Towards Universalizing PRIMARY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

Omer Khayyam Sheikh

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BY

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MODERN BOOK DEPOT
AABPARA, ISLAMABAD

First Edition : July, 1987

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Price Rs. 80/-

Composed & Designed by:

ASIM Composing & Printing Associates,
114-Zulqarnain Chambers, Ganpat Road,
Anarkali, Lahore-2 (Pakistan).
Tel: 321683-322656

Published in Pakistan by :

Syed Zakir Shah
Modern Book Depot, Aabpara,
Islamabad.

Printed in Pakistan at :

Jamal Mahmud Press
Darbar Market, Lahore.

Dedicated

To

My Parents

Sheikh Hadayat Ullah

and

Khalida Begum

PREFACE

While taking a class in economic development with Professor James Nakamura at Columbia University, I discovered the connection between human capital accumulation and economic development. That finding led me to do some research in the problems and prospects of educational development in Pakistan. This book is a product of that research.

The role of education, particularly primary education, in economic development is the focus of the first chapter. The second chapter provides a review of thinking and planning for primary education in Pakistan since 1947. The third chapter reviews the constraints that have been encountered in universalising primary education in Pakistan. The fourth chapter suggests policies that can be followed to fulfil the dream of universal primary education in Pakistan. It also reviews some current policies that are being followed at the present. Mosque and mohallah schools are reviewed in this connection.

A number of people have helped me in writing this book. Thanks are particularly due to Professors James Nakamura and Stanislavs Wellisz of Columbia University. Messrs. Shahid Javed Burki, David Rees, Emmanuel Jimenez and Nizar Jetha of the World Bank provided me valuable insights into the problems of primary education in Pakistan. Dr. Laeeq Ahmad Khan and Abdullah Khadim Hussain of the Ministry of Education, Dr. Mohammad Afzal, ex-Education Minister of Pakistan, Dr. Musarrat Ali Khan of the

Planning Commission, and General Mujib-ur-Rahman, Chairman of the Literacy and Mass Education Commission were all instrumental in the writing this book. Special thanks are due to Ms. Arntraud Hartman of the Pakistan Division at the World Bank. My friend and colleague, Nadeem Babar, steered me along in performing this (what seemed) insurmountable task. Needless to say, I am personally responsible for all errors and omissions.

OMAR KHAYYAM SHEIKH
July 2nd, 1987.
Lahore.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Education and Development

Ever since Adam Smith, economists have wondered about the role of human capital in the economic development process. Adam Smith boldly included all of the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants of a country as a part of capital.[1] H. Von Thunen took the human capital theory one step further by arguing that rather than degrade people and impair their freedom, the concept of human capital recognizes their valuable contribution to society.[2] Irving Fisher developed a cogent and all-inclusive concept of human capital.[3] However, the maintstream of economists "shied away"[4] from the concept of human capital until the influential presidential address of Theodore Schultz delivered at the seventy-third Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association in 1960. Schultz argued that the skills and knowledge acquired by people is a form of capital:

> Much of what we call consumption constitutes investment in human capital. Direct expenditures on education, health, and internal migration to take advantage of better job opportunities are clear examples. Earnings foregone by mature students attending school and by workers acquiring on-the-job training are equally clear examples. . . In these and similar ways, the *quality* of human effort can be greatly improved and its productivity enhanced. I shall contend that such investment in human capital accounts for most of the impressive rise in the real earnings per worker.[5]

Schultz's work influenced many economists to research the role of education and related manpower training in economic growth and development. However, much of the research focused on the contribution of higher education to economic development. The contributions made by primary education were not considered salient since they could not be quantified as easily. The focus shifted in the late nineteen seventies with the emergence of the basic needs approach to economic development. The theory argued that the economic development of a country should be measured by the extent to which the economically deprived people are provided with essential services and commodities. Gillis notes that

> the basic human needs strategy is designed to provide several basic commodities and services to the poor: staple foods, water and sanitation, health care, primary and nonformal education, and housing. The strategy includes two important elements. First, it requires finance to ensure that these basic needs can be provided at costs that the poor can afford. Second, the strategy includes service networks to distribute these services in forms appropriate for consumption by the poor, and especially in areas where the poor live.[6]

The *World Development Report 1980* marks a break from the early tradition. The Education sector of the report noted:

> A decade or two ago, there was a widespread view that trained people were the key to development. Universal literacy was a political objective in many countries, but money spent on primary schooling was often regarded as diverted from activities that would have contributed more to economic growth. Planners favored the kinds of secondary and high education that directly met the "manpower requirements" of the modern sector. People who worked with their hands were thought not to have much need of formal education. Over the past decade, views have changed substantially.

