EDUCATION MONITOR

Reviewing quality of key education inputs in Pakistan

The Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE) is a nongovernmental organization established in 1982 by a group of concerned citizens and academics. It builds on the belief that educational justice entails not just access to schools, but to quality education, for all children in Pakistan. SAHE works through an extensive network, the Campaign for Quality Education (CQE), to conduct collaborative research and evidence-based advocacy on key issues to influence educational reform. It has sought such evidence in the realm of data related to school inputs and student outcomes, budgetary analysis, public sector reform and privatization, teacher professional development, language and learning as well as citizenship education.

The report has been produced with the support of Open Society Foundations (OSF). The data and the interpretations in the study are those of SAHE and CQE and do not necessarily reflect the views of OSF.

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Campaign for Quality Education

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Society for the Advancement of Education

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FOREWORD

The education system in Pakistan faces a myriad of issues related to access, equity, quality and governance within the sector. At the same time, the landmark 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan and insertion of Article 25-A leading to the Right to Education has ushered in a new era for Pakistan in which education up to secondary level is an enforceable and justiciable right for all citizens of Pakistan. The publication of the first issue of the Education Monitor by the Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE) and Campaign for Quality Education (CQE) is an organic incipient initiative and a contribution towards quality of education in Pakistan. The objective of the Education Monitor is to document and highlight contributions that are being made by the government and donors on the input side in the different provinces and areas of the country with a focus on implications, in an equity context, for the quality of public sector education. It also seeks to investigate the reasons for continued low-level outputs and results. The publication highlights that scratching the surface will not suffice, thus it goes deeper to understand the processes at play and how these policies are actualized in practice to provide a keener analysis of what is working and what is not.

There is sufficient empirical evidence, adequately documented by UNESCO that "cognitive development is a major explicit objective of all education systems. The degree to which systems actually achieve this, is one indicator of their quality." The Education Monitor's input quality analysis has the potential to carry out the important task of identifying the state of quality of the supply-side factors in the education system thereby bringing into sharper relief the urgent steps that need to be taken in order to improve Student Learning Outcomes. This analysis will prove helpful for a wide variety of stakeholders: education managers, policymakers, nongovernmental organizations, civil society organizations, private school systems and researchers. The endeavor by SAHE/CQE is unique in its approach and a contribution to the literature on the subject. There was a dire need for such an initiative in the education sector. I am sanguine that both public and private sectors will optimally benefit from the first edition of the Education Monitor.

Dr. Allah Bakhsh Malik
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We are particularly thankful to all the individuals and stakeholders from within the public and private sector who participated in this study and whose valuable insights informed the writing of this report.

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CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES, TABLES AND BOXES

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Boxes

ABBREVIATIONS

ADE	Associate Degree in Education
AEPAM	Academy of Educational Planning and Management
AIE	Ali Institute of Education
AIOU	Allama Iqbal Open University
AKU-IED	Agha Khan University Institute for Educational Development
ANP	Awami National Party
B.A.	Bachelor of Arts
B.Ed.	Bachelor of Education
B.Sc	Bachelor of Science
BCEW	Bureau of Curriculum and Extension Wing
BEF	Balochistan Education Foundation
BISE	Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education
BOC	Bureau of Curriculum
BPS	Basic Pay Scale
BSE	Board of Secondary Education
BTBB	Balochistan Textbook Board
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CPD	Continuous Professional Development
CT	Certificate of Teaching
CTSC	Cluster Training and Support Center
DCTE	Directorate of Curriculum and Teacher Education
DFID	Department for International Development
DIE	Diploma in Education
DLI	Disbursement Linked Indicators
DMO	District Monitoring Officer
DPI	Directorate of Public Instruction
DSD	Directorate of Staff Development
DTE	District Teacher Educator
DTSC	District Training and Support Center
E&SE	Elementary & Secondary Education
EEF	Elementary Education Foundation
EFA	Education for All
EMIS	Education Management Information Systems
ERC	External Review Committee
ESRU	Education Sector Reform Unit
EU	European Union
F.A.	Faculty in Arts
FMIS	Financial Management Information System
GCE	Government College of Education
GCET	Government College of Elementary Training
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GECE	Government Elementary College of Education
GECT	Government Elementary College for Teachers
GER	Gross Enrollment Ratio
GIR	Gross Intake Ratio
GIS	Geographic Information System
GIZ	German Society for International Cooperation
GPI	Gender Parity Index
HEC	Higher Education Commission
IBCC	Inter Board Committee of Chairmen
ICT	Islamabad Capital Territory
IFTD	Institutional Framework for Teacher Development
IRC	Internal Review Committee
IT	Information Technology
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
KPTBB	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board
LTE	Lead Teacher Educator
M.A.	Master of Arts
M.Ed.	Master of Education
M.Sc.	Master of Science
MCQ	Multiple Choice Question
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOI	Medium of Instruction
MQM	Muttahida Qaumi Movement
NEAS	National Education Assessment System
NEMIS	National Education Management Information System
NEP	National Education Policy
NER	Net Enrollment Ratio

NFE	Non-Formal Education
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NOC	No Objection Certificate
NTLMP	National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy
NTS	National Testing Service
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
OEQ	Open-ended Question
PCA	Punjab Curriculum Authority
PEACE	Provincial Education Assessment Center
PEAS	Punjab Education Assessment System
PEC	Punjab Examination Commission
PEF	Punjab Education Foundation
PER	Performance Evaluation Report
PESRP	Punjab Education Sector Reform Program
PGDPE	Post Graduate Diploma in Primary Education
PITE	Provincial Institute for Teacher Education
PMIU	Program Monitoring and Implementation Unit
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
PPIU	Policy Planning and Implementation Unit
PPP	Pakistan Peoples' Party
PPRS	Promoting Private Schooling in Rural Sindh
Pre-STEP	Pre-Service Teacher Education Project
PSLM	Pakistan Standards and Living Measurement Survey
PSTE	Pre-Service Teacher Education
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
PTB	Punjab Textbook Board
PTC	Primary Teaching Certificate
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
REEC	Regional Education Extension Center
RITE	Regional Institute for Teacher Education
RTE	Right to Education
RSU	Reform Support Unit
SAHE	Society for the Advancement of Education
SAT	Standardized Achievement Test
SED	School Education Department
SEF	Sindh Education Foundation
SERP	Sindh Education Reform Program
SLO	Student Learning Outcome
SMC	School Management Committees
SOP	Standard Operating Procedures
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
STBB	Sindh Textbook Board
STEDA	Sindh Teacher Education Development Authority
STEP	Strengthening Teacher Education in Pakistan
STR	Student Teacher Ratio
TE	Teacher Educator
TNA	Training Needs Assessment
TRC	Teacher Resource Center
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WSIP	Whole School Improvement Program

CHAPTER

1

INTRODUCTION

EXPLORING QUALITY INPUTS

The education sector in Pakistan suffers from issues of access as well as quality. Over five million children of ages five through nine are out of school and a majority of the children who enter school drop out before they reach grade 8. Among a great number of those who attend school, learning levels are low. In part, this state of affairs can be attributed to the low-level of spending on education, which has for over a decade hovered around 2% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). However, on the basis of available evidence, it would be fair to say that even the available, albeit meager, resources are not optimally utilized for providing greater access to education or, as importantly, improving education quality.

In 2010, the government passed the 18th Amendment, which did away with the concurrent list, rendering education a provincial subject. This amendment also involved the insertion of Article 25-A into the Constitution, which binds the state to provide free and compulsory education to all children between the ages 5 through 16. While these are steps in the right direction, the hard part is yet to come. After the provincial assemblies enact enabling legislation, additional resources will have to be committed and appropriately utilized in order to realize the commitment that has been made at the national level. The National Education Policy, which came out in 2009, a year before the passage of 18th Amendment, had already included a commitment to raise the expenditure on education to 7% of the GDP. The need to make good on this commitment becomes more of a necessity after the 18th Amendment, but the requisite measures, such as additional taxation or the necessary political will, are not yet in evidence for anything even remotely approaching such a target.

As suggested earlier, access is only one dimension of the problem. The other equally serious issue is that of the quality of educational provision. A number of survey reports bear testimony to the dismal state of student outcomes in different provinces of Pakistan.[1] Assessment data from the National Education Assessment System,[2] large-scale testing mechanisms such as Punjab Examination Commission and the multiple Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Examinations (BISEs) provide similar insights into low-levels of student learning at virtually all levels of schooling.

If schooling does not add up to education, if children are not literate or numerate by the completion of the primary cycle, if by the end of the school cycle they do not possess the necessary competencies or the citizenship skills required for a productive engagement with society, then mere access to education will not meet the objectives associated with education. Since low quality is one of the many factors behind decisions to leave schooling in the middle, we will continue to witness high dropout rates. Furthermore, even those who complete school will possess little by way of the knowledge and skills required of educated citizens and workers.

So, is this issue being addressed by the private sector?

In terms of the overall education landscape, a key feature that has, in popular perception, become synonymous with quality is the private school. A majority of schools in most of the large urban centers in the country are now private, many of them low-fee schools that cater to low-income groups. These schools are seen as providing better learning experiences to children than the comparable public schools. However, there is evidence to suggest that while these low-fee private schools may be somewhat better than government schools, the differential manifests itself at the low end of the quality spectrum.[3] In other words, few children in Pakistan are getting a reasonable education, be they in public or private sector schools. Furthermore, educational services cannot be both free and compulsory, as required by the Constitution, and private at the same time. Therefore, the growing incidence of private education, even low cost schools, is undermining the constitutional promise of Article 25-A.

The fact that this level of low student attainment across the country continues into the present poses a quandary, given the plethora of interventions in the education sector for improving access as well as quality that have been effected through the efforts of the government(s), nongovernmental organizations, donors and international development partners.

The frequently measured student outcomes are essentially providing us with the same message: not much has changed. On the one hand, we have con-

tinuing low student outcomes and on the other, we have the many and diverse interventions into the sector aimed at improving achievement. The obvious question then is: Why have these interventions not managed to enhance the quality of education? One such reason may be that many policies and interventions have traditionally focused on increasing access rather than enhancing quality. Such efforts include enrollment drives, addressing the issue of missing facilities, providing stipends to girls, and efforts to empower School Management Committees.

The efforts to improve student outcomes can be compromised due to a quality deficit in key inputs such as teachers, textbooks, language, examinations and governance. Each of these inputs is anchored in institutional arrangements that are dependent for their quality on appropriately qualified and motivated personnel, rational processes and regimes of governance as well as congruence with other elements of the system. It is the nature and quality of these inputs that this Education Monitor seeks to draw attention to. What this focus implies is an input quality analysis, a review of the policies, institutional mandates and structures, personnel and specific processes of each of these key inputs.

The report, in a way, is an attempt at helping us distinguish between real progress and what the economist Lant Pritchett calls isomorphic mimicry, the appearance of progress rather than progress itself. All the elements required for the provision of education may formally be in place but lack the quality or synchronization necessary to deliver even the minimum. In other words, just because students are enrolled in school does not necessarily mean that they are learning: a teacher may be present in class but may lack the content knowledge, pedagogical ability as well as motivation to teach; free textbooks may be available to all but may be of poor quality and neither grade nor age-appropriate. Similarly, examinations or testing may be a regular feature and yet fail to assess the appropriate skills or otherwise inform teacher training. In line with these concerns, the first issue of the Education Monitor aims to review some of the key elements of the education system and the ways in which they perform their mandated functions or, in the alternative, fail to do so.

As mentioned above, after the 18th Amendment the provincial governments are now responsible for providing free and compulsory education to children aged 5 to 16. This presents them with a formidable challenge. In order to ground ourselves and understand the current status of education in all the provinces, the first chapter provides a situation report on school access and student retention through analysis of key statistics. In light of this situation, it reviews the provincial plans, strategies and efforts to tackle the issue of out-of-school children and dropouts to gauge the commitment of provincial governments towards the implementation of Article 25-A.

In any education system, teachers are the key to quality. Even where the number of teachers, as in Punjab, is relatively large and the issue of absenteeism has been addressed with considerable success, there are serious reservations with regard to teaching quality. A matter of particular concern is the content knowledge deficit that many teachers appear to have. More often than not teacher education and training institutions are identified as the source of this poor quality as much as the policies put in place to recruit them. Given the importance of this issue, a full section of the report is devoted to teachers and teaching. This section seeks further understanding of the quality of teachers and teaching by reviewing pre-service teacher education and professional development, the institutions, their mandates, staff and processes related to teacher education, as well as policies and processes related to teacher recruitment, evaluation and motivation.

It has been about seven years since 2007 when the new curriculum frameworks were adopted. Some textbooks aligned with the curriculum frameworks have certainly been introduced to the schools since then. But the alignment of textbooks with curriculum is still far from complete and many subjects at different grade levels are still being taught through old textbooks. Then, in some cases, while the books may be of better quality, they are at times too advanced for the prescribed age and grade level. In some cases there is repetition across subjects or grades and in other cases books lack substance (e.g. Pakistan or Social Studies). The chapter on curriculum and textbooks seeks to unpack this by reviewing the process of textbook development. It also reviews the official mandates and practices of institutions involved in textbook development.

Language is central to learning. Research literature and practices from across the world suggest that, in the initial stages, children learn best in their first language (i.e. the language spoken at home and in their immediate environment). However, in two provinces, Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, English has been introduced as the Medium of Instruction (MOI) in the early grades. In light of this policy, concerns have been raised about the ability of the child to learn any subject if he or she does not understand the language being employed by the teacher as the MOI. On the other hand, there is widespread demand for competency in English. As it turns out, both are not mutually exclusive. The chapter on language reviews current language policies, their implementation in the classroom and their implications.

It is often said that teachers teach and students learn to the test. Other things being equal, this is only to be expected given that how well a student does on the test is often the only criterion employed for assessing student attainment and the quality of teaching. This makes testing fairly pivotal to the enterprise of schooling. Among other things, we have to consider: What is the child being tested for, memory, comprehension or higher-order skills such as synthesis or analysis? Is the child being tested against predefined Student Learning Outcomes? Are the results being competently analyzed to ascertain student's strengths and weaknesses and is that information being duly used to inform educational processes? Obviously, all of this requires highly skilled input into the design and implementation of examinations and assessment at all levels. The chapter in the report explores standardized assessments in the form of examinations, the institutions, staff and processes used to develop the exams, to answer these questions.

Generally, the systems of merit, rewards and accountability are the realm of governance. By governance we understand a set of institutional arrangements that distribute power and responsibility among the officials of the state but it can also mean arrangements among other stakeholders in society for the achievement of certain objectives. The enabling laws that need to be passed by the different provinces in the wake of the introduction of Article 25-A into the Constitution would represent a key feature of governance in the context of the education sector. There have been many attempts at reorganizing the sector by improving governance. Even before the 18th Amendment, whereby education became entirely a provincial subject, there were attempts at decentralization though little by way of financial devolution took place. It is not enough, however, for power and decision making to move from the center to the provinces or for donors to be able to deal directly with the provinces, bypassing the center. Autonomy, if it is to contribute to quality, needs to percolate down to the level of the school (or cluster), college or university. But, we see little by way of decision making at this crucial level. The chapter on governance explores these issues in detail.

The processes and institutions that support the various and complementary activities that lead to learning within the school, often leave much to be desired. The processes defined by Rules of Business are often not designed to generate quality and the nodal institutions such as the BISEs, the textbook boards, and teacher training institutions are not resourced or managed in ways that can provide optimal support to the system. This in turn leads to deficient inputs into the system and eventually to the kind of dismal student outcomes that we have now become familiar with. If this situation is to change, the inputs into the system and the ways in which they are managed and governed will have to change first.

[1] Kardar as cited in Hoodbhoy 1998, Andrabi et al 2007a, ITA 2014
[2] National Education Assessment System is no longer operational.
[3] British Council PEELI study based on tests of around 2000 primary and middle school teachers from public and private sector schools. A larger percentage of teachers from private sector schools were found to be lacking the minimum level of competence in English.

CHAPTER

2

RIGHT TO EDUCATION: SCHOOL ACCESS AND STUDENT RETENTION

INTRODUCTION

School access has been a key reform agenda over the last two decades for the Pakistan Government. While access to school is a necessary condition, it is equally paramount that students complete the primary school cycle, acquire some minimum competencies and transition into secondary education. Pakistan is a signatory to both the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA), which essentially commit to providing basic education to all children. In 2010, as part of the 18th Amendment, the Pakistan Government inserted Article 25-A into the Constitution, which commits the state to, "provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law."[1] Over the years, provincial governments have also implemented different incentives schemes, such as free textbooks, waiver of tuition fees, stipends for girls in middle schools and nutrition programs, in an attempt to increase enrollment and retention.

Pakistan has made a modicum of progress towards these goals. However, going by Pakistan's international and national commitments, the country's education statistics show that targets have not been met. In order to realistically achieve these targets, provincial governments need to review and monitor their existing plans and strategies to increase school access and improve retention including transition to secondary education.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER

The objective of this chapter is to analyze school access and student retention statistics to understand the current status of education in all the provinces. The chapter also reviews the plans and strategies proposed by different provincial governments to tackle the issue of dropouts and out-of-school children in order to understand the level of commitment of each provincial government towards implementation of Article 25-A.

The chapter is divided into two major sections. The first is a situation report of the education sector in Pakistan based on the analysis of statistics on enrollment, physical access, gender access and student retention. The second section of the chapter reviews the provincial commitments to increasing access and efforts made under Article 25-A. This section discusses the operational and organizational challenges, financial implications as well as the role of public private partnerships in implementing free and compulsory education. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications of these policies and plans in light of the current statistics and the way forward.

Data for this chapter has been collected through primary and secondary research. For primary data, semi-structured interviews were conducted in all the provinces with education departments, policy and monitoring units such as Program Monitoring and Implementation Unit (PMIU) in Punjab, Policy Planning and Implementation Unit (PPIU) in Balochistan, Education Sector Reform Unit (ESRU) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), and Reform Support Unit (RSU) in Sindh and education foundations run for supporting public private partnerships such as Punjab Education Foundation (PEF), Sindh Education Foundation (SEF), Balochistan Education Foundation (BEF) and Elementary Education Foundation (EEF) in KP. For secondary data, a document review was conducted of government policy documents, education sector plans, government statistics and other donor reports on school access.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

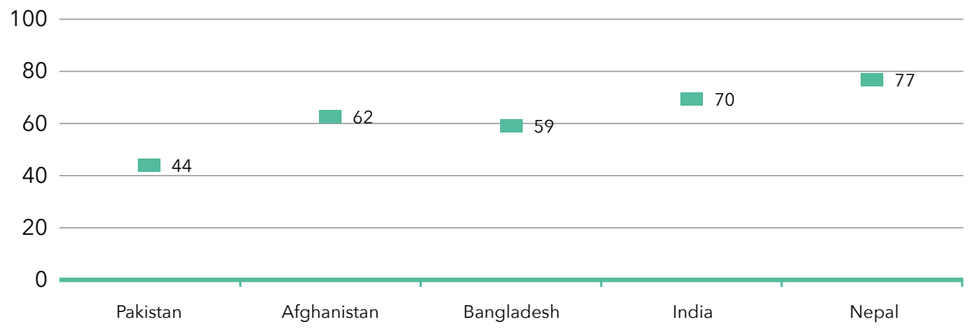
In 1990, delegates of different countries and development agencies committed to EFA. One of its six objectives was to, "Ensure that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, those in difficult circumstances, and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free, and compulsory primary education of good quality."[2] During the 1990s, the Social Action Program in Pakistan initiated reforms in a wide range of areas, the idea being to improve service delivery. One particular focus was on constructing schools to increase access and improving girls' education. In 2000, Pakistan, along with 189 countries, reaffirmed its commitment to the EFA goals through the Dakar Framework. Since then Pakistan has made several efforts to meet the EFA commitments and MDGs.

The Education Sector Reforms Action Plan 2001 - 02 –

2005 - 06 was evidence of the government's commitment to universalizing primary education.[3] Emerging from a national consensus on education, the reforms were largely directed at primary education, particularly improving infrastructure and human resources for it. It sought to lay greater emphasis on quality education as well. The governments also tried a variety of other approaches to enhance primary education: Khushhal Pakistan Fund, a public works program for school rehabilitation; Tawana Pakistan, a school nutrition program; and education stipends for students at all levels. It has also sought to improve access through public private partnerships, most notably restructuring the education foundations and providing financial support to their programs for private schools. Finally, yet another approach has been notifying School Management Committees (SMCs) and Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) as bodies for monitoring student enrollment and teacher absenteeism as well as providing funds to support schools in improving infrastructure and so on.

Despite these efforts, in 2011 the Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) for Pakistan at all education levels was the lowest in the region at 44% (Figure 2.1).[4] The data on primary level Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) in Pakistan shows that the indicators have improved since the 1990s; the primary NER went from 46% in 1990 - 1991 to 57% in 2011 - 2012.[5] However, the NER for secondary level has only increased from 25% to 32% in the last 20 years.[6] The next section reviews the latest education indicators in greater detail.

Figure 2.1: GER in South Asian countries
Source: World Bank, 2011



ACCESS, EQUITY AND RETENTION: A SITUATIONAL REPORT

This section reviews different indicators for equitable access to education and student transition from one education level to another. It begins with access to school assessed through enrollment indicators, followed by gender access assessed through enrollment rates, a parity index and number of schools. Then it covers physical access assessed through indicators on the number of schools and capacity of these schools. Finally, it reviews student retention through indicators on survival to grade 5, transition to secondary level and the Student Teacher Ratio (STR).

The main sources of information are the Pakistan Standards and Living Measurement Survey (PSLM) 2012 - 2013 conducted by the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, which is their main mechanism for monitoring MDG indicators and the Academy of Educational Planning and Management (AEPAM) 2011 -2012 data tabulated from a databank of provincial Education Management Information Systems (EMIS) data developed by National Education Management Information System (NEMIS). It is important to note that the PSLM data is from a nationally representative survey, whereas AEPAM data is from the annual school census collected in each province. Other data on public and private sectors of education used in this report is based on estimation of the National Education Census data originally collected during 2005 - 2006. Since the last population census in Pakistan was conducted in 1998, projected population data made by National Institute of Population Studies has been used in this chapter to calculate different indicators based on population data.

ACCESS TO SCHOOL

In order to gauge student entry to schools and retention over a period of a complete education cycle, it is important to analyze the enrollment indicators at all levels. There are three key enrollment indicators, Gross Intake Ratio (GIR), GER and NER (Box 2.1).

Gross intake ratio

A high GIR indicates in general a high degree of access to primary education. There are many over-age or under-age students in Sindh and KP (Figure 2.2). Punjab does not have a huge issue as the GIR is slightly above 100%, whereas the intake is relatively low in Balochistan where it is around 80% for males and only 60% for females. This indicates that Sindh and KP do manage to enroll a very high number of students who drop out over time. In the case of Balochistan the initial intake is already very low as compared to the population of the particular age group.

Pre-primary and primary school enrollment

GER indicates the level of enrollment at a particular

BOX 2.1: ENROLLMENT INDICATOR DEFINITIONS

Enrollment indicators as defined by UNESCO Institute for Statistics are as follows:

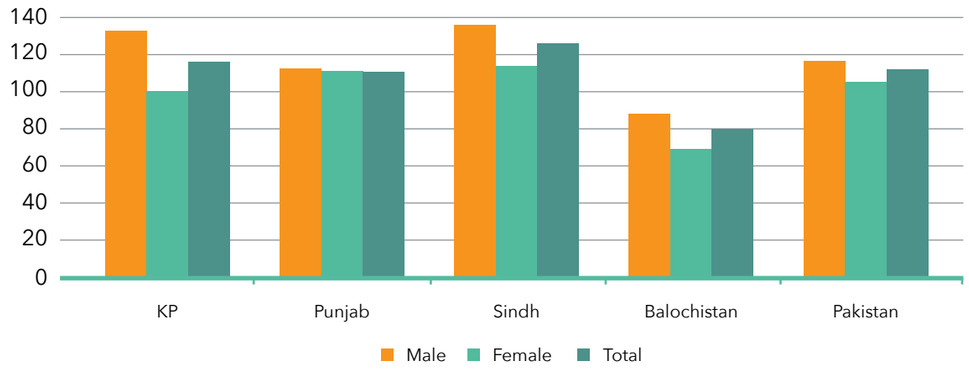
Enrollment indicators	Definition	Purpose is to indicate…	Understanding the figures
GIR	Total number of new entrants in grade 1 of primary education, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the population at the official primary school entrance age	Level of access to primary education at grade 1	Includes over-aged and under-aged children entering school for the first time, thus GIR can be more than 100%
GER	Total number of students, regardless of age, enrolled in a given level of education expressed as a percentage of the official school-age population for the same level of education	General level of participation and capacity of the system to enroll students for that level of education	Includes over-aged and under-aged children at a given level, thus GER can be over 100% as well
NER	Total number of students, in the official age group, enrolled in a given level of education, expressed as a percentage of the official school-age population for the same level of education	Specific level of participation for children belonging to the official age group corresponding to the given level of education	Includes only those students who fall within the approved age group at a given level, thus NER cannot be higher than 100%

The difference between GIR and GER is that GIR is specifically calculated for enrollment at grade 1, while GER can be calculated for a complete education level (e.g. primary grades 1 to 5) to indicate the overall enrollment at this particular education level. GIR is supposed to give a sense of number of entrants that might be over or under the official age (i.e. five years), who are in grade 1. This indicator can help planners ensure that enough schools with appropriate facilities are available to accommodate these children in order to prevent drop out.

GER can be a complementary indicator to NER by indicating the extent of over-aged and under-aged enrollment at a particular education level. A high GER generally indicates a high degree of participation, whether the students belong to the official age group or not. While NER only reports on the number of students of the same age group as officially designated for the education level.

Source: UNESCO Institute for Stastistics, 2014

Figure 2.2: GIR by province and gender
Source: AEPAM & NEMIS, Pakistan Government, 2013



education level irrespective of the official age group of that education level. At pre-primary and primary education level, the official age group is four to nine. The overall pre-primary and primary level GER at national level is 92% (Figure 2.3). The general trend is that primary GER is higher for males as compared to females and for urban areas as compared to rural areas. Punjab and KP's primary GER for both males and females is more than 100%, except for rural females, which is 91% and 78% respectively. In Sindh and Balochistan the primary GER is comparatively lower, particularly for rural males and rural females with less than 80% GER for males and less than 50% GER for females. This indicates that Punjab and KP have a higher degree of primary enrollment even if the children are late entrants.

The NER at pre-primary and primary level refers to the number of students between the ages of four to nine enrolled in primary schools divided by the number of children in the same age group for that level of education. The overall NER at primary level is 64% which is lower than the GER at this level (Figure 2.4). This indicates that there are a substantial number of over-age or under-age children enrolled at the primary level. The provincial trends, however, are similar. The NER is higher in Punjab and KP, 72% and 63% respectively, than Sindh and Balochistan, 53% and 44% respectively. Again rural male and rural female NER in Sindh and Balochistan are low with rural females at 34% and 27% respectively.

According to these enrollment rates, Punjab and KP would have to focus on developing retention strategies at the primary level, while Sindh and Balochistan need to develop strategies to increase primary enrollment altogether, particularly for females in rural areas.

Figure 2.3: GER at pre-primary and primary level by province, location and gender
Source: PBS, Pakistan Government, 2014

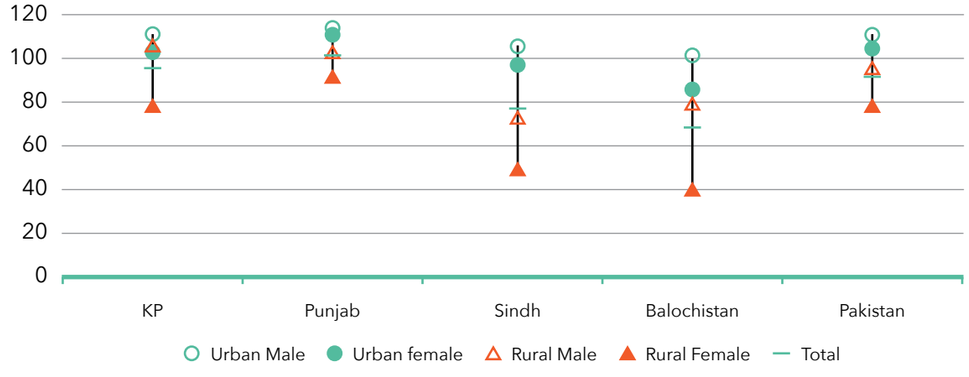
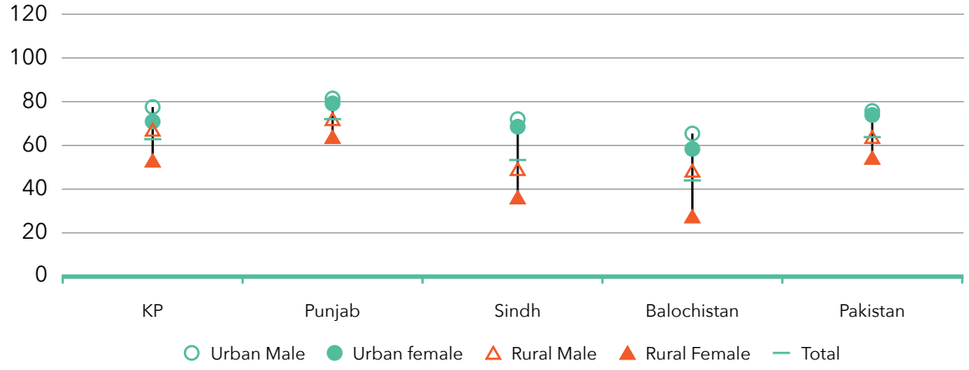


Figure 2.4: NER at pre-primary and primary level by province, location and gender
Source: PBS, Pakistan Government, 2014



Middle school enrollment

At the middle level, overall GER drops to 54% at the national level (Figure 2.5), indicating substantial drop out between the primary and middle levels. Again KP and Punjab have a higher GER at 61% and 58% respectively. Interestingly, KP's rural male GER at the middle level appears higher than the other provinces at 70%. Also urban females in Punjab break the trend with higher GER at the middle level than their male counterparts. Again, Sindh and Balochistan have lower GERs in comparison, particularly for rural males at 45% and rural females at less than 20%.
Again at the middle level the national NER, at 22%, is much lower than GER (Figure 2.6). This indicates that largely the children enrolled at the middle level are not within the official age group of 10-12 years. The trends hold for the provinces with Punjab and KP having a slightly higher NER than Sindh and Balochistan, although the gaps are smaller. At this level as well, Sindh and Balochistan have lower NERs due to very low enrollment for females in rural areas, (9% and 6% respectively).

The middle enrollment rates indicate that there is overall, a poor transition from primary to middle school across the provinces. Therefore, efforts to improve transition rates across the board are needed. Comparatively, KP and Punjab manage to retain more students overall than Sindh and Balochistan, particularly rural females in the latter provinces. There is a need for more intensive interventions to enable participation of rural females in these provinces at the middle level.

High school enrollment

Overall the national GER at the high school level is 59% (Figure 2.7); there is a similar level of enrollment at the middle level. The high school GER is more or

Figure 2.5: GER at middle level by province, location and gender
Source: PBS, Pakistan Government, 2014

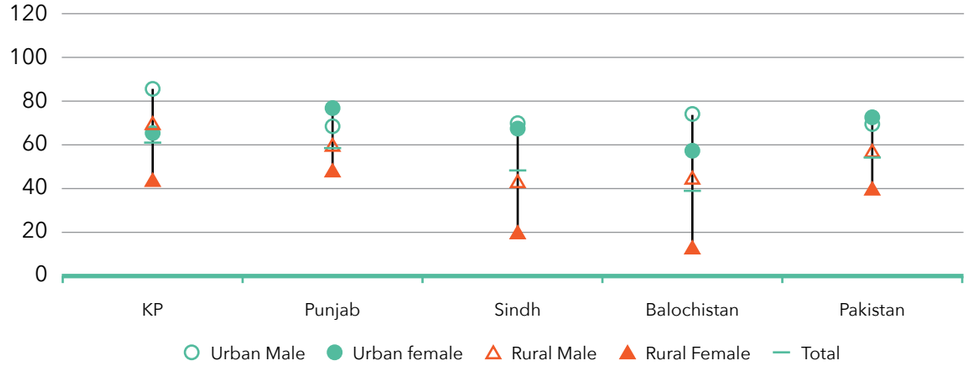
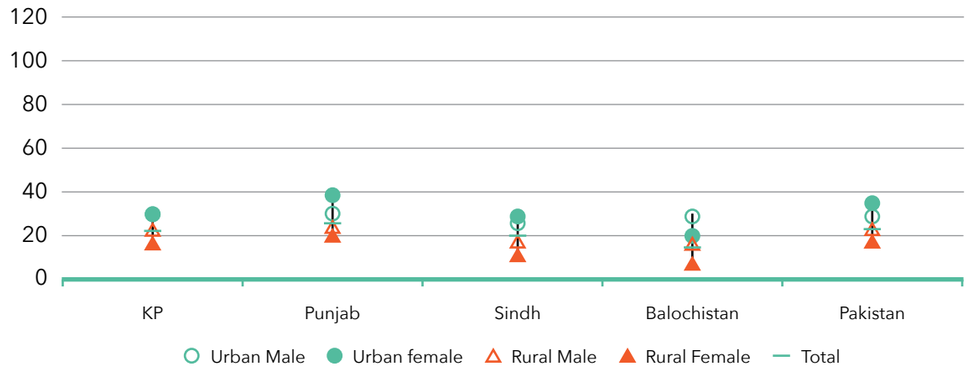


Figure 2.6: NER at middle level by province, location and gender
Source: PBS, Pakistan Government, 2014



less similar for Punjab, Sindh and KP at 54%, 54% and 58% respectively whereas Balochistan high school GER is lower at 37%. Again, the trends are different in KP with a higher enrollment for rural males at 71% and Punjab where urban female GER is the same as males. Similar to other levels, GER at high school level is very low for rural females in Sindh at 16% and in Balochistan at 7%. However, at this level we also find a larger gap between the urban male and female GER in Balochistan and Sindh (e.g. Balochistan urban male GER is 84% compared to urban female GER which is 44%).

The national NER for high school is really low at 13% in comparison to GER for this level which is 59% (Figure 2.8). Since the official age group for high school is 13-14 years, it is likely that many of the enrolled students belong to a higher age bracket. The trends for the provinces hold for NER at this level as well. Interestingly, female NER in urban areas in Punjab is the highest at 25%, which indicates higher participation of age-appropriate students.

As the enrollment rates indicate, the transition from middle to high school is not as poor as that from primary to middle school. However, strategies for improving high school participation overall across the provinces and specifically for transition to high school for females in rural and urban areas of Sindh and Balochistan are needed.

Enrollment rates summary

Overall, the GER and NER for all the provinces indicate similar trends. Punjab and KP have relatively better enrollment rates in comparison to Sindh and Balochistan across the levels but the difference decreases as we move up from primary to high school.

Figure 2.7: GER at high school level by province, location and gender
Source: PBS, Pakistan Government, 2014

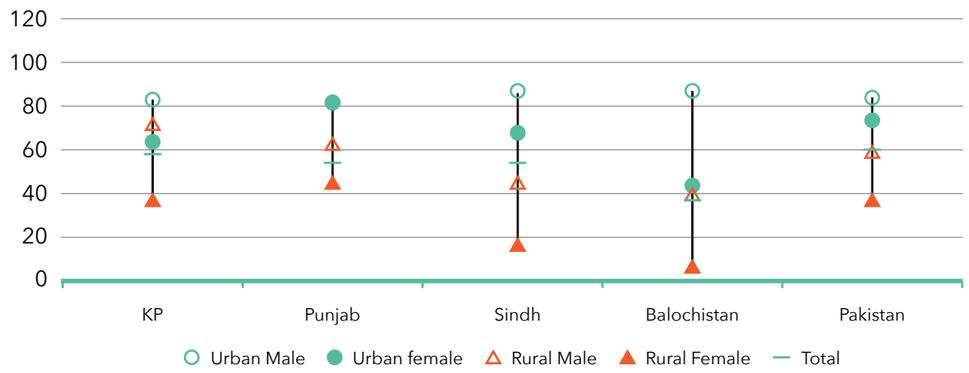
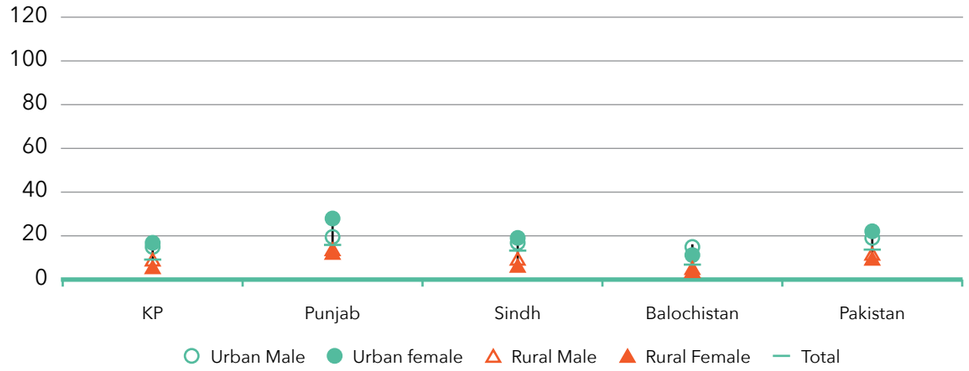


Figure 2.8: NER at high school level by province, location and gender
Source: PBS, Pakistan Government, 2014



Participation in rural areas is poorer compared to urban areas and this is pronounced in Sindh and Balochistan particularly for rural females. Finally, the difference between GER and NER at each level is quite large across the levels, indicating that students are not of the official age group. Therefore, while developing policies it is best to consider over-age or under-age children studying at different levels of education as well.

GENDER ACCESS

For equitable access to education, it is fundamental to reduce gender disparities. Overall female enrollment in education (as a percentage of the total enrollment) at the national level hovers between 42-44% across the levels (Figure 2.9). This means that female participation is slightly lower than male participation.

In Punjab and Sindh, female enrollment reflects the national figures and there is only a small difference in participation from primary to high school levels. In comparison female enrollment in KP and Balochistan is lower than the national figures, with a big difference found at the middle and high school levels where female enrollment is 35% and 33% respectively. Between urban and rural areas there is a difference in female enrollment, with the former having greater participation (Figure 2.10). The biggest gap between urban and rural areas is found in Sindh.

The total number of schools for males is 97,360 at primary, middle and high levels, while for females there are 59,486 schools. Mixed gender schools are 51,890 in number (Figure 2.11). If we look at province specific statistics by level, there are relatively the same number of male and female primary schools in Punjab but there is a disparity between the number of male and

Figure 2.9: Percentage of female enrollment by province and educational level
Source: AEPAM & NEMIS, Pakistan Government, 2013

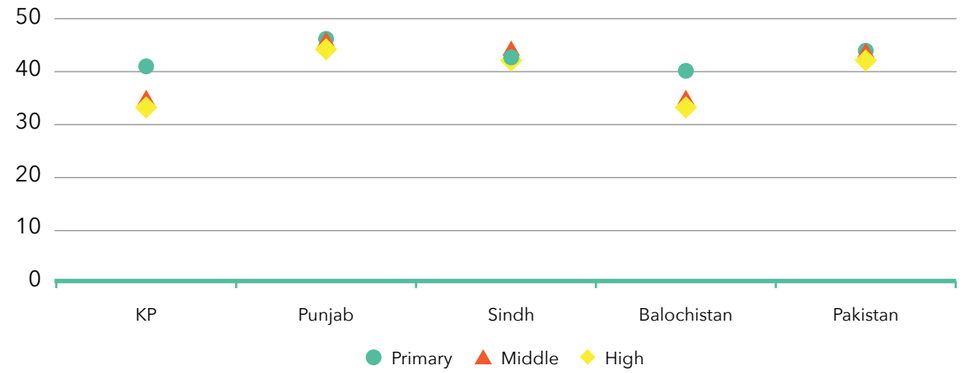
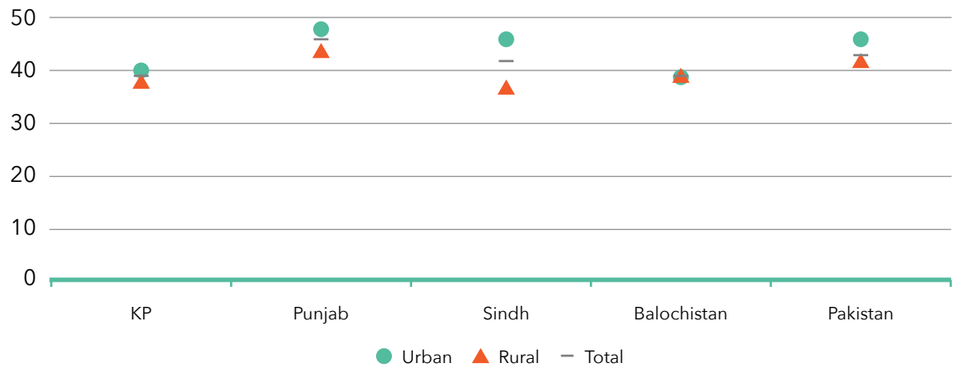


Figure 2.10: Percentage of female enrollment by location and educational level
Source: AEPAM & NEMIS, Pakistan Government, 2013



female schools in Balochistan, Sindh and to some extent KP. This availability of schools may partly explain the low female enrollment mentioned previously. This disparity diminishes at the middle and high levels as there are fewer schools altogether.

Another measure to understand the level of access to education for females as compared to that of males is the Gender Parity Index (GPI). A GPI of less than 1 indicates that there are fewer females than males in the formal education system in proportion to the appropriate school-age population. Punjab has a higher GPI at both levels and Sindh has a considerably high GPI as well (Table 2.1). KP and Balochistan have a slightly lower GPI at the primary level and especially at the secondary level. This may be related to the availability of schools and/or female teachers, a factor which we will review in the next section of the chapter.

PHYSICAL ACCESS

The enrollment indicators assist in reviewing access from the demand-side, whereas the physical access of schools and their availability helps in understanding the supply-side. It is important to review the number of schools available at each level. Another crucial element is the capacity of the school, which can be assessed through the number of classrooms in each school at each level.

Overall, Punjab has the highest number of schools at all levels (Figure 2.12). The vast majority of schools across the provinces are at the primary level; they then taper off substantially at the middle and high levels. This may have an impact on access, where schools are not available, opportunities to attend are then limited, thus, affecting enrollment figures. However, this relationship does not necessarily hold

Figure 2.11: Number of schools by province, education level and gender
Source: AEPAM & NEMIS, Pakistan Government, 2013

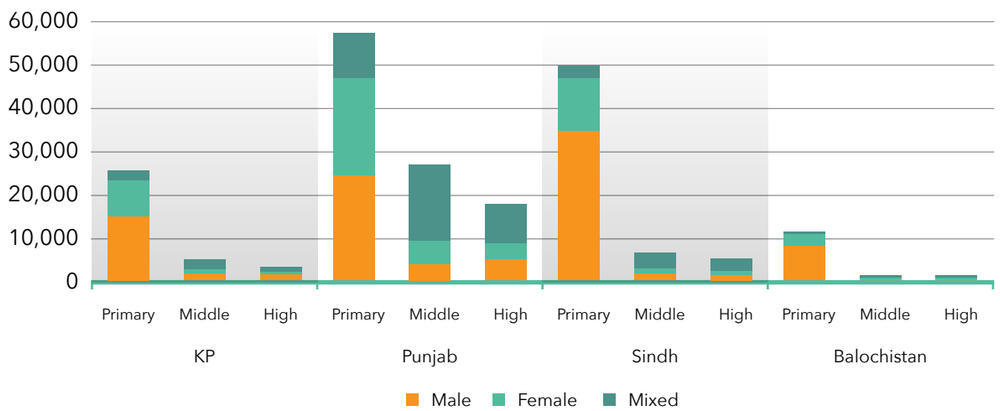


Table 2.1: GPI for provinces
Source: AEPAM & NEMIS, Pakistan Government, 2013

Province	GPI for primary GER	GPI for secondary GER
KP	0.76	0.53
Punjab	0.92	0.86
Sindh	0.82	0.79
Balochistan	0.78	0.56

Figure 2.12: Number of schools by province and education level
Source: AEPAM & NEMIS, Pakistan Government, 2013

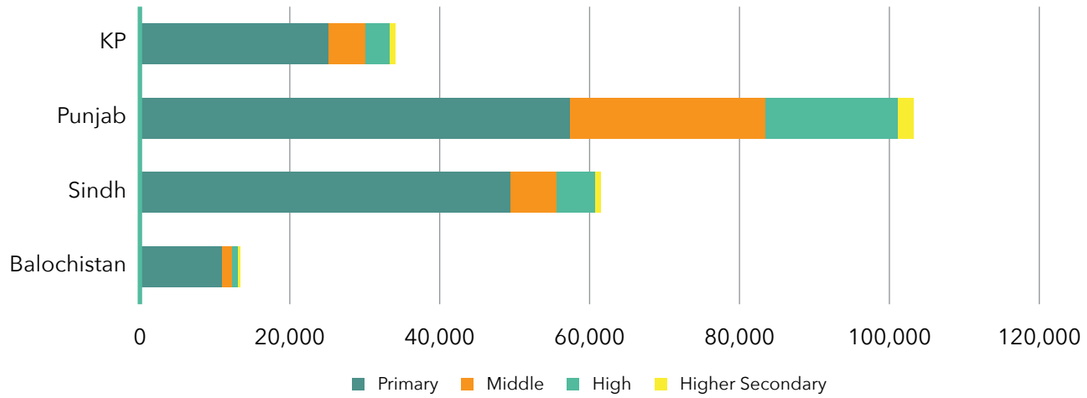
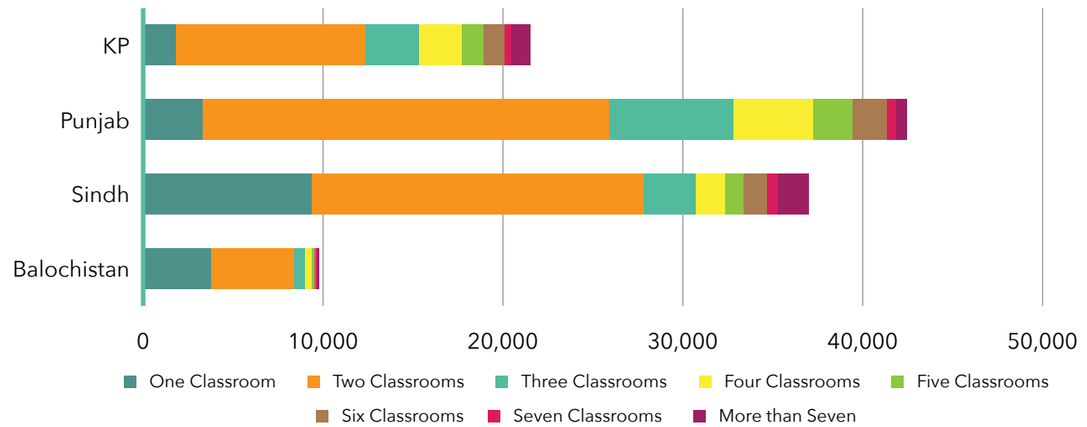


Figure 2.13: Number of primary schools by province and classrooms
Source: AEPAM & NEMIS, Pakistan Government, 2013



in all cases. For instance, although Sindh has a higher number of primary schools than KP, GER is at 77% in Sindh and at 95% in KP. Similarly at the middle level, KP has the highest GER at 61% with a relatively small number of middle schools in comparison to Punjab, which has the highest number of middle schools.

