

**PRIMARY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GIRLS' EDUCATION**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
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Master of Philosophy



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1997



*Dedicated to
My Grandparents and Parents*



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18th July, 1997

Certificate

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "**PRIMARY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GIRLS' EDUCATION**" submitted by **Ms. Ruchira Joshi** for the award of Master of Philosophy is an original work and has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the Master of Philosophy Degree of this University.



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Chapter One

Introduction

The concept of development has far too long been expressed in terms of growth of output measured in terms of conventional indicators like aggregate growth rates, GNP growth, capital accumulation etc. Development has been a means for widening the range of choices available to the individuals, but they are not an end in themselves. There is now emerging awareness that the availability of work, equitable distribution of income and the quality of life (satisfying at least the basic needs) are equally important measures of development.

Current development thinking has been widened to include "human well being". As it has been recognized in the Human Development Report, 1990, "People are the real wealth of the nation. The basic objective of development is to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives... Human development is a process of enlarging people's choices"¹. Wide ranging choices are to live long and healthy lives, to be better aware of one's environment through education and to have access to resources to satisfy basic human needs. Additional choices include Socio-political, economic rights, personal self respect and guaranteed human rights.

The World Development Report 1980, recognized that "the qualities of a nation's people have an important influence on its prosperity and growth. This is not simply because a better educated labour adds to output.. but also because a healthy and well fed labour force is more physically and mentally energetic than is a sick and hungry one and thus

¹ UNDP, *Human Development Report 1990* (New York, 1990), p.11.

gets more work done and is more innovative.² "Thus the development of human capabilities should be seen as a continuous process, as an approach to overall development which puts human beings first where human beings are regarded both as a means and end of socio-economic policy.

More than two decades ago, F.H. Harbison was among the few who were guided by the human resource perspective in his study of the development problem. He defined human resources as the energies, skills, talent and knowledge of people which are or which potentially can or should be, applied to the production of goods or the rendering of useful services³. Human resources development thus treats human beings primarily as an input into the production process, a means rather than an end. The human resource approach to development, though people oriented, does not presume to encompass the full range of human ambitious or enlarge human choices.

Man earns to live but he lives for more than work. The energies and skills of people are one dimension of human development which embraces as well the thoughts, motives, beliefs, aspirations and cultures of human beings beyond and outside work. Human development thus has two sides-one is the formation of human capabilities like knowledge, improved health and skills. The second is the use people make of their acquired capabilities for productive purposes, for leisure for being active

² World Bank, *World Development Report 1980* (Washington, 1980), pp.37-38.

³ F.H. Harbison, *Human Resources As The Wealth of Nations* (USA: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.3.

in cultural , social and political affairs.

The four main components of human development are productivity, equity, sustainability and empowerment⁴. Human development requires that all people, women and men, must be empowered to participate in the main decisions which shape their lives. Thus, human development is impossible without gender equality. As long as women are excluded from the development process, development will remain weak and lopsided. Sustainable human development implies engendering the development paradigm.

Investment in country's human resources is now and will be in the future, even more crucial than it was in the past. The importance of these investments in attaining socio-economic goals has been strongly emphasized by the World Bank, the UNDP and by the 'neo classical economic growth models'.⁵ "The wealth of nations (has) come to be predominantly the acquired abilities of the people-their education experience, skills and wealth. It has been so in the past and there is no compelling reason why it will not be so in the years to come" ⁶.

⁴ For details see UNDP, *Human Development Report 1995* (New York, 1995), pp.12-13.

⁵ Neo-Classical Growth Models have been examined in Paul M. Romer, "Increasing Returns and Long-Run Growth", *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol.94, No.5, pp.1002-1036 and Azariadis and Drazen, "Threshold Externatities in Economic Development", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, , Vol.105, No.2, 1990, pp.501-526.

⁶ T.W. Schultz, "Investment in Human Capital", *American Economic Review*, 51/1, March 1961, p.2

1.1 Education and Development

Education which is crucial input into human resource development has long been recognized as a corner stone of economic and social development. But education for what- human resource development or human development? Human resource development treats education of an individual in a society as a means to some end-increased productivity, improved technology, etc. whereas human development considers education as an end in itself, towards the empowerment of the individuals as self-governing entities. Thus, education as an energizer of human resource development leads to enlarging all human choices, not just income, to bring about overall human development.

Education interacts and is interdependent with the process of development.⁷ Development should not be seen only in terms of quantitative measures but also in terms of qualitative change, i.e. to bring about freedom, equality, human dignity and social justice which tends to promote a certain quality of life. Education is a process of qualitative change which develops these specific innate qualities that enables an individual to lead a full and productive life as a person, a worker and a member of the family and the society.

The aim of education is to help learner's develop:

- 1) A rational understanding of the world, natural as well as human, so they can make informed choices.

⁷ The relationship between education and development has been extensively discussed in B.L. Raina, *Education and Development* (Ambala: Indian Publications, 1992) and Mohammad Shamsul, Haq, *Education, Manpower and Development in South and South-East Asia* (USA: Praeger Publishers, 1975), Moonis Raza, *Education, Development and Society* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishers, 1990).

- 2) The skills and confidence of articulating and voicing their interests and concerns effectively.
- 3) A sense of self-respect and dignity.
- 4) A sensitivity towards other objects/creatures of the world which will help her/him develop a moral code.
- 5) Skills to reduce forces/factors reinforcing the existing social stratification.⁸

Education is expected to forge national unity and social cohesion; ideologies and languages; improve income distribution, increase savings; women's status; and promote adaptability to technological change. But advanced education and training needs to rest on a solid foundation which is essentially the product of the primary education system. If education is the corner stone of economic and social development, primary education is its foundation. Expanding education specially primary education has been a policy in developing countries. The reasons for this are clear. Education is a right that governments have a responsibility to guarantee to each individual irrespective of his/her social class and economic status.

1.2 Importance of Primary Education

Article 26 of the Human Rights Declaration of December 10, 1948 states "Everyone has right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory".⁹ Even after four decades of development, the objective of

⁸ ACTIONAID, *Sector Strategy Paper on Education 1996-98* (Bangalore, 1996), p.9.

⁹ Jacqueline, Chaubad, *The Education and Advancement of Women* (Paris: UNESCO, 1970) p.9.

United Nations (UN) to achieve universalization of education is far from being achieved in many developing countries. Only recently has education received greater priority as planners have recognized it as a key factor in determining the pace of development.

The Declaration of the World Summit for Social Development, Copenhagen, 6-12 March 1995, stated that, "Member-states should formulate time bound national strategies for the eradication of illiteracy and the universalization of basic education which includes early childhood education, primary education and education for illiterates" ¹⁰.

Primary education has two purposes- first, is to produce a literate population which can deal with problems at home and at work and second, to serve as the basis on which further education is built. The first priority for primary education is to increase children's learning in school, i.e. the children should be able to master the curriculum and complete the primary cycle. Secondly, access to school must be provided for all school age children. Both goals are of equal importance. School attendance without learning is meaningless and development opportunities are lost when a large fraction of school age population has no access to schooling.

Kathryn I. Scanlon in her principles of Elementary Education has laid down the practical objectives of primary education:-

- 1) The objective of self realization, learning, speaking, reading, writing the mother tongue, knowing how to solve a number problem, skill in listening and observing, understanding the

¹⁰ *Declaration of the World Summit for Social Development, 6-12 March (Copenhagen, 1995).*

basic facts of health and disease and giving responsible direction to own's life.

- 2) The objective of human relationship, enjoying a rich, sincere, varied social life, ability to work and play with others and appreciation of family as a social institution.
- 3) The objective of economic efficiency.
- 4) The objective of civic responsibility, make them good citizens of nations, try and understand social structures and processes, respect the law and accept civic duties.¹¹

Ensuring that all citizens acquire the basic tools of literacy is one of the most formidable challenges facing developing nations. All countries need to ensure that their children in primary schools are equipped with the basic tools of learning and the basic knowledge and skills relevant to his/her environment to lead a good life and to bring about sustainable development.

Article 1 of the World Declaration of Education for All states "The satisfaction of basic learning needs empowers individuals and confers upon them a responsibility to respect and build upon their collective cultural, linguistic and spiritual heritage, to promote education of others, to promote social justice, to be tolerant towards social, political and religious systems which differ from their own... and to work for international peace and solidarity in an inter-dependent world".¹² Thus, primary education is the foundation on which societies, depending on

¹¹ Kathryn I. Scanlon, *Principles of Elementary Education* (New York: Collier Books, 1963) p.4.

¹² UNESCO, *Education For All: An Expanded Vision: Round Table Themes*, (Paris, 1991), p.2.

their resources and needs, build further learning opportunities for as many people as possible, at level as high as possible.

In many developing countries, education systems are unable to meet their objectives. They are not able to teach children the contents of their national curriculum and secondly, they do not provide all school age children, particularly girls, with an opportunity to attend school. As a result, these primary education systems are ineffective and jeopardise national efforts to build a base of human capital for development.

The prospects of a continuing increase in the world's population growth and its implications for sustainable development and the future quality of life has emerged in the recent years as a powerful instrument favouring the education of women in those areas of the world (especially Africa and Asia) where population growth is still high. Much depends, on the demographic transition in these regions: whether there is a change from population growth paths characterized by high fertility and high mortality to low fertility and low mortality rates as has happened in the now-industrialized countries.

Women's education has been recognized as a critical factor in the likelihood of this change because of its influence on both mortality and fertility rates, as it has been seen that better educated women have fewer and healthier children and better health themselves than those with little or no education at all.

The young woman who has completed primary education is better able to manage and adapt to the changing economic, social and cultural environment. The real significance of her education become apparent

when she gets married and has children i.e. she has the ability to communicate with her children, to educate her children and to be more aware of sanitation and about nutrition of the whole family. "The most urgent priority is to ensure access to, and improve the quality of, education for girls and women... All gender stereotyping in education should be eliminated." (Art. 3.3 World Declaration of Education For All).¹³

1.3 Female Education and Development

The simple and just demand for equal treatment, access and outcome in girls' and women's education is based on evidence of the general benefits which result, both for men and for women. The World Conference on Women in Beijing, 1995 brought to forefront the importance of girls'/women's education for development by stating that "Investing in formal and non-formal education and training for girls and women, with its exceptionally high social and economic returns, has proved to be one of the best means of achieving sustainable development and economic growth".¹⁴

1.3.1 Economic Development

Women as producer's of wealth have frequently been ignored or undervalued. Many times women are obliged at some point of their lives to support themselves and their children. Food production and food processing are traditional areas where women earn a living. However, little recognition is given to women's role in agriculture. But it must be

¹³ Ibid, p.5.

¹⁴ *Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference On Women* (Beijing, 1995).

pointed out that women constitute a substantial portion of the agricultural labour force. The link between farmer education and farmer efficiency suggest that more education for women could be expected to bring improved agricultural yields.¹⁵ Explanation for this increased productivity is that education of women, specially where women constitute around 40 percent of the labour force in agriculture. e.g. Sub-Saharan Africa, helps in making them more efficient, makes them better able to choose among various inputs required for production and to estimate their effects on overall productivity.

Improvements in productivity are not the only favourable outcome of women's education. If agricultural improvements are combined with community development, then girls' and women's education is more effective. The whole quality of life is improved and people are persuaded to stay in one place which prevents migration.

1.3.2 Reduced Fertility

Rapid populations growth has made raising the standard of living in many countries difficult where maternal health and child survival rates are adversely affected by excessive fertility. Reducing fertility thus has become an important pre-requisite of achieving developmental goals and reduced fertility depends heavily on women's education.

The amount of schooling received by females indirectly affects their fertility in three ways. First, it affects the biological supply of children by

¹⁵ M. Lockheed, Jamison and Lau, "Farmer Education and Farm Efficiency: A Survey" *Economic Development and Culture Change*, Vol.29, No.1, 1980, pp.37-76.

raising the age of marriage and reducing the proportion of women who are married. Education also tends to raise fecundity by improving health and by breaking traditional taboos related to post-partum abstinence. Second, the demand for children tends to reduce with schooling : the perceived benefits of having more children fall. Third, the knowledge of how to regulate fertility through contraception increases with schooling thus enabling parents to have the number of children they want.¹⁶

Additional education of women ultimately reduces fertility, even though in Africa and Asia, fertility has been found to increase with a few years of education but declines afterward, with more education¹⁷. This occasional rise in fertility has been attributed to improved natural health and decreased breast feeding, both of which are thought to increase reproductive potential before contraception was available and widely used. The rise in fertility among women with a few years of schooling could, therefore, be attributed to the enhanced reproductive potential of these women.

A possible explanation lies in the types of skills learned at different levels. Elementary education improves hygiene and nutritional practices, which improves both child survival and fertility, while further education triggers modern social behaviours and highlights the advantages of controlling the family size.¹⁸

¹⁶ Susan H. Cochrane, *Fertility and Education: What do we really know?* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979).

¹⁷ S. Cochrane, *The Effects of Education on Fertility and Mortality*, World Bank Education and Training Department, Discussion Paper EDT No.26 (Washington D.C., 1986).

¹⁸ S. Cochrane, *Fertility and Education: What do we really know?* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979), pp.36-39.

Thus fertility levels could be reduced in poorest countries by making primary education accessible to all not just confined to a few. This is because in illiterate societies the attitudes towards contraception are hostile, and individual females are less easily able to change their behaviour even if they have the knowledge to do so—than in societies where pre-dominant attitudes of people are more supportive because of education which helps them to understand the perceived benefits of small families and makes them more receptive to ideas for controlling fertility rates.

1.3.3 Improved Child Health and Survival

Women's education is also closely related to child health, as measured by nutritional status of infant and child mortality. Schooling helps to affect health in two ways. First, for households at a given income level, schooling increases the ability to improve the nutritional content of diets, and to initiate earlier and more effective diagnosis of illness. Second, the increased household income brought by schooling via its productivity effects leads to increased expenditure and better targeting on food, housing and medical care bringing improved family health as a consequence.¹⁹ Children would feel the benefits of better health because their health is more sensitive to current diet and surroundings than that of adults.

Why does a mother's education have positive effect on child mortality than the other variables such as access to health care, cost of health care or increased income? The reason is that the most important

¹⁹ *World Bank Staff Working Paper No.399* (Washington D.C., 1980), pp.14-15.

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¹⁹ *World Bank Staff Working Paper No.399* (Washington D.C., 1980), pp.14-15.

deliverer of health care to a child is the mother. How well she performs this task depends "on her schooling, which equips her with general and specific knowledge, and the means and confidence to seek new ideas"²⁰.

There also exist a positive relationship between mother's education and child's nutrition²¹. Education apparently changes the mother's feeding preferences and gives her more influence in household decision making regarding food distribution. Thus, parents with greater amounts of primary schooling have healthier, longer -living children.

1.3.4 Children's Schooling

Women's education has a striking influence on the intellectual development of children and on their attendance and success in school. Intelligence needs early stimulation if full development is to be achieved. The educated mother provides a stimulating environment at home for reading (newspapers), a calendar on the wall, etc. The illiterate mother's provide a less stimulating environment, and their children have a less than equal start at school in comparison with others.

"The family is the world's smallest school...Most (pre-adolescent) children in developing countries spend more time...with their mothers than with any other educational medium, including school"²². There are

²⁰ T.P. Schultz, *Returns to Women's Education* in King and Hill (ed.), *Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1991), p.20.

²¹ G. Psacharopoulos and W. Maureen, *Education for Development: An Analysis of Investment Choices* (London: Oxford University Press, 1985) pp.290-294.

²² UN, *The Advancement of Women* (New York, 1995), p.49.

beneficial influence of educated mothers in reducing grade repetition and drop out rates at the early stages and in improving motivation for staying on the higher levels of education.

1.3.5 Attitudinal Modernity and Womens' Autonomy

Another social consequence of women's education is more modern attitudes. Adopting modern attitude involves inculcating rationalistic, empirical and egalitarian beliefs, which are a pre-condition for effective functioning in the political and economic institutions required for development. While modern attitudes were initially believed to be transmitted through the formal structures of schools, a closer examination of education effects are attributed to curriculum²³.

Children attending schools with a modern curriculum have more modern attitudes than children attending schools with a more traditional curriculum. Moreover, education empowers women to exercise their rights and responsibility as citizens of their society, and enables them to make more informed choices. The right to vote is meaningless if women cannot inform themselves on political issues. The right to use credit or own land is diminished if they cannot read, understand contracts or do simple arithmetic.

"An educated woman almost always has more value and status in the eyes of her husband, her family and her community. She is more likely to share in family decisions about how many children to have and

²³ M. Lockheed and Verspor, *Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries* (New York: World Bank, 1991), p.3.

how to bring them up, how to spend money and how to organize domestic life"²⁴.

Thus, the early years of life are of crucial importance for the physical, intellectual and emotional development. The young child's development proceeds rapidly in the early years, the basis of language is laid at this time, attitudes and social relationships are shaped; and the mind is at its most receptive.

1.4 Universal Primary Education (UPE)-Three Essential Dimensions

There are three essential dimensions of universalization of primary education:

1. *Universal access.* This involves providing facilities and incentives for enrolment in primary education on a scale and in forms adequate and suitable to ensure that all children of primary school age have access to and are able to benefit from such facilities.
2. *Retention and completion.* Educational facilities cannot be effective unless children stay long enough to acquire the basic learning skills.
3. *Learning achievement.* This refers to the standards of pupil performance and achievement through which the objectives of primary education are realized. Improvements in various aspects of curriculum development, teaching/learning materials, and pre-service and in-service teacher education are needed to help children attain the required levels of

²⁴ UN, *The Advancement of Women* (New York, 1995), p.49.

achievement. The 'productivity' of primary education, in terms of the desired competences to be acquired by children, is now becoming an issue of much concern in all countries, including the developed countries. Viewed in a larger context, the issue is to ensure that equal opportunity for access is matched by equal opportunity for educational success.²⁵

1.5 Gender Gap in Education in South Asia

While developed and newly industrialized countries have increased investments in education and training to concentrate on creating a population with cognitive competencies and problem solving skills, developing countries have not been able to reach and teach substantial proportion of their children. Women and girls specially do not have equal access to education and training resources.

South Asia is a region where girls' education lags behind boys' education most dramatically. A comparison of the gross enrolment ratios at the primary level of the major regions of the world shows that South Asia has the lowest enrolment ratio for girls than boys, followed by the Arab States and Sub-Saharan Africa.²⁶ At the primary level all South Asian countries except Sri Lanka have sharply lower enrolment rates for girls than boys.²⁷

²⁵ Raja Roy Singh, *Education in Asia and the Pacific: Retrospect and Prospects* (Bangkok: UNESCO, 1986), pp.124-126.

²⁶ UNESCO, *Education for All: Purpose, Context and Expanded Vision, Round Table Themes* (Paris, 1991).

²⁷ Mahbub-ul Haq, *Human Development in South Asia* (New York: Human Development Centre, 1997).

The supply of schools has expanded greatly in the past 25 years, leading to and accommodating the increase in primary schools' enrolment over the years. Despite this expansion, a large number of girls don't enter school or drop out early in developing countries. Many factors account for the large gender gap in education in South Asian countries. These factors are discussed in the following pages.

1.5.1 Family and Community Factors

Poverty is the main reason that families either do not enroll their children in or withdraw them prematurely from the primary school²⁸. Related to poverty is the demand that children, specially girls, help care for sibling, do household work and farm work²⁹.

Families usually lack interest or are openly hostile to formal education of their daughters particularly because it might affect the marriage prospects of their daughters. They do not appreciate the benefits of girls' education where sustainability of educated women to be good wives is held in doubt.

