjects concluded that national curriculum reflected a significant gender bias towards males in at least three of these subjects (UNESCO, 2004). The analysis revealed that barely 7.7% of the personalities in the textbooks were found to be female and the rest all were male. In the textbooks on the history of the subcontinent, only 0.9% of the historical icons mentioned were females (UNESCO, 2004). Also, most of these women mentioned related to only Pakistan and Muslim history and in relation to their famous men family member; for instance, Bi Amma was known as Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar’s and Maulana Shoukat Ali’s mother, Fatima Jinnah was mentioned for being sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah - the founder of Pakistan, and Begam Raana Liaquat Khan

for being the wife of the first prime minister of Pakistan. Indeed, I argue that these women had their own role and character in the history, but Pakistani books have always related them to the men of their families (Aamna Mattu & Neelam Hussain, 2002). Moreover, women are more commonly depicted in stereotypical roles and activities of cooking, washing, domestic help, childrearing, etc. (Durrani, 2008; UNESCO, 2004) For instance, the analysis of a study of 24 Urdu, English and Social Studies textbooks from grade 1 to 8 and qualitative interviews with 28 educationists, curriculum designers, textbooks writers and school teachers, concluded two significant observations: i) that women are always portrayed through their relationship to men instead of self identity, and, ii) a general impression given by these books is that the upper level jobs and professions are normally for men and there are certain occupations that are not meant for women; e.g. engineering, being a professor, pilot and/or an architect (Ullah, 2016; Ullah, & Skelton, 2013). However she can be a good nurse, a girls' school teacher or a doctor because of her typical socially institutionalized role as a caregiver (Ullah, 2016). Such a portrayal of women has resulted in producing a mind-set which has compartmentalized women's role in society very limited. During my interviews, even with the educated parents, I seldom heard them talking about the same type of professions for girls as they would choose or expect for their boys.

Besides these stereotypical gender roles, the poor are also found limited to traditional roles, for example as farmers, carpenters and/or laborers (Durrani, 2008). None of the books that I saw narrated a story of the poor climbing the ladder of success and playing a prominent political and social role in the society. This was reflected in parent expectations. For instance, in my research area, merely a few educated parents, less than 10 percent, mentioned that they wanted to see their children, particularly girls, be engineers, pilots and officers in the army. Many parents held the view that 'higher level jobs' were meant for the ones who are wealthy. The majority of the poor

parents (around 60%) wanted their children, including boys, to just pass grade 10 or 12 (high school) and find a reasonable job to add to family income:

It will be sufficient if they end up to grade 10 or 12; I hope they can find a reasonable job for themselves to support their families. I know they cannot be something big with this education.

- A father from village Khan Baba

I argue that such behavior is the outcome of systematic class and gender discrimination created through the curriculum taught in our schools for ages. My data agrees with Naseem (2004), who regards Pakistani education's curriculum as gender-biased and serving to the desires of a particular group of patriarchal society.

Though historically Madaaris were one of the most important institutions that provided social and educational services to Muslims around the world, in the recent times, contemporary Madaaris have been accused of promoting fundamentalism and religious extremism (Winthrop and Graff, 2010; Singer, 2001). This has been particularly highlighted by the western and leftist media after the Talibaan regime and the events of 9/11 (Nelson, 2006). In our research locations, though most of the parents did not mention anything like fundamentalism, a couple of parents from one of the research location (the village Baacha Khan) echoed a voice that the Madaaris' education (curriculum) was outdated (just like many said about the public schools' curriculum), and Madaaris were not fulfilling their historical and original role to properly educate the Muslims (Malik, 2008; Anzar, 2003). As submitted earlier, curriculum in an educational process should respond to the contemporary societal needs and values so that the young generation can be physically, socially, morally and intellectually developed as active citizens; Madrasah curriculum is criticized exactly for the reasons that most of it is based on Dar-se-Nizami devised in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by an Islamic scholar Mullah Nizamuddin (Riaz, 2008; Anzar, 2003; Metcalf,



1982). The text is mainly in Arabic and Persian, with only some translations in Pashto and Urdu languages. Moreover, as suggested above, the curriculum should address the contemporary social needs of young generation to help become mentally, physically, socially and economically productive citizens (Haider, 2016). However, contemporary Madaaris still follow the books on Islamic classics, *Tafseer* (interpretation), *Fiqah* (Islamic Jurisprudence) which were written by Islamic scholars several hundred years ago for those ancient societies and are carry references and arguments of ancient philosophies, medieval laws and the then prevailing medieval situations (Haider, 2016; Riaz, 2008; Malik, 2008). Haider, (2016) argues that many of these arguments, laws and circumstances are obsolete; thus not helping the formation of a generation for the contemporary world and modern society. Many of the educated parents, whi were sending to the modern schools, were in agreement with the thoughts and concerns. They concurred to the fact that except the daily rituals of the Islamic life; such as the knowledge on the oneness of the creator, and the performance of the four pillars of Islam; i.e. *Salah* (prayer), *Ramadan* (fasting), *Zakat* (compulsory tax on wealthy individuals) and *Hajj* (pilgrimage); the rest of the knowledge, pertaining to the contemporary rules of societal life is out-dated and probably useless:

I don't have a good opinion regarding Madrasah and its education. Their education is outdated and no more beneficial and relevant to the world. They are not playing a positive role as they historically used to.

– A father from village Baacha Khan

#### 4.3.2. *Teaching and Administrative Staff*

There is a general sense of dissatisfaction among the educationists regarding the low quality of learning and teaching practices carried out by sub-standard quality teachers (Qureshi and Shamim 2009) and inability of administrative staff to effectively and efficiently operate the educational institutions in Pakistan (Niazi, 2012). Teachers are blamed for being incompetent and unqualified, insincere to their responsibilities, chronic absentees, and politicized (Reza, 2016; UNICEF, 2010; Wheat, 2010; Hoodbhoy, 2006). On the other hand, teachers are also considered underpaid, under heavy educational burdens (such as, large class sizes and multi-grade teaching), low status employment with no recognition for their valuable work, made involved in non-teaching services (by the government, such as census recording etc.) and with less professional growth and development opportunities (Alif Ailaan, 2014; Niazi, 2012; UNICEF, 2010). Almost the same mixed (pro-teacher and against-teacher) feelings were observed among the research participants as well. Despite the fact that in our research locations, majority of the parents (plus 65%) were sending their children to public schools; simultaneously, our data from the in-depth interviews indicate that public schools teaching quality was highly criticized even by many of those who were sending their children to public schools. Looking through the ‘choice’ perspective, for majority of the parents, a school with ‘good teachers’ was among the top three considerations. Teachers, in both the public and private schools, were mainly blamed for their teaching incompetency. Hoodbhoy (2006) while quoting Shahid Khardar and Nadia Khar reveals that a study in NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) found, that “only 6 out of 10 teachers could pass a fifth-grade mathematics exam (compared to the 4 in 10 pass rate among their students) (DAWN, March 2005). Public and low-fee private school teachers exhibit a large

gap in the content and pedagogical knowledge due to their personal low-quality academic experiences as students (that they received from the same public schools with poor quality) and professional training (imparted by the training institutions) making them teachers (Warwick and Reimers, 1995). Hoodbhoy (2005) considers teacher training in Pakistan as disastrous. Qureshi and Shamim (2009) argue that quality of learning and teaching further gets deteriorated when these teachers have to deal with the out-dated and irrelevant curriculum (as analyzed above), because only being a ‘good teacher’ may not solve the problem. Qureshi and Shamim (2009) stresses upon the fact that quality of education ideally can only be achieved if all relevant components; including teachers and curriculum, are properly placed in order. However, my past experiences, of being a teacher in a Pakistani school and later a university, and an instructor for a language course in a university in the United States, have taught me that teacher’s role is important in streamlining the classroom educational environment, to a large extent, through better pedagogical practices even if some of the ingredients (teaching and learning aids, effective curriculum, physical facilities and/or social support) are in scarcity.

My analysis on teacher training and professional development largely supports Alif Ailaan’s (2014)<sup>91</sup> and Andrabi, et al. (2012), who show that in rural Balochistan, almost 80% of the private school teachers were untrained. Moreover, in around 46% of the private schools, teachers possessed higher secondary school education (grade 12 education) while around 54% had more than higher secondary education in the province. On the other hand, in the public sector, only 24% teachers were of higher secondary education while the rest (76%) were more education than grade 12 (Alif Ailaan, 2014), indicating higher educational qualifications among

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<sup>91</sup> A survey of 823 teachers and 441 head teachers in total from Pakistan representing 74% from the public and 26% from the private sectors. Among these Balochistan’s sample included 69 teachers and 26 head teachers.

the public school teachers than their private counterparts. In our research locations we found almost the same results, where, out of almost 40 public school teachers (in all the locations and among all the public schools that I visited), only six (2 males and 4 females) were not trained as teachers and did not possess the required qualification/certification from a teachers college, vocational college or the university. Among their counterparts from the private schools, only two (among the total 11) were trained by any teachers' college or university. The data presented on the number of teachers trained in our research locations is entirely based on the oral report from the public and private school headmasters and principals; however, this confirms the trend of higher qualification among the public school teachers. On the other hand, none of the Madrasah teachers were formally trained from any public or private teacher training institution; however, four among the 26 teachers and administrators in our research locations had received higher level education from higher level Madaaris in Quetta (three) and Peshawar (one), while the *Maulana* was qualified from Libya. Just like the public and private schools teachers, Madrasah teachers also did not get any sort of formal teacher training and/or professional development opportunities; nonetheless, they did not even expect any such thing and were satisfied with the experience and guidelines that they were acquiring from their seniors in Madaaris. Through the process of interviews of the Madrasah teachers, we found them more enthusiastic and satisfied from their jobs. Though they were the least paid (as compared to their counterparts in public and private school) for their jobs; still they mentioned that they were happy. According to them:

On one hand we are making a small living, and on the other hand, I am happy fulfilling my Islamic obligation to impart knowledge to the coming generations.

– A Madrasah teacher in village Malakaan

In several instances, the lower grade Madrasah teachers were senior students (such as, teaching assistants in modern universities/schools), hence they were not even paid for their services. Madrasah teachers took pride in following the foot-steps of the Holy Prophet and his followers. A teacher from a Madrasah took delight in being such a person:

Teaching is a good profession and it is the *Sunnah* (of Prophet); therefore, I am honest with what I do. I know that my salary is very low and I am just hand to mouth; but it's my religious obligation as well to transfer the (Islamic) knowledge that I have to the others – and I am trying to fulfill that obligation with honesty.

– A Madrasah male teacher from village Khan Baba.

Public, private and Madrasah teachers and administrators presented their own views ranging from political interferences to non-availability of qualified individuals to be recruited as teachers. Madrasah teachers, in general, did not feel a need of pedagogical practices' training; public school teachers wanted to have further qualifications; however, financial constraints and lack of government support hindered fulfillment of their wishes. On private schools teachers' low qualifications and non-training, two of the administrators from the private sector pointed out the biggest reason to be non-availability of qualified teachers in the rural Balochistan. They said that they selected the best among the available human resources and were enough qualified to teach at least primary level grades. I argue, though, in some cases it was true that they selected the 'best' locally available; nonetheless, they were also not willing to pay handsome salaries to attract teachers from urban areas. Moreover, private school administrators/owners were found less enthusiastic for creating professional development opportunities for their teachers; to them it

was an ‘expensive and time consuming venture’ which they could not afford. Except, in Pishin city there was one private school that had hired some of their teachers even from another province; i.e. Punjab, and was providing them free accommodation and attractive honorarium. This school was run by an NGO with a chain of schools in Balochistan, one each in the provincial capital Quetta, and a few other districts headquarters of the province. Only two students from village Malakaan were enrolled in this school. They had to travel around 18 to 20 kilometers from their home back and forth everyday; however, they had an advantage because of their fathers who were businessmen in Pishin city so there was no extra efforts involved in their commute. In general, private schools were, indeed, capitalizing on their teachers’ regularity and punctuality and friendliness with students. I argue that both the mentioned outcomes were because of the fact that the teachers were paid on their performance, attendance and interaction with the parents and students.

Despite the higher level educational qualifications, most contemporary teachers (both public and private) studied in the ineffective curriculum mentioned above; therefore, I argue that there is less to be expected from them to create enlightening thoughts among their students. ASER (2013)<sup>92</sup> report reported that, in Balochistan, only 61% of the public school grade 1 students could read at least Urdu letters and only 30% of grade 3 could read a simple Urdu sentence; while among the same grades and the same subject the figures of private schools were 73% and 36% respectively. Average percentage among girls ‘who can read a statement’ was even lower; girls 25% and boys 35%. Likewise, in Balochistan public primary schools only 26% of grade 3 students could at least do subtraction in Arithmetic and in grade 5 only 39% could at least do division; their counterparts in the private schools also did not portray a good

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<sup>92</sup> The ASER educational survey included 471 public schools 59 private schools in the province of Balochistan.

representation of their learning; they were only 28% and 40% respectively. Again, girls were lagging behind – only 24% of the girls could at least do a simple subtraction as compare to 33% boys. The above figures illustrate a grim picture of learning outcome among the students, particularly those in the public schools and among girls. Though, there might be some other factors involved; mainly this shows the incompetency of the teachers as well. This argument was supported by some educated parents, who were also very critical about teaching abilities of the public sector's staff:

Unfortunately our teachers themselves don't understand the depths of what and how they are teaching in classes – so, what will the students learn from them? Nothing, just a rote memorization like parrots. – A father from village Baacha Khan

As mentioned in the previous chapter, I observed that teachers were mostly deficient in knowledge and/or experience of modern teaching techniques and/or use of teaching aids; majority of them were using only the textbooks prescribed by the government. I was expecting a big change in the pedagogical practices, but much to my surprise, almost nothing change and it reminded me of the primary school teachers that I had a few decades ago. During my interviews with the public and private schools' officials, none of them mentioned any opportunity of on-the-job training and professional development; rather they wished for any such opportunities available to them. Although some of them had acquired good amount of general educational qualifications (BA & MA), but were positive that relevant on-job-training would further enhance their teaching skills. Nevertheless, the public school teachers had an edge over the private school because of pre-appointment required teaching qualification.<sup>93</sup> Alif Ailaan (2014) report reveals

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<sup>93</sup> This condition is relaxed for female teachers because of lack of qualified female teachers in the province of Balochistan; however, they have to gain the required qualification within a period of three years of their appointment.

almost the same results. Teachers serving the far-flung areas were even more deprived of on-the-job professional development opportunities. Female teachers' situation was even worse because of their culturally restricted and insecure mobility to go to another place (mostly bigger city like Quetta) for professional development training. Several studies have shown that students' learning outcomes are directly proportional to the teachers' qualifications and training (Qureshi and Shamin, 2009). These inequalities represent a 'class' within a 'class'; e.g. urban teachers training probability was higher than their counterparts in rural area and male teachers having more chances than the female teachers.

In response to the criticism that the teachers do not fulfill their teaching obligation with honesty and sincerity, a public school headmaster puts the responsibility on the government's existing system; and also the society which does not recognize their (teachers') significant position. Teaching is considered a low-paid and low-status position (Alif Ailaan, 2014). In our research locations also, they usually boasted of their important role in the society, but complained against the governmental attitude towards keeping them at one of the lowest levels in the state employment structure. They said that the state does not recognize them with their due status in the government employment cadre and a respectable place in the society; therefore, teaching has become the last resort for the young generation:

It's their {parents} right to make complaints against our teachers; on the same time they should also understand the position of government teachers – they are low paid, they don't have any opportunity of professional development, there is no system of rewards for their good work, and they are the most ignored {in terms of incentives} among other government employees.

- A male headmaster from village Khan Baba.



Since there was no higher level Madrasah available in the research locations, majority of the Madaaris in the area taught Quran, Hadith, Philosophy, Urdu, Arabic, and basic Math. They had special classes for *Nazra-Quran* (reading Quran), *Hifz-e-Quran* (Quran memorization) and *Tafseer-e-Quran* (interpretation and explanation of Quran) taught by the *Imams* or Madrasah teachers. Indeed, the number and type of courses increase in the higher level Madaaris which were available in the bigger cities like Quetta and Pishin. Unlike the modern school parents, Madrasah parents were more satisfied what their children were taught in these institutions as their only perspective was to religiously educate their children so that they are aware of their religion, their religious obligations and be morally strong human beings. In general, they were more concerned with the content of education than the source (the teachers). The perspectives were shared by the Madrasah officials in the following words:

We are providing the type of character building education that is good for this world and even more beneficial for the life after-here, which is an un-ending life. It is more important what they learn than who teaches them.

– A male Madrasah Administrator village Baacha Khan

My observational data indicate that there was a hidden rivalry going on between the private and public sector officials. Each one of them argued to be better than the others. Public sector boasted due to their teachers' training<sup>94</sup>, better physical access to the community, low educational costs and better physical infrastructure; while the low-fee private schools were proud of their teachers' regularity, punctuality, being pro-children and having parents involved in

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<sup>94</sup> Required at the time of appointment.

child's grooming. Both of them asserted for better learning outcome. A public sector teacher claims that:

Education is better in public schools because teachers concentrate on teaching. I feel the teachers of private schools are ineffective in their teaching... When the students of private schools come to us here to enroll in grade 5 or 6, they are hopeless. We really have to work hard to bring them at par with our students.

– A male public school teacher in village Malakaan.