Adequate provision of secondary and higher education and training remains an important priority. But the value of general education at the primary level is now more widely recognized.[7]

Benefits of Education

It has been recognized that education, in general, and primary education, in particular, strongly influence the rate of economic development. There are a number of ways in which this contribution is manifested. In the discussion below, we will first review the benefits of education for the individual and then look at education's benefits for the society. We will focus on education's role in (a) income generation; (b) health and nutrition improvements; and (c) population control.

We can begin by looking at the simple material benefit, i.e. income. The correlation between education and income is frequently observed at both the individual and the societal level.[8] Education enhances productive activity by improving the quality of labor through increased skills (such as literacy and scientific and technical knowledge). Although not all high school graduates, for example, earn more than all primary school leavers, the majority do, and on the average their earnings are much higher.

Another major benefit is that education leads to better health and longevity. This is made possible by better awareness of health and nutrition issues. Many people in the developing world are unaware of simple facts about nutrition and health. Such information can be made accessible to them through exucation. Research has indicated that educated people are more likely to visit clinics and hospitals, innoculate their children against epidemics, and strive to keep their homes and surroundings clean. According to Colclough,[9] schooling affects health in two principle ways: first, for house-

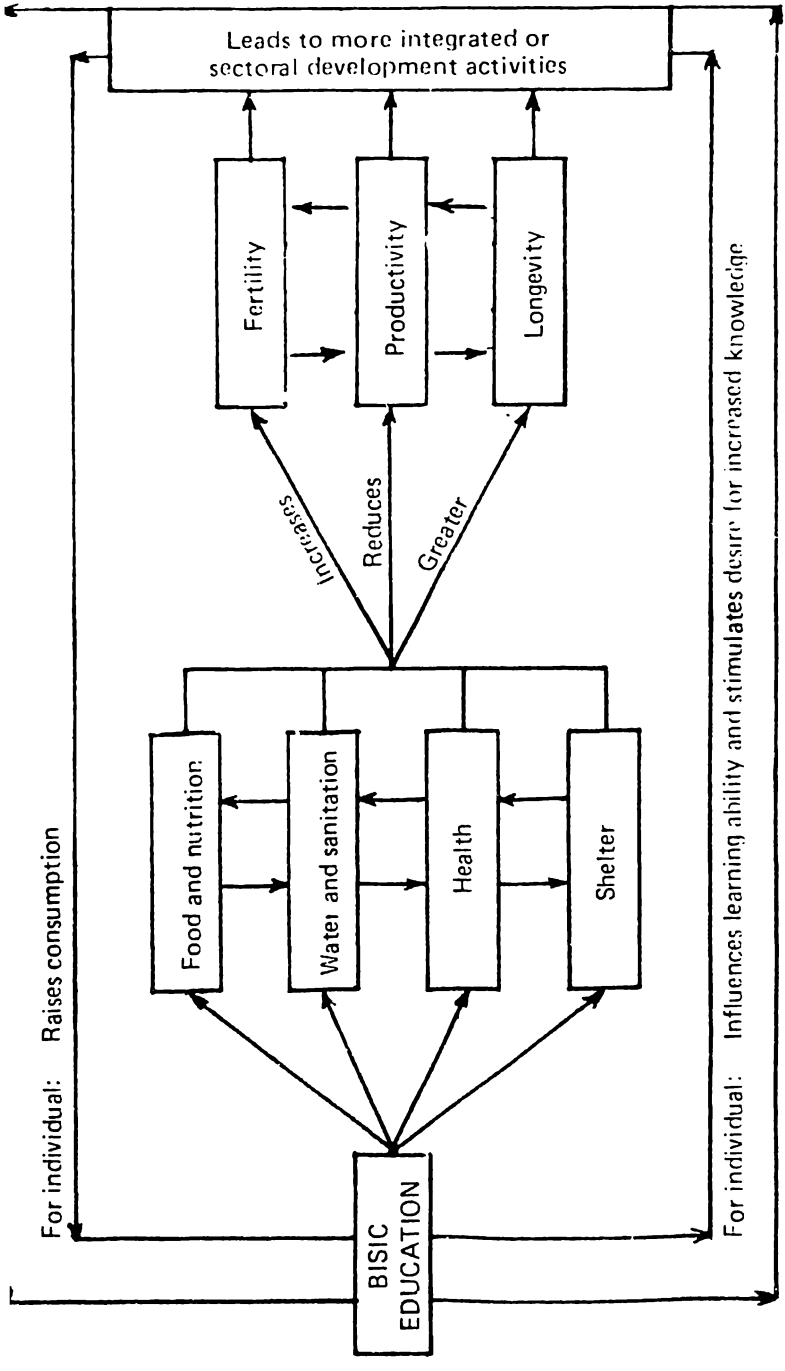
holds at a given income level, schooling increases their ability to improve the nutritional content of diets, and to initiate earlier and more effective diagnosis of illness; second, the increased household income brought by schooling, via its productivity effects, should lead to increased expenditure on food, housing, and medical care-particularly amongst poorer households-bringing improved family health as a consequence.[10]