In traditional Muslim societies (Pakistan and Bangladesh) education beyond puberty is inhibited by social pressures for women to get married. Parents find it difficult to understand the benefits of education when curriculum is irrelevant to the mother-wife role.

²⁸ See for example M.B. Anderson, "On Girls' Access to Primary Education in Pakistan", *Bridges Forum*, Jan 3-8, 1988, p.1.

²⁹ As cited in Shahrukh Khan, *Barriers to Female Education in South Asia*, PHREE Background Paper 89/17 (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1989), p.20.

Preserving the girls' good reputation leads to an unprecedented withdrawal of girls from school at puberty, especially if they attend co-educational institutions³⁰.

In India the Hindu caste system constraints the educational opportunities of low caste children despite constitutional guarantee of equality. Smock, citing a village survey in Pakistan found that only 10 percent of village women supported the notion of equality of opportunity for women.³¹ N.M. Shah discusses the results of another survey in Pakistan, among house holds which hold no assets, 51 percent of urban mother's and 58 percent of rural mothers believed that religious education (equivalent to one year of formal education) was enough for their daughters.³²

1.5.2 Income and Education

Income is positively related to girls' education enabling the family to bear the costs of education. In addition, parents who are educated have a more enlightened attitude towards female education. King and Hill cites examples from Bangladesh where the study by Islam, reports a high correlation between girls' enrolment and proportion of adult

³⁰ N.B. Anderson, "On Girls' Access to Primary Education in South Asia", *Bridges Forum*, Jan 3-8, 1988, Makes this point for Pakistan.

³¹ A.C. Smock, *Women's Education in Developing Countries: Opportunities and Outcomes* (New York: Praeger, 1981), p.61.

³² N.M. Shah, *Pakistani Women: A Socio-Economic and Demographic Profile* (Honolulu: East-West Population Institute, 1986), pp.246-47.

household members who are educated.³³ Similarly N.M. Shah cites a study indicating that 2/3rd of illiterate rural women wanted only religious education for their girls, but of those rural women with upto 6 years of schooling, about 2/3rd wanted their daughters to complete secondary school and 17 percent to obtain college degree.³⁴

But generally in South Asia, it is found that parents do not view the education of sons and daughters as equally important; their perception of the pay off to education are based mostly on its effects on the wages in the labour force rather than on the intergenerational benefits which may accrue over time.

1.5.3 School Factors

Various studies reviewed by King and Hill and Shahrukh Khan show that the shorter the distance to school the greater the likelihood that girls will attend school. The experience of Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee school program has shown success in attracting and returning girls to the schools near home.³⁵ The Baluchistan Primary Education Programme also lays emphasis on this fact and has incorporated the concept of school near to home.

³³ King and Hill (ed.), *Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1991), pp.228-229.

³⁴ N.M. Shah, *Pakistani Women: A Socio-Economic and Demographic Profile* (Honolulu: East-West Population Institute, 1986), p.248.

³⁵ The BRAC established experimental primary schools in 22 villages in 1985 responding to the request of several people to bring schools close to them.

The studies also show that parents are concerned about a lack of separate school for girls. They desire segregation of sex even at the primary level. Lack of basic physical facilities like absence of high, solid boundary walls for privacy, lack of latrines, etc. have led to withdrawal of girls from school.

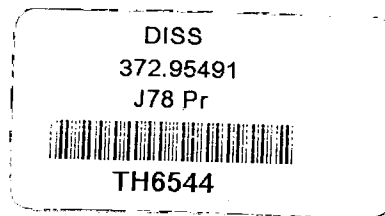
The cultural forces also create the need for employing women teachers³⁶. In addition, the rigid examination policy affects girls more than boys. Girls are more under pressure to complete household and farm work, so they are absent from school more often than boys. When they fail exams the family perceives that their educational investment has not reaped benefits and withdraw girls from school.³⁷

Flexible school hours play an important role in encouraging female enrolment. If school hours do not conflict with the time when girls are needed for domestic chores, the opportunity cost to the family of sending them to school is reduced or eliminated. Khan cites two examples to support this point.³⁸ In a village school project near Pune in Maharashtra in India, classes were held from 7:00 to 9:00 in the evening, after household chores were finished. Parents supported the project and

³⁶ There is consensus from all South Asian countries on the employment of female teachers.

³⁷ Proved by many studies for all South Asian countries as cited in King and Hill (ed.), *Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1991).

³⁸ As cited in Shahrukh Khan, *Barriers to Female Education in South Asia*, PHREE Background Paper No.89/17 (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1989), pp.37-39.



the community provided teachers with rent free accommodation. The drop out rate was much lower. In another example drawn from Nepal shows that local participation led to the success of a similar project for low-caste girls. In Bangladesh, the villagers being suspicious of corruption in the contracts for building schools were willing and were able to participate in building such facilities themselves leading to the success of the Shawniwar movement.

The above discussion should, however, not be taken as an indication of the fact that there has been a complete neglect of investment and lack of awareness of the importance of education specifically primary education in South Asia.

The past two decades have witnessed advances in education in South Asia. Overall student enrolment has increased, spending on education has grown and national and international actions have been taken to raise literacy levels. Despite this expansion of the education system in South Asia over the past two decades, human capital in these countries remain seriously undeveloped, with only a small proportion of work force having completed primary education, and the skills acquired even by those who complete primary education are insufficient for the needs of rapid economic development. In addition, years of neglect have left high illiteracy rates among women in the region. They do not have equal access to education and training:

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The need is thus to create public awareness of the needs, benefits/high returns to investment in education of girls in South Asia. What is needed "is not a separate and discrete plan of action for girls' education, but an engendering of the current plans, programmes, policies

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and strategies in ways that improve the prospects of attaining the goal of universal primary education.³⁹ Reflecting the emphasis the entire UN organization is placing on the advancement of women, UNESCO states, "The success of development efforts depends upon making women full partners...To be certain, education by itself, is not a panacea, but it is a necessary, if often insufficient, condition for the advancement of women and girls. It is in the schools that the journey out of poverty and towards employment and decision making powers begins."⁴⁰

³⁹ Khadija Haq, World Bank/UNICEF Seminar on Girls' Education (China, 1994).

⁴⁰ As cited in UN, *The Advancement of Women* (New York, 1995), p.56.

Chapter Two

*Universal Primary Education:
Formal Approaches*

At time of independence in 1947, Pakistan inherited an education system designed and installed a hundred years earlier by the colonial British administration to produce clerks and subordinates necessary for carrying on the administration of the country in English in the colonial set up. The cardinal principle of this system was, to quote the words of Lord Macaulay, "We want Indians in colour but English men in taste and aptitude".¹ The education system was intended to serve a narrow utilitarian purpose and was based upon political, socio-economic and cultural concepts totally different from those of an independent country.

Thus, Pakistan began in 1947 with a very underdeveloped education system and a considerable degree of geographical imbalance in the system. Moreover, social orthodoxies and prejudices, economic backwardness and stereotyped bureaucratic practices acted as constraints on the optimum utilization of even the inadequate existing education infrastructure. Besides, there has existed a considerable difference between the sexes in terms of literacy and education, the females have thus lagged behind males considerably.

2.1 Constitutional Provision for Education in Pakistan

The 1962 Constitution of Pakistan accorded a special place to compulsory and universal primary education in its chapter on Basic Principles of Policy. It stated that "illiteracy should be eliminated and free and compulsory primary education should be provided for all".²

¹ Naseem J. Quddus, *Problems of Education in Pakistan* (Karachi: Royal, 1990), p.84.

² UNESCO, *National Studies-Pakistan* (Bangkok, 1991), p.4.

In the Constitution framed under the auspices of the government and inaugurated in 1973, the bases of the education policy were stated.

Article 37 of the chapter on Principles of Policy mentions : the state shall

- a) promote with special care, educational and economic interests of backward classes;
- b) remove illiteracy and provide free compulsory secondary education within minimum possible time; and
- c) make technical and professional education generally available and higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.³

Due to political pressures the mention in the Constitution was in regard to universalization of secondary education, rather than the usual one about primary education. The question of legislation on compulsory education has remained under the active consideration of the provincial governments since the time of independence.

Besides, in 1967, the West Pakistan Assembly passed an Adult Education Act under which it made obligatory for all teachers to teach in adult literacy centers during summer vacations and all illiterate adults failing to attend literacy classes were made liable to heavy fines. In addition to this enactment, the Sindh Primary Education Act providing for compulsory primary education, was made applicable to the entire West Pakistan through an ordinance in June, 1962. None of these coercive provisions was actually implemented and illiteracy continued to spread unhindered at ever accelerating speed.⁴

³ *Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan* (Karachi, 1973), p.17.

⁴ UNESCO, *National Studies-Pakistan* (Bangkok, 1991), p.4.

2.2 Education Conference 1947

Immediately, after independence, an All Pakistan Education Conference was convened at Karachi in November, 1947 to study thoroughly the existing system and to give it a new orientation keeping in view the nation's social, cultural and economic traditions and ideological aspirations.

Speaking on the occasion, the first Education Minister of Pakistan made an appeal for the strengthening of primary education in these words, "... Our first and foremost concern must necessarily be determined and rigorous attack on the formidable problem of illiteracy and its evil consequences... There is now general agreement that in its own interest the state should provide for its boys and girls, universal, compulsory and free basic education..."⁵

The Conference which dealt with practically all aspects of education, recommended inter alia that :

- a) the education system should be inspired by the Islamic principles of universal brotherhood, tolerance and justice; and
- b) free and compulsory education should be introduced for a period of 5 years which should be gradually raised to 8 years.⁶

On the recommendations of the conference, some important bodies such as the Advisory Board of Education, Inter-University Board and a

⁵ Ibid, p.2.

⁶ UN, *Human Resource Development: Effectiveness of Programme Delivery at the Local Level in Countries of the ESCAP Region*, Development paper No.16 (New York, 1994), pp.197-198.

Council of Technical Education were established. The concepts, plans and policies outlined by these bodies, served as basis for the Six Year Plan of Education Development in Pakistan (1951-57). But it could not be implemented because of financial constraints, and it was not related to the overall plan for social and economic development.⁷

2.3 Report of the National Commission on Education (1959)

In 1958, the Government of Pakistan constituted a high powered commission on National Education which was the first major review of Pakistan's education system. The report observed that compulsory education at the elementary stage is indispensable for skilled manpower and intelligent citizenship. For this purpose at least eight years' schooling is required. The target should be to achieve five years' compulsory schooling within a period of 15 years.

Further the Commission noted, "We believe the time has come for us to accept the implementation of universal education as part of our National Policy and for fixing a target date for this implementation, whatever the difficulties".⁸ In addition, the Commission recommended that facilities for education of girls must be made adequate in future expansion of education.

2.4 Karachi Plan

Pakistan became a signatory of the Karachi Plan adopted at the

⁷ Dr. S.A.Ghaffar, "Education Development: Policies and Programmes in Pakistan", *Journal of Rural Development and Administration*, Vol.XXVI, No.1, Winter 1994, pp.80-81.

⁸ UNESCO, *National Studies Pakistan* (Bangkok, 1991), pp.2-3.

seminar organized by UNESCO in 1960 where Education Ministers from 17 Asian countries met to discuss the strengthening of primary and compulsory education in Asia. The conference adopted a Plan, known as the Karachi Plan, which required that every country in the region should provide a system of universal compulsory and free education of at least 7 years duration, within a period of not more than 20 years or by 1980.

The Karachi Plan failed to impart an impetus to the development of primary education in Pakistan as the education planners in Pakistan, by and large, ignored the Plan and continued to divert the meagre educational resources of the country to higher education.

2.5 Primary Education and the Five Year Plans in Pakistan

2.5.1 First Five Five Year Plans

The Five Year Plans implemented between 1955 to 1983 underlie the extent to which the education policy decision of the Government could be translated into matching budgetary provisions for the attainment of impossible physical targets. The gap between the allocations and actual spending had been deplorably wide. So too were the gap between the inefficient mechanisms devised for the translation of plans, policies and programmes into action and the tasks for which the Plans assumed responsibilities.

The First Five Year Plan (1955-60) earmarked Rs. 249 million to the education sector out of which only a meagre allocation of Rs. 50 million was made for "paving the way to make primary education free and compulsory by 1976". The target was to increase the participation in primary schools from 1.72 million to 2.89 million but actual

achievement was only 2.06 million.⁹ The reasons for this low performance were varied major among these being less separate schools for girls, rapid population growth, lack of physical facilities poverty and a rigid and outdated bureaucratic structure.

The Second Five Year Plan (1960-65) reflected the targets and strategies identified in the 1959 report. The Plan promoted the concept of Education for All with the objective of education for economic development. The quantitative and qualitative improvement of education at the primary level was emphasised and larger financial allocation was made for primary education. The Plan allocated 78 million for primary education. In the first and the second Five Year Plans the actual expenditure on primary education was low and the remaining funds were transferred to higher levels of education.¹⁰

The Third Five Year Plan (1965-70) emphasised on quality improvement of education and broadening the base of primary education. The rationale for emphasis on primary education was to provide a broader and better recruitment base for the next ladder of education. The Plan laid great emphasis on enhancing the retention capacity of the school by reducing drop outs, improving the physical facilities for each school, establishing new schools and appointing better teachers, preferably females in primary schools. The Plan allocated Rs.200 million to primary education with a target of enrolling 5.90 million children but

⁹ Sarfraz Khawaja and D. Brennan, *Non-formal Education: Myth or Panacea for Pakistan* (Islamabad: MR Books, 1990), p.196.

¹⁰ UNESCO, *National Studies - Pakistan* (Bangkok, 1991), p.5.

only 4.20 million could be placed in school by the end of the Plan.¹¹

The Fourth Five Year Plan (1970-75) had to be shelved on account of disturbed conditions in the country. The period 1970-75 was dominated by the nationalization of the private sector and provision of totally free educational facilities upto the secondary level. The target of UPE for boys by 1979 and for girls by 1984 were not met, even half way.

To improve the ever deteriorating condition of primary education and literacy in the country the Education Policy of 1972 was announced. The policy recommended that education will be made free and universal upto class X for all children throughout the country. Due to limited resources, this will be achieved in two phases. First phase will start from October 1, 1972 and second from October 1, 1974. Depending on the response and reciprocity, it was anticipated that primary education up to class V would become universal for boys by 1979 and for girls by 1984.¹²

The Fifth Five Year Plan (1978-83) emphasized that education was to be seen as an instrument to achieve the objectives set forth in Islam and "the holy Quran". The Plan established targets of universal enrolment of boys in grade I by 1982-83 and 90 percent enrolment in grades I to V by 1986-87. Similar targets were not envisaged for girls, but the targeted 58 percent increase in enrolment over the five years of the

¹¹ Sarfraz Khawaja and D. Brennan, *Non-formal Education: Myth or Panacea for Pakistan* (Islamabad: MR Books, 1990), p.198.

¹² World Bank, *Third Primary Education Project, Report No.6492 PAK* (Washington D.C., 1987), p.9.

Plan demonstrated the intention to close the enrolment gap between boys and girls. The need for "extra-ordinary efforts", including compulsion were mentioned.¹³

For the first time spending on primary education exceeded separate allocation for secondary and higher education. A special provision of the plan prevented funds allocated for primary education from being transferred to other levels but this provision could not be enforced.

The National Education Policy initiated in 1978 stated that all boys of 5 years age would be enrolled in schools by 1982 and girls by 1987. Thirteen thousand new primary schools, five thousand Mosque schools and Mohalla schools would be started. A revised National Education Policy and Implementation Programme was announced in 1979 which laid down that "all boys of class I age should be enrolled in the school system by 1982-83, so that universal enrolment of boys is attained by 1986-87. In the case of girls, universalization would be achieved by 1992".¹⁴

But despite large financial investment and additions to the number of primary schools, the enrolment increased only marginally while the participation rate actually declined from 54 percent in 1977-78 to 49 percent in 1982-83. This has been attributed partly to inadequate allocation of funds but more to "absence of suitable machinery for planning, implementation and supervision of schools."¹⁵ The drop out rate

¹³ Ibid., p.19.

¹⁴ UNESCO, *National Studies-Pakistan* (Bangkok, 1991), pp.3-4.

¹⁵ B.S.Khanna, *Rural Development in South Asia: Pakistan* (New Delhi: Deep-Deep Publishers, 1991) p.138.

continued to be high but was 'alarmingly high' among females. There was thus a huge waste of financial as well as human resources.

2.5.2 The Sixth Five Year Plan (1983-88)

The basic framework of the Plan was "development of the people, development by the people and development for the people".¹⁶ The Sixth Plan, for the first time after nearly three decades of development planning, explicitly considered policies for integrating women in the development process through provision of equality of opportunity in education, health and employment and all other spheres of national life.

The Sixth Plan approached primary education with the earnestness and urgency that it has always deserved but never received. Universal primary education would be achieved by making a minimum of five years of schooling obligatory to begin with and the tenure would gradually be raised to 10 years.

The Plan provided a sum of seven billion rupees for the development of education facilities at the primary level. Fifty percent of this amount was provided for programmes of the provinces and other executing agencies while the remaining fifty per cent was earmarked for Special Development Programme of Primary Education for creation of separate agencies for the implementation of primary education programmes at the federal, provincial and local levels.

¹⁶ Planning Commission, Government of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, *The Sixth Five Year Plan, 1983-88* (Islamabad, 1983), p.10.

Participation rate of children in primary schools was sought to be increased from 48 percent in 1982-83 to 75 percent in 1987-88.¹⁷ The Sixth Plan pointed out that the major obstacles for low level of girls' participation at the primary level were the socio-cultural barriers. The Plan recognized the need for community pressures to be developed and brought to bear on families to overcome these constraints. In addition, the Plan decided that mosque-managed schools and mobile schools were to be promoted increasingly to supplement the regular schools to meet the expanded requirement of student enrolment specially that of girls.

The Plan started that attempts have to be made to simplify the curriculum and to limit the school hours to retain children in the schools and to at least make them literate. The Plan proposed that during the first three years of schooling only religious instruction, reading and writing and elementary arithmetic would be taught and subjects like social studies and general science would be taught as an integral part of the course on reading and writing.

A chapter on Women's Development was for the first time introduced in the Sixth Plan. The Plan laid down that at the primary level, enrolment of girls would be increased from the present level of 32 percent to 60 percent by the end of the period. For the rural areas, the target was 50 percent as compared to the prevailing 20 percent, while in the urban areas, it proposed to increase girls enrolment from 67 percent to over 90 percent in the last year of the Plan.¹⁸ In this endeavour, the

¹⁷ UNESCO, *National Studies-Pakistan* (Bangkok, 1991), p.6.

¹⁸ Planning Commission, Government of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, *The Sixth Five Year Plan 1983-1988* (Islamabad, 1983), p.339.

government efforts were to be supplemented by self help and community support.

The actual process of the implementation of the Plan was deficient, slow and ambivalent mainly because of administrative hurdles. The Special Development Plan for primary education could not be successfully implemented and the provincial primary education programmes remained under financed. The average actual expenditure on primary education during the Plan did not exceed 31 percent, the increase in enrolment over the 1982-83 level did not exceed 25 percent in comparison with the target of 200 percent increase.¹⁹

On the whole, it can be said that the Sixth Plan fared better than other plans for improving the state of primary education. For education, Iqra surcharge (5 percent tax on all imports to raise funds for promoting educational developments) yielded additional resources of Rs. 13.1 billion.²⁰

2.5.3 Seventh Five Year Plan (1988-93)

The objectives of the Seventh Plan in the education and training sector were to:

- broaden the resource base for education;
 - universalize access to primary education;
 - substantially improve technical and vocational training facilities;
- and

¹⁹ UNESCO, *National Studies-Pakistan* (Bangkok, 1991), p.6.