A private school principal responding to the criticism from various corners, mainly the public sector said that the trust of community confirms viability of their performance. Parents are not only sending their children to them but paying them too:

We are providing the best modern educational services to the people in the area, which is endorsed by the parents through sending their children to us with the hope for the best for their children. We had less than a hundred students about two years ago, now they are more than two hundred. This is a stamp of their {parents} acceptance of our performance.

– A private school male principal in village Baacha Khan

In general, several parents showed concerned over educational quality deterioration over time as they thought that public schools' quality was much better about two decades ago. There were no private schools in their time and those public schools could be compared in all respect to any good school of the day. As mentioned earlier, according to several parents today's public schools are faced with several challenges; such as, outdated curriculum, chronic teacher absenteeism, and a general social degradation of government schools; most of these parents were

making relevance between the current status of low-quality education with the overall outcome in economic as well as social terms. A parent from one of our research locations states:

We were also students; our schools were much better and disciplined; our studies were of better quality {than today's}. We had great teachers who were dedicated to their jobs. Though they {the teachers} were not local {from the area}, but were very sincere to their jobs and would stay in the village for months away from their own families – teachers in these schools are so disappointing these days.                    - A father from village Baacha Khan

I argue that change in the attitude of parents towards contemporary public schooling is because of three prominent reasons; i) private schooling is comparatively a newer phenomenon and there was only one stream of schooling available; i.e. public schools, so there was lack of awareness among parents and their knowledge regarding other options of educational provision to compare with; ii) today's private schooling concept has changed the views of parents; their awareness regarding state's responsibilities to provide social services has increased; hence they demand more; and iii), because of the current competitive economy, graduates with low-quality face challenges in finding reasonable jobs in the market, while this was not the case in their times.

Despite of all the criticism of the teachers, some of them were much appreciated for their good work by the parents as well as by their fellow workers and administrative supervisors.

To my question on the level of overall satisfaction from the institution that their children were currently being educated in, Madrasah parents (more than 90%) showed higher satisfaction and confidence level than the public and private school parents on their children well being at

Madrasah; this was followed by the private school parents, while the public school parents were the least satisfied (less than 30%).

#### 4.3.3. *Physical Infrastructure:*

While the physical infrastructure of the schools in my study was described in chapter 3 in detail, here I would like to discuss how the parents, teachers and school administration understood infrastructure to be affecting children's education. Some of the research participants saw physical infrastructure central to the Quality. Literature around the world argues that better physical facilities enhance child retention and learning at the school (Alif Ailaan, 2014; Lyon and Edgar, 2010; Khan, 2005; Jalil, 1998). For instance, a CIET International report on the *Gender Gap in Primary Education in Balochistan* suggests that "a girl is 3.5 times more likely to enroll than a girl from a community where there are fewer or no toilets. If it were possible to act on this issue, giving girls' schools more toilets in rural areas, the enrollment rate of those rural girls may increase by 31%." (CIET International, 1997: p-2). The same report further predicts that a separate girls' school may enhance girls' enrollment by 36%.

Balochistan's educational institutions, particularly in rural areas, present a bleak picture with regard to physical infrastructure. According to a fact sheet presented by Alif Ailaan (2014) and ASER Pakistan (2013), more than 50% of Pakistani institutions are without boundary walls, toilets, clean drinking water, electricity and satisfactory building. The situation in Balochistan is even worse, where only 29% primary schools have access to usable water, 16% to usable toilets, 17% to playgrounds, 25% have boundary walls, less than 1% have a library, and none have a computer lab. Private schools are a little better with 75% (usable water), 69% (usable toilets),

19% (playgrounds), 81% (boundary walls), 25% (library) and 12.5% (computer labs) respectively (ASER, 2013). The picture in private schools, although not very good, seems to be comparatively a bit better than the public schools. However, it has to be kept in mind that private schools, for the most part, are urban-based; urban-based public schools also tend to have better physical infrastructure, but they are the minority of public schools. In general, none of the institutions in our research locations were adequately equipped with physical infrastructure, including low-fee private schools. Children and parents were faced with difficulties in meeting their basic needs:

We want education for our children and we are sending them to schools; however, let me tell you – the situation is not very good. Our schools lack classrooms, our children are stuffed like sheep in these classroom. There are only a few dirty toilets; our children have to come home to use toilets.

– A mother from village Malakaan

During our research, the majority of the parents (more than 70%) mentioned a better educational environment, including better physical facilities, as one of the most important determinants in making decisions in favor of a particular institution. Moreover, many parents asked the state and the international community to invest in children's education without discrimination by providing better facilities where they are needed, instead of where they are provided for political purposes. Making a decision between the public and private sector schooling, parents felt they had to choose an ill-equipped public school that was likely to result in low outcomes, or pay the higher cost of choosing a private school that was more likely to result in positive outcomes after graduation. A parent conveys his frustration in the following words:

We love our children and we want the best for them. We are poor and need the government and others' (international donors) attention and support to provide funds for our schools. Big schools in Islamabad, Karachi and Lahore have all the facilities for their children to study and play. We are not refugees; we are also the citizens of this country, aren't we? Our children don't have classes, they don't have books, and they don't have teachers – not even chalk and pencils. Look at them {elite schools in the cities} have all; books, teachers, buildings, buses, computers, everything. Although I am paying extra money for my children to these private schools, but they {the schools} are nothing as compare to those {urban elite} schools. – A father from village Khan Baba

None of the locations presented an ideal situation; however, some were better than others. In one location (village Malakaan), the availability of drinking water was a huge problem; the villagers did not have clean piped water available in their houses. A water tank, along with a tube-well, was centrally located and the villagers, almost every morning and evening, had to fetch water in buckets and large clay pitchers to their home. In general, village children and females were responsible to perform this duty. The public school from the same village also did not have any drinking water facility within the school. Every morning students had to bring water in buckets and large clay pitchers from the village water tank for their classes. Every day two students in turn would perform this duty for each classroom; resulting in missing almost the entire first period. The same was the case in the private school from the same village; however, the need to ferry water was fulfilled by a school peon (servant) not by the students. In the Madrasah from the same village, the situation was comparatively better because the adjacent Mosque had access to water, so Madrasah student and teachers were also benefitting from it.

Several parents mentioned the issue of drinking water in their in-depth interviews with me. The teachers and school administrators understood parents' frustration, but also felt unable (due to lack of financial resources and attention from the state) to improve the provision of the academic and physical environment; including water through pipe extension from the main tube-well to the school:

We are doing whatever we can, but some things are beyond our control, and the government is not providing any funding to improve the situation. I personally went to the MPA<sup>95</sup> of the area along-with the village *Malak*<sup>96</sup> twice in the last year, to help us secure some government funds for school water and two rooms construction; but so far unsuccessful.

– A public school headmaster from village Malakaan

As noted in the earlier chapters, the low-level Madaaris, particularly in the rural areas of Balochistan, are also not adequately equipped with sophisticated physical facilities. Just like their counterparts – modern educational institutions – they also met the minimal needs of the students and were riddled with inadequate classrooms, few books and educational supplies, a lack of extra educational aids, insufficient residential facilities, and so forth.

None of the institutions presented a satisfactory picture of adequate physical infrastructure. I argue that there were two main reasons; i) lack of resources from the state and not giving education sector its important due share that it deserves, and whatever was allocated

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<sup>95</sup> The politically elected representative/member from the area for the Provincial Assembly.

<sup>96</sup> Title for village chief

was not properly reaching the local schools because of corruption (Alif Ailaan, 2016), and, ii) lack of attention by the local caretakers of these institutions. Some of the problems which could be solved at the local level were not given the importance. For instance, the private schools were functional as 'businesses' and parents were paying for their children, but still lacked resources because the owners wanted to make money instead of further investment in improved physical infrastructure. Madaaris, on the other hand, were run solely on philanthropic sources and could do only what they had received from the communities around them.



#### 4.4 Additional Factors Influencing Parental Decision-Making:

While access (in terms of physical distance and financial affordability) and educational quality (in terms of perceptions of academic measures like curriculum and teaching and a mean to climb up the social ladder) were the most prominent factors influencing parents' school choices, there were also some supplementary factors identified through the data in the three locations that played a significant role in parental decision-making and prioritization. These included: desired or perceived educational outcome, policy making and institutional monitoring and supervision (role of the state and policy makers and implementers), corporal punishment, and social support (from the household and the community). In the following section, I analyze these additional factors in order of the importance they were given by the research participants. I find that these additional factors, as with access and quality, are generally best understood as acting as components of an education system that, in its daily practices and in people's opinions, reproduces class, geographic, and gender inequalities. These factors may play into "parental choice" in ways that are similar to access and quality, in that parents often understand these components to be important in differentiating school types, but seldom have much choice about whether the school their children attend will or will not have these characteristics because the schools with these characteristics are not equally available to all families. For instance, families with better SES can ensure their availability to participate in school affairs and/or look for the option of better education with better outcome which can meet their objectives.

##### *Perceived/Desired Educational Outcome:*

The three streams of education in Pakistan are mostly divided along socio-economic class lines: the *Madaaris* cater to very poor rural children; the vernacular-medium public schools cater

to the working and lower-middle class children; and the English-medium schools cater to the urban middle and upper classes (Farah, et al. 2006; Rahman, 2005). The graduates of these institutions, in general, exhibited the same characteristics (in terms of class, geography and gender) as would be expected for each school type. These data indicate that, indeed, schools are playing a class reproductive, not transformational role, in the area.

Pakistan's education system is a tool for maintaining the status quo because it is replicating the existing distribution of wealth, wellbeing and social structure (Alif Ailaan, 2016). As briefly highlighted in chapter 2, in Pakistan there is an evident correlation between education level and type, pay, social status, and options for moving up the economical and social ladder; hence, the schools inculcate a class-based structure that promotes class capital (Rahman, 2010; Retallick, 2009; Bourdieu, 1979). A study of 828 mid and senior management level jobs from around a hundred firms conducted by SAHE and Alif Ailaan in 2016 concluded that "Pakistan is sustaining an education system in which the rich will stay rich, or get richer, and the poor will have an ever-shrinking chance for social mobility." (p-V). Several researchers have observed that there is a wide gulf between the graduates of Madaaris and public and low-fee private schools, and the students in elite public and elite private schools (Rahman, 2004 & 2010). According to researchers and academicians, the Pakistani public sector education, particularly the lower level, lacks the cognitive, social and marketable skills development approaches among students; does not offer a modern and global curriculum as required by the global economy; and, do not teach English language. The students are therefore unable to compete for jobs and/or easily climb the educational ladder (Alif Ailaan, 2016; Memon, 2007; Rahman, 2005; Hoodbhoy, 1998 & 2006). Such findings do not simply implicate the schools and their quality; as is the case around the world where great wealth and class inequalities already exist, schools

reproduce social inequalities (Rahman, 2010; Lall, M. and Vickers, E., 2009; Kumar, 2006; Ball, 2006; Asad, 2003; Coleman, 1998).

Analysis of the data that I gathered from my research locations on additional factors that influence parental choice concludes that respondents can largely be grouped into four categories:

- first, those looking at education and schooling as most closely related to economic gains and societal status;
- second, those focused on education for learning (self-development) and basic living and survival;
- third, those who thought of education and knowledge enhancing morality and spirituality
- fourth, those for whom education was nothing but a waste of time and capital resources

Keeping in view the current low quality and standards of public and low-fee private schools, several parents in our research locations knew that the outcome will hardly be suitable for the basic level jobs<sup>97</sup>(Alif Ailaan and SAHI, 2016b). Furthermore, if their children (the graduates of these low-level secular institutions) wanted to go for higher education they would be unable to compete and get into well-reputed educational institutions due to their weak academic background (Rahman, 2004); however, they said that they did not have any choice, as a few parents from village Baacha Khan and village Malakaan argued:

The job market is becoming very competitive day by day; I know with this kind of education, our children will not be able to compete and go up. They are only suitable to be an office clerk or a peon somewhere.

– A father from village Baacha Khan

<sup>97</sup> After completing higher secondary schooling - grade 12.

I argue that they were right, as research indicates that the percentage of successful candidates in the competitive examinations<sup>98</sup> from elite school graduates is much higher than the regular public (or low-fee private) school graduates in Pakistan (Rahman, 2010). This is yet another piece of data indicating that there is an obvious and systematic class division and multi-layers of inequalities in Pakistani society created and/or maintained by the various tiers of education and schooling. For instance, the students of elite schools enjoy top-notch, urban-based educational facilities during their student life, and get into well reputed national and international educational institutions. After graduation they use their degrees and the networks that they have built to cream out the top jobs, enjoy luxurious living standards and styles, and build social and cultural capital they can utilize to capture even more resources in the public and private spheres of life (Naseem, 2010). Likewise, the lower tier of private sector (the low-fee private school) graduates, although unable to mount any competition with the elite school graduates, still capture the local-level job markets because of their comparative advantage of English language (Alif Ailaan and SAHE, 2016; Rahman, 2010). Hence, public school graduates remain at the bottom of the line for the leftover lower standard jobs (Alif Ailaan and SAHE 2016b). Madaaris on the other hand construct a separate cadre of graduates that can only easily be hired in the religious sector of the country (Anzar, 2003).

Many scholars argue that fewer economic and employment opportunities were available to government school graduates (and particularly to grade 10 leavers) because of the low quality of these schools; however, the rural and uneducated parents associated schooling with better prospects and better employment (Hassan, 2005). My data do not entirely support this claim. Parents in our research sites did not think very highly of the quality of public schooling, and so

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<sup>98</sup> Central Superior Services (CSS) and Provincial Public Service Commission (PCS) exam and others.

they did not raise their expectations for what opportunities school completion would bring. On the other hand, however, these parents also did not feel that most low-fee private schools were of high quality. Despite the quality not differing very much between public and private schools, parents expected that if they sent their children to these private schools, they would have greater or better job opportunities because private schools signaled higher-class status to parents. So, public-school parents urged their children to imagine futures in normal mid-level jobs; such as teacher, office assistant, or member of a family business. A public school parent explained that:

After 10-12 grades of schooling I am sure my son will get a reasonable job in the government. I don't expect him to be a king, but surely will be able to survive.

– A father from village Khan Baba

Ahmad (2011) is of the view that employment opportunities are much greater for graduates of English medium schools as compared to their counterparts from the public schools and Madaaris. Generally, parents mirrored this argument; they said they chose private schools because they felt they offered opportunities of more services and better outcomes for their children. The SAHE and Alif Ailaan study (2016b) mirrors these analytic themes and finds that parents from private schools expect their children to have comparatively higher level employment and social status; such as, doctors, engineers, professor and so on. A private school girl's educated mother expects that:

We are saving {in terms of finances} all what we can for the education of our children.

We want them to be better educated than us; I want my son to be an engineer and my daughter to be a doctor.

– A mother from village Baacha Khan

Madrasah credentials are normally associated with low-ranking jobs and with low income. They include becoming an *Imam*, an Islamic studies teacher, or a religious scholar who

teaches Quran (Rahman, 2010; Malik, 2008). However, Madrasah students' parents' expectations in our locations were mixed. A few expected their children to experience both positive economic outcomes (through jobs in the religious sector) and religious outcomes (through gaining Islamic knowledge):

Religious education pays in both; in this world and the life-hereafter. Here a person can be an imam or a teacher, which will make him a living enough to survive, and in the life-hereafter he will receive the bounties of being a follower of the Islamic way of life.

- A father (an Imam also) from village Baacha Khan

Others exclusively wanted their children to be religiously and spirituality trained, so that their 'eternal' life was secured. An Imam and Madrasah administrator said, for example, that a means of livelihood will be found, but the focus of education should be to learn for the sake of religious fulfillments:

Education means creating the ability to differentiate between good and bad; Allah is responsible for our living, we will get what we have in our fate. We should concentrate on learning and following His path. Allah is our well wisher and He will not make us starve.

– An *Imam* from a Madrasah in village Khan Baba

Besides the economic and social outcome of these various tiers; parents were more concerned with the morality and discipline aspects of education as well. Irrespective of class, gender and geography, all parents in research locations, being from a predominantly Pashtun and Islamic society, emphasized the inclusion of religious education in all the educational institutions. Most of them (over 90%) associated religious education with morality and discipline in children's life (Bano, 2010).

With regard to the public schooling practices related to discipline and morality lessons and/or practices, some parents (around 30%) made assumptions that their children become ill-behaved once they spend a few years in public schools. They related these “ill behaviors” to the incompetence of the public schools’ curricular and teaching practices. Some parents blamed the modern subjects for lacking the ability to nurture Islamic values among children, such as respecting parents and elders, taking care of personal hygiene, observing regularity and punctuality, and being helpful citizens. A research participant (whose daughter was enrolled in a private school) suggested:

They (pointing to public schools) don’t teach any sort of morality and discipline to the students – I think discipline is taught in private schools and morality in Mosques and Madaaris. I suggest that religious education should be made compulsory in all schools.