With regards to the capacity of the school, at the

Figure 2.14: Number of middle schools by province and classrooms
Source: AEPAM & NEMIS, Pakistan Government, 2013

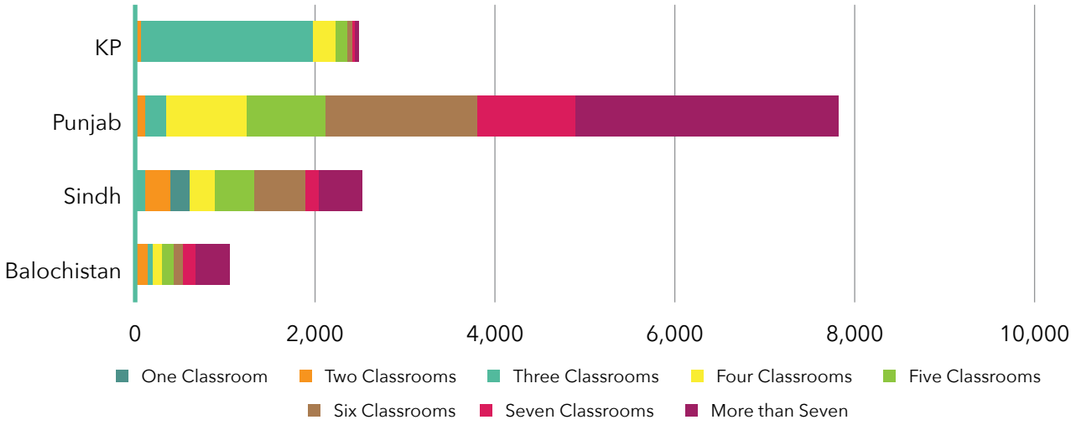
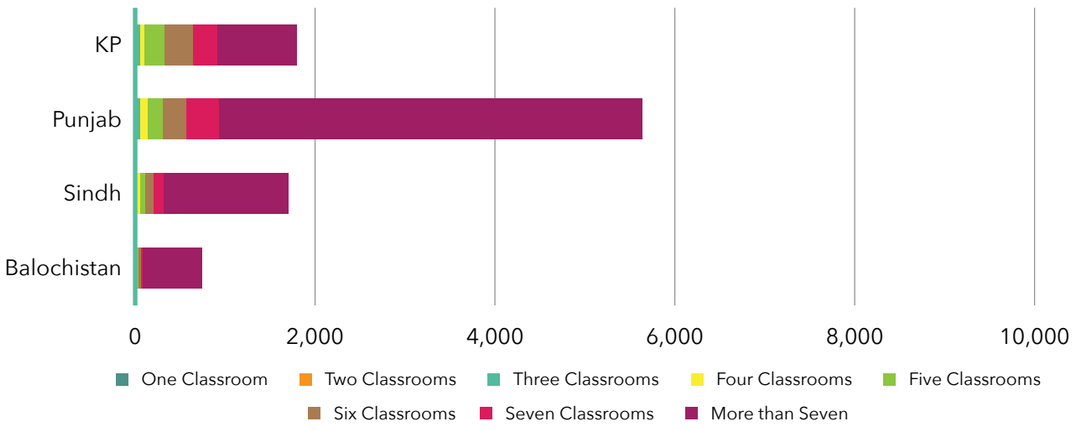


Figure 2.15: Number of high schools by province and classrooms
Source: AEPAM & NEMIS, Pakistan Government, 2013



primary level, two-room schools are the most prevalent across the provinces (Figure 2.13). Punjab, KP and Sindh have quite a few three and four classroom schools as well. Sindh also has the highest number of one classroom primary schools (9,268) in comparison to other provinces.

At the middle level, the trend changes, there are schools with more classrooms and there is a fairly even distribution across the number of classrooms (Figure 2.14). In Punjab, this trend is fairly pronounced as there are many schools with three or more classrooms and, therefore, greater capacity. The only exception is, KP where there are a distinctly large number of three classroom schools, which could be the result of a program or policy.

Finally at the high school level, there is a trend towards schools with more than seven classrooms across the provinces (Figure 2.15). This indicates a much higher capacity in these schools.

STUDENT RETENTION

Once students are in the education system, it is important that they survive till grade 5,that is, they complete the primary cycle of education at the very least. After that it is equally important to monitor the transition rates to middle and secondary level and develop strategies to retain students in the education system.

Figure 2.16: Survival rate till grade 5
Source: Planning Commission, Pakistan Government, 2013

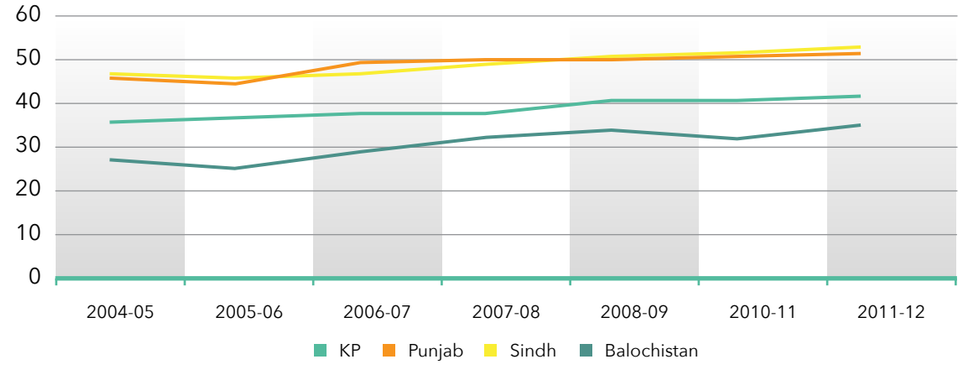
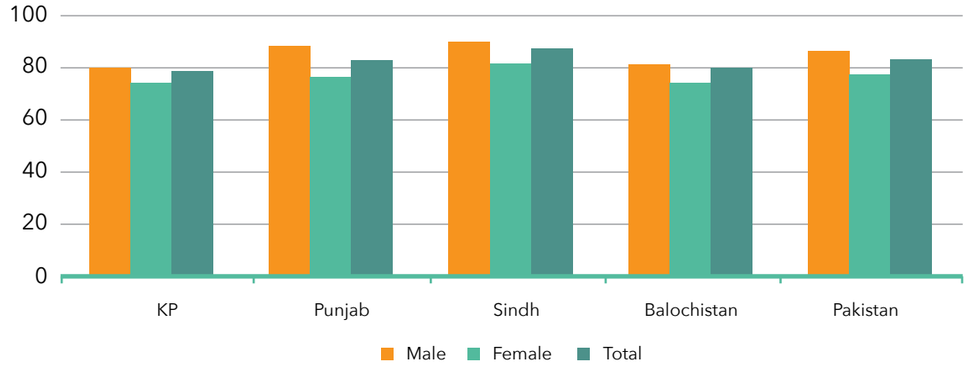


Figure 2.17: Transition rate between primary and lower secondary levels
Source: AEPAM & NEMIS, Pakistan Government, 2013



The survival rate to grade 5 in Pakistan has been steadily increasing over the years, but it is still less than 53% (Figure 2.16). Punjab and Sindh have higher survival rates at 53% and 52% respectively in comparison to KP and Balochistan where survival rates are 42% and 35% respectively. This means that about half of the student population still drops out by the end of the primary cycle in Punjab and Sindh and even more than half in the case of Balochistan and KP.

Another important indicator for student retention is the transition rate, which is the proportion of students that graduate from the final grade of one education level to the first grade of the next education level expressed as a percentage of those enrolled in the final grade of the preceding school level.

"High transition rates indicate high access or transition from one level of education to the next. It also reflects the intake capacity of the next level of education. Inversely, low transition rates indicate problems in bridging between two cycles or levels of education, due to either deficiencies in the examination system or inadequate admission capacity in the higher cycle or level of education, or both".[7]

It is evident from the data that Punjab and Sindh have comparatively better transition rates than KP and Balochistan where transition rates are less than 80% for both males and females (Figure 2.17). In general female transition rates are lower than male transition rates across the board.

Student teacher ratio

Another key component of the picture is appropriate

availability of teachers in schools, gauged via STR, which is a factor that is likely to affect student retention. STR is calculated by taking the average number of students per teacher at a given level of education, based on the number of both students and teachers.[8] A high STR means that children receive less attention from the teacher. In Pakistan an STR of 40:1 is considered average. Where STR is higher than this, it is difficult to maintain the quality of education.

At the primary level in Punjab and KP the STR is reasonable, close to 40 (Table 2.2). Whereas in Sindh and Balochistan, it is quite low, close to 30, but this may be indicative of the low enrollment in these provinces. At the middle and higher levels the STR tapers off for each province, while maintaining similar trends.

One of the limitations of STR is that since it is an average, it disguises huge variations (e.g. there may be 100 students to one teacher and in another case 10 students to one teacher). According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, while interpreting this indicator, one should take into account multi-grade teaching. It also provides a critique that this indicator does not take into account factors which could affect the quality of teaching and learning, such as differences in teacher qualifications, pedagogical training, experiences and status, teaching methods, teaching materials and variations in classroom conditions.

The next section of the chapter reviews the strategies planned by each province for the next few years to increase student enrollment and retention.

Table 2.2: STR by province and level
Source: AEPAM & NEMIS, Pakistan Government, 2013

	Primary	Middle	High	Higher Secondary
KP	43	16	26	27
Punjab	41	30	31	30
Sindh	30	23	25	38
Balochistan	33	18	21	29

RIGHT TO EDUCATION: PROVINCIAL RESPONSES

While the indicators portray an abysmal state of the education sector across the provinces, the provincial governments are making concerted efforts to increase school access and improve student retention through policy level changes and strategic plans. In this section, we will review the efforts undertaken by the provinces. Each province has developed an education sector plan to guide the process after conducting detailed situation analyses. Simultaneously, at the federal level, the Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training coordinated an accelerated MDGs framework to achieve the targets by 2016.

This section first reviews the legal framework for the 18th Amendment. It then reviews the provincial commitments to increasing access and efforts made under Article 25-A, specifically through the recently developed education sector plans. It goes on to discuss the operational and organizational challenges, financial implications as well as the role of public private partnerships in implementing the commitment to ensure free and compulsory education.

BOX 2.2: RIGHT TO FREE AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION BILL, 2012 HIGHLIGHTS

- Provide free education to every child
- Ensure admission of children of migrant families
- Ensure compulsory admission, attendance and completion of education
- Ensure safety of travel of the child and teacher to and from school
- Ensure availability of a neighborhood school
- Ensure the disadvantaged child does not face any discrimination and is not prevented from pursuing and completing education
- Provide infrastructure, including school buildings, laboratories, playgrounds, teaching learning material and teaching staff
- Monitor functioning of schools within its jurisdiction
- Decide the academic calendar
- Provide all training facilities for teachers and students
- Ensure good quality education conforming to the prescribed norms and standards
- Ensure timely prescription of curriculum and courses of study for education
- Provide proper training facilities for teachers

Source: Right to Free and Compulsory Education Bill 2012

LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The 18th Amendment brought two significant changes to the education governance framework of Pakistan. First, curriculum has become a provincial responsibility thereby making education a completely provincial subject. Second, provision of free and compulsory education to children between the ages of 5 and 16 has been added to the list of fundamental rights in the Constitution of Pakistan.

After the inclusion of Article 25-A in the Constitution of Pakistan, the federal government passed the Right to Free and Compulsory Education Bill on November 13, 2012, which listed several responsibilities for ensuring the right of a child to free education (Box 2.2).

The provincial governments were expected follow suit with similar legislation. Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) and Sindh have enacted legislation for its implementation and the other provinces are in the process of finalizing their legislation (Table 2.3). The Balochistan Government has promulgated an ordinance.

The provincial governments need to implement Article 25-A in line with the stated responsibilities. However, there are many challenges associated with such implementation.

IMPROVING ACCESS AND RETENTION: PROVINCIAL STRATEGIES

Common factors known to affect student access are distance to school, poverty, absence of qualified teachers and lack of facilities. All four provinces have reviewed their current enrollment situation after conducting a situational analysis. They have devised various strategies to improve school access and reduce dropout rates in the education sector plans, which have been discussed in detail below.

Table 2.3: Status and nature of legislation in each province to implement Article 25-A

Province	Status of legislation	Nature of legislation
KP	Working on Draft legislation	Draft Bill
Punjab	Draft prepared by Punjab Education Commission	Draft Bill
Sindh	Passed in Province on March 6th 2013	Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2013
Balochistan	Passed in Province on March 15th 2013	Balochistan Compulsory and Free Ordinance, 2013
ICT	Passed in the Parliament on December 19th 2012	Right to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2012

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

The policy framework of the education sector reform efforts in KP has been designed keeping in mind the EFA goals and MDGs, Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper and the Provincial Reforms Program of the KP Government. KP has received financial assistance, under the education sector reform program, from the Department for International Development (DFID) since 2009, for provision of free textbooks to all students from grades 1 to 12, provision of stipends to female students from grades 6 to 10, school construction and technical assistance. Their emphasis is on ensuring that by 2015, all children especially girls and children in difficult circumstances, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality.

The government has identified many challenges associated with achieving this target. Lack of monitoring, inadequate facilities in schools, sociocultural constraints for girls and teacher absenteeism are a few key challenges that result in early dropout. The varying climate conditions across the province also make it difficult for children to access schools. Female enrollment is another issue due to lack of female staff at the middle and high school levels. The enrollment in 2010 - 2011 was 3.77 million for ages 5 - 10 whereas the population is 5.54 million. The KP Government aims to increase primary level enrollment to 5.11 million by 2015 - 2016 when the population for this age group is expected to be around 6.41 million.[9] To achieve this, the government has devised the KP Education Sector Plan 2010 - 2015, which proposes several strategies as discussed in the following sections.

Female enrollment

Due to the social and cultural barriers, low female enrollment is a key concern in KP. The plan recognizes that it is important to develop diverse strategies at the district level to promote overall enrollment particularly in rural areas and increase opportunities for girls at the middle school level. For example the plan suggests that there are schools in rural areas with low enrollment in comparison to the physical space available in the school, therefore, arrangements can be made for female teachers to make use of those unused rooms. Other incentives to increase access and participation of girls in mainstream education can be done through free textbooks, stipends for girls at secondary level, voucher schemes, scholarships and facilitating female teachers' transportation to and from school.

Physical access and infrastructure

To increase access, the government has proposed to establish community schools for underserved areas and to start a second shift in schools. Students who are unable to get an education because they are working and earning income for their families, can be placed in the second shift.

The plan acknowledges that the physical structure of the schools should be adequate to provide basic facilities such as electricity, water, sanitation and so on. The KP Government sees a role for PTAs in completing this task effectively and has suggested developing a policy. According to it, the policy should define a minimum school infrastructure criteria including number of teachers, furniture and other educational aids for all schools to ensure effective teaching and learning. This would require more debt swaps to relieve pressure on provincial resources.

Qualified teachers

The KP Government identifies poor teaching methods and capacity as a reason for the high dropout rate. Due to the unavailability of qualified staff, teachers with low competence levels are often inducted. The sector plan has introduced an incentives scheme for female teachers of seven under-developed districts. Given that KP lacks a Continuous Professional Development mechanism, the plan has also introduced an Institutional Framework for Teacher Development (IFTD) which seeks to improve teacher education and teacher professional development in the province. Based on IFTD, the Elementary and Secondary Education Department has prepared a Capacity Development Strategy for a continuous and regular system of classroom assessment.

Community involvement

It is a bigger challenge for the KP Government to mobilize the community for ensuring active participation of the parents in the day-to-day affairs of the school. PTAs can help in mobilizing the community to increase student enrollment and retention. To improve quality in all the schools, the KP Government has decided to involve the parents in school monitoring. The KP Government has enhanced the financial power of parent teacher councils from PKR 0.25 million to PKR 1.0 million. A parent teacher council guide has also been developed and is being updated to ensure efficient functioning of school affairs.[10]

The education sector plan also envisages a role for religious leaders to address the problem of access, specifically for girls. It states that they are significant molders of public opinion and need to be properly cultivated within an arrangement of mutual cooperation, trust and respect. They believe that unless this large and well-established community of religious leaders and opinion makers are taken into confidence and brought within the loop of regular government policy interventions, the road to universal primary education will continue to fall short of meaningfully achievable objectives and targets.

Monitoring systems

The government has also proposed to develop a Spatial Decision Support System, which is a web-based Geographic Information System (GIS) meant to function as an enabling system for planners, researchers, donors both at the provincial and district levels. They also plan to use the EMIS data in education planning and develop a Financial Management Information System (FMIS).

Returns on education

The current curriculum does not provide market oriented education which is a big issue. Therefore, parents and students have less of an incentive to continue with schooling, which leads to low retention. The KP Education Commission has suggested developing linkages between the market and all levels of education and curriculum to increase retention.

Punjab

The Punjab Government launched the Punjab Education Sector Reform Program (PESRP) in 2003 with budgetary support from the World Bank in order to improve the condition of the education sector in the province. A number of reforms have been initiated under PESRP such as school development with a focus on missing facilities, provision of stipends for girls in middle schools in the poorest districts, a monitoring program to check teacher absenteeism, delivery of free textbooks and a public private partnership process resulting in the PEF. Other than these efforts, there is another operational policy framework known as the Punjab School Reforms Roadmap.[11] The roadmap aims to increase enrollment and retention of all students up to the age of 16 to 100%.

The education indicators are relatively better in Punjab, in comparison to the other provinces as we have seen in the previous section. However, in order to approach 100% NER at each level, the government needs to introduce different strategies. According to the Punjab Education Sector Plan 2013 - 2017, the Punjab Government faces three major structural challenges in achieving higher targets: improvement of quality and relevance, raising confidence of the community in public sector education and meeting budgetary needs. The Punjab Government has projected that at the end of the sector plan (i.e. 2017), they would have enrolled nearly 1.39 million children

in pre-primary, 2.21 million in primary, 1.23 million in middle, 0.77 million in high school amounting to about 5.6 million additional children through the strategies discussed in the following section.

Student enrollment

A common factor that affects students is poverty, therefore, the provision of stipends for children of poor families will increase enrollment. Punjab has implemented a stipends scheme in 16 districts, which has been successful, and is going to continue it.

Physical access and infrastructure

Facilities in schools have improved in the last few years. Infrastructural design of the schools will be revised in order to increase access for children with special needs. Along with this, the sector plan suggests providing budget provisions for school maintenance. Another key component is making the school environment conducive to learning. For this purpose, the Punjab Government will give annual prizes to schools for excellent performance and hold inter-school competitions.

Non-formal education

Currently, Punjab EMIS does not maintain data on Non-formal Education (NFE) enrollments. The sector plan recommends that by creating a link between adult literacy, the School Education Department (SED) and NFE, the children who drop out will have a second chance to enter the mainstream education system.

Community involvement

School councils need to be mobilized and made functional to improve confidence in the public education system. As communities can play a role in the reduction of dropouts, an awareness campaign will be planned to educate parents about school reforms in addition to functional PTAs to encourage regular parent-teacher meetings.

Monitoring systems

The EMIS only captures public provision while the private school data is based on projections. Due to the absence of a National Census since 1998, calculations of GER and NER are also based on population projections. The government has proposed that such data should ideally be combined with a GIS, which could provide a fairly accurate mapping of the prevalence of inequity in order to inform managerial decisions on possible interventions and remedial actions.

Returns on education

The situational analysis found that the opportunity cost of education is one of the main reasons for high dropout rates. Parents with low capacity to pay school fees see no returns on public education and remove their children from school. The sector plan recommends conducting a tracer study to evaluate educational outcomes for graduates. Also it suggests that the curriculum needs to be reviewed accordingly to enhance employability.

Sindh

In Sindh, the World Bank and European Union have funded the Sindh Education Reform Program (SERP) since 2008. In the first phase, their focus was on improving access through school rehabilitation, free textbooks, stipends for girls and public private partnerships. Currently, it is focusing on budget management, annual school census, the Standardized Achievement Test, upgrading schools and reducing dropouts.

The Sindh Education Sector Plan 2013 – 2016 has identified challenges related to low female enrollment in rural areas, decreased number of schools (about 3% decrease from 2007 to 2011), poor conditions of schools (only one-third are in satisfactory condition) and unavailability of subject specialists.[12] Sindh plans to increase primary enrollment by 5% to 7% and middle level enrollment by 3% to 5% over the next two years.[13] They have mapped out a plan based on the several strategic objectives discussed below.

Student enrollment

Their strategies for achieving this include strengthening second shift schools, providing financial support to poor children and hiring female teachers to reduce dropouts by 10%. Scholarships will be given to female students from disadvantaged areas as well. Physical access and infrastructure

Physical Access and Infrastructure

Sindh will focus on five districts with the lowest access to education. They plan to address the issue of marginalized children through establishing community schools in 10% of underserved areas and developing public private partnerships in these areas, creating Distance School Centers in these 5 districts and introducing 100 mobile schools. Sindh will also be constructing additional classrooms in existing schools, upgrading 100 elementary schools to higher secondary by 2016, constructing another 100 schools and hiring subject specialists by 2016.

Community involvement

Efforts will be made to increase the role of SMCs to improve retention and transition rates across the education levels. Enhancing communication between parents and teachers is also a key agenda item.

Monitoring systems

An effective school supervision system and strengthening of EMIS is required to reduce dropout from 17.4% to 10%, increase transition rate at primary to middle from 62% to 75%, increase survival rate at primary level from 49% to 65% by the end of 2015.[14] To achieve these targets, the government wants the schools to develop whole school development plans, conduct their capacity development through courses and develop annual plans and timetables. The government plans to develop a school ranking system as well.

Balochistan

The PPIU is responsible for managing all the reform efforts in Balochistan. A number of initiatives have been undertaken. An EFA provincial plan and district EFA plans for all 30 districts along with Early Childhood Education provincial plans for 8 districts were prepared and launched by the government. An interim education policy document called the Balochistan Action Plan was developed a year before the development of the Balochistan Education Sector Plan 2013 - 2017.

Balochistan has suffered from limited school availability due to a low population density in large geographic units. The sector plan's situational analysis has revealed that the current school building criteria excludes settlements with low population. Secondly, as we move up the ladder, there are very few middle and secondary schools which further exacerbates the problem of dropouts. The sector plan has thought through demand and supply-side strategies to increase enrollment and retention. Their aim is to increase GER at the primary level to 92% through strategies that follow.

Student enrollment

The Balochistan Government already covers the cost of textbooks and no fees are charged. Stationary and transportation costs are borne by the family. The sector plan currently recommends stipends for middle school girls in the ten poorest districts.

Physical access and infrastructure

The Balochistan Education Sector Plan recommends making all primary level schools five-room buildings to increase access. It also advocates making sure that all the children have equitable access to education. Therefore, schools should be developed irrespective of the size of the settlements. This might not be feasible in some regions due to the high per capita costs. Here the sector plan recommends a community-based schools approach. As there has been no population census since 1998, information on population density will have to be based on local knowledge with a priority on female schools.

The imbalance of middle to primary and secondary to middle level schools also limits opportunities for many children, especially girls, in continuing with their education. The sector plan has recommended a ratio of 1:3 for middle to primary and 1:2 for secondary to middle with priority accorded to girls' enrollment.

Non-formal education

Improved utilization of schools requires an effective NFE system that provides a second opportunity to dropouts and students who have been left out. The sector plan sees an opportunity in linking this with the mainstream schools.

Community involvement

The plan also suggests increasing enrollment and enhancing the utilization of existing schools through head teachers, district authorities and the community. The role of the community can be crucial for increasing retention.

ARTICLE 25-A: OPERATIONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHALLENGES

The chief ministers of all the provinces along with the prime minister signed a joint declaration on education at the first National Education Conference held in September 2011. In the declaration, all the participants unanimously endorsed the National Education Policy 2009, subject to provincial adaptations with regards to Article 25-A. This section reviews the operational and organizational challenges associated with such implementation.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

The KP Government believes that there is a need to strengthen the existing weak and inefficient coordination in the post 18th Amendment scenario

between organizations in the education sector, and their coordination with other public sector institutions and organizations. For example, the link between the Directorate of Curriculum and Teacher Education and KP Textbook Board needs to be strengthened in order to formulate any legislation related to curriculum reform. Similarly there is a need to prepare for changes in law and create capacity for the implementation of Article 25-A. The department has developed various strategies for the post 18th Amendment scenario. They have identified a need to develop a provincial education policy in the long run. Therefore, in order to implement provisions of Article 25-A through legislation, the capacity of the Elementary and Secondary Education Department needs to be augmented in terms of expertise, infrastructure, technical know-how and personnel.

Punjab

In case of Punjab, a special Punjab Education Commission was set up to develop the draft law for Article 25-A. Their mandate was to develop a mechanism to enforce this article and ensure 100% enrollment and retention. Currently the commission has submitted their recommendations to the provincial government. The commission has identified different organizational, operational and legal challenges for fulfilling the requirements of the 18th Amendment. They have proposed framing new laws and requisite regulations as well as revising existing laws. They have also suggested reconfiguring the provincial education departments for proper policymaking and planning. Such amendments in the Rules of Business will require the approval of the provincial cabinet. One of the key challenges is the employment of current human resources after the amendment. The commission also suggested that the provincial education department needs to develop a strategic policy framework to fruitfully engage with the private sector.

Sindh

Sindh has become the first province to pass a Free and Compulsory Education Bill under Article 25-A. Sindh has also identified the lack of clarity of roles and functions of different institutions as a key operational challenge. For example, the roles of the Provincial Institute for Teacher Education, Bureau of Curriculum and Extension Wing and Sindh Teachers Education Development Authority in pre-service and in-service teacher education are not clear and overlap. All these challenges pose a threat to achieving the targets stated under Article 25-A. The education sector plan proposes that these are all important issues that need to be addressed to ensure quality education, without which the demands of Article 25-A cannot be met. Recruitment and training of qualified teaching staff will remain a major challenge if the main institutions are not clear about their roles and responsibilities. This requirement is important at secondary and higher secondary levels, particularly in rural areas, in order to increase female enrollment and retention to improve GER and NER at these education levels.

Balochistan

The Balochistan Education Sector Plan has been developed keeping in mind the responsibility of the province under Article 25-A. Balochistan issued an Ordinance on Free and Compulsory Education on March 15, 2013. The sector plan listed three critical areas that need to be considered. First of all, it is important to define what is meant by 'free education.' The current draft law developed defines free comprehensively and includes stationary, a school meal and transport. Another critical area is the development of an accountability mechanism for the statute along with practical timelines. Currently no timeline has been provided. The sector plan recognizes that achievement of the targets of Article 25-A will take much longer than the five-year period covered under the present Balochistan Education Sector Plan. The third critical area is the challenge associated with resource requirements in terms of both access and quality. These can only be met through some crowding out in other sectors and more effective domestic resource mobilization at both the federal and the provincial level. They have suggested that it should be a factor in future negotiations with the National Finance Commission.

ARTICLE 25-A: FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

According to estimates by the KP Government, there is a need to establish 19,093 additional primary schools and 6,014 secondary schools over the next five years (2011 to 2016). For enrollment retention strategies, the total cost will be PKR 26,041 million at primary level and PKR 18, 032 million at secondary level. The KP Government has also conducted financial projections for 19 female teachers' cluster hostels. In order to achieve 100% enrollment, the government has estimated that it will be need to build 4,000 (1,334 each year in three years) community schools which will cost PKR 216.44 million in the first year, PKR 333.10 million in the second year and PKR 476.91 million in the third year.

Punjab

The Punjab Education Sector Plan has developed a costing plan using National Institute of Population Studies population projections and EMIS enrollment data. They have taken unit costs for teachers, textbooks, inflation, infrastructural development and other costs for upgrading schools and have estimated a total cost of PKR 426,112 billion over the period of next five years (i.e. 2013 to 2017).

Sindh

The Sindh Education Sector Plan does not provide detailed projections of increasing enrollment under Article 25-A. It does, however, discuss plans to rehabilitate schools. Under SERP II, they plan to invest PKR 20 billion excluding Asian Development Bank's contribution. Sindh will be consolidating 2,000 schools in the next three years (i.e. 2013 – 2016). School consolidation will require funding to create at least 700 head teacher positions in primary, middle and elementary schools. School consolidation grant cost to the provincial budget is estimated around PKR 1.4 billion in year one, PKR 2 billion in year two, and PKR 3 billion in year three.

Balochistan

For the implementation of the sector plan, Balochistan has done some costing according to its strategic objectives. Access and equity have been listed as important strategic objectives. According to their estimates, the highest expenditure will be incurred under access as it has the maximum construction cost as and human resource expansion component (Table 2.4).

ARTICLE 25-A: ROLE OF PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS IN IMPLEMENTATION

In the previous sections, we have reviewed plans and strategies devised by the governments to address the issue of access through their public school systems. The National Education Policy 2009 has encouraged private sector support to share the responsibility of the education sector. It has listed some areas where the private sector can play a role. These areas include school construction, textbook development, libraries development including provision of supplementary reading material, teacher education, transportation, food supplements to low-income children, literacy programs and information communication technology. On the other hand, low expectations of parents from the public sector have also induced the growth of the private sector. Each province has developed foundations which are working towards enhancing public private partnerships.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

The KP Government foresees a critical role for the private sector in increasing enrollment. Under the projections, to achieve 100% enrollment by 2015, the government has planned to increase government schools to 26,899 and needs the support of about 8,618 private schools of which there are approximately 2,321.[15] In the case of secondary schools, the projections require an increase to 6,666 government schools and the support of 4,812 private schools.

From June 2005 to November 2007, EEF established 67,850 learning centers and enrolled 1.35 million children. Currently, EEF has established 199 girls' community schools with the participation of the community by providing free accommodation, teachers training, salaries and classroom consumables. The KP Government has launched a financial and administrative support program through EEF called *Rokhana Pakhtunkhwa Taleemi Program* (2011 - 2012) with an initial allocation of PKR 500 million. Its aim is to increase the provision of quality education in rural areas through strengthening the private sector, reducing the financial burden on poor parents by sharing

Table 2.4: Balochistan Education Sector Plan cost estimates (in billions PKR)
Source: PPIU, Education Department, Balochistan Government, 2014

Access and equity	Total	2013- 2014	2014- 2015	2015- 2016	2016- 2017	2017- 2018
	31.22	3.21	5.95	7.25	7.76	7.051

Table 2.5: Enrollment shares in public, private and public private partnerships
Source: SED, Punjab Government, 2013

Level		Base Year	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5
Primary	Public	56	57	58	59	60	61
	Private	33	28	24	18	15	11
	Partnership	11	15	18	23	25	28
Middle	Public	62	64	66	68	70	72
	Private	31	27	23	19	13	11
	Partnership	7	9	11	13	15	17
Secondary	Public	67	75	76	77	78	79
	Private	30	19	16	14	10	7
	Partnership	4	6	8	9	11	13

higher school fees, creating government ownership of private schools system and jobs, standardizing schools and enhancing community participation. Under this program, private schools in 25 districts will be given financial and administrative support.

Punjab

The Punjab Government sees public private partnerships as a viable strategy to increase access under Article 25-A. Their aim is to increase PEF's capacity as well as ensure that PEF and the SED follow similar standards. The expansion of public private partnership is also seen as an approach to address the lack of regulation in the private sector. For this, they have done projections for increasing access (Table 2.5).

PEF runs three main programs. The Foundation Assisted Schools is the flagship program of PEF. It ensures provision of quality education through public private partnerships in all 36 districts of Punjab working with 2,150 partner schools catering to the needs of one million deserving students. The New School Program engages private sector entrepreneurs in setting up schools in distant and remote areas of the province where private schools are scarce or absent altogether. Financial assistance is given to develop educational infrastructure by providing PKR 400 per student to a maximum of 300 students per school. Continuity of partnership is based on student performance in a quality assurance test designed by PEF. The Education Voucher Scheme provides vouchers to students in underprivileged areas, to choose a school of their choice.

Sindh

Sindh also sees public private partnerships as a strategy to increase access and improve quality of education. For this, they have planned to map educational resources available in the private sector and develop a Management Information System to track all information. Another strategic objective of the government is to develop public private partnership frameworks and develop Rules of Business for both sectors. They plan to document best practices from previous public private partnership models as well as ensure sustainability of such initiatives on non-development funding.

SEF has been working for the promotion of education in Sindh for almost two decades now. The foundation has implemented two main schemes, which are Promoting Private Schooling in Rural Sindh (PPRS) and Integrated Education Learning Program. These projects are based on the per child subsidy model for institutionalizing high standards of education in far flung areas. Under PPRS, 298 new private schools have already been established with the financial and technical support of SEF across 10 districts of Sindh in partnership with more than 150 local entrepreneurs and SEF has also extensively trained an estimated 600 newly appointed teachers at the district level in English and activity-based pedagogical techniques.

Balochistan

The sector plan suggests mainstreaming of the private sector. For this, they have recommended developing a policy framework in consultation with the private sector to reduce gaps between students of the two sectors and adhere to minimum standards. For the education department to ensure that this large sector becomes part of the effort to ensure access, it is important to collect data on these schools. For this, they have suggested that each private sector school register at the local district office. This information will help in developing a comprehensive policy.

The BEF supports community and private schools through the public private partnership process. BEF has opened 197 Fellowship schools with the assistance of the private sector and subsidizes another 500 schools that meet its criteria. The BEF has also developed community schools in areas with no schools. At present about 632 such schools function in the province.

COMPARATIVE PROVINCIAL PICTURE: REVIEW OF INITIATIVES

Various initiatives have been undertaken by all the four provinces to increase school access and student retention in order to achieve the target of providing free and compulsory education to children aged 5 to 16 as promised under Article 25-A. Each of the efforts is discussed for a comparative provincial overview.

Free education: Reducing financial burden

One of the fundamental points of Article 25-A is providing free education. This strategy will help in improving the survival rates throughout the education cycle. Currently, about half of the student population still drops out by the end of the primary cycle in Punjab and Sindh and even more than half in the case of Balochistan and KP. Therefore, Punjab has proposed stipends specifically for females at the middle level in the 16 poorest districts as well as to provide free textbooks, while Sindh will give scholarships to females from disadvantaged areas. KP also plans to offer scholarships and free textbooks with stipends for females at the secondary level. Balochistan will give one meal to students at the primary level and stipends for middle school girls in its ten poorest districts.

Addressing female enrollment

Another key aspect, which needs attention is the social and cultural attitude of parents and society towards female education. Female enrollment in all the provinces is between 40% and 50%. Sindh has recommended hiring more female teachers in areas where female dropouts are higher while KP thinks that involving religious leaders is crucial as they are the significant molders of public opinion. Punjab and Balochistan do not provide any concrete strategies to address these cultural barriers.

Addressing physical access to schools and infrastructure

Punjab has a very high intake ratio and has focused more on retention strategies. Sindh, KP and Balochistan have devised strategies to increase physical access to the schools. Sindh and KP have proposed to start a second shift in schools to improve access. Sindh has also proposed creating distance learning centers in five districts and 100 mobile schools. Balochistan's GIR is really low, around 80% for males and 60% for females whereas other provinces have higher intake ratios. Balochistan has proposed to increase the number of classrooms in primary schools. Each primary school will have at least five rooms to increase GIR.

With regard to school infrastructure, KP has proposed focusing on maintaining its schools and will develop a maintenance and repair policy and make parent teacher councils responsible for it. Punjab plans to focus on improving the school environment through holding school competitions as well as looking into options for increasing access for children with special needs. Sindh plans to construct an additional 100 schools as well as classrooms and upgrade its 100 elementary schools to high secondary. Balochistan is also focusing on upgrading its primary to middle schools and middle to secondary. No specific figure has been given.

Community and parents role for retention

Except for Punjab and Sindh, the transition rate is less than 80% in the remaining parts of Pakistan. The role of the community is envisaged as critical in improving retention. Punjab has proposed holding regular parent teacher meetings through PTAs. KP has increased their funds from PKR 0.25 million to 1 million and has developed a guide to improve their role. Sindh and Balochistan also plan to develop community-based schools where they cannot build formal schools due to high costs. Sindh has proposed developing community-based schools in 10% of the underserved areas by the government while Balochistan will focus on areas where the population density is low with priority for females.

Non-formal education system

The NFE system can also play a critical role especially for children who drop out of the education system. Transition from primary to middle level is better in KP in case of males while Punjab, Balochistan and Sindh need intensive interventions to improve transition rates. Only Punjab and Balochistan foresee the NFE system as another route to enroll dropouts by linking it to their school education departments.

Qualified teachers

Usually STR is used as an indicator to see the availability of teachers based on the number of students in the school. In Punjab, the STR is reasonable whereas in KP it is slightly higher at the primary level. STR in other provinces at all levels is good but this is also due to lower enrollment rates specifically at middle and high levels. But this average can be misleading at times. Also other factors, such as qualifications and the experience of the teacher, should be considered to assess the quality of education available to children. Therefore, Sindh wants to focus on hiring subject specialists to improve the quality of education. Teacher availability is another crucial element. Punjab has developed a monitoring mechanism to check teacher absenteeism. While KP has reviewed the teacher availability issue in detail and has proposed to construct hostels, provide pick and drop services and incentives to female teachers in seven under-developed districts. No such policy intervention has been proposed by Balochistan.

Returns on education

If we review the GERs at high school level, we find that there are more or less similar for the three provinces of Punjab, Sindh and KP whereas in Balochistan GER stands at 37%. Like GER at middle level, GER at high school level is very low in rural areas in Sindh and Balochistan. This may also be due to the parent's opinion about returns on education. Punjab and KP have discussed the possibility of reviewing the curriculum to enhance employability to reduce dropouts and increase retention. While Sindh and Balochistan see lower GER as more of an issue related to teacher availability and school access.

Improving monitoring systems

Punjab, Sindh and KP see a crucial role of the EMIS. Punjab wants to collect information on private schools as well as non-formal schools and link it with the GIS. This will help them in analyzing access to schools and transition of students to monitor the dropouts. Sindh has proposed utilizing EMIS in developing a school ranking system for monitoring and designing of requisite interventions. KP also sees a critical role for EMIS in planning and decision making as well as the merits of developing a FMIS.

CONCLUSION

Until recently, the Constitution had identified education, other than higher education, as a provincial subject but in practice policies such as curriculum, setting of national standards of education and so on were managed by the Federal Government. Since the introduction of the 18th Amendment in 2010, the policy space for provincial governments is not restricted anymore. Each provincial government is now responsible for developing education policies, which are aligned with the conditions and needs specific to the province. With the insertion of Article 25-A, the provincial governments are responsible for providing free and compulsory education to children between the ages of 5 and 16. The chapter has reviewed the efforts being made by the provinces to achieve this target, but the provinces need to be wary of the challenges. Recommendations are made below.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Address root causes of low retention and high dropout

Overall, as we have witnessed from the enrollment rates across the provinces, children do enroll in the education system but low retention is pervasive. This is mainly due to teacher absenteeism, the opportunity cost of education, poor conditions of the school itself and cultural barriers especially for females. Each of these issues needs to be addressed simultaneously for effective results. The real rate of return on education is low due to low quality of education and the resulting limited employment opportunities for children.

Enhance enrollment through a comprehensive strategy

Enhancing enrollment is not to be viewed as merely an increase in number of students but strategies for decreasing dropouts and increasing retention are essential to enhance as well as sustain the enrollment levels over time. This issue cannot be tackled in isolation. Efforts to increase physical access in the form of construction of schools, second school shifts, increase in the number of teachers and other similar efforts are evident. However, at the same time, provincial governments cannot afford to ignore the quality aspect of education. Of course, the role of the community in this regard is equally important.

Ensure ownership through community participation

For improving quality of education and retaining students in school, community participation is essential. Lack of an effective community role is one of the main factors that results in limited enrollment and high dropout rates, specifically, drop out that happens due to cultural and social reasons since it is beyond the scope and capacity of the school education department. To redress these through community mobilization, the key is to conduct awareness campaigns on the importance of quality education and how ownership of this issue by the parents can enhance enrollment.

Enhance gender equity

A quantitative increase in enrollment numbers in terms of meeting EFA and MDG targets has been witnessed over the last decade. Girls' education was declared a policy initiative of the government but much remains to be done specifically in rural areas. The low female enrollment rates suggest there are very strong social and cultural barriers at work. Very committed and focused interventions will be required over the medium and long-term to overcome this apparent negative societal attitude. The underlying factors need to be identified and addressed in the form of a policy framework. We also need to examine the stagnating boys' enrollment rates at middle and higher levels. Opportunity costs need to be reviewed to introduce remedial measures accordingly.

Plan for the future

Problems contributing to low enrollment are coupled with high population growth, which education planners will need to take into consideration. A regular population census is the sine qua non for accurate and realistic planning. Otherwise, the working age population without employment opportunities due to low access to schools and poor learning outcomes will hamper economic development. The youth might end up, due to their poverty and difficult circumstances, becoming attracted to criminal groups,

which can contribute to violence and instability in the country.[16]

Allocate financial resources

Provincial governments may not be able to allocate required resources as per education sector plans and to meet the provisions of Article 25-A of the Constitution. The law and order situation or natural disasters may further lead to diversion of resources. As it is, the education development budgetary allocation is low and varies across provinces; Balochistan's allocation stood at 30% while Sindh's corresponding figure was only 10%. What is allocated is usually not spent. Punjab had the highest rate of underutilization in 2012 – 2013, spending just 21.4 % of what was allocated for education development.[17]

Address organizational and operational challenges

The SED's capacity in terms of staff and other organizational and operational challenges also creates a hindrance in achieving the targets of Article 25-A. Since the legal frameworks for Right to Education are still not in place, the staff is not clear about its mandate. There are no clearly assigned roles and responsibilities with specific targets. In Punjab alone, half of the districts have between 10 to 30% single-teachers schools. This means that even the basics are lacking when it comes to quality education for all: "enrollment, student retention and quality of education cannot be achieved if the required number of teachers are not present in schools".[18]

Regulate the private sector

The quality of education in government schools is considered poor due to which the lower middle and middle strata of society send their children to private schools. Currently, except for ICT, there is no regulatory authority for private schools that oversees their registration and regulation. Also there is no official categorization of private schools; there are low-fee private schools in rural areas charging PKR 200 per month and then there are schools in urban areas charging PKR 2000 or much higher per month. There is clearly a need for an in-depth analysis of different levels of private sector education providers as well as coaching/tuitions centers to understand the role of this important sector as well as to create awareness with regard to the quality of education provided by them. In Punjab alone, 50% of the student population is enrolled in private schools.[19] Attempts are being made, with donor support, to more constructively harness private sector support, through partnerships and philanthropy, but the scale of the challenge requires a state led approach and political ownership of reform.[20]

Use available monitoring data

Another critical area, which can help governments manage the task of providing education well and plan realistically, is use of databases for monitoring. Currently all the governments are collecting information on government schools. Punjab has attempted to do a private school census but in other provinces there is no database for private schools. Tracking of students specifically when they move from public to private schools or private to public sector schools is not available. Therefore, an accurate estimation of the dropouts from the education system is not possible.

Improve data quality

Quality of the data itself needs to be checked through third-party validations before being utilized for policy. For national level monitoring, consistent data sets are required across the provinces. Punjab Examination Commission and, on a limited scale, the Standardized Achievement Test, Sindh provide assessment data at primary and middle school levels but such learning level indicators do not exist for Balochistan and KP. Availability, timeliness, accuracy, reliability, coverage, comparability across provinces, nomenclature and standardization of variable definitions are all important points that need to be kept in mind, to this end.[21]

WAY FORWARD

Each provincial government has done a credible job in mapping out the challenges associated with increasing access and improving student retention through the education sector plans. The sector plans have laid out clear commitments of the provincial governments but there is a need to identify concrete steps with tangible results to translate this vision into reality. While they have proposed different innovative strategies to overcome this issue, it is important to develop localized approaches. Governments will have to be specific in their endeavors, keeping in mind disparities across districts.

Being specific, will help governments focus on objectives and their targets rather than on supply-side issues. A comprehensive strategy with a focus on reducing urban and rural disparities is crucial to ensuring more equitable learning outcomes through increase in access as well as improved retention.

It is extremely important to develop appropriate policy frameworks around these commitments. Policy frameworks will enable the provision of requisite institutional and financial support. Policies should address all the underlying factors discussed in detail in the chapter to ensure free and compulsory education for 5 to 16 year olds. Much still remains to be done in the context of this ambitious goal.

[1] The Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act 2010
[2] "Education for all" 2013
[3] Zafar 2007
[4] "World development indicators" 2011
[5] Planning Commission, Pakistan Government 2013
[6] Zaidi et al 2012
[7] AEPAM 2013, p. 36
[8] "UNESCO Institute of" 2014
[9] Elementary & Secondary Education Department, KP Government 2012, pg. 35
[10] In March 2011 Third Party Evaluation of PTAs was carried out. PTAs elections have been carried out in 12 districts, while the balance task will be completed by June, 2012. PTA Guide revised and PTAs are being established in the light of findings of Third Party Report.
[11] Its main parameters include quality education, enrollments, accountability of the service delivery setups at the district level and transparency in human resource management.
[12] RSU, Education & Literacy Department, Sindh Government 2013a
[13] RSU, Education & Literacy Department, Sindh Government 2013b, pg. 23
[14] RSU, Education & Literacy Department, Sindh Government 2013b, pg. 24
[15] EMIS, Elementary & Secondary Education Department, KP Government 2010
[16] International Crisis Group 2014
[17] Bari 2014b
[18] Bari 2014b, pg. 5
[19] School Education Department, Punjab Government 2012
[20] International Crisis Group 2014
[21] SDPI 2014

SPECIAL SECTION: TEACHERS AND TEACHING

INTRODUCTION

The persistent lack of adequately qualified and motivated teachers in public schools has been one of the most nagging problems within the ambit of education reforms. Teachers are an irreplaceable link between the curriculum and the students. Everything else being equal, the quality of teachers is the most crucial single determinant of student learning. Observers of the state of education in Pakistan have repeatedly voiced concerns over the last two decades or so about the poor quality of teachers.[1] These concerns have led to several policy initiatives at the federal and provincial levels aimed at uplifting the quality of teachers by improving teacher preparation and professional development programs and by formulating and implementing improved policies pertaining to teacher recruitment, monitoring and motivation. The development partners have also consistently supported the governments' efforts to reform teacher education and teacher policies.

Quality of teachers, in considerable measure, depends on the quality of Pre-Service Teacher Education (PSTE) as well as Continuous Professional Development (CPD) programs. Teacher education is extremely significant in the context of Article 25-A and ensuring that the children of Pakistan have access to good quality teachers and, therefore, good quality education in the public sector. Researchers and other stakeholders have extensively observed both PSTE and CPD programs in Pakistan. These observers have pointed to many problems with the quality of teacher preparation and development in the country. These problems include archaic curricula, outdated and poor quality of instruction, unattractive salaries and terms and conditions of service that compromise merit in hiring, retention and promotion of teacher educators.[2] These reports also draw attention to the absence of a viable national framework and professional standards for teacher education. Most importantly, the findings of these studies suggest absence of trained and appropriately qualified professional teacher educators.

PSTE and CPD programs are offered in a mix of public, private and autonomous institutions in Pakistan. The provision of teacher education has traditionally been the responsibility of the public sector. However, over the past two decades the number of private sector providers of teacher education has steadily increased.

Quality of teachers also depends on and is shaped by the teacher policies in place and their effective implementation. These would include policies that promote recruitment of teachers on the basis of merit, that establish a mechanism of monitoring and supporting the quality of teaching taking place and that address teacher motivation and incentive structures.

OVERVIEW OF SECTION

The next three chapters cover the professional preparation of teachers (PSTE), the professional development of teachers (CPD) and teacher policies. The first two chapters attempt to describe the state of teacher education—both PSTE and in-service CPD—in Pakistan. They aim to excavate and describe the architecture of teacher education in Pakistan. The first two chapters help readers see both the similarities as well as differences in the ways in which several institutions at various tiers of the provincial governments are organized. They also examine, in some detail, the various issues these structures face and their resistance to change as well as provide some understanding of the way forward. The third and last chapter of this section comprises of a look at and analysis of teacher policies in place across the provinces. Policies covered include those relating to teacher recruitment, performance monitoring and motivation.

The findings and analysis in all three chapters of this section are based on a review of research and evaluation reports, key policy documents (including the National Education Policy 2009 and the provincial education sector plans) and interviews with members of staff at key institutions involved in the development and implementation of teacher education programs and teacher policies.