²⁰ Ibid, p.24.

- improve the quality of education at all levels and in particular of university education.²¹

In order to broaden the resource base, the Iqra fund was to be properly organized and proceeds of the Iqra surcharge to be credited directly to the Iqra fund. Gradually the private sector would be encouraged to make tax-free donations to the Iqra fund.

The Seventh Plan strategy emphasized on the provision of at least basic primary education to all children with special attention to the girl child. The Plan stated that by 1992-93 almost every child of age 5 years and above will have access to a primary or mosque school. Separate entity of the preparatory class (Katchi/nursery) will be recognized. Schools would be made available within a radius of 1.5 Km. The Plan proposed to launch a strong motivation programme to convince parents to send their children, specially girls, to school. The Plan also sought to bring about qualitative improvements in the curriculum.

The Seventh Plan stated that a detailed mapping of schools would be undertaken to identify the localities where facilities did not exist and that the new educational facilities were geographically well spread. Mosque schools would be opened for small settlements. A primary school will be established for every settlement of 500 persons or more. If separate schools for boys and girls are not feasible, then a girls' school will be opened.

²¹ Planning Commission, Government of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, *The Seventh Five Year Plan 1988-93*, (Islamabad, 1988), p.245.

Recruitment of teachers would not be restricted to candidates with a Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC) but existing trained teachers, intermediates and graduates will be recruited as primary teachers. Part time employment for girls' primary school teachers on a contract basis would be allowed and their salaries indexed to the number of daily hours contracted. The maximum age limit for recruitment would be abolished for local candidates. Similarly retired personnel would be appointed in girls' school if qualified female teachers were not available. In due course, all primary schools would have only female teachers.

The Seventh Plan provides for an investment allocation for Rs. 22.7 billion for education and training, an increase in real terms over Sixth Plan expenditure of about 60 percent. Top priority in the Seventh Plan was accorded to primary education which would receive 45 percent of all allocations. A sum of Rs. 10,128 million was allocated in the Plan for primary education.²²

Despite substantial growth in the number of educational institutions, the desired goals could only be partially achieved due to rapid population growth and resource constraint. Due to ever increasing demand for quantitative expansion of educational facilities, adequate resources could not be spared for qualitative improvements.

2.5.4 Eighth Five Year Plan (1993-98)

The focus of the Eighth Plan is on the following aspects:

- a) universalizing access to primary education for all boys and girls of 5-9 years of age;

²² Ibid., pp.416-417.

- b) enactment and enforcement of legislation for compulsory primary schooling for all children of the relevant age group, wherever the primary school facilities become available at a reachable distance;
- c) quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement of education;
- d) removing gender and rural-urban imbalances;
- e) qualitative improvements of physical infrastructure, curricula (by making the courses demand oriented), textbooks, teachers training programmes and examination system at all levels of education; and
- f) broadening of the resource base for financing of education through increased allocations and encouraging private sector's participation in provision of educational facilities at all levels.²³

To achieve universalization of primary education, necessary infrastructure and school places will be created at a reachable distance. To restrict the drop out rate, basic physical facilities in the primary schools will be improved. Activity oriented instruction material will be developed and provided to teachers to make the learning process interesting. New concept such as environmental, health and population education shall be integrated into the school curriculum. Attempts will be made to free the text books from gender bias.

A strong motivational campaign will be launched to persuade the parents to send their children to school (specially girls). To increase girls' participation in education, text books will be provided free of cost to all girls of grade I in the rural areas. Girls' schools will be opened in places where there are only boys' schools.

²³ Planning Commission, Government of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, *The Eight Five Year Plan 1993-98* (Islamabad, 1993), p.300.

A primary school will be established for a settlement of more than 300 population (1981 census), whereas a mosque school will be opened for a smaller population having a minimum of 25 primary school age children. In urban areas, Municipal Committee/Corporation and Cantonment Boards who are responsible for providing educational facilities for primary education will be revitalized. Stipends will be provided on the basis of merit to the students from low income families who had to get enrolled in private schools due to non-availability of seats in public schools or in quest of access to quality education.

During the Eighth Plan, funds will also be provided for purchase of land/buildings in big cities in exceptional circumstances where land could not be made available free of cost. In planning of all future housing schemes, provision of land for the educational institutions at primary level free of cost will be made obligatory. A legislation will also be enacted for this purpose. Incentives in form of provision of land at subsidized cost to non-profit educational institutions enrolling more than 500 to 1000 students, will be considered.

The Eighth Plan is an improvement over the previous Plans as it is encouraging the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to develop and launch community based literacy programmes on the basis of local demands, the communities will be made aware of these demands through motivational campaigns carried out by NGOs. These NGOs will be given grants by the government on the basis of their performance.

2.6 Expenditure on Primary Education

Expenditure on education has traditionally been a neglected sector in Pakistan as in the other South Asian countries. The educational

ineffectiveness can be attributed to the paucity of funds in the country. The impoverished condition and the severe financial constraints have kept the level of education at a low level. The funds which were allocated for the development of primary education could only be partly utilised and the remaining were transferred to the higher levels of education.

Now, analysing the existing pattern of government expenditure, it can be seen clearly that though the allocations on primary education in all the Five Year Plans has increased in a big way but the actual expenditure on primary education shows a dismal picture. The actual expenditure on primary education has been very low for the Plan periods of 1960-65 and 1965-70 when it was only 24 percent and 13 percent of the allocated money for the sector. (Table 1)

The allotment of budget to primary education has been on the rise in the Five Year Plans with the exception of the plan period 1970-78 when it fell from 17.4 percent in 1965-70 to 15.8 percent. A breakup of developmental²⁴ and recurrent²⁵ spending on primary education for the years 1987-1993 has been illustrated in figures 1 and 2.

²⁴ Developmental expenditure includes creation of new educational facilities and expansion of existing facilities.

²⁵ Recurrent expenditure covers salaries and allowances of teachers, maintenance of existing educational institutions and provisions of required educational inputs.

Table 1

Plan Allocations and Expenditure on Primary Education

Plan Period	Total Allocation for Education sector (million)	Allocation for Primary Education (million)	Actual Expenditure on Primary Education (million)	Allotment of budget to Primary Education	Actual Expenditure as %age of allocation for Primary Education
1955-60	249.07	49.90	23	20.0%	46
1960-65	357.3	78	19	21.8%	24
1965-70	1152	200	25	17.4%	13
1970-78	2998	473	444	15.8%	93
1978-83	10698	3049	1413	29.5%	46
1983-88	19850	7000	3533	35.3%	50
1988-93	22680	10128	6100	44.7%	60

Source: Khawaja S. and Brennan, *Non-Formal Education: Myth or Pancea for Pakistan* (Islamabad: MR. Books, 1990), p.226.

FIGURE 1 SPENDING ON PRIMARY EDUCATION IN PAK.
1987-1993 (MILLION RS.)
(RECURRENT)

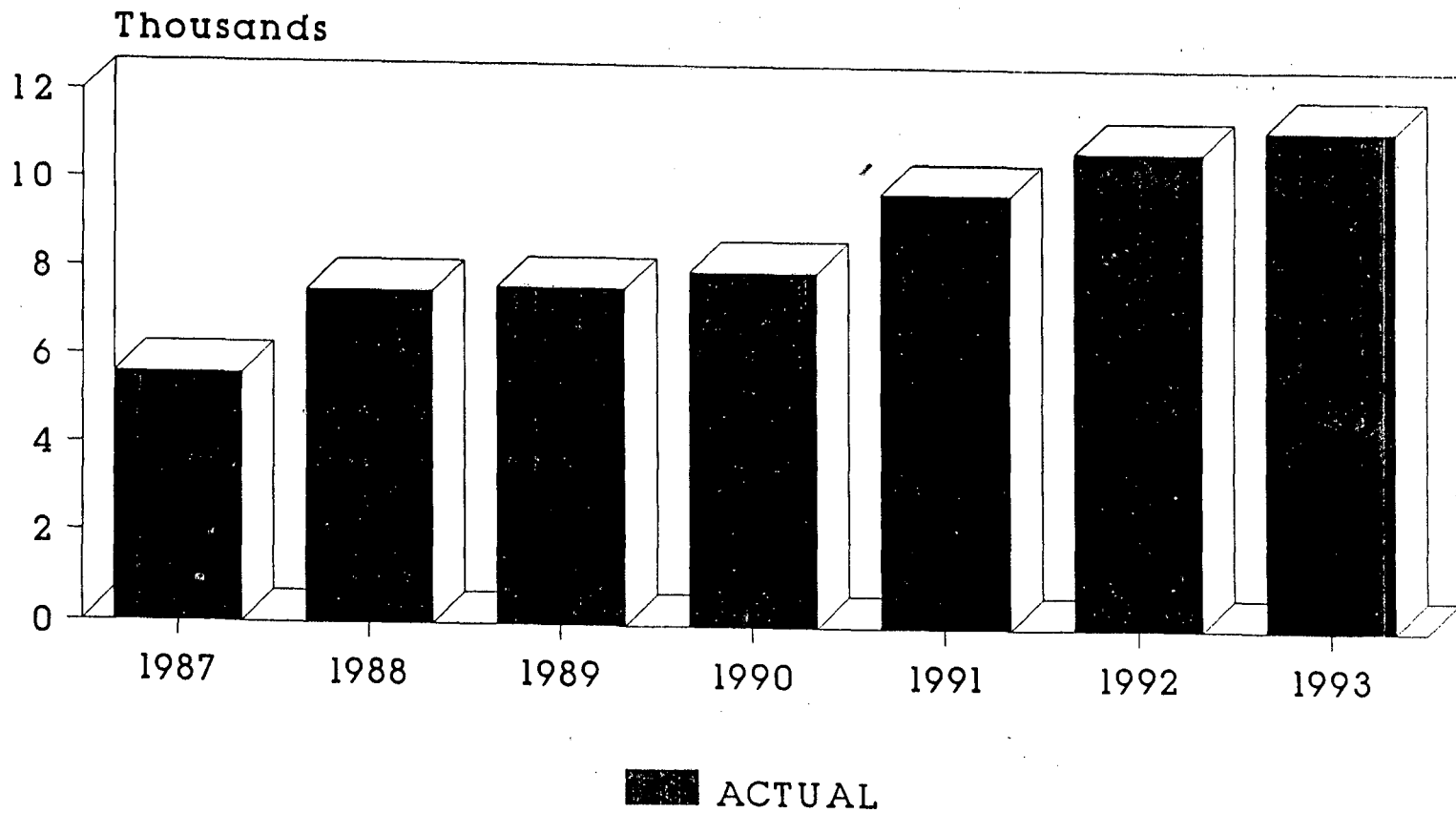
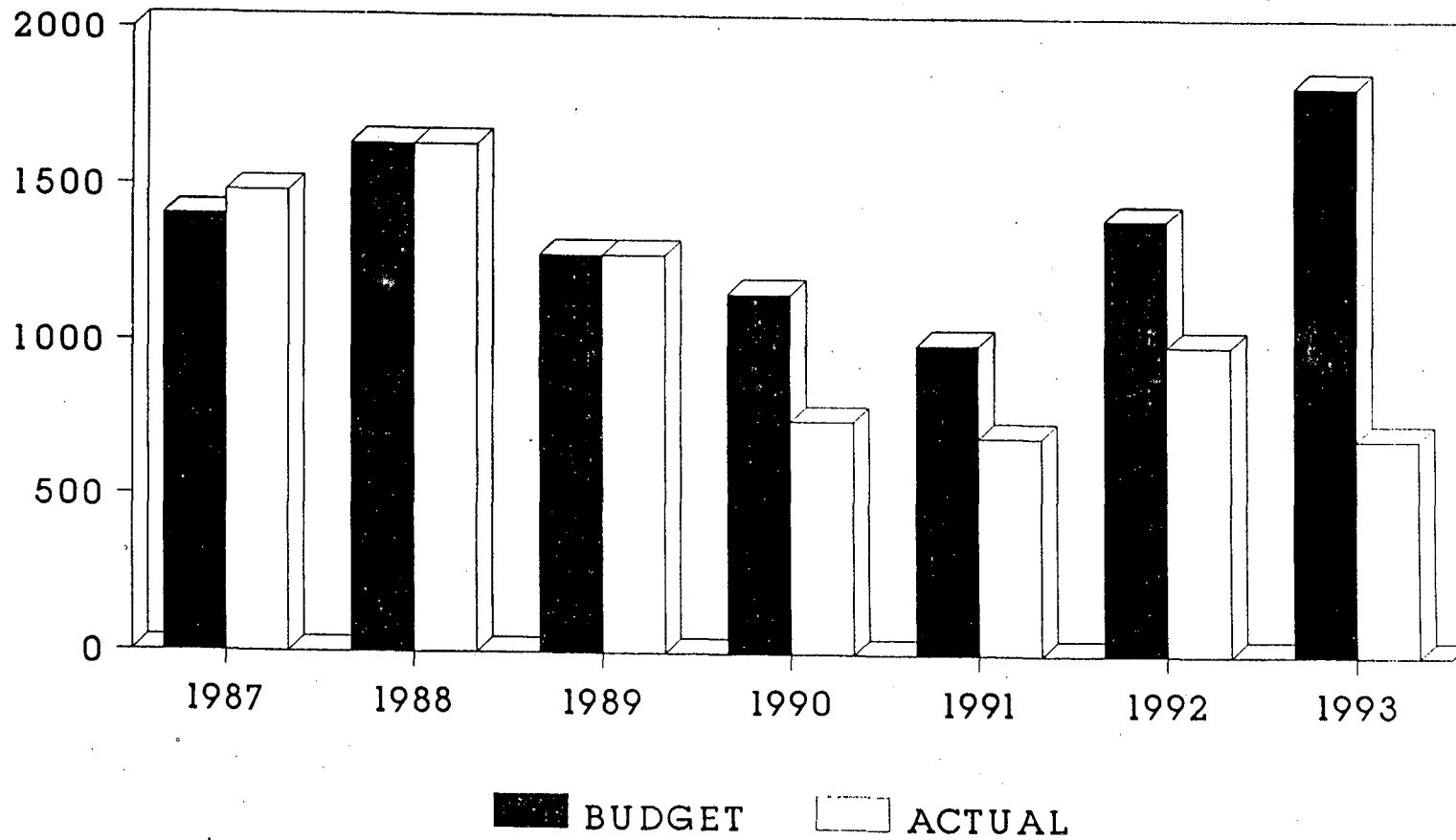


FIGURE 2

SPENDING ON PRIMARY EDUCATION IN PAK.
1987-1993 (MILLION RS.)
(DEVELOPMENT)



The development spending as indicated by the budget shows a slight increase in 1987-88 and a steady decline in the subsequent years till 1991. During the years 1991-93, the figure indicates a very sharp increase in the budgetary developmental spending on primary education.

The actual developmental spending on primary education increased for the year 1987-88 but declined very sharply since then till the year 1990. It shows the slight increase in the years 1990-92, again showing a downward trend in 1992-93. Thus the budgetary allocations show an increase in the developmental spending in the year 1991-93 where as the actual spending shows a decrease for the same period.

2.7 Primary Education State Delivery Structure

Administrative structures of primary education have been reorganized in all the provinces of the country. Until recently, primary, middle and high schools were collectively administered by one Directorate of School Education, through its divisional directorates. As these directorates were manned by senior educationists and were inadequately staffed the focus of the entire administrative structure was on the development of secondary education. This resulted in a total neglect of primary education.

Education in Pakistan is essentially a provincial subject, but constitutionally the federal government is in charge of the national education policy. The provinces are divided into administrative units resembling the classic pyramid structure.

a) The Provincial Education Department

The Secretary of Education is the executive provincial head of the department of education assisted by additional and deputy

secretaries. The two "attached" directorates, pertaining to the primary sector, reporting to him directly are:

- i) Directorate of Public Instruction (DPI) and
- ii) Directorate of Curriculum Bureau and Extension Services.

The DPI- schools is in charge of all schools including primary schools. In the wake of massive efforts and plans for the revival and reinforcement of education at the primary level, it has now been decided to establish an additional Directorate of Public Instruction [Primary Education or ADPI(PE)]. The new directorates would be organized around four major functions - planning and development, training, administration and financial management.

b) The Division

At the divisional level a Director of Schools, for each region is responsible for ensuring the quality in teaching, supervision, equipment and buildings in order to ensure pupil welfare. Board of examinations are also under his jurisdiction. At the divisional level, the existing directorates of schools would be strengthened through the establishment of a Primary Education Wing to be headed by male and female Deputy Directors (Primary Education) and having the functional responsibility for planning, monitoring and evaluation, budget and accounts, and administration.

c) The District

The officer in charge in the district is the District Education Officer (DEO). In all provinces there are now separate DEO's for male and female schools. At the district level, the existing DEOs (males and

female) would be provided with an additional complement of Deputy District Education Officers (Primary Education) DDEO's (PE)- with similar responsibilities as Divisional Deputy Directors.

d) The Tehsil

At the Tehsil level, there exist male and female Deputy District Federation Officers (DDEOs) in each Tehsil or sub-district. DDEOs are responsible and in charge of all middle and primary level schools at the Tehsil level. However they focus more on middle schools. To strengthen the DDEOs at the tahsil level, the existing DDEOs (male and female) would be given full control of all administrative aspects of primary education including the establishment of new schools, recruitment and transfer of teachers, the supervision of over lower supervisory cadres, the collection of basic education statistics and community relations.

e) The Markaz

Primary schools are administered by Assistant Education Officers (AEOS). The AEO has to supervise, inspect, facilitate not only the work of teachers and head teachers but also to improve the learning climate for the child in a school. To this end the AEO has the function of penetrating the local community. Community relations are promoted by attending meetings of union councils (comprising of 7-10 villages) for improving the outlook towards education. He also supervises the operation of village level primary schools and of supervisor/learning coordinations.

In an attempt to recognize the administration of primary education, the existing AEO (male and female) would have a reduced sphere of

responsibility confined to the supervision of 40-50 primary schools each so that the primary schools become the only focal point of the officer in charge.

At the Union Council level new position of learning coordinators (LC) male and female have been created where each LC will be responsible for supervision of about 15 primary schools.

2.8 Other National Efforts

2.8.1 The PM's Five Point Programme for Economic and Social Development

In an attempt to reorient development expenditures towards original Sixth Plan strategy the Prime Minister's Five Point Programme for Economic and Social Development (1986-1990) was introduced. The programme provided for a national rural education programme with the following elements:

- a) opening of mosque and new primary schools and upgrading up girls primary schools to the middle level and boys middle schools to the secondary level;
- b) additional enrolment of 2.06 million children at the primary level, including 1.3 million girls;
- c) expansion of schools supervisory staff;
- d) opening of Nai Roshi or Drop in schools for students between the ages of 10 and 14 under the management of Literacy and Mass Education Commission.²⁶

²⁶ World Bank, *Pakistan Education Sector Strategy Review, Report No.7110-Pak* (Washington D.C., 1988), pp.78.

The entire rural education programme between 1986-1990 would be partly funded from revenues from the Iqra tax. The PM's Five Point Programme was successful in opening thousands of new primary schools (not reaching its set-target) in rural areas.

2.8.2 Compulsory Primary Education

Fulfilling the objectives outlined in the Eighth Five Plan the Punjab Government has passed a compulsory Primary Education Act 1994 which makes it obligatory on parents to send their children to schools failing which they can be fined or jailed. The Ministry of Education has made a similar request to other provinces to make primary education compulsory.