- A father from village Malakaan

Since parents wanted to see their children ‘well-disciplined’, private schools were giving much emphasis on discipline and inculcating life-skills. Almost every morning they inspected tidiness of uniforms and personal hygiene, such as brushing teeth and hair. Students were using polite words such as “Sorry” and “Thank You” more often in private schools than public school (I observed this difference as well) and were bringing this behavior home, as stated happily by some parents from the research area. Though private schools, like public schools, did not have topics or courses focused on morality and Islamic values directly, private school parents did not complain about this the way that public school parents did. Nevertheless, the majority of the private school parents also desired for inclusion of a good amount of Islamic knowledge in their children’s curricular activities. Madrasah officials, on the other hand, boasted about focusing on human character building in all their students, and considered this the first priority of their

instructional environment. Moreover, they claimed that all of their learning, across all subjects, focuses on morality because that is the only thing that makes a human being fully “human”. Any other school focus was, they felt, either less important or sometimes even dangerous to moral development. A Madrasah administrator claimed:

Respects for teachers, parents, helping the poor and those in need are all taught in Islamic teachings; therefore, our concentration is more on human spiritual character building than increasing worldly superficial information.

- A Madrasah Administrator from village Khan Baba

In contrast to the majority of parents’ views of boys’ education, a majority (60%) of parents did not perceive girls’ education in economic terms. Instead, girls’ education was although considered important but viewed primarily as a means of developing girls’ gendered social and religious roles and responsibilities—for example, building her personality and helping her become a ‘good’ mother, daughter, and wife (Bano, 2010). Indeed, the data indicate a great deal of gender disparity created by parental attitudes and practices. Except for about 40% of the secular school-educated parents, who simultaneously talked about their girls along with their boys, in general, most parents only talked about schooling expectations (in terms of economic gains) in relation to boys. Parental attitudes exhibited a great deal of gender inequalities, which were generated from within the family and/or community environment. A mother presents her thoughts in the following words:

Of course we want our daughters to be educated too. We want them to be literate, educated and have the knowledge of the world and the life hereafter. They are responsible for the coming generations; they have to learn be good wives and mothers.

- A mother from village Malakaan



Lastly, our data clearly indicate that a group of parents (though very small in number) opted to not send their children to any type of educational institution. Among those who opted for no schooling, there were two types of thoughts involved. First, one group of parents said that even though education was affordable for them, they could not foresee reasonable economic benefits from school, or the economic outcome was so slow and time-consuming it was not worth pursuing because they were looking for immediate results. They highly criticized the low quality of education provided in educational institutions in the area, and described all forms of school as a waste of time and capital resources. For these parents, teachers' low qualifications and negative behavior, unimpressive curricula, lack of state attention, lacking school texts and supplies, inadequate physical facilities, and no tangible outcome after graduation were considered to be the major causes and major signs of school failure (as suggested by many researchers and scholars as well; for instance, Alif Ailaan, 2016; ASER, 2013; Memon, 2009; Aslam, 2009; Farah et al, 2006; Khan, 2005). These parents showed their discontent in the type of education these institutions were providing. For the parents with higher SES who took this stance, the opportunity cost of schooling was much higher than the benefits of having the child work and/or help in the family farming and/or businesses. Because they had the wealth to involve their children in money-making venues early on—venues that depended on the family's greater access to land and/or capital—working and gaining hands-on experience in the family business was more immediately rewarding than spending (or wasting) years in schools. The prevailing rate of unemployment, unsatisfactory economic outcome and low social status of those educated (from these institutions) were the significant examples they quoted in our discussion:

In-spite of spending sixteen years in school, which does not give any results (outcomes), I should train my child in doing business with me. I am sure this result will be much better and rewarding than going to school. I see a lot of MAs (masters' level educated) on streets looking for jobs; they can't even find low level jobs.

– A father from village Malakaan

Another parent from village Khan Baba shared the same views on educational outcome. According to him, 2 to 3 years of training in family business and farming was paying higher than spending 14 to 16 years in a school. He noted that:

Since we don't have high standard educational institutions, which can provide the best education and {economic} returns; it is better that our children, instead of going to these low-standard school, help me in my business, I think my sons can be more beneficial to the family being successful businessman rather than spending years in acquiring education and then be jobless.

– A father from village Khan Baba

This perspective of 'useless education' was shared by some female respondents as well, particularly in relation to girls' education. These women wanted their girls to be helpful to them at home rather than spending time at schools. They also considered learning home-making skills more useful than learning at schools (Tram, et al, 2008), because school-learning was viewed as beneficial to those who hoped to work in the outer world (that is, outside of the home). They thought that the world their girls lived in did not require education and because they didn't have to deal with the outer world. Their fathers and male siblings took care of them before marriage, and their husbands took care of them after their marriages. Their role was to support the men by keeping the home up, and this role was itself rewarded in the here and now, and in the next life:

I think it's much better for a girl to help her mother, her family and in-laws at home; she will make her both lives better – this world and the one coming hereafter.

– A mother from village Khan Baba

This understanding reflects support for complementary gender roles; such perspectives have also been found in Muslim immigrant populations in Europe (e.g., Pirelli 2004) and in conservative Christian homes in the U.S., where such families sometimes home-school their children in order to control the curriculum and schedule of children's schooling (Apple 2011, Kendall 2013).

*Policy-making and Institutional Management & Supervision:*

As discussed in the previous chapters, management and supervisory structures varied across the three school sectors. My past experience in the field of development has taught me that effective and efficient planning, monitoring and supervision in any system ensures better results. In our research locations, as discussed in the earlier chapters, most of the Madrasah and private school policy making, administration and management take places at the local institutional level, while public school policy comes the federal and provincial level, and local supervision is done at the district and school levels.

Personal motives (mainly economic and reputation) of the Madrasah and private schools administration are directly involved in shaping institutional management, including streamlining curricular activities and teachers' supervision; by many measures, these management decisions result in comparatively better school operation (e.g., teacher presence in the classroom on a daily basis). In contrast, public school head teachers' power and authority are constrained by

bureaucracy, multiple levels of policies, scarce financial resources, and the powerful teachers' unions, as mentioned by a headmaster in village Baacha Khan. Despite of the administrative, financial and political constraints faced by the school management; several parents (70%), along with some teachers, believed that the state officials and head teachers were equally responsible for the deteriorated situation of education because of the existing weak management system at the institutional level. Many parents identified the severe lack of political commitment at the policymaking level and the lack of personal commitment and motivation at the head master/head teacher level to actively participate in children's educational affairs as two key components adding to educational deterioration. An educated parent (whose children were attending a private school) from village Baacha Khan, blamed the state education department missionary in the following words:

Poor children's education is not the priority list of the people sitting at the top, because their own children do not study in these schools. Their policies look good only on papers. Much of the development funding goes in the pockets of government officials and politicians.

- A male parent from village Baacha Khan

One of the biggest dilemmas, particularly with regard to the policy directives and their implementation in the field, is that policy implementation is jeopardized by so many red-tape bureaucratic stages of process. There are several steps and authorities involved which makes the implementation process slow and ineffective; hence resulting in a huge gap between the policy and the practice on the ground. For instance, as mentioned above, as a policy, induction of English language as a subject was instructed to be introduced at the grade 1 level; however, most

of the schools are not practicing that as yet. Majority of the education officials said that the government in Islamabad delivers directives but do not provide required support to implement the same on the ground. They said that they were neither provided relevant English books nor the teachers were properly trained to teach English in the early grades. Another major issue in this regard is that these policies are formulated on paper to be transparent, but in reality they are not exercised with transparency. For example, teachers and administrators' appointments and posting are mostly affected by political interferences that make the process of monitoring, supervision and accountability flawed. Another educated parent from village Baacha Khan, particularly with reference to the school administration, states:

These people {the school head teachers} are not educated to run an organization {the school}; they are political appointees or were just simple teachers and got promoted to be a head master on the basis of their service on the job without any skills to manage a school – we don't have any other option but to live with it.

-A father from village Baacha Khan

This also, unfortunately, results in a situation of the right people not being in the right place, for the right job. For instance, in one of the public schools in village Malakaan, a young college graduate was serving as the vice-principal. According to a teacher, he was appointed through his political networks not through the proper channel of the public service commission<sup>99</sup>. This generated two setbacks: one, since he was appointed by a local provincial assembly member (the MPA), the head teacher was unable to make him accountable for his regular absence from

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<sup>99</sup> A government entity responsible for recruitments of Basic Pay Scale 16 and above positions through a competitive process for various government departments.

the job. Second, the more senior teachers felt deprived of their genuine professional rights to further promotion in their career; this resulted in their de-motivation to enjoy and continue showing dedication towards their jobs. Despite this, a monitoring and evaluation system does exist on paper in the public education department, and the government has been claiming its implementation; it lacked, however, a strict and functional system operational in the field (Naz, 2011; Memon, 2007; Mustafa, 2004), especially the rural areas of the province. A teacher from the same school registered his grievances in the following words:

There is no reward and punishment system in our education system – if you have a political back {support} you are the winner.

– A public school male teacher from village Malakaan

With regard to teacher absenteeism, ASER (2013) survey data reported a higher attendance rate (on the day the survey team visited) of private teachers (94.4%) as compared to their counterparts in the public schools (86.8%) in Balochistan. Indeed my data support the claim. Generally, in our research locations, regularity and punctuality of the teachers was most common among the private school teachers, followed by the public schools and Madaaris. During my long and continuous institutional observations, I noticed that this pattern was similar across school actors. Not only did the teachers meet more regularly, but student-teacher meetings were also more regular in private schools than the public school. However, students in Madaaris were found to be the most regular in attendance among the three institutions because of their strict attendance regulations, as one Madrasah administrator claimed. He said that if a student was absent for more than 2 days in a month without any genuine reason (and authenticated by their parents), they will strike him out from the Madrasah. The same 2-day rules applied to the

Madrasah teachers; otherwise they could lose their jobs. The situation in the public schools, however, was a bit different, largely because of political corruption. For example, in one school, after spending around two weeks there, I saw a new person in one of the classes. When I was introduced to him, I came to know that he was one of the teachers. On my inquiry he said that he was away for some personal work in Karachi.<sup>100</sup> The headmaster later explained privately that the teacher had no formal approved leave of absence. However, the headmaster said that he could not do anything because the teacher was from the family of the village chief. During his absence, the headmaster had to split his teaching responsibilities between two other teachers, who tried to staff his classes in addition to their own regular class commitments.

Undoubtedly, corruption, nepotism and inequalities created by the state system play an unconstructive role in keeping the morals of good and dedicated employees intact (Alif Ailaan, 2014).

A number of private school teachers and leaders expressed that public school teachers' political influence created inequities between public and private teachers, and that this was a problem from their perspective. For example, a private school teacher explained that about two years ago, all the public school teachers boycotted the classroom teachings in Pishin district because of a demand for allocation of some financial incentive for rural-based teachers to compensate for their hardship. Since the classroom lockout was initiated and supported by the Teachers groups, the government could not take any action against them, but rather kneeled down in front of the teachers and negotiated some raise in their salaries as 'hardship allowance'. Such allowances were not available to the low-fee private school teachers because of the fragile

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<sup>100</sup> The largest city of Pakistan situated in the province of Sindh.

nature of their jobs, the private school teacher added. Private school teachers' pay and position depends on their regularity and punctuality in the school. These teachers are answerable to the school principals/administrators; who, in most cases, are the owners of the schools, running these schools mostly as businesses. This business approach to schooling resulted in very different logics and practicalities concerning teachers' work, and presented a significant contrast to private school teachers, who often felt that they were doing more for less.

Along-with with the institutional management, teachers' behavior was also an important part of the institutional reputation, and impacting the parental decision-making. Although some educated parents had complaints regarding private school teachers being untrained, they did not mention teachers' absenteeism and abusive behavior being a problem in private schools. A Madrasah teacher also concurred that Madrasah teachers make all possible efforts to ensure their attendance unless it is very necessary to take off. One of the basic reasons for public school teachers being more absent from classes, I argue, was their job security (all teachers) and political support (some teachers). The public sector provides permanent and regular teaching positions, and they are unionized; therefore, it's quite difficult for the government to make them lose their jobs easily. On the other hand, it becomes very difficult for the institutional heads/the headmasters, to overcome deal with such teachers and become helpless; resulting in parental dissatisfaction from the school in general.

The state of teacher employment and presence reveals the importance and impact of local level management on school practices. Madrasah and private schools were owned and operated by individuals who, in almost all the cases, were present throughout the day within the institution and had almost unlimited power to decide whether teachers kept their jobs. This made a huge



difference in their management of day-to-day institutional affairs. In contrast, in public schools, the management cadre appointments were also permanent and in many cases highly political and not under the control of the district management. Moreover, the headmasters had job security and did not think of the school as a business.

*Corporal Punishment:*

Public schools and Madaaris in our research locations were notorious for corporal punishment (beating or otherwise). Although the National Assembly of Pakistan and other Provincial Assemblies (including Balochistan) passed a number of bills between 2013 and 2016 that prohibited corporal punishment in schools, it is still a common practice in public schools in the country (the Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2017). A survey of students aged 12–17 years, conducted by the Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Child (SPARC) Pakistan in 2013-14 found that 44% students had experienced physical violence by teachers in school during the last 6 months (between October 2013 to March 2014), and 30% had been locked in the toilet by a teacher. Corporal punishment was one of the causes contributing to children's dropout (Alif Ailaan, 2016) both in public schools and Madaaris. According to another report by SPARC-Pakistan, reported in the Express Tribune in its 27 June 2013 issue, up to 35,000 students drop out of high school every year because of corporal punishment.

Across the three locations, across the type of institutions, including male-female or co-ed ones, I found the existence of some sort of punishment approach to deal with perceived lapses in morality and laziness in the students. My observational and interview data support the claims made in the above statements. Several public and private school teachers from our research

locations mentioned the presence of corporal punishment in public schools and Madaaris.

Moreover, a few of parents mentioned corporal punishment in schools (and homes) as a reason that they were sending their children to private schools instead of public schools or Madaaris. A parent from a private school in village Khan Baba said that:

Due to frequent beating in a public school, my son was always hesitant to go to school, he was always scared of his teachers; therefore, I shifted my son to the private school.

The punishment practices are still there, but, I think, they are lesser than private schools.

- A father from village Khan Baha

In contrast, none of the parents who were sending their children to a Madrasah mentioned corporal punishment as an adversity. Instead, some of them thought that a child, when not learning lessons and not following the orders (instructions) of their parents and teachers, should be punished. Some parents argued that when children received these punishments at an early age, it would lead to benefits in their older age. These parents' views on punishment mirror the views of many teachers as well. The SPARC (2014) survey, for example, found that teachers expressed a belief that corporal punishment was necessary to ensure good academic achievement and student focus on their studies. A 2013 study commissioned by Plan International Pakistan concluded that 20% of teachers "fully agreed" and 47% "partially agreed" that 'a small amount of physical punishment was necessary for most children' (Plan International, 2014). The same study, commenting on parental and family attitudes towards corporal punishment, further revealed that 41% of parents and other adult family members fully agreed and 38% partially agreed with the statement. Around 75% teachers and 84% of parents agreed with the statement that teachers were justified in beating students who were rude or disobedient; while 65% of

teachers thought children who violated school rules “deserved” to be beaten (Plan International 2014).

Unfortunately, I also witnessed this behavior, both in public schools and Madaaris in all three locations. It was common practice that the teacher would have a stick in his hand. I noted the use of a stick for punishing students was more commonly employed by the Mathematics, English and Islamic studies teachers; a teacher explained that these subjects were ‘hard’ for the students and, therefore, enforcement was necessary. Some other forms of punishment, beyond beating with a stick, included, beating with hands and legs, putting pencils among fingers and then squeezing, asking the students to stand outside the class for the entire period in severe weather, or having students do the cleaning of the class for the next morning (at the end of the day) or making him or her stand in one corner of the class (to be shamed). In a couple of Madaaris that I visited, I witnessed the beating practice commonly.

It was the general perception of the parents that in terms of which schools had the most common corporal punishment practices, the Madrasah was on the top, followed by the public and private schools respectively. In contrast, a study conducted by Plan Pakistan and reported by the Express Tribune on November 19, 2012, concluded that corporal punishment was most common in Public schools, followed by the private schools and then Madaaris (Plan Pakistan, 2012).

Teachers in the study schools justified their beating practices as an appropriate and effective mechanism for inculcating morality and discipline among the students. In almost all then three institutions, generally, punishment was more common among the adolescent age (almost between 8 to 16 years) boys as compare to younger boys and girls of all ages. A Madrasah teacher strongly argued that showing a ‘red-eye’ (anger) for unhealthy behavior was necessary to ensure discipline in lives of the children:

You have to be both, soft and hard, with children. Occasionally, a ‘red-eye’ is important to show to a child. – A male Madrasah teacher from village Malakaan

In one of the public school in village Malakaan, while observing a class heard a child crying from the next door classroom. I got a little upset and while coming out of the classroom that I was observing to see why the child was crying, the teacher from this class told me that since the children did not complete their homework assignment, the teacher was punishing them.

According to my observations, teachers in the private schools exhibited a bit different behavior. The concept of punishment existed there too; however, I did not witness any physical beatings. Instead, the teachers would punish the students only by making him/her stand in one of the corners in the class or making them stand outside the classroom in severe weather for some time, or asking him/her to submit some financial fine. In cases where the behavior did not change, the parents of those students were summoned by the school to ask them to help control their child. Most of these punishments (other than the fines) were present in public schools as well; in actions and in interviews, these teachers did not have a significantly different set of assumptions about the need or benefits of punishments, but unlike in the other school types, physical punishment was rarely if ever used, and financial punishments existed. The use of financial punishments was unique to private schools, as these were the only schools that could potentially ask parents to pay for services—this was theoretically not allowed in Public schools, and Madaaris actively subsidize students’ education. In terms of the lack of physical punishment, one argument that some teachers made was that the majority of the teachers in the private schools were females, who are considered to be more sympathetic towards the children in general. In other words, some teachers argued that women teachers gave fewer physical

punishments because they were more understanding of students, and kinder. Others, however, argued that there were fewer physical punishments in private schools because parents could withdraw their students from the school if they felt the punishments were too harsh, and the wealthier, more educated parents who sent their children to private schools were less supportive of corporal punishment than other parents.