[1] Warwick & Reimers 1995; UNESCO 2006; Andrabi et al 2007b; UNESCO, USAID & ITA 2008

[2] Aly 2007; Warwick & Reimers 1995

CHAPTER

3

PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION OF TEACHERS

INTRODUCTION

Pre-Service Teacher Education (PSTE) programs function as gatekeepers to careers in teaching. As such, they must impart a specialized knowledge base of teaching, usually an amalgam of both pedagogical as well as content knowledge, to prospective teachers. They are also expected to devote sufficient time to practicum consisting of supervised school-based teaching experiences. It is reasonable to assume that the quality of training provided through PSTE programs can have a lasting impact on teachers' professional practice, effectiveness and motivation.

This chapter explores PSTE in Pakistan as a key input or factor that shapes the quality of education. It provides: First, an overview of the professional preparation of teachers in Pakistan; second a description of teacher education architecture and how teacher preparation is organized in the public sector of each province; third a detailed consideration of challenges faced by PSTE in the public sector.

HISTORY OF PRE-SERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

In response to several observations about the low quality of PSTE, there have been several efforts to reform this area. As a result PSTE programs have undergone various changes. This section first describes the programs that have been offered over the years, followed by reforms and changes.

The programs that have been offered in Pakistan range from a year-long certificate or diploma courses to longer professional degrees. Previously, prospective teachers were deemed qualified to enter a pre-service course after 10, 12, 14, or 16 years of formal education. Effectively the pre-service degrees offered one year of PSTE in addition to formal academic education. These models came to be known by the number of years of academic instruction plus one, for example the 10+1 model in which a student after completing matric received a Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC) as well as the 12+1 model Certificate of Teaching (CT), 14+1 model Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.), and 16+1 model Master of Education (M.Ed.).

Due to the poor quality of these earlier pre-service programs, efforts have been made to replace them with newer, more intensive, programs. It is noteworthy that international development partners have spearheaded most of these reform efforts. Nevertheless, while these efforts have resulted in the development of new programs, the older certificate-based programs continue to be offered by some institutions. Given below are descriptions of some of the innovative PSTE programs.

In 1996, a Diploma in Education (DIE) was introduced under the Asian Development Bank supported Teacher Training Project. Two such diplomas were introduced, after 10 and 12 years of formal education respectively. The length of the diploma was three years and one year respectively. They were both offered at the platform of Government Elementary Colleges for Education (GECEs) and Provincial Institutes for Teacher Education (PITEs). While discontinued in most of these institutions, some colleges do still offer these diplomas. The DIE was intended as an improvement on the certification programs, such as PTC and CT. However, it was critiqued as embodying the same shortcomings as the older programs, that is, lack of interactive teaching, encouragement of rote memorization, limited period of study and limited content knowledge.

More recently, the Higher Education Commission (HEC) and provincial governments introduced a four-year B.Ed. Honors (Elementary) and two (or three)-year Associate Degree in Education (ADE) with the support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). However, the earlier PTC and CT continue to be offered by some private institutions. The same is true for the DIE programs, which continue to be offered by some private institutions as well as some public institutions.

Reform efforts in pre-service teacher education

There have been several efforts to reform teacher preparation in Pakistan. This section focuses narrowly on the strategic reforms to the nature of programs in the last decade or so. Among the notable reforms are the ones supported by UNESCO and USAID under the Strengthening Teacher Education in Pakistan (STEP) project. STEP resulted in a number of useful reports on the state of teacher education in Pakistan. It also helped develop the National Professional Stan-

dards for Teachers.

The most enduring contribution of the STEP project was in the form of its influence on policy recommendations for teacher education, as part of the deliberations leading to the development of the National Education Policy (NEP) 2009. The NEP 2009 raised the status of PSTE from certificate and diploma programs by mandating a Bachelors degree, with a B.Ed. to be the requirement for entering teaching at the elementary level and a Master's degree with a B.Ed. to be the requirement for teaching at the secondary and higher secondary levels by 2018. Through these mandates the NEP 2009 created a formal justification for phasing out any non-degree PSTE programs. Exceptions would still be made in the case of less developed areas of Pakistan due to severe scarcity of teachers with mandated qualifications. STEP also created grounds for the standardization and institutionalization of accreditation and certification procedures. These reforms have yet to reach their culmination. Yet they continue to define the general direction of the policy.

The development of a new four-year B.Ed. Honors Elementary degree by the HEC began in 2006, as part of the HEC's attempt to make the Pakistani degree compatible with international standards. The initiative was given fresh impetus after it was supported by the NEP 2009 mandate for a graduate degree. The requirement of a graduate degree, together with the initiative of the HEC to increase the length of bachelor's degrees in Pakistan from two to four years, formed the basis for the idea of a four-year B.Ed. Honors Elementary degree. In 2006, HEC gathered teacher education experts from across the country to develop the scheme of studies for the new B.Ed. Honors program. Further development of this program at the level of universities and colleges was supported by USAID through its Pre-Service Teacher Education Project (Pre-STEP) in Pakistan.[1]

Pre-STEP was a five-year initiative (2008-2013). It primarily supported HEC, the provincial governments, and the universities in starting the four-year B.Ed. Honors Elementary.[2] However, the challenges involved in starting a four-year PSTE program prompted the HEC as well as Pre-STEP to conduct a rationalization study, the aim of which was to develop a strategic framework for these programs across Pakistan.[3] The study reported a national consensus on the four-year B.Ed. Honors Elementary as the gold standard of pre-service teacher education. However, it also proposed the initiation of the ADE. Prospective teachers would earn the ADE after completing half of the four-year B.Ed. Elementary program in all provinces except Punjab where the ADE's duration was fixed at three years.[4]

The ADE and B.Ed. Honors Elementary programs are currently offered in approximately 15 universities and 80 colleges of education across KP, Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan.[5] The sustainability of these new programs, however, is at risk as it has proved difficult to phase out the earlier PSTE programs. The PTC, CT, and one-year B.Ed. continue to be offered by several institutions. Service rules for teachers, which recognize these new programs as the prerequisite for recruitment, have not been amended. Thus, the demand for the older and obsolete PSTE programs remains unabated and is adversely affecting the prospects of sustainability for the newly introduced longer PSTE programs.[6]

BOX 3.1: CURRICULA OF B.ED HONORS ELEMENTARY AND ADE PROGRAMS

The B.Ed. Honors Elementary and ADE curriculum seek to improve the classroom teaching practice by improving prospective teachers' knowledge and skills. There is a new scheme of studies that places an emphasis on content courses, professional courses (teaching of subjects), foundation courses (such as classroom management, assessment, psychology and so on) as well as teaching practice. The curriculum also promotes newer, more active and child-centered pedagogical practices as well as multiple methods of assessment.

Course guidelines have been developed to enable teacher educators to implement this new curriculum. These course guidelines provide details on teaching and assessment activities as well as web-links to teaching resources and materials. Course guidelines have been developed by the HEC with support from Pre-STEP, however the universities have the authority to make amendments to these guidelines and substitute them with their own. Teacher educators are expected to have access to the internet in order to access resources mentioned in the course guides.

PRE-SERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION: A PROVINCIAL PICTURE

This section explores the architecture of PSTE in the public sector in each of the provinces with a twin focus on PSTE programs offered and the institutional arrangement through which these programs are delivered. While the programs and arrangements are similar across the provinces in some respects, they also differ from one another contributing to the complexity of PSTE in the country. There exist problems of standardization due to varying institutional complexity in different regions. This section will provide a description of the PSTE programs offered in each province followed by a detailed look at the institutional arrangements in that province. The latter specifically analyses the colleges of teacher education in light of student enrollment, teacher educator availability and workload, professional development of faculty and infrastructure, resources and technology available in these institutes, with a particular focus on the ADE program.[7]

KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA PSTE

There are a number of provincial entities involved in the delivery of PSTE in the public sector in KP. These include the Directorate for Curriculum and Teacher Education (DCTE), the universities and the Regional Institutes for Teacher Education (RITEs) in the province.

Programs

Pre-service programs offered in KP include the M.Ed., B.Ed., DIE, Senior Diploma in Physical Education, Junior Diploma in Physical Education, a Certificate in Drawing Masters, ADE, and B.Ed. Honors Elementary. Older pre-service programs such as the PTC and CT were phased out in the province in 2010. The ADE was launched in all RITEs following the Pre-STEP intervention and is also offered by the universities. The four-year B.Ed. Honors Elementary is currently only being offered by universities in KP. DCTE is planning to pilot a four-year ADE program in two of its RITEs (in Peshawar and Abbotabad). The DCTE is also in discussion with the HEC about the development of new programs (similar to the ADE) to replace the one-year diplomas in drawing and physical education.

Institutional arrangement

Directorate for Curriculum and Teacher Education

In KP DCTE is the sole administrator of public sector colleges within the province (known as RITEs). There are 20 RITEs across KP in total. In addition to this, the DCTE also administers the Government College for Physical Education, Karak and Government Agro Technical Teacher Training Center, Peshawar. DCTE oversees the affiliations of RITEs with the universities (Box 3.2). DCTE is involved in determining the criteria for admission of candidates into the ADE program. DCTE is also involved with mentoring, training and monitoring the faculty at RITEs. There is a need for the capacity building of the DCTE as it was not prepared to take on its newly defined role after the 18th Amendment. Capacity building is necessary, as before devolution the DCTE had no experience working independently.

Universities

Institutions and RITEs offering PSTE programs are affiliated with the University of Peshawar, University of Swat, University of Malakand, Hazara University, Abdul Wali Khan University, Gomal University, Air University, University of Science and Technology Bannu or the Federal Urdu University of Arts, Sciences and Technology. All RITEs are affiliated with neighboring universities. RITEs are dependent on affiliated universities for term scheme of study, registration and dissemination of final results. Assessments of students are conducted jointly by the RITEs and the universities they are affiliated with in the ratio of 40:60 with external assessments carrying more weight except in the Peshawar RITE where internal and external assessments carry equal weight. The RITEs are responsible for the internal assessment of students (which universities have no role in the design of). The universities do, however, play a role in the external assessment of students by approving one of the three sets of questions or papers prepared by the RITEs. While the staff at RITEs administers the exams, the universities do send representatives to observe and monitor the process.

BOX 3.2: PROCESS OF AFFILIATION OF RITES IN KP

The RITE must seek formal approval from the DCTE Director to initiate the affiliation process. Once the DCTE has granted this approval, the RITE fills out the affiliation form provided by the university with details and documents pertaining to enrollment, staff, infrastructure and IT facilities amongst other things. The university verifies that details provided by the RITE are correct after which affiliation is granted.

Regional Institutes for Teacher Education

Of the 20 RITEs established in KP, 11 RITEs are for females and 9 RITEs are for males. Each RITE covers a certain number of districts. For example, RITE Mansehra covers the districts of Mansehra, Battagram and Kohistan. These RITEs do not have a counterpart in other provinces. In fact, similar to other provinces, they were first established as Government Colleges for Elementary Training (GCETs). However, they were restructured and converted into RITEs in 2002.[8] RITEs are currently offering the ADE program as well as the two diplomas in drawing and in physical education. No RITE is offering the B.Ed. or M.Ed. RITEs follow the HEC curriculum for the ADE.

Student enrollment

At present a total of 1,198 students are enrolled in the ADE program in KP. Sustaining enrollment in the ADE program in RITEs has been noted by respondents as challenging. This is linked to the fact that ADE graduates are not guaranteed recruitment as teachers once they have completed the program. The new degree programs, introduced under current policy reform, have to compete with existing pre-service programs. Several institutions in the public and private sector, including the Allama Iqbal Open University (AIOU), continue to offer the shorter certificate courses. Graduates from the shorter certificate courses can still get teaching jobs with similar status and salary as those who go through much longer professional degree courses. There is no clear cut policy statement that ADE holders will be given preference in the teacher recruitment process.

Teacher educator availability

Teacher educators in public sector colleges carry different titles across the provinces (for the sake of clarity and consistency they will be referred to as teacher educators). The 20 RITEs in KP have a total of 160 teacher educators[9] (with an average of 6 to 11 teacher educators in each one). Previously all newly recruited teacher educators in public sector colleges came from the Public Service Commissions in the provinces. The M.Ed. was the minimum qualification for a teacher educator. The posts were transferable between colleges, district education departments and the provincial department of education. At present there is no separate cadre for teacher educators in public sector colleges in any of the provinces except Sindh. Across the board there is a shortage of teacher educators as well as issues related to capacity as often underperforming teachers and school heads have been transferred to the public sector colleges to serve as principals or teacher educators.

At present, these issues of shortage and quality are reflected in KP as well. The absence of a separate cadre for RITE teacher educators means that they can join or leave the teacher training institute at their own will or at the decree of a higher authority. Many teacher trainers who receive training in teacher education skills through various projects and programs leave the teacher training institutions and take up administrative positions in general education. The lack of a separate cadre also creates a time lag issue during promotions when one teacher educator leaves and another is inducted. Since many head teachers in schools who are not able to successfully handle their duties are transferred to training institutions, the RITEs become a place where weak resources are concentrated.

In KP the process of creating a separate cadre for teacher educators is currently underway. Teacher educators must be in a position to adopt teacher education as a profession and serve the system on a long-term basis. In the meanwhile, where possible, the DCTE is trying to accommodate the promoted teacher educators both within the RITEs and the DCTE itself.

Professional development of faculty

The professional development of staff at public sector colleges offering pre-service programs should take place regularly and frequently and should be the responsibility of the apex or administrative bodies of PSTE. In KP, it is the DCTE, therefore, that provides RITE faculty trainings on lesson planning, cooperative learning, examinations and assessments. In order to ensure the smooth functioning of the RITE, the DCTE is also trying to build the capacity of RITE staff that hold management or administrative positions, for example principals or those involved in budgeting and the development of Planning Commission- I forms. The DCTE does not, however, provide regular and systematic trainings to RITE faculty and staff. These programs are, for the most part, occasional. In the past Pre-Step provided RITE faculty training on the ADE curriculum.

Infrastructure, resources and technology

In KP faculty members and students engaged in the ADE program rely on the use of the internet to prepare their study materials. The DCTE has supplied the RITEs with computers, internet facilities and Uninterruptible Power Supplies with the help of USAID.

PUNJAB PSTE

There are a number of provincial entities involved in the delivery of PSTE in the public sector in Punjab. These include the Directorate of Staff Development (DSD), universities and the GCETs.

Programs

The outdated PTC and CT degrees were phased out in 2002 in the Punjab, much earlier as compared to other provinces. This was the year in which the University of Education was established and it became mandatory for primary school teachers to possess a B.Ed. to teach. Pre-service programs on offer in Punjab include M.Ed., M.A Special Education, B.Ed., ADE and B.Ed. Honors Elementary. In Punjab, recipients of the B.Ed. Honors Elementary degree are to be hired at Basic Pay Scale (BPS) 17 and ADE recipients at BPS 16. This is several pay scale levels above the current PTC, CT and Diploma holders. The government has sought to provide financial aid, including tuition waivers and advanced increments, to attract non-degree holding teachers to improve their qualifications through the B.Ed. Honors Elementary program.

Institutional arrangement

Directorate of Staff Development

The DSD is the sole apex institution responsible for the administration of the 29 GCETs where pre-service programs are offered. The DSD has a number of roles and responsibilities within PSTE. One, it serves as a link between the GCETs and the Higher Education Department, helping provide insight and information on service rules and other polices as well as facilitating colleges. Two, it oversees the affiliation of GCETs with universities (Box 3.3). Three, it seeks to improve the access of GCETs to facilities and resources to aid the delivery of quality PSTE. Finally, the DSD supports colleges in terms of professional development and performance evaluation of staff members. However, according to staff at the DSD there are plans to move away from PSTE. It is possible that the GCETs will be closed and PSTE left to private institutions to provide. Under this scenario, the DSD will play a monitoring role: regulating and overseeing private institutions offering pre-service programs while focusing on Continuous Professional Development (CPD) of primary school teachers. The budget for pre-service teacher education will be redirected towards in-service teacher training.

Universities

Institutions offering pre-service programs in the Punjab are affiliated with the University of Education, the Federal Urdu University of Arts, Science and Technology, Air University, Bahria University, University of Sargodha, University of Punjab, Government College University Faisalabad, Bahauddin Zakriya University or the Islamia University of Bahawalpur. These public universities also offer pre-service programs themselves. In Punjab, difficult relations exist between GCETs and affiliated universities. Some dissatisfaction exists in GCETs with regards to the support they are receiving. For instance, universities do not inform GCETs on time about changes to the scheme of studies, there are often delays in examinations and the release of results by the universities and there is also disagreement as to how much weight should be allocated to university and internal college examinations respectively.

Government Colleges for Elementary Teachers

There are 29 GCETs in total that offer pre-service programs across 22 districts of the Punjab. The GCETs have a number of pre-service programs that run in parallel, the ADE being one of these. The ADE is currently being offered at all GCETs in the Punjab where

BOX 3.3: PROCESS OF AFFILIATION OF GCETS IN PUNJAB

DSD has provided colleges with the option to choose which universities they would like to affiliate with (unlike Sindh). The DSD prefers that GCETs offering the ADE program are affiliated with the University of Education, Government College University or the Bahauddin Zakriya University. However, the GCET can affiliate itself with other universities of Punjab with DSD's approval. The DSD facilitates the interaction between the GCETs and the universities. It issues a letter of interest on behalf of the GCET to the concerned university. Once the university grants affiliation, it sends a confirmation letter to the DSD which instructs the GCET to submit the affiliation fee to the university from the college Farogh-e-Taleem Funds.

it is three years long unlike in KP, Sindh and Balochistan. Most GCETs are affiliated with the University of Education, which has designed its own curriculum (an adaptation of the HEC curriculum), again unlike the other provinces where the HEC's curriculum is followed unaltered. The University of Education conducts exams and awards degrees to students enrolled in pre-service programs. Other degrees and diplomas offered by the GCETs include M.Ed., B.Ed. (Elementary), B.Ed. Secondary and B.Ed. (Early Childhood Education). Diplomas being offered include a Diploma in Physical Education and a Diploma in Arts and Crafts.

Student enrollment

Annually approximately 6,000 students enroll in the pre-service programs on offer at GCETs in Punjab. At present 1,226 students are enrolled in the ADE program 2012 - 2015. This is up from the 277 students enrolled in the ADE program 2011 - 2014. Unlike in KP and Sindh where student enrollment in the ADE program has been reported as declining, this is not a problem in the Punjab. However, according to respondents, GCETs will not offer the ADE program in the near future. Instead, they will offer the B.Ed Honors Elementary program, the first batch of which comprises of 1080 students. The B.Ed Honors Elementary program is already being offered in 27 GCETs.

Teacher educator availability

The 29 GCETS in the Punjab have a total of 384 teacher educators.[10] Similar to KP and Balochistan, in Punjab there is no separate cadre for teacher educators. Many of the teacher educators in GCETs in the Punjab come from high schools or higher secondary schools. DSD plays a role in facilitating the appointments and transfers of teacher educators.

There is a shortage of teacher educators at the GCETs in the Punjab, which hinders the implementation of the ADE curriculum. There are several reasons for this shortage of teacher educators. An important reason is the lack of inclination amongst teachers to join the GCET. Teachers promoted from the school stream find working at the GCET more demanding. Since they receive the same incentives at the GCETs as they do in high or higher secondary schools, it is not an attractive option. Another reason is the absence of proficient teacher educators who possess appropriate knowledge and required teaching attributes. Finally the promotion based transfer of senior subject specialists is also a persistent issue in the Punjab. According to the DSD the shortage issue remains unresolved due to poor administration and leadership at the colleges. In addition to shortage of faculty there is shortage of subject specialists, particularly teacher educators in science, math, English and Information Technology (IT). As a result, teacher educators often teach subjects that are not their subject specialization.

In Punjab although most college principals do deal with the issue of shortage of subject specialists by giving preference to those with the appropriate subject specialization, they tend to approach the shortage issue from an administrative perspective, placing greater emphasis on filling the vacant posts rather than ensuring relevant subject specialization. According to principals facing shortage of teaching faculty and relevant subject specialists, they have the discretion to bring in visiting faculty from laboratory schools using the Farogh-e-Taaleem Fund as a temporary measure. However, getting visiting teachers from amongst in-service trainers would require the approval of DSD. In addition, the process of hiring visiting faculty is the same as that of hiring teacher educators.

In Punjab teacher educators in GCETs have heavy workloads, unlike the other provinces where this is not an issue. This is primarily because the ADE program is running in parallel to a number of other PSTE programs with the teacher educators having to split time and effort across them. There are also morning and evening classes and often more than one section in each program. Due to the new methods introduced by the ADE program, teacher educators are required to spend a lot of time on research and material preparation which they often do not have the time to do.[11] In addition, in the case of absence of specialized teacher educators for the ADE program, the college management allocates additional subjects to teacher educators. It appears that math, science and education background teacher educators (usually highest in number) have to teach at least one additional subject outside their subject area (often English due to the shortage of English teachers).

Professional development of faculty

DSD offers a variety of trainings, either on-site, in-house or at DSD, to build the capacity and improve the quality of personnel at GCETs. These have included trainings of GCET principals and faculty on launching the ADE, B.Ed., Bachelor of Science in Education and M.Ed. programs; trainings on better understanding of the ADE curriculum, scheme of studies and course guidelines; and trainings on English language and computer literacy. Administrative staff and prospective teachers have also been trained. There is also a professional development day at the GCETs at the end of every month which is linked via Skype with other GCETs. DSD has introduced a mentoring system at the cluster level to encourage peer teaching. In these clusters, GCETs with a better ranking provide training and mentoring to those colleges with a lower ranking.

Infrastructure, resources and technology

In Punjab, colleges coordinate with the DSD to provide facilities such as printers, multimedia and even the establishment of science labs. The lack of adequate books in college libraries appears to be an issue. The shortage of relevant books for the ADE program is perceived by ADE teacher educators as having a negative effect on the implementation of the ADE curriculum. ADE teacher educators are provided with useful links and websites for their respective subjects. However, access to e-journals and books for both teacher educators and students is limited due to the subscription fees. In colleges that have IT labs, use of these labs is prioritized for ADE students. However, access is undermined by the use of these labs by students enrolled in other programs (e.g. B.Ed. and M.Ed.) as well as by the absence of professional IT teachers.

SINDH PSTE

There are a number of provincial entities involved in the delivery of PSTE in the public sector in Sindh. These include Sindh Teacher Education Development Authority (STEDA) which regulates all institutions offering PSTE programs; the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension Wing (BCEW) and the PITE which both oversee institutions offering PSTE programs; and the universities and the GECEs where the programs are offered.

Programs

A number of pre-service programs are offered in Sindh. These include the M.Ed., B.Ed., DIE, Oriental Teaching Certificate, ADE and B.Ed. Honors Elementary (on offer in the four Colleges of Education). ADE Elementary was recommended and piloted in 2010 in two public sector colleges in 2010 (in Karachi and Hyderabad). Standards for these programs have also been developed. Initially, even after the notification to phase out PTC and CT programs had been issued, these programs were still being implemented in some colleges. This challenge was overcome; however, once students realized that there was very little market value to having these degrees to get a job as a teacher. The PTC and CT were completely phased out of the public sector as of 2012.

Institutional Arrangement

STEDA, BCEW & PITE

Unlike the other provinces where one provincial entity is primarily responsible for PSTE in the province, in Sindh there are multiple entities (STEDA, BCEW and PITE). STEDA develops standards for teacher education and training providers and regulates teacher training activities. It is instating two filters to ensure that the older pre-service programs are abolished: the first filter is that colleges are affiliated with a university, and the second filter is that the teacher gets a license from STEDA which will only award licenses to those teachers with an ADE and the Sindh Government will only recognize licensed teachers for jobs. As part of this role, STEDA has also streamlined the roles and responsibilities of BCEW and PITE.

BCEW is partly responsible for PSTE. It retains administrative control of the 22 GECEs and 4 Government Colleges of Education (GCEs) established in the province and oversees the affiliation of the GECEs with universities (Box 3.4). Unlike the DSD in the Punjab, the BCEW does not have the authority to post and transfer teacher educators in teacher training institutes, this authority rests with the provincial education department. BCEW also plays a role in supporting colleges in terms of infrastructure, release of funds and provision of learning resources.

PITE in Sindh is expected to play the role of quality assurance. It is responsible for maintaining the quality of the ADE program. It provides technical support

BOX 3.4: PROCESS OF AFFILIATION OF GECES IN SINDH

In Sindh the GECE must be affiliated with the university that is nearest to it from a list of 15 approved universities. The Secretary, Education & Literacy Department in Sindh issues a letter to the Director of BCEW to initiate the affiliation of GECEs offering the ADE program. The BCEW Director coordinates with the GECE principal to ensure that the college fulfills all requirements before requesting affiliation. Once requested, the university verifies information supplied by the GECE. Once the university grants affiliation, the GECE forwards the affiliation letter to the BCEW to release the affiliation fee. Affiliation is granted for one year and is renewed based on performance and enrollment in the ADE program of the GECE.

in pedagogical practices, conducts quality checks, monitors attendance and activities and evaluates performance for effective curriculum implementation. PITE also conducts internal examinations for the pre-service programs it runs.

In Sindh, the mandates of the BCEW and PITE overlap. There is a need for the rationalization of their roles. A subcommittee was set up by STEDA for this purpose and roles have been defined but a notification has not yet been issued. It was decided that PITE would be responsible for teacher education curriculum and training while BCEW would be responsible for school education curriculum and training of trainers. It is undecided, however, which institution the administrative control of GECEs and the GCEs will rest with. In the public sector colleges of Sindh, the main problem that this poses is that teacher educators have come on BCEW postings. The concern of GCECs is that if they are subsumed under PITE or a separate directorate, it will disturb the promotion hierarchy within their institutions.

Universities

Most of the colleges offering pre-service programs in Sindh are affiliated with the University of Sindh, the University of Karachi, Shah Abdul Latif University or the Federal Urdu University of Arts, Science and Technology. The Sindh Government arranged for the financing of the affiliation cost of colleges with universities, as this expense was missing from the budgets of colleges.

Government Elementary Colleges for Education

Of the 22 GECEs established in Sindh, 11 are for males and 11 are for females. All GECEs at present are offering the two-year ADE.

Student enrollment

In Sindh too, the decline in enrollment in the ADE program can in large part be attributed to the absence of service rules. The ADE program can only become sustainable once service rules for the province are in place. The recruitment of teachers through the National Testing Service (NTS) and Sukkur Institute of Business Administration is also partially to blame for the decline in enrollment. Recently, 20,000 new teachers have been recruited through NTS and 7,000 through (Institute of Business Administration) testing. Since applicants who have not completed the ADE have been recruited this reduced the incentive to do the program. This current recruitment policy, however, is an interim and short-term measure, in place until a time when a substantial number of ADE graduates are available in the market. Moreover, service rules have been under development for the last two years and the ADE and B.Ed Honors Elementary degrees are considered essential in the proposed rules. By 2018 it is expected that all recruitments will be made based on candidates having completed the ADE or B.Ed. Honors Elementary.

Teacher educator availability

The 22 GECEs in Sindh have a total of approximately 280 - 300 teacher educators.[12] At present, Sindh is the only province to have a separate cadre for teacher educators. At the GCECs 20% of the teacher educators come from amongst in-service teacher educators while the remaining 80% through the Public Service Commission. In Sindh, the provincial education department deals with the posting and transfer of teacher educators in teacher training institutes. The BCEW has a limited role to play in this regard.

In Sindh while the availability of teacher educators is not an issue (as teacher educators are not selected from the school stream), their poor quality is an issue. The number of teacher educators with degrees in the arts far exceeds those with an academic background in science subjects. In addition, the majority of the faculty in the arts has a master's degree in the Sindhi language. GECEs would need faculty specializing in a wider range of subjects for the successful implementation of the ADE and B.Ed. Honors Elementary.[13] This problem has been addressed to some extent by preferring persons with certain subject specializations in the recruitment process. At present for instance, nearly 36% of GECE faculty across the province have masters' degrees in science and math. In addition, 80% of GECEs have English teachers. A more pressing problem in Sindh, with reference to teacher educator availability, is that rationalization of teacher educators is not taking place. GECEs in big cities are overstaffed, whereas GECEs in less developed areas of the province are understaffed. This is apparent in the example of a GECE in Hyderabad which has 33 teacher educators compared with the GECE in Dadu which has only 4 teacher educators.

In Sindh, STEDA (once fully functional) intends to take measures to strengthen the data management system to deal with the issue of understaffed public sector colleges. A central database of teacher educators in teacher training institutes will enable the rationalizing of teacher educators in accordance with the needs of the institute.

Professional development of faculty

In Sindh, the BCEW and PITE are responsible for the professional development of teacher educators in GECEs. They deliver these trainings with donor support, for instance Aga Khan Education Services, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the British Council and USAID. At present, a USAID project titled the Pakistan Reading Project is focused on the professional development of teacher educators in Sindh.

Infrastructure, resources and technology

In Sindh, the Sindh Government did provide colleges with the infrastructure necessary for the successful implementation of the ADE curriculum. For example, a computer lab that had been established by CIDA was made functional and internet facilities were provided.

BALOCHISTAN PSTE

The Bureau of Curriculum, universities, and the Government Elementary Colleges for Teachers (GECTs) are involved in the delivery of PSTE in the public sector in Balochistan.

Programs

Pre-service programs on offer in the province include the M.Ed., B.Ed., DIE, Senior Drawing Master, Junior Drawing Master, and now the ADE.[14] Pre-service programs for primary school teachers were first offered in the province in 1994. Pre-service programs were not offered before this due to the scarcity of qualified teachers in the province to run such programs.[15]

For primary teachers the old criteria is followed, which is matric PTC or intermediate PTC, while for elementary school teachers the criteria is B.A, B.A CT and for secondary school teachers the criteria is M.A or M.Ed., and these secondary school teachers are provided by the Public Service Commission.

The ADE was piloted in two colleges in 2010 in the province. Pre-service teacher education is described as the 'weakest link in the efforts to provide quality education'.[16] The province continues to operate without a standards framework in place. The Bureau of Curriculum and Policy Planning and Implementation Unit (PPIU) are, however, working towards the development of teaching standards to implement in Balochistan. The Balochistan Education Sector Plan calls for the need to phase out PTC, CT and the two-year B.Ed. within five years. It also calls for the enhancement of capacity to develop, manage and implement pre-service programs.

Institutional arrangement

Bureau of Curriculum

The Bureau retains the administrative control of GECTs offering pre-service programs in Balochistan. At present, PITE Balochistan is considering bringing the elementary colleges under its control. The Bureau is the examination body for pre-service courses offered by the GECTs.[17] It is responsible for the posting and transfer of staff at these institutions. The Balochistan Education Sector Plan recognizes the need for a regulatory body to overlook PSTE institutions and sees a role for the Bureau in this regard. It sees the need for the development of standards of PSTE and accreditation of institutions offering PSTE programs. The Bureau would need to be strengthened in order to play this role.

Universities

Institutions offering pre-service programs in Balochistan are affiliated with Balochistan University, Sardar Bahadur Khan Women's University or the Federal Urdu University of Arts, Science and Technology.

Government Elementary Colleges for Teachers

There are 14 GECTs in Balochistan, all of which are offering the ADE program.

Student enrollment

There are approximately 325 students enrolled in the ADE program in the GECTs offering it in Balochistan. For admission into the ADE program, applicants must have successfully completed matric second division. However, enrollment is on the decline in Balochistan, similar to the other provinces, as none of the ADE graduates so far have been appointed as teachers.

Teacher educator availability

The 14 GECTs in Balochistan have a total of 201 teacher educators.[18] In Balochistan, the Bureau deals with the posting and transfer of teacher educators in teacher training institutes. The minimum qualification for teacher educators in the province is a master's degree or M.Ed. but this is not necessarily followed. Recruitment of teacher educators is as follows: 50% of subject specialists (BPS 17) are recruited through the Public Service Commission while the remaining 50% are transferred from colleges or school cadres and 20% of senior subject specialists (BPS 18) are recruited through the Public Service Commission, 40%

are appointed through promotions and 40% through transfers.

In Balochistan quality teacher educators are often unavailable. According to respondents, the present faculty at most GECTs has not been trained properly and rely heavily on textbooks and guides for help which are often not easily available. Existing faculty in pre-service institutions lacks the motivation and the training to perform. Respondents note that the Balochistan Civil Servants Efficiency and Discipline Act 2010 can be used to reprimand underperformers though there is no instance of this occurring. There is need for a faculty development program and career structure.[19] Heavy workload of teacher educators has not been reported as an issue in Balochistan.

Professional development of faculty

Professional development of GECT teacher educators is not taking place in Balochistan at regular intervals. No funds have been allocated for this purpose. Professional development of teacher educators, where it does occur, takes place either as part of donor initiatives or in the shape of informal in-house peer learning sessions at GECTs. In the past, Pre-STEP did provide training to GECT faculty on the scheme of studies and curriculum module 1 and 2 for the ADE program.

Infrastructure, resources and technology

Donors such as USAID and CIDA have supported GCETs with regards to infrastructure, technology, library resources and training of faculty in the past.

CHALLENGES

There are a number of challenges that the provinces face in providing PSTE as indicated in the discussion above. This section discusses these challenges in further detail dividing them into system level challenges and institutional challenges.

SYSTEM LEVEL CHALLENGES[20]

Concerns about feasibility of new degree programs

At the end of December 2012, 4,340 students were enrolled in the ADE program at public sector colleges across the provinces.[21] While the NEP 2009 proposes a shift towards recruiting teachers who possess an ADE or B.Ed. Honors Elementary, public sector colleges are struggling to sustain enrollment in these programs, particularly in the ADE program. The feasibility concerns focus on three main issues: there is no guarantee of employment upon completion, cheaper and easier options are available and longer degree programs delay the generation of income. A lengthy course imposes an additional financial burden on some students and may restrict participation in the program. Furthermore, it is difficult to attract students to enroll in a four-year program when there are other four-year degrees they may opt for (e.g. Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery or Chartered Accountancy) which are tied to more direct monetary benefits and improved social standing.[22] In addition, students may not opt for the ADE or B.Ed. Honors Elementary program because they have an alternative to do a shorter degree program (e.g. the one-year B.Ed.) so they would find no reason to join a longer duration course. Education managers in KP, Punjab and Sindh specifically mentioned that if AIOU was offering the same course in nine months and their students got jobs easily because of lenient marking by instructors, students would not opt for a course which spans two years.[23]

Heavy presence of private institutions offering pre-service programs

While this report has not dealt with private institutions offering PSTE programs, it is pertinent to mention that the heavy presence of these institutions impacts the quality of teachers that ultimately enter the teaching profession in the public sector. The high concentration of private institutions hampers the proper implementation of the ADE and the four-year B.Ed. Honors Elementary degree as these institutions are not following any standards and are offering their own versions of B.Ed. programs that students find easier to enroll in.[24] Furthermore, while the PTC and CT have been phased out in the public sector in KP, Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan, these older programs continue to be offered at some private institutions in the provinces. There is no clear policy framework to regulate the private sector's role in teacher training. Due to this lack of regulation, the private sector has been highly flexible with its admissions criteria.[25] In addition, there is no incentive to have criteria for teacher recruitment in private institutions as there is an absence of stringent rules on professional qualifications. All of these factors have led to quality attrition.

There is a need to develop common standards for both the private and the public sector.[26] Rather than forming a regulatory framework, the public sector tends to see the private sector as undermining its role in teacher training. Development of common standards and a robust implementation framework should help to resolve this debate.[27] There is a need to have better inter-tier coordination especially between the private sector, public sector and other relevant provincial bodies in order to create a teacher training system that is good in quality, effective and sustainable.[28] As mentioned, the apex body for PSTE in the Punjab, the DSD, may be moving towards phasing out PSTE programs in public sector colleges and focusing instead on the regulation of private sector institutions offering them.

Political interference and lack of transparency

Political interference in certification of teachers and job appointments hampers implementation of teacher education programs. There is a perception that education is greatly influenced by bureaucrats and politicians who exercise political influence over transfers and appointments and may not support a new certification and licensing system in order to continue nepotism. In Balochistan in particular, there is resistance from teachers associations as they feel that the standing of old teachers may be affected by the new programs.[29] Sindh is the only province where work on the licensing of teachers has begun. STEDA will be moving towards awarding licenses and it will become mandatory for recruited teachers to be licensed. Licenses will only be awarded to properly trained teachers and graduates of the newer programs.

Teachers' pay scales

The new degree programs require revision of the teachers' pay scales. However, there are implementation issues due to budgetary constraints of the government. In addition, there may be opposition from senior teachers who have been assured promotions on the basis of period of service and therefore, have not been incentivized to work on improving their professional qualifications.[30]

INSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGES[31]

Shortage and poor quality of teacher educators

There is either a shortage of teacher educators or a dearth of good quality teacher educators amongst the faculty of public sector colleges. The issue is mitigated in Sindh where there is a separate cadre of teacher educators. While KP is working towards creating a separate cadre too (which should help resolve the issue of shortage of faculty), the problem is quite pronounced in the Punjab. Moreover, while apex bodies in KP, Punjab and Sindh are designing programs for the professional development of faculty at the colleges, such initiatives are missing in Balochistan.

There is a need to help teacher educators build skills related to teaching and learning particularly communication skills, lesson planning as well as professional qualifications. Sending teacher educators abroad for training and encouraging them to get feedback from students could help enhance capacity building efforts. In colleges, concerns center on a lack of accountability in the system, teacher educators have a laid-back attitude as there is a strong assurance of job security despite poor performance.

Lack of quality facilities and equipment

The new PSTE programs require additional teaching staff, space and infrastructural facilities to ensure implementation. The lack of basic facilities and infrastructure is especially a problem in public sector colleges. There is a need for the provision of latest technology and learning aides. Colleges in all the provinces lack the funding and as stated previously, various donors have supported the provision of resources and technology for the implementation of the ADE program in particular.

CONCLUSION

Moving forward, it is essential that the newer PSTE programs be implemented in a sustainable way in order to ensure the steady improvement in good quality teachers. A few recommendations pertaining to what can be done at the system and the institution levels are discussed below.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Develop service rules

The absence of service rules in all four provinces means that the newer degrees will not become sustainable until these rules are notified and only those teachers who have completed the ADE and B.Ed. Honors Elementary are recruited. KP has initiated work on amendments while Punjab and Sindh have prepared drafts of these amended service rules. Additionally, newer programs will not be implemented sustainably while recruitment through the NTS (which looks at candidates who possess the B.Ed. or the M.Ed.) is in place; none of the sector plans state clearly as to when NTS will be discontinued. Until recruitment is not clearly and explicitly tied to completion of the newer degree programs, outdated PSTE programs will continue to be offered by institutions. This will also mitigate the decline in enrollments tied to the completion of the USAID Pre-STEP project and the resulting lack of funding available to students.

Establish a system of teacher licensing

A system of provincial licensing of teachers needs to be established before teachers enter the profession. Licenses would only be granted to those teachers who are graduates of the newer better quality PSTE programs. This would make newer degrees sustainable and also act as a deterrent to private sector institutions offering outdated degrees since there would effectively be no value to having such degrees in the market. The Sindh Education Sector Plan is the only provincial sector plan to discuss in detail the merits of teacher licensing. STEDA in Sindh has devised a policy on teacher licensing (which according to the plan and to interviews with officials will be implemented by 2016). The Punjab Education Sector Plan touches upon the need for teacher licensing, however, no work has been done so far on developing a policy in the province.

Develop a national accreditation system for all teacher education programs

Lack of standardization across PSTE programs is problematic as it results in uneven quality of teachers. It has been proposed that the existing teacher certification programs should be eliminated and a national accreditation system for all teacher education programs needs to be established to create a standardized system.

Ensure presence of sufficient good quality teacher educators in colleges

Even where newer programs are being offered, their effective implementation is hampered by the dearth of good quality teacher educators administering these programs. Professional development of existing teacher educators and their capacity building is necessary. No province at present appears to have institutionalized regular professional development of faculty of public sector colleges although the apex bodies overseeing PSTE in KP, Punjab and Sindh have made some efforts in the area. Such professional development programs of teacher educators at public colleges are entirely missing in Balochistan with the Bureau playing no role in this regard. In addition, it is important to facilitate teacher educators where they are present to perform their jobs well through the proper provision of infrastructure, resources and technology needed in the newer programs being offered in the colleges.

[1] Later it was renamed Pakistan Teacher Education Project, for the purpose of this report we continue to refer to it as Pre-STEP
[2] SAHE 2013b
[3] Pre-STEP & USAID 2010, p.11
[4] SAHE 2013b, p.2-3
[5] "Institutions offering ADE/B.Ed." 2013
[6] USAID Teacher Education Project 2013
[7] The focus is on public sector colleges due to the availability of information on these specific institutions. Some of these findings are based on an earlier study conducted by SAHE (2013b) that studied challenges surrounding the implementation of the ADE program in the Punjab and Sindh provinces of the country.
[8] DCTE, NWFP 2008
[9] In KP teacher educators are known as instructors and subject specialists.
[10] In Punjab teacher educators are known as subject specialists and senior subject specialists.
[11] SAHE 2013b
[12] In Sindh teacher educators are known as lecturers, assistant professors and professors.
[13] RSU, Education & Literacy Department, Sindh Government 2013b, p.65
[14] Ministry of Education, Pakistan Government 2009a
[15] BOC & EC, Balochistan 2009
[16] BOC & EC, Balochistan 2009
[17] PPIU, Education Department, Balochistan Government 2014
[18] In Balochistan, teacher educators are known as subject specialists and senior subject specialists.
[19] PPIU, Education Department, Balochistan Government 2014
[20] Ginsburg et al 2009
[21] Huma 2013
[22] Ginsburg et al 2009, p.24- 30
[23] Ginsburg et al 2009, p.25
[24] Ginsburg et al 2009, p.30
[25] Jamil 2004
[26] UNESCO 2006
[27] UNESCO 2006
[28] UNESCO 2006
[29] Ginsburg et al 2009, p.31
[30] Ginsburg et al 2009, p.39
[31] Ginsburg et al 2009

CHAPTER

4

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS

INTRODUCTION

Professional development programs for teachers are crucial for developing and maintaining teacher quality. The goal of in-service professional development is to regularly reach out to teachers to help them refresh, refine, and update their knowledge and skills throughout their careers. Professional development activities typically focus on priority areas such as lesson planning, teaching skills, and assessment skills.[1] Due to an emphasis on regularity and continuity, the term Continuous Professional Development (CPD) is now being used by stakeholders to refer to career-long in-service professional development programs. CPD activities are usually offered in the form of school or cluster level meetings, short-term workshops and courses, and school-based mentoring.[2]

In Pakistan, the nature, extent, and regularity of professional development programs have varied over time and across the provinces. Many of the driving ideas, such as the idea of CPD and the emphasis on learner centered pedagogy, have permeated the discourse on teacher learning in Pakistan in interactions between Pakistani and international educators as part of the initiatives supported by international development agencies.

The promotion of professional development in Pakistan has faced many problems. These include an inconsistent regime for professional development in some parts of the country, inadequate coverage of areas within professional development of teachers, ad hoc programs that are not grounded in training needs assessment of teachers and inadequate financial and other resources to implement good quality programs. The National Education Policy (NEP) 2009 has indicated ways to address these problems. While the NEP is not binding on the provinces, it has made a number of useful recommendations for improving CPD in the country. It calls for the establishment of an institutionalized and standardized professional development regime in the provinces, coverage of a wide range of topics in professional development programs (such as language and Information Communication Technology)and the need to ground professional development in training needs assessment and for greater public private partnerships in professional development programs.

This chapter aims to describe and examine the status of CPD of teachers in Pakistan. This is accomplished in three parts. The first part provides an overview of reforms related to professional development of teachers in both the private and public sectors. The second part reviews the professional development architecture in the public sector of each of the provinces providing a provincial overview, an outline of the institutional arrangement, funding for professional development and the challenges that are faced. The third part discusses the way forward.

HISTORY OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN PAKISTAN

In-service professional development in the public sector

The public sector plays an important role in the professional development of teachers in the country. Professional development structures and approaches have varied across time and space in the public sector. Here, we look at some of the reforms with reference to both structures and approaches experimented with in the recent past to improve professional development of teachers in the country.

Establishment of provincial apex institutions

The Provincial Institutes for Teacher Education (PITEs) were established under the Asian Development Bank assisted Teacher Training Project (1992 - 2000) in the mid-1990s. This was long before the current constitutional framework which makes the provinces entirely responsible for quality. The project aimed to expand, improve and restructure the teacher training system in Pakistan. The PITEs were envisioned as apex teacher training institutions at the provincial level to replace the Bureaus of Curriculum and Education and to assist education departments in designing provincial strategies for implementing teacher training programs. They were expected to experiment, innovate and conduct research on new teacher training methods. However, the future role of these Bureaus was never determined and they have become parallel institutions competing for limited resources.

Establishment of Teacher Resource Centers

The NEP 1998 - 2010 called for improving in-service teacher training in the country. The Education Sector Reforms Action Plan 2001-02 – 2005-06 introduced a mechanism for doing so in the form of Teacher Resource Centers (TRCs), set up at the tehsil level to serve as sites of in-service teacher training. TRCs were expected to compensate, in particular, for the absence of Government Colleges of Elementary Training (GCETs) and Government Elementary Colleges of Education (GECEs) in some districts. Under the ESR Plan, PKR 2.5 billion was set aside for the establishment of 500 TRCs across the country during this period. Many Training Outposts, set up under an earlier Asian Development Bank supported project, were converted to TRCs. Approximately 380 TRCs were set up in high schools at the district and tehsil levels, however, not all of them were fully functional due to a shortage of human and financial resources to run them. These TRCs were spread across the country with a majority of these established in Sindh and Punjab and much smaller numbers established in (then) North West Frontier Province (NWFP), Balochistan and at the federal level.[3]

TRCs fell under the purview of the district education department and not the provincial apex bodies for teacher education, creating considerable confusion over the roles and responsibilities of each and management issues emerged.[4] The Education for All Plan 2015 recommended a scaling up of and replication of TRCs and the provision of in-service teacher training every three (instead of every five) years.[5] However, the TRCs became largely inactive in Sindh and Balochistan provinces where they were shut down in 2002. TRCs in Punjab were converted into District Training and Support Centers (DTSCs) Cluster Training and Support Centers (CTSCs) in 2006 upon initiation of the CPD model. TRCs in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) are now known as Local TRCs and support the training of teachers of 5 to 6 schools within the Local Circle Offices that were established to facilitate the in-service professional development of teachers in the province (discussed in detail later).

Piloting of cluster initiatives

There has been an increased recognition of the usefulness of a clustered approach to teacher training, as a more efficient and cost effective means for enabling continuous support to teachers.[6] The rationale behind clustering is that it improves the manageability of professional development of a larger number of teachers in a more systematic way. Clustering emerged largely as a result of recognition within policy circles that the existing in-service teacher training regimes were fragmented one time training events, were not based on the actual needs of teachers and did not include any follow up. Thus provincial governments, donors and Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) began to use a clustering mechanism in their professional development interventions. Different variants of the clustering model have been experimented with in different geographical areas of the country. For example clustering has been used as a part of the Whole School Improvement Program (WSIP), which works with the schools of the Aga Khan Education Services. It was also used briefly under the Education Sector Reform Assistance Program 2003 - 2007, supported by United States Agency for International Development (USAID), to train public sector teachers in Sindh and Balochistan. Similarly, the German Society for International Cooperation (GIZ) provided technical support to the then NWFP Government to deploy a clustering approach in their professional development program, which continues to serve as the mechanism for CPD across the province. Finally, the clustered approach to teacher training was institutionalized by the Directorate of Staff Development (DSD) in the Punjab in 2004; these clusters form the backbone of the in-service teacher education system of the province even today.

In-service professional development in the private sector

Teacher education and training had been the responsibility of the federal and provincial governments. However, the last two decades have witnessed the increased involvement of the private sector in the delivery of professional development programs. The NEP 1992 encouraged NGOs and the private sector to set up resources for in-service training of teachers. Only a few of the private institutions have, however, earned a reputation for imparting quality in-service teacher training.