2.8.3. National Education and Training Commission (NETCOM)

To accelerate the pace of literacy in the country, the PM has converted the NETCOM as the Prime Minister's Literacy Commission. This Commission has been focussing on raising public awareness, pursuing provincial governments for launching of literacy programmes in their respective areas, and extending technical support services to governmental and non-governmental organizations to improve their literacy efforts. This Commission has been experimenting with a variety of approaches for the promotion of literacy in the country. The project called "Use of Quranic Literacy for the Promotion of General Literacy Among Females" has been under implementation along with another project "Eradication of Illiteracy from Selected Areas of Pakistan". The Commission has developed a Ten Years "National Literacy Plan", aiming to achieve 70 percent literacy by the year 2003, and formulated projects for promotion of literacy at the national level. The Commission has also conceived a project for establishment of 10,000 non-formal Basic

Education Centers for providing access to primary education system, especially for girls.

The overall strategy for universalising primary education has remained one of expansion of the existing system and efforts have been directed solely to the establishment of more of the already existing type of formal institutions.

The national efforts for providing primary education for all children have all along been weakened by lack of financial resources, poor motivation of the masses and inhibitions keeping the female population, especially in rural areas, out of the existing conventional educational process. It is clear that a linear development of the formal system has not taken us anywhere near the goal of universalization of primary education.

It however cannot be denied that within the formal system some half-hearted attempts at curriculum reform, teacher training reform and some innovations towards improving the management capabilities have been undertaken. The tragedy of all these attempted reforms has been their implementation as isolated exercises rather than integrated total scheme to eradicate inertia gripping the education system.

The Seventh and the Eighth Plan have laid the groundwork which can be strengthened and expanded for ushering in universal enrolment of primary school age children and wiping out a substantial chunk of illiterates during the next few years for a deadline of 2000 AD. The achievement of this goal requires the development of a complementary system of education i.e. the non-formal education system which has been slowly emerging and strengthening itself in Pakistan.

Chapter Three

Non - Formal Approaches

3.1 The Need for Non-Formal Education

Compulsory and universal primary education has been the priority policy point of about every Government in Pakistan since 1947. But, despite heavy financial outlays on regular and innovative development programmes what has been achieved so far has yielded neither phenomenal results in quality nor unlimited school places for the fast increasing clientele of the primary education. The variety of terrain in the country as well as the diverse ethnic groups have also created imbalances in educational development. As a result, Pakistan is faced with the urgent need to equalize educational opportunities to lay the foundations for sustainable development in the long run.

Issues facing primary education in Pakistan are :

- (a) inequity, which is evidenced by the fact that there are ten times as many boys schools as girls' schools in primary education;
- (b) insufficient availability of schools;
- (c) tremendous regional variation in school availability particularly girls' schools;
- (d) lack of physical facilities in schools at the primary level;
- (e) lack of pre-service and in-service training for primary teachers;
- (f) extra emphasis on memorization, chanting and rote learning;
- (g) extra rigid school rules and regulations demanding utmost confirmity;
- (h) traditional apathy towards girls' education; and
- (i) low investment in primary education.¹

¹ Shahrukh Khan, *Barriers to Female Education in South Asia, PHREE Background Paper No.89/17* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1989), pp.24-28.

These rigidities of the formal education system are responsible for low level of participation of children, specially girls at the primary level in Pakistan. Education implies learning, irrespective of where and how it takes place. It's a life long process of acquisition and dissemination of knowledge, information, values and skills from infancy to old age, assuming different forms of which formal school is only one.

Learning has to be co-existent with life. All traditional societies have had some learning practices as part and parcel of overall activities. It is in recent times that learning and education have become time bound, which has resulted in limiting the scope and coverage of education in Pakistan. The formal and non-formal systems of education should have complementary roles. The system of Non-Formal Education (NFE) is extremely necessary to increase the education level of the females in Pakistan. This is specially so as today a consensus is emerging that female education has particularly high private economic and social returns in Pakistan. Education not only increases women's economic productivity but also improves their children's health and learning and lowers fertility.²

3.2 The Role of Non-Formal Education (NFE)

The inadequacy of formal education as a delivery system in Pakistan has been recognised and attempts are being made to develop complementary structures to universalize primary education. Due to changed outlook in the society and the government, non-formal learning is getting more emphasis and acceptance in Pakistan as an important approach to education.

² Male Education also has high private economic returns but has less impact on fertility or children's health.

NFE activities are referred to as any organised educational activity operating outside the structure and routine of the formal school to provide selected types of learning to sub-groups in the population, especially girls, out of school youth and adults. NFE should be conceptualized in such a way that it can accommodate variations in different cultures, a wide range of activities and provide scope for changes.

Some basic characteristics of NFE are:

- * Programmes are designed to meet specific needs and aspirations of the particular target group.
- * Learning process takes place anywhere, any time and in any form outside the school.
- * Programmes focus on practical, functional and other needs of the society in that particular area of the country.
- * The programme has a community base and its learning activities are under the control of and relevant to the needs of the participants.

The concept of NFE stems from social justice, equalisation of educational opportunity, democracy reduction of disparities and adaptation to social and cultural patterns in the country. It emphasizes decentralization, development, innovation and open-endedness.

NFE programmes are usually supported by community based non-governmental organisations. Moreover, the non-formal activities have to be integrated in the national strategy of the country, given the magnitude of the problems. In this context a combination of national initiative, flexible implementation strategies and community participation and support appear to be vital for optimal impact.

The most crucial support programme in the promotion of education of girls is the mobilization of the community through creating awareness of the importance of educating girls and developing participatory planning, implementation and monitoring techniques. Womens' organisations along with community groups, have a special role to play in mobilizing official and community support for education programmes for girls. The relationship of non-formal education programmes to formal education and particularly to the schools must be strengthened in such a way that both systems benefit from mutual interaction. Moreover, the NFE programmes should have research and evaluation units at the national and provincial levels and, through the feedback from these units, the programme can be constantly updated and readjusted to prevent its stagnation.

The following strategies have been identified in Pakistan to meet the needs of girls who are precluded by other activities from enrolling in formal primary schools:

- (a) the organisation of part time primary education programmes in primary schools (after school hours), community buildings, or even private homes according to the convenience of out of school girls at times suited to the daily work schedule of out of school girls (e.g. early morning, evening);
- (b) providing specific incentives to motivate participation in these programmes, e.g. free tuition, scholarships, books, clothes, etc.;
- (c) development of new curriculum and materials and revising the existing primary school curriculum;
- (d) use of local primary school teachers or involving local

personnel who will receive training in teaching in primary schools;

- (e) improve the management and supervision of primary education programmes;
- (f) involving the community and in particular womens' groups, in monitoring programmes;
- (g) mobilizing community resources for organising these programmes;
- (h) organize feeder schools in religious institutions such as mosques, community buildings or homes so that grade I,II and even III can be conducted for all children, specially girls during regular school hours;
- (i) employing teachers who will visit the homes or groups of houses forming a neighbourhood group to teach girls of primary school age who do not have access to education; and
- (j) organize mobile education centres using primary school teachers or trained personnel who will accompany migrant groups and teach boys and girls, using and adapting the primary school curriculum according to their needs (where there are migrant/nomadic groups).

The growing realisation of the need to provide quality primary education, in relation to the needs of different areas and segments of the population, have led the government to search for complementary structures to universalise primary education. The effectiveness of the programme of UPE has to be judged on the basis of competencies developed by children going through this cycle and developing the competencies of all children entering primary schools is today being emphasized in relation to the various roles that primary education plays.

As a result of these considerations, the quality of schooling is being given greater emphasis than was the case in the decade following the publication of Karachi Plan.

3.3 Asia-Pacific Programme of Education for All (APPEAL)

The APPEAL was launched by UNESCO on February 23, 1987. Since then Pakistan has been actively planning programmes and activities to focus on the three principal objectives of APPEAL, i.e. achieving universal primary education, eradicating illiteracy and providing continuing education in support of both above and to motivate the entire nation to accelerate its efforts for the achievements of the goals by the year 2000.

At the National level a National Coordination Committee for APPEAL has been constituted. The committee aims at generating a momentum which can help the country to reach at least the destination of UPE by 2000. Some workshops and conferences were held in 1987-88 aiming to seek solutions to some of the most critical problems undermining Pakistan's efforts to universalize primary education by the year 2000 and the establishment of a national system of non-formal education capable of eradicating illiteracy in the country.

The Primary and Non-Formal wing of the Ministry of Education organised two National workshops on the promotion of girls' education in the context of UPE. The first was a four days workshop on the in-service training of teachers for the education of girls at primary level.

The focus of the second workshop was on the introduction of innovative methods and approaches through alternative and

complementary forms of primary education to assist the Ministry in formulation of a National Plan of Action for promotion of girls' education in the context of UPE. A regional conference on NFE at Islamabad was organised in collaboration with UNICEF and UNESCO in August 1987 with the objective of enabling the government to draw on the experience of other countries in the design and implementation of a viable national programme of NFE, particularly for the age group 9-15 years.

In March 1988, a 6-day workshop was organised on the impact of innovative programmes on promotion of universal primary education for girls in Pakistan. The role of mosque schools, mohalla schools and Nai Roshi Schools in strengthening and widening of elementary educational facilities for girls was examined in depth and measures for increasing the existing participation rate were identified.

In addition, the Primary and Non-Formal Wing organised a national workshop in July 1988 to initiate strategies and programmes for the realisation of the three principles of APPEAL in Pakistan by the year 2000. The workshops recommended the NGOs to be actively involved in planning and implementation of literacy programmes from the national to the local level. Moreover the government should coordinate the efforts of the NGOs and provide financial and technical support for projects within the framework of national policies and programmes.

To achieve the objective of providing universal primary education, the government since 1987 is faced with the issue of how to achieve and sustain cost-effective, high quality universal primary education by the year 2000. The most important pre-requisite is to provide high quality education to send children, specially girls to school. Partnerships between

government, parents, teachers, the private sector and NGOs can help deliver such education and ensure quality of education. The government has a key role to play not just in involving communities but also has to ensure that the efficiency of the entire educational system is improved.

3.4 Early Successful Community Participatory Initiatives in Pakistan

3.4.1. Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project

Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project was a successful attempt to introduce community participation in Pakistan to suggest that people's involvement improves enrolment and quality of education. In 1979 UNICEF began financing a slum improvement project in Baldia (a suburb of Karachi with a population of about 300,000) called the Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project. The idea was that by using sanitation as the first intervention in an area, the project team could launch an integrated slum development programme that would incorporate three main components:

- Sanitation: the construction of soakpit latrines in houses.
- Education: a home school programme.
- Primary health care distributed through the home schools.

The project was notable because it exclusively involved women. By 1986, the project had established 100 home schools for 2,000 pupils, 80 percent of whom were girls.³ In order to disseminate the benefits of this improved sanitation system, women were trained to impart basic education and health awareness to pre-primary, primary class children and those who were not able to go to school. The Home School Teachers

³ World Bank, *Pakistan: Improving Basic Education: Community Participation, System's Accountability and Efficiency Report No.14960-PAK* (Washington D.C., 1996), p.22.

who were trained in growth monitoring, oral rehydration therapy and immunization organized themselves into Home School Teachers Welfare Organisation. The project has emphasized cost-cutting by holding classes in homes and by not requiring uniforms or shoes. There are now 250 home schools in Karachi and 300 in rural Sindh, and 10 of the original 100 have become private schools offering education upto grade 12.⁴ The project has demonstrated how the beneficiaries of development service have been transformed into change agents specially women.

3.4.2 Orangi Pilot Project: Cost Effective Social Services

Orangi is one of the biggest Katchi Abadis (urban slums) in Karachi with a population of one million, about 100,000 households. It was established in 1965 and grew rapidly after 1972 in an area with no proper roads, no electricity, no pipelines for water, few schools and hardly any other public service. In 1980, Akhtar Hameed Khan, a charismatic leader with missionary zeal organised the Orangi Pilot Project (OPP).

OPP organised five action-research programmes with the objective of developing models of community participation and self-management. They are, sanitation and housing, basic health, education and family planning, women work centres and education projects. OPP persuaded people that they could tackle the problems themselves by joining hands. The success of the sanitation programme led the OPP to adopt measures for school upgrading, women work centres and education projects.

3.4.3 Baanhn Beli

Baanhn Beli - a phrase in Sindhi, Seraiks and Punjabi, meaning

⁴ Ibid, p.22.

a 'friend forever' is the sole voluntary organisation to have entered the Tharparkar region of Pakistan, with the aim of improving people's lives. Established in 1987, its chief objective is to build an alliance between the disadvantaged people in this area and the professional specialists from cities to address the most pressing development concerns.

By 1991, with the financial help of the government sponsored trust for voluntary organization and some international donors, activities started in the field of female education, providing basic education, basic health care, computer literacy, agricultural production etc. A cardinal principle of Baanhn Beli is the active and willing participation of villagers in the programmes. For instance, the villagers themselves provide the premises for school. They identify a male or female teacher for interviews by the organization. The villagers keep a strict watch over teachers as well as children's attendance in the school. This experience shows that much can be done even in a feudalistic structure, if local people can be mobilized to organize themselves. By now, over 200,000 people have benefitted from the work of Baanhn Beli in about 200 settlements.⁵

3.4.4 Buniyad: Accelerating Female Literacy

The Buniyad Literacy Community Council (BLCC) was established in 1993 to promote literacy, particularly among women. It started its work from Hafizabad, a backward area in Punjab, with the dubious reputation of having a female literacy rate of only 6 percent.

⁵ Mahbub-ul-Haq, *Human Development in South Asia* (New York: Human Development Centre, 1997), p.101.

BLCC established several non-formal centres in these remote areas. Initially, the focus was on the enrolment of both boys and girls but it gradually shifted to girls alone. Community participation became a cultural feature of these efforts with the villagers, providing a location for the schools as well as participating in the selection of local teachers. These teachers are given proper training at the Buniyad teacher's training centres.

Buniyad has already established 500 centres in various areas of the Punjab province, in which 15,000 girl's are receiving education as well as acquiring various life skills. The success of the programme can be judged by its low dropout rate at the primary school level, only 15 percent as compared to a 50 percent national average.⁶

The experience of Buniyad has raised a fundamental issue. This effort has come to rely a great deal on the financial support of an external donor which is about to phase out. The outstanding work of the organization is now threatened unless funds from other services materialize. It shows that unless an NGOs activities are supported by self-help efforts of the community itself, the sustainability of these activities is always in danger.

3.4.5 Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP)

The Northern areas of Pakistan provide another e.g. of successful community participation in the field of primary education. Under the AKRSP, more than 70 percent of communities in the Northern Areas have established active 'village organizations'. While the organizations

⁶ Ibid, p.102.

were originally mobilized primarily for irrigation and income-generating activities. they were quick to respond when the Government offered them an endowment of Rs. 100,000 to establish community based schools.

The village organizations and the community were responsible for providing a room, recruiting a female teacher, establishing a local education, committee. Despite funding delays, the community quickly established schools. Until funds were made available, many teachers worked without pay in order to keep the schools open. There are now 250 schools, with a total enrolment of 3,690 girls and 2,391 boys.⁷

Women's organization (WO) play a key role in AKRSP's strategy for community development. The development of women's organization has been more intense in Gilgit, which is on the whole more liberal in communities attitude towards Muslim women's mobility and participation in group activities as compared to the other regions.⁸ The WOs are engaged in providing potable water systems, micro-hydels, vocational training centres for women and self-help school buildings. One of the particular concerns of the WOs is the low literacy rate among women which is trying to address by its involvement with the Aga Khan Educational Service, government line agencies and the Social Action Programme (SAP).

⁷ World Bank, *Pakistan - Improving Basic Education: Community Participation, System Accountability and Efficiency, Report No. 14960-PAK* (Washington D.C., 1996), p.22.

⁸ World Bank, *The Aga Khan Rural Support Programme: A Third Evaluation* (Washington D.C., 1996), p.96.

3.4.6 The Mosque (or Masjid) School

The mosque has traditionally been a seat of learning in an Islamic society. The mosques was given a formal role in providing primary education in Pakistan in 1950 by an organization called Tanzeem-ul-Katab.⁹ It started working in 1953 in Bahawalpur by opening schools in village mosques and later spread in other areas of West Pakistan.

The Pakistan Academy For Rural Development started working in this field in 1966 and by 1970 ten such schools were started in villages in Peshwar which slowly expanded. The government of Pakistan perceiving the pivotal role of mosque as a vehicle of basic literacy and religious education gave it full attention at the time of formulation of the Fifth Five Year Plan.

The mosque school covers the elementary stage and those who complete the elementary stage¹⁰ in a mosque school, get promoted to the upper stage¹¹ in the formal primary school. The curriculum of a mosque school is the same as that of regular primary school but the timings are made flexible and books are given free of cost. The Iman of the mosque is paid an honorarium of Rs. 250 per month for teaching the Nazra (recitation) reading of the Holy Quran, while the regular teacher gets the salary of a primary school teacher. If the enrolment in a mosque exceeds 50, a second teacher is appointed in the same mosque school.

⁹ Asif Ashraf, "Mosque Feeder School - A Pilot Project of PARD-1966-1990", *Journal of Rural Development and Administration*, Vol.XXII, No.3, Summer 1990, p.94.

¹⁰ Elementary primary stage constitutes grades I and II.

¹¹ Upper primary stage constitutes grades IV and V.

The mosque schools central location, free education judicious blending of religious and general education and constant supervision by the Imam who has to be in the mosque from morning till evening, and above all, its round the year working without long break, are the features which add to its popularity in villages and parts of towns where there are no primary schools. The mosque school is establishing itself as a viable alternative to formal primary school specially for girls as parents do not mind their daughters receiving instruction under the supervision of the mosque.

The mosque school concept has been most successful in Sind, where a separate and energetic mosque school administration has provided a focus for management and development and where the geographical conditions (many small, isolated communities) are most suitable for a programme like this. One feature of this programme nation wide (with the exception of Sind) is that a few girls are enrolled.

3.4.7 Mohalla Schools

The Mohalla School functions informally in village homes and serves the needs of girls of all ages. In a particular locality (Mohalla) in the rural areas, the pious, venerable and knowledgeable old ladies who can read and write, but do not go out, voluntarily undertake to teach the basics of Islam, homely etiquette, cooking, selected skills for home management, along with rudiments of literacy, to young girls.

These schools enjoy the confidence and patronage of the parents who feel secure in sending their girls to these homely schools for some sort of schooling. The 'Apaji', the teacher, is supported by well-to-do parents and is paid a suitable honorarium.

Since 1980, the government has been adopting measures to institutionalize, strengthen and increase the number of Mohalla Schools and to establish Mohalla Schools in rural areas where separate primary schools in rural areas do not exist. The Plan has been to integrate Mohalla Schools into formal education by the provision of equivalent courses of study and encouraging the girls to join the formal school education. The reorganized curriculum of the Mohalla School includes the basic religious component, learning of household skill and element of reading and writing.

What needs to be done is that motivated social workers (ladies) from different NGOs can assume a leading role in establishing model Mohalla Schools and suggest ways of making them stronger so that it emerges as an alternative to the regular girls' primary schools.

3.4.8 Nai Roshi (New Light) Schools

The Nai Roshi or Drop-in-school programme was launched in 1986 by the Literacy and Mass Education Commissions of the Government of Pakistan with three aims:

- To offer a second chance to drop outs and first chance to those of the 10-14 year age group who never joined a school.
- To provide free education with flexible timings and non-formal environment in open school like literacy centers.
- To provide employment to the unemployed educated youth, by training and engaging them in these schools.

In spite of the success of these schools the share of females Nai Roshi school is very low. These schools have an over centralized and heavy bureaucratic structure and suffer from lack of full participation of the

community as a whole in promoting and strengthening the system. Some experts are of view that these schools thrive at the cost of the impoverished primary sector and have caused considerable overlapping and waste in the primary sector.¹² Unless the Nai Roshi Schools produce tangible results, it may be difficult to support and continue such a costly experiment in the future. There has been a talk about discontinuing these schools.