Madrasah teachers practiced even more severe stick beating. For them the use of stick was necessary to ‘inculcate’ and ‘maintain’ discipline, as suggested by a Madrasah teacher in village Khan Baba. On the other hand, during my discussion with parents and as noted previously, even a few parents were of the opinion that there should be no objection to beating students in order to inculcate “discipline” in them. A parent cited a Pashto proverb, *Che Dab Na We Adab Na We*, which in broader terms means: when there is no hit there will be no discipline.

Among the three locations, the least corporal punishment that I observed was in village Baacha Khan. I argue that this was due to the fact that this village had more educated parents than any other. Educated parents consistently had less supportive views of physical punishment than did other parents. Since educated parents were also commonly wealthier than other parents, beliefs about discipline were classed—as has been found in many other studies of support for physical punishment around the world (Lee, 2015; Covell & Becker, 2011; Alyahri & Goodman, 2008; Dunne, Humphreys, & Leach, 2006). Also, since the government has to some extent prohibited the practice of physical punishment in schools, the location of this village closer to a city and the eyes of the government officials may also have lessened the practice for fear of being caught breaking the rules.

In general, we now know that in our research locations, Madaaris and public schools were the institutions where the poorest and the lower middle working class families sent their children and the better off to the private schools to educate their children. The data provides clear evidence that corporal punishment was more common and severer among the Madrasah and public school than the private schools and more in rural schools than the urban schools. Moreover, the data also show that corporal punishment was more common in rural schools than the urban schools. Therefore I conclude that the poorest, particularly the rural children, receive the hardest punishment at the school, while the wealthier and urban children face less.

*Social (Family & Community) Support:*

For the sake of this study, I am analyzing the notion of social and communal support in terms of parental and community involvement for educational advancement in the three locations. I also take into consideration the communal and family support extended to the institutions located in the research locations. There is a plethora of literature from around the world highlighting the importance and positive impact on educational achievements and outcomes of family and community involvement in the process of education. There are many different ways of defining family and community involvement in education. Coleman (1998), for example, suggests that family engagement (for example, helping in homework, talking about school, meeting the teachers, etc. in children's educational efforts is one of the most important determinants of educational achievement. Sanders and Epstein (1998) argue that families and schools must work in collective efforts to ensure educational quality. They say that families and communities must come together and be equal partners in the process of education provision. Aslam's (2009) study on children's school achievement in relation to familial support found that

students in Pakistan scored higher in mathematics if parents helped with homework. There is also evidence from studies conducted in South Asia that in communities that have an educational institution available within the community, the likelihood of enhanced enrollment and retention remains high, particularly among girls from the same community (Chudgar and Shafiq 2010). This is not only due to the closer geographical location and the lowered concerns about safety that accompany having the school nearby, but also because that increases the probability of enhanced community and family involvement.

Community involvement with regards to establishment of the Village Education Committees (VECs) or Parent-Teacher School Management Committees (PTSMCs) also plays an important role in supporting the academic enhancement of schools (Safdar, 2005). This involvement can be in the form of helping students in their curricular and extracurricular activities/programs, fundraising, volunteering, meeting parents of non-enrolled children to persuade them for enrolling their children in schools, and so on (Safdar, 2005). The CIET International report on Gender Gap in Primary Education in Balochistan noted that a child studying in a school without a PTSMC is three times more likely to drop out than a child in a school that has it (CIET International, 1997). Keeping in view the general benefits, the process of VEC and PTSMC formation was started in Balochistan with the support of international donors around two decades ago. The main objectives for establishment of these committees were to create linkages between teachers and families on the one hand, and families to families on the other, in order to enhance children's educational outcomes (Nistler and Maiers, 2000).

Although these village committees were theoretically instituted a few years ago, they were almost non-existent in Balochistan in general and the research locations in particular. The

process of establishing committees faced severe resistance from teachers through their teacher unions from the very beginning, as they felt the PTSMCs posed a threat to the teacher's independence. The Balochistan Point (an online newspaper) in an editorial noted that soon after the end of donor support the committees started depleting and are almost non-functional in the schools (December 22, 2016). One of the head masters from a government middle school in village Malakaan said that they had a committee (PTSMC), but people (putting the blame on the community) were not interested in the committee and therefore it is now totally defunct. On the other hand a parent said that:

We don't know what is happening inside the four walls of that building {the school}. We have never been invited to come to school and discuss. I don't even know who the head master is and who the teacher is. Parents are only contacted if the school wanted to collect some money for something. — A parent from village Khan Baba

However, in another location, a community parent appreciated the efforts of a primary school head teacher for his regular interaction with the family. He was also appreciated for taking a personal interest in village education. Jokingly the parent even said that "it looks like this man (the headmaster) was working more than his monthly salary". That head teacher happened to be a person from the same village and his own children were also enrolled in the same school. However, during my research, this headmaster was away on long leave because his wife was sick and he had to take her away to the city hospital. Another parent from the same community seconded the comments of the other parent and said that:

He (the public school head master) mostly meets and discusses if there were any educational issues in the school at the village Mosque after the prayer congregations in



the evenings. With the community {financial, labor and in kind) support, he was able to construct a classroom and two bathrooms last year. – A parent from Baacha Khan

As mentioned above family and community involvement and participation can be of several types. However, this has to be handled carefully so that both the parties (teachers and parents or community) feel at ease. In public school I could not see much of the community involvement practice; however, it was encouraged by the private schools. In fact, in private schools also it only limited to be involved in child's educational progress only not the school affairs. Relationship between family and teachers has never been smooth (Safdar, 2005), because there is constant power struggle between parental influence and school influence (Bastiani and Wolfendale, 1996). However, collective approach to school affairs, like the above example of a dedicated school headmaster and active community, can solve educational issues in a collaborative way in the larger interests of their children's education.

During my institutional observations, generally, I seldom witnessed a parent visiting the school to discuss his/her child's progress with the teacher in any of the locations. On the other hand, channels of communication were mostly open between the parents and the schools in the private sector. In almost all the private schools parents are required to deposit the students' fee with the first three to five days of the month. Since, I happened to be in a couple of the private schools during the first week of a month, I saw a large number of parents visiting the school; hence, also proved to be an opportunity to discuss child's educational progress with the school administrators and teachers. Moreover, teachers always kept a channel of communication with the parents through a daily journal or through regular meetings in the school. Our data indicate that private school parents (over 70% and mostly educated) were involved in their children's education. This was more common in village Baacha Khan because of better parents' (including

mothers) literacy figures. They visited their children's school more often than the public school parents, at least once in the last one month. Majority of them (around 60%) visited their child's school at least once a month; 20% were mothers among them. Mothers' visits to the private schools were mainly because of the female school teachers' presence; they were less reluctant to meet a female than a male in the school. Some academicians are of the view that teachers may also benefit from increased parental involvement as parents become more aware and supportive of child's school activities (Chutgar and shafiq, 2010) ; but it was seldom witnessed between parents and the public schools and Madaaris. Among the private parents these visits were noted to be merely 20%. Almost none of the uneducated public school parents had paid any visit to their child's schools. Moreover, visits to public schools were only on need basis as and when parents were summoned to school by the school administration. Parent-teacher meetings at public schools were normally not for child's educational progress rather to discuss child's behavior. Indeed, since majority of the parents (more than 60%) belonged to the lower SES, therefore, many of the parents from the public school parents mentioned scarcity of time was the biggest hindrance in visiting the school or meeting teacher. For them, admitting the child in the school was sufficient and they could not spare time because they had to work day and night to make living for their families. A parent in village Malakaan said, that:

I can't visit my children school at all and I have never been there since they were admitted. Six days of the week I leave my home for work before dawn and return home after the dusk. Its only Sunday that I am free and then there is no school on that day.

- A father from village Malakaan

As mentioned above, vast majority of these parents were coming from the poorer families busy with making a living for the family. They let their children to be shaped by the process of

education themselves. For several of them priority was to feed their children rather than oversee their education:

I wish I had some free time to go and see what my children are learning for whom I have been working hard day and night – but it's okay, let's hope our efforts bring some fruits and they (children) are of some help to old parents.

-A father from village Bacha Khan

Officials and teachers of private schools were witnessed to be more welcoming than the public schools. Undeniably, parental school visits (by the private school officials) were considered as a positive step towards recognition of private school's importance in playing a pivotal role in their children's lives. A private school principal proudly boasts about his relationship with parents; he said:

I know all the parents, at least all fathers, of my students. I make them take interested in their children's educational activities by inviting them to school, meeting me, the teacher and share the responsibility of child development.

– A private school male principal in village Khan Baba

Madaaris' major financial and in-kind support, on the other hand, was from the local communities. Since all of these Madaaris in research locations were located adjacent to Mosques, majority the community members were, however, more attentive because they were visiting multiple times a day. Though, majority of the people in research locations were from the lower SES, Still, helping Madaaris with their charity considering it to be a noble cause and religious fulfillment. In terms of financial stability, Madaaris, in general, seemed to be more sustainable because of their continuous flow of resources (cash and kind) from their respective

communities. Indeed, most of the Madrasah officials were recognizing the patronage of the communities around them. According a *Maulana*:

We are self-help run institutions, we are more sustainable because of our low administrative costs – our major donors are our communities, which will remain with us forever.

- *Maulana*, A Madrasah official

With regards to the parental visits, parents of the children from Madaaris did not feel a need for meeting with the Madrasah administrator or teacher with regard to their child's educational progress. Some of them (40%) said that they did not have time to go the Madrasah, while around 50% showed their full satisfaction on the Madrasah officials and were confident that their children were in safe hands. Madrasah parents showed greater trust in Madrasah teachers than the private and public school parents on public or private school teachers. However, Madrasah parents occasionally met the *Imam* or the teachers in one of the prayers congregation and informally discuss child progress; but this was only possible if the child was studying in the local Madrasah. A father from one of our research locations said:

I don't feel a need to meet the Madrasah teacher more frequently. I go there almost once in two to three months to see if the child needs anything or the Madrasah needs anything. I see my child regularly on Fridays when he comes home. All is going well so far – I have given the child in the path of Allah and I am sure He will take care of him.

- A father from village Khan Baba.

Parental involvement and community participation more likely help in child's enrollment, retention and educational progress in the school; however, a big opportunity cost was associated

with keeping close ties with the schools. It was easily possible for wealthy families, but not the poor because of their endless livelihood engagements.

## CHAPTER – 5

### Implications, Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

#### 5.1. Implications and Conclusions:

The Pakistan education systems have been under severe criticism from within the country and from the outside. Although international scholars and media started writing and speaking about Pakistan's education system after the rise of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the tragic incidents of 9/11 (Bano, 2010 and 2012), Pakistani scholars have been critiquing it since a decade after the country's independence in 1947. Post-independence, Pakistani citizens expected a substantial change from the British class-based educational legacy (Farah, et al. 2006; Rahman, 2005), as promised by the political leaders of the time. In fact, Pakistan's independence movement caught its strength basically from two main claims: Pakistan will be an Islamic republic and a democratic state where all its citizens will be equally treated (Muhammad Ali Jinnah's speeches, pre and post Pakistan's independence). Unfortunately, people did not see a huge change in the post-independence period, and the class-based policies that fueled inequalities persisted. Today, Pakistanis continue receiving varied treatment on the basis of their social hierarchy, political positions and affiliations, geography, wealth, gender and ethnicity (Dashti, 2007; Rahman, 2005). Therefore, the dream of shared development and prosperity of Pakistani citizens is yet to be realized.

Pakistan's Human Development Index (HDI<sup>101</sup>) is among the lowest in the world, positioning the country at 147<sup>th</sup> out of 188 countries and territories in 2015 (UNDP, 2016b).

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<sup>101</sup> Mainly measuring health, education and living standards (UNDP)

Among the other social development indicators, educational figures present a bleak picture for the entire country, but particularly for rural and underdeveloped regions like Balochistan (Pakistan Education Statistics, 2014-15). According to the constitution of Pakistan, the state is responsible for providing free and quality education to all its citizens (the constitution of Pakistan, 1973); however, the state has failed to fulfill its duty because almost half of its school-age children are still out of school (Alif Ailaan, 2014). Pakistan currently hosts the second largest (after Nigeria) out-of-school population in the world (Naviwala, 2016). Among the out-of-school children, girls and children of the poor and rural parents make the majority of these figures (Pakistan Education Statistics, 2014-15). Several researchers and educationalists have concluded that the reasons for these outcomes include state managerial incompetence, corruption, lack of political will and commitment, parental socio-economic conditions, and the religious and cultural environments (SAHE and Alif Ailaan, 2016; Bano, 2010; Winthrop R. and Graff C., 2010; Rahman, 2010; Memon, 2007; Hoodbhoy, 2006; Lloyd, et al. 2005). This study does not question the authenticity of their findings; however, the majority of these studies took a top-down approach and formulated their results and recommendations based on government datasets and prior reports, rather than stakeholders' perspectives. Given the dire crisis of education in Pakistan today, my study adopted a bottom-up approach and the local stakeholders (the service providers and the recipients) were directly consulted so that their views, knowledge and practices regarding educating their children are brought into the limelight.

All the parents in our research locations unanimously agree upon the importance of education and consider it as an important component of their personal and societal life. Moreover, all of them want to educate their children from one or the other educational source, keeping in view personal preferences, concepts and objectives. However, because of the scarcity

of resources (in terms of actual schools) their “educational choice” remains restricted to the state-provided, low-standard public, or low-quality private and Madrasah institutions. In contrast to the international literature on “choice” and its practices, this study concludes that in Pakistan parental “choice” is, for the most part, shaped in the light of the total set of incentives resulting from the interplay of all the dominant institutions in the given context (Bano, 2010). However, these decisions mostly revolve around the issues of accessibility to and outcomes from such educational institutions. Much of the international literature on school choice assumes that parents choose certain type of education and particular brand of schools, mainly based on the school environment and their comparative analysis of the schools’ academic qualities and achievements and (Maddaus, 1990; Brouillette, 2001; Sanders, 2001; Ball, 2003; Morgan and Blackmore, 2007). Though a growing literature indicates that these assumptions are often flawed, particularly when thinking about low-income parents’ “school choices” (Hastings, J., Kane, T., & Staiger, D., 2005), the fundamental assumptions that the state is responsible for providing multiple options (including by allowing for private schools to operate), that multiple options are actually accessible to parents and are viewed as having different qualities or characteristics from which parents can choose, and that all parents make “choices” based on the same preferences and a rational and information-heavy comparative analysis of school characteristics like quality (as opposed, for example, to demographic makeup) is too often still assumed in much of the parental choice literature (Billingham, C., & Hunt, M, 2016).

While a small number of parent participants did talk about considering characteristics, such as quality, if and when they have school options from which to choose, the majority of the people in our research locations did not have many options; additionally, none of these



institutions was fully satisfying the needs and meeting the expectations of the majority of the people.

My research concludes that public schools were the most accessible secular ‘modern’ school options, both in terms of financial affordability and distance. Although poor and lower-middle class citizenry have comparatively easy access to these schools, parents feel that they have to compromise on low academic quality, which in turn leads to minimal financial benefits after school. The curriculum was regarded as outdated, biased, and militancy-provoking; its teachers, though more highly educated than their counterparts in private schools, were mostly considered incompetent, unqualified in modern pedagogical techniques, unmotivated, irregular, uncommitted and prone to corporal punishment; and they let their children spend the day in these schools without clean water, toilets, secure boundary walls, and electricity. Indeed, these are the public institutions that are the most reachable to the poor and the girls.

The private schools, though also of questionable academic quality, were yet accessible only to the wealthy and the urbanites. Moreover, in rural Balochistan, private sector schools are also limited to the provision of only primary level education. The graduates either drop out (particularly girls) or go back to the public sector middle and high school level schools. Despite their low quality, however, several parents still stretch their resources to send their children to the low-quality private school, because they consider these schools a ladder for uplift social mobility.

Madaaris came into the limelight after the 9/11 events and the installation of the Taliban government in Afghanistan. International media and writers associated Madrasah education with militancy (as mentioned in detail in the previous chapters). South Asian, particularly Pakistani, intelligentsia regarded Madrasah education as out-dated and irrelevant to the needs of the

contemporary Muslim society. My research shows how, in rural areas, Mosques and Madaaris are considered the hope for impoverished and destitute families and students. They also meet expectations of an entirely different cadre of population; i.e. the religious population interested chiefly in spiritual education, which is provided neither by the private nor the public sector. Unfortunately, they are also insufficient in providing quality educational services to all the segments of the society, particularly girls. Female-only Madaaris are an uncommon phenomenon in rural Balochistan; therefore, girls' dropout is at the maximum after the age of 10-12 years. In short, in the context of Pakistan, parental "choice" in Pakistan is handicapped - poor and rural masses are discriminated by the private sector, girls are discriminated by the religious sector and the public sector does not offer quality education which restrains the rural, poor and girls' climb up the social ladder.