Four kinds of development took place in the early 1990s in the private sector. First, a private philanthropist with help from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) supported the development of an institute for teacher education in Lahore, the Ali Institute of Education (AIE). The AIE started to provide graduates who had 14 years of education with a Post Graduate Diploma in Primary Education (PGDPE) on the lines of the teacher qualification offered in the British system of professional pre-service education.

While, the AIE's primary focus was on delivering the PGDPE, it also started an in-service education department in a bid to sustain its main program. The clientele for in-service education at the platform of the AIE included teachers from private schools of Lahore. Occasionally, the AIE's in-service department also reached out to public school teachers in collaboration with government agencies.

The second main development was the establishment of the Aga Khan University Institute for Educational Development (AKU-IED) in Karachi. AKU-IED was established about the same time as the AIE. Both of these institutes were also partially funded by the UNDP. Faculty from both institutions regularly visited each other and developed lasting relationships. Both AIE and AKU-IED sent selected faculty abroad for higher qualification, from where they brought ideas such as the use of learner centered pedagogies and constructivism. AKU-IED's main programs were focused on developing professional teachers for employment in both the public and private sectors.
The third development in the private sector was the internal initiatives taken by chains of private schools, which had grown considerably by the mid 1990s. These chains began to collaborate with foreign schools to provide in-service professional development to the teachers on their payroll.

The fourth development was related to the emergence of the NGO involvement in education. These NGOs were not primarily focused on developing in-service teacher education programs. However, they had to develop their own internal system of teacher training to respond to the professional needs of teachers in NGO managed non-formal or community school projects. Gradually, they also developed a core of 'master trainers' who could be used to engage in in-service teacher education projects on smaller scales.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS: A PROVINCIAL PERSPECTIVE

This section describes the professional development system in the public sector of each of the provinces. Each subsection comprises a brief overview of teacher professional development policies and initiatives in the province, a description of the current institutional arrangement (which reviews each institution in detail while examining its role, composition and professional development activities), an examination of the funding available and finally a discussion of the province specific challenges (system level, institutional and training) related to the professional development of teachers.

KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Policies and initiatives

An Institutional Framework for Teacher Development (IFTD) was formulated by the Elementary and Secondary Education (E&SE) Department in 2007 as a strategy for improving professional development and to address the challenge of catering to 115,714 teachers in the public sector of KP.[7] This framework views professional development as an ongoing process of teacher development rather than merely one-off teacher training. This strategy builds on earlier interventions in this area by the KP Government. In 2002, the education department and Directorate of Curriculum and Teacher Education (DCTE) piloted a cluster mentor support system in Kohat, Mardan, Swat and Haripur districts of the province. Technical assistance was provided by GIZ while financial assistance was given by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation under the Basic Education Improvement Project.[8]

As part of the ongoing Basic Education Improvement Program, 300 Local Circle Offices are being set up in the province. These Local Circle Offices will be integral to the proposed cluster-based in-service teacher training and monitoring system that is envisioned in all districts of KP by 2015.[9] The role of the Local Circle Offices is to establish a link between mentors and primary school teachers. Each cluster will comprise of roughly 8 schools and 20 teachers who will be provided training once a month.

In addition the KP Education Sector Plan proposes a clustered training program for teachers and the training of Assistant District Officers by DCTE and PITE. It proposes that at least 20% of teachers should receive one teacher training on subject matter and pedagogy annually.[10]

The institutional arrangement for the delivery of professional development programs to teachers in KP has been reconfigured several times in the past. While PITE was established under the Teacher Training Project in 1997, the DCTE was given the responsibility to oversee and monitor PITE in 2002. However, in 2005 PITE was separated and presently works as an attached unit of the E&SE Department.

Institutional arrangement

Currently, the DCTE is a partner of PITE in carrying out the professional development of teachers in the province. PITE in KP runs parallel to the DCTE. Together they monitor the professional development of teachers in the province. While Regional Institutes for Teacher Education (RITEs) are primarily responsible for imparting pre-service teacher education, they do play a limited role in administering in-service teacher education programs as well (Figure 4. 1). The development and status of these institutions will be discussed in further detail in the sections below.

Directorate of Curriculum and Teacher Education

Role

The DCTE has a number of functions with respect to the professional development of teachers in the province. The management of in-service trainings for elementary and secondary school teachers, the development of quality teacher training materials and the preparation of need based in-service training packages are the responsibilities of the DCTE.

The DCTE plans to conduct a Training Needs Assessment (TNA) as a basis for developing professional development programs for teachers. There will be three types of capacity building trainings for teachers: Techniques and behavioral trainings (for all), need based trainings on the basis of teacher and learner assessment and area specific trainings for managers and teachers for better understanding of local problems.

Staffing

The DCTE has a director (BPS 20) who is assisted by two deputy directors (BPS 18). The deputy director training looks after subject specialists, audiovisual aids officers, the additional director of training and the additional director of examinations. At present, there is no separate cadre for teacher educators. This is an issue the DCTE is attempting to address by separating the teacher educator cadre from the school cadre (refer to previous Khyber Pakhtunkhwa PSTE section for more details).

Professional development activities

The DCTE works to strengthen the pedagogical and classroom management skills of teachers. It is revising teacher training materials in line with the new curriculum. It is also training teachers on new concepts such as population education, environmental issues, HIV/AIDS prevention education, human rights issues and the prevention of drug addiction.

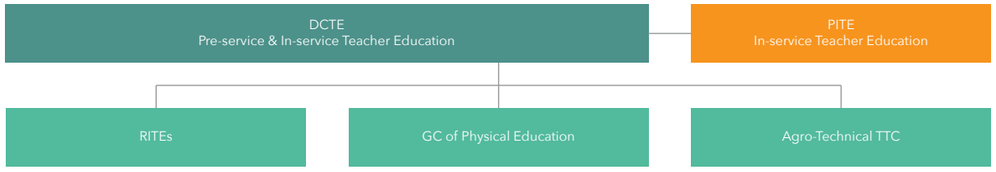
The DCTE has developed manuals under a project supported by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) for primary and middle levels for English, math, general science, social studies and Islamiyat. Each manual comprises of a trainer guide, workbook and resource materials. These manuals have been based on the curriculum.

Provincial Institute for Teacher Education

Role

PITE in KP focuses on in-service teacher education. It is semi-independent and runs parallel to the DCTE. It is based in Peshawar and reports directly to the education secretary in KP. PITE's mandate is to impart management related training to head teachers, education managers and District Education Officers. PITE is also responsible for training master trainers and for developing contextualized training materials. However, when the DCTE is overburdened, it requests PITE to conduct teacher trainings too.

Figure 4.1 KP professional development: Institutional arrangement



Staffing

PITE in KP is headed by a director (BPS 20) who is assisted by two deputy directors followed by a team of 24 senior instructors, subject specialists and course/material instructors. When PITE's own staff does not suffice, it carries out in-service trainings by using faculty from the DCTE, RITEs and the staff of the Department of School and Literacy KP. The majority of subject specialists and instructors have teaching experience in schools. There is no separate cadre for teacher educators in KP, therefore, PITE is staffed with functional teachers and managers through the transfer and placement rules. There are no criteria requiring a subject specialist to have prior knowledge or experience in training or module development. Rather, teaching experience and performance determines the selection. In order to address this shortcoming in experience, PITE itself has devised a mechanism for in-house capacity building of new staff. New recruits are attached to senior trainers and experts on training and material development tasks to learn from them, and once they develop the skills and the familiarity, they are assigned responsibilities independently. The need to restructure PITE's existing setup is felt by many in the E&SE Department. However, no decision has been taken on means for addressing the issue.

Professional development activities

PITE in KP trains the management cadre staff and the master trainers for teacher training at the RITEs. It also targets primary, middle and secondary school teachers, subject specialists, community and feeder school teachers. Its focus areas have included: Early Childhood Education, child friendly schooling, pedagogy and content, lesson planning, English language use, the school improvement plan, school management, inclusive education, education management and leadership and Information Communication Technology.

PITE has been offering in-service trainings under various donor funded programs. Recently, it has offered trainings for CIDA supported middle school teachers, accelerated learning program for Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC) teachers, for Department for International Development (DFID) lesson plan training, for UNICEF Early Childhood Education and disaster risk reduction trainings, UNESCO leadership and management training and other refreshers for government and NGO supported initiatives on capacity building and learning of teachers and schools management.

PITE plays a role in the implementation of professional development activities conducted as part of donor supported programs in KP. It does not play a role in determining the design and focus of these donor supported professional development interventions. PITE usually conducts a follow up of the training programs on request of the donor.

Regional Institutes for Teacher Education

Role

The DCTE requests RITEs to conduct in-service trainings of master trainers and teachers from time to time. Donors or schools also relay requests for trainings through the DCTE to the RITEs.

Staffing

The RITEs do not have a separate cadre of teacher educators at present. Faculty members in the RITEs often get transferred when promoted. As a result, there is a shortage of teacher educators in RITEs.

Professional development activities

As part of the support they provide to the DCTE, RITEs have conducted English language training of teachers, as well as training of English, math, science and social studies elementary teachers. They have also played a role in developing manuals for these trainings. The RITEs have also assisted in the development of lesson plans for science, English and general knowledge subjects (these were prepared in Urdu but are now being translated into English and five regional languages).

Funding

Professional development activities in KP have been largely donor driven. In the past there had been no funding stream for professional development activities; programs were only activated when funding became available. A Memorandum of Understanding was signed in March 2009 between the KP Government (E & SE Department, Finance Department and Planning and Development Department) and seven development partners. The purpose of this was to harmonize donor support for the elementary and secondary education sector in KP in order to avoid duplication of efforts and to ensure effective utiliza-

tion of funds provided by the donors.

The DCTE, for the first time, in 2014 received regular budgeting for in-service teacher training programs from the KP Government. On the other hand, the PITE (which receives a separate budget from the DCTE) and RITEs in KP are not allocated any budget to develop a regular in-service teacher training program. Therefore, their professional development activities are limited to a few districts and schools and are entirely donor driven. PITE has requested a regular budget from the provincial government.

Challenges

KP is faced with a number of challenges pertaining to the professional development of teachers discussed below.

System level challenges

Lack of institutionalization of professional development

There has been no coherent policy pertaining to the professional development of teachers in KP. As a result, in-service teacher training in KP has been provided on an ad hoc basis, usually determined by the priorities of the donors. Recently, to remedy this situation the IFTD has been formulated by the E & SE Department and the KP Education Sector Plan takes this one step further by proposing a clustered training program for teachers.

Over-dependence on donors

In KP, the in-service programs are heavily dependent on donors for fiscal and programmatic support. The DCTE has taken steps to instate regular budgeting for in-service trainings, which also limits the space for donors to conduct only those trainings that they see fit (for e.g. those trainings focused on primary education and not elementary or secondary education). With regular budgeting, professional development activities will be need based and government bodies will not work haphazardly under NGO or donor pressure.

Lack of central database of teachers trained

No central database of professional development programs, teacher trainings delivered or records of teachers who have received trainings exists. This leads to inefficiency, duplication of efforts and wastage of resources.

Institutional challenges

Shortage of staff

The absence of a separate cadre for teacher educators in KP means a shortage of staff in institutions dealing with in-service teacher education. The lack of staff has been an issue in the DCTE, PITE and in the RITES. The absence of a separate cadre creates problems especially at the time of promotions when teacher trainers switch to the school stream creating a shortage of trainers available. As discussed in the section on the professional preparation of teachers, plans to create a separate cadre are underway in KP.

Training related challenges

Lack of Training Needs Assessment

At present, there is no system for TNA to accurately inform professional development programs in the province. The DCTE does, however, plan to move in the direction of TNA based professional development activities.

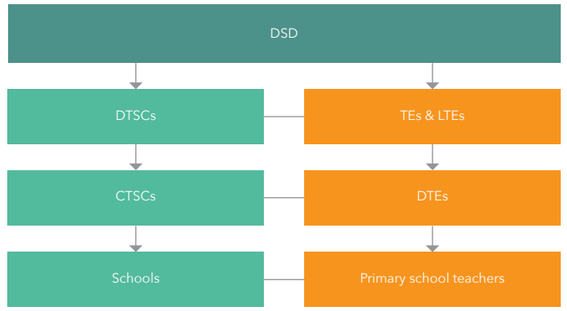
PUNJAB PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Policies and initiatives

In 1993 the Education Extension Center established in 1959 was renamed the DSD. In 2002, the University of Education was established and DSD was removed as the apex institution when it together with the PITE and the GCETs, were all placed under the University of Education. This institutional arrangement was changed again in 2004, when DSD was delinked from the University of Education and restructured to become the sole agency coordinating teacher development in the public sector in Punjab. The PITE and GCETs remained under the administrative and technical control of the University of Education until 2006, when they too were brought under the DSD. In 2009 PITE was merged with the DSD.

Meanwhile, in 2006, after the DSD was delinked and restructured, a major shift occurred in the way in which professional development of teachers was conceptualized in Punjab. At the time the Punjab Government had begun to make major strides in revamping its education reform initiatives altogether under the Punjab Education Sector Reform Program (PESRP) with budgetary support from the World Bank.[11] PESRP plans included supporting the DSD to reconceptualize the system of one-off training of teachers in favor of a comprehensive framework of CPD (described below). CPD in Punjab refers to the

Figure 4.2 Punjab professional development: CPD Model



government teacher training infrastructure from provincial to sub-district level.

The CPD framework was the outcome of a combination of influences. Firstly, the Punjab Education Sector Plan 2005 - 2006 (published in 2003) laid the foundations for it by requiring the DSD to develop a comprehensive system of teacher education in the province. Secondly, it was informed by the success of other cluster-based approaches for professional development such as the WSIP of Aga Khan Education Services, and the KP Government and GIZ initiative, which had used the idea of clustering schools and making clusters the site of professional development programs. Thirdly, the CPD framework was largely the result of recognition within policy circles of the shortcomings in existing in-service teacher training as mentioned previously.

Institutional arrangement

The DSD is the apex institution for professional development in Punjab. There are no other organizations involved in this sphere and unlike the other provinces, PITE has been subsumed under the DSD in Punjab.
DSD has instituted a CPD framework for the in-service training of teachers. The CPD model is organized at three tiers or levels (Figure 4.2) with DSD on top, at the provincial level, DTSC at the district level and the CTSC at the cluster level. The latter two levels are outposts of the DSD. Starting with the DSD each level plays a role in training and developing capacity at the next level. At the first tier, the DSD staff develops capacity of the Teacher Educators (TEs).The CPD model is essentially a cluster-based approach to teacher training. Each of the 36 districts in the province has been subdivided into clusters. A district has approximately 40 clusters and each cluster contains a maximum of 25 to 30 schools in a 15 kilometer radius. At the second tier of professional development in Punjab are DTSCs. The DTSCs are housed in the existing GCETs or high or higher secondary schools (where GCETs are not present, as they are absent in 12 districts of Punjab). The location of DTSCs within the GCETs is expected to bridge the gap between pre-service and in-service education and to make optimal use of existing resources. Lead Teacher Educators (LTEs) and TEs are housed at this level.
The third tier of in-service education structure comprises of CTSCs. Clusters form the backbone of the professional development framework in the province. There are 2,100 CTSCs in the Punjab. The CTSC is usually a centrally located school which initiates, coordinates and monitors primary teacher support activities. District Teacher Educators (DTEs) are housed at this level.

Directorate of Staff Development

Role

The primary responsibility for implementing the CPD framework to primary school teachers in the province rests with the DSD. It has been given complete authority in matters ranging from finance and administration to implementation and monitoring.
Each DTSC is responsible for all CPD activities in its respective district. This includes analyzing the training needs of school teachers based on the Punjab Examinations Commission (PEC) results, coordinating the implementation of CPD activities at the district level and monitoring to ensure school teachers and master trainers receive good quality trainings.
Each CTSC is responsible for undertaking the TNA of primary school teachers, implementing CPD activities and trainings, providing follow up support to primary school teachers and providing feedback to the DTSCs and DSD.

Staffing

The DSD is headed by a program director who is as-

sisted by an additional program director. DSD itself is organized into four wings: Management, academic, field and research. The management wing looks after planning, administration and finance. The academic wing looks after material development and training and is staffed with course coordinators and subject specialists. The field wing comprises of the DTSCs and CTSCs. The research wing is headed by the course coordinator research and distance learning and is also staffed with subject specialists.

The DTSC are headed by the principals of GCETs and staffed by four TEs who monitor the ongoing CPD model. Altogether there are approximately 140 TEs across DTSCs in the Punjab. TEs are selected on the basis of their possessing a master's degree and having a minimum of eight years of experience in teaching or a related field. Government employees working in BPS 17 can apply for appointment through transfer. Once appointed TEs are district specific, non-transferable and serve for a maximum of five years. TEs are primarily responsible for monitoring DTEs and for acting as a bridge between the DTEs and the DTSC heads as well as the DSD. The implementation of CPD is hampered by the shortage of TEs in the province. Earlier in 2014 out of a total of 144 TE seats in the province, only 72 had been filled (the number of vacant seats fluctuates greatly over time). The shortage can in part be attributed to the low salaries given to TEs. In 2005, the salary for TEs, who were directly recruited, was determined to be PKR 22,000 a month along with an allowance (incentive and mobility) of PKR 4,500, but in nine years the salary figure has not been revised.[12] TEs not directly recruited (i.e. those who are serving teachers) are paid their regular salary with the PKR 4,500 allowance.

LTEs also work in the districts. These LTEs are on-call master trainers (usually from high schools, higher secondary schools and GCETs). DSD selects LTEs as resource persons from both the public and the private sector with about 40% coming from the latter. Individuals from the private sector are usually better in quality but outside of Lahore, DSD has limited reach to private sector individuals and has to rely on persons coming from the universities. LTEs are paid PKR 4,000 to 6,000 a month.

Each CTSC has a head and employs DTEs to train and assist the activities at this cluster level.[13] In the current CPD framework, CTSC heads (usually school head teachers) only perform a monitoring role and keep a check on DTEs. They are paid an additional stipend of PKR 1,000 for this work.

Each CTSC is staffed with a maximum of two DTEs who each look after 10 to 15 schools within the cluster, also known as sub-clusters. As of 2014 there are 3,960 DTEs across the Punjab while 100 posts remain vacant. DTEs are selected on the basis of their possessing a master's qualification and being regular public school teachers working BPS 9 to BPS 16. Head teachers, head designates, physical education teachers, Arabic teachers, computer teachers and drawing masters are not eligible to apply for this post. The post of the DTE is cluster specific and non-transferable. Maximum duration for the post of DTE is three years, which may be extended by DSD on the basis of satisfactory performance. In Punjab, initially when DTEs were appointed, the School Education Department referred its weakest human resources to DSD. Previously, it was felt that anyone could perform the functions of the DTE at the primary level. However, there is now a shift in attitudes. DSD appoints DTEs itself by conducting tests and interviews of applicants. It has also started to select more science teachers as DTEs due to greater need for training in these areas and thus, greater pay offs. DTEs that are directly recruited receive the same salary as TEs (i.e. PKR 22,000) and since 2013, a revised allowance (incentive and mobility) of PKR 9,000 a month.[14]

Professional development activities

DSD's main activity is implementing the CPD framework for which it has established and institutionalized permanent downward linkages at the district and sub-district level that did not exist earlier in Punjab. DSD assesses the need for training based on student performance, teachers' weak areas after observation by DTEs and teachers' interests. The DSD has a list of 35 types of training that it selects from. In-service trainings of primary school teachers focus on the subject content knowledge of science, math and English. DSD has also been involved in the preparation of teacher guides and lesson plans. In 2011, DSD developed comprehensive teacher guides for primary school teachers. Around 2,250 lesson plans in total (150 lesson plans per subject for each grade from 1 - 5) had to be written. These were printed and distributed to over 60,000 schools and 200,000 teachers. By the end of August 2013, the entire task was almost completed.

The CPD program provides a flexible framework that can absorb and co-opt new projects and initiatives with ease. Any new project that aims to work with teachers at the district level can implement its particular intervention through the framework, which consists of the three tiers and the teacher educators

BOX 4.1: ACTIVITIES OF THE DTE

- Presentation of lesson plans on curriculum for grades 1-5
- Twice a month visits to schools attached with CTSCs
- Management of monthly assessment of attached schools
- Organization of professional development days in CTSCs
- Whole school development of attached schools

located at each level, who can be flexibly deployed to implement innovative programs.

One-day training of DTEs is held at the DTSCs every month. This training comprises of a number of sessions. Subject based sessions are delivered by LTEs, the mentoring session is delivered by the TE or the DTSC head and problem solving session delivered by a district officer.[15]

A professional development day is held once every quarter at the CTSCs for the primary school teachers in one sub-cluster. These one-day trainings comprises of a number of sessions. These include subject based sessions delivered by DTEs and a problem solving session delivered by the TE or CTSC head.[16] CTSCs allow for teachers within clusters to come together as a professional community. There appears to be the potential for inculcating a spirit of professionalism in teachers at such a forum. Approximately 200,000 primary school teachers are being trained on a continuous basis at these CTSCs. DTEs also play a role beyond this quarterly training (Box 4.1).

Trainings of both DTEs and primary school teachers are often delivered in English which prove difficult for recipients to understand. Teacher guides, initially developed in English, had to be translated to Urdu later on because the use of the English language was causing a problem for both trainers and teachers.

Funding

Punjab is the only province to earmark funds for professional development in its annual budget. The Punjab Government provides the regular budget of DSD (essentially salaries), while professional development activities are supported by the World Bank and DFID budgetary support to Punjab Government. Other development partners include GIZ which provides technical assistance and CIDA which provides financial support for professional development of primary school teachers, and UNICEF which supports the Child Friendly Schools program. DSD plans to phase out focus on pre-service teacher education and redirect funds allocated for pre-service teacher education to professional development of teachers in the province, which should help reduce donor dependency in the long-term.

Challenges

Punjab is faced with a number of challenges pertaining to the professional development of teachers discussed below.

System level challenges

Over-dependence on donors

Although Punjab is the only province with an earmarked budget for professional development activities, this only covers the salaries of the personnel in professional development institutions. Punjab's professional development initiatives remain heavily reliant on donor support.

Institutional challenges

Lack of staff

Recruitment of district based TEs in the DTSCs is a big issue. It is also difficult to find replacements for TEs when they move. As a result, many positions may lie vacant for months.

Lack of quality teacher educators

There is a dearth of resource persons and subject specialists in every district. There is limited access to high quality teachers or educators (TEs, LTEs and DTEs) even in the private sector in districts outside of Lahore.

Heavy workload of DTEs

DTEs have recorded their complaints regarding disproportionate workload (they work at least ten hours a day) and have called for the provision of an assistant

BOX 4.2: DEMANDS OF DTES IN 2012

- Provide motorcycles and travel allowances in line with new petrol rates (figures have not been revised since 2007)
- Allow for annual earned leaves in addition to study leave
- Promote DTEs from BPS-16 to BPS-17 upon successful completion of service
- Value DTE reports more
- Make DTE posts transferable
- Provide stationary/resources necessary for DTE mentoring and other work

clerk. In fact the DTEs went on strike in 2012.[17] DTEs have made a set of demands (Box 4.2), but these have largely gone unaddressed with the exception of the revised incentive and mobility allowance.

Limited involvement of CTSC heads

Heads of CTSCs have little incentive to perform their duties as they are paid a meager sum of PKR 1,000 as a stipend every month, which is not considered enough for the monitoring of a group of 10 to 15 DTEs.[18]

Training related challenges

Problematic use of English in trainings

The issue of English language use has proven problematic in delivering trainings. As a result LTEs conduct trainings of DTEs for all subjects including English in Urdu, and this holds true for DTEs training primary school teachers as well.

SINDH PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Policies and initiatives

PITE and the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension Wing (BCEW) in Sindh have been the two main training providers in the province. PITE was established in 1995 with the purpose of promoting and strengthening teacher education and development in Sindh. After initial attempts at providing Diploma Model II and Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) courses, PITE restricted itself to providing in-service training, material development and research activities. It performs a role similar to that of the BCEW. The two institutions did not, however, collaborate in designing trainings and ensuring that their functions do not overlap.

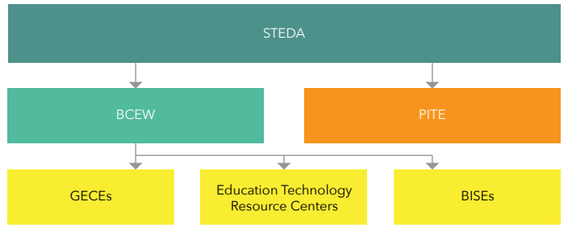
In 2009, the Sindh Government approved the Teacher Education Development Policy, which outlined the need for a professional development regime in the province. The policy called for the reorientation of GECEs towards the provision of professional development; it saw the professional development system as comprising of independently existing professional development providers (both public and private) who, once accredited, could design courses based on teacher TNA. The policy called for the establishment of an apex body to assure the quality of teacher education in Sindh. As a result, in 2009 the Sindh Government established Sindh Teacher Education Development Authority (STEDA) under the Education and Literacy Department to oversee and regulate teacher education in the province.

The main driving force behind the formulation of the 2009 policy and the formation of STEDA was the World Bank funded Sindh Education Reform Program (SERP) and its Disbursement Linked Indicators (DLIs) which included the piloting of the professional development program and the accreditation of providers. Donors had no role in the formulation of STEDA. It was an initiative of the Sindh Government. However, the World Bank did assist by providing technical assistance for 18 months to work with the Reform Support Unit (RSU) to further refine the STEDA concept.

In 2010, parts of the professional development framework were developed by the Sindh Government including those pertaining to the initial registration and accreditation of providers of professional development programs. Professional development is structured very differently in Sindh as compared to Punjab. For example, despite the 2009 policy recommending a role for advisors in looking after school clusters, in practice professional development in the province is not clustered.

RSU has been working on rationalizing the roles of STEDA, BCEW and PITE. The idea is that STEDA will look at quality assurance and policy (be a regulatory body); the BCEW will be delinked from teacher education institutes and curriculum, and look after research and assessment; PITE will be responsible

Figure 4.3: Sindh professional development: Institutional arrangement



BOX 4.3: PILOTING OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK IN SINDH

In 2010, STEDA invited both private and public teacher education institutes to be part of a professional development framework pilot. However, the public institutes did not meet standards at all. Therefore, only private institutes were part of initial deliberations. Four of the initial six private institutes that were part of the consultation stage formed a consortium to take part in the pilot. The consortium designed a professional development program to meet the needs identified in the Provincial Education Assessment Center (PEACE) report. For example, the report on mathematics stated that primary school children do not perform well in fractions, therefore, the standards emphasize teaching fractions from grades 2 till 5. STEDA analyzed this model against the standards and piloted it with 90 teachers. It was observed that the standards were very subjective. The National Accreditation Council for Teacher Education was requested for some input on restating the standards to make them objective based.

for teacher training. The administrative control of elementary colleges will either be given to PITE or a separate directorate that will be established for this purpose (this is under discussion). The STEDA subcommittee has recommended that these roles be notified. There is also discussion, however, to convert PITE into a University of Education; a working group has been set up to work on the Planning Commission-I form for this. Under SERP, the PITE Education Leadership Center will be transformed into an autonomous, empowered, Sindh Education Management Academy, with professional faculty and other resources to provide education leadership training to education managers on appointment or promotion.

Sindh has also taken steps to develop a system for teacher licensing. In this regard, Sindh is ahead of the other provinces; it has drafted a policy and has a working group on this. Graduates will be given a license through STEDA and not through the institutes. Teachers will be assessed against the developed ten standards for teachers and will only be given licenses where they meet these.

Institutional arrangement

Currently, STEDA is a regulatory body overseeing teacher education in the province. It oversees the work of the BCEW and PITE, both of which conduct in-service trainings. The BCEW and PITE run in parallel to one another (Figure 4.3).

Sindh Teacher Education Development Authority

Role

STEDA is an apex body responsible for policy making in the area of teacher education. It is not a training institute; rather it is a regulatory body. One of its roles is to ensure quality assurance of teacher education and to accredit professional development providers in both the public and private sector. An accreditation process is being developed to accredit those institutions in Sindh that offer professional development courses and programs.

Staffing

The STEDA Board of Governors consists of 18 members. It includes a minister (as chairman) and three provincial assembly members and 50% of the members are from the private sector (NGOs involved in teacher education, civil society members and retired educationists). STEDA is not fully functional despite having been established five years ago and given the important mandate of regulating provision of professional development programs. When STEDA was set up, there were three to four people working for it. Hiring should have been complete and STEDA should have been fully functional by now. However, the Board decided that STEDA will hire from the market (i.e. nongovernment). Hiring from the market is difficult given the budgetary constraints in providing competitive salaries. A salary package was prepared that went to the chief minister for approval but faced objection from the Department of Finance. The Board of Governors may, therefore, have to revisit its decision.

Professional development activities

STEDA has played an important role in the piloting the professional development framework for Sindh in 2010 (Box 4.3). It has been developing standards for teacher educators and professional development courses at teacher education institutions.

As of 2014, standards for the primary level have been prepared but STEDA is awaiting approval from its Board of Governors so it can start accrediting private and public institutes. Once a notification has been issued, teacher education institutions will not be able to implement professional development courses and trainings without STEDA certification.

Bureau of Curriculum and Extension Wing

Role

The BCEW is also an in-service teacher training institution in Sindh. It has administrative control over the entire teacher education infrastructure in Sindh

including GECEs, Colleges of Education, Regional Education Extension Centers (REECs) and Education Technology Resource Centers. RSU has envisaged the BCEW's role to be one of research and assessment, but so far this has not happened.

Staffing
The BCEW has three additional directors one of which is for teacher education. The Bureau should ideally have 21 subject specialists in its core faculty; however, at present it only has 5. Therefore, it is short on staff.

Professional development activities
The elementary colleges, overseen by BCEW, offer some in-service programs specific to the areas of art, drawing and agro-technology. 1 in-service Teacher Training Center and 2 REECs in Karachi and Khairpur are also offering some need based, in-service programs. The focus is on the training of both elementary and secondary school teachers. The BCEW is also developing a training manual for the training of 20,000 teachers under an RSU initiative. PITE will be overseeing quality assurance for this. BCEW has a role to play in curriculum development for teacher training, a role also played by universities offering B.Ed. and Master of Education (M.Ed.) programs.

Provincial Institute for Teacher Education

Role
PITE focuses on the professional development of teachers in Sindh. Its professional development wing conducts short in-service teacher training and the development of materials for teacher training and research activities.

Staffing
PITE is independent of the BCEW and has its own faculty. However, when faced with shortage of faculty PITE borrows faculty from the GECEs in order to conduct trainings. It also uses the GECEs' premises for holding these workshops. PITE in Sindh has a separate cadre of teacher educators that comes from the elementary college stream. PITE trainers and subject specialists are promoted and transferred from the college stream. As a result, they possess prior knowledge and experience of teacher education.

Professional development activities
The trainings conducted by PITE are not regular and are only carried out at the request of donors or the Sindh Government. PITE in Sindh has designed and implemented courses for primary and secondary school teachers of the province. PITE trains teachers, master trainers and education managers under the initial teacher education, CPD and education leadership development center programs. TNA is very much a part of PITE's strategy to plan and develop materials for in-service training programs. PITE also consults with Provincial Education Assessment Center (PEACE) and Sukkur Institute of Business Administration test reports and results to assess the training needs of teachers. As a result of this TNA, PITE started trainings in the English language, active learning, child friendly schools, Early Childhood Education, subject and content based trainings. Moreover, it provides trainings to teachers and master trainers on disaster risk reduction, health education, temporary learning centers and other issues. PITE has been doing some follow up to assess the impact of donor funded trainings programs.

Funding

STEDA operates on regular budgeting from the Sindh Government. The initial bill had intended for STEDA to be autonomous and had its budget come from a grant it would have been. However, since STEDA operates on regular budgeting, it is only semi-autonomous. BCEW and PITE receive their budget from the provincial government.

The education budget for Sindh includes a meager allocation for non-salary education expenses. There is no unified funding stream for teacher training because of the uncertain fund flow mechanisms. Lack of long-term funding hampers the initiation and development of professional development projects. As a result of lack of government funding for activities, professional development programs in the province are largely donor driven and funded. For example, PITE does not have regular in-services trainings as the Sindh Government does not provide funds to PITE to do so. PITE relies on donors and thus, provides services in implementing donor programs on teacher professional development.

However, since STEDA's inception, training institutes cannot sign agreements with donors directly, which has caused more confusion, at least in the short-term since some donor projects pre-date the formation of STEDA and its policies. STEDA has come under some criticism because since its formation, donor supported in-service programs have been terminated. It might be useful to review the merits of the arguments on both sides.

Challenges

Sindh is faced with a number of challenges pertaining to the professional development of teachers.

System level challenges

Over-dependence on donors
There are no government funded teacher training programs in Sindh. Recently, STEDA has taken steps to at least oversee donor programs. As long as professional development of teachers in the province is largely donor driven, a consistent and coherent policy on professional development of teachers is unlikely.

Institutional clutter
There is lack of clarity in the roles of STEDA, BCEW and PITE. For the last three years, the RSU has been working on defining separate roles for STEDA, the BCEW and PITE, however these have not yet materialized.

Lack of central database of teachers trained
The absence of a central database of the professional development programs that have already been carried out and teachers who have already been trained results in the same teachers get trained over and over again.

Lack of standardized training curricula
BCEW is in charge of coordinating teacher training curriculum with the national curriculum. Some training programs are developed in accordance with the new curriculum of 2006, while some develop their programs in accordance with the previous curriculum.

Institutional challenges

Lack of staff
Sanctioned posts often remain vacant at apex institutions for teacher education in the province. STEDA is a prime example of this. While at STEDA lack of staff is related to difficulty in hiring personnel from the market at competitive salaries, there is also a shortage at the BCEW and PITE.

Lack of quality teacher educators
PITE does not have resources for further improving the capacity of its staff unless the government creates opportunities for them. Some staff members have received scholarships for higher studies.

BALOCHISTAN PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Policies and initiatives

Initially, PITE in Balochistan was placed under the Bureau of Curriculum. PITE's programs were channeled to the Secretariat through the Bureau. In 2006 - 2007, however, the Bureau and PITE were separated. PITE now directly reports to the secretary education. Since the establishment of the Policy Planning and Implementation Unit (PPIU) in 2009, the responsibility for approving trainings has been transferred from PITE to the PPIU. Following the 18th Amendment, the roles have been further defined. As indicated in the Balochistan Education Sector Plan 2013 - 2018, the Bureau's mandate is to work on the curriculum and pre-service teacher education, whereas PITE's role is to focus on in-service teacher education. However, in practice an overlap in their activities does persist.

The School Education Department in Balochistan with assistance from USAID has also formulated a Teacher Education Strategy (2013 - 2018) calling for the need to improve the quality of existing teachers by strengthening professional development programs. Recently, training outposts have been established in 12 areas where there are no elementary colleges. Each training outpost is staffed with three secondary school teachers. The aim is to provide a training opportunity for teachers, especially females, at their door steps.

Institutional arrangement

The Bureau of Curriculum and PITE in Balochistan run parallel to one another. The former deals with pre-service while the latter deals with in-service teacher education, although there is some overlap in practice.

Provincial Institute for Teacher Education

Role
PITE in Balochistan focuses solely on in-service teacher education. Its main focus is on training primary school teachers in English, math and science. There has been a discussion to establish a University of Education that will subsume PITE; a working group has been set up to work on this.

Staffing
PITE in Balochistan has 47 faculty members. Subject

specialists (BPS 17), senior subject specialists (BPS 18) and master trainers (BPS 16) all provide trainings. The three aforementioned categories are required to have prior experience of teaching in government schools. However, these criteria are not necessarily followed in practice.

Professional development activities
Donors approach PITE to develop training material for their programs. PITE forms a team of 4-5 people for whichever training area is assigned to it by the donor. The responsibility for the development of the module for that area is subdivided and assigned to different team members who collectively develop a tentative module. A review committee is made to review the tentative module and the issues and gaps are highlighted. To date, PITE Balochistan has trained 22,000 teachers and 350 to 400 master trainers.

Most recently, PITE has delivered a training, funded by UNICEF, to primary school teachers on content in four to five districts of the province that are focus districts of UNICEF. This was a 12-day long training delivered by both PITE and the Bureau.

Funding

The Balochistan Government has not allocated any budget for in-service teacher training in the development or non-development budgets for many years.[19] This means that PITE has not received any funds to carry out in-service trainings from the government, and relies entirely on donor support to run teacher training programs. For the past 15 to 16 years, PITE has been delivering trainings with the help of donors. PITE has worked with donors including UNICEF, CIDA and Balochistan Education Foundation.

Challenges

Balochistan is faced with a number of challenges pertaining to the professional development of teachers.

System level challenges

Lack of consistent policy
Institutionalization of the professional development program is necessary. The Balochistan Education Sector Plan (2013 - 2018) has recommended a shift away from the "current discrete trainings system through sporadic donor interventions".[20] It calls for the creation of a professional development management committee to oversee the implementation of a CPD framework.

Over-dependence on donors
The government has not supported professional development activities for last 15 years. PITE's programs are dependent on the willingness of donors to support the professional development of teachers in districts that the donors wish to prioritize.

Institutional clutter
There is a need to better define the roles and mandate of the Bureau of Curriculum, PITE and PPIU in order to streamline their responsibilities with respect to the professional development of teachers. There is considerable confusion and overlap at the moment in their roles and functions.

Lack of central database of teachers trained
There is no central database of teacher trainings delivered or records of teachers who have received trainings. This leads to inefficiency in the design and implementation of professional development programs. The education sector plan for the province calls for the reversal of this situation.

Institutional challenges

Lack of staff
There are some concerns about the ability of PITE to successfully cater to the professional development of teachers in the province. Need for capacity building of PITE has been pointed out especially at the leadership level.

Lack of quality teacher educators
There are no uniform criteria to select master trainers. Political interference in appointments has been a common issue.

CONCLUSION

The quality of teachers is an important determinant of the quality of education delivered in public schools. Professional development of teachers throughout their careers is necessary to ensure good quality and high standards. The different provinces all realize the value of CPD of teachers but are at different stages of establishing a sound professional development framework and model. Punjab has the most institutionalized form of CPD in comparison to the other provinces, with the DSD and its outposts at the district and cluster levels all playing a role in the development, assessment and monitoring of primary school teachers in Punjab. KP is also moving towards scaling up of the clustered approach to professional development of teachers as mediated through the Local Circle Offices. Sindh has piloted the standards for CPD programs and providers. Balochistan, at this stage, has expressed its intention to move towards the development of a CPD model. However, when and how these plans are implemented remains to be seen.

Regardless of where each province stands in relation to the establishment of a CPD model, there are some common challenges faced by all provinces that hamper the existence of a robust system for the professional development of teachers in the country. These common challenges as well as recommendations for tackling them have been dealt with below.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Reduce institutional clutter and clarify roles

With the exception of the Punjab, which has a single apex institution for teacher education, DSD, with a clearly defined mandate, the other provinces suffer from the presence of multiple bodies and institutions playing overlapping roles in the area of in-service teacher training. These different organizations have unclear and often overlapping mandates that lead to inefficient planning and implementation of teacher training programs, duplication of efforts and wastage of resources. This is most apparent in Sindh where STEDA, the BCEW and PITE all have a role to play in the professional development of teachers in the province. However, RSU is working on rationalizing the roles of each body which should serve to resolve some of the issues. In Balochistan, while the responsibility for in-service teacher training has shifted to PITE, with the Bureau's focus to be solely on pre-service, there is an overlap of activities. In KP, DCTE asks PITE to step in to train teachers when it is overburdened despite PITE's mandate to train master trainers.

Ensure regular government funding and reduce dependence on donors

Across the board there is heavy reliance on donors for the implementation of in-service teacher education programs and it is one of the main reasons why professional development programs remain sporadic. While Punjab is the only province to allocate a budget for in-service teacher education, it nevertheless remains reliant on donors. The DCTE in KP received a regular budget for in-service teacher training for the first time in 2014. However, PITE's trainings in KP are entirely donor funded. There is a heavy presence of donors, especially in Sindh and Balochistan. Both KP and Sindh, however, have taken steps to monitor donor activities in the professional development of teachers. The KP Government signed a Memorandum of Understanding with seven donors in 2009 to regulate activities, while STEDA in Sindh now mediates agreements between training institutes and donors.

Ensure adequate numbers and quality of staff

The shortage of staff at institutions involved in the professional development of teachers is a critical issue. Even where teacher educators are present, quality remains an issue. Poor quality teacher educators negatively impact the quality of the trainings delivered. In many instances, trainers and specialists are not qualified and are usually previous heads of schools.

Develop a central database of teachers trained

With the exception of the Punjab, no other province maintains a database of trainings delivered, furthering the disorganization and unsystematic way in which teachers (often the same ones) are trained. Apex bodies responsible for in-service teacher education in the provinces need to take this responsi-

bility especially given the wide range of donor interventions in this area to ensure that the same type of training is not repeated and that the same teachers are not trained repeatedly.

Addressing these challenges is imperative especially keeping in mind that Article 25-A poses an immense challenge of scale and will further burden existing resources as the demand for good quality teachers rises.

[1] Leu & Ginsburg 2011
[2] Leu & Ginsburg 2011
[3] Jamil 2004
[4] Jamil 2004
[5] UNESCO 2006
[6] Campaign for Quality Education (CQE) 2009
[7] Elementary & Secondary Education Department, KP Government 2012
[8] Campaign for Quality Education (CQE) 2009
[9] Elementary & Secondary Education Department, KP Government 2012
[10] Elementary & Secondary Education Department, KP Government 2012
[11] The PESRP began with World Bank assistance as a series of three Punjab Education Development Policy Credits during 2003 - 2005. The second phase was approved in 2007 for three years (a total of US$ 300 million). The Bank continued to support the reform agenda of PESRP through a Programmatic Investment Lending Operation under the Punjab Education Sector Project from June 2009 for three years. The World Bank provided US$350 million for the PESP. DFID and CIDA co-financed the project through grants in aid. The Bank later provided Additional financing of US$50 million to PESRP because of diverted resources to the flood relief and rehabilitation efforts. The current Second Punjab Education Sector Project is a US$350 million Specific Investment Credit and will support the design and implementation of PESRP II over three years from 2012 to 2015.
[12] SAHE 2012
[13] UNESCO 2006
[14] DSD, Punjab Government 2013
[15] Siddique 2011
[16] Siddique 2011
[17] SAHE 2012
[18] SAHE 2012
[19] UNESCO 2006
[20] PPIU, Education Department, Balochistan Government 2014

CHAPTER

5

TEACHER POLICIES: RECRUITMENT, EVALUATION AND MOTIVATION

INTRODUCTION

A discussion on teachers would be incomplete without discussing the wide array of policies that affect them. Teacher performance in the classroom has a lot to do with the policies that govern their recruitment, the criteria used for selection, the framework of evaluation and accountability and not least the incentive structure that enhances or drives motivation. Teacher recruitment has traditionally suffered from inadequate emphasis on merit. This has taken the form of either setting the bar too low in terms of qualifications for becoming a teacher, or, in the event of higher qualifications being stipulated, an inadequate emphasis on reviewing the quality of the insitutions teachers graduate from resulting in teachers with a limited mastery over content and pedagogical knowledge. Not least, there has been the issue of political interference, in the context of a broader system of patronage.

It is critical that teacher performance is evaluated in such a way that teachers receive requisite support and at the same time there is accountability. However, these processes suffer from a mix of poorly equipped personnel, the monitoring focus itself, disempowerment of the head teacher as well as politicization and lack of transparency.

Teacher motivation is usually understood to be related to the salary structure but other factors matter as well. The teachers' professional competence, the classroom environment, in-service support, the structure of career advancement, acknowledgment of their efforts and other related factors have a bearing on teacher motivation. Policies relating to teachers must take cognizance of these factors as well.

There is greater realization among the provinces now that all this has to change and efforts are underway to address these issues. This chapter provides insight into the policy framework that has historically guided teacher recruitment, deployment, evaluation accountability and motivation in Pakistan as well as the manner in which key policies related to teachers are being currently implemented by the different provinces.

RECRUITMENT OF TEACHERS

Pakistan has had a checkered history of teacher recruitment with phases of high political interference interspersed with times when merit has prevailed. The historical lack of merit has had an impact on the culture of teaching and the formation and role of teachers associations. It also means that the recent efforts to ground the recruitment policy in merit will require many more years before a difference is visible. An acceptable level of quality of teachers recruited has never been factored in even in periods of meritocratic selection. Meanwhile, Pre-Service Teacher Education (PSTE) of uneven quality continues to be provided to teachers. The recently introduced third-party tests for teachers will function as a filter, but without an improvement in the quality of PSTE the recruitment process will continue to compromise on quality.

Teacher recruitment is made on the basis of two considerations: meeting access goals, and with that planning for future expansion, as well as meeting quality goals, part of which is to ensure the availability of qualified personnel. All of this is in service of ensuring we meet the learning requirements of students as prescribed by the curriculum. The history of the last four decades in Pakistan has emphasized a third critical dimension: merit. Teacher recruitment has intrinsic linkages with the quality of general education, teacher education, curriculum and aspirations of the national (or provincial) education policy in terms of quality, equity and access. Similar to all inputs into the education system, it cannot be undertaken as a standalone exercise disconnected from these considerations.

No national document has been prepared so far to identify the requirements of Article 25-A in terms of the number of teachers and their level of qualifica-

tions required in the future. A few indicative figures have been highlighted in the Punjab and Balochistan education sector plans, but these remain limited to access needs over the five years covered by the plan. However, the recognition of connections between recruitment and different aspects of quality has been weak, at best. In the absence of due regard for the quality factor, teacher recruitment cannot make the critical contribution to the education system.

The following sections explore the history of teacher recruitment, the factors affecting it as well as the situation in the provinces with regards to recruitment.

HISTORY OF TEACHER RECRUITMENT

At the time of independence, Pakistan inherited a variegated set of missionary schools, elite public schools and government schools for the masses. Under British rule the bulk of government schools followed a weaker education design, not just because of the choice of local language for instruction and little funding, but in terms of qualifications of their teachers. Within government schools, primary school teachers, known as junior vernacular teacher, had the lowest qualification with a matriculate along with a junior vernacular course. At the middle level, senior vernacular teachers had Higher Secondary School Certificates along with a short, senior vernacular course. A junior English teacher qualification was added in the 1960s for the middle level as well.

Teacher recruitment in Pakistan, especially for primary and middle, went through a major shift in the 1970s when the Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC) and Certificate of Teaching (CT) were introduced. The junior vernacular teacher became the Primary Level Teacher and the senior vernacular teacher became the Senior Subject Specialist along with a number of other changes in nomenclature.

The new certification in the 1970s coincided with the era of politically influenced recruitment of teachers in the country. Admission to courses, which meant jobs, would often be made on the basis of quotas allotted to members of the legislative bodies. Over the years, things have continued to deteriorate, as merit in teacher recruitment became a serious casualty in all provinces. Political appointments were accompanied by other fraudulent methods being used. Weak personnel management in the education sector has meant that even fake teachers got into the system. The latter resulted more from internal corruption than political interference. Ramifications of this loss of merit in recruitment included increased politicization, absenteeism and corrupt practices.

The most significant improvement in recent years has been an effort to reestablish merit in recruitment in all provinces. The recruitment process, infested with political pressures and corruption, has begun to shift towards merit and in doing so has gone through a learning curve itself as third-party examinations, through the National Testing Service (NTS), have been introduced in Sindh, Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP).

FACTORS AFFECTING RECRUITMENT IN PAKISTAN

A teacher recruitment policy has a number of dimensions, as an interlocking set of variables impact it. This section will discuss the dimensions as follows: The first dimension is the planning for recruitment and the considerations it attempts to meet. Second, is the recruitment process itself and the factors it takes into consideration. Finally, there are the policies related to PSTE that also have a bearing on teacher recruitment.

Recruitment planning

Access factors or more specifically, enrollment has the most proximate impact on recruitment, but the process cannot be seen as a mere set of numbers wherein increase in enrollment leads to more teachers being recruited. A sustainable teacher recruitment plan should be aligned to the target of quality education for all, which translates into multiple strategies for improving teacher quality, making allowances for underdeveloped areas, ensuring female education and covering shortfalls in critical subjects such as science, math and English.