It has been demonstrated that education reduces fertility rates in women. This is an empirically important finding given the alarmingly high birth rates in developing countries. In general, educated women have fewer children than do uneducated women. Lower fertility rates also imply that the mothers are better able to take care of their children's health and nutrition. Reduction in fertility rates is a major goal of most development planners in the developing world. Education is one of the most potent ways of curtailing fertility rates. A recent comprehensive survey of the evidence by Cochrane[11] suggests that the amount of schooling received by females indirectly affects their fertility in three ways. First, it affects the "biological supply" of children: education raises the age at marriage and reduces the proportion of women who are married. Second, the demand for children tends to decrease with schooling: the perceived benefits of having more children fall while the perceived cost of having more children rises primarily because of the enhanced earning prospects brought by schooling. Third, the knowledge of contraception curtails fertility and helps in avoiding unwanted pregnancies. The parents, therefore, can have the number of children they want. The effects for the individual are diagrammed in figure 1.1.

On a societal level, education leads to some very important benefits. According to Gillis, education has two major

Figure : 1.1

LINKAGE OF EDUCATION WITH BASIC NEEDS



social benefits. It holds the potential for socializing people, and it confers civic benefits.[12] There are also some cognitive benefits of education.[13] Let us look at these in turn and see how they are particularly relevant to Pakistan.

Education has an enormous potential for socializing people. Through a common school experience, people with different ethnic, social, religious, and linguistic origins can develop a common identity. A common school experience goes a long way toward promoting national solidarity. The case of Pakistan is particularly relevant in this context. Since its creation in 1947, the country has had a difficulty in developing a strong and overarching national identity for the diverse people living in it. The country owes its existence to a religious ideology, Islam, which by definition reaches beyond national boundaries.[14] Pakistan was created to provide the Muslims of India with a place where they could practice their religion without any constraints. However, ever since its birth, Pakistan has faced a few serious challenges to its independence. Bangladesh is a case in point. What was once East Pakistan declared itself a sovereign and independent nation after a bloody civil war in 1971. It is no surprise, then, that Pakistani leaders have always stressed the need for strengthening the ties among the four provinces of Pakistan. The emphasis on the "national dress" and the "national language" is an indicator of the need for national unity. Education can be of great service in socializing the varied people of Pakistan. The government of Pakistan has recognized this value but a great deal needs to be accomplished.

A second social benefit of education is that it confers civic benefits on people. It has been commonly observed that educated people are more involved in the political process. They are more likely to vote and voice their concerns and preferences. An educated electorate is a prerequisite to the

smooth functioning of the democratic processes in any country. A system of checks and balances cannot be maintained if the electorate is uninvolved or uneducated.

Again, Pakistan is a good illustration of a country where the mostly uneducated electorate is not very involved in the political process. The literacy rate of about 24 percent means that a very small percentage of the population can read newspapers or the names of politicians on a ballot paper. Votes are bought and sold for small sums of money. Although poverty is the major reason behind this practice, the role of ignorance should not be underestimated. It is not a surprise, then, that in the forty years of its existence Pakistan has experienced a variety of governments ranging from democracies to martial law regimes. Three different constitutions have been drawn up and implemented with varying degrees of success. This lack of education also makes the Pakistani people more susceptible to the charisma of a charismatic leader. Time and again, political leaders have been able to appeal to the emotions of the people to gain their votes or to cause disruption. An educated electorate can be expected to be more responsible and reasonable in expressing its political preferences. Although the relationship of education to democracy is not clear cut, many political scientists believe that at least a minimal level of schooling is a prerequisite for political democracy.[15]

Finally, education contributes to economic growth by fostering attitudes and values compatible with a modern society, thereby reducing social and institutional barriers to development.[16] Given the extent of political and economic change that is needed in most developing countries in order to provide people with basic needs and rights, education has the capacity to prepare people for such changes. A World Bank report concludes that education "replaces myth with

understanding based on sound scientific principles and. . . generates social mobility and hence greater equality by extending employment opportunities to a larger cohort of the population."[17]

Benefits of Primary Education

What are the benefits to be derived specifically from primary education? Why should the Government of Pakistan give first priority to primary education in making allocations to the education sector (as we will argue in a later section)? This section will attempt to answer these questions.