The various community participatory initiatives have demonstrated that increasing the quality of education can increase demand for education. By changing the way resources are used and by encouraging parental input, it is possible to improve quality of education, so as to attract more students roughly at the same cost. The cost effectiveness of expenditure on education could thus be improved. The need today is not only to increase the supply of inputs but also to address the demand factors-parental perceptions at the same time.

With widespread regional disparities Pakistan requires both a major investment in accelerating the pace of human development as well as ensuring a special emphasis on less developed regions, particularly in rural areas. In addition, the limited role of the government in Pakistan in extending the provision of social services to the poor and in investing in their own abundant human capital, has created a large vacuum which can be filled by civil society initiatives which are formally being organized in the form of NGOs.

¹² UNESCO, *National Studies - Pakistan* (Bangkok, 1991), p.16.

The Government of Pakistan and Baluchistan with the support of donors and the help of NGOs has launched a Social Action Programme (SAP) and a Primary Education Programme respectively to improve the state of primary education with an emphasis on closing the gender gap in enrolment and educating the female population of the country.

3.5 The Social Action Programme (SAP)

The Social Action Programme (SAP) was formulated by the Government of Pakistan in 1992 to reverse Pakistan's historic under-investment in social welfare, and thus to increase educational attainment, improve health status, and slow population growth. The Plan lays emphasis on four basic social services: primary education, primary health care, family planning and rural water supply and sanitation. Within these areas, the focus is on the most marginalized groups of society eg. female education, infant care and reached rural inhabitants.

Its basic premise is that the main problems-implementation, poor project design, low level of effort and political will-are common across all services and areas of the country. The project supports programmes in all four basic services, province by province and aims at improving the overall implementation environment as well as addressing important sector level issues.

The major elements of the SAP framework are:

- a) a decentralized structure, to clarify responsibilities for implementation of programmes in all the four basic services, province by province;
- b) performance based monitorable annual agreements to determine funding;
- c) mechanism for continuing policy dialogue, coordination and monitoring; and

- d) a Participatory Development Programme (PDP) to encourage community participation and experimentation through NGOs and related private institution.¹³

The primary education programmes in all provinces will:

- * improve the functioning and utilization of existing school through measures like allowing for cross registration of girls in boys school and vice-versa, establishing new co-educational schools, filling vacant teacher posts, reducing absenteeism and sharply restricting staff transfers; establishing a separate management structure for primary education, strengthening management information systems, promoting community and parental involvement;
- * improve the quality of education, by expanding teacher training and increasing expenditure on non-salary recurrent costs from its present low base to supply more items like books;
- * improve access to education, particularly in rural areas, by building more schools;
- * increase girls' enrolment (and particularly their retention rates) by recruiting more female teachers and either instituting co-educational school or more girls' schools; and
- * expand primary education systems as fast as is practical, increase government support, and encourage greater community participation in education.¹⁴

¹³ World Bank, *Social Action Programme Project, Report No.12588-PAK* (Washington D.C., 1994), p.4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.21.

With a total cost of US \$ 4 billion, the government will provide US \$ 3.05 billion. The International Development Agency (IDA) proposes to provide US \$ 200 million and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the Netherlands Government are providing assistance of US \$ 100 million and US \$ 13 billion respectively. In addition the government will use \$ 552 million from existing/expected aid.¹⁵

Some 50,000 primary school teachers (30,000 women and 20,000 men) will be trained and recruited to fill new posts and makeup for the existing backlog of vacancies. Institution building, including gradual strengthening of district level management capabilities will continue. Over three years estimated 25,000 schools will be constructed of which 70 percent will be for girls. About 15,000 existing schools will be reconstructed or renovated. SAP has raised the hope for a major breakthrough by Pakistan in providing the urgently-needed social services to the poor.

There has been an increase in the budgetary resources allocated for the social sectors from 1.7 per cent of GDP in 1991-92 to 2.2 percent in 1993-94.¹⁶ Facility site selections and school upgrading is being decided according to merit or needs-based criteria. Non-salary budget for maintenance are increasing. There is also an increased and genuine interest in promoting community participation efforts. Among the reforms being carried out are opening up of new schools, increasing supply of

¹⁵ World Bank, *Social Action Programme Project, Report No.12588-PAK* (Washington D.C., 1994), pp.51-52.

¹⁶ Mahbul-ul-Haq, *Human Development in South Asia* (New York: Human Development Centre, 1997), p.109.

female teachers and health workers in rural area, decentralizing financial powers to districts and encouraging greater community and user responsibility for basic social services.

There is a wide agreement in Pakistan that SAP was a very significant if overdue initiative. However there is no shortage of critical comments on it by government interlocutors, by researchers and consultants, by NGO representatives and even by one or two donor representatives.

The programme is seen as excessively Bank driven, though it is presented as Government initiative supported by donors. The monitoring of the programme was also seen as too intrusive by Government interlocutors—they said that the Bank is dealing with the federal, provincial and local Governments and this creates problems and political difficulties. In addition, there is a bias in the programme towards quantitative indicators—number of schools etc. at the expense of more basic qualitative factors e.g. community leadership. The need today is to develop a cadre of local activists and this takes time and working at the grassroots level. This militates against quick disbursement, which some NGOs believe is the primary driving force of the Bank.

The NGOs also allege charges of corruption and politicization of the programme which is proving to be a major hurdle in its implementation. A donor representative commented that the analytical work underlying the SAP was prefunctionary. In his view "the SAP was a case where experienced at the project level led to an opportunistic operational initiative without an underlying analysis and without the requisite

intellectual underpinnings."¹⁷

One must not be disheartened by the above comments as projects whether governmental or non-governmental have always faced great difficulties in targeting the poor people. It is too early to evaluate the actual performance under the Social Action Programme. We must wait and watch how the government, the Bank and the NGOs are able to prevent the SAP from being politicized and used as a patronage programme for political party workers. SAP has attracted far more political commitment and public attention to social services. Pakistan's recent governments all gave, and continue to give, high priority to SAP and its implementation and it remains to be seen whether SAP will prove to be a major breakthrough in human development or social engineering as it is perceived to be.

3.6 The Baluchistan Primary Education Programme (BPEP)

With an average density of about 16 persons per square kilometer, Baluchistan encompasses almost half of the land mass of Pakistan but contains only about five per cent of the country's total population. The majority (84 percent) of inhabitants reside in rural areas. Compared to the rest of the nation, the province of Baluchistan has the lowest gross participation rate in primary education at 34 percent and a female participation rate of 15 percent and the quality of education is poor.¹⁸

¹⁷ Vinod Dubey, *South Asia Special Report : Impact of Economic and Sector Work in South Asia, Report No. IDP-157* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1995), p.119.

¹⁸ World Bank, *Baluchistan Primary Education Programme, Report No. 11403-PAK* (Washington D.C., 1993), p.1.

The province has only 625 primary girls' schools, of 7,199 schools overall.¹⁹

With the intention of bringing girls' schools to the remoter regions of Pakistan, a highly capable Pakistani consultant Quaratul-Ain Bakhteari started the Society for Community Support for Primary Education in Baluchistan, which began as a pilot project in March 1992. The plan received USAID grant funding for the pilot. The society's work was so successful that the government decided to generalize the pilot to the entire province and contracted with the society to implement a province wide community school experiment.

Now funded by the World Bank (IDA), the Baluchistan government, UNICEF, the Canadian International Development Agency, USAID and the Trust for Voluntary Organization, the Baluchistan Primary Education Programme (BPEP) has the following objectives:

- a) improve access, equity and efficiency in primary education, particularly for girls;
- b) improve the quality of the learning environment for all schools; and
- c) improve organizational framework, planning and management of the provincial education system.²⁰

The workers go from door to door organizing parents, who are frequently unaware that their children even have a right to go to school,

¹⁹ World Bank, *Investing in People: The World Bank in Action* (Washington D.C., 1992).

²⁰ World Bank, *The Baluchistan Primary Education Programme, Report No. 11403-PAK* (Washington D.C., 1993), p.14.

to form Village Education Committees. The Village Education Committee (VEC) in addition to running the school is contractually obliged to : provide security for the school and teacher, provide guidance and information to women in the village, monitor the attendance of the teacher and the children, check the drop out rate of the students and provide valid information to parents and the Education Department.

The BPEP constitutes the primary education component of the Social Action Programme in Baluchistan. Within the SAP framework, the strategies of the programme are as follows:

- a) establishing girls' mixed schools to improve access, equity and efficiency and giving priority to mixed and shelterless schools in the school construction programme;
- b) to overcome the acute shortage of qualified female teachers, normal teaching requirements have been relaxed , so that candidates need not have a secondary school diploma. Under the Mobile Female Teacher Training Programme (MFTTP), the cultural problems of sending teachers away to residential teacher training colleges is avoided. Under this programme, mobile training teams conduct training in high school premises in village centers to which girls (who are 8th pass or better) from surrounding areas are transported daily. After graduating the teachers become government employees, assigned to teach in schools established by their sponsoring VEC. "The benefit of this approach is that the female teacher will not be transferred and, more important, will be accepted in the community", noted one female educator;

- c) introducing improved instructional materials through a new series of student core texts to encourage independent learning will. The success of multi-grade learning environment depends on the availability of a range of supplementary reading materials. This will provide the basis for a research, activity and enquiry based approach among students. All materials will be screened to avoid gender bias and materials development efforts will pay particular attention to enhance the self-image of girls. The system would be reinforced by regular supply of such materials to all schools, and training of all teachers through annual in service work shops and continuous on the job training by learning coordinators;
- d) encouraging private schools to provide student places to disadvantaged population through a scholarship programme targeted to girls' of low income families;
- e) in order to establish a need-based and demand-driven system of planning and management, a separate Directorate of Primary Education (DPE) would be formed, the Management Information System will be strengthened and a revised system of performance review and job descriptions for all levels of administrations in the system would be introduced; and
- f) restructuring the public expenditure programme in primary education, towards items needed to carry out the above strategy.²¹

²¹ Ibid, pp. 15-27.

3.6.1. Girls Scholarship Programme

The BPEP is also undertaking a pilot experiment on Girls Scholarship for Private Schools. The objective is the development of the low-tuition charging private education sector in poor semi-urban areas. This experiment will provide monthly scholarships to a selected cohort of girls living in Divisional or District headquarter towns. The government will follow a certain criteria for the selection of students and schools.

The scholarship covers enrolment fees, tuition, books and educational materials. Scholarship student must enroll in Katchi (Kindergartens) or grade I and will receive scholarship for six years. A Baluchistan Private Education Foundation has been set up to provide developmental support and recurrent resources to disadvantaged private education institutions.

The Urban Girls Fellowship Programme in Quetta has been piloted with encouraging results. The programme has encouraged the private sector to establish high-quality, low-cost private primary schools for girls in 12 different low income areas of Quetta. These schools are supported by student scholarship paid by the community. Further, the school is supported by an NGO whose function is to promote the school and motivate community participation, and the Baluchistan Private Education Foundation, which provides technical assistance in monitoring, planning and financial management. Each community has selected between 200 and 300 girls of ages four to eight and none of the areas have a government primary school for girls.

A parent education committee is established by the community and is assigned resources equivalent to 100 scholarships. A primary school is

established by hiring a private school operator and has to enroll a minimum of 100 girls age five to eight from the community. Schools are to receive subsidy for three years from their opening in March 1995 to February 1998 which will cover the cost of one teacher plus some recurrent costs for every 25 girls. Schools that enroll fewer than 50 girls do not receive the subsidy. Teachers must be grade tenth pass and the school must train them before the start of the school year.

To have future savings, the programme lays down that Rs. 2500 (\$80) of each monthly subsidy should be placed in bank account held jointly by the Foundation and the school. The main purpose of this fund is to give the school a cushion when the scholarships are discontinued. This account will be released to the school at the end of the third year.

In response to the scholarships, 10 new private schools are now operating in Quetta, educating 1,790 pupils (1,247 girls), of whom 1,070 (896 girls) are from target areas. Of these 1,070 pupils, 660 (563 girls) were not previously in the education system.²²

What is encouraging in the programme is that it has also generated contributions from the local community. This shows that the future programme will not necessarily have to be financed entirely by government or donor funds and also that the services being provided under this programme is being valued by the people.

²² World Bank, *Pakistan - Improving Basic Education: Community Participation, System Accountability and Efficiency, Report No. 14960-PAK* (Washington D.C., 1996), p.24.

3.6.2 Achievements

The results so far from the Community Support Programme (CSP) in Baluchistan have been encouraging. The female enrolment rate in the CSP villages two years into the programme was 87 percent compared with 15 percent for the entire province. Now, three years after the pilot project 12,769 students are enrolled in 273 CSP schools.²³ Girls in community schools speak out freely and interact with their classmates, rather than sitting quietly in the rear of the classroom and being neglected by the teacher. Teachers, parents and committee members refer to the CSP schools as "the community school" or "our school" and to the non-CSP school as "government school" (although CSP schools are in fact officially government schools, with buildings and teachers paid for by the government). Parents in CSP villages have prevented vandalism against the school, participated in supervision and monitored construction of schools.

A boys middle school principal from a particular village, complaining of vandalism against his school, remarked, "the same will not happen in the girls' schools because it is under the control of the VEC and the committee looks after the school"²⁴ Villagers also remarked that "we go to the (CSP) school to check attendance, listen to lessons from the students, check cleanliness... we don't do this at the boys (non-CSP) schools. We cannot approach there".²⁵

²³ Ibid., p.23.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid, p.24.

Mobilizing community involvement in education, particularly for girls, is a significant development in a country where education is considered mainly the task of the government. Though community participation is necessary in education it is not the only input which will guarantee success in establishing and monitoring the primary schools. The government has a role to play, not just in involving communities, but in fulfilling their part of the bargain that such participation implies. There are continuous expectations of government responsibility for teacher employment and salaries, building and maintenance of schools, and supply of books and teaching materials.

3.6.3 Limitations

A limitation of community participation is financial resources for education. Though under the CSP, the VEC have managed to elicit contributions of labour, temporary buildings, and school materials like water containers, chalkboards, chalk etc. from wealthy individuals and parents, the parents are still burdened by cost for uniforms, materials and pocket money, and are reluctant to contribute more for building maintenance and upgrading.

Government subsidies can play an important role here. First, particularly in cities, with reliance on the NGO sector, education needs subsidies to promote equity; the government policy should seek to educate children from the poorest families without placing a burden on them. Second, subsidies should be allocated directly to the communities (to schools or education committees) to empower the community to manage its own spending.

Thus the government support for the community scheme has grown with obvious success. Throughout the formal primary education system, the government now guarantees the community teacher posts and promises to build permanent schools where trial schools survive for three years. The involvement of parents and committees, in schooling decisions is important, but they also enter the process expecting certain things in return, without which they will drift away from the partnership.

In interviews²⁶ when parents and community leaders were asked what they believed constituted a good school, they said that the physical inputs are important determinants of the acceptance of the school in the community. What was considered most important to generate enrolment was appointment of female teachers, so that parents feel safe in sending their daughters to schools and that beatings in the school are discouraged.

The final expectation of scholarship availability reflects parents general concern that their children have access to higher levels of education. "Those who go through primary school are keen to take up further education" says Nasiro Bano, a teaching training coordinator under the BPEP. "they always ask whether they will have a chance to go for middle school education".²⁷

²⁶ These interviews were conducted in connection with studies on changes in primary schools in all four provinces of Pakistan : NWFP, Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan by the World Bank in 1994-95.

²⁷ World Bank, *Investing in People: The World Bank in Action* (Washington D.C., 1992).

Thus, the education of girls has emerged as a major issue in Pakistan within the context of universalizing primary education and in response to the stimulus given by the UN decade for Women to programmes directed to equity. Dispute constitutional provisions and the formulation of national Five Year Plans and education policies, the issues has not received support from the highest political leadership. Syed Shahid Hussain, Former Vice President, World Bank speaking on the role of government in development stated that "the Government of Pakistan has had a criminal neglect in education producing a wave of illiterates".²⁸

With The inadequacy of the formal education as a delivery system, projects are being implemented in the non-government sector which will not only address the needs and abilities of the children in a flexible way but also to the parental problems so that they are more willing to educate children specially girls'.

A large void which has been created by the limited role of government in extending the provision of social service is being filled by the NGOs. The government has also recognized the crucial role of NGOs in providing cost-effective social services to the poor and needy. Pakistan has around 10,000 NGOs and forty such organization are registered with the Women's Division.²⁹ Pakistan is still struggling to evolve a legal framework which would permit the growth of genuine NGO activities.

²⁸ Development Without Women, *The Dawn*, Karachi, 16th October, 1988.

²⁹ Status of Women in Pakistan, *The Muslim*, Islamabad, 29 March, 1994.

The Government in Pakistan is learning to work closely with NGOs and to benefit from their relative strengths in certain areas. Close NGO-Government collaboration in Pakistan can be seen in the Social Action Plan and the Baluchistan Primary Education Programme. The role of NGOs in bringing universalization of primary education in Pakistan is very significant and much can be done with the cooperation of the government.

Chapter Four

Curriculum Development

Present efforts towards universalization of primary education in Pakistan cannot be accomplished without considering the quality of primary education. Provision of school facilities, such as school places, buildings and enrolling students, are only one aspect of primary education for all children. While the government is taking steps to improve the above mentioned aspect of primary education, efforts should be made to make the course and content of Universal Primary Education (UPE) relevant and useful in this modern age.

The curriculum should not only help the children acquire, with functional effectiveness, the basic skills of literacy and numeracy and understanding and reasoning, but should also accommodate the existing cultural values of a society so that there is not much resistance from the society while imparting such education to children, specially girls.

4.1 The Concept of Quality with Reference to Education at the Primary Stage

The qualitative aspects of education are related to what is taught, how well and for what ends, alongside efforts to widen access to education. Quality in education is essentially a normative notion tied up ultimately with one's evaluation of what constitutes the good life for the individual and for the society of which one is a member. It is the latter which has been given expression and articulation in the form of educational goals and objectives in several countries. A general definition of educational quality can be the degree or the extent to which education helps children in the maximal realization of their individual potentialities and contributes towards the social good.¹

¹ UNESCO, *Qualitative Aspects of Primary Education*, Occasional Paper No.18 (Bangkok, 1990), p.5.

The quality issue cannot be considered in total isolation from the quantitative factors. The concept is to be examined with reference to the nature and kind of inputs into the education system (school, curriculum, teachers, equipment, etc.) and the net effects or the outputs of the process as reflected in the achievement scores and qualitative personality changes.

Measurement of both the inputs and outputs faces obstacles. The ability of success rates in the final examination to assess cognitive achievements has long been challenged, specially in view of the linguistic difficulties many of them face. Similarly, examination results do not reflect the efficiency of the school in promoting knowledge, which is to a certain extent acquired outside the classroom.

Non-cognitive aspects of education, i.e. a combination of moral, intellectual and physical education to enable the full development of the pupils is difficult to assess. In Pakistan, since independence, attempts have been made to bring the entire corpus of the educational system in conformity with the teachings of Islam. President Zia-ul-Haq's regime under its Islamisation Programme, asked scholars to address themselves to three tasks, "identification of the real Islamic values and their propagation, identification of all un-Islamic concepts and their total elimination and building a real Islamic society".² The Islamization Programme, which laid emphasis on purdah, veil, separate schools for girls, further restricted and gave a set-back to female enrolment at all levels of education.

² Louis D. Hayes, *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, 1987), p.109.