Teacher recruitment planning in Pakistan has been based on a supply-side analysis, often influenced by political obligations and mostly planned in a partial manner rather than as part of a systemic program for education reform. There have been no comprehensive recruitment plans until recently as the sector plans were developed two to three years ago. These sector plans are a step in the right direction. However, they still fall short as they have linked growth in enrollment to increased teacher demand, but have not identified the variable requirements for different areas.

The demand for teachers itself has never been determined, for example, on the basis of projections of increased enrollment. Often short bursts of ambitious enrollment drives bring additional students to schools who then drop out due to, among other factors, a lack of adequate teachers and with that a poor learning environment.

Another consideration is to create a limit on the number of students that can be allocated to a teacher in a single classroom. At present the Student Teacher Ratio (STR) is calculated at the school level (and not the grade level); teacher provision in the Punjab rationalization policy is based on 40:1 STR. The ratio, however, should not be calculated at the school level as it may conceal very wide extremes as even within the school one grade can have very few students while another well above 40.

Finally, recruitment systems fail to capture ground requirements holistically and have not been able to significantly reduce, or even plan for, gaps in science and math teachers or address the lack of female teachers to teach female students.

The recruitment of qualified female teachers remains a major challenge in many parts of the country. In certain areas of Balochistan or in places such as district Kohistan in KP, the requirements have to be watered down to accommodate the few literate females in the region: a fact recognized by the National Education Policy (NEP) 2009. The latter has even asked for age relaxation in case of female teachers. The problem of insufficient number of science, math and English teachers prevails across the board, more acutely in rural schools for girls.

The gap has resulted from, among other factors, poor recruitment planning (and its implementation) which suffer from a lack of clarity in purpose. Most recruitment plans result from a supply-end needs analysis. In the absence of an overall personnel database, demand-side issues like the need for an increase in science, math and English language teachers as well as female teachers has never been systematically addressed. The school-based teacher requirement criteria have not been revised for years and from a student's perspective.

Recruitment process

The recruitment process has been subject to political considerations and bribes for years. These historic issues around merit have begun to be addressed in some provinces and the current situation can be seen as a step forward but much more still needs to be done. Over the last ten years, concerns over the dilution of merit in recruitment practices have become more serious among professionals and government officials. Some donor agencies, specifically the World Bank, have begun to link its support to merit-based recruitment of teachers.

Irrespective, improving merit in recruitment processes cannot by itself resolve the issue of quality of teachers. This needs to be complimented by introducing standards in PSTE if we are to get better teachers. The lack of standardization in PSTE means the system treats all teachers with similar qualifications equally, irrespective of quality. This began to be questioned in education circles. The response in the provinces has been a resort to the NTS, an autonomous, third-party examination body, for teacher selection. NTS first emerged as an affiliate of the Higher Education Commission for selection of candidates for medical colleges and engineering universities in 2002 as a response to a need for standardized tests for candidates. With increased credibility the education departments in Sindh, Punjab and KP now use the NTS as a means for gauging teacher quality during recruitment. The NTS aims to test teachers for content knowledge and not pedagogy, given that the former has been identified as the main weakness in the case of teachers in Pakistan. It is not clear if the test has some basic coverage of curriculum with weightages across simple to difficult concepts. These tests would need to be evaluated for a better understanding of the extent to which they achieve their objective.

Even as solutions to teacher recruitment continue to improve, significant concerns remain. Firstly, a large set of teachers, selected in previous decades, control the politics and culture of this sector. It will be a few years before continued merit based selection has an impact on the professional environment. In the absence of an evaluation of the NTS, a comment on its appropriateness for teacher selection cannot be made. Improved recruitment processes alone cannot be seen as an alternative to standardizing PSTE. Without standardization, meritocratic practices in recruitment, though important, will have a sub-optimal impact.

Affiliated policies for teacher education

The NEP 2009 makes two major recommendations. Firstly, it calls for enhancement in the minimum teacher qualifications to graduate and, secondly, it pro-

vides a five year period for all provinces to allow the existing set of teachers to improve their education. Despite the lapse of this period, the change has not been made partly due to low emphasis on the policy but also resistance from a large number of teachers. In any case, in many parts of the country it will be difficult to find an adequate number of qualified teachers, especially, among females. Given the current capacities of the PSTE institutions, the country will have to live with the less qualified teachers for a few more years as an unrealistic enhancement of qualification requirements will not provide adequate numbers.

At present the need to standardize PSTE appears to be a low priority, as most efforts of the past, and present, seem to have failed to find traction. The National Accreditation Council for Teacher Education had notified standards for teacher education. These, however, have remained on the shelf. Similarly, efforts at improving the quality of teacher education through the Pre-Service Teacher Education Project (Pre-STEP) do not appear to be a high priority reform area for the provincial governments.

More importantly, the degrees introduced under the Pre-STEP are not likely to have a major impact. The provinces continue to struggle with adjusting recruitment rules to accommodate teachers trained under the Associate Degree in Education (ADE). The four-year curriculum has been, understandably, implemented in only a few institutions and for many years to come this will continue in parallel with other programs, especially in provinces with weaker education endowments. This has caused further confusion in recruitment processes.

RECRUITMENT POLICIES AND PROCESS: A PROVINCIAL PICTURE

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

KP has seen an increased commitment to meritocratic teacher recruitment under the new government elected in 2013. The province has, following in the footsteps of Sindh and Punjab, introduced the NTS for recruitment of teachers. It follows Sindh in making attainment of a minimum score mandatory for selection.

The province, much as in the case of Sindh and Punjab, has not been able to provide a long-term teacher recruitment vision to meet the requirements of Article 25-A, in conjunction with critical reforms in teacher education. Nor has it developed a clear criterion for STR and diagnostics of deficiencies in critical subjects and in numbers of female teachers.

Punjab

As the largest province in terms of population, Punjab faces the greatest challenge in finding sufficient teachers and ensuring merit is upheld across the large scale of recruitment. Over the last almost 20 years, the provincial government has experimented with different approaches to recruitment to deal with three issues: providing requisite numbers to match increased enrollment, ensuring merit and improving quality of candidates through enhancement of selection criteria.

To address the numbers issue on a fast-track basis, the government supplemented supply with contract teachers. In the late 1990s, the Punjab Government began its first experiment with contract teachers. In the period from 2003 to 2008, recruitment of graduate teachers for the primary level began with the hiring of contract educators (sic). It was believed that using the term educator instead of teacher might make it more respectable, and therefore attractive, for candidates with higher qualifications. This reflected perhaps a misguided approach wherein the policymakers considered respectability a factor of nomenclature and not of performance of the teaching profession.

After 2008, as the government became increasingly strict about merit in recruitment and took away the discretion of selection panels by allowing them to award only 5% of the marks to any candidate, the remaining 95% of the score came from the academic career of the candidate. The policy came under criticism as it was seen as a means for passing teachers through the recruitment process, often products of the widespread malpractices in PSTE examinations even as it followed merit.

In 2013, the provincial government changed this further and introduced the NTS as part of a two-step process. At the first level, only candidates who score at least 50% in the NTS test qualify for the second round. Once a candidate qualifies, their academic record decides selection. This filter reduces the untested acceptance of unfairly obtained PSTE degrees and certificates. In the latest NTS test, only one fourth of the nearly 600,000 candidates qualified for the first level.

Recruitment planning continues to be more short-term and the province still has to evaluate needs in terms of Article 25-A. The most recent Punjab Education Sector Plan provides a projection for five years but does not directly link this to improved quality. In any case, the Punjab School Reforms Roadmap, supported by the Department for International Development (DFID) and the World Bank, functions as the main operative document and not the Punjab Education Sector Plan. While recruitment has been linked to the current enrollment drive, serious gaps remain in terms of revision of the STR and PSTE.

Sindh

Sindh has, until recently, faced serious allegations relating to its failure to give due attention to merit in recruitment. According to the Sindh Development Review 2008 - 09, the province has issues of governance including politically driven recruitment and transfer of teachers. However, there has been an improvement in this state of affairs with greater emphasis being placed on the role of merit in the recruitment process. In 2012, Sindh became the first province to introduce recruitment through the NTS.

The Sindh Education Sector Project, supported by the World Bank, became the main driver of this change. It had a Disbursement Linked Indicator (DLI), which called for merit-based school specific recruitment of teachers.

The province has also introduced the Teacher Recruitment Policy 2012. The policy addresses a number of existing gaps and targets schools identified as closed in the annual school census, those with high enrollment and recruitment of science and arts teachers. As per the policy, a candidate has to obtain at least a 60% score in the written test to qualify. In districts where the requisite number of vacancies cannot be filled, retesting has been made possible. The latter reflects the reality of certain parts of the province, which have weak education performance. Similar to the case in Punjab, the policy falls short on two counts: Firstly, it has failed to provide an acceptable STR and, secondly, it does not consider issues of poor PSTE. More significantly, it has not been based on the long-term needs of Article 25-A. Districts have been made responsible for identification of needs but the policy provides a very narrow framework for need evaluation.

Balochistan

In Balochistan, teachers selected under the Aghaz-i Haqooq-i-Balochistan package received short-term contractual employment. While initially tensions existed between the finite contract and permanent teachers, later the contract teachers started being turned into permanent employees either through political lobbying or through the courts. Teachers associations supported some of this regularization as they began to see its political advantages for them.

A few years later, in 2012, when the Balochistan High Court took up the issue of merit in recruitment, the Education Department presented a similar scheme, which received the court's assent. This reversion to merit did not necessarily mean that the quality of teachers had improved to the requisite levels, but it was definitely a step forward. It has yet to use the NTS for selection.

The Balochistan Education Sector Plan provides a five-year teacher needs analysis but does not provide details of key deficiencies in science and math or female teachers even though it identifies these as issues. PSTE continues to be a challenge in Balochistan as well (as discussed earlier).

PERFORMANCE EVALUATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY POLICIES FOR TEACHERS

Teacher performance and accountability has aspects associated with professional competence and discipline. In the best models in the country the bias is clearly towards the latter and less on the former, which means the system pays less attention to the large number of teachers striving to do their best in the classroom. Despite the focus on discipline the issue remains far from resolved in the provinces with degrees of variation among them. It may well be that the policy emphasis needs to shift to the support of the many teachers who do make an effort as opposed to those who choose not to do so. Policy re-

form should aim at recruitment on merit, professional development of the motivated and appropriate deployment and career advancement of those who prove themselves capable. A core of competent and motivated professionals at the heart of the system would be critical for any reform effort to succeed.

UNDERLYING ISSUES

The challenge of evaluation and accountability of teachers has grown with the expansion of the sector and increased politicization. Teacher performance evaluation and accountability suffer from a mix of badly organized personnel management systems, the monitoring focus itself, politicization and the lack of transparency in processes, centralization along with the disempowerment of the head teacher or local supervisor.

At a broader level, personnel or human resource management is an issue. At the scale of the education departments, this requires transparently maintained databases and clear rules, applied across the board for routine practices such as transfers, postings, selection for trainings and promotions. There has been a failure to develop appropriate structures and processes to manage the huge departments. No specialized human resource management unit exists in any of the provinces to manage the largest department of the government. Routine administrative units manage the processes, personnel files and issues related to teachers. These administrative units have neither the capacity in terms of available skill set nor the numbers to manage this effectively.

With regard to processes, even where improvements could possibly be attributed to more stringent monitoring, the change has been visible only with respect to issues such as absenteeism of teachers. Despite the importance of the problem an education monitoring and evaluation system cannot restrict itself to a singular aspect. Aspects such as student learning, classroom practices, teacher support and many other areas require focus as well.

More significantly, transparency is lacking in all of these areas with variations across provinces. The transfer policy lacks transparency and with high numbers the temptation to break the queue becomes high as well. Political pressures, internal linkages and even bribery get used to secure favorable decisions. This seems to suit the education managers as it provides them with an opportunity to oblige the powerful and in the case of corrupt officials, make money. It also takes up any time they may have for monitoring and evaluation of the system.

Punjab has introduced a merit-based policy on transfers and postings, which looks at the number of years in a station and seniority. It has led to a reduction of political interference in these decisions though the teachers associations are against the policy. Teachers associations have a vested interest as one of their main leverages with teachers is influencing transfers and postings. The downside of the policy has been a centralization of the decision making which has taken away any leverage from the district education managers. Balochistan has recently decentralized transfer and posting powers to divisional directors and district education officers. Its ability to withstand the strain of political pressures and make actual improvements on the ground remains to be seen.

Personalized and political considerations for these decisions have also led to a de facto centralization of these decisions, which, among other factors, erodes the control of the local supervisor. Centralization of evaluation and monitoring began in the 1970s with appropriation of schools by the provincial governments. Prior to this change, the provincial government essentially performed an inspection function with districts being responsible for daily operations in schools. The shift towards micromanagement by the provinces combined with expansion of schooling has been another factor for loss of control and weakening of district ownership of schools.

MONITORING, EVALUATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY MECHANISMS

This section looks at the mechanisms for monitoring, evaluation and accountability in terms of the processes at the district and provincial level followed by the role of the head teacher at the school level. It then looks at the specific practices such as the Performance Evaluation Report (PER), Student Learning Outcomes (SLOs), Education Management Information System (EMIS) and disciplinary proceedings used.

District and provincial level mechanisms

While centralization is common to all four provinces there are variations in the mechanisms for monitoring, evaluation and accountability. In Punjab three parallel mechanisms exist: the traditional education field officers, the District Monitoring Officers (DMOs) and their field teams and recently the District Teacher Educators (DTEs) employed by the Directorate of Staff Development (DSD). The traditional field officers consist of personnel from the teaching cadre. In contrast the DMOs, first introduced in the Punjab Education Sector Reform Program (PESRP) about ten years ago, are officers who mostly belong to the provincial executive service and their field team is selected from among retired armed forces personnel. The DTEs, as mentioned previously, are also from the teaching cadre.

The DMOs strictly check for teacher absenteeism and not for the quality of the teaching and learning process. The regular field officers have had their role reduced to initiate disciplinary proceedings, allow leave and decide on transfers and postings. The DMOs have to send their reports to these field officers. The DTEs have filled this vacuum to some extent, as they are expected to provide support to teachers through training and in-classroom support as well as regularly test students in all schools. The results are used in accountability and training of teachers and even the management structures above the level of the school.

In other provinces the more traditional methods continue. Recently, the KP Government has also hired monitors who visit schools to check absenteeism and use android phones to record their visits. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the measure has begun to reduce absenteeism.

With regard to quality, all provinces had the position of learning coordinators but in Punjab these were abolished when the new Continuous Professional Development (CPD) model was introduced and DTEs were deployed. In Sindh and Balochistan the traditional field officers and the learning coordinators continue as the sole monitors. There have been questions on their ability to monitor. Firstly, they do not have a clear standardized procedure given to them for monitoring, secondly they have no training and finally they often lack resources to even visit schools.

Apart from monitoring, at the district and provincial level, the district officials, directors and secretaries are primarily involved in transfers and postings while they should be more focused on policy, planning and monitoring. Like most government sectors, difficulties in disciplinary proceedings and other forms of accountability make transfers and postings an important tool for reward and punishment. The managers are overwhelmed by politically backed requests of transfers and postings. While the activity involves only a small percentage of teachers the sheer size of the department means that the actual numbers involved can be quite large. Even if the managers have to deal with 10% of the cases it can amount to 5,000 to 30,000 teachers depending on the province involved.

School level mechanisms: Role of head teacher

In all of the above, the role of head teachers has been suppressed. The system, given the proclivity for centralization, seems to have more faith in the district officials than the head teacher. Practically, the latter manages the school on a daily basis and more than 90% of teachers, according to a recent survey, depend on the head teacher for support in personal and professional matters.[1] Irrespective of de jure empowerment, schools owe their functioning more to the efficiency of the head teacher than to any other official.

It is another matter altogether that in most primary schools with one or two teachers the concept of a head teacher does not exist. In many others the head teacher, has neither the capacity nor the institutional support to hold teachers accountable. For example, head teachers very rarely, if ever, receive training on how to evaluate performance of a teacher except through peer support and in some cases through personal initiative. However, despite the general environment, exceptions in terms of good and effective head teachers can be seen but they exist in a minority.

In practice, the head teacher plays a key role in teacher evaluation as the reporting officer for the PER.

Performance Evaluation Report

There has been a general erosion of quality of performance evaluation in the government sector. The main performance evaluation tool, the PER, has become a poor measure. Increasingly supervisors fear putting adverse entries into the report, which means all teachers receive a favorable evaluation. Effectively the promotion structure has become a pipeline with movement based entirely on seniority.

In the case of Sindh and Balochistan the introduction of the time scale, under which teachers automatically

BOX 5.1: TEACHER ABSENTEEISM FOCUS IN MONITORING

Absenteeism has been the main issue of teacher (and school) accountability since the World Bank supported reform process started in Punjab in 2002. The singularly focused policy drew attention away from the kind of accountability necessary to reform a school system, especially, the dimension related to the teaching and learning process in the classroom. While in the last decade Punjab improved its situation the singular focus also meant that it lost a decade that could equally have been devoted to monitoring the crucial quality aspects. Only recently has DSD added such indicators to the mix. KP, which has been a late entrant to the model, has emulated the Punjab model without learning from its mistakes. The policies appear relatively less focused on improving the performance of the majority of teachers who actually do come to schools and teach. They need support and the focus on absenteeism has meant that they continue to struggle in the absence of institutionalized assistance to help them improve as teachers.

get promoted to the next pay scale after completion of a basic minimal period, has made annual evaluation irrelevant. This has not only created a potential financial burden on the government, which will balloon out of control over the next few years, but has also made individual performance evaluation irrelevant.

The ineffectiveness of the evaluation reports owes not only to the culture of fear of writing adverse reports, but also the lack of capacity of the head teachers and senior field officers. Within the limitations, and provincial differences above, the performance evaluation tools provide scope to factor in professional and technical aspects of teaching. Often this is not reflected in the PER because of the inability of supervisory officers to evaluate aspects related to performance in the classroom. Often such officers lack the requisite skills to make such evaluations.

Practically, the system (primarily) demands presence of the teacher, assurance of discipline in the class and in some cases examination results. In cases where examinations have been, and continue to be, used for teacher accountability the system has often failed to recognize the initial endowments. It has also led to the teacher's involvement in practices to cheat the system through encouragement of unfair means and practices amongst students.

Use of student performance

At a systemic level, evaluation of teacher performance through SLOs or other similar indicators has not been a prominent practice until recently and that too mainly in the Punjab. Traditionally in all provinces, the first test of teacher capacity can be seen in the secondary level examination. For the most part, examination results have not received serious attention with regards to teacher performance. In some instances, depending on the secretary of education, the board examination may be used as an instrument to evaluate teacher performance. Practically the incidence of such practices has been very low and dotted over years. In any case, as indicated above, relying on exam results to ascertain student learning and teacher performance remains problematic due to the high stakes and pressure to cheat.

In addition, the provinces do not have a systemic evaluation process to loop back to classroom teaching and learning by way of learning outcomes and other indicators. A passive acceptance of results seems to combine with some project based or politically motivated improvements. The increased seriousness of recent years has also not translated into systemic evaluation. Only monitoring limited to absenteeism, as discussed above, appears to be the primary focus in case of provincial governments that have increased their emphasis on education.

Punjab can be seen as an exception to some extent. In the last few years the DSD has linked its interventions to the results of the monthly tests conducted which means the department does not have to wait till the secondary examinations. While a better design than the previous policy it is not clear how it impacts the teaching learning process in the classroom as more follow up studies would be required. Punjab Examination Commission (PEC) examination also functions as a system level assessment. In both cases, DSD and PEC, credibility of the process has been questioned. In other provinces such systemic processes have not been put in place so far.

More significantly the DSD and PEC continue to operate centrally. District authorities and schools do not have a direct involvement and stake in improvement of the teaching learning process. Without involvement of, and feedback from the teacher, interventions based on realities of the classroom cannot be appropriately designed and implemented. At the senior most levels of the government the rhetoric still largely revolves around terms such as absenteeism and enrollment only (Box 5.1). SLOs and teacher competency have not been taken up as the most critical issues in the education sector.

Education Management Information Systems

EMIS set up in the early 1990s envisaged systemic coordination of decisions, operations and resources. Practically, this objective was never achieved and the provincial EMIS have failed to rise beyond being stand alone databases, focused on enrollments and schools with very limited usage. In Punjab, until the Program Monitoring and Implementation Unit (PMIU) took over, EMIS use had been particularly limited. From a personnel management perspective, the provincial setups use the tools of transfers and postings and disciplinary proceedings in case of absenteeism. In both these situations the leverage of the government has been reduced to an extent although again the degree varies across provinces.

Disciplinary proceedings

Disciplinary proceedings are also influenced by factors such as teachers associations, linkages with influential political persons and corruption. They allow many to avoid disciplinary proceedings for absenteeism. Stories of *visa teachers* in Sindh abound, where some of the teachers work abroad while they also receive pay from the department back home. Sometimes these teachers hire proxies at lower wages, which they pay out of their own pocket. Despite this practice being widely known no serious action ever seems to be taken.

To avoid lengthy disciplinary proceedings, reduce the influence of the teachers associations and control the salary and pension bill, the provinces began to hire teachers on time bound contracts with lower salary than regular teachers. The approach allowed them the flexibility to hire more qualified teachers, have stronger control and a manageable budget. Practically, after some years these contract teachers developed their own political linkages within and outside the department. Also the teachers associations saw them as a source of potential support. Through political pressures, and sometimes court decisions, most of them were regularized as government servants. The larger culture subsumed the artificial subset created within it.

TEACHER MOTIVATION AND STRUCTURE OF INCENTIVES

The teacher works in the classroom. Most reforms ignore this reality of the profession. Teacher motivations and incentives have as much to do with the reality of the classroom as with pay, promotion structures and even social status. Probably a close second, in terms of incentives, would be posting in a home station. Weak PSTE and poor in-service support combined with centrally imposed curriculum and textbooks, often developed in isolation of ground realities, makes teaching in the classrooms a very hard job for the majority of teachers who want to work. In addition to these problems, teachers often have to take classes in subjects unfamiliar to them. Primary school teachers work in multi-grade classrooms with little or no training to manage this difficult task. High school teachers in urban areas teach classrooms of up to 100 students. Most of these issues remain below the radar of education reforms and policy.

Unfortunately, reforms have mostly focused on dysfunctional schools and teacher absenteeism. They have largely ignored the more crucial aspect of effectively supporting the overwhelming majority of teachers who do attend schools and do their work but often not well enough.

This section derives largely from the *Voice of Teachers* survey, a national perception survey of 1,219 teachers across 15 districts of the four main provinces of the country.[2] The purpose of this survey was to provide importance to the teachers' voice on issues that impact their professional practice. It gathered the teacher's perspective on a number of issues related to the teacher.

CHOICE OF PROFESSION AND SALARY

Teaching as a profession of last resort often gets overrated. Many of the male teachers interviewed in the survey mentioned above stated that they were not in the profession of first choice, but it did not nec-

Table 5.1: Government teacher satisfaction with salary
Source: SAHE & Alif Ailaan, 2014

	KP	Punjab	Sindh	Balochistan
To a great extent	40%	24%	61%	36%
Somewhat	50%	44%	36%	40%
Very little	7%	15%	2%	18%
Not at all	3%	17%	1%	7%

essarily mean a continued lack of interest. Their issues, once in the job, remained similar to the females, for whom teaching presented often the first and only choice. In other fields of work too, professionals performing well, are not limited to those for whom a given profession was the first choice.

Incentive for teachers, in terms of salaries, does not appear to be a major problem (Table 5.1). In KP 90%, in Punjab 68%, in Sindh 97%, and in Balochistan 76% of the teachers expressed satisfaction with their salary in the survey conducted. The satisfaction probably comes from an increase in the government pay over the last ten years.

PROMOTIONS AND SERVICE STRUCTURE

Promotions, probably, can be termed as the most difficult incentive to provide to the teachers. Given the huge numbers, promotions would be slower than in other cadres. The first promotion takes the longest (Figure 5.1). In case of females the average time increases in the first and second promotions. The reasons for this are not clear but one could be limited access of female teachers to administrative staff who often need to be persuaded and pushed to prepare their files and cases for timely consideration by the relevant authorities.

In general the slow promotion appears to have been accepted by teachers as a factor and did not surface as a major disincentive in the survey. Secondly, the introduction of time scale (as discussed above) has made promotions less relevant to the incentives structure.

However, the desire for administrative positions appears to be a driving force for many teachers (Table 5.2). In Sindh and Punjab the number of such teachers does not constitute a majority but still remains very high at 43% and 35%, respectively. In KP and Balochistan a majority of teachers revealed this preference.

The desire creates a number of distortions in the work environment. The number of administrative positions available is few given the number of aspirants for these positions. In the absence of a transparent method for selection (and removal) of teachers to these positions, political maneuvering becomes inevitable. The position holders find themselves vulnerable to whimsical reversion to the position of a teacher, which makes them more pliable to requests by influential persons.

Figure 5.1: Number of years between promotions for government teachers
Source: SAHE & Alif Ailaan, 2014

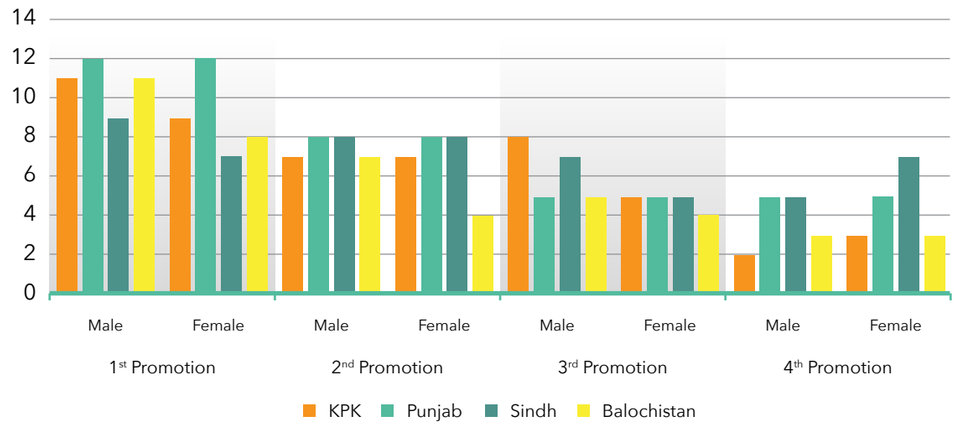


Table 5.2: Teacher preference for administrative positions
Source: SAHE & Alif Ailaan, 2014

		KP	Punjab	Sindh	Balochistan
Male teachers	Yes	72%	43%	35%	57%
	No	28%	57%	65%	43%
Female teachers	Yes	72%	37%	49%	86%
	No	28%	63%	51%	14%

The teachers posted to administrative positions do not receive any training on education management. They have to look to the clerical staff for guidance as they have no idea of financial matters, and while some learn this on the job, the ability to manage the school system remains a concern. In the past, efforts to create specialized cadres for education managers have not succeeded in any of the provinces. The failure has been partly due to poor policy implementation and mainly due to the pressures of the teachers associations as they see these positions as useful in augmenting their power. A separate management cadre would place such positions beyond their access.

TRANSFER AND POSTING

Choice of posting has also received a lot of attention as another critical motivation factor. Data reveals that a majority of teachers express satisfaction with their current postings (Table 5.3). The anomaly in perception of education managers comes from their inability to deal with numbers as a mere 16% of teachers in Punjab, for instance, translates into almost 40,000 teachers in Punjab and similarly large numbers in other provinces.

PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Factors such as the school's physical infrastructure have a critical role in motivation. An overwhelming number of government teachers think missing facilities negatively impact their performance (Table 5.4).

This includes Punjab, which has managed to overcome the missing facilities issue to a considerable degree (going by current criteria). The physical environment of and the facilities available within the workplace (as with other professions) impact the teachers' performance (Box 5.2).

SUPPORT, MONITORING AND EVALUATION

The politics and lack of capacity has a negative impact on the work environment of the teachers. These managers either look to their political masters or in other cases, because of inability, wait for centrally directed policy and plans for implementation. School visits and teacher support, central to their work, becomes a peripheral matter.

The situation has led to centralization of functions such as professional development, monitoring and even mentoring. In Punjab the PMIU and DSD perform these functions, in Sindh the Reform Support Unit (RSU), in KP the Project Implementation Unit and in Balochistan the Policy Planning and Implementation Unit (PPIU) and Provincial Institute for Teacher

Table 5.3: Percentage of teachers satisfied with their current posting
Source: SAHE & Alif Ailaan, 2014

		KP	Punjab	Sindh	Balochistan
Government teachers	Yes	88%	84%	94%	91%
	No	12%	16%	6%	9%
Private teachers	Yes	92%	100%	100%	100%
	No	8%	0%	0%	0%

Table 5.4: Missing facilities as a factor in motivation for teachers
Source: SAHE & Alif Ailaan, 2014

		KP	Punjab	Sindh	Balochistan
Government teachers	Yes	82%	65%	72%	82%
	No	18%	35%	28%	18%
Private teachers	Yes	58%	53%	29%	39%
	No	42%	47%	71%	61%

Education (PITE). In some cases parallel structures have been developed, such as the DMO in Punjab, to circumvent the poor capacity of the regular district units. This has further distanced the decision makers from the teacher.

The teachers interviewed explain how in the absence of pedagogical and content knowledge support, they often use informal peer learning to help them perform. These include other teachers from within the school or those teaching in proximate ones.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF WORK

An important missing factor in the system has been acknowledgment of work. This again stems from a failure of the department to develop a transparent evaluation and accountability system. Secondly, the ability of a smaller number to get unfair privileges due to political connections also demotivates the rest of the teachers. In the *Voice of Teachers* survey, when asked, teachers considered the exceptional circumstance where a senior official recognized their work, as high points of their careers.

Teacher motivation in the sector, similar to other areas, can be seen as a mixed bag. The primary gap seems to be in the failure to recognize the teacher as a professional. The importance of salaries and postings cannot be underestimated but unless policies consider the professional needs of the teacher in the classroom and in school the gaps will continue. A teacher with professional support, augmenting the ability to deliver, will always be more motivated to work and be respected in society. Traditionally, the teacher has enjoyed a high level of respect in all provinces in Pakistan. The decline in teachers' standing has been the result of many being limited to accessing low quality education themselves, neglect of their professional needs in terms of appropriate training, in-school support and acknowledgement. The problem has been exacerbated by political interference in governance and day-to-day management.

BOX 5.2: SCHOOL BUILDINGS: UNFRIENDLY WORKPLACES

The provincial Communication and Works Department designs and constructs schools. In most cases they use a standard design across the whole province irrespective of the weather conditions. These designs have never been developed keeping in view the needs of the users: the teachers and students. The buildings become cauldrons in the summers for example in places like Thar and freezers in the winters in other regions. The number of toilets constructed for a school depends on the rooms and the student population. In many over populated urban schools neither students nor teachers have adequate toilet facilities. Teachers do not always have rooms to work in separately. Sometimes water has to be fetched from a distance. These problems have become perennial and resolution depends on the largesse of minister, a secretary or a project. Often, facilities provided become redundant as recurrent budgeting for maintenance and replenishment is not provided. Many laboratories in high schools have become dysfunctional due to this factor. The teacher appears voiceless in the situation. The few who have the ability to raise a voice have other priorities as leaders of teachers associations.

CONCLUSION

In order for Pakistan to meet its commitment to improving the quality of education there is a need to focus on improved formulation and implementation of policies impacting teachers. The focus of this chapter is primarily on policies related to recruitment, monitoring and evaluation and teacher incentive structures.

When discussing teacher recruitment it is important to focus on the quality of teachers and whether or not they have been selected on the basis of merit. Currently the provinces do not have a standardized planning process for recruitment and rely primarily on enrollment levels to determine the number of teachers recruited. A more nuanced approach would include focusing on the need for better quality teachers of science, math and English and emphasis on the recruitment of female teachers. At the same time, the space for politically driven recruitment has to be minimized. But, it is important to remember that improving recruitment policies does not work in a vacuum: those available for recruitment should have the requisite capability and motivation and this has much to do with the quality of their academic and professional education, as well as the monetary and non-monetary incentives in place. In an effort to standardize the recruitment process Sindh, Punjab and KP have adopted the use of the NTS. While any step in the direction of recruitment on the basis of merit is welcome, it is important to evaluate the quality of the NTS itself. Although NTS is known to tests for content knowledge and not pedagogy, it remains to be seen how well it assesses candidates.

Currently, processes related to monitoring and evaluation focus on teacher absenteeism and discipline and do not give due attention to teaching and learning in the classroom. There is no standard body responsible for evaluating the performance of teachers in the provinces. In an effort to standardize teacher evaluation procedures the government instituted the PER. However, these are not always filled out correctly because supervisors fear writing negative evaluations and are often unable to evaluate aspects of teacher performance related to classroom activities. Additionally, district and provincial level teacher monitors do not have the capacity or resources to effectively help improve quality of teaching. At the school level, head teachers do not have the institutional support or capacity to hold teachers accountable. Performance evaluation is often based on absenteeism, discipline within the classroom and in some cases on examination results. Additionally, the evaluation process is divorced from teachers and students and so their valuable input is unheard.

In order to improve the quality of education in Pakistan it is important to create policies focused on student learning and to invest in improving the capacity and support system for teachers.

[1] SAHE and Alif Ailaan, 2014
[2] This survey was conducted in 15 districts across the four main provinces of the country. It was conducted in 650 schools and approximately 1,300 teachers and head teachers were surveyed (25 percent of whom belonged to the private sector). The study comprised of a quantitative survey complemented by in-depth semi-structured interviews of a smaller sample of teachers and head teachers.

CHAPTER

6

CURRICULUM AND TEXTBOOKS

INTRODUCTION

A curriculum is a plan for action or a written document that includes strategies for achieving desired learning goals or ends. It determines the goals of education, the content and its organization, processes of teaching and learning, the activities and experiences that need to be stressed, textbooks and evaluation procedures.[1] A curriculum should have substantial input from those entrusted with delivering it but textbook development appears to be the only process focused upon in Pakistan.[2] The majority of teachers use textbooks as the principal source of material for their lessons.[3] Although publishers and textbook boards have been encouraged to recommend learning materials other than the textbook, the practice has seldom gained prominence at any level of teaching and learning. The textbook has always remained the sole source of knowledge dissemination in the classroom and the only means through which the curriculum is actualized.

That having been said, most textbooks suffer from poor quality. While curriculum in Pakistan has undergone several modifications over the years- most notably in 2006 - 2007 it was revised to make it more objectives-based, outcome driven and responsive to current needs- textbook development has not kept pace. Improvements in textbook development can play a critical role in improving the quality education in Pakistan. Pakistan is committed to improving the quality of education through its commitment to Education for All (EFA) and Article 25-A which lists ensuring good quality education conforming to prescribed norms and standards as the government's constitutional responsibility.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER

This chapter explores curriculum and textbook development in Pakistan. It traces the history of curriculum and textbook development with respect to the pre- and post-devolution scenario. Then it describes the current situation in the provinces with regards to organizations involved in textbook development and their roles, staffing and professional development as well as the textbook development process. It explores the emerging challenges that the provinces encounter as they settle into their new roles after the 18th Amendment. The chapter also reflects on the challenges faced by the institutions responsible for curriculum and textbook development and probes the possible causes that may impede the smooth functioning of these institutions.

The data provided in the chapter draws from semi-structured interviews of various representatives of curriculum and textbook institutions in the four provinces and the literature and media reports available on the said topics. The chapter draws conclusions from the available data and offers some recommendations as a way to combat the administrative snags and professional dilemmas that the institutions face at present.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON CURRICULUM AND TEXTBOOK DEVELOPMENT

Curriculum development

In Pakistan, the curriculum has undergone several revisions. The first national curriculum in Pakistan was developed in 1975 - 1976. It was then revised in 1984 - 1985 and then again in 1994 - 1995. The next review took place during 2000 - 2002. In 2005, a comprehensive review of school curricula was undertaken. The curriculum was reviewed to make it more objectives-based and outcome driven as well as responsive to the modern, socioeconomic, technical, professional and labor market needs of the country. As a result of this process, a revised curricula for 25 core subjects (grades 1 - 12), known as the National Curriculum 2006, emerged.[4] One of the hallmarks of the new curricula was the inclusion of Student Learning Outcomes (SLOs) for each subject and grade level. It was on the basis of these SLOs that assessments and textbooks were to be developed.

In Pakistan, the process of curriculum development, pre- and post-devolution, has been kept away from the key players in the field. The major stakeholders in education including teachers, textbook writers and parents have no influence on curriculum planning and development. The curriculum is simply handed over to teachers without any regard to the fact that they can be the best source to enlighten upon the development needs and interests of students.

Roles pre-devolution and post-devolution

Taken in historical perspective the process of curriculum and textbook development in Pakistan presents a partitioned view.

Pre-devolution context

Before devolution, the Federal Ministry of Education (MOE) was responsible for the development of curriculum and textbooks. The National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, also known as the Curriculum Wing, founded in 1976, bore the responsibility of supervising the curriculum and textbooks. Each province had a provincial curriculum center to ensure provincial collaboration and provincial textbook boards to facilitate publication and distribution of textbooks throughout the provinces. The textbook boards would invite writers to develop drafts according to the curricular parameters and develop textbooks. However, the textbook boards did not have the right to publish and distribute books on their own. The prepared manuscripts were first reviewed by a local provincial review committee and then sent for final approval and grant of No Objection Certificate (NOC) to the National Review Committee under the Curriculum Wing. It was only after the Curriculum Wing granted the NOC that the textbook boards could publish, print and disseminate textbooks.

Under the National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy (NTLMP) 2007, as part of an attempt to improve the quality of textbooks and learning materials, the notion of competitive publishing of textbooks was introduced. Under this private sector publishers were encouraged to develop textbooks and the textbook boards, that were once publishers, were expected to take on the role of 'competent facilitating, regulating and monitoring authorities.'[5] The NTLMP suggested as part of its implementation framework, the reform and capacity development of textbook boards to set-up review panels, resource centers and provide training to private publishers themselves.

Post-devolution context

The 18th Amendment 2010 brought significant revisions to the federal and provincial roles as far as educational governance is concerned. This had a significant impact on the process of curriculum and textbook development. The amendment triggered the dissolution of the Federal MOE and the devolution of authority to develop curriculum and textbooks to the provinces. The roles relating to writing, reviewing, approving and publishing textbooks have been reconsidered at the provincial level. These roles have been envisaged differently in the four provinces. This has been covered in greater detail in the next section.

CURRICULUM AND TEXTBOOK DEVELOPMENT: A PROVINCIAL PICTURE

INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES AND MANDATE

In each province there is one organization in charge of curriculum and approving textbook development (referred to by different names) and another, usually a textbook board, in charge of overseeing the development and printing of textbooks. Punjab is the exception, where the roles are divided somewhat differently. The actual textbooks are developed by private publishers who are registered with the provincial government and upon selection by the relevant provincial agency are given an NOC to write textbooks.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Post-devolution the responsibility to develop textbooks is shared between the Directorate of Curriculum and Teacher Education (DCTE) and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board (KPTBB). The DCTE has the mandate to provide input into textbook policy, develop review standards, conduct a review of manuscripts received and provide final approval of textbooks. The KPTBB facilitates textbook development, works with private publishers to develop textbooks and conducts internal reviews of manuscripts. Private publishers are selected on the basis of their previous experience writing textbooks and financial status, as textbook development is a costly endeavor.

Punjab

After devolution, in Punjab the key organizations involved in developing curricula and textbooks are the newly introduced Punjab Curriculum Authority (PCA) and the Punjab Textbook Board (PTB).

The PCA was constituted under the Punjab Supervision of Curricula, Textbooks and Maintenance of Standards of Education Bill. According to the PCA Act 2012, it bears the responsibility to: (1) Prepare schemes of studies, curricula, manuscripts of textbooks; (2) Approve standards of education and manuscript of a textbook produced by any person or agency before the textbook is prescribed for any class of an institution; (3) Regulate and control printing, publication and sale of textbooks and other supplementary material; and (4) Maintain standards of education.[6]

Prior to the promulgation of the 18th Amendment and formation of the PCA, the PTB was in charge of the textbook development process. It used to get textbook manuscripts through open competition and after approval from National Review Committee, either publish the textbooks itself or through a private publisher. With the formation of the PCA much of this mandate, including the printing and publishing of textbooks, has been taken away. PTB was technically allowed by the PCA Act to compete with other publishers in manuscript development, however in practice PTB has not been allowed to do so.

Most importantly, there is an overlap in the stated roles of the organizations causing conflict between the two. The clause of the PCA Act related to 'controlling printing, publication and sales of textbooks' is in direct clash with the PTB mandate.[7] Moreover, in some quarters the view is that the PCA is inadequately staffed to take on such a large mandate, particularly printing and publishing, and may need to be restricted to a supervisory role. On the other hand, private publishers in Punjab tend to see a stronger mandate for the PCA as a positive development. Currently, the Punjab Government is considering options to resolve this conflict of mandate.

In Punjab there are numerous publishers registered with the provincial government, but around 20 to 30 publishers actually get an NOC from the PCA. Since the introduction of the public private approach in textbook development along with the establishment of the PCA, private publishers have been encouraged to invest their resources in this sector and modify practices to align textbooks with the national curriculum. However, this has not always been possible. The SLOs are not self-explanatory and are not always easy to translate into textbook material. As a result, only some publishers have been willing to or are, to some degree, capable of doing this and the rest have continued with traditional practices.

Sindh

Post-devolution, textbook development in Sindh is overseen by two organizations: the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension Wing (BCEW) and Sindh Textbook Board (STBB). Similar to the DCTE, the BCEW exercises a superior role in terms of ensuring textbook quality. It is tasked with reviewing and recommending textbooks for publication to the provincial review committee after they meet required standards.

The STBB has the mandate to develop textbooks in alignment with the national curriculum, conduct an internal review and also bears the responsibility of printing and publishing textbooks. After the 18th Amendment reforms, the STBB has also been given the directive to develop the books through private publishers. However, this process has been stalled. There are mixed views as to reasons for this. On the one hand some note conflicts between the STBB and private publishers over royalties and copyright, and on the other there is a lack of publishers with an adequate track record to meet the standards. As a result, books are still developed under the supervision of the STBB, which directly selects textbook writers.

Respondents note that there should be more coordination in the roles of the STBB and BCEW as they work on different parts of the same process. This, however, is not the case as yet, although it has been planned under the Sindh Education Reform Program (SERP) II.

Balochistan

After devolution, responsibility for textbook development in Balochistan has been given to the Bureau of Curriculum (BOC) Balochistan and the Balochistan Textbook Board (BTBB). Similar to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and Sindh, the BOC deals with the overall curriculum and ensuring quality of textbooks and the BTBB concentrates on textbook development and internal review.

Private publishers, under the public private partner-

ship mandate, develop textbooks in Balochistan. However, Balochistan faces a dearth of publishers. The BOC only has a total of 8 publishers registered with it, however, many of these institutions lack adequate human resources and just about 2 publishers actually contribute towards textbook development.

STAFF SELECTION, AVAILABILITY AND CAPACITY

In-house staff

The textbook boards and the DCTE, PCA, BCEW, BOC (hereafter referred to as curriculum authorities collectively) are expected to have, apart from management staff, editors, proofreaders and subject specialists. The textbook boards often have positions for such staff. However, these institutions tend to remain understaffed, particularly with regards to subject specialists.

For example in Punjab, the PCA was unable to begin functioning for almost one year after its formation due to understaffing. According to regulations there should be 18 posts including 1 chairman, 2 directors, 4 deputy directors and 10 research associates apart from other supporting staff. However, only 5 program specific positions have been filled and of these none are research associate positions. Most of the staff comes through the Public Service Commission and are appointed on a regular basis, except for the chairperson and secretary, who are selected for a three-year period extendable for further duration if required.

Another example is KPTBB, where 5 of the 7 subject specialist positions remained vacant for over a year in 2013.[8] In their place, proofreaders had been deployed to cover tasks such as reviewing textbooks, which had an impact on the quality of textbooks. Reasons for the vacancy had to do with the recruitment process. Subject specialists are drawn from government colleges and schools on deputation for three years and in this case they had returned to their parent department at the end of the period.

Where staff exists, capacity remains a serious issue. Positions at the textbook boards are highly sought after, due to monetary benefits of the position. As a result, the most qualified individuals do not necessarily get selected. For example, with the PTB the perception is that subject specialists and reviewers are lacking in adequate expertise and experience. And that this is what necessitated the formation of the PCA.

Textbook writers and publishers

Textbook writers are either employed by publishers or directly hired by the textbook boards from a pool of writers, as in the case of Sindh. In either case, the textbook boards usually select and approve the textbook writers. For example in Punjab, publishers hire textbook writers in compliance with the PCA criteria. They are then required to provide a list of writers to the PCA and seek a NOC before the writers can be assigned a textbook development task.

Generally textbook writers are in-service high school teachers, university professors or retired educationists. They are expected to have a good academic background, experience of textbook development and specific knowledge of the subject they are working on. For example in Sindh the specific criteria for textbook writers is preferably Master of Science (M.Sc.), Master of Education (M.Ed.) or Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) qualifications and ten years of teaching experience along with relevant subject specialization. However, these criteria are not always rigorously applied and textbook writers lacking in expertise or appropriate subject specialization often get selected.

In the case of publishers, there are separate registration and selection criteria. A publishing firm is required to have three years taxpayer certificate and be registered under the Societies Act to be eligible for registration and their track record of writing textbooks is reviewed for selection. In many cases, the organizations hired are in practice more like printers rather than publishers, in terms of their capacity. It appears that some form of patronage or political pressure is involved in the selection of publishers. Often textbook boards are inclined to work with certain publishers, due to the monetary incentives of the publishing industry. Thus, publishers are not necessarily selected on the basis of merit and quality.

A major issue then is that the textbook writers, selected through the given B.Ed. mechanism, are not necessarily of the best quality. For the most part, they do not have any training in the development of textbooks. Even if they are subject specialists, they often lack knowledge of pedagogy. More importantly, they are unaware of the curriculum and its associated SLOs. Thus, they often face difficulty in developing textbooks according to the curricular SLOs. As things stand, publishers are unwilling to invest in hiring qualified persons and this poses a major challenge in terms of producing quality textbooks.[9]

Textbook reviewers

Textbook reviewers usually form part of an Internal Review Committee (IRC) or External Review Committee (ERC) depending on which institution they are placed at. The roles and profiles differ slightly. The IRC consists of 4 to 6 persons, including a relevant subject specialist, working teachers according to the textbook level (e.g. primary school teachers for primary textbooks) and other experts. In Balochistan, the IRC has members from the Provincial Institute for Teacher Education (PITE) as well. The ERC has a broader range of 6 to 9 reviewers including content, curriculum, and assessment experts, working teachers and university or college faculty members as well as representatives of the textbook boards and curriculum authorities. The ERC is usually headed by a private sector or retired educationist. In Sindh an illustrator should also be a member of this committee but such a person is not usually available.

The curriculum authorities often have a pool of textbook reviewers who they draw from. For example in the case of Punjab, the PCA draws from a pool of over 500 registered textbook reviewers. The textbook reviewers are expected to review the manuscripts and suggest improvements on the writer's work in light of the guidelines provided to them. Textbook reviewers are provided a brief orientation on the curriculum and SLOs (as in the case of the PCA), but there is no formal, structured training offered.

Selection of members for the review committees, for example in Sindh, is done by the BCEW forwarding suggested names to the Education Secretariat, which provides final approval and notifies the committee. However, people often get appointed to the committees on basis other than appropriate expertise. As a result they do not always participate in the review process as required.