To sum up, I would argue that education is supposed to provide the foundation to reduce miseries and augment social cohesion. However, the contemporary educative framework in Pakistan reproduces and refracts social and economic class divides and geographic divides and is perpetuating inequalities through the various types of education and educational institutions that it offers. It appears, from family histories and current experiences, to result in the production and reproduction of a class-based society with varied societal roles, employment opportunities and hierarchies. Pakistan's elite public and private schools are serving less than 10% percent of an elite population; however, this elite segment of the society occupies majority of the high profile jobs, large business enterprises (SAHE & Alif Ailaan, 2016) and overall wealth. These elite schools are reproducing a generation that compliments the already existing elite class, because they are structured in such a way that a poor and lower-middle class parent, particularly from rural areas, representing the largest Pakistani population, cannot even think of sending his/her

child to this kind of school. Their monthly fee is sometimes as high as the yearly salary of a common Pakistani citizen. The lower-tier, known as the low-quality or low-fee private schools, do not provide very distinct experiences to their student body; may still result in creation of class distinctions and segregation in the poor and uninformed (regarding educational qualities) rural setting.

Public sector regular schools, on the other hand, currently cater to the needs of a vast majority of the Pakistani population (more than 65%); however, the school experience itself is generally low-quality (e.g., outdated curricula and frequently absent teachers) and completing this schooling results in graduates becoming lower-middle working class members of the civil and military bureaucracy.

Parental choice does not exist for most parents, and where it does, it can seldom lead to the better outcomes imagined by choice proponents. Pakistan's overall education system is assisting to maintain a status quo and these institutions are preparing the children for life in the social, geographic and gender class that they came from. In Pakistan, the common people do not believe in the notion of a neo-liberal state that withdraws from its social responsibility and leaves the education field for non-state actors; they expect the state to fulfill its constitutional obligation and provide free and quality education to all students. They expect, in other words, that the public school system will play the meritocratic role that they were told it would play post-independence.

In light of these parental expectations, attitudes and practices, this study concludes that due to long-term failure of educational provision on the part of the state, the people of Balochistan are at rage on the unfulfilling role of the state. The implications of the state not being

perceived as realizing its equalizing and transformative role may be extremely damaging, including leading youth to feel little care or connection to the state.

However, despite all the educational challenges and inequalities, I am not disappointed; I still see a ray of hope for a change. Based on my research, I therefore offer a few policy recommendations that have serious implications for school choice (public, private and Madrasah sector) in the following section.

## **5.2. Policy Recommendations:**

First: Resource Allocation – This study shows that access and quality both revolved around the availability or unavailability of resources to improve educational standards in Pakistan. The Pakistan public sector remains the biggest social service provider, particularly for education; however, the lack of progress has always been associated with resource constraints. Despite all the high claims of various military and civilian regimes, historically, Pakistan’s education sector has been deprived of sufficient resource allocations. As mentioned in chapter 1 and 2, the governments have been allocating between 1.5 to 2.5 % of the GDP for public education since the creation of this country (various Economic Surveys of Pakistan), which in all respects of international scale are at lower side – the international minimum standards is 4%. Low budgetary allocations have resulted in a deteriorated public sector. Indeed, enhanced resource allocation can improve access and quality of education to a large extent. For instance, Pakistan needs to establish thousands of more (particularly girls-only) schools to reach the more rural, poorer and deprived villages. Sufficient financial resources can ensure establishment of more schools, and

help in securing transportation of poor and marginalized students, particularly girls, and teachers to and from the schools. Lack of secure transportation to and from the schools was identified as one of the major issues in access; thus the state can introduce school bus systems or provide transportation allowances to the students. This will enhance the enrollment and retention rates, especially among the girls. Financial resources must, of course, be used for the purposes for which they were intended; adding resources to a corrupt system is unlikely to address these needs.

With financial resources available, the issue of quality can be more fully tackled. This multidimensional approach to improving quality might include: school buildings, classrooms, toilets, drinking water and electricity. To enhance the teaching and learning qualities students can ensure in-time availability of a full set of free text books, school supplies and teaching and learning aids. Provision of transportation services can also potentially enhance teachers' attendance in the school and curtail absenteeism. Effective teacher training is another quality component that can and should be addressed more effectively. For example, more and equipped teacher training colleges could be established, at least one at each divisional headquarter<sup>102</sup> with separate buildings for male and female teachers. Defunct village education committees (VECs) should be made functional by giving them financial training and support to solve local school-level issues regarding service provision and monitoring. This will facilitate more frequent parent-teacher interaction. Teachers can be provided with additional professional development and on-the-job training opportunities. The process of monitoring can be enhanced by provision of fuel and daily travel allowance to the district and provincial level staff.

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<sup>102</sup> Administratively Balochistan is divided into six administrative divisions.

Investments for better access and quality will potentially enhance the enrollment and retention rates among the students and revamp the attention, dedication and commitment of the teachers. Pakistan claims that it provides free education to the children; in fact the associated costs still make it unbearable for the poor; therefore, it has to make efforts to decrease burden of educational cost on parents. Nonetheless, some researchers argue that even the available financial resources are not effectively and efficiently utilized, due to weak financial, and management systems, corruptions, and incapability of the government staff. Pakistan is one of the largest recipients of the USAID and DFID education allocations. However, increasing only the budgetary allocations may not solve the complex education problem, Pakistan (and its donors) has to fix the way its planning process take place and spend the education budget more carefully with strict monitoring and accountability measured in-places from the state as well as the funding partners.

Second: More female teachers – In Balochistan’s traditional and Islamic society availability of girls-only school enhances the girls’ enrollment and retention significantly. More schools are only possible with the availability of a good number of female teachers. Shortage of female teachers can be met through a policy enacted for better employment incentives, provision of safe local transportation and a secure place to teach. Moreover, the minimum educational-requirement-cap can be reduced for a few years to enhance girls’ access.

Third: Madrasah as mainstream education provider: During my interaction with a few religious scholars and Madrasah administrators, I realized that none of them was against the modern

education and were willing to incorporate curriculum reforms in the Madaaris – introducing secular subjects such as math, science, English and computer literacy. The Madrasah education reform was not a new phenomenon for them because various regimes in the past tried but failed. Many such reforms were enforced by the government on the directives of the west; for instance, soon after the Talibaaan regime in Afghanistan and its policies against the west, particularly the United States, the Musharraf regime, on the directions from the President Bush government, introduced reforms; nonetheless, they were faced with heavy resistance. These reforms were not formulated in consultation with the Madrasah boards; rather, they were constructed by US think tanks in Washington DC. Islam (religiosity) plays a vital role in the lives of the people of Pakistan, and Islam affects the daily lives and decisions of its citizens. It is important to understand the Islamic concept of education and involve the religious community (political parties, Madrasah boards, religious scholars) in educational policymaking, and next effectively create a policy to implement with the support and ownership of these entities. Creating this relationship and devising a policy is not easy and straightforward, this needs sincere and untiring efforts from the state to create an environment of confidence for close collaboration. Moreover, Madrasah education needs to be regarded as complementary rather than a substitute for secular education. The Madrasah administrators suggested that if the government provides them some extra financial and legal resources, they can fill in the low educational gaps in Pakistan, because they have much broader catchment area than the state public sector education outreach. However, I reminded them of the *Maktab* or Mosque school experience that was not very successful. In response, all three of the religious scholars (the Madrasah administrators) unanimously said that policy was just a ‘kind of bribery’ and ill-planned initiative only to please the religious sector to seek political support for a military regime, and support by the Americans,

and indirectly compose an invisible force involved in the fight against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. However, according to them, if the Madrasah and government officials and well known Pakistani educationists sit around and devise an effective educational strategy, integrating Islamic and modern education; they were sure it will work. They mentioned the growth and success of the modern Islamic schools (briefly discussed in chapter 3) available in the cities; however, those schools are run for-profit, while the new proposed structure will be a replication without any cost to the communities (almost like the public school structure). On my inquiry on the possibilities for girls' schools, their response was that initially the model could be used for boys and with the passage of time these schools could be extended to single-sex schools as well. However, keeping in view the low literacy rates among women, they were not sure if they would be able to find female teachers sometime soon. The idea seemed interesting because it considers the Madaaris not as rivals or negative competitors but as assets and leverage helping improve educational enrollment and attainment in rural Balochistan. However, this initiative would need a deeply thought-out and well0constructed approach to develop an effective partnership minimizing at least urban rural disparity with comparatively better access (and quality) than the private and public sector.

Fourth: Public-Private Partnership – private sector has been playing a significant role in helping Pakistani parents to educate their children. Until, the above mentioned first and second policy recommendations are implemented in their true spirit – which I presume will take a long time-- the government of Pakistan can built on the existing structure of low-fee private schools. Just like the United States' concept of voucher, can be introduced in Pakistan as well. Parents' costs



could be subsidized by providing them a choice to enroll their children in such schools.

However, before such an initiative, the low-fee private schools have to enhance their standards.

Fifth: English language acquisition – We know that parents desired for quality, and for several parents the notion of quality was learning English language. Although the introduction of English as a subject was introduced by the government, but in reality it was rarely seen in practice. I suggest that the policy of teaching English from grade one should be strictly implemented. This can be done by providing short-term but extensive courses to the teachers during the afternoons/evenings and over the weekends. This can be possible if the arrangements are made in closer vicinities to the school at a central location; i.e. at the Union Council level. Also, I suggest that teachers should be provided with financial incentives to ensure their attendance and interest.

Finally: Communication strategy developed for mass awareness – Literacy rates are very low in the country and a large number of the Pakistani parents' generation is unschooled; therefore, their children are also out of school. There is a dire need to enhance communication with such parents to persuade them on enrolling their children, particularly girls, in the schools. Because Pakistan is a Muslim country, any policies must take into account the ways that Islam and Islamic leaders affect the ways that people think, behave, and respond. Involving the influential community elders and religious clerics in educational campaigns would enhance the probability of children's, especially girls', enrollment and retention in the schools. If Pakistan's policy makers want to really enhance girls' enrollment, they have to devise indigenous strategies, rather than imported from the west introduced by the international organizations and think-tanks,

because a strategy may be effective in an African country but the same may not work for Pakistan due to its cultural, social, political and economic variations.

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[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frankfurt\\_School](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frankfurt_School)
- National and International Newspapers

The DAWN (Pak), The NEWS (Pak), The Daily Jang (Pak), Pakistan Tribune, Balochistan Voice, The NY Times (USA), The Washington Post (USA), The Hindu (India), etc.

- Television (News & Reports):
  - British Broadcasting Corporation (UK),
  - Voice of America (USA),
  - GEO (Pak.),



# ANNEXES

# Consent Form

## UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

### Research Participant Information and Consent Form: Parents (Oral)

**Title of the Study:** Parental Choice of Schooling and Education in (Balochistan) Pakistan.

**Principal Investigator:** Dr. Nancy Kendall (phone: 011-608-692-0749) (email: [nkendall@education.wisc.edu](mailto:nkendall@education.wisc.edu))

**Student Researcher:** Abdul Rehman Khan (Phone: 01192-812-830 377) (email: [arkhan@wisc.edu](mailto:arkhan@wisc.edu) )

### DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH

I am asking for your consent for participation in a research study on “Parental Choice of Education and Schooling”. The study will explore the perceptions of parents and other stakeholders including community leaders, religious scholars, school teachers and administrators and policymakers on the subject of parental choice in schooling. The study will particularly involve parents who send their children to Public, Private and/or Madrasah Schools.

You are being asked to participate in this study because as a member of this community, you have good insights into parents’ choices and students’ educational experiences at the schools in your community. I would like to ask you to talk to me about your experiences with the prevailing education systems in Pakistan, including you’re your ideas about the textbooks, teachers’ instruction and their interaction with school teachers and administrators.

The purpose of this study is to better understand the education experiences of the parents, like you, who send their children to school in your community, and to see how these experiences might be improved. This study will include discussions and observations with community leaders, religious scholars, teachers, district, provincial and national officials in Pakistan.

### WHAT WILL MY PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?

If you decide to participate in this research, I will request that you meet with me to talk about your experiences of educating your children. The discussion will take about an hour of your time, and I may also request you to meet with me more than once. The meeting will take place at the place and time of your convenience.

If you agree, I will also ask if I can audio tape our discussion. I would do this so that I can remember exactly what we said in the interviews. I and the principal investigator are the only

two persons who will hear the audio recordings, and we will destroy the tapes as soon as we have written down what was said during the interviews. When we write down what was said, I will not include your name or the school name (which your child attends) so that no one can know who was talking.

### **ARE THERE ANY RISKS TO ME?**

There is a risk that I will ask you a question that makes you feel uncomfortable or upset. If this happens, I can talk with you about how the question made you feel, or about what has made you upset, and you can also refuse to answer the question.

### **ARE THERE ANY BENEFITS TO ME?**

There is no direct benefit to you from this research; however, our conversation may give you a chance to talk about your experiences and to reflect on how you would like to see education improved at schools for your children. For some people, this is a nice experience because they get to talk about what they have been experiencing and about how they would like it to improve.

### **HOW WILL MY CONFIDENTIALITY BE PROTECTED?**

While there will probably be publications as a result of this study, your name will not be used. Only group characteristics will be published, and usually I will only write about things that more than one person said. All of my interview conversations with respondents will be strictly confidential; this means I will not share with anyone else in the community or at the school or office level what you have said to me. This will assure that you can express yourself freely without concerns that other family members, community elders, teachers or government officials could become upset at you.

If you say something in a group discussion, I cannot guarantee that it will be kept confidential, but I will make it clear to everyone who participates in group discussions that they are expected to keep what is said in the group confidential, and also talk in more generalized terms rather than pointing to individual.

If you participate in this study, I would like to be able to quote you. This is why I have asked if I can audio record the conversation. When I quote you, I want to keep your name confidential. If you agree to allow me to quote you in the publications without using your name, please initial the statement at the bottom of this form.

### **WHOM SHOULD I CONTACT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?**

You may ask any questions about the research at any time. If you have questions about the research after you leave today you should contact the Principal Investigator Dr. Nancy Kendall at (phone: 011-608-692-0749). You may also call the student researcher, Abdul Rehman Khan at (phone: 0812-830 377) or write to him at his address: C/O Abdul Rehman Khan, H. No. 1-B/R, Chaman Housing Scheme, Airport Road, Quetta, Pakistan.

If you are not satisfied with response of the research team, and have more questions, or want to talk with someone about your rights as a research participant, you should contact the Education Research and Social & Behavioral Science IRB Office at 001-608-263-2320 or email to [edirb@education.wisc.edu](mailto:edirb@education.wisc.edu) at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, United States of America.

If you do not have access to a telephone or to e-mail, you may also contact the school principal of your area. He has been given stamped and addressed envelopes that you can use to contact the Education Research IRB.

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary. If you begin participation and change mind, you may end your participation at any time and nothing bad will happen to you if you choose to leave the study. If you decide to leave the study or if you decide not to participate at all, this will in no way affect your other work.

If you say yes, this indicates that you have understood this consent form, had an opportunity to ask any questions about your participation in this research and voluntarily consent to participate. You will receive a copy of this form for your records.

## Research Protocols

HH # \_\_\_\_\_

### Household Survey Questionnaire

#### 1. Geographical Area:

1.1. Village/District: \_\_\_\_\_

1.2 Distance from the major population centre: \_\_\_\_\_

#### 2. Respondent's Profile:

2.1 Name: \_\_\_\_\_ 2.2. Male/Female: \_\_\_\_\_,

2.3 Age: \_\_\_\_\_, 2.4 Education: \_\_\_\_\_

2.5 Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ 2.6 Ethnicity: \_\_\_\_\_

#### 3. Household Population:

3.1 Adults (18+ years): \_\_\_\_\_ (male: \_\_\_\_\_ female: \_\_\_\_\_)

3.2 Children (below 18 years): \_\_\_\_\_ (boys: \_\_\_\_\_ girls: \_\_\_\_\_)

#### 4. Household Economic Status:

4.1 Number of total income earners: Total: \_\_\_\_\_, Male: \_\_\_\_\_ Female: \_\_\_\_\_

*(Include only people who had regular income for at least the last 6 months)*

4.2. Source of earning: i) \_\_\_\_\_,

ii) \_\_\_\_\_, iii) \_\_\_\_\_

4.3 Total estimated monthly income of the HH: \_\_\_\_\_

4.4 Primary income earner of the HH: Father \_\_\_\_\_ Mother \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_

4.5. Type of housing (*for example: Cemented/Kachha/wooden*): \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

4.6. HH Assets (*for example: television, fridge, car, motorcycle, bicycle, land, orchards, animals, etc.*): \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_.

4.7. Facilities available within HH (*Encircle what is available*): Electricity, Telephone,  
Drinking Water, Natural Gas, Internet, Toilet, Others \_\_\_\_\_.