For the past decade and a half Pakistan has adopted a strategy for UPE which includes multi-pronged innovative measures focussing on improvement and reorientation of curriculum, teacher preparation and administrative system, to make them tailored to meet the specific needs.

4.2 The Meaning of Curriculum

The term curriculum refers to:-

- * the content of the instructional programme, which includes all the learning experiences provided formally and informally by schools;
- * the instructional strategies used to achieve stated curriculum goals;
- * the instructional materials and facilities available to schools; and.
- * the method of evaluation used to assess whether the curriculum goals have been achieved.³

The curriculum is an agent of socialization and social control which acts as a powerful instrument of perpetuating value systems, norms and stereotypes, reproducing social relations or stimulating social change. Its distribution of knowledge and skills affects class and gender relations and the hidden curriculum manipulates role and behavioural expectations. The socio-cultural norms and practices that adversely affect the educational participation and achievement of girls have been perceived in many societies to be reinforced through the operation of the curriculum

³ Aziz Bacchus, Ahmed and others, *Quality in Basic Education: Curriculum Reform*, Background/Policy Paper (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1991), p.8.

as a social learning process. Many countries in the world are making efforts to use the socialisation process to counter gender role stereotypes, to promote a more positive image of women and to raise the consciousness and level of aspiration of girls.

4.3 Curriculum Development in Pakistan

Curriculum development is a continuous process which reflects the purpose and content of education in relation to the needs of the country. Various attempts have been made to develop and restructure curriculum in Pakistan.

The first formal attempt to reorganize education after the birth of Pakistan, was the Pakistan Educational Conference held in Karachi in 1947. The conference appointed an Advisory Board of Education which in 1951 recommended structural and curricular reorganization of education. According to the conference, the aim of education was to ensure the harmonious development of the body, mind and spirit of the human being, so that a curriculum which is suited to the needs of the growing child and suited to his ability and aptitude can be developed.

Curriculum development was undertaken as a result of the Report of the Education Commission in 1959. Pursuant to the recommendation of the Commission, the Ministry of Education appointed a Curriculum Committee for Primary and Secondary Education. The objectives of primary education as determined by this committee were as follows:

- a. to provide such education as will develop all aspects of a child's personality - moral, physical and mental;
- b. to equip a child according to his abilities and aptitudes with the basic knowledge and skills he will require as an

individual and as a citizen, and which will permit him to pursue further education with profit;

- c. to awaken in a child a sense of citizenship and civic responsibilities as well as a feeling of love for his country and willingness to contribute to its development;
- d. to lay the foundation of desirable attitudes in the child, including habits of industry, personal integrity and curiosity; and
- e. to awaken in the child a liking for physical activity and an awareness of the role of sport and games in physical well-being.⁴

The following two objectives out of those accepted by UNESCO were considered in framing the curriculum in Pakistan;

- i. to develop international understanding and spirit of universal brotherhood; and
- ii. to inculcate a scientific attitude.

The Education Commission laid down that religious education should be a compulsory subject throughout the primary stage and that due emphasis should be placed on the teaching of the national languages. The Commission also recommended the setting up of the Textbook Board with the responsibility for drawing up syllabi and prescribing courses according to the guidelines laid down by the commission. The Textbook Board also had the responsibility to lay down policy for the preparation, printing and publication of textbooks.

⁴ UNESCO, *The Curriculum Study Centre-Pakistan* (Bangkok, 1977), p.6.

As a result of a decision taken at the Governors' Conference in February 1967, a National Bureau of Curricula and Syllabi (NBCT) and a National Textbook Board were set up within the Ministry of Education. The functions envisaged for the Bureau of Curricula and Syllabi were:-

- i. to ensure that the content of education is unified in all the provinces so that the schools, colleges and universities in the provinces produce graduates of more or less equal academic level sharing common national outlook and inspiring to common national goals;
- ii. to coordinate the work of the provinces in order to evolve common curricula and syllabi;
- iii. to undertake comparative study of curricula;
- iv. to identify problems and determine areas in which research is needed;
- v. to hold consultations with subject matter specialists, teachers and other persons;
- vi. to hold seminars and meeting; and
- vii. to prepare reports and other documents.⁵

The National Textbook Board was set up with the following functions:

- i. to lay down a broad national policy governing the preparation and production of textbooks;
- ii. to constantly review textbooks to see that they are in keeping with the changes taking place from time to time;
- iii. to ensure that the contents of education are identical and that achievements at different levels of education i.e.

⁵ Ibid., p.9.

- primary, secondary etc. are more or less of equal academic standard;
- iv. to produce model textbooks from primary to pre-university level; and
 - v. to produce standard book on selected discipline.⁶

4.4 The Primary School Curriculum in Pakistan

The present curriculum at the primary level in terms of subjects taught and number of hours per week devoted to each subject are set out in Table 2. Compulsory subjects at the primary level (classes I to V), include Urdu, mathematics, science, social studies, Islamiyat, health and physical education and arts.

The teaching of Geography starts in the third year of primary schooling. It is the most hated subject in school.⁷ Teaching in arithmetic tends to follow theory and tradition which leads to brain fag and should give way to utility and process. Textbooks dealing with Pakistan history, describe it as an ideological state and that ideology is Islam. Jinnah is himself portrayed as favouring a theological political setup despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary.⁸

Islamiyat is a compulsory subject from class I to class XIV. In 1978, the government mandated a complete revision of textbooks in the context

⁶ Ibid., p.10.

⁷ F.K. Khan Durrani, *A Plan of Muslim Educational Reform* (Lahore: Islamic Book Service, 1986).

⁸ Louis D. Hayes, *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1987), p.155.

Table 2

Scheme of Studies for Elementary Classes (Primary Level Classes 1-V)

Subjects	Classes I & II age 5 and 6+			Class III, age 7+			Classes IV & V, age 8+9+		
1. Languages									
(a) Ist language	12	8	30.7	6	4	15.3	6	4	15.3
(b) IInd language	-	-	-	6	4	15.3	6	4	15.3
2. Mathematics	6	4	15.3	6	4	15.3	6	4	15.3
3. Science	5	3.20	12.30	6	4	15.3	5	3.20	12.30
4. Social Studies	5	3.20	12.30	3	2	7.69	4	2.40	9.23
5. Health & Physical Education	5	3.20	12.30	3	2	7.69	4	2.40	9.23
6. Islamiyat	6	4	15.3	6	4	15.3	6	4	15.3
7. Arts	5	3.20	12.30	3	2	7.69	3	2	7.69

Source: UNESCO, *The Curriculum Study Centre-Pakistan* (Bangkok, 1977), p.55.

of the drive to Islamize education. However, it is very unclear what the "Islamic" content of the curriculum should be or how it should be determined. Some educators describe Islamization of the curriculum as "propaganda", others see it as a device "to keep the clergy happy."⁹ Even advocates of religious instruction acknowledge that much work remains in defining the Islamic content of the curriculum and its implementation.

The textbooks usually suffer from poor language grading from one level to another and even between subject books at the same level. There is a lack of exercise material, particularly, in maths, science and Urdu and a high proportion of factual and grammatical errors in the texts. Textbooks have a dull layout and design.

Historically there has been fairly extensive censorship of the print media, which has, in some cases, extended to the writing and publication of academic materials. The types of courses, the substances of courses, the production of books at the primary level are more and more tied to government programmes and policies. The teacher has little latitude, and frequently even less aptitude, to be creative. Initiatives to stimulate the desire and process of learning, especially in rural areas where the quality of teaching is very low, has led to increasing government efforts to define the content of education. Efforts to expand the quantity and enhance the quality of education have led to the bureaucratization and centralization of the educational system.

4.4.1 The Language Issue in Primary Education

The medium of instruction is of critical importance to the

⁹ Ibid., p.103.

educational enterprise; language is the most important aspect of learning.¹⁰ The lack of a national language has been a factor in arresting Pakistan's social-economic development and has become a subject of political and educational controversy. There are three choices open to Pakistan: instruction in native languages Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi and Pushto. The second alternative is Urdu the nominal official language. The third is English.

Native languages are important elements in socialization and personality development but to promote a high level of literary proficiency in these languages is universally impractical because these languages lack the sophistication and technical vocabulary to cope up with the demands of the modern world. English they say, is foreign by any criterion and conflicts with a sense of national identity.

To teach both a national language and a mother tongue as part of school curriculum is a drain on resources and a burden on students. Everyone learns a mother tongue whether they attend school or not. Relying upon a single language at the primary level means that for some people, formal language training and linguistic proficiency would be in a language other than their mother tongue.

The government since Mohammad Ali Jinnah have adopted Urdu as the common, national language. Given the practical advantages of such an approach, it would seem that the idea would be attractive and relatively easy to implement. But it is not. Despite the fact that there has

¹⁰ UNESCO, *Qualitative Aspects of Primary Education*, Occasional Paper No.18 (Bangkok, 1990).

been a commitment to develop literacy in Urdu as the national language since independence, the record is largely one of failure, the main reason being the natural reluctance to part with one's mother tongue.

Another problem has been the timid efforts by the government to promote literacy and an Urdu language policy. Under the Islamization programme emphasis was laid on the study of Arabic, a difficult language, which put pressure on the students and strain on educational resources. In addition, politically, language differences have produced disorders such as the riots in 1983".¹¹

Private schools which have grown in numbers in urban areas, have considerable latitude in deciding their own language of instruction. Some schools introduce English as an elective subject from class I. Thus, with different medium of instructions in the provinces and schools and with political and economic differences being perceived in language terms, social and political friction among groups speaking different languages has been a common problem in Pakistan.

4.4.2 Sex-Role Images in Textbooks

Pakistan's cultural legacy and avowed policy to model the educational system on Muslim values and traditions has inclined educators towards adopting a traditional presentation of women's roles and status. The position of women in education in Pakistan is closely linked with widely held beliefs concerning their proper role in society as implied by their true surrender to God. These beliefs can be summarized

¹¹ Louis D. Hayes, *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, (Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, 1987), p.162.

as the undesirability of ikhtilâf or the mixing of the sexes in social life.¹²

The teachers who maintain stereo-typical notions of girls' inabilities in science, maths and other traditionally male fields and by textbooks that depict women in occupations with little job mobility and low pay, dampen girls' aspirations and discourage their attendance and achievement in schools.¹³

An analysis of curriculum and texts confirms that the portrayal of girls and women, in Pakistan, tends to be inadequate and stereotyped and often reflects traditional cultural prescriptions. First and foremost, women are mentioned infrequently and are conspicuous by their absence, while men are lauded as the architects of social progress. When women characters appear, they have no name but are primarily identified by relational labels such as mother, wife, sister, etc.

Women's activities focus on family roles, in contrast with men, for whom emphasis is on roles outside the family intending to reinforce the existing traditional attitudes towards women's work. Girls and women are shown to be passive, to be non-achievers and noninitiators, who are not expected to attain socially worthwhile goals. The textbooks avoid descriptions of girls and boys or men and women working together

¹² Pakistan/Netherland Project, *Education Policy in Pakistan*, Working Paper Series No.90/10 (Islamabad, 1990).

¹³ Bellow and King, *Educating Women: Lessons from Experience in E. King and Hill (ed.), Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies* (Washington D.C.:World Bank, 1991), pp.311-312.

depicting the social segregation existing in society.¹⁴

References to women in nontraditional roles and mention of outstanding women do occur, but they are very rare. The biography of Lady Hazarat Aisha, the wife of the Prophet occurs several times in the Islamiyat textbooks, and similarly, the life of Fatima, daughter of the Prophet, receives some attention. An Urdu primary text has a lesson on the sister of Quaid -e Azam, the founder of Pakistan, which describes her as the mother of the nation, but makes no mention of her activities as a politician and leader of the opposition in her own right. A lesson on the role of women in the Pakistan movement occurs in class VIII text and a short lesson on the role of women in national development exists in the new English texts for class X. Helen Keller and Florence Nightingale are the only western women designated for study.¹⁵

A study of 105 textbooks, 8 supplementary reading material and 76 popular books read by school going children as prescribed by the Punjab Textbook board revealed the level and nature of participation of females in preparing textbooks and an analysis of sex role images in these textbooks. The study showed that 78 percent of the textbooks were written by male authors and only 6 percent by females.¹⁶

¹⁴ A.C. Smock, *Women's Education in Developing Countries: Opportunities and Outcome* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981), p.61.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ministry of Education, *AEPAM/BRIDGES Workshop/Seminar on Policy Options for Better Education Outcome at the Primary Level* (Islamabad, 1990), p.251.

From among the characters in nursery books 95 percent were males and 5 percent were females. The greatest number of characters depicted were that of adults. Females were in relatively greater proportion as children, very few as young adults (reflective of the socio-cultural norms which restricts movement of young adult females) and an increased number as old women.¹⁷

Occupational roles in textbooks and supplementary reading materials to a great extent influence the aspirations and achievement levels of young students who identify themselves with male or female characters. In the study, grade-wise comparison shows that at the primary levels of schooling, female characters were conspicuously absent from a good number of occupations especially the prestigious ones.

The most dramatic impact of religion on education, is the idea of separate schooling facilities for men and women at all levels. Primary grades are already segregated except in large cities. If separate schooling facilities do not exist, many rural parents do not see the need or the appropriateness of education for girls.

Thus, textbooks often cripple the originality of both the teacher and the students, and the despotism of the syllabi encourages cram work and makes the teacher slack and indolent.

The formulation of the primary school curriculum should take into account the following:

1. The objective of primary education needs to be clearly spelled out in the context of UPE.

¹⁷ Muhammad Anwar, *Sex Role Images in Textbooks* (Islamabad: Women's Division, Government of Pakistan, 1982), p.2.

2. The contribution of curriculum construction and its revision in the context of the goals of UPE need to be clearly visualized and spelled out.
3. The help of experts needs to be taken in maths/science textbook editing, English textbook editing and book design/illustration. The experts will provide on the job training, advice and consultancy to local authors, editors and designers to improve teamwork, liaison and professional skills.
4. The final manuscripts should be pilot tested after being edited. The pilot testing materials and testing instruments (teachers' questionnaires,, self - administered questionnaire etc.) should take into account the strengths and weaknesses of the manuscripts before they are passed to the National Review Board for approval.
5. To encourage liaison between the provincial Textbook Board, the Curriculum Research and Development Centre and the NBCT to develop quality textbooks keeping in view the specific needs of the provinces.
6. Assistance should be provided to strengthen the capacity of NBCT to plan, design, analyse, test and disseminate curriculum units in the NBCT.
7. More of women writers should be encouraged to write textbooks.
8. All existing materials should be screened to avoid gender bias. The materials development efforts should pay particular attention to enhance the self image of girls and should promote teacher/pupil interaction and help a person to think independently and inculcate values.

9. The donor agencies in collaboration with the government should plan curriculum renewal or modification in the overall framework of the plan actions developed by the NBCT.

4.5 Development of New Content Approaches

The development of new pupil centered texts does not involve the creation of a new curriculum or the development of new content requirements. It requires the presentation of the existing curriculum and content in a style which will encourage a greater level of pupil responsibility and involvement in learning. This would include screening of all materials to avoid gender bias and to develop texts which will enhance the self-image of girls.

In Pakistan, the development of "learning episodes" in relation to specific local situation, the use of graded tests to help learners achieve the desired level of competencies and decentralized formulation of the curriculum to ensure flexibility, is under consideration.¹⁸ IN early 1987, the government proposed to develop a two-stage curriculum with a core programme of basic literacy numeracy, religious knowledge and language in grades I-III, with a more subject - centered curriculum in grades IV-V. Such a curriculum has been worked out and introduced in few areas. A Minimum Learning Continuum (MLC) based on the identification of the most essential competencies to be attained, irrespective of different modes of learning is being worked out.¹⁹

¹⁸ UNESCO, *New Developments in Primary Education*, Occasional Papers No.15 (Bangkok, 1989), p.25.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.21.

The Primary Education Curriculum Reform Programme (RECRP) under the Baluchistan Primary Education Programme has already developed new content approaches. The new texts are being build on this content reform and should also add the element of process reform. The new textbooks are being developed by teams of writers selected by the Baluchistan Textbook Board (BTB) in close connection with the Instructional Materials Development and Training Cell (IMDTC) and the staff of Curriculum Bureau. There will be intensive micro-testing and formative evaluation during the writing and development process based on prototype units.

Since the particular skills needed to develop pupil centered texts designed for independent learning are not available in Baluchistan, the following have been proposed to sensitize curriculum, writing and publishing personnel:

1. A five person study tour to the Escuela Nueva programme in Columbia.
2. The establishment of a sample copy library of pupil centered, independent learning materials from all over the world.
3. A one year exercise to scope and sequence the existing curriculum from Katchi to grade V to guide the writing to produce a new generation of materials.
4. The development of small, sample units of materials which can be used in the crash teacher training programmes to demonstrate the use of independent learning techniques.²⁰

²⁰ World Bank, *Baluchistan Primary Education Programme, Report No.11403-PAK* (Washington D.C., 1993), p.73.

Success of multi-grade learning depends on the availability of a range of reading materials for students which are not available in Baluchistan. The BTB in liaison with the IMDTC and the Curriculum Bureau is purchasing supplementary readers for every primary classroom in Baluchistan. This is providing the much needed support for reading and is laying the basis for a research activity and enquiry approach to learning.

The Sindh Primary Education Development Programme piloted in 1990 also introduced supplementary reading materials which are necessary to achieve functional literacy and numeracy. The teachers, under this programme have been trained on how to use these stimulating materials in association with other classroom activities. Recognizing the importance of supplementary reading the NWFP Primary Education Programme introduced in 1995 lays down that "There is a need to develop and sustain good basic collections of supplementary reading materials in every primary school to support curriculum work, activity based learning and reading development."²¹

Under the Sindh programme, manuscripts which are edited are pilot tested to get details on the strengths and weaknesses of the text to develop quality textbooks.²² This programme has also demonstrated the necessity for flexible school hours to suit the rural pattern of life which places a heavy load of family and farm chores on school age girls and boys. It has also abolished the requirement for school uniforms for

²¹ World Bank, *NWFP Primary Education Programme, Report No. 13432 PAK* (Washington D.C., 1995), p.18.

²² World Bank, *Sindh Primary Education, Programme, Report No. 8178-PAK* (Washington D.C., 1990), p.104.

primary school children in rural areas. This constitutes a high expenditure item for parents and acts as a disincentive to parents to send their children (particularly girls) to school.

This programme has also abolished the end of year examination for grades I and II and provided for automatic promotion between grades I and III. It has developed and introduced achievement testing as part of the curriculum to monitor individual and cohort student achievement. To provide incentive for increased enrolment and reduced drop-outs, a programme of free textbooks distribution to all rural girls in grades I and V has been introduced.²³

All the programmes discussed above, involve a Beneficiary Participation Programme to help accomplish the objective of improving the learning environment by involving the communities. A study conducted by the World Bank revealed that by opening of new schools and strengthening of existing schools the enrolment, management, the quality of instructional material and the quality of teachers' training programmes have been enhanced, which resultantly progressed in the shape of quality school functioning in Baluchistan.²⁴

Also, to overcome the dropout and lack of interest of the community to send their children to school, the Baluchistan government with the help of World Food Programme, has provided some incentives in the

²³ Ideally, other needy groups, such as rural poor boys, should be included. However because of financial constraints, the difficulty of group definition, targeting and problem of textbook distribution, only rural girls have been included.

²⁴ Prof. Sajjad Akhtar, *A Bird's Eye View of the Primary Education in Baluchistan* (Washington D.C., 1995), p.6.

shape of provision of commodities such as pulses, sugar and tea. Similarly, in Sindh with the help of Aga Khan University; a school nutrition programme was launched to offer incentives to increase enrolment, retention, regular attendance and to improve the nutritional status of primary school children.