TEXTBOOK DEVELOPMENT AND REVIEW PROCESS

In all the provinces the process of textbook writing and review follows a similar trajectory, from manuscript development to at least a two-stage review process (one conducted at the level of the textbook board and the other with the curriculum authority) and a final notification of the textbooks (Table 6.1). There are a few notable exceptions in the process. For example, all the provinces make use of private publishers with the exception of Sindh, which works with textbook writers directly. As a result, the STBB is more closely involved in the textbook development process. In Punjab, the PCA is meant to serve the curriculum authority as well as oversee textbook development. It also has a more detailed textbook review process. Finally, apart from KP, there does not appear to be a requirement to field-test the manuscripts before granting a NOC.

Textbook development and review guidelines

Textbook development and review follow a set of guidelines. Again, there are similarities with a few notable exceptions. Textbook writers are expected to develop manuscripts in accordance with the SLOs in the national curriculum and ideology of Pakistan. Apart from this, they are expected to make use of their own understanding, knowledge and skills as well as previous experience in drafting the manuscript. They are not expected to do any additional research during textbook development.

With regards to textbook review, apart from ensuring manuscript alignment with the national curriculum SLOs, reviewers follow other guidelines as well. In Sindh reviewers review the entire manuscript for content, illustrations, volume and length. The IRC is given an informal one-day training for reviewing on the basis of said SLOs, competencies and benchmarks. There are no major differences between the internal and external review processes.

In Punjab the review process goes through four stages and committees are guided to look for a pedagogical scheme of the respective subject as prescribed in the respective curriculum, volume (should meet page-limit set by the PTB), plagiarism (should have original content), discriminatory material (should be free from all kinds of social, regional, cultural, religious, gender, ethnic and sectarian biases) and piloting (manuscript should be pre-tested with a representative sample along with appropriate documentation of checklists and evidence). To what extent all this takes place in practice is another matter.

Table 6.1: Textbook development and review process in each province

Process	KP	Punjab	Sindh	Balochistan
Step 1: Selection of textbook developers according to criteria laid down.	KPTBB invites private publishers and approves textbook writers.	PCA invites private publishers and approves textbook writers.	STBB invites textbook writers directly.	BTBB invites private publishers and approves textbook writers.
Step 2: Development of textbook in accordance with SLOs in the national curriculum and submission of manuscript.	Private publishers develop manuscript and submit to KPTBB.	Private publishers develop manuscript and submit to PCA.	A team of writers, led by a senior writer, divide topics and develop manuscript. Senior writer compiles drafts and edits manuscript before sending to STBB.	Private publishers develop manuscript and submit to BTBB.
Step 3: Internal review by the IRC of the manuscript for alignment and quality and submission of recommendations. Revision of manuscript by textbook developers.	5-member IRC reviews/ submits report to KPTBB. KPTBB arranges a meeting of IRC and publishers for sharing and answering questions.	Review goes through four stages: Stage 1: A 4-member committee reviews/ submits report to PCA. Publisher incorporates changes. Stage 2: A 3-member committee reviews revised draft, if any gaps left, it is sent back for improvement.	4-member IRC reviews/ submits report to STBB. In some cases STBB edits manuscript itself, otherwise the IRC works with textbook writer to facilitate changes.	First a desk review conducted by BTBB. 6-member IRC reviews or submits report to BTBB. Publisher incorporates changes.
Step 4: External Review by the ERC constituted by the curriculum authority, which reviews manuscript and submits recommendations for further changes to textbook developer or approval.	KPTBB sends manuscripts to DCTE. DCTE constitutes 9-member ERC ERC reviews manuscripts and recommends revisions, if any. After revisions, ERC recommends which manuscripts to adopt. DCTE pilot tests recommended manuscripts.	Manuscript is already with PCA. Stage 3: Technical Review Committee 1 is formed with 4 members not part of earlier committees. Technical Review Committee 1 reviews and provides feedback to publishers. Stage 4: Technical Review Committee 2 comprising 3 members reassesses refined manuscript and if no further gaps, recommends for NOC.	STBB sends manuscripts to BCEW. Provincial Review Committee of BCEW constitutes sub-committee for external review. Committee reviews manuscript and recommends revisions Revisions go back to textbook writer via STBB, which ensures incorporation. Provincial review committee submits final report for recommendation of NOC.	BTBB sends manuscript to BOC. BOC constitutes 5-6 member ERC. ERC reviews manuscript and recommends revisions. Publishers incorporate changes. After revisions, ERC recommends which manuscripts to adopt.
Step 5: Final selection of textbooks by the Select Committee appointed by the department of education and issuance of an NOC.	Based on pilot results, Select Committee awards NOCs for top textbooks.	Select Committee awards NOCs for top textbooks.	Select Committee awards NOC.	Select Committee awards NOCs for top textbooks.
Step 6: Printing and dissemination of textbooks.	KPTBB informs publishers and issues orders for printing textbooks.	PCA (according to procedure) informs publishers and issues orders for printing textbooks. Prior to this it was PTB.	STBB informs publishers and issues orders for printing textbook.	BTBB informs publishers and issues orders for printing textbooks.

Emerging issues

One of the issues raised in regards to textbook writing, is the struggle that textbook writers go through in interpreting the curriculum document and aligning it with SLOs. As mentioned previously, they receive no structured training from either the textbook boards or curriculum authorities to gain insight into the document. As a result, textbook manuscripts often to do not meet the review requirements, causing delays in publishing or subpar quality textbooks are produced. For example in Sindh the STBB has, at times, had to rewrite textbooks on behalf of textbook writers.

Another issue is conflicts with the review feedback or pressures that prevent incorporating review feedback. This is often due to gaps in expertise or perceptions between the writers and publishers and the review committees. For example, in Sindh, on occasion, textbook writers and even the STBB disagree on the feedback on manuscripts that they receive from the BCEW review committee. In the case of Balochistan, due to the shortage of publishers, they exercise a monopoly, so review rubrics are not applied. There are also political and departmental pressures on the BOC to approve the textbooks, which hinders overall quality. Textbook reviewers feel that they cannot raise critical issues or reject a textbook in fear that the next time they will not be included in the process.

Finally, there are coordination problems between the institutions and the review committees, which result in extensive delays in the textbook development process. In the case of Punjab, due to the revision of roles between the PCA and the PTB and the ensuing struggle for turf, there have been substantial delays in the approval of textbooks this year. In December 2013, PCA granted a NOC to 106 manuscripts for grade 8 and the Select Committee was required to finalize the manuscripts for printing and the provision of textbooks. However, the Select Committee allegedly went beyond its mandate to initiate a review of the manuscripts and declared them too full of mistakes to be published.[10] It claimed the PCA review had not been conducted properly, thus NOCs were not granted. The PTB was expected to develop manuscripts for textbooks, but this did not happen. The Punjab Government is in the process of working out a solution. However, for the 2014 academic year, students have to use old textbooks.

STATUS OF TEXTBOOK DEVELOPMENT

Curriculum and textbooks share a vital link. The new curriculum was promulgated in 2006 with the intention that the textbooks would be developed according to the newly available guidelines. However, to date many textbooks are still published in accordance with the old curriculum framework. The status of development of such textbooks varies across provinces. In Punjab and KP many textbooks in alignment with the new curriculum have been published and disseminated whereas Sindh and Balochistan lag behind, and are still using more textbooks based on the old curriculum.

For example in KP almost all textbooks for grades 1 to 12 have been developed. This year 72 books have been issued NOCs for publishing. The DCTE has also re-reviewed 40 textbooks as per directives of the government. In addition, 6 workbooks of different subjects have also received NOCs. In Sindh, although work began in 2010 on new textbooks, the process has been comparatively slower. At present the STBB has shared 7 manuscripts with the BCEW for review, these include English, math and science. Last year the BCEW only reviewed one textbook for grade 1. This year they will be reviewing about 20 new textbooks for the primary level. In the next phase middle, secondary and higher secondary level textbooks will be reviewed as well.

Reasons for the delays have to do with lack of capacity in the existing institutions as well as a shortage of textbook writers and publishers. The lack of textbook writers with adequate knowledge of the new curriculum appears to be an important issue. Many given benchmarks and SLOs are left unaddressed because of such incapacities. This in itself suggests lack of consistency in the application of the new curriculum together with exposing students to differential quality inputs.

CHALLENGES

The sections above have defined the roles of various organizations in curriculum and textbook development as well as delineated the processes in the provinces. The following section expands on issues alluded to earlier, reflects on the challenges faced by the curriculum and textbook development institutions and investigates the causes that may impede the successful functioning of these organizations.

SYSTEM LEVEL CHALLENGES

Insufficient clarity and familiarity with national curriculum

A curriculum in its entirety determines the goals, content and processes related to teaching and learning. Educators must be conscious of the purpose. It, therefore, becomes imperative that all stakeholders in education become familiar with the objectives of the national curriculum in order to ensure and oversee its successful implementation. Curriculum development in Pakistan has tended to be divorced from the key players in education, particularly textbook writers and teachers. The consequence is the inability of teachers and textbook writers to understand the true essence of curricular principles and goals.

Curriculum planning, therefore, shares a theory practice divide and curriculum development follows a top-down model approach. A top-down model of curriculum development is one that advocates a set of hierarchically ordered processes that are centrally initiated and controlled and that are usually operationalized by selected expert committees.[11] Such a model discourages innovation and makes teachers passive recipients of change.[12] With this model, teachers continue to sit at the academic periphery and are unable to become meaningful contributors in the field as they are not encouraged to imbibe the true essence of education. The link between curriculum planning and involvement of major stakeholders is, therefore, vital for successful application of curriculum goals later.

Lack of link between curriculum and textbooks

Curriculum and textbooks share a vital link. The new curriculum was promulgated in 2006 with the intention that the textbooks would be developed in accordance with the newly available guidelines. To date, as indicated above, many textbooks are still published in accordance with the old curriculum framework. This alone makes for an unharmonious link between the curriculum and the textbook and hints at inefficient frameworks within which the organizations operate. Unless the curriculum documents are simplified or adequate training programs are held for potential authors, the textbooks will continue to display lack of clarity and precision in terms of translating curricular aims.

INSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGES

Lack of role clarity amongst curriculum and textbook development agencies

Post-devolution, there is still a lack of clarity in terms of sharing of authority amongst the organizations responsible for curriculum and textbook development. In some cases there is a distinct overlap. As mentioned above, generally curriculum development and approval of textbooks fall within the ambit of the curriculum authorities, while the textbook boards retain the role of facilitating textbook development and publishing textbooks. However the responsibilities are not always so clearly divided. This is clear in the case of the PCA in Punjab, which exercises authority over both these roles resulting in a conflict over mandate with the PTB. Moreover, post-devolution, the members of staff at these institutions still seem unclear about their roles and responsibilities and the dearth of coordination amongst the institutions is evident.

Devolution of education has left other weaknesses. With the dissolution of the Federal MOE, there is also a lack of coordination between federal and provincial governments on important educational matters such as educational policy and planning, educational standards, curriculum standards, teacher education standards, and assessment.[13]

In the absence of role definition and precision in institutional governance, there may be an impact on intended outcomes in the longer run. Moreover, it may further problematize the functioning of curriculum authorities and textbook boards that are already at a preliminary stage of development post-devolution. In the wake of the ambiguity that prevails in governing such institutions, it is important to revisit the framework for possible modifications. The establishment of a task force in the provinces to review the existing capacity, and a road map for improving the institutional capacity of such organizations may be needed.

Inadequately staffed institutions

With the devolution of curriculum and textbook development responsibilities to the provinces, the burden on the provincial governments has increased to a great extent.[14] A major challenge being posed to the curriculum and textbook institutions is the shortage of trained staff to serve in them. A case in point is the PCA or the KPTBB, both of which had a shortage of key technical staff. Another example is of Balochistan where, apparently, some persons with political backing have been hired in the BOC or the BTBB. Lack of staff further aggravates the smooth functioning of these institutions. It causes problems in selection of textbook writers and publishers, delays in the textbook review process and aggravates the quality issue further.

Poor quality publishers and textbook writers

The curriculum and textbook organizations in Pakistan face a persistent dilemma of producing good quality textbooks. In an effort to ensure better quality textbooks the Pakistan Government has initiated public private partnerships in publishing textbooks, which was once the mandate of provincial textbook boards alone. Punjab, KP and Balochistan have already capitalized on the opportunity to invite private publishers to produce their textbooks, whereas in Sindh the STBB still reserves the right to publish its own textbooks. However, this move has not necessarily resulted in an improvement in the quality of textbooks. As noted above, publishers meeting established criteria are not always selected, in many instances they are just printers and in some cases (such as in Balochistan) there is a severe shortage of publishers to begin with.

Another aspect of this challenge is the careful selection of textbook writers. Across the provinces there are instances of textbook writers who lack expertise in the subjects they work on and awareness of the national curriculum SLOs. Three issues emerge: selection criteria are not always standardized and followed, political interference negatively affects the selection process and even where writers are highly qualified, they do not necessarily have sufficient experience or training to conduct the task at hand.

There is a dire need to improve the selection process for both publishers and textbook writers. On the one hand, selection criteria for publishers must be established and on the other it must be enforced. The same goes for textbook writers. The criteria must take into account the needs of textbook writing, and a transparent selection process that is not affected by political pressures needs to be established. Moreover adequate training programs for textbook writers are required to improve their capacity. Such steps are again necessary to prepare high quality textbooks without compromising the standard of these.

Imperfectly selected and trained textbook reviewers

A major concern post-devolution is the lack of trained staff to skillfully undertake the review process. No capacity building has taken place prior to the devolution of responsibilities to the provinces and most of the given trainings appear to have been mismanaged.[15] Further, there is a lack of orientation provided to the review staff prior to the review committee meetings. Conflicts are bound to arise if review committee members lack the professional judgment to undertake such tasks. Thus, in some cases we find examples of textbook writers unwilling to accept the feedback of review committees.

There is a dire need to rid review committees of unnecessary bureaucratic scuffles, which prove detrimental to the production of good quality textbooks. The PCA textbook review is one case in point. On the one hand there is clearly a tussle between the PCA and PTB over their respective mandates, but the fact that none of the textbooks passed final selection raises questions about the review process as well as the professional capacity of those vetting such manuscripts for publication. It is, therefore, imperative that thorough and well informed professionals are engaged for the purpose of textbook review, so that learned decisions are made towards successful textbook development. Ongoing training programs are also need to be held to improve the quality of textbook review.

CONCLUSION

RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the challenges faced in curriculum and textbook development, as outlined in the previous section, the following recommendations are given as possible means by which existing issues may be resolved.

Ensure representation of major stakeholders in curriculum and textbook development

Major stakeholders in education such as teachers, school heads and parents, are usually kept away from the processes of curriculum and textbook development due to top-down approaches. It is highly recommended that these major stakeholders be made part of the curriculum and textbook development process as they are better informed on the developmental and age appropriate needs, contextual and pedagogical prerequisites and interest domains of students. Teachers understand their own learners best and are well suited to be material developers.[16] It, therefore, becomes incumbent on provincial administrators, school heads, teachers and parents, post-devolution, to be widely aware of the aims of the curriculum in particular and to be part of its continuous development.

Establish regulatory authorities

With the struggle in terms of capacities of the above institutions it is important to have some regulatory authorities either in the form of interprovincial or federal committees. These would have the purpose of: overseeing the distribution and execution of roles at the curriculum authorities and textbook boards; bringing interprovincial standardization in the structures responsible for curriculum and textbook development; and overseeing training and capacity building of institutions responsible for curriculum and textbook development.

In the absence of a structured regulatory authority, the process of devolution, which is still markedly at a preliminary juncture, may continue to falter and struggle without having the desired impact. The involvement of the federal government, for example, may not be an unfamiliar move in a devolved set up. In most of the countries where education is decentralized, curriculum and testing remain centralized practically, whereas functions such as the selection of teachers, textbooks, and other instructional materials, and facility construction and maintenance, are being left increasingly to the school.[17] Respondents echo this notion, noting that developing a national curriculum saves time and effort and that such skills do not exist at the provincial level as yet.

In decentralized set ups, therefore, some authority can still rest with the central government. In China, which has also undergone educational decentralization, the central government reserves the mandate to approve textbooks published by any Chinese publisher.[18] The provincial governments select the textbooks to be introduced in the respective province and county level governments decide what to use in local schools. Thus, there could remain an involvement of a centralized regulatory body (perhaps, with provincial representation) in terms of providing some standardization in what students learn in schools till the time the devolved setups develop the capability to function on their own.

Engage competent personnel for curriculum and textbook development and review

A perennial hindrance towards the efficient functioning of curriculum and textbook boards has been the dearth of trained and competent staff. It is important to engage sound professionals of required fields as representatives on curriculum and textbook development and review board committees. Producing developmentally appropriate, relevant and engaging materials is the prime responsibility of the material developers. Professional curriculum and textbook development and reviews can only take place if relevant people with the necessary skills and knowledge are involved. Individuals who become reviewers by virtue of their noteworthy positions in government may not be able to achieve the desired outcomes. It is also important to initiate regular training programs on curriculum planning and development, material development, evaluation and material review processes for textbook writers and reviewers to build their capacity.

Select competent publishers

The vision that informs development of materials, content presentation, physical layout and contextual appropriateness are vital components of any textbook.[19] Such elements should be taken care of by the publishers together with the authors and textbook boards. At present publishers and others involved ignore such important features as quality control measures, by and large. Most of the textbooks suffer from typos and grammatical errors, poor visual quality and physical layout and unbalanced content and contextual representation. The result is textbooks that are unappealing and do not engage students.
It is, therefore, very important to engage competent publishers who can produce better quality textbooks keeping the above elements in mind. The government has already encouraged textbook boards and curriculum authorities to engage private publishers to develop good quality textbooks. However, the institutions need to rid themselves of nepotistic trends and bureaucratic scuffles in order to produce better quality textbooks. They then need to ensure that the private publishers follow the appropriate protocol for producing better quality textbooks.

WAY FORWARD

It is difficult to overstate the importance of an appropriate curriculum, and good textbooks, based on it, in the context of quality education. Even if the former is properly developed, with input from important stakeholders such as competent teachers and subject specialists, the articulation of curricular goals in textbooks is usually narrow and inadequate. This has the consequence of limiting the scope of the delivered curriculum and learning in the classroom. So, at both levels, we need robust institutions and rational processes that can do justice to the distinct but very much related tasks of curriculum and textbook development.

[1] Ornstein & Hunkins 1998
[2] Ministry of Education, Pakistan Government 2009b
[3] John 2001 as cited in Mahmood 2010
[4] Ministry of Education, Pakistan Government 2009b, pg. 44
[5] Ministry of Education, Pakistan Government 2007, pg. 1
[6] The Punjab Curriculum Authority Act 2012
[7] The Punjab Curriculum Authority Act 2012
[8] Ashfaq 2013
[9] Lodhi 2011
[10] Malik 2014b; Malik 2014c
[11] El-Okda 2005
[12] Markee 1997
[13] The Pakistan Business Council 2013
[14] Khan & Mirza 2011
[15] Khan & Mirza 2011
[16] Tomlinson 1998
[17] Khan & Mirza 2011
[18] Zhao & Qiu 2012
[19] Ansary & Babaii 2002

CHAPTER

7

LANGUAGE AND LEARNING

INTRODUCTION

It is almost axiomatic to state that language is central to the process of teaching and learning given that it forms the communication bridge between teachers and students. If the Medium of Instruction (MOI) happens to be a language which both teachers and students find difficult as a medium of communication, learning objectives are compromised and quality of education is undermined. Furthermore, if children from different segments of society are comfortable with different languages, some being more privileged than others, then the choice of MOI also assumes a prominent equity dimension.

In 2009, the federal government formulated the National Education Policy (NEP) in which it signaled its intent to mitigate some of the inequities in the education system. The NEP 2009 emphasized the importance of English as a language and suggested its use as the MOI in public schools as a means to achieve greater equity in the education system. The logic behind this policy was rooted in the premise that proficiency in English would create a level playing field and provide equal access to opportunities for students from different socioeconomic backgrounds.

Apparently going along with this logic, the Punjab Government introduced English as the MOI from grade 1 onwards in all public schools across the province, starting in 2009. The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Government has recently followed suit by adopting a similar language policy. While supporters of this policy applaud the move as an important way to bridge the divide in the education system in Pakistan, many commentators find the move to be detrimental in its effect on teaching and learning, especially in a context characterized by declining education indicators.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER

This chapter analyzes the debate surrounding language policy reform in Pakistan. It draws on existing literature as well as findings from interviews with various players in the education sector. It looks at the possible impact of the new language policy on educational outcomes. By using both historical and contemporary sources, this chapter seeks to inform the debate on language policy in Pakistan by addressing two main questions: (1) Is the new language policy in KP and Punjab, that focuses on the introduction of English as the MOI in public schools, a likely detriment to learning and educational outcomes? (2) Is it possible to facilitate the learning of English, a widely shared aspiration, without introducing it as a MOI from the earliest stages of schooling?

The chapter begins by describing the status of English in Pakistan and provides a brief historical perspective on developments related to language policy in Pakistan. It then summarizes language policy in schools in each of the provinces along with the views of dominant political parties in the respective provinces. It provides a deeper analysis of the language in education policies in two provinces in particular; the analysis in this part of the chapter benefits from recent studies of language policies and their use in Punjab[1] and Sindh.[2] The chapter ends with a discussion of various challenges surrounding the language policy reforms as well as key recommendations.

LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

Importance of English

In today's globalized world, English occupies an elevated status, especially in the arenas of commerce, culture, science and technology where the usage of local languages has not expanded. In such a context, the opportunities associated with technological and communication advances are not accessible to those who are not well-versed in English. There is a growing demand for proficiency in English among the workforce in public and private sectors. Upward social mobility is closely tied to fluency in English as more and more jobs in a wide variety of sectors require proficiency in English in the higher cadres. Therefore, it is not surprising that, "for many people there is a fuzzy boundary between being educated and knowing English."[3] As a result, there is a high demand for English amongst the consumers of education services.

Moreover, *quality of education* has become synonymous with the *ability of schools to teach in English*. Regional languages still serve as important cultural identifiers. However, as is the case in many other postcolonial societies, English has come to be the

language of the elite and is perceived to be the gateway to progress. These factors, combined with a desire for upward social mobility among large sections of the population, have paved the way for policies prescribing English as the MOI from the earliest stages of formal schooling.

Historical perspective and previous policies on language

The association of the English language with power and upward social mobility in Pakistan can be traced to the British colonial rule in India, which saw the adoption of English as the language of official and corporate discourse. During the course of the Pakistan Movement, Urdu was adopted as one of the key markers of Muslim identity. After independence, Urdu was adopted as the national language as part of a strategy for nation building. The All Pakistan Education Conference in 1947 linked the language in education policy to making Urdu the "the lingua franca of Pakistan."[4] Urdu was to be taught in schools as a compulsory language even though it was the first language of only a small minority of citizens. The National Education Conference 1951 highlighted the need to promote Urdu as a national language,[5] while the place of mother tongue instruction was explicitly acknowledged:

"While the mother tongue has been made the medium of instruction in all primary schools, Urdu remains the medium of instruction in secondary schools in the Punjab, Balochistan, the North West Frontier Province and Bahawalpur. In the case of Sind[h] and East Bengal, while the regional language constitutes the medium of instruction, Urdu has been made a compulsory subject. It is only in the universities that English still remains the medium of instruction…"[6]

Operationally, however, the formula that came to be adopted nationally was Urdu as the MOI for mainstream schools and English for elite schools.

Under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's government (1971-1977), Urdu's role as a unifying force for the nation was reaffirmed. However, the provinces were also encouraged to develop their regional languages. After General Zia ul Haq took power in 1979, Urdu's role in strengthening national unity and projecting a Muslim identity was emphasized. Zia ul Haq's government enforced Urdu by making it the language of school-leaving board examinations. It is noteworthy that these mandates were effective only for the public sector schools and left elite private schools untouched.

The decision was reversed under the government headed by Benazir Bhutto. Soon after, it was announced that English would be taught as a subject in all schools from grade 1. Until then, English was taught as a *subject* from grade 4. The NEP 1998-2010, proposed by the Nawaz Sharif government, did not touch upon the language issue.[7] In 2006, the Musharraf government recommended that English should be made a compulsory subject in all government schools starting from grade 1, depending on the availability of teachers and that English should be used as the MOI for math and science from grade 6 onwards.[8]

The NEP 2009 also emphasized a firm commitment to strengthening the role of English in Pakistani schools. Excerpts taken from the policy document demonstrate this commitment (Box 7.1).

In April 2010, the 18th Amendment was passed by the National Assembly and the key functions of formulating education policy, planning and curriculum development were devolved to the provinces. While provincial policies remain aligned to the NEP 2009 to a considerable degree, provinces now enjoy autonomy in education related matters. Each province now holds the authority to decide the language policy and associated implementation plans in its schools. These policy moves have both supporters and opponents and have engendered a constructive debate about the optimum.

BOX 7.1: CLAUSES IN THE NEP 2009 PERTAINING TO LANGUAGE POLICY

- English shall be employed as the MOI for sciences and mathematics from grade 4 onwards.
- For five years provinces shall have the option to teach mathematics and science in English or Urdu/official regional language, but after five years the teaching of these subjects shall be in English only.
- The curriculum from grade 1 onward shall include English (as a subject), Urdu, one regional language, mathematics along with an integrated subject.
- The provincial and area education departments shall have the choice to select the MOI up to grade 5.

Source: Ministry of Education, Pakistan Government, 2009b

CURRENT LANGUAGE POLICY: A PROVINCIAL PICTURE

Since the 18th Amendment has made provincial governments responsible for education policy in general, and language in education policy in particular, it is important to gain insight into the language policy perspectives of key political parties dominant in different provinces. The main parties in power right now include Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) and the National Party. PTI holds office in KP with Jamaat-e-Islaami as a coalition partner, PML-N holds power in the center and in Punjab, PPP holds sway in Sindh while the National Party leads the coalition government in Balochistan. By using information from political manifestos of key parties in each province, Table 7.1 provides an overview of the various ruling parties' stances on the language policy debate.

Table 7.1: Stance on language policy of key parties

Province	Main political parties	Stance on language policy
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	PTI	English should be the MOI from grade 1 onwards.
Punjab	PML-N	English should be the MOI from grade 4 onwards. Till very recently the Punjab Government's policy was that it should be the MOI from grade 1.
Sindh	PPP	The party claims to be committed to reviewing and reforming the language policy while stressing instruction in mother tongue as well as national and international languages.
Balochistan	National Party	Mother tongue should be the MOI. The new government is planning to introduce six regional languages as MOI in schools.

KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

In 2013, KP rolled out its policy to adopt English as the main MOI in its schools. Introducing English as the MOI is in line with PTI's quest to create a uniform curriculum and standard in all of KP's districts (Table 7.1). PTI's emphasis on English as the MOI is opposed by some other political forces, particularly the Awami National Party (ANP). ANP advocates for mother tongue as the MOI. However, ANP does not have significant influence on education policy following its defeat in the last general elections. Several other stakeholders within KP's education system also oppose the policy. Research also does not find evidence of any *ex ante* analysis of this policy or its implications. Nevertheless, the KP Government has apparently decided to adopt the policy of making English the MOI. Currently, there is multilingual teaching in schools but eventually KP wants to train all teachers in English. According to interviews conducted with stakeholders, an estimated 80,000 teachers need to receive training for teaching in English. However, textbooks are in Urdu at present. Successful implementation of a language in education policy that seeks to use English as the MOI is impeded by these challenges. While the KP Government tries to introduce a uniform language policy across the province, replacing the current textbooks with English textbooks will only exacerbate the problems for students and teachers alike as they remain unprepared to use the English versions of textbooks.

PUNJAB

In 2009, the Punjab Government designated English as the MOI for grade 1 onwards in all public schools across the province. PML-N, the dominant political party in the province, propagated this same policy stance in its manifesto. However, the Punjab Gov-

ernment has reviewed its policy recently and has announced that English will be implemented as MOI not from grade 1,[9] but from grade 4 onwards.[10] There may be a number of reasons for the partial reversal of this policy. The key reason appears to be the lack of qualified and trained teachers. It may not have been a coincidence that the education minister's statement was preceded by the publication of two reports pertaining to the issue of language and learning; one was a report by the British Council's Punjab Education and English Language Initiative that made public the results of a language competency test called *Aptis* that it administered which found that a majority of teachers in public as well as private schools lacked the needed competency in English. The second report by SAHE presented the findings from a research study that reviewed language use in over 100 classrooms in Punjab and found that even in English classes the use of English was scant and mostly unhelpful to the process of learning.

SINDH

The Sindh Government has not started using English as the MOI in its schools. The majority of public schools in Sindh at present use Sindhi as the MOI, 87%, as opposed to 7.9% that use Urdu, 0.3% that use English and 4.6% that fall in the category of mixed schools.[11] The PPP's manifesto is more ambivalent on the issue of language policy in schools and calls for instruction in the mother tongue, national and international languages. According to interviews, one of the reasons why Sindh may not even consider moving towards English as the MOI is the shortage of English language teachers in the government sector as they are considered a *rare commodity*. Adopting English as the MOI would be unfeasible given that even teaching it as a subject is problematic similar to the other provinces.

BALOCHISTAN

Unlike in KP and Punjab, the National Party, which currently holds the reigns of the coalition government in Balochistan, has pledged that education will be delivered primarily in the child's mother tongue.[12] Under the current policy proposals, the province is planning to introduce six local languages as MOI as per the demands of the district. These languages are Balochi, Brahvi, Pushto, Persian, Punjabi and Sindhi.

The National Party has not said much about the issue of teaching English as a second language.[13] Despite assertions regarding preference for mother tongue and local languages in the National Party manifesto, there are no plans in place to address the implementation issues such as the translation of required books into local languages and the training of teachers to use the new materials. The lack of planning is also evident in the newly unveiled provincial budget that has no allocations to undertake the work involved in shifting the MOI in the province.

A CASE STUDY OF PUNJAB AND SINDH

Recent studies by SAHE reviewing the language context in education in Punjab and Sindh point to the need for careful deliberation with regard to language policy. The mother tongue clearly has a place in the early stages of schooling as do Urdu and English in the higher grades.[14]

Punjab and Sindh provide an interesting picture because the former has already introduced English as the MOI in schools at the primary level, while in Sindh English is taught as a subject at this level. Both hold important lessons with respect to the widespread aspiration of learning English as quickly as possible from the earliest stages of schooling. SAHE investigated whether the policy emphasis on English at the primary level supported meaningful teaching and learning in government schools in Punjab and Sindh. At the time of the study in Punjab, English was introduced as the MOI from grade 1 (recently, it has been changed to grade 4) in all public sector schools. In Sindh, English is taught as a subject at the primary level. A key point that emerges from the two studies is that while Punjab has set a more ambitious goal for itself, the basic problem faced by the two provinces is much the same: An inability to teach English as a subject or a skill. In both provinces, the use of English by teachers, let alone students, was sparse even in the English classes. This is significant because if the subject being taught is English, then its minimal employment as a medium suggests major constraints in terms of both teaching and learning. In the context of other subjects, such as math or science, extensive use of the mother tongue or Urdu may even be the preferred option to help students understand the subject matter.

In the Punjab study, research was conducted in 21 schools across 6 districts of north, central and south Punjab. In total, this study reached approximately 1,700 students through 126 English, math and science classroom observations at the grade 4 level. In addition, interviews were conducted with 21 head teachers, 38 teachers and 152 parents. The Sindh study was conducted in 8 schools across 4 districts of Sindh and 9 English classrooms were observed at the grade 8 level. In addition, interviews were held with 8 head teachers, 22 teachers and 16 parents. The following observations emerged from research conducted in Punjab and Sindh:

OVER-USE OF FIRST LANGUAGE IN ENGLISH CLASSROOMS

Findings from the Punjab study suggested that the use of English by teachers was sparse, even in English classrooms, despite the fact that the Punjab Government ratified the policy of English as the MOI in 2009 (Table 7.2).

The Sindh study also found minimal use of English by the teacher even in the English classroom (Figure 7.1). While in Punjab, the average use of English language by teachers in 42 English classrooms averaged to 36% (for English-only utterances in English classrooms), in Sindh, the average use of English language by teachers in 9 English classrooms came to 30%.[15] The figures include language use supported by reading aloud from textbooks.

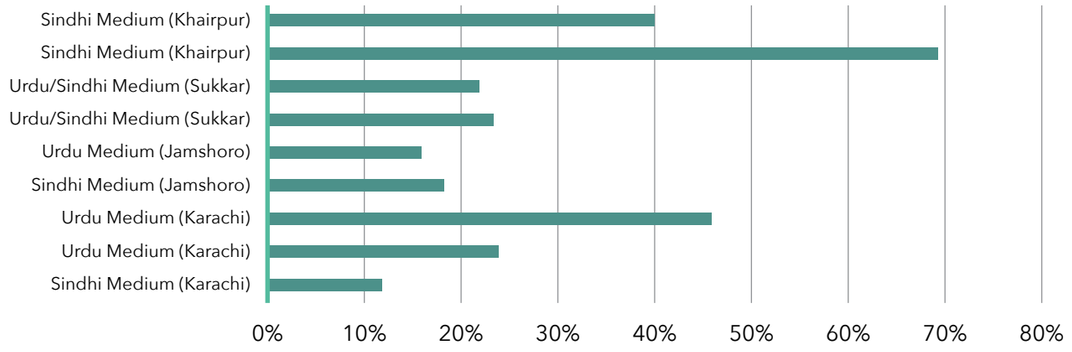
The data highlights the fact that most teachers seemed reluctant to communicate in English due to their poor command over the language. It was observed that teachers frequently went back and forth between the first language and English. That little English was being used in English classrooms points to the fact that teachers lack proficiency in it. A necessary condition for learning and teaching English is not being met, which is to provide students meaningful exposure to the target language (English). However, in math and science classrooms, the primary purpose is to teach the subject in a manner that facilitates understanding of the core subject matter and as long as that objective is being met, the mode of language is not of paramount importance. Therefore, in the context of other subjects, English (often poorly used by teachers and imperfectly understood by the students) may actually impede learning rather than further it. Even where there was relatively greater use of English in the classroom, it was mostly restricted to textbook reading and behavioral commands, which do not signify meaningful use of language for learning. Most of the questions asked in the classroom were close-ended and explanations were short. Such communication did not encourage students to express their understanding either.

The Punjab study also collected data about how language was employed by students. It was learnt that students tended to employ English sparingly and when they did use it, it was in the form of short responses by way of naming things or functions and textbook reading. There were hardly any instances of the students asking questions, and when they did so, it was only to gain permission to do something. Learning was only demonstrated through short one or two word responses to teacher prompts. The Punjab study found evidence that even when the teacher was using English in the classroom, although students were learning names of concepts and operations in English, they were frequently learning to use them in awkward and incorrect ways.

Table 7.2: Use of language in classrooms in Punjab
Source: SAHE, 2013a

	Use of English	Use of Mixed Utterances	Use of Urdu
English Class	36%	41%	Predominant
Math Class	23%	62%	Predominant
Science Class	28%	53%	Predominant

Figure 7.1: Use of English in English classrooms in Sindh
Source: SAHE, 2014



INADEQUATE EMPHASIS ON COMMUNICATION SKILLS IN ENGLISH

Both studies found that there was no evidence of a meaningful question-answer dynamic as students were not supported to listen with comprehension or express themselves in the English classroom. Students were not involved in meaningful communication that supported high quality learning experiences. Aside from textbook reading, interactions in the classroom were primarily characterized by routine prompts and directives by the teacher. This does not constitute quality teaching and learning.

In addition, research conducted in Sindh found evidence that students were poor users of language across the board, not just English. They displayed poor learning in English, Urdu and even in the first language, Sindhi. It may be claimed that poor language instruction led to poor language use by the students.[16]

SHORTCOMINGS IN TEACHING PRACTICE

Both studies found evidence that poor teaching practices are being employed, which is likely to affect the learning outcomes of students. The Punjab study found that traditional practices of instruction did not encourage students to ask questions or provide meaningful responses, and to express themselves clearly. Furthermore, observations reflected the inability of teachers to teach language through a skill-based approach where various skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing are used in a cohesive manner to augment learning. The emphasis seemed to be only on reading and writing, which indicated the use of grammar translation method towards teaching of English. An emphasis on quality communication rather than the medium of communication should facilitate better learning but was missing from most classrooms observed.

SUMMARY

The findings of the SAHE studies on language use in Punjab and Sindh show that the following conditions are prevalent across most public schools across Pakistan: (1) Teachers are unprepared to teach English as a subject or a skill, let alone employ it as a MOI and (2) Under the given conditions, students are unable to learn English as a subject or a skill and can hardly be expected to engage with it as a MOI. There is a need to deliberate upon an appropriate language policy that gives due consideration to language as a subject or skill on the one hand and as a MOI on the other and realistically relates these with different levels of schooling.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings from the various studies discussed in this chapter, a number of questions arise with respect to the effectiveness and potential repercussions of introducing English as the MOI for the education system in the provinces. If English is to be effectively introduced as the MOI in KP and Punjab and if Sindh and Balochistan consider such a stance in the future, the provinces will need to work towards creating an enabling environment that focuses on facilitating the learning of English as a skill initially with a gradual transition towards using it as a MOI.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Create an enabling environment

The evidence collected in the Punjab and Sindh studies by SAHE suggests that in the absence of enabling conditions, making English the MOI may not support improved quality of teaching and learning in our classrooms. Such enabling conditions require teachers to be competent in English as well as employ effective teaching practices. A lack of trained teachers coupled with students who lack basic English proficiency questions the merits of the proposed language policy in the NEP 2009.

Evidence from other studies support these findings as well. Moreover, according to recent reports there is a significant difference in English language learning competencies of children in urban and rural areas; a higher percentage of children in urban areas are competent in English as compared to those in rural areas.[17] However, this data[18] should be viewed with caution by reference to minimum achievement standards. Even in Punjab, which is in the lead according to the data most teachers do not appear to be proficient in English. It is highly unlikely that most students will be proficient in English either.

With regards to teachers' proficiency, a recent study by the British Council in 2013 on primary and middle school teachers in public and private sectors in Punjab found that 62% of private school teachers and 56% of government school teachers scored in the lowest possible band on their language test.[19] The result signifies that most teachers lack basic knowledge of English, including the ability to understand and to use simple expressions. Most of the remaining teachers were placed at the beginner's level in English.
At the earlier stages of schooling, it is crucial that the student is able to gain a basic understanding of a new subject and this is best done in the language that the student and teacher are most comfortable with. In circumstances where both teachers and students are not adequately prepared to communicate in English, it is recommended that English should be taught as a subject at the primary level with a focus on communication and not as a MOI. It is vital that students understand the fundamental concepts of the various subjects being taught at the early stages of school (grades 1 to 5). Thus, math and science in particular, need to be taught in a language that facilitates learning of concepts without the additional burden of language comprehension.

Build a strong foundation

While it is important to facilitate the learning of English, it needs to be done in a manner that does not compromise the quality of education received by students. For example the Punjab study indicates that the use of English terms in the math class did not help conceptual understanding. Initially the MOI should be the student's mother tongue or first language. The recommendation derives support from research literature that advocates the use of first language as the MOI in schools. Such studies indicate that students benefit both academically and cognitively from using the first language and use of English at an early stage can hinder the student's learning.[20]

However, given the sense of urgency attached to English language learning in Pakistan, English could be taught as a separate subject or skill from grade 1. Once sufficient proficiency in English has been built in five to eight years, the student can be taught different subjects using English as the MOI without compromising learning outcomes.

Resolve implementation challenges

Apart from the obvious issues of teacher proficiency in English, there are other important challenges to implementing English as the MOI. As evidence from the Sindh study by SAHE suggests, practical handicaps such as the lack of teacher training and a large

disconnect between textbooks and curriculum make it difficult to implement the policy. In KP, for instance, stakeholders expressed strong sentiment about being left out from the policymaking process. The decision to implement English as the MOI seems to have been taken without engaging important players in the education sector. As a result, without qualified teachers, availability of textbooks in the required language and resources for teacher training and stakeholder support the new MOI policies cannot be expected to bear fruit.

However, what must precede the concern with implementation issues is a thorough analysis of the repercussions of the language policy by provincial governments. It is imperative that open dialogue with key stakeholders (policymakers, teachers, head teachers, parents and students) is initiated so that the provincial governments can take informed decisions. Furthermore, a review of the language policy in Punjab needs to be conducted as it has already experimented with implementing English as the MOI in its schools. Using Punjab as a test case could provide further insight into how learning outcomes have been affected as a result of the new language policies.

WAY FORWARD

Using English as the MOI may not support quality teaching and learning in our classrooms in the absence of enabling conditions. English as a MOI can only work in the presence of teachers who are qualified to teach English as a second or foreign language. However, research has demonstrated the absence of qualified teachers.

While the vital role of English in career advancement is recognized, it is important to note that using English as a MOI especially in the absence of an enabling setting may not necessarily lead to building of quality English language skills among students. Learning of English may be facilitated by introducing it as a subject or skill from grade 1 with a gradual shift towards using it as a MOI at the middle school or high school level. At the primary level, the focus should be on facilitating learning and this can be done better in the student's first language.

It is important to encourage open dialogue between policymakers, education experts, head teachers and teachers so that an accurate assessment of ground realities can be made, and an appropriate policy and a solid implementation plan can be formulated. It is also important to realize that a one size fits all policy may marginalize and impede the educational outcomes of large sections of the student population. As research literature on language policy continues to be analyzed and circulated, stakeholders must be willing to review deeply held beliefs about language and learning in order to encourage quality learning for millions of children across Pakistan.

[1] In 2013, SAHE conducted a study titled *Policy & Practice: Teaching and Learning in English in Punjab Schools* focusing language use in the classroom and the British Council under its initiative Punjab Education and English Language Initiative (PEELI) conducted a study titled *Can English medium education work in Pakistan: Lessons from Punjab* focusing on language use by teachers.
[2] SAHE conducted a similar language study in Sindh in 2014
[3] Shamim 2011, p.6
[4] Rahman 1996
[5] The National Education Conference 1951 was held in Karachi to discuss the six-year national plan of educational development for Pakistan.
[6] Education Division, Pakistan Government 1956
[7] The National Education Policy 1998 - 2010 simply stated that before leaving secondary school students should be able to speak and write Urdu or English fluently.
[8] SAHE 2013a
[9] Bari 2014a
[10] "English medium to" 2014
[11] SEMIS, RSU, Education & Literacy Department, Sindh Government 2010
[12] National Party 2013
[13] Farooq 2014
[14] Rashid 2011
[15] SAHE 2013a
[16] SAHE 2014
[17] ITA 2014
[18] ITA 2014
[19] As part of the British Council's PEELI initiative, a study to assess English language skills of 2008 primary and middle school teachers in public and private schools in 18 districts of Punjab was conducted. The study employed British Council's computer-based Aptis language testing system.
[20] Cantoni 2007; Christian 2007

CHAPTER

8

EXAMINATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Student assessments play a critical role in enabling and shaping education quality. They serve as a means for evaluating student performance according to expected learning outcomes. They also serve as a critical tool for evaluating and informing education reforms. Most importantly, they can inform teaching practices and eventually what students learn. As such, student assessments have become a priority area in the education reform agenda of many countries.

As part of its commitment to Education for All, Pakistan has agreed to improve all aspects of quality education and ensure that recognized learning outcomes are achieved by all.[1] More importantly, as part of Article 25-A (the Right to Free Education), it is the government's constitutional responsibility to ensure good quality education conforming to prescribed standards. Recognizing the importance of examinations and assessments in driving the teaching and learning practices, the governments and donors have begun to pay greater attention to improving the availability of student assessment data. However, very little focus has been on reforming the examinations that shape much of what students learn. If anything, emphasis has been on removing instances of cheating rather than improving the quality of the exam and its associated processes.

In recent decades, there has been a substantial shift in assessment practices internationally. In high performing systems around the world, assessment is viewed as part and parcel of the learning process.[2] Assessments have become closely aligned with learning objectives and to some extent instructional strategies. Assessment strategies also privilege higher order thinking skills, rather than merely test students for memory recall.[3] Finally, the newer assessments systems prioritize providing feedback to students, teachers and schools about what has been learned, shape future learning by informing practice and help students make decisions about career paths and college choice.

There are multiple types of assessment currently in use: School or classroom based assessments, examinations and system level assessments. Classroom assessments are usually formative in nature and are used to provide information on learning. Examinations are largely summative in nature; they are used to make decisions about a student's progress in the educational system and are often high stakes. Finally, system level assessments are designed to provide information on system performance and can be high stakes if used to hold certain groups accountable. In high performing systems, there is a greater emphasis on school-based assessment, whereas external exams are meant to compliment or validate the former.[4]

In Pakistan, examinations continue to be the predominant form of assessment. A vast number of students are examined every year at the secondary level and now increasingly at the elementary level as well. Examinations in Pakistan are high stakes for students; they determine promotion into the next grade, entrance into university and have a bearing on job prospects. In some instances, they also carry high stakes for teachers. Teaching to the test is the norm as teacher performance is evaluated on the basis of exam results. Thus, examinations as a specific form of summative assessment are important to students, parents, teachers, schools and other education stakeholders in Pakistan.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER

This chapter explores the role of examinations in Pakistan as an input (or factor) that shapes quality of education. It seeks to answer these questions: Are the examinations organized in a technically sound manner? Are they helping to improve quality of education in Pakistan? What are the ways in which they can be reformed?

The chapter begins broadly with an overview of assessments in Pakistan, its history and policies as well as a description of the existing system. It then focuses on examinations, looking at the secondary and elementary examinations in the country. It mainly reviews the enabling environment and the technical quality of these examinations. It then describes the reform efforts, if any, that have sought to improve the quality of the examinations and what challenges remain. Finally, in light of these findings, the chapter indicates a way forward for examination reform in Pakistan.

For this section, the data has been derived largely from semi-structured interviews conducted with selected organization staff, affiliated members and teachers in each province. It also draws from the available small-scale studies that have focused on examination processes and papers in Pakistan.

ASSESSMENT IN PAKISTAN

This section first traces the historical trends in policies related to assessments in Pakistan to the present day. It then provides an overview of the existing assessments at the secondary and elementary levels to provide an understanding of the context.

Historical perspective and policies on assessment

A review of Pakistan's education policies indicates similar trends in the debates over assessment issues. Increasingly, education policies have recognized the need to enhance quality in the existing assessment systems and the crucial role they can play in uplifting quality at the level of classroom practices. Accordingly, all policy documents since the Sharif Commission Report (1959) have devoted space to a discussion of the kinds of assessments required and the need to balance annual examinations with some form of internal classroom based assessment or periodic exams. Issues in the examination system have been identified as far back as 1970. For instance, the education policy in 1970 put a great deal of emphasis on the need to train teachers in educational measurement and curb unfair means. The need for alignment between test content, curriculum objectives and teaching learning processes emerged in the work of the task force appointed by the Ministry of Education in 1985. The education policies of the 1990s also sought to improve the capacity of examination staff, mechanize the process of preparing and declaring results, redo the format of examination papers to include objective type, short answers, and essay type questions and discourage rote learning.

The most recent National Education Policy (NEP) 2009 and the consequent education sector plans echo many of these policy emphases in relation to assessments. They highlight rote learning as the major issue, while also recognizing that appropriate adjustments in assessments can promote much needed critical thinking amongst our students. These documents stress the need to develop standards for the conduct of assessment and examinations, to align assessment with curriculum, textbook development and teacher professional development, to develop the capacity of paper setters and examiners, and to encourage the use of assessment data to inform decision making. The NEP also discusses the use of multiple forms of assessment (i.e.- combining both formative and summative assessment approaches) and reducing differences in quality between the examinations conducted by various Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISEs) by reducing the number of such boards. The education sector plans highlight strategies to develop teachers' knowledge and skills in conducting and using assessment through pre-service education or specialized courses for teachers.

Secondary level assessment

Up until the late 1950s, the universities were in charge of intermediate education. It was after the Sharif Commission Report in 1959 that intermediate education was placed along with secondary education under the BISEs. The BISEs were meant to be responsible for organizing secondary and intermediate education in addition to examinations. This included curriculum related powers, such as, prescribing courses of study for exams, recognizing and regulating schools including the private sector, conducting extracurricular activities and all administrative functions related to exams. In practice, however, they have focused almost exclusively on examinations.