**5. Educational Qualification (*Years of education*):**

5.1 Father \_\_\_\_\_ Edu. Type \_\_\_\_\_

Mother: \_\_\_\_\_ Edu. Type \_\_\_\_\_

5.2 Do all children from the house attend any type of ed. Institution? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

5.2.1 If not, who and why not? Children who do not attend any type of school/education:

Child -1: Gender\_\_\_\_\_ Age:\_\_\_\_\_

Why not? \_\_\_\_\_

Child -2: Gender\_\_\_\_\_ Age:\_\_\_\_\_

Why not? \_\_\_\_\_

Child -3: Gender\_\_\_\_\_ Age:\_\_\_\_\_

Why not? \_\_\_\_\_

Child -4: Gender\_\_\_\_\_ Age:\_\_\_\_\_

Why not? \_\_\_\_\_

Child -5: Gender\_\_\_\_\_ Age:\_\_\_\_\_

Why not? \_\_\_\_\_

### 5.2.If yes: Who?

Child -1: Gender:\_\_\_\_\_, Age: \_\_\_\_\_, Edu.Type \_\_\_\_\_, Grade/year\_\_\_\_\_,

Child -2: Gender:\_\_\_\_\_, Age: \_\_\_\_\_, Edu.Type \_\_\_\_\_, Grade/Year\_\_\_\_\_,

Child -3: Gender:\_\_\_\_\_, Age: \_\_\_\_\_, Edu.Type \_\_\_\_\_, Grade/Year\_\_\_\_\_,

Child -4: Gender:\_\_\_\_\_, Age: \_\_\_\_\_, Edu.Type \_\_\_\_\_, Grade/Year\_\_\_\_\_,

Child -5: Gender:\_\_\_\_\_, Age: \_\_\_\_\_, Edu.Type \_\_\_\_\_, Grade/Year\_\_\_\_\_,

5.3 Do all children (between the age of 5 and 18) from your house attend religious lessons at the village/community mosque? Yes\_\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_\_

**6. Decision Making:**

6.1 Who makes the decision of sending/not sending the child for education in this HH? (*Circle the one that applies*)

Father              Mother Both              Grandparents              Elder Brother    Uncle    All  
None              Other \_\_\_\_\_

6.2. Who bears the educational expenses at HH level? (*Circle that applies*)

Father              Mother Both              Grandparents              Elder Brother    Uncle    All  
None              Other \_\_\_\_\_

6.3. How much is the average educational cost per child per month?

Primary School:

For a boy:      Rs: \_\_\_\_\_,      For a Girl: Rs: \_\_\_\_\_.

Middle/High School:

For a boy:      Rs: \_\_\_\_\_,      For a Girl: Rs: \_\_\_\_\_.

Madrasah:

For a boy:      Rs: \_\_\_\_\_,      For a Girl: Rs: \_\_\_\_\_.

6.4. How many grades or years of education minimum do you want your children to complete?

For Girls: \_\_\_\_\_,      For Boys: \_\_\_\_\_

6.5 Has anyone from the HH (parents/guardian) ever had any chance to go to the school your children attend? Yes \_\_\_\_\_,      No \_\_\_\_\_



If yes: Who?    Father                      Mother Both                      Grandparents  
 Elder Brother                      Uncle                      All                      Other \_\_\_\_\_

And How many times during the last one month: \_\_\_\_\_

If No, why Not? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

6.6. Have you ever had any chance to go to the other types of school which your children do not attend? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

6.7. What are your impressions regarding the type of education/school your children attend?

Type of education: \_\_\_\_\_,

Curriculum: \_\_\_\_\_,

Teacher: \_\_\_\_\_,

Reputation: \_\_\_\_\_,

Future prospects: \_\_\_\_\_,

Other: \_\_\_\_\_.

6.8. What are your impressions regarding the other types that your children do not attend?

Type -1: \_\_\_\_\_

Type of education: \_\_\_\_\_,

Curriculum: \_\_\_\_\_,

Teacher: \_\_\_\_\_,

Reputation: \_\_\_\_\_,

Future prospects: \_\_\_\_\_,

Other: \_\_\_\_\_.

Type -2: \_\_\_\_\_

Type of education: \_\_\_\_\_,

Curriculum: \_\_\_\_\_,

Teacher: \_\_\_\_\_,

Reputation: \_\_\_\_\_,

Future prospects: \_\_\_\_\_,

Other: \_\_\_\_\_.

6.9. How far is the public school? \_\_\_\_\_ /private school \_\_\_\_\_ /

Madrasah \_\_\_\_\_ from the HH (in KM)?

*(write "N/A", if any of the mentioned types is not available in the same village/area; write names and distances for all if more than one)*

6.10 How do children go to school? *(Means of transportation)*: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

6.11 What were the three most important factors that you considered while making decision for their children's education and schooling?

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

6.12 In your opinion who should be responsible for the provision of education to the masses?

*(Circle all that apply)*

State;                Communities;                NGOs/Private Institutions;                International  
Community;

Others \_\_\_\_\_

HH #: \_\_\_\_\_

**Parents' Interview**

Village Name: \_\_\_\_\_ گاؤں کا نام :

Location of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_ انٹرویو کی جگہ

Name and Gender of the Respondent: \_\_\_\_\_ جوابدہندہ کا نام اور جنس:

Level of education of the Respondent: \_\_\_\_\_ جوابدہندہ کی تعلیم:

Once again thank you very much for your time for the interview. Based on our earlier discussion I would like you to kindly discuss with me a bit more in detail the following questions. I am interested to know more about your perceptions on the type of education and schooling that you choose for your children.

**1. To you, what is the purpose of education?**

آپکے خیال میں تعلیم کا مقصد کیا ہے؟

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**2. What is a 'good education' to you? And a 'bad education' to you?**

آپکے لیے "اچھی تعلیم" کیا ہے؟ اور "بری تعلیم" کیا ہے؟

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**3. Did either of you (mother, father or guardian of the child) ever attend a school? Public, Private and/or Madrasah? If yes, how was your schooling experience? If no, why didn't you go to school?**

کیا آپ نے (بچے کا والد / والدہ / سرپرست) کبھی سرکاری سکول، غیر سرکاری سکول یا مدرسہ میں پڑھا ہے؟

ہاں / نہیں؟ اگر ہاں، تو آپکا یہ سرکاری سکول، غیر سرکاری سکول یا مدرسہ جانے کا تجربہ کیسے رہا؟ اور اگر

نہیں، تو آپ نے کبھی کسی سرکاری سکول، غیر سرکاری سکول یا مدرسہ میں کیوں نہیں پڑھا؟

4. What are the commonalities that you are aware of among the three types of education provided by; a Public School, a Private School, and a Madrasah?

آپکے خیال میں سرکاری سکول، غیر سرکاری سکول اور مدرسہ میں جو تعلیم دی جاتی ہے، ان میں کیا چیزیں مشترک ہیں؟

5. What are the differences that you are aware of among the three types of education provided by; a Public School, a Private School, and a Madrasah?

اور اب یہ بتائیے کہ آپکے خیال میں سرکاری سکول، غیر سرکاری سکول اور مدرسہ میں جو تعلیم دی جاتی ہے، ان میں فرق کیا ہے؟

6. What are the advantages of each of the three educational institutions?

آپکے خیال میں ان تینوں اداروں (سরکاری سکول، غیر سرکاری سکول اور مدرسہ) کے اپنے اپنے فائدے کیا ہیں؟  
(ہر ایک الگ الگ لکھیے)

7. What are the disadvantages/weaknesses of each of the three educational institutions?

کیا آپکے خیال میں ان تینوں اداروں (سরکاری سکول، غیر سرکاری سکول اور مدرسہ) کی اپنی اپنی کوئی خامیاں / نقصانات بھی ہیں؟ اگر ہاں، تو وہ کیا ہیں؟ (ہر ایک الگ الگ لکھیے)

8. How much education do you think will be sufficient for your children? Boys and Girls --- (if there are differences; ask: To you why does boy child require a different amount and type of school/education than girl child?)

آپکے خیال میں آپکے بچوں کیلئے کتنی تعلیم کافی ہوگی؟

لڑکوں کیلئے \_\_\_\_\_ اور لڑکیوں کیلئے \_\_\_\_\_

(اگر فرق ہے، تو پوچھیے کہ یہ فرق کیوں؟)

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9. In your household who makes the decision to send or not send the child to a school/Madrasah? Does this depend on the child (e.g. do fathers/mothers have more say over daughters?) And how is that decision made/how is consensus achieved?

آپکے گھرانے میں بچے / بچی کو تعلیم کیلئے (سرکاری سکول، غیر سرکاری سکول یا مدرسہ) بھیجنے کا فیصلہ کون کرتا ہے؟ کیا لڑکے اور لڑکی کیلئے فیصلہ کرنے والے مختلف ہوتے ہیں؟ (مثلاً لڑکے کیلئے والد اور لڑکی کیلئے والدہ؟)۔

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یہ فیصلہ کیسے کیا جاتا ہے؟

کیا تعلیمی فیصلے میں کوئی مزاحمت یا دقت ہوتی ہے؟ اور گھریلو پابندی رضامندی کیسے حاصل کی جاتی ہے؟

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10. What would you look for in an educational institution that you select for your child?

آپ اپنے بچے / بچی (الگ الگ پوچھیے) کی تعلیم کیلئے جس تعلیمی ادارے کا انتخاب کرتے ہیں، اس ادارے میں آپ کیا دیکھنا چاہتے ہیں؟ یا دیکھنا چاہیں گے؟

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11. And what do you want to see in your child after receiving his/her education?

تعلیم حاصل کرنے کے بعد آپ اپنے بچے / بچی (الگ الگ پوچھیے) میں کیا دیکھنا چاہتے ہیں؟ یا دیکھنا چاہیں گے؟

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12. The things that you want to see in your children (as you mentioned before), do you think those objectives can be achieved from their present educational institution?

جو آپ چاہتے ہیں کہ تعلیم حاصل کرنے کے بعد آپکے بچوں میں یہ ہو۔ کیا موجودہ تعلیمی ادارے (جہاں وہ تعلیم حاصل کر رہے ہیں) سے وہ مقاصد حاصل کی جا سکیں گی؟ اگر ہاں تو کیسے؟ -- اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟

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13. Do you feel your decision (household decision) to enroll your child in his/her current school was a good one? If no, then if you were given the chance and opportunity, what type of education would you choose for your child and why?

کیا آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ آپکا اپنے بچے / بچی (الگ الگ پوچھیے) کو موجودہ تعلیمی ادارے (جہاں وہ تعلیم حاصل کر رہے ہیں) بیجھنے کا فیصلہ اچھا / صحیح تھا؟ اگر نہیں، تو اگر آپکو دوبارہ موقع ملے تو آپ اپنے بچے / بچی (الگ الگ پوچھیے) کیلئے کس قسم کی تعلیم پسند کریں گے؟ اور کیوں؟

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14. Are you satisfied with the quality of education your child presently receives? Why or why not? If not? What changes would you make?

کیا آپ اپنے بچے / بچی (الگ الگ پوچھیے) کی موجودہ تعلیمی معیار سے مطمئن ہیں؟ اگر نہیں، تو اگر آپکو دوبارہ موقع ملے تو آپ اس میں کیا تبدیلیاں لائیں گے؟

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15. Do you ever ask your child if s/he likes the school that s/he attends? Why or why not?

کیا آپ نے کبھی اپنے بچے / بچی (الگ الگ پوچھیے) سے پوچھا ہے کہ وہ اپنا سکول پسند کرتا ہے؟ کیوں، اور کیوں نہیں؟

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16. Do you ever go to the school that your child attends? If yes, how often do you go and for what reasons? If not why not?

کیا آپ کبھی اپنے بچے / بچی (الگ الگ پوچھیے) کے سکول جاتے ہیں؟ اگر ہاں تو کس لئے اور کن مواقع پر - اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟

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17. Are you able to interact with your child's teachers, with school administrator and/or staff freely? If yes, how often do you interact? Do you find them receptive to your presence and thoughts?

کیا آپ اپنے بچے / بچی (الگ الگ پوچھیے) کے موجودہ استاد، پرنسپل، اور ادارے کے دوسرے عملے سے بہ آسانی رابطہ کر سکتے ہیں؟ اگر ہاں، تو کتنی کثرت سے آپ ان سے رابطہ کرتے ہیں؟ کیا وہ آپ کے ادارے میں آنے اور آپ کے خیالات کو پسند کرتے ہیں؟

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18. Do you think religion should be taught in all types (public, and private) of educational institutions? If yes, how much, up to what level? If not why not?

کیا آپ کے خیال میں تمام قسم کے تعلیمی اداروں میں مذہب کی تعلیم دی جانی چاہئے؟ اگر ہاں، تو کتنی / کس حد تک؟ اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟

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19. Do you think modern subjects (e.g. English, computer, science, and math) should be taught in Madaaris as well? If yes, how much, up to what level? If not why not?

کیا آپ کے خیال میں دینی مدارس میں جدید مضامین (مثال کے طور پر، انگریزی، سائنس، ریاضی، کمپیوٹر وغیرہ) بھی پڑھائی جانی چاہئے؟ اگر ہاں، تو کتنی / کس حد تک؟ اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟

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**20. Do you think that the type of education your child receives can be related to the demands of the modern world? If yes, how and why? If not, why not?**

آپکے بچے جو تعلیم حاصل کر رہے ہیں، آپکے خیال میں وہ موجودہ دور کے تقاضوں کے ہم آہنگ ہے؟ اگر ہاں، تو کیسے؟ اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟

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**21. Have you ever regretted not sending your son/daughter to a public/private/ Madrasah schools? (Mention the two names that the child has not attended).**

کیا آپ نے کبھی اپنے بچے / بچی (الگ الگ پوچھیے) کو سرکاری سکول / غیر سرکاری سکول / مدرسہ نہ بھیجھنے پر افسوس کیا ہے؟ اگر ہاں، تو کیوں؟ (ان دو اداروں کا نام لیجئے جہاں اس گھرانے کے بچے نہ جاتے ہوں)۔

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**22. Does anyone in your family currently attend a Madrasah? if so, who? Who decides which Madrasah they should attend?**

آپکے گھرانے کا کوئی فرد دینی مدرسے جاتا ہے؟ اگر ہاں، تو انکے بارے میں یہ فیصلہ کس نے اور کیوں کیا کہ انکو کونسے مدرسے جانا چاہیے؟

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**23. What are your general impressions about Madrasah education / Public School education / Private School education? (ask separately)**

آپکا مدرسے کی تعلیم کے بارے میں عام تاثر کیا ہے؟

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آپکا سرکاری سکول کی تعلیم کے بارے میں عام تاثر کیا ہے؟

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آپکا ، غیر سرکاری/پرائیویٹ سکول کی تعلیم کے بارے میں عام تاثر کیا ہے؟

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**24. There are many children out of educational institutions in this area; what are the major reasons keeping children away from receiving education?**

اسوقت بہت سے بچے تعلیمی اداروں سے باہر ہیں۔ یعنی کسی قسم کی تعلیم حاصل نہیں کر رہے ہیں۔ آپکی رائے میں وہ کونسے وجوہات ہیں جو کہ انکو تعلیم حاصل کرنے سے دور رکھ رہے ہیں؟

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**25. What would you tell/advise the government to do to raise children's enrollment in schools?**

تعلیمی اداروں میں داخلے اور بچوں کی تعداد اور اندراج بڑھانے کیلئے آپ حکومت کو کیا مشورہ دیں گے؟

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**26. Anything else that you are interested in telling me or have any questions from me?**

کوئی اور ایسی بات جو آپ مجھ سے کرنا چاہیں یا بتانا چاہتے ہوں – یا کوئی سوال ہو آپکا؟

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قیمتی وقت اور رائے دینے کیلئے آپکا بہت بہت شکریہ۔

TI #: \_\_\_\_\_

## Teachers' Interview

Neighborhood/Village: \_\_\_\_\_

Location of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Name and Gender of Interviewee: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of the School: \_\_\_\_\_

1. First of all please tell me about your own education and about your teaching experiences?

سب سے پہلے آپ مجھے اپنی تعلیم اور پیشورا نہ تجربے کے بارے میں کچھ بتائے؟

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2. When did you start teaching in this school? And what grades and classes do you teach?

آپ اس ادارے میں کب سے، کونسی مضامین اور کن جماعتوں کو پڑھا رہے ہیں؟

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3. How far do you live from the school and how do you commute to the school?

آپ اس ادارے سے کتنے دور رہتے ہیں؟ اور آپکا ذریعہ آمدورفت کیا ہے؟

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4. To your mind what is the purpose of education and schooling?

آپکے خیال میں تعلیم کا مقصد کیا ہے؟

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What are your general impressions about this school that you are teaching in now?

آپکا اس تعلیمی ادارے، جہاں آپ پڑھا رہے ہیں، کے بارے میں عام تاثر کیا ہے؟

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5. What are some of the most important elements that an educational institution must have?

آپکے خیال میں ایک اچھے اور معیاری تعلیمی ادارے میں کیا اہم خصوصیات ہونی چاہیے؟

Does the institution that you are presently teaching in have them? If not, what and how can that be done?

کیا یہ تعلیمی ادارہ جسمیں آپ ابھی پڑھا رہے ہیں - اسمیں یہ اہم خصوصیات ہیں؟ اگر نہیں تو اس بارے میں کیا کیا جا سکتا ہے؟

What are your views regarding the overall educational administration of the type of school that you are teaching in?

آپ کی رائے میں ایک ایسے تعلیمی ادارے، جیسا کہ یہ جسمیں آپ ابھی پڑھا رہے ہیں، کا تعلیمی نظم و نسق کیسے ہونا چاہیے؟

And, what do you specifically think about this school's administration?