This new student centered curriculum has included instruction to children, specially girls, in dietetics, domestic economy, personal hygiene and general principles of sanitation. A quality curriculum would not be of any use without effective teaching methods and teacher commitment. The teachers in Sindh and Baluchistan (programmes) have been trained to involve the children in classroom discussion, maintaining discipline and to encourage parents to send their children specially girls to school. The teachers are themselves expected to set an example for attendance and punctuality and to be self-disciplined, thereby becoming role models for the students. This has been achieved mainly by hiring local teachers specially female teachers.

A successful community school in rural Sindh quoted that "Teachers commitment is high because they say that in this school many children are from their own caste. Thus, they teach the children with sincerity". Whereas in a government school, "of the eight teachers in this school, seven are non local... they have no feeling of ownership towards the school.... the villagers do not like the head teacher who is a landlord... he tries to blackmail the parents to pass their children. Parents realize that their children are not learning."²⁵

²⁵ World Bank, *Pakistan-Improving Basic Education: Community Participation, System Accountability and Efficiency, Report NO. 14960-PAK* (Washington D.C., 1996), pp.35-36.

This kind of teachers' commitment has to be implemented in government schools along with a total reorganization of the curriculum as has been carried out by the donor agencies in collaboration with the NBCT in rural areas of Pakistan to universalize primary education.

4.6 The Quality of Teachers

Efficiency of education, particularly primary education, depends to a large extent on the temperament of the teacher and his attitude. It is felt that with a uniform curriculum, teachers tend to become passive in the preparation of instruction plans, teaching for many years, the same unified curriculum and using the same textbooks, and teachers' guides. Primary teacher training has been an exercise geared more towards fulfilling the number requirements of the teachers service than in improving the quality of teaching. The development of a new student centered and locally relevant curriculum requires that the teachers should be suitably trained in the preparation of instruction plans for this new curriculum.

The shortage of female teachers in rural areas is probably the single most critical impediment to the development of primary education in Pakistan.²⁶ The lack of female teachers is a strong disincentive to parents sending their children to school. In the Five Year Plans, the importance of female teachers for the primary stage was emphasized because of their assumed role and ability in attracting and retaining more girls in the primary schools. Despite, the professed intention of the government, the country could not make much headway in the recruitment and supply of female teachers for the primary level.

²⁶ World Bank, *Pakistan Education Sector Strategy Review, Report NO. 7110-PAK* (Washington D.C., 1988).

The entry qualification for primary school teacher training is just a high school matriculation (i.e. a pass in the grade 10 external examination). Nevertheless there exist a shortage of female teachers specially in the rural areas. Most women teachers reside in towns and are reluctant to serve in rural areas because of poor working condition, travelling, high structure of allowances in cities and customs which makes it difficult for female teachers to serve in communities other than their own.

Since the beginning of 1980s the government has been experimenting with the appointment of assistant teachers and unqualified teachers who work under the supervision of a trained teacher. In Baluchistan and Sindh, untrained teachers later on become eligible for Primary Teacher Certificate Training. The government is also experimenting with lowering the minimum educational requirements for primary school teachers.

In order to attract female teachers to rural areas, the government attempted to build residences where several women would live together. The residences were unpopular except in Baluchistan, where they were occupied by married couples. In other provinces, they remained unoccupied because socio-cultural attitudes dictate against women living alone.²⁷

In another effort Pakistan introduced a teacher training programme that combined recruiting girls from rural areas with training

²⁷ Reimers Warwick and Mc Ginn, *The Implementation of Educational Innovation in Pakistan: Cases and Concepts* (Islamabad: AEPAM/BRIDGES, 1989), p.168.

them near to home. The programme which began in Punjab in 1984, introduced primary teacher training in units attached to the local secondary schools. Of the 90 such units, 80 were exclusively for women. The units were instrumental in raising the proportion of female teachers in the country. In 1985-86, 85 percent of the students in these units were females, compared with only 19 percent at a normal teacher training institute and 58 percent at the government colleges for elementary teachers.²⁸

As early as 1976, Pakistan experimented with a teaching kit to make it easier for students to learn abstract concepts from concrete examples and to move instruction away from rote learning. The teaching kit contained items such as charts, a flannel board, chemicals, magnet, and pictures of famous personalities. In a survey carried out in 1988-89 of 487 schools in Pakistan's four provinces and federal districts revealed that 60 percent of the teachers had teaching kits, the lowest report (35 percent) was for Baluchistan and the highest (70 percent) for NWFP.²⁹

When asked if they had used it, the average (mean) number of lessons in which it had been used ranged from 7 in Punjab to over 11 in Baluchistan. Teachers were asked whether they had received training on how to use a teaching kit, about three fourth with access to a kit said that they had no training. Fears about having to pay for missing parts,

²⁸ R. Bellow and E. King, *Educating Women: Lessons from Experience* in E. King and Hill (ed.), *Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1991), p.295.

²⁹ Reimers Warwick and Mc. Ginn, *The Implementation of Education Innovation in Pakistan; Cases and Concepts* (Islamabad: AEPAM/BRIDGES, 1989), p.20.

inadequate storage space, large class sizes and difficult working conditions dampened the enthusiasm for the kit.³⁰

Two examples of more successful training that teachers find suitable are the Aga Khan Field Based teacher Development (FBTD) programme and the Female Mobile Teacher Training Programme (FMTTP) in Baluchistan. Both provide on-site training for a cluster of schools, rather than asking that trainees attend a central institution far away from the school. Women who cannot travel or who live far away can thus receive training. Both successful programmes emphasize child centered teaching and promote the use of local materials and activity based learning.

In spite of these measures taken, the absolute number and the percentage of trained female teacher are highly inadequate more so in the rural areas. The reason still remains the same: conservatism and social segregation on part of rural women. Moreover, the attempts made till now are restricted to the provinces and that to a few rural areas with negligible literacy rates not covering the province uniformly.

Various primary education programme, which have been launched with World Bank funding in the provinces of Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan and NWFP since 1985, have been emphasizing on providing teaching kits, pre-service and in-service training for teachers. But this is not enough. Given the magnitude of the problem there should be massive, determined and direct effort on the part of the government to improve the situation of teaching staff in primary education.

³⁰ Ibid., p.21.

With the introduction of new curriculum, teaching methods and textbooks it is necessary to have continuous in service growth of teachers, teacher trainers and supervisors. A training programme on the lines of Aga Khan Programme or the FMTTP should be piloted more widely in all the Province. This kind of programme should go further in providing yearly refresher course to sustain initial training. These kind of training programmes should train teams to provide school based in service training, monitoring and refining teachers classroom techniques.

After bringing about the necessary changes, it will be possible to show parents the benefits of sending their children to primary school. In order to ensure effective student participation in school, the classes have to be friendly, interesting and participatory. This can be achieved, especially for girls, by appointing more and more female teachers at the primary level, community involvement in checking teacher attendance and evaluating the success of the school, as is being done in community schools in Baluchistan, Sindh, Punjab and NWFP along with other inputs will help in developing quality primary education accessible to all.

Chapter Five

Education Indicators

The goal of universal access to basic education and completion of primary education by the primary school - age children by the end of this century has been repeatedly affirmed, individually and collectively, at the highest political level of the Government of Pakistan. There is also a commitment to reduce the adult literacy rate by half by the end of this century with emphasis on female education in the overall educational planning. The government has pledged to achieve the goal of "Education for All" by the year 2001. Without fulfilling these basic goals, the other goals of development cannot be reached.

Primary education, which is recognized as the most important level of education, is regarded as a "vital stage of education for economic development as well as social progress", particularly because of the role it plays in providing functional education to the masses, "which is a necessary pre-condition for ensuring the voluntary participation of the people in "development programmes".¹

While participating in the "Convention on the Rights of the Child", Pakistan has accepted the fact that the child has a right to education and the state's duty is to ensure that primary education is free and compulsory, to encourage different forms of secondary education accessible to every child and to make higher education available to all on the basis of capacity. School discipline shall be consistent with the child's rights and dignity. The state shall engage in international cooperation to

¹ UNESCO, *New Developments in Primary Education*, Occasional Paper, No.15 (Bangkok, 1989), p.1.

implement this right. Pakistan has ratified the resolution in the convention in 1990.²

Education in Pakistan has been in a state of transition. Female education in Pakistan has been a grossly neglected area since independence despite repeated commitments for the achievement of UPE. During the first 25 years after independence, no major effort was launched to supplement and reform the wasteful and inadequate primary school system or to evolve a non-formal system of education. Non-formal education was needed to attract and deeply influence the out-of-school youth, the rural female population and illiterate adults in the country.

During the 1970s and 1980s a large number of projects have been organized, a number of agencies have emerged on the scene, a wide range of inputs and approaches have been evolved, sizeable budgets have been allocated for primary education, non-formal programmes and adult literacy, and considerable awareness has been generated about the seriousness of the problem of illiteracy in the country. New strategies are being evolved for the quantitative as well as qualitative development of education, priorities are being re-ordered and the share of education in national spending has been significantly increasing.

Recognizing that the effects of primary education on public health and fertility are particularly strong for girls the government with support of donor agencies has launched primary education programmes

² SAARC *Solidarity Journal: Third Issue, The Girl Child* (New Delhi, 1995), p.44.

specifically targeting the rural female population. One tends to feel that the huge void would soon be filled but the real situation is far from satisfactory. Although the new developments on the much-neglected literacy front augur well for the future, their impact on the disadvantaged and illiterate population is only marginal. A comparison of the education indicators since 1985 till the recent available data, will show us what progress the country has made in the field of primary education, specially in narrowing the gender gap in primary education.

5.1 Trends in Literacy

The definition of a literate person has been constant problem for researchers who have tried to calculate literacy rates in Pakistan. In the 1951 census, the literacy rate was estimated on the basis of a persons's "ability to read and write any clear print in any language". In 1961, the definition read: ability to read with understanding in any language. The 1972 census posed the question : can you read and write with understanding in any languages? In the 1981 census the question was changed to : can you read a newspaper and write a simple letter in any language? According to the 1961 census, the literacy rate was estimated at 16.4 per cent and the 1972 census showed that the literacy rate in Pakistan was 21.7 per cent.³

According to the 1981 census (Table 3) the average national literacy rate is 26 percent, comprising a 17 percent rural literacy rate and a 47 percent urban literacy rate. The overall literacy rate of males is 35 percent, 26 percent for rural and 55 percent for urban males. The literacy

³ UNESCO, *National Studies-Pakistan* (Bangkok, 1991), p.19.

rate for females at the national level works out to be 16 percent, 7 percent for rural females and 37 percent for urban females.

Table 3
Literacy Rates (Per Cent) in Pakistan

	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Pakistan	26	35	16
Urban	47	55	37
Rural	17	26	7

Source : Population Census, 1981.

The literacy rate is defined as the percentage of those who can, with understanding, both read and write a short, simple statement of every day life. According to APPEAL, 1996, the literacy rate was 46 percent for males in 1990 which rose to 50 percent in 1995. The literacy rate for females was 21 percent in 1990 which rose to 24 percent in 1995. Overall the total literacy rate has gone up from 34 percent to 38 percent in 1995.

In order to assess the success of universalisation of primary education programmes we have to examine the following:

- 1) Universal provision of schools and adequate teaching staff
- 2) Universal enrolment of the age group.
- 3) Universal retention or completion of the enrolled students

5.2 Provision of Schools and Adequate Teaching Staff

Some of the policy makers in the country have been of the belief that provision of facilities like schools and teachers will ensure universalization of primary education. This is no longer a reality. Provision of schools itself will not encourage parents to send their children to school they have to be motivated, made to realize the need and benefits of education specially at the primary level. Similarly, the existence of teachers does not ensure that quality education will be imparted and enrolment will be on the rise. Efficiency of education, particularly primary education depends largely on the temperament of the teacher and his/her attitude. This is specially so with regard to the efficient role of women in handling children at the primary level. Thus, today the importance of female teachers is being emphasized upon to attract and retain more girls in the primary school.

Table 4 shows that over the period 1987 to 1994-95 the total number of primary schools including mosque school have increased from 105, 884 to 123,100 showing an increase of 16.2 percent over the period. In the year 1987-88, out of the total primary schools 23 percent were exclusively for females but in the year 1994-95 the percentage of female primary schools increased to 33.4 percent showing a positive trend.

Table 4

Number of Schools and Number of Teachers by Level and Sex in Pakistan at the Primary Level

	Primary Schools (Numbers)			Primary Schools Teachers (thousand)		
	Total	Female	Share of Female %	Total	Females	Share of Females %
1987-88	105884	24898	23.5	196.2	64.3	32.7
1988-89	103629	27376	26.4	248.6	79.5	32
1989-90	110917	29812	26.8	256.3	85.3	33
1990-91	114580	30422	26.5	308.1	85	27.5
1991-92	119892	31810	26.5	342.9	90.1	26
1992-93	119900	36300	30	360	93.8	26
1993-94	120,200	39512	33	-	-	-
1994-95	123100	41123	33.4	-	-	-

- Sources: (1) Ministry of Planning, Government of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, *Pakistan Economic Survey 1993-94*.
 (2) UNESCO, *Statistical Year Book 1995*, Paris.

Table 4 shows that the total number of primary school teachers has increased from 196.2 thousand in 1987-88 to 360 thousand in 1992-93 showing an increase of 83.4 percent over the period 1987-88 to 1992-93. Over the period 1987-88 to 1992-93 the number of the female teachers in primary schools has shown an increase of 46 per cent. The table shows that out of the total primary school teachers, females constitutes only 33 per cent in 1987-88. What is disheartening is that the data for the year

1992-93 show that percentage of female teachers of the total primary school teachers has decreases to 26 per cent showing a negative trend.

The trend, if it continues, will have a negative impact on girls' education. As we have seen in the earlier chapters, parents are willing to send their daughters to school if more of female teachers are appointed.

5.3 Comparison of Enrolment Ratio

The enrolment ratios are expressed in terms of Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) and Net Enrolment Ratio (NER). GER is defined as the total enrolment in the primary schooling system regardless of age expressed on a percentage of the population in the officially defined primary age group. Whereas NER is defined as the number of pupils in the primary school age-group (6-11) expressed on a percentage of total population in that age group only.

The primary school enrolment ratio (Gross) as shown in Table 5 shows an increase for both males and females from 1986-90 to 1990-94. While the increase in male enrolment ratio has been substantial, that of female has been a moderate one from 26 percent in 1986-90 to 30 percent in 1990-94.

Table 5

Gross Enrollment Ratios (Primary Level) in Pakistan

Year	Male	Female
1986-1991	47	26
1990-1994	57	30

Source: (i) UNESCO, *Statistical Year Book 1995*, Paris.
(ii) UNICEF, *State of World's Children 1995*, New York.

The NER ratio cannot be compared as the figures are available only for the year 1991. According to the figures the NER at the primary level for females is 20.6 percent and for males is 37.2 percent.⁴

Table 6 shows that primary school enrolment ratio of females was only 50 per cent of the male primary school enrolment in 1983-1986, which rose marginally to 55 per cent in 1986-1991. However it fell to 53 per cent in 1990-94. In Pakistan, the primary school enrolment ratio of females as percentage of males is very low as compared to that of the region as a whole (75 percent).⁵

Table 6

**Primary School Enrolment Ratios in Pakistan:
Females as Percentage of Males**

Year	Female as % of Males
1983-1986	50
1986-1991	55
1990-1994	53

Source: UNICEF, *State of World's Children, 1990, 1995 and 1996*, New York.

Table 7 shows the absolute figures of enrolment during the period 1987-94. In the year 1986-1987, out of the total enrolled children at the primary level, 33 per cent constituted girls and 67 per cent constituted

⁴ UNESCO, *Status and Trends: Education for All* (Paris, 1995).

⁵ UNDP, *Human Development Report 1995* (New York, 1995), p.215.

boys, but in the year 1994-95 the percentage of girls enrolled has decreased to 31 percent and percentage of boys enrolled has increased to 69.3 per cent.

Table 7

**Enrolment in Educational Institution
at the Primary Stage (000 No.)**

Year	Total	Males	Females	%tage female	Growth rate in enrolment per year (Male)	Growth rate in enrolment per year (females)
1986-87	7639	5107	2532	33	3.5	5.5
1987-88	7959	5286	2673	33.5	17.2	15
1988-89	9278	6197	3081	33	12	8
1989-90	10283	6946	3337	32	12	10
1990-91	11487	7794	3693	32	11	9
1991-92	12721	8685	4036	32	11.6	9
1992-93	14120	9695	4425	32	11	8
1993-94	15532	10761	4771	31	7.7	7.5
1994-95	16722	11592	5130	31	-	-

Source: Ministry of Planning, Government of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, *Economic Survey of Pakistan 1993-94*.

The table 7 shows that the total number of female students at the primary level has increased from 2532 thousand in 1986-1987 to 5130 thousand in 1994-95, showing an increase of 102 per cent over the period 1987-94. The total enrolment has increased from 7639 thousand in 1986-87 to 16722 thousand in 1994-95 showing an increase of 118 per cent over

the period. The male enrolment has risen from 5107 thousand in 1986-87 to 11592 thousand in 1994-95 showing an increase of 127 per cent over the years. Thus we find a positive trend in the total enrolment, female and male enrolment at the primary level. But the growth rate in enrolment of girls and boys has been fluctuating from year to year.

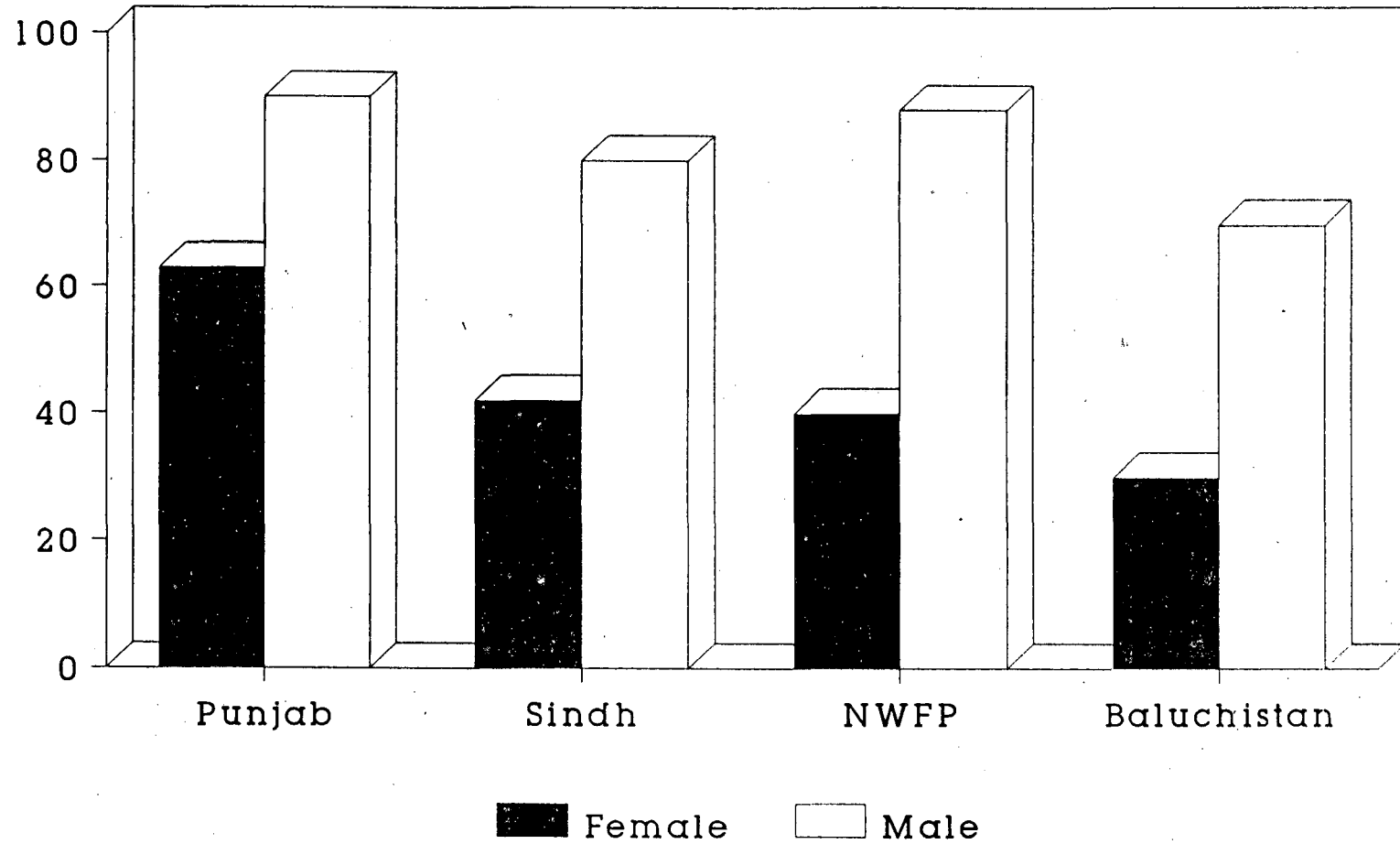
The growth rate in enrolment of girls at the primary level has ranged between 7.5 per cent to 10 per cent for all years between 1986-1994 except for the year 1987-1988 when the growth rate in female enrolment was at the rate of 15 per cent. The steep increase in the growth rate of female enrolment in 1987-88 as compared to 1986-87 (5.5 per cent) could be due to the concerted efforts of all concerned in the context of the launching of the APPEAL programme and the emphasis on women in development in the Sixth Five Year Plans.