The examinations conducted by BISEs at the secondary level consist of the Secondary School Certificate (SSC) for grade 10 and the Higher Secondary School Certificate for grade 12.[5] There are a total of 1 federal and 23 provincial boards that cover both intermediate and matriculation examinations with the exception of Karachi which has a separate board for each, Karachi Board of Secondary Education (BSE) and Karachi Board of Intermediate Education.[6] Some of the BISEs were established as long ago as the 1950s and 1960s and some as recent as 2005. The number of boards has increased on the basis of increasing numbers of new schools and students. However, it is not clear whether this increase in the number of boards was warranted in the light of their mandate to organize secondary and intermediate education.

Elementary level assessment

Examinations

In the early 2000s, the need for valid and reliable data on student outcomes was increasingly felt at the national and provincial levels. This was partly in response to donor influence and partly because of the increased availability of technology to organize, process and report large-scale data on student outcomes for policy purposes. With this influence developing some form of standardized testing became more of a priority for provincial governments.

The Punjab Government was the first to organize large-scale assessments at the elementary level. In Punjab, until 2005, the Directorate of Public Instruction was responsible for organizing elementary level examinations and providing guidelines to the district education departments to develop exam papers. However, the lack of consistency and comparability across districts as well as lack of credibility of these examinations was considered to be an issue by many. In response, the Punjab Government, with the backing of several donors, sought to standardize the examinations at the elementary level. In 2006, the Punjab Examination Commission (PEC) was established to design, conduct and produce results for large-scale centralized examinations at the level of grades 5 and 8. Over the years, PEC has regularly conducted examinations for up to 2.5 million students annually.[7]

Following suit in 2011, the Sindh Government initiated the Standardized Achievement Test (SAT), which assesses knowledge and skills in math, science and language to be attained on completion of grade 5 and 8 by testing students in grades 6 and 9. The SAT follows a different model from Punjab. All aspects of SAT from test design to administration to producing results have been outsourced, through a process of competitive bidding, to the Institute of Business Administration Sukkur. The first SAT was conducted in 2012 for over 100,000 students and the second SAT was conducted in 2013.

Most recently, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Government has also embarked on devising a uniform centralized examination system at the elementary level. The modality, functions and placement of this system is still under consideration. The KP Government may decide to follow either of the models in use in Punjab and Sindh or provide an innovative solution different from both.

System level assessment

System level sample-based assessments have also been conducted in Pakistan, albeit sporadically and that too at the elementary level only. From 2005 to 2008,[8] the National Education Assessment System (NEAS) conducted nationally representative sample-based assessments for grades 4 and 8 in the subjects of language, mathematics, science and social studies. After the 18th Amendment, the provincial counterparts of NEAS, the Provincial Education Assessment Centers (PEACE) in Sindh, KP and Balochistan and Punjab Education Assessment System (PEAS) in Punjab were expected to continue this work independently. PEACE Sindh and PEAS Punjab have conducted provincially representative sample-based assessments.[9] However, due to lack of funding and technical capacity it is unclear how they will proceed. Most recently, PEAS has been merged into PEC, leaving the status of system level sample-based assessment in Punjab under question.

Classroom assessment

In terms of school- or classroom-based assessment, there are no standardized practices in Pakistan. Schools are in charge of developing their own internal assessments in the classroom for promoting children to the next grade. Such practices vary from school to school and do not adhere to any assessment frameworks or standards. More importantly, teachers are not provided with training to make and score classroom-based assessments. Recent education sector plans have recognized this pitfall and underscore the need to enhance teacher ability to conduct classroom assessments. Practically, however, not much has been done in this regard.

EXAMINATIONS IN PAKISTAN: SITUATION ANALYSIS

Assessment systems function as an integral part of the education system and should be seen as such. The drivers of high quality in assessment systems are an enabling environment, system alignment and assessment quality.[10] An enabling environment constitutes the extent to which the broader context is supportive of the assessment system. It includes the legislative or policy framework, institutional structures, sources of funding, presence of trained assessment staff and teachers. System alignment refers to the degree of alignment of the assessment with the rest of the system, specifically system learning goals, curriculum, textbooks, pre and in-service teacher education. Finally, assessment quality refers to the psychometric robustness of instruments, processes and procedures. It includes the design and implementation of the assessment, analysis and interpretation of data and dissemination of the results.

This section reviews the existing secondary and elementary examination systems in Pakistan. Specifically, it reviews the enabling environment for examinations as well as the assessment quality. Issues related to system alignment, for the most part, have been dealt with elsewhere in the report. The analysis uses research on characteristics of effective assessment systems[11] and standards in assessment as benchmarks for reviewing the system that is in place.[12] For elementary it focuses primarily on the Punjab since PEC, due its large-scale, is the only example of its kind.[13]

ENABLING ENVIRONMENT

This section reviews the enabling environments for examinations systems, focusing specifically on the mandate, governance and policy framework, organizational structures, staff selection and professional development.

Institutional mandate

Examination systems typically have four main types of purposes: (1) To certify completion of a cycle of schooling and promotion to the next level; (2) To select individuals for limited opportunities; (3) To identify gaps in student learning outcomes and inform relevant professional development institutions and subsequently teaching practice; (4) To evaluate or review the effectiveness of interventions in the education sector.

Secondary examinations

The BISE Act in each province, passed in the wake of the Sharif Commission Report, ensures a certain degree of similarity in the mandates of the BISEs across the provinces. As mentioned earlier, the BISEs have a mandate beyond examinations. Yet, in practice, they spend most of their effort organizing examinations at secondary and intermediate levels. Within the realm of examination purposes, BISEs simply focus on certification and promotion. Importantly, the mandate of BISEs does not include use of examination data for the purposes of research and feedback to the education system at large.

Elementary examinations

PEC has a broad mission for elementary examinations, which includes: (1) Designing, implementing and monitoring a system of examination for elementary education; (2) Formulating policy and programs for the conduct of elementary examinations; (3) Collecting data for research to improve curricula and teaching methodology and identify areas where improvement in the training of teachers or educationists is required; (4) Promoting public discussions on issues pertaining to elementary education. Thus, the mandate, in principle, is broad enough to fit with the purposes of examinations. However, in practice PEC's primary function remains to design, conduct and produce results of the examinations. The aspect of its mandate related to using data to inform policy and practices in the education sector has not become fully functional, since data analysis may be produced but not used.

Governance and policy framework

In most systems there is a governing law or notification that authorizes the agencies to organize examinations. There is often an accountability or regulatory framework for reviewing and ensuring the quality of activities of the affiliated assessment agency and a coordinating body at the national or sub-national level to lead this review.

Secondary examinations

The BISEs are autonomous organizations. They have a working relationship with the respective departments of education and are overseen by the chief executives of the province. They are authorized by an act such as the *Sindh Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education Ordinance of 1972*. There is a document known as the *Calendar* for each board that governs the functioning of the boards in minute detail.

Inter-and intra-provincial coordination committees coordinate the functioning of BISEs. The Inter Board Committee of Chairman (IBCC) consists of the chairmen from all BISEs. Its responsibilities include setting standards and ensuring a measure of uniformity in academic and evaluation standards amongst the BISEs, providing a forum for discussing and debating issues related to intermediate and secondary education, and granting equivalence to foreign certificates and attesting certificates and diplomas. In practice, the IBCC does not play a significant role in setting standards or reviewing practices.

The intra-provincial committees such the Punjab Board of Committee Chairman make province specific decisions such as those related to the choice of paper setters or selection of examiners. After the 18th Amendment, these provincial bodies are supposed to expand their role. However, they have not so far taken the necessary steps to respond to these expectations.

Elementary examinations

PEC was established in 2006 through a notification and was accorded legislative cover after the passage of the PEC Act by the Punjab Provincial Assembly in 2010. The act governs the composition of the Commission, its functions, delegation, budgeting, auditing along with general rules and regulations. According to the act, PEC is accountable to the minister of education and the secretary of education for administrative and budgeting matters. Most recently, its role has become central to the implementation of the Punjab School Reforms Roadmap, thus making it more accountable to Punjab's chief minister. As such there appears to be a great deal of oversight on the activities of the Commission.

Institutional structure

Well-functioning assessment agencies around the world are highly structured organizations with clearly defined functions for each department. The departments are typically led by appropriately qualified and experienced individuals. Although there are variations in what aspects of the assessment process these agencies handle directly, in-house technical staff usually manages design and analysis and there are affiliated departments or sections that deal with these processes. For example, there are departments for psychometrics, test development and research.

Secondary examinations

All BISEs are essentially structured in the same way. There are two main divisions: One is administration and finance and the other is examinations along with an audit department and Office of Confidential Press. The examinations department organizes all the activities in an examination cycle as well as other exam related activities (affiliation and registration of schools, enrollment and registration of students, development of syllabi and model papers). In some boards (Peshawar, Lahore and Karachi), there is a computer cell that keeps computerized records and tabulation of marks. In some cases, there is also a research and development cell, but it effectively does mostly non-research activities. A clearly identified department that deals with test construction does not exist in any BISE.

Elementary examinations

PEC has separate sections dealing with operations (test administration), research (test construction and analysis) and information technology (data management and producing results). There is an overlap in roles as the same section deals with test construction and analysis. Generally, there is a lack of clear separation of roles and responsibilities between the sections, partly because of lack of staff (explained in more detail in the next section).

Staff recruitment and professional development

Effective assessment organizations have trained professionals to manage and guide test construction and analysis processes. Selection of key technical staff is done on the basis of technical skills rather than just seniority. Such organizations often have a stable set of in-house technical staff and a combination of subject specialists, psychometricians, data analysts and statisticians. Continuous professional develop-

ment is considered critical, provided through on-the-job training and short courses.

Certain staff can be temporary hires such as item writers or scorers. Item writers are sometimes practicing teachers. They are usually trained in how to analyze learning objectives in the curriculum, write items that provide adequate information and judge the quality of pilot test items in terms of both content and statistical properties. Scorers must have adequate professional expertise and be trained specifically to score the particular assessment.

Secondary examinations

Almost all BISEs are lacking in technical and professional staff, particularly with skills to effectively design examinations, mark and analyze its data. All paper development and marking activities are outsourced and research staff is virtually nonexistent.

Paper setters, head examiners and examiners are public school teachers with considerable experience either from secondary schools or colleges with appropriate subject specialization. Paper setters are usually selected from an existing pool of persons. The recruiting criteria is similar across the BISEs, with some exceptions, such as Karachi BSE, where examiners must have five years teaching experience at the secondary level along with a Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) or Master's level degrees. There is also a position of a moderator, a very senior subject specialist, who is responsible for reviewing and finalizing the papers at the Karachi BSE.

Most respondents observed the lack of capacity of paper setters and examiners as a significant issue. They point to the flawed recruitment process as the main reason behind this capacity deficit; under-qualified persons get selected due to lack of adequate criteria and lack of transparency. To address this issue, some efforts have been made to improve the selection processes. For example, in Punjab an initiative led by the chief minister in 2010 sought to develop a talent pool of best paper setters. Accordingly, the BISEs devised a set of criteria that gave appropriate weightage to academic and professional qualifications, experience and a teachers test. On the basis of this process, ten persons for each subject were selected for setting the papers. Similarly, in KP, a recent effort has been made to create a database of professionals to enable a better review of credentials of potential paper setters.

Another reason for poor capacity of paper setters and examiners is the lack of adequate training. There is no program for improving the capacity, and when it does occur, it seems most professional development activities are conducted on an ad hoc basis. For example, last year the Karachi BSE conducted a 10-day training for paper setters and Peshawar BISE also trained 48 paper setters. However, these are not regular efforts.

With regards to analysis and research systems, analysts and programmers can be found on the staff of some boards. However, they do not work on data analysis. Rather, they simply process data to produce the result. There is a position for research in some boards, for example, in Lahore and Karachi. However, for the most part, these positions are either unfilled or filled by individuals with no research skills.

Elementary examinations

PEC's staffing situation has changed over the years. In the initial years, it relied heavily on technical assistance from the donors, particularly UNICEF, for key areas such as test construction, analysis and reporting. Up until 2013, it had about two to three staff members responsible for test construction, analysis of data and producing results. Most recently, in 2014, the merger of PEAS into PEC brought in two to three additional staff members with technical expertise in test construction and analysis that may go some way in filling the personnel gap.[14]

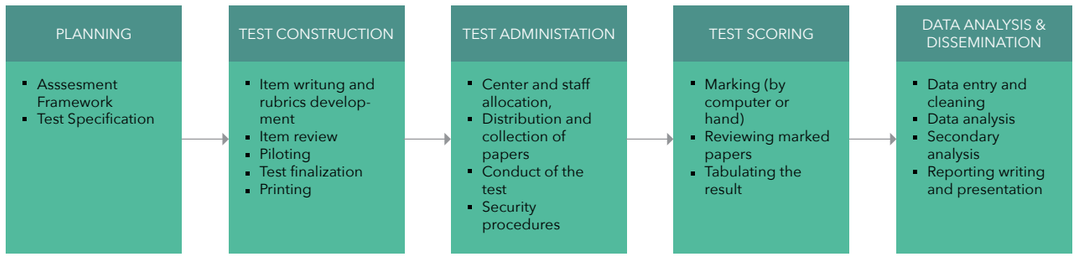
For the most part, PEC relies on temporarily contracted staff to develop items and mark papers. It draws its item writers from a pool of subject specialists, largely experienced teachers. Those deemed good item writers are invited each year for item development. Similar to paper setters, the examiners are drawn from a pool of subject specialists. However, given the high volume of papers to mark, the number of subject specialists remains inadequate.

In contrast to the BISEs, PEC provides an annual two-week training to its item developers that covers topics on the purposes of assessment, Bloom's taxonomy and principles of item construction. However, it is the considered view of many stakeholders that a short training is not a substitute for in-house capacity with human resources possessing adequate knowledge and skills. They think it is unlikely to cover the span of knowledge and skills needed for high quality test construction.

ASSESSMENT QUALITY

This section reviews assessment quality through its processes and procedures. It focuses on important elements in the process such as test specification, construction, administration, scoring and analysis (Figure 8.1). Two important considerations for evaluating assessment quality are validity and reliability. An assessment is valid when it tests what it has intended to test and it is reliable when scores or results are the same over time for different test taking populations.

Figure 8.1: Assessment processes and procedures for ensuring quality



Test planning and construction

Test planning and construction entails several stages and usually several months of work from the development of an assessment framework to test specification to item writing and piloting and test finalization (Box 8.1).

Secondary examinations

The exam planning and construction process at the BISEs does not follow the process outlined above. There is no assessment framework document at the secondary level nor is there a test specification document or formal guidelines. The Examination Rules and Procedures part of the Calendar sets out the processes for all aspects related to the examinations. However, a review of this document indicates that it mostly details administrative procedures rather than exam development or analysis. The paper pattern, which largely stipulates the proportion of various types of questions that papers must contain, is set by the IBCC. It is the same for all boards across Pakistan: 20% objective, 50% short questions and 30% descriptive questions. This distribution is used by the

BOX 8.1: STEPS INVOLVED IN TEST PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION

Step 1 Developing an assessment framework: An assessment framework is usually developed to identify the purposes of different types of assessment to be conducted in the country or province and assessment standards often linked to agreed upon goals. This framework defines the content to be assessed, specifies the target population, describes the manner of analysis, and the nature of reports based on results. It is developed in collaboration with key policymakers and stakeholders outside of the testing agency to ensure broad based support for it and integration with other quality aspects.

Step 2 Test specification: On the basis of the assessment framework, a test specification or test blueprint is made for each test. It details the proportion of curriculum and content areas as well as cognitive skills (knowledge or recall, interpretation, application) to cover, question format such as Multiple Choice Questions (MCQs) or Open-Ended Questions (OEQs), response format, scoring procedure, test length and in some cases the desired psychometric characteristics of items (difficulty, reliability, validity) in the assessment.

Step 3 Item writing and developing rubrics: An item writing team, consisting of trained item writers, creates a large pool of items according to the assessment framework and test specifications. It develops items for different difficulty levels, ensures no item bias and develops rubrics for scoring OEQs.

Step 4 Item review: A team of experts including psychometricians, content and language experts along with the item writing team, conduct a technical review of items to identify items that meet psychometric requirements, content validity, language and so on.

Step 5 Item pilot: Item piloting is an essential element for identifying items that can be used to assemble equivalent, reliable, and valid tests. It entails testing out the items on a sample group, developing empirical data and conducting statistical and item analyses to determine which items are good or not. Inevitably, high quality items go into an item bank, which once developed can be reused with minor changes.

Step 6 Test finalization: This includes selecting items after the pilot test that meet test specifications, formatting, proofreading and printing the test papers.

BISEs to develop model papers, which are shared with the paper setters as guides for their own development.

Once nominated, the paper setters are called in to develop a certain number of papers. This practice is contrary to the generally accepted best practice of developing and testing individual items. They use the officially designated textbooks and model papers as well as their own experience and subject knowledge as guides for developing papers. Paper setters are expected to ensure a good distribution of exam questions from all chapters in the textbook. Once developed, the papers are put through a review process. The scope of this review varies depending on whether the papers are being developed collectively by several BISEs or independently.

There are some criteria for this process, but such criteria are not similar to the best practices as outlined above. Documented procedures tend to focus more on maintaining secrecy rather than guiding test construction. For the most part, exam papers are based on textbooks rather than any learning outcomes. These textbooks also are not necessarily aligned with the current curriculum frameworks. So far, new textbooks have not been developed for all subjects at all grade levels. More importantly, even the new textbooks are not perceived to adequately cover all aspects of the curriculum, specifically higher order thinking skills.

Punjab and KP appear to follow a similar approach to paper setting in an apparent effort to standardize the process. The responsibility to develop papers in different subject areas is distributed across all the BISEs within each province. This mechanism ensures a modicum of uniformity, if not standardization, across all BISEs within the same province. After developing several papers for each subject, these papers are then shuffled and divided into different versions to maintain secrecy.

The process followed in Sindh is slightly different as each board develops its own papers independently from the other boards. In each board, three paper setters are appointed per subject. Thus, three versions of the paper are developed for each subject. A moderator then reviews these papers to ensure similar levels of difficulty and course coverage. Balochistan follows a similar process as well, but as there is only one board there are no multiple versions of the paper.

The process of paper development is spread over approximately two months. However, paper finalization is done at the most a few days or even the night before the examinations in an effort to ensure secrecy of the paper.

Given the process followed, it is unlikely that the examinations at the secondary level meet the requirements of validity and reliability. This is further substantiated by research studies that find the same and suggest substantive problems with the process. The papers set by different boards are not comparable.[15] Not just that, even the papers set within the same board are not comparable across subjects or across time for the same subjects. These study findings reaffirm problems with the quality of the exam paper; that many contain errors in subject content and technical construction. In addition, they focus on a narrow range of low-level skills and are dominated by the content of the approved textbooks.

Studies also point to the problem of narrow range of skills and repetition of questions. One particular study reviewed the papers of two boards, Karachi BSE and Federal BISE for four years in English and biology and analyzed the coverage of questions according to cognitive levels.[16] It found a very high frequency of *knowledge*-based recall questions (40% to 85% of the total questions) as compared with questions dealing with *understanding* (15% to 60%). There was not a single question that required test takers to apply their knowledge and skills in problem solving. The study also found frequent repetition of the same questions and limited content coverage, for example, 53% in Karachi BSE and 17% to 27% in Federal BISE. The study also indicates that there is a limited spread of questions across a few popular chapters each year.

Elementary examinations

The PEC design process appears to have some elements of the standard process outlined above. Test construction is spread over five to six months, starting with two-week long workshops for each subject with item developers. There has been no assessment framework. However, PEC along with key stakeholders is currently in the process of developing one to guide the assessment activities at the elementary level in the province. Since 2012, PEC has been developing a table of specifications for each subject to guide item writers.

The key presentation made to item writers during the workshop, titled *Item Writing and Review*, clearly describes the various purposes of assessment. A large part of the presentation is devoted to principles and practices of item construction. The presentation provides opportunities for detailed discussion on the construction of MCQs, but does not focus as much on the development of OEQs.

Item writing is guided by two major considerations: adherence to particular Student Learning Outcomes (SLOs) and difficulty levels. Item writers are also provided with a template that requires them to write the items responsive to particular SLOs. They also identify difficulty level (low, medium and hard) for each item. In addition, they label each item in accordance with its perceived location within the Bloom's and Structure of Observed Learning Outcome taxonomies.

After items have been developed, the PEC team subjects them to a review process. However, it does not make any distinction between technical and content reviews. The same set of reviewers examines both the technical as well as the content specific aspects of the test items. Contrary to suggested best practices, PEC does not perform a rigorous pilot test of the items to determine their psychometric robustness prior to the assembly of exam papers. As such, the various versions of the final paper cannot be said to have passed the appropriate tests of reliability and validity needed for large-scale testing.

The testing instrument is assembled solely based on adherence of items to the SLOs and proportionate spread across different levels of difficulty. Best practices require the application of sophisticated techniques, such as Item Response Theory, to empirically establish the difficulty levels of each item. Yet, PEC resorts to establishing the difficulty level of items solely on the basis of the writer's judgment.

As with secondary exam papers, items with low cognitive demands, such as those requiring memory recall, are also more frequent in PEC exam papers. Despite adopting a more thorough process than secondary examinations, research has found several issues with PEC exam papers in relation to editing (spelling and language errors), subject matter, language load and gender.[17]

Exam administration

Exam administration entails developing Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) for recruiting and training staff to administer the exam, allocating the exam centers, distributing and collecting papers and conducting the tests. Effective administration also requires a quality assurance or monitoring mechanism for ensuring adherence to SOPs and transparency in practice.

Secondary examinations

The steps followed by the BISEs in administering the exams are as follows:

- Superintendents, invigilators and inspectors are appointed: Usually nominated by schools and education offices and the list finalized by the secret branch.
- Examination center staff is allocated: This is done centrally.
- Exam materials are distributed: In some cases, the board distributes the papers directly (for example, Karachi BSE) and in other cases, the superintendents collect them from a local bank.
- Security arrangements are made at exam centers.
- Exams are conducted: One invigilator is made responsible for 40 students.
- Answer booklets are collected: Exam staff is responsible for returning papers.

The BISEs issue guidelines on the establishment of centers, registration, distribution and collection of papers and preventing unfair means. Despite this, use of unfair means throughout the exam cycle remains a major issue in the examinations. There are opportunities for resorting to unfair means at several stages: Influence in choice of centers, examinations staff and inspectors; possibilities of paper leakage; cheating during examination which includes support from invigilators in the form of answers, extra time, use of notes by candidates and candidates helping each other. Use of unfair means may be curtailed by appropriately preparing the invigilation staff. However, there is no evidence of any initiative to train staff in detection and prevention of cheating.

Notwithstanding the above, the governments and BISEs have taken several administrative measures to curb these behaviors. For example, in Punjab, the BISEs take action against the individuals involved in the use of unfair means in accordance with the Punjab Malpractice Act of 1950. In addition, special monitoring bodies have been established (Examination Monitoring Cell in the Punjab and Governor appointed Special Vigilance Teams in Sindh) to supplement the measures adopted by the BISEs. The boards have also taken steps to avoid leakage of exam papers by collecting and depositing the papers on the day of the exam at banks. Furthermore, different versions

of the papers are distributed. The governments have begun to use a scanned picture on the registration form in order to prevent identity impersonation. The exam booklets are also codified in order to ensure anonymity of the student.

Despite these efforts, cheating remains firmly entrenched in the system. Respondents blame the lack of accountability, particularly with regards to examination staff, as the main reason behind the persistence of unfair activities.

Elementary examinations

PEC follows a similar process in exam administration. It has detailed written procedures in the PEC manual for selecting examination staff (resident inspectors, superintendents and invigilators), setting up and staffing exam centers, distributing and collecting papers and procedures during administration and wrapping up of the exams. There is an elaborate protocol for ensuring the secrecy of exam papers, which involves delivering different versions of the paper to different districts. In addition, there is significant monitoring of the process at different levels. Finally the superintendents also receive training in conducting the exams.

There is a high level of compliance with PEC SOPs with regards to most examination procedures, particularly maintaining secrecy and general administration procedures.[18] However, several important constraints continue to affect exam conduct. Often, schools designated as exam centers lack minimum facilities. For example, the benches used during the examinations with students seated close together make prevention of cheating extremely difficult. The supervisory staff is mostly present in the exam center. However shortages have also been noticed at several centers. More importantly, the invigilators do not always appear to be adequately prepared to supervise exams as indicated by the scores for providing instructions to students before the exams (for example, how to fill out the computer readable answer sheet). The quality of invigilation is hampered by the fact that none of the invigilators receive the PEC manual or any training from their superintendents.

For the most part, there have been far fewer reported incidents in the media of cheating or leakage in the PEC exams as compared to the secondary exams. Only in 2007 were the exams halted completely due to leakage of papers and most recently in 2014, there have been reports of leakage of papers.[19]

Exam scoring

The scoring process depends on the nature of items, whether scored by examiners or a computer. In the case of computer scored questions, usually closed-ended, there is an allocated answer. For open-ended items, the item writing team is responsible for developing a scoring guide or rubrics to be implemented by the scorer. Any modifications to these items, once test papers arrive, are made by this team and not the scorers. The scoring process includes mechanisms for handling discrepancies and quality assurance. This usually takes the form of rescoring a certain percentage of test papers.

Secondary examinations

Scoring or marking in the BISEs, with the exception of Punjab, is done by hand. Paper setters provide a marking key and head examiners provide broad guidelines to the examiners on how to mark. However, for the most part examiners rely on their experience and subject expertise to mark the papers. The number of papers examiners are expected to mark varies from 25 to 50. In practice, however, they can mark up to a 100 papers a day. The head examiners are expected to review a certain percentage of papers, varying from 5% to 10%. However this does not always happen. There is also a combination of marking at the center and home. There are concerns that the marking process is inadequately supervised and monitored.

Some efforts to improve this process have been made in recent years. In Balochistan, Closed Circuit TV cameras have been installed to monitor marking at the centers. In Peshawar, attempts have been made to develop standardized marking keys for each subject by the examination staff. BISE Peshawar has also added a tier of *super checkers*, usually a seasoned professor, who is responsible for reviewing this marking key and rechecking a percentage of best and worst papers. In Sindh, there is an effort to ensure that the paper marker is from the same language background as the paper they are checking.

In Punjab, efforts have been made to improve quality of marking by: (1) Developing machine readable answer sheets that enables checking of MCQs by machines, thus reducing opportunities for the use of unfair means and examiner burden; (2) Swapping papers between boards to reduce opportunities for unfair means; (3) Marking is *syndicated* in which one examiner marks only one question, in an effort to reduce marker bias.

The success of any of these efforts is not known clearly. Despite these measures, stakeholders as well as several research reports consider scoring as one of the weakest aspects of the examination process.[20]

Elementary examinations

Scoring of the PEC exams entails only marking OEQs by hand, while the MCQ portion of the exam is marked by computer. In each center, there is one head examiner and several examiners. The marking is supposed to be done according to the PEC marking criteria developed for each grade, subject and version of the test paper. One examiner is expected to mark up to 100 papers per day. The head examiner is responsible for overseeing the paper marking activity as well as checking a certain percentage of papers.

As in the secondary exams, the examiners have a very high volume of papers to mark in a short timeframe. Often, marking criteria are not available or not used by the examiners due to lack of monitoring. Finally, there is a lack of subject specialization amongst examiners. According to a study, where over 2,500 papers were remarked, over-marking appears to occur fairly often.[21] There were 47% and 49% instances of over-marking in grades 5 and 8 respectively. Marks were also allotted for wrong or irrelevant answers.

Data analysis and dissemination

Meaningful interpretation and timely dissemination of assessment results is essential for identifying gaps and taking steps to improve other quality related elements such as teaching materials and teacher training. This entails developing a plan for allocation of personnel, data entry, cleaning, storage and quality management. Usually, a data analyst (or statistician) works closely with the test construction team during the pilot test stage to analyze results and select items and then again conducts analysis to produce final results. Report writing and dissemination requires diverse and high level input, conforming to the assessment framework and an ability to make the report accessible to different stakeholders.

Secondary examinations

Activity in this area, at the secondary level, is limited to developing and reporting of exam results for individual candidates. These are made available online and through a printed gazette. Since results produced are used primarily for promotion into the next grade, there are no reports or use of results to inform the learning process and policy.

In instances where data is computerized (for example, Peshawar and Karachi), it is usually used to verify the handwritten score (that all questions have been marked or totals are correct) rather than for data analysis. The Lahore and Karachi BISE have done some descriptive analyses with the data available (i.e. by gender, academic groups or over time). However, beyond presentations to government officials, it is not clear how this data is used at all neither is it publicly available.

This is not surprising as there is no clear mandate for data analysis or research. Still, the lack of these activities are due to the lack of departments in some cases in smaller boards, unfilled positions, lack of adequate personnel with research background and most importantly, lack of funds to conduct research activities. The research sections that do exist are also predominantly involved in non-research activities such as issuing scholarships and arranging debates or competitions.

Elementary examinations

PEC also focuses primarily on producing results for students. It makes aggregate results available through gazettes. Most recently, they are also made available online, after the exam, to enable admission into the next grade. The student report cards prepared by PEC document raw and scaled student scores for each subject. But it takes several months to develop the report cards. Thus, the report cards are not of much importance. More importantly, even though exams papers are developed according to SLOs, the results are not reported in relation to them.

PEC develops some district level analysis with scores according to tehsil, gender, location, sector and so on, but this is not widely shared in the form of a public report. There has been some secondary analysis of data- for example *Advice for Teachers*- which laid out the implications of the results for teaching. But such reports are produced sporadically due to scarcity of technical staff and resources. Furthermore, their impact also remains unknown.

Stakeholder perspectives

Most stakeholders deem the quality of the secondary examinations to be poor. The stakeholders' opinions about quality vary in terms of their area of concern. Parents, students and the media tend to focus more on the conduct (i.e., occurrence of cheating), accuracy of scoring and timeliness of the results as the major issues. From the perspective of staff within the

BISEs, teachers, teachers unions and other key stakeholders involved in education, the poor quality of the examinations, lack of curriculum coverage and need for alignment with it, broadening skills tested and the need to change the nature of the exams are more important issues. An indicator of the lack of credibility of these exams is that universities began to rely on their own entrance exams administered with the help of National Testing Service.

With elementary exams conducted by PEC, their credibility appears to have been improved. However, teachers do not necessarily feel the examinations are an improvement on the previous assessment processes. Some feel that schools are better placed to set and conduct the examinations. The perception is that, although an improvement on earlier practice the exams at present still test a limited range of thinking skills.

CHALLENGES

The enabling environment for examinations is impeded by an insufficient understanding of the purposes of assessment, absence of prioritization of reforms, existence of multiple boards and lack of technical staff. There is a lack of alignment between examinations and curriculum and professional development as well as the universities that produce qualified technical persons. The technical quality of the examinations is impeded by a sheer lack of processes conforming to best practices, conduct of examinations by the lack of accountability and the lack of data use for decision making. These challenges are all explained briefly below.

ENABLING ENVIRONMENT

Understanding purposes of assessment

There is a very narrow view of what assessment is and what it can do in general amongst stakeholders. Examinations are not developed to gauge what a student should be learning, rather what is taught. In most circles it is simply seen as a promotion to the next level. It is not clear what kind of content and cognitive skills the system would like its students to have, data it needs to assess health of the system and so on. Such priorities need to be set, ideally in the form of an assessment framework for the country or province.

Examination reform as a priority

Without serious effort on the part of the government, examinations will not improve. There is a perception amongst stakeholders that less effort is placed on reforming exams as opposed to other sub-sectors of education (for example, curriculum or teacher training). The emphasis on mundane matters in examination reform is also an issue. While the reforms have focused on improving administration and preventing the use of unfair means, they must also respond to the need for improving technical quality of the examinations.

Existence of multiple boards

Reforming several secondary boards is a difficult process especially given the lack of technical expertise in assessment. The justification for having more than one board in a province is not clear. In other countries, there is often one board per state (such as in India) or for the entire country (Singapore, Malaysia, New Zealand). Only where there is competition between the private test publishers (such as in the United Kingdom) do multiple boards exist. Therefore, reducing the number of boards may help make better use of scarce resources.

Technical staff and capacity development

A major challenge is the lack of technical staff to lead test construction and data analysis. To some extent PEC is in the process of addressing this issue, the secondary boards should follow suit. Solving this issue will entail restructuring the boards to include technical departments, designating new jobs and hiring personnel against them. A plan must be devised for building capacity of such technical personal whether in the form of ongoing training or seeking out longer-term opportunities due to lack of expertise in the market. Finally there is also a need for more rigorous selection and training of temporary staff, such as paper setters and examiners. Currently, there is some political patronage involved in the selection of staff at the secondary level, which should be curtailed.

SYSTEM ALIGNMENT

Alignment with curriculum, professional development and other quality aspects

There must be system alignment between the elements that affect quality education. Exams need to be curriculum based. Textbooks should also be developed accordingly so students and teachers are well prepared. Furthermore, teacher preparation and professional development will be more responsive to the learning needs of students if they are informed by the data generated by regular assessments. The examinations bodies must ensure that appropriate feedback based on the results of the tests is provided to professional development agencies. There is a need for an official mechanism to enable such coordination.

Courses on assessment and measurement

The lack of technical professionals with appropriate preparation to develop, mark and analyze assessments is missing in the market altogether. Opportunities to study educational measurement and evaluation at the university level are limited and are often not relevant to the needs of the examination boards. Examination boards may need to determine and communicate their needs to the universities so that relevant high quality programs can be designed. Again a mechanism for ensuring such alignment is needed.

ASSESSMENT QUALITY

Quality in test development and analysis processes

The technical processes, related to test construction, marking and analysis, remain extremely poor. At the secondary level, this is due to the nearly complete lack of qualified technical staff. Their technical processes do not conform to international standards at all. At the elementary level, PEC is a step ahead of the BISEs in this area, as there is some conformity to standards in these processes. However, there is room for substantial improvement. A concerted effort for creating such processes is highly needed.

Transparency, leakage and cheating accountability

The instances of unfair means are innumerable, occurring at various stages of the examination process, particularly at the secondary level. This issue requires serious consideration and a concerted effort as it contributes to the lack of credibility of the exams. Accountability mechanisms are needed when it comes to personnel deployment and performance. Technology can also play an important role with regards to marking of papers. Physically, it is a huge challenge to mark hundreds of thousands of papers, it not only opens up the chances of error, but opportunities for unfair means. The use of machine readable answer sheets that enables checking by machines should be considered in all provinces.

Dissemination and use of student learning data

It is clear that data is either not produced or if produced then not utilized to inform decisions, policy or teaching practice. Boards at the secondary level need to be equipped to tabulate data and conduct analysis. Reports produced by these institutions should share key findings relevant to schools and teachers (such as proficiency levels by reference to key SLOs), district education departments and teacher development. In this regard appropriate personnel and equipment are required.

CONCLUSION

In order for Pakistan to meet its commitments and improve quality, the examination system as a whole requires reform. Despite the reports on lack of quality and credibility in the examinations, there have been very few serious efforts to reform the examinations systems in Pakistan. It is clear that the area of examination reform needs to be accorded a higher priority by those in charge of reform. More importantly, there is a need for greater emphasis on improving the quality of exams and according greater premium to critical thinking skills.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Improve quality of technical personnel

Of the priorities, the need for high quality personnel to lead technical processes in examination institutions appears to be the most critical. In the case of secondary examinations, reducing the number of boards as suggested by the NEP 2009, may be a step in the right direction to make better use of the limited human resource available in the country. Since opportunities for developing psychometrics expertise do not exist within Pakistan in the short-term, a more concerted effort is needed to develop relevant high quality programs within the country or create opportunities to send the relevant staff abroad.

Align exams vertically and horizontally

System alignment is also critical. There is a need for greater integration of the examinations with other aspects of the education system. There should be horizontal linkages with teacher professional development institutions as well as forward linkages between the institutions responsible for conducting examinations at different levels.

Develop national and provincial frameworks for assessment

More debate on the purposes and types of assessments in general is needed. The development of national or provincial frameworks for assessment would help in this respect.

Finally, a process of deliberation is needed on what combination of formative assessment tests and summative exams are actually required at different levels of schooling. It is imperative to shift from an almost exclusively summative system and move towards developing ongoing school-based assessment, which will over time result in improved learning outcomes through proper feedback.

[1] UNESCO 2000
[2] Darling-Hammond & Wentworth 2010
[3] Anderson 1998; Shepard 2000
[4] Darling-Hammond & Wentworth 2010
[5] The SSC exam consists of two parts: An exam for grade 9, known as SSC Part 1, and exam for grade 10, known as SSC Part 2. Similarly, the Higher Secondary School Certificate exam consists of two parts: Exams for grades 11 and 12.
[6] Boards are broken down provincially as follows: Balochistan 1 Board (Quetta); KP 8 Boards (Mardan, Swabi, Abbottabad, Peshawar, Malakand, Swat, Bannu, Kohat); Punjab 8 Boards (Lahore, Sarghoda, Multan, Gujranwala, Rawalpindi, Bahawalpur, Faisalabad, Dera Ghazi Khan, Sahiwal; Sindh 6 Boards (Karachi 2, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Larkana, MirpurKhas).
[7] Malik 2014a
[8] "National education assessment" 2014
[9] PEAS Punjab conducted one sample-based assessment in 2011 and PEACE Sindh in 2009, 2010, 2011.
[10] Clarke 2012
[11] Anderson & Morgan 2008; Darling-Hammond & Wentworth 2010; Greaney & Kellaghan 2012; Liberman & Clarke 2011; OECD 2013; Santiago et al. 2011; Standards and Testing Agency (STA) 2011
[12] American Psychological Association 1999
[13] Data from this section is derived primarily from a study conducted by SAHE (2011). This study involved independently reviewing the examination paper design process, observing exam conduct in over 3,000 exam centers in 18 districts, remarking analysis of over 2,500 exam papers and 200 semi-structured interviews with stakeholders to understand data management and interpretation practices.
[14] PEAS staff has been transferred but it is not clear as yet where they have been placed as the organization is in the process of revamping itself.
[15] Bethell et al 1995
[16] Shah & Afzaal 2004
[17] SAHE 2011
[18] SAHE 2011
[19] "CM orders probe" 2014; "8th class maths" 2014
[20] Shah & Afzaal 2004; Bethell et al 1995
[21] SAHE 2011

CHAPTER

9

GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT

INTRODUCTION

Educational governance, broadly speaking, is about the processes by which policies are formulated, priorities identified and reform implemented as well as the institutional arrangements that connect the many actors in education. Governance ultimately shapes all aspects of education delivery.[1] Pakistan, through its commitment to providing free and compulsory education, under the 18th Amendment, faces a formidable governance challenge in delivering education to all children. Governance reform can change the processes by which decisions are made and implemented.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER

The purpose of this chapter is to help the reader understand the governance and management structures of education in Pakistan: the various actors, influences, issues in the approaches adopted and the existing limitations as well as opportunities. This chapter has had to prioritize certain aspects to provide a broad picture of the structural and systemic issues. To the extent possible, provincial variations have also been identified.

The chapter begins with the description of new challenges for the education sector in the wake of the 18th Amendment and the requirements for effective governance and management to meet those challenges. This is followed by a detailed description of institutional structures – the traditional structures and parallel reform units – and the private sector. Next there is a discussion of the current management model and the multiple challenges associated with it. Finally, the chapter assesses the implications of the key governance challenges for each province.

Data for this chapter was collected through document review and semi-structured interviews with key officials at the government education departments and reform units as well as donor agencies and civil society organizations in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan.

THE GOVERNANCE CHALLENGE IN PAKISTAN

The primary governance and management challenge in the education sector of Pakistan originates in large measure from the huge scale of provision of education services. The education departments form the largest public sector entity in each province. Combined, the four provincial education departments and their counterparts in Islamabad Capital Territory, Federally Administered Tribal Areas, Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir employ as many personnel, if not more, than the armed forces of Pakistan. This is in addition to macro challenges such as the vulnerability of the education sector to politics, financial deficits, ineffective human resource management and unclear mandates for delivery of education services on a large scale.

The ability of the public sector to adequately address these challenges is hampered by systemic shortcomings as well as endemic political interference. The systemic shortcomings are noticeable in terms of personnel capacity and limitations of the organizational management approach. These continue to hamper the sustainability of change processes (often initiated with the help of an international donor agency). The inadequacy of reforms and political interference afflicts routine management decisions and consequently the internal drivers of behavior in organizations.

A stark symptom of low faith in the public sector school system has been the mushroom growth of private schools all over the country. In Punjab the private sector accounts for over 43% of enrollment.[2] Even in Balochistan, where private sector enrollment is the lowest amongst the provinces, the share of the private sector in overall enrollment is 15% to 20%.[3] The provincial governments, by and large, have not been able to respond adequately to the shift in landscapes to enhance their capacity in the face of new challenges.

Over the last few years a number of donors and those involved in reform have pushed the case of public private partnerships in education to help poor students benefit from the services of a private school. Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) runs the largest such program. Other provinces also have their models managed by Sindh Education Foundation (SEF), Balochistan Education Foundation (BEF) and Elementary Education Foundation (EEF) in Sindh,

Balochistan and KP respectively. These foundations represent a small percentage of the sector and their long-term impact in the context of making quality education available for all in the context of Article25-A is still far from clear.

On a more optimistic note, the continued democratic process has seen an increased prioritization of education in the political arena. Tangible increase in budgets has followed greater debate in the political arena in nearly all provinces. Amongst the provinces, there are some examples of cross learning and adaptation. This change can be partly attributed to the devolution of education to the provinces under the 18th Amendment. Success of these reforms will, however, depend on sustained political will, continued prioritization of education and continued financial support. The next section examines the influence of the 18th Amendment on the governance of the education sector in Pakistan.

Impact of the 18th Amendment on governance

The 18th Amendment to the Constitution has the potential of bringing about a near seismic change in education sector governance. By making education for children between the ages of 5 and 16 a fundamental right, this amendment has effectively subsumed all targets of the Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Even more significantly, it has made education the business of the provinces. Prior to this amendment the responsibilities for curriculum, textbook approval and standards of education lay with the federal government. All of these have now been devolved to the provinces (Box 9.1).

Inserted in the Constitution, as a result of the 18th Amendment, Article 25-A provides ample space to the provinces to ensure the right to education through enabling legislation. Accordingly, the provinces are developing appropriate laws and are at different stages of the legislative process. Provincial authorities currently view the implementation of Article 25-A in terms of expansion of provincial education services through increasing the number of schools and enrollment. Effective implementation of the 18th Amendment would require a complete overhaul of the education system. To date no province has developed indicators as formal targets for the achievement of Article 25-A.

Policy framework

A clear pronouncement of the policy itself remains elusive for all provinces despite the recently developed education sector plans. The policy framework under which a provincial education department functions can, at best, be described as a mix of arbitrary political decisions, donor backed priorities and some written policy documents.

The larger national policy documents, prepared at the federal level, have increasingly become shelf documents although parts of them get implemented depending on arbitrary prioritization by the government, donors or, possibly at the behest of private interests. Generally, no national policy has been followed by effective implementation. Over the last two years the provinces have, with donor backing, developed comprehensive education sector plans. The degree of government ownership of these education sector plans and their implementation varies across the provinces. By and large, clear implementation frameworks have not been developed.

The current policy environment is characterized by substantive influence of donor agencies. While some donor ideas have spurred attempts at reform, their acceptance within government circles without serious debate and attempts at contextualization has often compromised their usefulness. For example, donor support for primary education has resulted in an excessive focus on primary schooling, at the cost of much needed attention to middle, secondary and tertiary levels. Inadequately debated and insufficiently owned, many of the changes initiated by donors have served to distort the system rather than help improve it.

It has to be said though, that whatever influences may be at work, eventually the government is responsible for its decisions and the initiatives it chooses to take in the education sector. So, for instance, the Punjab Government's initiative that established the Daanish Schools in Punjab comes across as a stark example of using scarce resources unwisely. Purportedly launched to counter madrassas and extremism, they appear to be institutions set up more for political rather than educational ends. The high expenditure of developing and maintaining the Daanish Schools effectively means taking resources away from other numerous and inadequately resourced public schools. Another example of ad hoc decision making is the multiple textbooks policy (Box 9.2).

BOX 9.1: 18TH AMENDMENT: IMPACT ON EDUCATION GOVERNANCE

The 18th Amendment removed the Concurrent Legislative List from the Constitution of Pakistan. The list formed one of the two lists in the pre-amendment Constitution, the other being the Federal Legislative List. The Concurrent List had two entries related to education: Policy, planning and curriculum and Islamic studies.

The passing of the 18th Amendment has made the previous federal law (that assigned curriculum development and approval of textbooks to the federal government) redundant and that responsibility now lies with the provinces. The Ministry of Education of the Federal Government has also been dissolved with the passing of the 18th Amendment, and instead a Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training has been established for federally administered territories only. The current status of the National Education Policy 2009 after the 18th Amendment has not been clarified.

BOX 9.2: MULTIPLE TEXTBOOKS POLICY

In 2002 the Federal Cabinet of the military government led by General Pervez Musharraf decided to institute a multiple textbooks policy. The option had been pulled out of the National Education Policy 1998 - 2010, which had never been structured into an implementation framework. The idea, allegedly, came from a major publisher who had influence in the Cabinet. In a single line the Cabinet approved this policy without sufficient attention to ground realities or implications of the decision providing for deregulation of textbooks. Each province went ahead with its own interpretation of the policy. In one case the paper supplied to printers by the textbook board was deregularized and in another case organizations outside the textbook board tried to develop a primer. Eventually through debate and dialogue, led by a donor agency, the National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy 2007 emerged. It took five years to interpret into policy an arbitrarily taken decision and only after a donor steered the process. Irrespective of the merits of the policy, the case clearly shows the ad hoc nature and process of policy making in education and its implications.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

Organizations working in education governance can be placed into three categories: traditional structures, parallel reform units and organizations set up for private sector management. In a bid to bypass the characteristic hurdles to reform that traditional structures pose, parallel reform units have been created and reform of traditional structures has taken a backseat. There is a discrepancy between the ideal way such organizational structures should function and the way they function in practice. These organizational structures and their relationships have been discussed in this section.

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURES

Each provincial education setup consists of a secretariat, technical directorate, district offices, sub-divisional offices and other specialized units such as the textbook boards or examination boards.

Secretariat, directorates and field units

The secretary of education heads the secretariat, which primarily has officers from the generalist (federal or provincial) cadres. The technical directorates have officials from the education cadre (such as teachers) and manage the day-to-day affairs of schools through their district or field units.

The secretariat has the official mandate for policy and planning and the directorate and field units of implementation, inspection and monitoring. In practice, however, the decision making process has been centralized and the secretary of education, directors of education and district officers spend most of their time responding to requests for transfers and postings. This is at the cost of time needed for attention to policy, planning and monitoring implementation of policies and plans.

In Punjab the technical directorates, known as Directorates of Public Instructions (DPI) have seen an erosion of their role in day-to-day management and monitoring. The secretariat and the reform unit, Program Monitoring and Implementation Unit (PMIU), have adopted a number of tasks that were previously performed by the DPI (mentioned in more detail in a subsequent section).

Specialized units

In addition to the main organizations for implementation, each province has a textbook board, examination boards, teacher training institutions

and organizations for curriculum development. The units mentioned last are still in a transitory state as this function has only recently been devolved to the provinces. The degree of autonomy of the organizations and their linkages with the main secretariat varies from province to province. In general these units function as suppliers of quality products. The directorates prioritize management of matters such as schools, teachers and facilities. This delinks the directorates from issues of teaching and learning processes in the classroom and the services that can be used to improve them.

The specialized units continue to function in a low profile away from the limelight. This reduces their accountability and any inducement to improve their outputs. Employees of these organizations, normally, do not have any specialized training in the development of their products. For example in the case of textbook and examination boards most of the services provided are outsourced. While these units have been given the mandate to assure quality of education processes, a strong internal capacity to do so and clear output indicators remain missing. They need concomitant improvement in their capacity to conduct quality assurance. Recently though, an exception has emerged in the form of the Directorate of Staff Development (DSD) in the Punjab which has attempted to link its performance to Student Learning Outcomes (SLOs).