اور بالخصوص اس ادارے کے نظم و نسق کے بارے میں آپ کیا کہتے ہیں؟

6. What type of educational facilities and learning/teaching resources are available for students at this school?

اس ادارے میں طلباء کے پڑھنے، سیکھنے، اور پڑھانے کیلئے کس قسم کی سہولیات موجود ہیں؟

7. Are they sufficient? If not? What else do you think this school needs? How these needs can be fulfilled/supplied?

کیا یہ سہولیات کافی ہیں؟ اگر نہیں آپکے خیال میں یہاں کن چیزوں کی ضرورت ہے؟ اور یہ کیسے مہیا کی جا سکتی ہیں؟

Are you satisfied with the type of curriculum taught in (the type of schools that you are engaged with)? If yes, how; if not, why not? What more can be included in the curriculum?

اس تعلیمی ادارے، جسمیں آپ ابھی پڑھا رہے ہیں، میں جس قسم کا نصاب پڑھایا جا رہا ہے، اس سے آپ مطمئن ہیں؟ اگر ہاں تو کیسے؟ اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟ آپکے خیال میں اور کیا نصاب میں شامل کیا جا سکتا ہے؟

8. How do you communicate with the parents regarding the progress/flaws of your students?  
And how do parents respond?

آپ طلباء کے والدین سے انکے بچوں کی تعلیمی ترقی یا کمزوریوں کے بارے میں کیسے رابطہ کرتے ہیں؟ اور والدین کا جواب عموماً کیسے رہتا ہے؟

---

9. What do you consider to be the characteristics of a good teacher?

آپ کے خیال میں ایک اچھے استاد کی اچھی خصوصیات کیا ہیں؟

---

10. Do you feel that you receive adequate support to be the best teacher you can be? How or how not?

کیا آپ یہ محسوس کرتے ہیں کہ آپکو کافی حد تک وہ مدد حاصل ہے، جو آپکو ایک بہتر استاد بنا سکے؟  
اگر ہاں تو کیسے؟ اگر نہیں تو کیسے نہیں؟

---

Are there any training and other professional development opportunities available to you? If yes, what is your satisfaction level with your trainings and other professional development opportunities?

کیا آپکو ٹریننگ اور دوسری تربیت کے مواقع میسر ہیں؟ اگر ہاں تو آپ ان سے کس حد تک مطمئن ہیں؟

---

11. What do you think are your professional weaknesses? And how can they be addressed?

آپ کے خیال میں آپکی پیشورانہ کمزوریاں کیا ہیں؟ اور ان کو کیسے دور کیا جا سکتا ہے؟

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12. When you started teaching at this school, what type of communication did you receive regarding any policy on professional development or school expectations for teachers' learning and development?

اس تعلیمی ادارے میں جب آپ نے پڑھا نا شروع کیا تو بچوں کے سیکھنے، اساتذہ کے پڑبانے کی صلاحیتوں اور اس قسم کی تعلیمی بہتری کی دوسری سرکرمیوں کے بارے میں کس قسم کی پالیسی معلومات آپکو پہنچائی گئی؟

13. o your mind, what knowledge, skills, and attitudes will students have to develop, or what action will they have to engage in to become beneficial citizens for their families and the society?

آپ کے خیال میں گھرانے اور معاشرے کیلئے ایک کارآمد شہری بننے کیلئے طلباء کو کون کونسے علوم، ہنر اور رویوں کے سیکھنے کی ضرورت ہوتی ہیں؟

14. In your opinion what are some of the major reasons that keep children away from seeking education?

آپکی رائے میں وہ کونسی اہم وجوہات ہیں جو کہ بچوں کو تعلیم حاصل کرنے سے دور رکھ رہی ہیں؟

15. What do you think are the three main considerations for parents while considering / making a choice of school for their children?

آپکے خیال میں اپنے بچوں کیلئے سکول/ادارہ منتخب کرتے وقت والدین کن تین اہم چیزوں/امور کو دیکھتے ہیں؟

What would tell/advise the government to do to raise the school enrollment?

تعلیمی اداروں میں داخلے اور بچوں کی تعداد اور اندراج بڑھانے کیلئے آپ حکومت کو کیا مشورہ دیں گے؟

16. What do you expect for more parental involvement, if/how parents are actually involved, what they think of them, etc.?

تعلیمی اداروں میں والدین کی زیادہ مداخلت سے آپ کیا توقع رکھتے ہیں؟ کیا انکی مداخلت آپکے لئے فائدہ مند ہوگی؟ اگر نہیں تو کیسے؟

17. Do you think girls and boys need the same amount or kind of education?

آپکے خیال میں لڑکوں اور لڑکیوں کو ایک ہی قسم اور مقدار میں تعلیم دی جانی چاہئے؟

EIAI #: \_\_\_\_\_

### Educational Institution's Administrators' Interview

Neighborhood/Village: \_\_\_\_\_

Location of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Name and Gender of Interviewee: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of the educational Institution: \_\_\_\_\_

#### 1 First of all please tell me a bit about your education and your professional experiences?

سب سے پہلے آپ مجھے اپنی تعلیم اور پیشورا نہ تجربے کے بارے میں کچھ بتائے؟

---

#### 2. How would you express your understanding of what government/private/ Madrasah schooling stands for and how does this fit with your personal educational philosophy? ( ask about each type individually)

آپکے خیال میں سرکاری سکول، غیر سرکاری سکول اور مدرسہ میں جو تعلیم دی جاتی ہے اسکے بارے میں آپکی رائے کیا ہے۔ اور یہ آپکے تعلیمی فلسفہ میں کیسے فٹ ہوتا ہے؟ (بر قسم کے بارے میں الگ الگ پوچھئے)۔

سکاری سکول کی تعلیم:

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غیر سکاری سکول کی تعلیم:

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مدرسہ کی تعلیم:

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#### 3. What do you think is the most important task of an educational administrator?

آپکے خیال میں ایک تعلیمی ادارے کے چلانے والے کا سب سے اہم کام کیا ہوتا ہے؟

---

**4. What, if any, is the administrator's role in helping students develop a good future?**

آپکے خیال میں ایک تعلیمی ادارے کے چلانے والے کا ایک طالب علم کے مستقبل سنوارنے میں کیا اہم کردار ہوتا ہے؟

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**What are some of the most important issues that you face in (this type of educational settings)?**

اس قسم کے تعلیمی ادارے، جہاں آپ اسوقت کام کر رہے ہیں، سب سے اہم کیا مشکلات آپکو درپیش ہیں؟ اور کیوں؟

---

**5. Are you satisfied with the type of curriculum taught in (the type of schools that you are engaged with)? If yes, how; if not, why not? What more can be included in the curriculum?**

کیا آپکے ادارے میں جو نصاب پڑھایا جاتا ہے - اس سے آپ مطمئن ہیں؟ اگر ہاں تو کیسے؟ اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟ آپکے خیال میں اور کیا نصاب میں شامل کیا جا سکتا ہے؟

---

**6. What are your expectations for students' conduct, demeanor, or deportment in how they carry themselves in school and at school related functions?**

آپکا طلباء کے تعلیمی ادارے اور اس سے متعلق دوسرے کاموں میں انہیں انکے چال چلن، سلوک، کردار، اور اپنے آپکو پیش کرنے کے بارے میں کیا توقعات ہیں؟

---

**What are the advantages of each of the three educational institutions?**

آپکے خیال میں ان تینوں اداروں (سرکاری سکول، غیر سرکاری سکول اور مدرسہ) کے اپنے اپنے فائدے کیا ہیں؟ (ہر ایک الگ الگ لکھیے)

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**What are the disadvantages/weaknesses of each of the three educational institutions?**



کیا آپکے خیال میں ان تینوں اداروں (سرکاری سکول، غیر سرکاری سکول اور مدرسہ) کی اپنی اپنی کوئی خامیاں / نقصانات بھی ہیں؟ اگر ہاں، تو وہ کیا ہیں؟ (ہر ایک الگ الگ لکھیے)

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7. What are the commonalities that you are aware of among the three types of education provided by; a Public School, a Private School, and a Madrasah?

آپکے خیال میں سرکاری سکول، غیر سرکاری سکول اور مدرسہ میں جو تعلیم دی جاتی ہے، ان میں کیا چیزیں مشترک ہیں؟

---

8. What are the differences that you are aware of among the three types of education provided by; a Public School, a Private School, and a Madrasah?

اور اب یہ بتائیے کہ آپکے خیال میں سرکاری سکول، غیر سرکاری سکول اور مدرسہ میں جو تعلیم دی جاتی ہے، ان میں فرق کیا ہے؟

---

9. What historical and social forces have influenced, constrained, or promoted the type of education that is presently provided in Pakistan?

پاکستان میں کونسی ایسی تاریخی، سیاسی و سماجی قوتیں/عوامل تھی یا ہیں جو مثبت یا منفی طور پر تعلیم پر اثر انداز ہوئیں/ہیں؟

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10. What type of communication do you receive at this institution regarding any policy on educational development for students' learning, teachers' teaching capacities in the subjects taught in your school?

اس تعلیمی ادارے میں بچوں کے سیکھنے، اساتذہ کے پڑھانے کی صلاحیتوں اور اس قسم کی تعلیمی بہتری کی دوسری سرکرمیوں کے بارے میں کس قسم کی پالیسی معلومات آپکو پہنچتی ہیں؟ اور کیسے؟

---

11. Are there any training and other professional development opportunities available to you? If yes, what is your satisfaction level with your trainings and other professional development opportunities?

کیا آپکو ٹریننگ اور دوسری تربیت کے مواقع میسر ہیں؟ اگر ہاں تو آپ ان سے کس حد تک مطمئن ہیں؟

---

**12. What are the major sources of funding of this institution?**

اس ادارے کے آمدن کے اہم ذرائع کیا ہیں؟

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**13. Could you tell me how decisions are made about what to teach and what not to teach at your school?**

کیا آپ بتا سکتے ہیں، کہ اس ادارے میں "کیا پڑھایا جائے اور کیا نہیں پڑھایا جائے" کا فیصلہ کون کرتا ہے؟

---

**14. How do you communicate with the parents in particular and the community in general regarding the school affairs?**

اس ادارے کے معاملات کے بارے میں بالخصوص والدین اور بالعموم کمیونٹی کیسے تھ آپ عموماً کیسے رابطہ کرتے ہیں؟

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**15. Do all children in this village/neighborhood attend the school? If no, why not? In your opinion what are some of the major reasons that keep children away from seeking education?**

کیا گاؤں / علاقے کے تمام بچے کسی قسم کی تعلیم حاصل کرتے ہیں؟ اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟ آپکی رائے میں وہ کونسی اہم وجوہات ہیں جو کہ انکو تعلیم حاصل کرنے سے دور رکھ رہے ہیں؟

---

**16. What do you think are the three main considerations for parents while considering / making a choice of school for their children?**

آپکے خیال میں اپنے بچوں کیلئے سکول/ادارہ منتخب کرتے وقت والدین کن تین اہم چیزوں/امور کو دیکھتے ہیں؟

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GOI #: \_\_\_\_\_

**Government officials at District/Provincial and/or Federal level**

Location of Interview:

Name and Gender of Interviewee:

Designation of the Interviewee:

District/Province/Federal:

- Could you please tell me a bit about your education and professional background?
- How do you describe the purpose of education?
- From your perspective what are the major strengths and weaknesses of the three types of education offered in Pakistan? (Public, Private and Madrasah)
- From your perspective what are the similarities and differences among the curricula taught in the three different types of educational institutions?
- How much control does the government have over the private sector and Madrasah curriculum and instruction?
- What historical, social and political forces have influenced, constrained, or promoted the three types of education in Pakistan?
- Are there any professional development programs that you are familiar with, for teachers/administrators that serve staff in all the three education systems in Pakistan? What are your impressions about these programs?
- Do you think that religion should be taught in all private and public educational institutions in Pakistan? If yes, why and how much? If not, why not?
- Do you think that all Madaaris should include modern subjects (such as, English, computer literacy, science, and math) in their curricula?

- What are the major issues in the overall education system (inclusive of all), particularly the public sector education? How can they be addressed?
- What do you think are the major reasons for the mushroom/rapid growth of private schools and Madaaris in Pakistan?
- What are the major sources of funding of the three types of schools?

### **Institutional Profile and Observations**

(Sample Content)

**Profile:**

Geographical Location: District/village/ institution name / establishment date (year).

Type of school: upper-high, high, middle, primary

Institution's building: type of building, number of rooms, boundary wall, toilets, (and their condition), Utilities (water, electricity, phones) availability and their conditions.

School Material: Furniture (desks, chairs, floor-mats), free/for-purchase books and note books for students, Educational aids (white boards, black boards, computers, printers, library) availability.

Enrollment (3 years including current year): Total number of classes, grades, boys, girls, Grade-wise enrollment, total enrollment

Drop outs (3 years) / major reasons for drop-outs

Teachers: number, qualifications, teaching-training, attendance (one year), reasons for absenteeism,

Subjects taught (grade-wise)...

Any other important Observations:

## Classroom Observations

(Sample Contents)

Course/Class/Grade under Observation

Number of enrolled students in the class

Number of present students

Gender and age-range

Teacher's name and gender

**Physical environment:** desks, chairs, tables, floor-mats (tats), walls (what is on the walls-type of messages), room with facilities, ventilations, light, electricity, fans, bulbs, water, blackboard, white board, computer, type of sitting arrangement.

*I will concentrate on the following;*

**General happenings in the class** – teacher-student communication, student-student communication, types of activities happening in the class, movement of teacher and students, class-dynamics, any out-side involvement in the class (while in session).

Generally, from the time I enter the class I will continue observing what the teacher is doing, what the students are doing, how pupils are interacting in the class, and changes in class dynamics with the passage of time.

*Teacher:* class management, use of teaching aids, use of teacher guides, style of teaching (interactive or otherwise), command over the subjects, response to students' questions, any group discussions, clearly instructs, etc.

*Students:* books, note-books, stationary/supplies, interests in the class, interests in the subject, active in exercises (if any), listening actively, follow instruction, etc.

*Outside involvement:* any involvement, what type of involvement, teacher and students' response to outside involvement,

*Curriculum:* type of subject, contents, what is taught, how is it taught, any outside aids used, type of communication (content-wise) between students and teacher, any things taught against (any other religion, people, ethnicity, language, geographic area, etc.)

All relevant observations, facts and figures....

## **Village/Community Observations**

(Sample Contents)

Name of village

Village Head/Chief

Demographics - Population, tribes, families

Economics

Social Services/Facilities

Physical Infrastructure

Educational profile

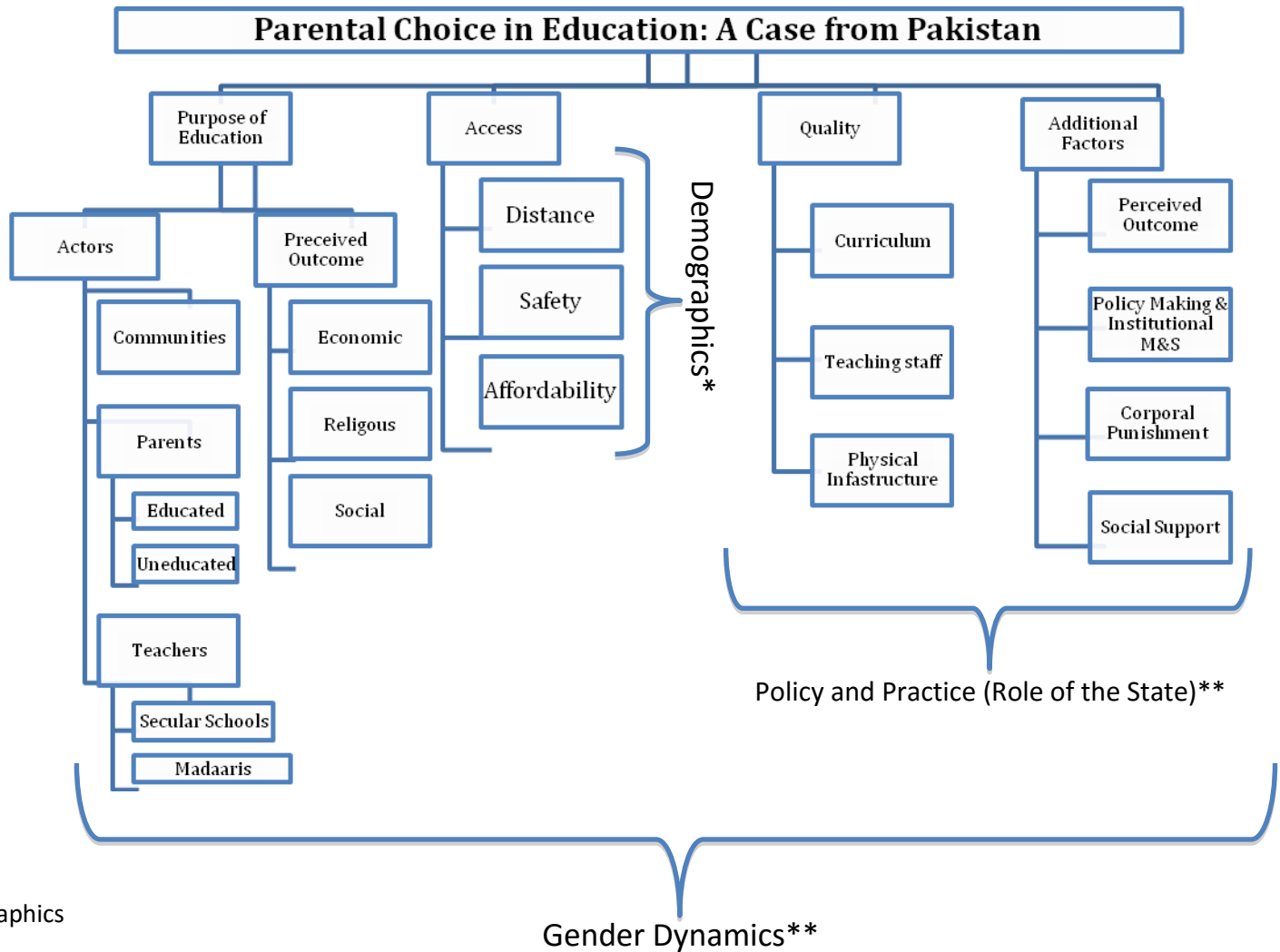
Communal relationships

Response to education

And all other relevant information/data



**Figure 5: Systematic and Comparative Analysis Framework**



\*Demographics

- Class (Rich/Poor)
- Geography (Rural/Urban)
- Parents (edu. and non-edu.)
- School (Same/Mixed Genders)
- Family (Composition)