As is generally the case with most development programme the initial enthusiasm gradually slows down. The data presented in table 7 substantiates the above statement. Almost similar trend is visible in the growth rate of boys enrolment at the primary level in Pakistan. Thus, despite the initiation of various relevancy education programmes by the government with the support of donor agencies to accelerate the enrolment ratio in general and of girls in particular, the gender gap seems to have narrowed very marginally.

Gross Enrolment Ratio among girls and boys by province shows lower enrolment for girls than for boys in all parts of the country. Among the four provinces Baluchistan shows the lowest enrolment ratio for girls, followed by NWFP, Sindh and Punjab.

FIGURE 3

Gross Primary Enrolment Rates among
Girls and Boys by Provinces in Pakistan (%)



5.4 Comparison of Completion Rates

Completion rate is defined on the percentage of children completing the primary education cycle. Completion rate in Pakistan has shows significant rise since 1982. Table 8 shows that, during the period 1982-1990, the completion rate has improved a lot from 41 percent to 50 per cent. The goals set for the South Asian countries in the Colombo Summit is to achieve so 80 per cent completion rate around 2000 AD.

Table 8
Completion Rates (Primary Schools)
in Percentage in Pakistan

Year	Completion rates (Primary school)
1982	41
1986	48
1990	50
2000 (Target)	80

- Source:(i) UNICEF, *State of World's Children 1994*, New York.
(ii) World Bank, *Pakistan Education Sector Strategy Review 1989*, Washington D.C..
(iii) *South Asia Consultations on Achieving the Goals of the 1990s for Children* in December 1992, Kathmandu.

Table 9 shows that the drop out rate at the primary level has decreased from 51 per cent in 1985 to 47 per cent in 1993. This shows that the number of children dropping out of primary school has come down though the improvement has been marginal.

Table 9

Percentage of Drop Out Rate in
Primary School in Pakistan

Year	Drop Out Rate (Primary)
1985	51
1993	47

Source: Mahbul-Ul-Haq, *Human Development in South Asia 1997*, New York.

The reason for dropping out usually are the socio-economic conditions for parents and the poor quality of instruction imparted in schools. The high drop-out or attrition rate of 50 per cent at the primary level is the unkindest cut of all on the existing low enrollments in schools. It is known that at least half the students who enter grade I drop-out before grade V. The highest rate of drop-out occurs between grades I and II.

The high level of drop outs between grade I and II are evident from Table 10. The percentage distribution of student by grade shows that female students have a higher drop out between grade I and II for all the years as compared to the total drop out rates. This continuing wastage, which is the high at the primary level, doubles the per cent cost at this crucial stage and contributes to low overall enrolments at the higher levels.

Table 10
Percentage Distribution of Students (Primary level)
by Grade in Pakistan

		I	II	III	IV	V
1980	Total	34	21	17	15	13
	Female	38	20	16	13	12
1986	Total	33	21	18	15	13
	Female	37	20	17	14	11
1989	Total	32	21	18	15	14
	Female	35	20	17	14	13
1990	Total	32	21	18	15	14
	Female	35	20	17	14	13

Source : UNESCO, *Statistical Year Book 1995, Paris*.

5.5 Discrepancies in Data

Literacy is better as a measure of educational attainment at the primary level than primary enrolment because if rates of dropping out, repeating and absenteeism are high, "universal" or high enrolments are misleading. Particularly in rural areas of developing region, high initial enrolment rates are seldom sustained due to limited transportation, low number of qualified teachers and wide - spread child labour. So high reported enrolments do not necessarily indicate that universal literacy is being achieved. Further more, literacy rates can be reliably updated only on the basis of population censuses or special literacy sample surveys. In

some countries with low literacy rates, the censuses data may be more than a decade old and special survey's are rare, as is the case in Pakistan. So short term and medium term trends cannot be captured.

The simplest approach to determining educational achievements is to find the level of schooling or the number of years completed. These data are usually collected in population censuses and survey but are not often compiled for international use.

The only alternative to educational attainment data is enrolment data, furnished by schools or other educational institutions to national educational authorities. These data offer us an easy way to compare number of boys and girls registered in school each year and are available on current basis. But they do not show gender differences in rates of absenteeism, repetition and drop out rates.

Thus, a glance at the education statistics of Pakistan makes it apparent that despite constitutional commitments and primary education programmes specially for the rural women, the universalization of girl's education at the primary level is still a long way from realization. Poverty, social-cultural barriers and gender discriminations constitute the barriers in universalisation of primary education for girls. No easy prescription can be prescribed for this complicated situation, and nothing short of a complete transformation of the existing dismal and scenario can reverse these disruptive trends.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

The significance of education as an instrument of national development, as a means of upward economic and social mobility and as an effective strategy for improving the quality of life has been recognized late in Pakistan. Primary education is recognized all over the world as the most important level of education as it helps a child develop his personality - moral, mental, physical and social. It is also the most effective tool for bringing about macro and micro economic changes in any society.

In the introductory chapter an attempt has been made to discuss the concept of development which has been widened to include "human well being", where the wide ranging choices are to live long and healthy lives, to be better aware of one's environment through education and to have access to resources to satisfy basic human needs. Education, which is a crucial input into human resource development has long been recognized as a corner stone of economic and social development.

Education interacts and is interdependent with the process of development and is a process of qualitative change which develops the special innate qualities that enables in individual to lead a full and productive life as a person, a worker and a member of the family and the society.

If education is the corner stone of economic and social development, primary education is its foundation. primary education has two purposes: first to produce a literate population which can deal with problems at home and at work and second to serve as the basis on which further educations built. The priority of primary education is not only to increase children's learning in school, but also to ensure that access to school is

provided for all school age children. In many developing countries primary education systems are unable to meet their objectives and are ineffective and jeopardise national efforts to build a base of human capital for development.

If the objective is to ensure equality and social justice to the masses, this can be achieved through providing universal primary education, i.e. to provide all boys and girls with an equal opportunity to go to school. The simple and just demand for equal treatment, access and outcome in girls and women's education is based on evidence of the general benefits which result, both for men and for women. So the linkages between female education and declining fertility, improved child health, economic development has been highlighted. Along with this the major factors which account for the large gender gap in education in South Asian Countries have been outline.

Chapter two deals with the formal approaches adopted to universalize primary education. After independence in 1947 several efforts were made to reorganize the primary education system in Pakistan. To illustrate, the Education Conference, Report of the National Commission on Education etc. were attempts in this direction. In addition the country also became a signatory of the Karachi Plan which required every country in the region to provide universal compulsory and free education of at least 7 years within a period of not more than 20 years or by 1980.

The Five Year Plans implemented since 1955 underlie the extent to which education policy decision of the government could be translated into matching budgetary provision for the attainment of impossible

physical targets. The Five Year Plans however emphasized the supply side of education i.e. education as a production function, which takes teachers, training, books, provision of schools and rooms as its inputs to produce educated students as its outputs.

The tardy progress in formal education has been due to excessive bureaucratization and the inability of the policies to reach the masses at the micro level. The Eighth Five Year Plan is a significant improvement over the others as it consists of a social Action Programme specially designed to improve social development indicators like primary education, health etc.

Though the allocation for primary education in all the Plans has been on the rise, the actual spending on primary education shows a dismal picture. The actual expenditure on primary education was very low in the period 1965-70 (13 per cent of the allocated money for primary education) but has been on the rise since then. The overall strategy for universalising primary education has remained one of expansion of the existing system and efforts have been directed solely to the establishment of more of the already existing type of formal institutions.

It cannot be denied however that within the formal system, some half hearted attempts at curriculum reform, teacher training reform and some innovations towards improving the management capabilities have been undertaken. The tragedy of all these attempted reforms has been their implementation as isolated exercises rather than integrated total scheme to eradicate inertia gripping the education system.

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Chapter three deals with the non-formal approach adopted for promoting primary education in Pakistan. Realising the need for flexible approaches, Government of Pakistan undertook various non-formal approaches in order to have better participation of the school going children. Some of these attempts have been successful in Pakistan and has increased participation rates since 1987.

The role played by mosque schools, Nai Roshi schools and mohalla schools in providing primary education has been commendable. Such schools which understand the existing social system can be of great use for the girls as parents are more amenable to their daughters attending these schools. Along with these, other successful community participatory initiatives involving NGOs and voluntary organizations like the Orangi Pilot Project, Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project, Baanhn Beli etc have suggested that people's involvement improves enrollment quality of education and has great appeal for girls as their own parents are involved in the school programme.

Further the chapter deals with the Social Action Programme (SAP) and the Baluchistan Primary Education Programme launched by the government to improve the state of primary education with an emphasis on closing the gender gap in enrolment and educating the female population of the country. The Baluchistan Programme with a massive participation of NGOs and the local communities has already brought about an increase in female enrolment rate which has reached 87 percent in the community support villages as compared to over 15 percent for the entire province. The experience of the NGOs with community participation, their knowledge of the values and behaviour of village people, are essential ingredients for the success of non-formal primary schools.

Chapter four deals with the qualitative aspect of primary education. Participation in education is determined not only by the education opportunities that are provided, but also by the degree to which such opportunities are used and the quality of education maintained. Along with this, the curriculum of the primary education should be relevant enough to accommodate the existing cultural values and needs of a society so that there would not be much resistance.

Curriculum development is a continuous process which reflects the purpose and content of education in relation to the needs of the country. In Pakistan maximum time is devoted to the study of languages Islamiyat and mathematics. The rest of the time is distributed equally among, social studies, science and health education. Pakistan's cultural legacy and its policy to model the educational system on Muslim values have inclined educations towards adopting a traditional presentation of women's roles and status. Women are shown to be non achievers and non-initiators.

Reorganisation of the primary curriculum requires that the gender biases in textbooks should be removed and attempts should be made to enhance the self image of girls as has being attempted in Sindh and is being attempted in Baluchistan. Besides the poor quality of teachers has been one of the main obstacles in promoting universal primary education in Pakistan, the need for an adequate number of female teachers at the primary level was recognized because parents feel safer to send their children specially girls to study in schools with female teachers. Besides the non-availability of primary teachers, the training of teachers is essential to retain children in school. A new student centered curriculum requires teachers to be trained in imparting such a modern need based curriculum.

Chapter five deals with the education indicators to examine the progress the country has made in the field of primary education, specially in narrowing the gender gap in primary education. The statistics on provision of schools shows that over the period 1987 - 1995 has increased from 105,884 to 123,100 showing an increase of 16.2 percent. In 1987-88, out of the total primary schools 23.5 percent were exclusively for females. This figure showed an increase in the year 1994-95 when the percentage of female primary schools increased to 33.4 percent.

The number of female teachers has been on the increase. But the percentage of female teachers of the total primary school teachers is showing a decline over the period 1987 - 1992. The Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) is also showing an increase but the GER for boys shows a substantial increase, that for females has shown a moderate increase from 26 percent in 1986-91 to only 30 percent in 1990-94. In absolute numbers, though the enrolment girls in primary schools has been increasing, the growth rate in enrolment per year has been fluctuating. Completion rate and dropout rates have been showing improvements but the achievement has been very marginal.

The present study has identified and tried to assess the approaches that have been adopted to reduce, circumvent or eliminate the barriers to children's education in general and girls' education in particular in Pakistan. The investigation has been limited and shaped by the information available in documents on educational projects, information and statistical data from government documents and in the literature on educating women.

In the two approaches it has been possible to assess two striking and perhaps related characteristics. First, most efforts began and ended

as pilot projects, with short-term funding and help in implementing from Pakistan's policymaking and planning processes and have rarely become an integral part of its national education plan. Second, although abundant materials related to this review of education projects was available, the dearth of systematic evaluations was striking, and the absence of any cost information was even more discouraging. For this reason, few strong conclusions can be drawn about the relative effectiveness, especially the cost-effectiveness, of various measures designed to raise girls' and women's participation in educating programmes.

Our review shows that some strategies have been effective, some have failed, and some have yielded mixed results. For some programmes, no evidence exists to confirm or dispute their effectiveness. Parents have responded positively to monetary incentives in the form of scholarships. They have also been influenced by the availability of culturally appropriate facilities and of female teachers where cultural norms make this important. Alternative schools have proved attractive to girls who missed the chance to attend regular primary school day.

Little information is available by which to judge the effectiveness of programmed learning, revamped curricula and textbooks that introduce broader roles for females, home technologies, day-care, school feeding programmes, and information campaigns. More experiments are necessary before it will be possible to identify the circumstances under which these initiatives can benefit girls and women. Expanding school places is an inadequate strategy when the cultural and monetary costs are too high or the benefits too few.

Three broad guidelines need to be imparted to policymakers and practitioners who want to address the problem of improving women's education in developing countries. (a) To be sustainable, programmes must be administratively feasible and cost-effective, and they must be consistent with other objectives in the education sector. (b) Sound research and information to underpin policy prescriptions are sorely needed in this area. (c) Raising standard of women's education should be the concern of national education policy, not just of special projects.

After analyzing the constraints and facilities in the field of primary education in Pakistan, a few lessons can be drawn which need immediate attention:

- (1) The Government should provide easy access to all school age going children regardless of their place of residence. Schools should be situated within a radius of one kilometer. This can be done through multiple shifts and low cost construction of schools. This will give a boost to girls' education as parents are more willing to send their daughters to a near by school.
- (2) Systemized effort to soften and ultimately wipe out the feudal biases against women.
- (3) The Islamic message of Iqra as an ordained duty of each male and female may be projected and special rules framed for female literacy specially in rural areas. The impediments in preventing girls from seeking education amidst feudal biases may be manipulated through a legal framework by instituting a system of reward and punishment.
- (4) A standing National Women Law Court may be constituted to monitor the progress and advise the government and other

agencies involved in determining priorities, for devising short term and long term women's programmes.

- (5) Motivation campaigns in the rural areas (as has been done in several areas in Baluchistan and NWFP) should be launched to provide a proper and useful perspective of education to the community and more specific roles for the community leaders. The indigenous social organization and leadership at the grass root level should be involved fully for the promotion of girls' education at the primary level.
- (6) Mobilization of mass media specially radio and TV is needed to create awareness among women for equal facilities in the field of education.
- (7) Curriculum should be such that it imparts proper education that is emphasises learning (cognitive and non-cognitive). Curriculum transaction strategies at the primary level should employ activity based learning around the needs of the children. Manuscripts which are prepared should be Pilot tested to get details on the strength and weaknesses of the text to develop quality textbooks as has been done under the Sindh Primary Education Programme.
- (8) Teachers should be given proper training so that they are not only able to conduct the class in a friendly manner but also to motivate the parents to sent their children to school. The training programmes should be modelled on the successful programmes like the Aga Khan Field Based Teacher Development and the Female Mobile Teachers Training Programme in Baluchistan which provides on site training for women who cannot travel or live very far off. The recruitment of female teachers should be accelerated to ensure the participation of girls.

- (9) Books should not only be provided free of cost but should be distributed to the children in time.
- (10) For furthering the aim of educating the primary school going children, literacy among adults is very important. Only when adult literacy is achieved, can a motivation campaign to convince parents to sent their children to school can be effective.
- (11) There is a need to reduce the defence budget to divert additional resources for social sectors. Further resources have to be diverted from higher education to primary education.
- (12) A Government-NGO collaboration can considerably reduce the financial bill for primary education projects so that the various initiatives are able to reach the poorest and most vulnerable groups in society.
- (13) Urgent need to evaluate the programmes to identify the shortcoming so as to rectify them in future collection of statistical data on education should be initiated periodically to assess the short terms effects.
- (14) The Rawalpindi Ministerial Resolution of August 1996, has agreed that special support programmes must be developed and access to education facilities ensured for the girl child e.g. scholarships etc. and complementary, non-formal part time education must be provided for children who are precluded by circumstances from enrolling in formal schools. Pakistan should work in collaboration with the other South Asian countries to achieve the goal of Education for All by the year 2001 A.D.

The findings of the study indicate marginal improvements in the governments effort to provide universal access to primary school going children as is evident in the education indicators at the macro level. But

considering the vast number of uneducated in the country specially girls, this marginal improvement does not contribute significantly to improve the state of the primary education in Pakistan.

No easy solution can be suggested for this complex problem. Concerted efforts are required on part of government, NGOs, academicians and the community at large to gradually reform the existing system of education.

Appendix

14 Steps to Establishing a Village Education Committee and a school

1. The NGO works with community members to identify a female middle or secondary-school graduate from the village (or walking distance from the village).
2. The NGO verifies her residence in the village.
3. The NGO verifies her school certificates through the district education office.
4. The NGO tests the candidate's proficiency in Urdu and mathematics.
5. The NGO and candidate conduct a household survey of the village:
 - Counting the number of households
 - Counting the number of families
 - Counting the number school girls
 - Discussing with each family the importance of education for girls
6. The NGO and community members from a village education committee (VEC) with five to seven members:
 - 75 percent of parents must elect members
 - No two members of the same family can be VEC members
 - Relatives of the teacher cannot be VEC members
 - VEC members must have at least one school-age girl.
7. The VEC provides a temporary building and starts the school on a probationary basis. The NGO trains the VEC in its roles and responsibilities.
8. The VC request certification of the school from the district education officer.
9. The VEC and the Government sign a contract specifying each party's responsibilities in establishing and monitoring the school.

10. The VEC decides on a suitable location for a permanent school and arranges to transfer ownership of the land (free of charge) to the Department of Education.
11. The VEC nominates the teacher for participation in a mobile female teacher training course.
12. Upon successful completion of the three-month probationary period, the teacher is given a regular appointment by the Government and supplies are sent to the school.
13. The VEC and the Government monitor the school on at least a monthly basis.
14. The VEC holds an annual community meeting to discuss the progress of the school and emerging issues.

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