We can begin our analysis by looking at the rates of return to investment in primary, secondary, and higher education. Investment in education can be compared to investment in other sectors of the economy by comparing the returns to be obtained from the various investments. It has long been established that rates of return to different levels of education are among the useful tools for educational planning. In *Returns to Education: A Further International Update and Implications,* George Psacharopoulos has summarized the current findings. Table 1.1 presents a summary. The two major findings are the following:

Table 1.1

AVERAGE RETURNS TO EDUCATION BY COUNTRY TYPE AND LEVEL (Precent)

Region/	Social			Private		
Country Type	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Primary	Secondary	Higher
Africa	26	17	13	45	26	32
Asia	27	15	13	31	15	18
Latin America	26	0	16	32	23	23
Intermediate	13	10	8	16	13	13
Advanced	NA	11	9	NA	12	12

Source: Psacharopoulos, 1985

1. Underinvestment exists at all levels of education, especially in Africa. This proposition is supported by evidence that the social returns to education in the region are well above any plausible social discount rate used in project evaluation.

2. Primary schooling remains the number-one priority for investment. This is evidenced by the fact that the social rate of return to primary education exceeds by several percentage points the return to secondary and higher education.[18]

The second argument in favor of investment in primary education can be called the equity argument. Investment in primary education casts the widest possible net for the economically deprived section of society. The educational systems in most developing countries are so structured that they subsidize higher education at the expense of primary education. However, most students in higher education come from well-to-do families since most poor students either do not enter the educational system in the first place, or leave after primary or secondary schooling. Hence, the subsidization at the higher educational level goes mostly to pay for the education of the well-to-do. Psacharopoulos notes that "the degree of public subsidization of higher education is such that there is considerable margin for reducing subsidy levels... The savings from the reduction of university subsidies could be used to expand primary education".[19] The equity argument becomes particularly strong given the income disparities in the developing world. The rich are provided an easier access to higher education through public subsidies, while the poor are often unable to gain access even to primary education because of the high costs (the opportunity cost of sending one's children off to schools will be considered in a later section).

Universalizing primary education will help reduce these inequities and will promote the welfare of the economi-

cally deprived section of the society. Colclough observes that

> measures to extend and improve primary schooling involve direct expenditures on the poorest population groups. These expenditures subsequently increase the productivity of such people, and the returns to the investment flow mainly to individuals involved and to the communities in which they live. Investment in primary schooling thus provides a means of tackling the poverty problem directly.[20]

A third argument for investment in primary education is that it makes people more productive at work and in the home. Basic education in health and nutrition is critical to maintaining healthy families. Further, an awareness of fertilizer use, for example, comes easily once farmers can read the literature on the subject. Butt used the Cobb-Douglas function to analyze "worker effect" of different levels of formal education by introducing the education of farmers as an explicit input into the production function.[21] He concluded that the "educational attainment of farm operators . . . is in all probability an important factor in determining farm productivity and the use of yield-raising inputs, like chemical fertilizers . . . more educated farmers are able to achieve higher level of farm labor productivity".[22] Numerical ability is also essential to economic life. By providing primary education, the government can make people active participants in the economic development process. Colclough has summarized these benefits in the following words:

> primary schooling facilitates the attainment of other objectives of social policy, particularly in the fields of fertility control, improvements in health, nutrition, literacy and communication, and the strengthening of national culture.[23]

In conclusion, we can look at the benefits of primary education that arise from cognitive and non-cognitive

behavioral changes. It has been observed that the schooling experience leads to attitudinal changes irrespective of the quality of primary education. The implication is that even if the resources are scarce and the quality of the primary education system low, even then it is beneficial to invest in the expansion of primary education. Colclough observes that "the individual behavioral changes that result from schooling are stronger when literacy is widely spread than when it is more concentrated."[24] There seems to be, then, an interactive effect between individual and community attitudes and values which significantly strengthens the economic and social case for universalizing access to primary education.

* * * * *

Chapter 2

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN: A HISTORICAL OVER-VIEW

1. The Heritage

The education system of Pakistan owes its roots to two sources: the madrassahs of the Muslim period in India and the schools and colleges of the English colonial period. The traditional madrassah was run by an imam (religious teacher) who taught the Muslim boys and girls of the locality in the mosque. The interval between the morning and afternoon prayers (roughly 6 a.m. to noon) provided sufficient time for the classes to be conducted. The madrassah system was informal with no admission requirements or fees. The education provided in the madrassah was geared toward introducing the children to Islamic teachings. The emphasis was on learning Arabic, the Quran, and the fundamentals of Islamic teaching. The imam normally received no renumeration for teaching the children, although the parents often offered gifts of food, clothing, and money.