\*\*Cross Cutting Theme

**Table 15: A Broad Comparison of Educator Sector/Institutions in Pakistan (Chapter-2)**

FACTORS	PUBLIC SECTOR SCHOOLS		PRIVATE SECTOR SCHOOLS		MADAARIS	
	General	Elite	Low-Fee	Elite	Traditional	Modern
<b>Policy &amp; Management (Structure, Governance, Structure and Physical Infrastructure)<sup>103</sup></b>	Four levels: Primary, Middle, High (Secondary & Higher Secondary) – up to 10 years of school and 2 years of college education. Gov policies; Function under the district, provincial and federal education departments. School headmaster at local level. Structured governance but a weak M&E system.  Majority state owned buildings but poorly maintained, crowded classrooms, lack basic academic (books, supplies, labs, libraries, etc.) and non-	Four levels: Primary, Middle, High. (Secondary & Higher Secondary) – up to 10 years of education, some up to grade 12. Gov policies; Board of Trustees/Board of Directors. School Principal at the school level. Structured Governance and good M&E system at the institution level. Sophisticated and Modern Buildings with ample academic and non-	Three levels: Primary, Middle, High. (up to 10 years of education). Gov policies, but no action; Largely function in isolation under individuals' or an NGO governance system. Locally strong monitoring system.  Few owned but majority rented buildings. Crowded classrooms, minimum academic and extracurricular facilities. Student uniform required and parents pay for them.	Four levels: Primary, Middle, High, O/A Levels (up to 12 years of education). Gov policies with lesser action; Function mainly under the supervision of Board of Trustees/Board of Directors. Internal support and supervisory systems.  Modern and large buildings with good academic and extracurricular facilities. Mostly equipped with modern facilities, libraries and labs. Student uniform required and parents pay for them.	Three levels: Mosque, Primary Madrasah, Aaliyah (up to 10 years of education). Gov policies but no action; local owner policies; Organized under various bodies; however, several function independently. No external monitoring systems.  Reasonable building; less facilities (water, toilet, drinking); ground sheets for sitting; free books available for all; some crowded classes; no uniform.	Three levels: Primary, Middle, High. (up to 10 years of education). Gov policies, but less followed; Organized under various bodies; Chain in various cities. No external monitoring systems.  Few owned but majority rented buildings. Somewhat crowded classrooms, fewer academic and extracurricular facilities. Student uniform required and parents pay

<sup>103</sup> Only for the age between 5 and 18 years children – Does not include College/University level education

	academic facilities (electricity, water, toilets, boundary walls, etc.). Student uniform required and parents pay for them.	academic facilities. Mostly fully equipped with labs, libraries and modern equipments) . Student uniform required and parents pay for them.				for them.
<b>Finances (Funding, Expenditure &amp; Costs)</b>	State financed but low funding.  Cost per student, Rs. 3000 - 6000 / year (only Tuition) – paid by the State (A very nominal portion shared by parents)	Highly State funded/Students Fee/Private donations.  Cost per student ranges between Rs. 30,000 – 150,000 / year – paid by State and parents	Students Fee / Private (in few instances State or International donors funding).  Ranges between Rs. 1800 – 10,000 / year - paid by parents	Students Fee / Private (in few instances State or International donors funding)  Ranges between Rs. 40,000 – 300,000 / year – paid by parents	Individual Philanthropy plus religious political parties/ organizations donations.  Rs. 5,000 - 10000 /year (includes boarding and lodging) – covered through donations	Student Fee/Private  Ranges between Rs. 10,000 – 35,000/year - paid by parents
<b>Academics (Curriculum, Medium of Instruction and Teaching &amp; Administrative Staff)</b>	Modern subjects plus Islamic studies. English as a subject starts from grade-1 (but practically from grade 6..  Medium of instruction is mainly Urdu, few schools in Sindh <sup>104</sup> and Pashto <sup>105</sup> .	Include all advance and modern subjects plus Islamic studies.  Medium of instruction English.  Highly qualified – May or may not be	Secular and Modern subjects plus Islamic studies (One or two subjects in English).  Medium of instruction is English & Urdu.  Majority with no teacher	Secular and Modern subjects plus Islamic studies.  Medium of instruction is English.  Well qualified – May or may not be formally teaching-	Generally, old traditional and religious subjects, plus somewhat Math, Science and English in urban based Madaaris of higher education.  Medium of instruction is a mix of Arabic,	Quranic education along-with modern subjects, including English.  Medium of instruction is Urdu  Majority with no

<sup>104</sup> Only in Sindh province

	Majority with teacher training – a job prerequisite. Competitive but localized jobs. To some extent politicized. Mainly lower level service jobs and low paid. Regular and unionized jobs.  Examinations with Provincial/Regional Exam Boards	formally teaching-trained. Have internal Prof Devel Program. Highly competitive. Insecure non-unionized jobs. Well paid.  Examinations by the Federal Exam Board and UK Universities	training and no Prof Dev Program. Insecure non-unionized jobs. Very low paid.  Registered with gov and High school classes examination through Provincial/Regional Exam Boards	trained. Have internal Prof Develop Prog. Insecure non-unionized jobs. Well paid.  Examination mainly with the Federal Exam Board and UK Universities	Urdu and local languages.  Mainly Madrasah graduates – with no formal teacher training. Insecure non-unionized jobs. Very low paid.  Only those registered are examined by a formal Madrasah body ( <i>Wafaq</i> ).	teacher training – internal some Prof Dev Program. Insecure non-unionized jobs. Very low paid.  Examinations of high school level by Provincial/Regional Exam Boards
<b>Access (Physical &amp; Affordability)</b>	Somewhat easy, available both in Urban and rural areas. Mainly catering to middle and lower middle class in rural and urban areas.	Available mainly in urban and/or Military locations. Clientele base is government and private business elite.	Easily accessible to mainly urban middle and lower middle class families. Now extending to rural communities as well.  Somewhat affordable by the middle and lower middle class	Mostly urban based, Accessible to middle and upper middle class	Easy access for all, especially for lower working poor both in urban and rural areas. Free education, boarding and lodging.	Easily accessible to middle and lower middle class parents in urban areas.  Affordable by middle and lower middle class.
<b>Perceived Outcomes (Future Education,</b>	Mainly lower level jobs. The higher the education	Highly competitive and well paid jobs	Depends on the level of education – mainly mid-	Highly competitive and well paid jobs with the	Almost all get the employment when they complete	This is comparatively a recent phenomeno

<sup>105</sup> Only in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province

<b>Employment outcome and Societal Status)</b>	received the better the prospects.  Tough to get in reputable Univ. and prof. colleges.	with the Gov and non-Gov sectors after higher education.  Easily accessible higher education.	level government and private jobs after higher education.  Lesser tough to get in reputable Univ. and prof. colleges.	Gov and non-Gov sectors after higher education.  Easily accessible higher education.	Madrasah – mainly as ‘Imams’ of mosques or teachers in Madaaris or open their own Madaaris	n, so far, not much research available. Outcome results yet to be evaluated.
<b>Gender Participation</b>	Separate for boys and girls, co-education at university level – rural and urban based	More institutions with boys in large majority – only few with coeducation	Co-education – mainly urban concentrated – single gendered at high school level	Co-education –urban concentrated	Up to age of 10 mix, at higher level separate for males and females – (female urban concentrated)	Co education at primary level – separate after that.

*Sources: Available Literature used in this dissertation*

Table – 16: Structure of Educational Institution in the Selected Study Locations

(Chapter – 3)

	Characteristics	Public School	Private School	Madrasah
1.	<b>Leadership and Management</b>	Chain of leadership exists from the provincial headquarter to the school.  Day-to-day local management is provided by the school principal/ head master; less and ineffective monitoring; no proper training of school management, positions, in most cases, politically appointed	There is no chain of leadership. Only the owner/or his/her representative provides leadership.  Day-to-day local management is provided by the school owner or school principal; more in-school monitoring. Less politicized.	Only the owner/or his representative provides the leadership.  Day-to-day management is provided by the Madrasah owner or administrator; less formal monitoring but effective
2.	<b>Teachers</b>	<b>Positive:</b> Majority formally trained and educated; long-Gov service; secured job; less turn-over; low but compared to the counterparts reasonably paid.  <b>Negative:</b> less caring; more absenteeism; corporal punishment	<b>Positive:</b> Punctual; less absenteeism; child friendly; very less corporal punishment  <b>Negative:</b> Not or less formally trained; low level of education; high turn-over; less secured job; low paid	<b>Positive:</b> more punctual; volunteer to work extra.  <b>Negative:</b> less educated; no formal training; high turn-over; less secured job; Corporal punishment; low paid
3.	<b>Curriculum and Teaching &amp; Learning Aids</b>	- Government prescribed curriculum,  - Blackboard, chalk and textbooks are the main sources of learning and teaching	- Government prescribed curriculum with addition of English from grade-1;  - Blackboard, chalk and some wall-	- Mainly religious curriculum, with addition of Urdu text book in one Madrasah.  - Blackboard, chalk are religious

		aids.  - Separate male and female instruction	charts and textbooks are the main sources of learning and teaching aids  - Mix-gendered teachers, majority females	textbooks are the main sources of learning and teaching  - only male instruction
4.	<b>Physical Infrastructure</b>	Good buildings but poorly maintained; less facilities (water, toilet, electricity); fewer desks and chairs; less free books; no free books for higher levels; crowded classes; uniforms (not free)	Reasonable buildings; mostly rented; reasonable facilities (water & toilet); adequate desks & chairs; adequate books (not free); less crowded classes; uniforms (not free)	Reasonable building; less facilities (water, toilet, drinking); ground sheets for sitting; free books available for all; some crowded classes; no uniform
5.	<b>Finance/Funding Sources</b>	Government  Nominal (yearly)	School fee / nominal government grants  Monthly fee – from low-to mid	Local Philanthropy, Zakat, alms,  No-fee
6.	<b>Learning Outcome/ Goals (after completion of at least grade 10)</b>	Mostly Unemployed/ Few low level Gov. jobs  Low or mid level jobs in Public or private sector	Mostly Unemployed/ Few low level Gov. jobs. More in higher educational institutions  Low or mid level jobs in Public or private sector	Most have basic jobs at a Madrasah or is <i>Imam</i> at a mosque / no public or private sector jobs
7.	<b>Discipline/Morality</b>	Less disciplined/less stress on morality	Strict on discipline/ morality in question	Strict on discipline and morality

*Source: Field visit and collected data*

**Table 17: Key Findings – Tabular Summary (Chapter – 4)**

	<b>GEOGRAPHY</b>		<b>CLASS</b>		<b>GENDER</b>	
	<b>Urban</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Rich</b>	<b>Poor</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
<b>Purpose of Education</b>	Multi-purpose	Multi-purpose	Multi-purpose	Multi-purpose	Multi-purpose	Multi-purpose
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Economic Uplift,</li> <li>- Better social status</li> <li>- Better employment opportunities</li> <li>- Morality</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Economic opportunities</li> <li>- Morality &amp; Religiosity</li> <li>- low probability of higher education</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Economic opportunities</li> <li>- Better social status</li> <li>- Morality &amp; Religiosity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Morality</li> <li>- better marriage prospects</li> <li>- low probability of higher education</li> </ul>
<b>Access to Institutions</b>	Better	Poor	Better	Poor	Good	Poor & Restricted
Physical Distance and financial Affordability	All types of schools and educational institutions – elite, public and private, regular public and private schools, Mosques, traditional Madaaris and new private Islamic schools, formal and non-formal, colleges, universities and technical and vocational centers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Regular public schools,</li> <li>- low-fee private school,</li> <li>- Madaaris, and</li> <li>- Mosques</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Easy access to all types of educational institutions</li> <li>- within the area,</li> <li>- in the nearby cities,</li> <li>- out of the province and even - out of the country.</li> <li>- almost no child out of school</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Very easy access to Madrasah,</li> <li>- easy access to public schools,</li> <li>- harder access to the private schools</li> <li>- large number of poor children out of school</li> </ul>	Comparatively easy access for boys in terms of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- transportation</li> <li>- number of schools,</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Difficult and restricted for girls in terms of:</li> <li>- transportation,</li> <li>- limited number of girls-only schools,</li> <li>- security,</li> <li>- age,</li> <li>- poverty</li> <li>- Madrasah and private school do not offer single-sex schools.</li> <li>- Majority of the girls out of school</li> </ul>
<b>Quality of Education</b>	Better	Low	Excellent	Low	Mid to Low	Low
Curriculum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Elite schools: modern, high quality, more practical, all English,</li> <li>- Public Schools: low-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Public Schools: low-quality, rote-memorization, gender-biased,</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The best curriculum available through elite public and private schools, English</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Low standard curriculum, no chance of learning English language,</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Male dominated</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Gender-biased</li> </ul>



	quality, rote-memorization, gender-biased, mainly Urdu and local language - Low-fee private Schools: low-quality, 1 extra English book, Mainly Urdu medium. - Madaaris: traditional, only religious, local language instruction	mainly Urdu and local language - Low-fee private Schools: low-quality, 1 extra English book, Mainly Urdu medium. - Madaaris: traditional, only religious, local language instruction	language as a subject available in low-quality schools. Private schooling			
Teachers	- Elite schools: highly qualified, highly paid, responsible and punctual. - Public schools: better qualified and better trained. Low-fee private schools; low-qualified, untrained. Madaaris: qualified only in religious subjects, untrained	Public schools: better qualified and better trained. chronic absenteeism, politically influenced. Low-fee private schools; low-qualified, untrained. Madaaris: qualified only in religious subjects, untrained	Better and highly qualified teachers available for the rich through private schooling	Low-qualified and untrained teachers In all the three educational streams	More qualified, better trained	Both in private and public school, low-qualified and low-trained, better child-caring  Less-female teachers available  In case of Madrasah, no female teachers available
Physical Infrastructure	Comparatively better because of better availability of facilities in cities. Elite schools have the best, followed by regular private schools, public schools and	Lack of facilities. Private schools comparatively better than public schools and Madrasah. Sometime Madaaris are better than	Elite schools better equipped for the wealthy	Lack all sorts of basic facilities – classrooms, toilets, boundary walls, water, electricity, heating arrangements, etc	Lesser dropout because of non-availability of the basic facilities	Huge-dropout due to non-availability of basic needs and facilities

	then Madrasah	the public schools				
<b>Additional Factors</b>						
Perceived Outcome	Higher educational qualification, higher social status, better living standards, Be competitive	Reasonable educational qualification , mid to low level employment options, more religious/morality concentrated	High level economic opportunities, high social status, top level employment prospects	Basic survival, mid to low level employment options	Be an educated or a highly educated individual, high level employment, Better options for growth and development,	Mainly for self-development to be a good mother, daughter, wife than going in the employment sector.
Policy-making, Institutional Management and Supervision	<p>- Elite schools: local policies, more efficient and effective local management and supervision. Financial resources available.</p> <p>- Private schools: local policies, more efficient and effective local management and supervision. Financial resources available.</p> <p>- Public schools: bureaucratic process of policy formulation and slow process of implementation. Politicized and inefficient school management and supervision. Lack of financial resources.</p> <p>- Madaaris: local policies,</p>	<p>- Private schools: local policies, more efficient and effective local management and supervision. Financial resources available.</p> <p>- Public schools: bureaucratic process of policy formulation and slow process of implementation. Politicized and inefficient school management and supervision. Lack of financial resources.</p> <p>- Madaaris: local policies, more</p>	<p>- Elite schools: local policies, more efficient and effective local management and supervision. Financial resources available.</p> <p>- Private schools: local policies, more efficient and effective local management and supervision. Financial resources available.</p>	<p>- Public schools: bureaucratic process of policy formulation and slow process of implementation. Politicized and inefficient school management and supervision. Lack of financial resources.</p> <p>- Madaaris: local policies, more efficient and effective local management and supervision. Lack of financial resources.</p>		

	more efficient and effective local management and supervision. Lack of financial resources.	efficient and effective local management and supervision. Lack of financial resources.				
Corporal Punishment	Not common, particularly in elite and urban private schools	- Very common through the entire system	No corporal Punishment	Severe corporal punishment	Severe corporal punishment	Comparatively less corporal punishment
Social Support	- Very high in elite schools - good in private schools - almost none in public schools and Madaaris	- Better in private schools - almost none in public schools - almost none in Madaaris	- more common among parents and the schools	- almost none among the poor parents and schools		

*Source: Field visit and collected data*