In the case of textbook boards some renewed focus on improving quality has been seen due to the shift in the National Textbooks and Learning Materials Policy 2007, which called for competitive bidding in textbook publishing. The new policy has drawn attention towards the issue. However, this is primarily due to its impact on the political economy of textbook printing and publishing, rather than a focus on quality.

REFORM UNITS

As a result of inertia in the traditional organizations, donors have bypassed them by creating parallel reform units. Initiated as temporary support to specific donor interventions, parallel reform units have continued to function and have attained a near permanent status. Officials in these units, normally from the government, have better salaries and privileges than their counterparts in the traditional bureaucratic setup. This has created an incentive structure leading to certain level of attrition from the latter to the former.

The policy units in Punjab, KP and Sindh have been set up with donor support and primarily work on donor funded programs and policies. In the case of Balochistan, the Policy Planning and Implementation Unit (PPIU) was set up as a result of a government decision but in emulation of similar units in the other major provinces. The sustainability of these units remains questionable, especially as the older planning wings, funded through traditional government funds, are also functional.

In Punjab the PMIU was set up in the initial phase of the World Bank funded Punjab Education Sector Reform Program (PESRP). The unit essentially managed the reform agenda of the World Bank through monitoring of Disbursement Linked Indicators (DLIs).[4] These DLIs included improved monitoring of schools, provision of missing facilities and a girls' stipend program. The work in these three areas was directly managed by the PMIU while other DLIs were the responsibility of organizations such as the DSD. The PMIU also undertook the task of free distribution of textbooks. Over the years the PMIU has effectively become the monitoring agency for all reform work in the education sector in Punjab. In addition to the World Bank, it now also receives support from the Department for International Development (DFID).Irrespective of funding, this unit functions in a program mode and its work has not been shifted to the mainstream. At present there is no clarity on transition.

In Sindh the Reform Support Unit (RSU) gets the bulk of its funding from the World Bank and European Union (EU). The former provides direct budgetary support under the Sindh Education Reform Program (SERP) II. Other donors involved include United States Agency for International Development (USAID), DFID and German Society for International Cooperation (GIZ) who assist with coordination. The unit oversees all reforms in the province including replenishment of missing facilities, girls' stipend program, textbook distribution and policy reform including the preparation of the Sindh Education Sector Plan.

In KP the Education Sector Reform Unit (ESRU) had been formed around the KP Education Sector Plan through multi-donor support, initially supported by GIZ. Currently DFID has become the lead donor in the province. ESRU's reform programs include girls' stipend program, replenishment of missing facilities and strengthening of parent teacher committees. Similar to Sindh and Punjab the overall reform process is coordinated and monitored by the ESRU. The ESRU is also the custodian of the KP Education Sector Plan.

In Balochistan the PPIU forms the equivalent body. Unlike its counterparts in other provinces it has been set up by the government and supported by UNICEF and UNESCO, though on a much smaller scale. The PPIU has been responsible for the development of the Balochistan Education Sector Plan and implementation of the 2006 curriculum through development of new textbooks. The PPIU is still struggling to find its bearings and its current capacity to undertake management of education reforms in Balochistan remains questionable.

THE DE FACTO RELATIONSHIPS

There is a discrepancy between the ideal and de facto relationships between organizational structures. The secretariat should ideally provide policy, monitor progress at a systemic level and, in case of differences among organizations, function as the arbiter. The directorate, as mentioned above, has to demand services from the specialized units, who supply these services, and all three sets must combine to support education.

Yet, the reality is far from this. In practice, the linkages between specialized units and the directorate have become very weak and fractured. The situation of the secretariat is similar inasmuch as it primarily focuses on the directorate and that too, with varying degree in each province. There has been a tendency toward centralization with routine management decisions of the directorate moving up to the secretariat.

The reform and planning component (and even monitoring in the case of Punjab) has shifted to the parallel reform units. This shift has resulted from a number of factors, which include the general centralization tendency and little faith in the traditional directorate. The degree of marginalization and inclusion vary from province to province and also within provinces.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR DIMENSION

As already mentioned, the private sector has emerged as a significant element in the education landscape. The provinces have been slow to acknowledge this change and their policy response to this growth has been largely mute. Two types of responses have been seen. Firstly, public private partnerships have been formed to harness the potential of the private sector and secondly, attempts have been made to regulate the sector. Donors have supported public private partnerships in the belief that private schools perform better than their public sector competitors. A comparative study of low cost private and public schools in Punjab has provided empirical support for this thesis. It found that the children in private schools perform relatively better than their public sector counterparts.[5] The study underscores the extremely low benchmark set by public sector schools, which means the private sector scores, being relatively better, remain low in any case.

Punjab has the largest public private partnership program, managed through the PEF. The foundation either partners with schools where it provides a specified stipend on the basis of enrollment or gives vouchers to poor students for admission into private schools. SEF, BEF and EEF have undertaken similar programs in Sindh, Balochistan and KP, respectively. These programs, including Punjab, cover a very small fraction of the total enrollment in schools. The schools within these foundation programs can be considered as government regulated to a certain degree, as the financial support from the government requires following the national curriculum and eligibility for support requires a certain level of student performance as gauged from tests administered by the foundation. The rest of the sector functions, practically, outside state oversight.

Government regulatory laws in the private sector have become redundant due to the scale of the sector and limitations of these statutes. Mostly focused on infrastructure, these laws do not provide any regulation of content and quality. The limited capacity within the departments of education means that the law cannot be implemented. In Punjab a new draft law on the regulation of the private sector has been prepared. The law focuses only on teacher qualifications and fee ceilings.

In a situation where the government has not been able to monitor the quality of public sector institutions, the possibility of regulating standards in the private sector seems remote. The risks of a laissez-faire growth of private schools without state oversight on content and learning remain high in a country faced with sharp inequities, conflict and the menace of exclusionist extremism.

The growth of the private sector is also not entirely due to a perception of poor quality of education in

public schools. The governance limitations in the public sector are also responsible for it. In many urban areas the demand arises more from a lack of public schools. No major urban center has seen a school constructed in years despite enormous growth in the population. In many cases the expenditure on transport to the nearest government school is higher than the fees of low cost private schools in the vicinity. In the case of girls, safety considerations also add to the incentive to enroll in private schools closer to home.

THE MANAGEMENT MODEL

Routine management takes place through notifications issued on an emerging need basis and often not based on a framework, except in cases of donor funded programs. An Education Code prepared in the 1930s provides guidelines for education managers. Some anecdotal evidence of subsequent revisions to this code, at least as late as 1975 in case of KP, has been provided. Irrespective, the document(s) cannot be found in any of the education departments of the provinces. The situation is symptomatic of the erosion of clarity, effectiveness and quality of management of the education sector. De facto absence of a common guide to comprehension of education issues means that institutional memory and a documented management framework has given way to the memory of individuals. Even the latter become less accessible over time as relevant personnel retire or shift. The inertia in the system has seriously impeded possibilities of sustained improvements.

More significantly the system has been overtaken by day-to-day administrative decisions, which occupy the bulk of time of education managers. For example issues of transfers and posting take up a significant amount of time with education managers facing political pressures from powerful individuals as well as teachers associations to accommodate teachers. This leaves them with little time for other matters related directly to education. Another issue that often consumes the time of senior management is litigation. Some recognition of the problem has appeared and remedial measures have been adopted, but it still remains an issue.

Organizational inertia, absence of appropriate frameworks and a failure to evaluate performance has led to systemic weaknesses and distortions. Some of these factors have been discussed below.

HUMAN RESOURCE CRISIS

Personnel working in education need a specialized understanding of the process of teaching and learning, the ability to develop policies and plans for ensuring quality education on a large scale and the capacity to review the latter through a structured process. The education sector suffers from a serious dearth of qualified personnel to achieve this objective. A few exceptions exist but not due to a process or a system that places value on the quality of human resources.

Broadly two types of personnel manage the public sector education system: education managers (from the teaching cadre) and generalist managers. Men and women from these two sets get posted to management positions as well as specialized functions such as examinations and assessments, textbook development, curriculum, teacher professional development and monitoring. In most cases they have limited or no training for these functions and the organizations have no provision for any formal professional development. Ironically, the largest public sector organizations in the provinces have no specialized human resource management and human resource development functions. Small administrative units in the secretariat manage matters of transfers, postings, promotions, accountability and trainings. In fact professional development processes only exist for teachers. These trainings do not exist for any other critical personnel in the sector.

Education managers

Senior education managers in the education departments, the secretary and other officers of the secretariat, normally belong to the elite civil services cadres such as the federal District Management Group or the provincial executive services. Both these services enjoy more prestige than the educationists in the sector. These generalists often do not have any background in the education sector. However, they prevail in decision making for two reasons: Previous management experience and greater confidence in them due to the prestige of their services and the often poor quality of education managers.

The education managers hold positions in the field, at the district and directorate levels. They also, mostly, occupy senior management positions in the specialized units such as the textbook boards, examinations boards and teacher training institutions. These education managers, from the teacher cadre, receive no formal training in management either during their pre-service education or after induction as managers. Resultantly, management processes suffer, in most cases.

As management positions carry more prestige and perks most teachers aspire for these posts. However, since no clear criterion exists for these posts the education managers can be easily reverted, without assignment of any reason, to teaching positions. This makes them more susceptible to political pressures. While the creation of a separate cadre for education managers will not fully remove political pressures, it will help in limiting such distortions.

In recent years, in response to demands for a separate cadre, Punjab has introduced a new system. It specifically selects managers through an interview process. The education department has also introduced a training process for these education managers. These trainings tend to be of a generalist nature on familiarization with government rules and regulations including financial rules. Specialized education related management courses have not been designed, primarily due to unavailability of the expertise even outside the government education sector. In other provinces the attempts to create a separate cadre have been foiled by powerful teachers associations. In practice education managers continue to be selected from the teaching cadre with no experience or training for the needs of management.

Education specialists

As already mentioned earlier, education specialists in areas of teacher training, textbooks, curriculum and examinations are not produced in the system. This is due to the lack of such specialized courses or the poor quality of courses. The lack of specialists means that the quality of products such as examinations, textbooks and curriculum suffers. Even when the erstwhile Ministry of Education (MOE) had the role of curriculum development, the dearth of experts impinged on the quality of its products. As these have a critical role in the teaching and learning process in the classroom, overall quality suffers as well.

In the absence of education specialists with training in education processes these deficiencies do not get highlighted or prioritized in decision making. No specialized professional qualification requirements have been separately identified for these organizations and no professional development processes for these functions exist in any of the provinces.

IMPLEMENTATION CRISIS

The most glaring gap lies in the implementation of policies.[6] This is due to the lack of implementation plans, inadequate planning capacity, insufficient ownership of donor interventions, donor bypassing of traditional structures and the lack of coordination in donor interventions.

In most cases, implementation means an official notification. National education policies, including the National Education Policy (NEP) 2009, have never been converted into viable implementation plans. Also a process of change to allow for transition and planning of requirements, such as resources and structures, has never been provided. The most serious gaps have been in policies that do not require brick and mortar. The ill considered change of the Medium of Instruction (MOI) from Urdu to English at the primary level without due attention to the capacity of teachers to teach in English is one example, among many, of the flawed policymaking and implementation process. Another example has been the NEP's call to shift away from examinations that test rote learning to those that test critical thinking. The designers of the policy failed to realize the poor capacity of examiners to design quality examinations. No follow up has been undertaken to date to evaluate the impact of the change on the student learning approach.

Normally only projects closely monitored by donor agencies get implemented but often these fail to scale up and are not sustainable, in part due to insufficient debate and ownership of such projects. The Education Management Information Systems (EMIS), Provincial Institutes for Teacher Education (PITEs) and Provincial Education Assessment Centers (PEACEs)[7],

all constitute examples of well intentioned donor interventions that failed to sustain quality upon withdrawal of the latter's support.

Donor support, despite the requirements of the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness,[8] continues to be structured on project units due to the low trust in capacity of the traditional government structures. When that happens, its priority and quality erodes, often to the point of redundancy. Ultimately the responsibility for change must shift to the traditional structures. Competition among donors also blocks coordination efforts as the larger ones have little or no incentive to work in a more level playing field. Eventually, though, the government has to take the lead, which rarely happens to be the case.

SYSTEMIC SHORTCOMINGS

Over the years institutional inertia mixed with donor interventions has created a set of systemic shortcomings, evident in everyday decisions, pronouncements and accountability approaches of the education departments. Details vary from province to province, but some common threads have been traced here with explanations of deviations wherever relevant.

Absence of quality benchmarks

A good monitoring model would have both quality control and quality assurance.[9] In the case of the former the quality of the end product is reviewed on completion, whereas the latter looks at the quality of inputs and processes.

The traditional system of management in the education sector has a high focus on inputs: Budgets, personnel, materials and so on. However, the inputs focus is accompanied by the absence of attention to the relevance and quality of the inputs and processes. Also, outputs such as learning outcomes, dropouts and standards do not drive the decision making. No benchmarks for achievement have been developed. In the case of quality products such as textbooks and examinations the input and process quality is also not monitored. Only the recently prepared sector plans have developed some indicators. The parallel donor driven projects focus on outputs, within their limited scope, but the education bureaucracy has not adopted their approach.

Field officers assigned the task of monitoring have neither the training nor the resources to monitor school performance. No clear benchmarks have been provided to them. This does not mean that none were ever set. In the older inspection function, some benchmarks had been developed. Such is the case in Punjab, where a District Monitoring Officer (DMO) is responsible for overseeing the monitoring function. Reporting directly to the PMIU these DMOs, hired from outside the education department, primarily focus on enrollment and teacher absenteeism. There is some evidence that suggests that teacher absenteeism has been reduced in schools, which is more than what the systems in other provinces have managed but this still appears as a very partial (and limited) approach to monitoring.

Enrollment focus

The main benchmarks of system accountability revolve around greater enrollment or access to education. Monitoring of quality related outputs that reduce dropouts and sustain reform often recede to a lower priority. The National Education Assessment System (NEAS) and its provincial counterparts, the PEACEs, supported by the World Bank and DFID are examples of one such intervention to produce quality output data that failed to receive priority. The NEAS and PEACEs made periodic diagnostic assessments of SLOs between 2005 and 2008.[10] However, since the 18th Amendment, although some of the province based PEACEs have been working independently, assessments have been sporadic at best. The PEACEs have effectively become somewhat redundant in the absence of a clear mandate and any funds to conduct their work.

Limited data use

All provincial governments have had EMIS for almost two decades now. However, the actual use of data, its coverage and validity continue to be questioned. Most reports reveal very limited use.[11] The main utilization appears to be in project planning. However, data has not become a central factor in decision making. In line with the general management approach, data collection and dissemination has an input and a supply-side bias. No major indicators have been developed nor has there ever been an exercise to determine the set of users and their needs.

This limited use has a number of reasons. Firstly, the culture of decision making in the public sector does not consider data use as a priority. Most decisions are taken by high ranking officials after limited consultation and often in the absence of meaningful deliberation with specialists and experts in the field. Secondly, the data collected is often presented in the form of long tables or raw data; the EMIS do not produce analytical reports. In fact they have never transitioned from database to actively used EMIS with multiple users (Box 9.3).

BOX 9.3: AN EMIS OR A DATABASE?

A good EMIS system has multiple users with varying degrees of authorization, decision support system, operations system and resource management system. The current systems are, at best, stand alone databases with access allowed only to the EMIS staff assigned to the task. Managers requiring data have to request access. Most experts managing EMIS in the provinces do not have specialized training or a degree in Management Information Systems and often programmers hold management positions. The horizon (organizational coverage), span (geographic spread) and depth (data needs for effective management) required for an effective EMIS have never been holistically explored or comprehensively assessed. Resultantly, the school census remains the main data set and other important information such as examination results, personnel, finances and supplies required for planning and daily management have never been included. Even where some of this information has been added, data remains available to EMIS staff only.

Given the limited monitoring and evaluation process, the use of EMIS is also limited. In Punjab, based on the requirements of the World Bank funded PESRP, PMIU uses EMIS data for planning and monitoring only. The usage is limited to donor disbursements and not an overall provincial need determined through a holistic process. Although data on the Punjab Examinations Commission (PEC) is available to PMIU, there has been no analysis of the relationships between the PMIU input data and PEC data. As demonstrated in an initiative by SAHE,[12] such correlative analyses are indeed possible and can allow for examining the impact of school improvement on learning outcomes.

ROLE OF DONORS

Increasingly donors have become an important part of the governance and management system in the education sector. The actual influence of donors varies in each province depending on a number of factors but finances play an important role.

Provincial governments rely on foreign aid; however the figure is not typically included in the education budget as the aid actually received tends to differ from what was projected. Given the size of the education budget, donor support forms a small proportion of the total. Other than Punjab, the other provinces have made provisions for foreign assistance in their respective education budgets.

Typically donor money flows into the development of the sector and areas that the government has not necessarily considered for investment. This can have positive consequences. However, donor driven initiatives such as School Management Committees and early childhood education, not least as a result of being insufficiently contextualized, do not appear to have made a significant contribution.

Some of the bigger development partners such as the World Bank and DFID have adopted strongly top-down approaches for implementation of their programs. Functionaries of these organizations primarily interact with the education secretary, education minister and even chief minister to ensure ownership of their programs. A critical factor in the implementation of this approach has been the budgetary support provided by the bigger donors. This increases their political importance. The use of reports on education performance in Punjab by the DFID supported Punjab School Reforms Roadmap may have served as a political positive for the incumbent government in the 2013 elections. At the technical level these donors often work through parallel policy and planning units already discussed above.

The key question of sustainability of donor supported interventions remains. Two factors have played a major role in the failure to sustain such interventions: Poor government ownership and lack of donor coordination. Weak government ownership can be, primarily, attributed to the lack of political will for reform and the low levels of professional human resources in the public education sector. The government has been unable to develop its own approach to education, beyond access and infrastructure related projects. The asymmetry in the technical support available to donors (apart from the leverage provided by funding) and the lack of appropriately positioned education specialists in the government make it easy for the former to influence the reform agenda. The asymmetry also reduces ownership of the reforms as the internal experts, where available, do not have the formal authority to sustain the idea in the system and

hence lose interest.

The absence of donor coordination implies that the resources made available are less than optimally employed. A donor coordination process initiated in the Policy and Planning Wing of the Federal MOE, failed to succeed primarily due to a lack of interest of the larger donors such as the World Bank, Asian Development Bank and DFID. In Punjab the PESRP funded by the World Bank became the de facto sector plan. Smaller donors such as GIZ or UNICEF, despite some useful work in improvement of quality education, were marginalized. Often coalitions between a subset of donors can be found as in the EU led process in Sindh and the World Bank and DFID led process in the Punjab. However, this does not compensate for the lack of effective coordination.

Sector wide approach, donor coordination and mutual accountability, concepts based on the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, have failed to materialize fully. While all provinces have prepared sector plans, albeit at different stages, even where these have been approved the implementation process has not been laid out. Thus, planning and prioritization processes have not been impacted. Successful transition to a sector wide approach will require a major shift in government processes. Without support and ownership from the top and an increase in the capacity of the nodal government institutions of the education sector, significant improvement and reform are unlikely.

POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

Political support for education has improved in some ways, across the provinces. Pronouncements from the highest level, increases in financial outlays and increased engagement of education ministers, chief ministers and senior education managers with development partners reflect increased interest. Another phenomenon seen over the last few years has been the desire for inter-provincial coordination as delegations of education managers visit other provinces for learning purposes.

Conversion of political support into effective improvement faces a number of constraints, including the use of education for political gains, political interference and several other factors, some of which are highlighted below.

Use of education for rapid and visible political gains

The political leadership often appears to emphasize the politically visible reforms within the education sector and the popular supersedes the optimal. Public statements often revolve more around access, absenteeism or high profile interventions, which lend themselves better to rapid and visible political gains. Policy decisions such as Daanish Schools and distribution of laptop computers in the Punjab, or the proposed language policy in some provinces are good examples. They allow for immediately visible actions, which do not necessarily translate into improvement in quality in the long run.

For example, in KP the sitting government has articulated a policy of removing differences in quality across public and private education streams. While a desirable outcome, the policy actions taken reveal a lack of understanding of the quality dynamic and an inability to manage large-scale reforms. The government decided to convert all public sector schools into English medium from grade 1 assuming that such a move would automatically address quality issues without taking into consideration the capacity of the system to implement such a reform. In addition no long-term strategy has been developed to address such issues.

Political manifestos of political parties also reveal a simplistic approach to quality education reform (Table 9.1).

Table 9.1: Proposed education programs of major political parties
Source: PILDAT, 2013

Proposed program	ANP	MQM	PML	PML (N)	PPP	PTI
GDP Allocation	Direct 6% of the GDP to the education sector.	Increase allocation to education to 5% of the GDP. Allocate a minimum 20% of provincial and district government's revenue to education.	Raise the financial allocation of GDP to education to the level given in the Fiscal Responsibility and Debt Limitation Act (2005).	Allocate increased resources to education to reach the UNESCO target of 4% of GDP by 2018.	Commit 4.5% of GDP to education by the end of next term.	Increase spending on education from 2% of GDP to 5% of GDP in five years.
Gender	Build a monitored and accountable network of primary and secondary schools in areas that are easily accessible to children, especially girls.	Preference will be given to female teachers for primary education.	Actively engage in closing the education gender gap through behavior change.	Reduce dropout rate at the primary level by providing missing facilities in schools, free textbooks and offering incentives especially for girls.	Eliminate gender disparities in education especially by providing incentives for girls to enroll in school and vocational institutions.	Focus on girls' education (double the number of girls' high schools in five years).
Curriculum	Provide basic education to students in the mother tongue.	Amend syllabus according to the national requirements. Abolish dual systems of education by improving Urdu medium schools. Provide madrassas with incentives to conform their syllabi and standards to mainstream education.	Teach sports, art, music and languages as well as English and math in all schools.	Develop skill-based uniform curriculum.	Carry out comprehensive curriculum and academic reform and review and reform language policy focusing on both mother tongue instruction as well as national and international languages. Promote use of ICT.	
Access	Provide meals and need-based scholarships. Provide at least one college with degree awarding status to each district. Upgrade all high schools to higher secondary schools.	Encourage the "Adopt a School" Policy to fully utilize available resources			Intensify efforts to increase school enrollment and lower dropout rates.	Introduce a need-based voucher system to fund students to go to private schools where government schools are not enough. Decentralize service delivery to district.

Proposed program	ANP	MQM	PML	PML (N)	PPP	PTI
Governance	Eliminate political interference and corruption. Establish education taskforce to provide oversight both in terms of access and governance.	Regularly monitor educational institutes' Management Boards/ Committees and their performance. Regulate private education institutions.	Ensure that the Higher Education Commission is made completely autonomous. Create an enabling environment for private schools.	Propose legislation to achieve 100% enrollment up to the middle level and 80% universal literacy as well as strive to meet the target of EFA and MDGs. Provide financial assistance to madrassas.	Take steps to decentralize decision making for the utilization of funds. Ensure greater transparency and accountability at all levels. Put in place appropriate assessment and monitoring mechanisms for teachers and students, starting at the provincial level. Initiate madrassa reforms with the help of madrassa councils to modernize their education systems.	
Infrastructure development	Ensure basic facilities in existing schools. Rebuild the schools destroyed by terrorists.			Strengthen monitoring of the education sector.		Introduce a special program to modernize and upgrade the government sector colleges.
Quality	Rationalize classroom and student teacher ratio.			Extend facilities for teacher training.		
Improve status of teachers			Improve status of teachers			
Adult literacy					Raise adult literacy rate to 85%.	Invest in resources to combat adult literacy focusing adults in the 15-30 age brackets.
Community involvement						Involve and empower community to share burden of management.

Political interference

As the largest sector in the public sector, education bears the brunt of political interference in a number of domains. Historically, politicians have used teacher recruitment as a form of political patronage. This practice has been somewhat eliminated in the provinces partly due to internal reform and to an extent as a result of pressures from development partners. In the case of Balochistan, the Balochistan High Court has played a role.

Interference in other managerial decisions continues (though again the degree varies across provinces). These include transfers and postings, blockage of disciplinary proceedings and even school planning. Most teachers use political connections to get posted out of rural schools. This distorts the entire rationale of postings. Many teachers with a persistent record of absenteeism often have a politician as a patron. The latter block any serious disciplinary proceedings against them.

The link between teachers and politicians is established as a result of two factors. Firstly, as the more educated persons in the rural or semi-urban setting, election teams of most political leaders include a healthy number of school teachers as organizers. Secondly, teachers get posted as polling staff on elections day. Additionally, some of the teacher associations are linked to mainstream political parties, though these have enough political clout of their own and often do not depend on political parties for power (refer to teachers associations section in this chapter for further details).

Planning also often gets distorted due to political interference. In Balochistan funds provided to Members of the Provincial Assembly are mostly used in the construction of education institutions whose feasibility has not been evaluated. Mostly the incentive is to give the contract to a favorite. This results in construction of schools with low utility. Examples of schools set up on the basis of political expediency, rather than need, abound in all provinces.

OTHER CRITICAL FACTORS

Politicians themselves also do not operate in isolation of other endemic environmental factors. A number of these factors exist but the current analysis of governance focuses on three: Corruption and cheating, role of teachers associations and community involvement.

Corruption and cheating

The endemic corruption in Pakistan's public sector also plagues the education sector. Major incidences of corruption can be found in procurement, deductions from salaries where these are paid in cash, bribery for transfers and postings and covering up of absenteeism.

The most sinister form of corruption has been institutionalized cheating in public examinations. Entire examination centers are sold and cheating support provided to candidates. In Sindh the practice carries the epithet of copy culture and in other provinces different nomenclatures are used. Punjab has managed to reduce the problem, to an extent, since its peak in the 1990s. Although no study has been made of the situation, qualitative feedback points to the relative severity of the problem in the southern provinces with the proviso that the problem exists in all the provinces.

In places with endemic cheating there appears to be acceptance of the practice across the board. While the eventual onus lies with the political leadership, societal collusion makes it a difficult area for successful intervention. Irrespective, failure to prevent cheating reduces the quality of education even further and makes a mockery of reform efforts.

Teachers associations

Given the large number of teachers in the sector the need for a representative body cannot be overemphasized. Unfortunately the current representative bodies have not been able to develop as professional associations. The teachers associations are often involved in selection of teachers for training programs (with the exception of Punjab). In Balochistan they play a role in selecting invigilators and examiners for the secondary and higher secondary examinations. The associations have also been accused of providing systemic support for the use of unfair means in such selection, particularly in provinces where there is a higher incidence of the practice. The associations have also been known to provide support to teachers involved in absenteeism as well.

These powerful associations often become the main obstacle to reform wherever their interest appears to be threatened. Most recently, teachers associations became the most vociferous opponents of the pro-

posed District Education Authorities in Punjab. Similarly, they have resisted efforts at performance-based promotions which involve tests.

Community involvement

Community involvement efforts in education, for the most part, have not been as successful as intended. High illiteracy rates, poverty and low expectations from schools have reduced community interest in the education system. Another factor has been the failure of school leadership to involve the community in formally organized committees. The few instances of successful models have often been possible due to head teachers who make an effort to reach out to the community.[13] However, most head teachers and teachers consider community involvement in the school as interference and are reluctant to encourage it.

IMPLICATIONS OF GOVERNANCE CHALLENGES

As can be seen from the previous section the outlook continues to shift, in all provinces, due to the market response to negative perceptions of public schools, donor interventions and the new found political eagerness to improve the situation. Gaps in the understanding of education processes and fears of sustainability of donor driven reforms can be seen as a common thread across all provinces. Within these general trends each province has its own set of priorities and limitations, discussed further in the sections below.

KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

In KP, DFID is the main development partner in terms of the total size of financial support to education. Furthermore, GIZ has a 15-year track record of providing technical assistance to the KP Government to support quality improvement and EMIS. Other donors include the EU and USAID.

The focus of reforms continues to be on access and mostly input related aspects, which include stipends for girls, training of parent teacher committees, textbook distribution and tackling teacher absenteeism. The main qualitative intervention in KP has been the distribution of lesson plans for teachers. The recent reforms are still very much a work in progress; hence the currently low learning levels on most counts.[14]

KP was the first province to prepare an education sector plan. Yet the implementation process remains unclear. In terms of the work of the incumbent government, views have been mixed with some claiming that political interference and absenteeism has been reduced while others point to a continuation of past practices.

Similar to Sindh and Punjab, evidence of an exit strategy for development partners has not been clear. Sustainability risks remain high. More critically, quality in terms of assessments, textbook development and curriculum implementation does not appear to figure as an important part of the main reforms. Unlike Punjab, SLOs are not part of the monitoring regime. An important initiative in terms of decentralization has been the development of a cluster-based approach with the objective of devolving administrative decisions to the cluster. How well this works in practice remains to be seen.

PUNJAB

After making gains in ensuring access to education for all school age children, Punjab is attempting to shift towards quality with increased focus on SLOs. Quality indicators have become a part of the Punjab School Reforms Roadmap report presented quarterly to the chief minister. The DSD's program on teacher professional development forms an important cornerstone of the work on improving quality.

The province has also sought to improve textbook development and curriculum capacity. There has been some overlap in the respective roles and responsibilities of the textbook board and the newly set up Punjab Curriculum Authority. The confusion is symptomatic of lack of attention to allocating appropriate roles to different institutions as well as the lack of capacity within these institutions. The overlapping mandates, allegedly, have also been precipitated by the dynamics of textbook printing and publishing, which has become a contentious factor between the two organizations.

The province, through the PESRP, has improved various aspects of education service delivery. The number of missing facilities has been reduced, efficiency at schools has improved somewhat due to rationalization of teachers, teacher absenteeism has been reduced to some extent and learning outcomes have registered marginal improvement. Participation rates at the primary level are believed to be higher. The government claims this improvement in participation is a success of its reform programs. However, sustainability of these numbers remains a concern as the survey cannot make any conclusions about dropouts over the course of the next few years.

Punjab may be ahead of other provinces in some ways, but it still faces considerable challenges: A large number of out-of-school children, an unregulated private sector and continued use of traditional rote learning driven teaching and learning practices in classrooms.

The reform agenda in Punjab has been, and continues to be, influenced in large measure by donors. A key reason for the partial success has been the government support for the development initiatives of donors. But this leaves the major issue of developing institutional capacity of the School Education Department still to be addressed.

SINDH

In Sindh, reform efforts aimed at improving education governance are also donor driven through the RSU. Here, something as basic as teacher absenteeism continues to be problematic. Broadly, the reform effort is tilted towards access issues such as missing facilities and stipend programs. Furthermore, the political interest in reforms, especially, from the highest offices remains low, which has allowed a number of malpractices to continue.

There is some good news as well. For instance, Sindh has taken concrete steps to improve recruitment of teachers by reviving a merit-based recruitment policy. Sindh has also become the first province to use the National Testing Service for teacher recruitment. Punjab and KP have followed suit.

Irrespective of impact, the reform program in Sindh also faces the question of sustainability as the entire effort has been initiated and implemented through donor initiative and support. Similar to Punjab the risks of recidivism appear high if the donors leave. The current capacity of the education department and its affiliates, already considered low, is likely to deteriorate further, in that case.

BALOCHISTAN

Balochistan has the weakest education indicators of all provinces including the widest gender disparities. For instance, 79% of total enrollment in government schools is accounted for by boys with similar figures in private schools with girls composing 26% of total enrollment.[15] The World Bank has supported the BEF and recently initiated a Primary Girls Education Program to help reduce the gender gap. Other important development partners include UNESCO and UNICEF. The latter has supported the development of the sector plan and has currently funded a capacity development process for key education organizations. GIZ has also been an active partner in the province, especially, supporting the curriculum implementation framework.

The primary focus of the province has been, and continues to be access. In the case of Balochistan this is understandable as out of 22,000 settlements in the province, approximately 10,000 continue to be without schools.

Weak internal capacity of the provincial education department, powerful teachers associations, political interference and the law and order situation makes education reform a particularly challenging proposition. The current government has manifested a much higher priority for education through approval of the sector plan, increase of financial outlays and efforts to learn from international partners and other provinces.

A few of the teachers associations and some of the political leaders limit the government's ability to reform by interfering in the process of transfers and postings and sustaining practices such as absenteeism and cheating in exams.

CONCLUSION

The governance and management challenge in Pakistan stems in part from the huge scale of provision of education services itself. In addition, the ability of the public sector to adequately address governance challenges is hampered by systemic shortcomings as well as endemic political interference. The 18th Amendment has introduced further complexity by making education for children between the ages of 5 and 16 a fundamental right and devolving responsibility to the provinces. Effective implementation of the 18th Amendment requires addressing these fundamental governance and management issues.

Increased political interest in education has not translated into substantive reforms in Pakistan. The intrinsic capacity of the provincial governments to deliver quality education remains low. In addition, many improvements in the sector have originated in programs funded by donors.

Without an effort to improve the capacity of personnel in the sector as well as key processes, the sector will continue to suffer from institutional weakness and low quality inputs. A change at this level is essential in order to ensure better outcomes in terms of student learning. The latter does not seem to be the primary focus of education service delivery at present, although a shift towards improvement in the quality of education appears to have been initiated in all the provinces.

Education in Pakistan cannot improve without a concomitant improvement in understanding its complex processes and an enhanced level of commitment on the part of the leadership to assume greater ownership of this critical area of development. Without political champions with clarity on educational needs the effort in the sector will remain off the mark as governance models are only as good as the outputs they pursue, the processes they use and the quality of inputs they employ.

[1] UNESCO 2009
[2] School Education Department, Punjab Government 2013
[3] PPIU, Education Department, Balochistan Government 2014
[4] DLIs are the disbursement of funds to a particular entity after achievement of project goals.
[5] Andrabi et al 2007b
[6] Ministry of Education, Pakistan Government 2009b
[7] Name differs in Punjab where it is Punjab Education Assessment System (PEAS).
[8] Leaders from developed and developing countries across the world met in February 2005 in Paris to review the progress towards the MDGs, as well as to commit to improving aid effectiveness by following agreed upon reforms.
[9] Sallis 2002
[10] "National education assessment" 2014
[11] PPIU, Education Department, Balochistan Government 2014; School Education Department, Punjab Government 2013
[12] Naseer 2013
[13] CQE conducted a multi-case study in eight sites across Pakistan in 2007 to examine the quality of learning and teaching in various educational institutions across the regions. A total of 43 government and private schools were selected that represented primary level, secondary level and high school level institutions.
[14] ITA 2014
[15] ITA 2014

CHAPTER

10

CONCLUSION

WAY FORWARD

If we are serious about implementing Article 25-A of the Constitution of Pakistan and ensuring the Right to Education (RTE) whereby all children between the ages of 5 and 16 are entitled to free and compulsory education, then we must concentrate equally on both access and quality of educational services. The experience of education initiatives over the last two decades has also taught us that a skewed focus on increasing access to education does not deliver viable education reforms. In the absence of major improvement in the quality of inputs into the educational process, student outcomes are likely to remain dismal. Low quality of educational experience has also been recognized as a reason for dropping out from school. Tracking enrollment and dropout rates is just one aspect of the effort. Adequate funds, strong institutions and rational processes must inform the task of improving the quality of inputs into the sector in order to ensure the desperately needed improvement in student learning.

It should be clear from a reading of this report that both access to schools and the quality of education offered remain key challenges. Those involved in education, that is parents, teachers, politicians, governments and donors have rightly remained concerned with student outcomes or learning, measured by testing. However, there has been far less attention given to and deliberation over the quality of a variety of inputs that go into the system. For the purpose of the Education Monitor, we have defined inputs in the broadest possible sense: the institutional underpinnings, processes and policies related to school facilities, teachers, textbooks, language of instruction, testing mechanisms and governance. These represent the input side in comparison to the other side of the equation, which is the outcome, or level of learning achieved by the student. The point we have tried to emphasize is that a focus on the nature and quality of the inputs into the educational process is long overdue and indispensable in determining the quality of outcomes of the educational process.

Student enrollment indicators show that Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) have relatively better enrollment rates compared with Sindh and Balochistan. However, this difference narrows as students move from primary to high school levels indicating that the supply of secondary education is much less than its potential demand in all provinces. Participation in rural areas is poorer compared to urban areas but this phenomenon is much more pronounced in Sindh and Balochistan particularly for rural females. Most importantly survival rate to grade 5 in Pakistan, although steadily increasing over the years, is still less than 53%.

With regards to the school facilities, especially at the primary level, the ubiquitous prevalence of two-room primary schools in virtually all the provinces suggests a lack of capacity to accommodate students as well as the inability to have in place the minimum number of teachers required. Most schools also lack the facilities that serve as minimum requirements for infrastructural provisions.

While the enrollment and retention indicators portray a poor state in the education sector across the provinces, the provincial governments are making concerted efforts to increase school access and improve student retention through policy level changes and strategic plans. In terms of legislation, Sindh, Balochistan and Islamabad Capital Territory have already passed an act or ordinance as a follow up to Article 25-A. KP and Punjab have also prepared draft bills in this regard. All provinces have developed education sector plans as a means for addressing the challenges posed by the constitutional requirement to ensure RTE. For example, these include strategies for enhancing enrollment, particularly of girls, as well as stipends, scholarships, meals, hiring more female teachers, second school shifts and so on. However, there is still a need for addressing teacher absenteeism (particularly in provinces other than Punjab), the opportunity cost of education, poor conditions of the school itself and cultural barriers especially for females. The governments also need to develop a more comprehensive strategy for enrollment, one that addresses high dropout rates and retention through improving quality. More importantly, there is a need for the provincial governments to address operational and organizational challenges such as lack of staff in education departments and insufficient financial resources needed for planning and implementing RTE.

Teachers, arguably critical to the enterprise, underperform for reasons that have to do with inappro-

priate recruitment policies, poor pre-service preparation, inadequate professional development and support and an ineffective system of incentives and accountability. Considerable efforts have been made to address teacher quality deficits through increasing the duration of Bachelors of Education to a four-year program which may allow for a more enriched exposure to content and teaching practice. Attempts to make in-service professional development more continuous and responsive have also been made. However, the dearth of good quality teacher educators in teacher training colleges and professional development institutions is coming in the way of realizing the potential of positive changes in teacher education programs. This issue is partly attributable to the lack of a separate teacher educator cadre in most provinces (with the exception of Sindh) and the lack of rationalization between overstaffed and understaffed colleges.

Within the realm of professional development there is a considerable amount of overlap in mandate and lack of role clarity amongst institutions. This is most apparent in Sindh where Sindh Teacher Education Development Authority (STEDA), the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension Wing (BCEW) and the Provincial Institute for Teacher Education (PITE), all play a role in the professional development of teachers in the province. The governments also do not adequately finance teacher education and professional development. With the exception of Punjab, there is no government budget allocated for in-service training. Most in-service professional development depends greatly on the availability of funds from development partners, which makes it fragmented, incoherent and unsustainable due to varied priorities of donors.

Teacher recruitment has suffered from poor, sporadic planning. While the education sector plans have made an attempt to develop more comprehensive recruitment strategies, more detailed planning for specific needs such as math and science teachers is still needed. Although the teacher recruitment process has traditionally been heavily influenced by political considerations, the provinces are slowly beginning to implement merit-based recruitment policies. More importantly, the provinces have acknowledged the need for objectively ascertaining the quality of teacher academic and professional education during recruitment. In an effort to standardize the recruitment process, Sindh, Punjab and KP have adopted the use of the National Testing Service. However, the quality of the test and the mode of implementation have yet to be independently reviewed to determine its contribution to recruiting potentially better teachers into the system.

Currently, processes related to monitoring and evaluation do not give due attention to teaching and learning in the classroom. Rather they focus on teacher absenteeism and discipline within the classroom. District and provincial level teacher monitors do not have the capacity or resources to effectively help improve the quality of teaching. At the school level, head teachers do not have the institutional support or capacity to hold teachers accountable. In order to improve the quality of education in Pakistan it is important to create policies focused on student learning and to invest in improving the capacity and support system for teachers.

Low quality of textbooks used in the schools is another impediment to improving student outcomes. Recent policy changes have sought to remedy this issue by allowing competitive bidding by private publishers. However, the quality of textbooks remains questionable due to the unwillingness on the part of private publishers, barring the exception, to hire high quality textbook writers at the market rates. Textbook writers often do not have training in textbook development. As a result they often lack knowledge of pedagogy and face difficulty in developing textbooks in accordance with curricular SLOs. Amongst public sector institutions supporting the textbook development and review process there is once again a dearth of qualified personnel and a lack of role clarity amongst institutions. These issues have slowed down the process of textbook development, new textbooks aligned with the curriculum frameworks put into place in 2007 are far from complete.

Yet another input is the issue of the Medium of Instruction (MOI). According to the literature on language and learning, once students attain a measure of fluency in the first language, they can also learn other languages. In the early years the first language remains important by reference to a child's cognitive development. Simultaneously, a second language can also be taught as a subject or a skill given competent teachers and an enabling environment. Ensuring this is difficult enough but a more formidable problem arises with a second language being made the MOI in the early grades. Nonetheless, government policies, endorsed by most parents, have sought to introduce English as a subject or as a MOI as early as possible. Most recently, Punjab has experimented with introducing English as a MOI in government schools from grade 1 onwards. The KP government has also adopted a similar policy. How Sindh and Balochistan take this issue forward remains to be seen, but there is little doubt that opinion on the MOI issue at the level of the government machinery or society at large is not very different. The case of Punjab is instructive. The policy for introducing English as MOI at the primary level was introduced in 2009. After little progress was in evidence in terms of students learning English or other subjects in English, the Punjab Government reversed the policy in 2014 and switched back to Urdu as MOI up to grade 3. Recent studies indicate it is unlikely, however, that English will work as MOI starting even at grade 4 due to inadequate emphasis on communication skills and poor teaching practice in English. So, other provinces and all stakeholders may need to be careful in emulating an earlier-the-better policy with regard to English (a policy that Punjab has in part reconsidered). They would certainly do well to make the distinction between including English as a subject and English as a MOI in the early grades.

Not least, there is the crucial dimension of testing and examinations. It is well known that teachers teach to the test especially when student performance in examinations is often employed as a proxy for how well they have been taught and to assess the teacher. The Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISEs), responsible for annual examinations at the secondary school level, essentially determine performance of the entire system. A relatively recent initiative is standardized testing at the elementary level. In Punjab, there is the Punjab Examination Commission (PEC), which tests about 2.5 million children in grades 5 and 8 annually. Sindh has introduced standardized testing at a much smaller scale and in KP it is actively being deliberated upon at the official level. There are serious institutional weaknesses that continue to undermine the efficacy of these institutions. In the BISEs, there is a dire lack of expertise in construction and validation of test instruments, whether item writers, subject specialists, psychometricians or those involved in data analysis. Hence, their assessment practices are not aligned with the best practices of testing at the secondary level. In the case of PEC, the complexity and scale of the initiative restricts the quality of the testing process despite the availability of some psychometric expertise. It is critical that reforms are introduced to align the assessment practices in these institutions with the international standards and to develop the technical capacity of these institutions to follow through.

A fundamental issue is that of governance and management. The challenge in Pakistan stems in part from the huge scale of provision of education services itself. In addition, the ability of the public sector to adequately address governance challenges is hampered by systemic shortcomings as well as endemic political interference. Increased political interest in education has not translated into substantive reforms in Pakistan. The intrinsic capacity of the provincial governments to deliver quality education remains low. Once again, without a significant effort to improve the capacity of personnel in the education sector as well as key processes, the sector will continue to suffer. Without political champions with clarity on educational needs the effort in the sector will remain off the mark as governance models are only as good as the outputs they pursue, the processes they use and the quality of inputs they employ.

CROSSING-CUTTING ISSUES

As can be seen from the above synopsis, much of the quality deficit in the key inputs owes itself to institutional and process deficiencies. Often the more appropriate and specialized personnel are not available in the institutions concerned. To begin with, recruitment processes are usually inadequate because they are not standardized as in the case of selection of paper developers in PEC or the BISEs or in the case of qualified personnel required to conduct reviews by the textbook boards. The process is also often subject to the imperatives of patronage or even well-meaning but uninformed decision making within a bureaucratic setting.

Further, even when high quality human resources are available, the right structure of incentives does not exist for them to enable optimum performance. Sometimes staff is deputed for short periods of time or there are teachers working as education managers or senior education managers who are generalists

presiding over specialized institutions without input from a strong core of technically qualified personnel. Of course, a related issue is the paucity of highly qualified or skilled personnel such as psychometricians. Even if they are available, the salaries they demand are not often commensurate with government pay scales. Not least, the hierarchical structures and lack of autonomy that often characterize government organizations make the prospect of working there unattractive for those with the needed expertise.

There is also the frequently encountered problem of unclear mandates which has resulted in overlap and institutional clutter. A prime example is that of textbook development in Punjab being undermined as a result of the tussle between Punjab Curriculum Authority and Punjab Textbook Board. Another one pertaining to teacher education in Sindh has to do with the confusion between the roles of STEDA, the BCEW and PITE in delivering teacher education. This role confusion in teacher education occurs to some extent in all provinces.

There is a lack of alignment or coordination between the policies, reform efforts and institutions related to the inputs that determine quality. At the institutional level there are numerous instances of lack of coordination between institutions in the same subsector: curricular and textbook development institutions, teacher education institutions and so on. There is a lack of sharing between institutions in different subsectors. Ideally examination institutions should share results with teacher education institutions to make their programs more relevant to student learning needs. At the level of policies, programs and reform efforts there is a lack of alignment between changes in pre-service degree programs and service rules related to recruitment or between the type of highly skilled personnel required for key institutions (e.g. psychometricians) and university or college programs that should produce them.

At the root of all is a lack of an overarching quality perspective and planning– in the end the efforts do not come together. There is a greater need for synchronization of efforts at the level of the education secretaries or reform units, perhaps both. Subsectors continuing to work in their respective silos means, that there is considerable loss of synergy across the sector as a whole. Along with institution and process specific deficiencies this overall lack of collaborative effort further provides for low student outcomes that have persisted despite the numerous interventions in the education sector in the recent past.

FURTHER ISSUES

Among the issues that are outside the scope of this issue of the Education Monitor is that of the quality of general education. Most of the colleges and universities from which our public school teachers graduate provide insufficient grounding in the different subjects they offer. They lack, by way of quality inputs, strong faculties, libraries and laboratories, among other elements, which are necessary for a good education. These teaching institutions have not been given the requisite attention. The Higher Education Commission has focused largely on universities (and even there the focus has been much more on access rather than quality) while provincial governments and donors have concentrated their attention at the school level. The colleges, for the most part, have been ignored with the result that the number of teachers joining the teaching stream with a tenuous grasp over their subject areas has multiplied (some distance learning arrangements appear to have added significantly to the problem). However, this is an area that must get much greater consideration if we are to improve student outcomes. To get teachers who teach well, textbook writers who can produce high quality textbooks, subject specialists and psychometricians who can design better examinations and assessment systems, it is critical that we improve the quality of academic or general education provided by our colleges and universities.

Another important issue related to education quality, not discussed in this report, pertains to the rise of the private sector in education and the related phenomenon of privatization. A number of studies that show the private sector doing somewhat better in terms of student outcomes compared to government schools have encouraged the view that the private sector can assume the role of the provider of quality education on a massive scale. This is an area that requires considerable investigation for it has serious policy implications with regard to the elusive goal of providing quality education for all children.

As matters stand, the quality of inputs going into the education sector cuts across the public-private divide. Input quality, then, needs to be carefully monitored. In order to address the deficits at this level, the relevant institutional weaknesses need to be addressed, process distortions removed and role clarity ensured. If we are to make progress towards the goal of quality education for all, nothing less will suffice.

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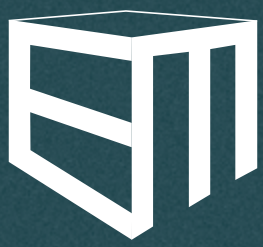

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