The madrassah education owed its roots to Islamic tradition going back to the seventh century AD. The Muslim invasion of India in 711 AD laid the roots for the spread of Islam in India. Mosques were built by the new converts as places of worship and learning. These mosques were the natural first schools of Islam. With the spread of Islam to areas where the inhabitants did not speak Arabic, the mosques assumed an even pivotal role. The imams were often well-versed in Arabic and conducted classes in the mosques for the

new converts and their children. This laid the foundation for the madrassahs. The curriculum in the madrassahs underwent significant change with the introduction of subjects like literacy and numeracy.

The consolidation of British control over India began in 1600 with the establishment of the East India Company in Calcutta. By the 1860s, British control over India was firmly established. The British rule led to some fundamental changes in the educational system of India. British policies in education, as in other fields, were subject to some fluctuation and debate. Adams notes that

> basically, the educational institutions and curricula introduced in South Asia reflected a desire to bring the presumed benefits of Christianity and Western civilization to that area. Particularly from the mid-nineteenth century, British policy ... came to be directed toward the establishment of a new class of [Indians] familiar with Western culture and the English language. Phrased in altruistic terms, this class would serve as leaders for the masses, more realistically, would occupy lower administrative posts in the government.[25]

In keeping with this goal, emphasis was put on secondary and higher education, and the curriculum was based on Western humanities and the liberal arts. Macaulay believed that the aims of British education should be to "form a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, opinions, in morals and intellect."[26] The English never envisioned spreading literacy to the Indian masses. Such a venture would have been counter-productive to their control over India. No serious effort was made to make education available to the poor people. Of course, the British also lacked the resources required for such an undertaking.

Although the introduction of the British school system was a small-scale development, given the vast canvas of India,

it accelerated the decline of the madrassahs. The madrassahs had begun declining even before the English appeared on the Indian scene. Their curricula had been slow to adapt to the changing realities of the nineteenth century. The madrassahs were opposed to teaching English and the sciences since these were considered "foreign" languages and concepts. The curcicula lacked modernity, and the emphasis on rote learning did not prove very relevant to the needs of the changing times. With the spread of British schools in the urban areas, the Muslim elite started sending their children to these schools. The result was a shift in emphasis from traditional madrassah schools to the modern English schools. The English schools also offered the opportunity to the locals to learn the English language. Fluency in English language was often a prerequisite for advancement under the British rule.

The thrust of the British education in India, however, was at establishing universities and colleges to train local civil servants to run the machinary of the government. Universities like the Punjab University and colleges like Aitchison College and Government College were founded by the British. The emphasis was on liberal arts education, especially on English literature. The sciences were not emphasised because they required larger outlays on education. The demand in the Indian Civil Service was for Indians who were fluent in oral and written English. The British bias toward liberal arts education is still prevalent in Pakistani thinking on the subject, as we will see in a later section.

The rather exclusive emphasis on educating the local supporters and their children has induced an unfortunate elitist bent in Pakistani education which still pervades much of Pakistani thinking on the subject. The British emphasis on higher education has led to the allocation of more resources for developing higher education at the expense of primary

and secondary education. Although most policy makers and politicians readily admit to the need for universalizing primary education, little real progress has been made in that direction over the last 40 years. The inter-sectoral and intra-sectoral resource allocations over the last 40 years have been inadequate given the immensity of the task at hand-universalizing primary education in the country. Recently, however, there has been a discernable shift in the Government of Pakistan's economic planning in favour of primary education as we will discuss in a later section.

2. Educational Planning After Independence

At independence, the educational system of Pakistan faced severe difficulties. "[T]he immediate task was to save the system from collapse, a task which was made difficult by the loss of supervisory and teaching personnel."[27] According to the 1951 census, over 80 percent of the population was illiterate. Of those claiming literacy, more than half had no formal education, and only 3.7 percent had completed ten years of education.[28] Clearly, the situation was less than desirable.

Immediately after independence in 1947, a need was felt for reorganizing the educational system of Pakistan to conform with the needs and aspirations of the new country. Since much of the Pakistan movement was based on a call for Muslim unification, the earlier thinking on education was colored by a stress on teaching Islamic ideology. The leaders of the Pakistan movement, especially the Quaid-e-Azam (the great leaser—a title for Mohammad Ali Jinnah), have to be credited for paying immediate attention to reorienting education to the needs and aspirations of the new-born country. A UNESCO study noted that "the country found itself at Independence the inheritor of an educational system installed

a hundred years earlier by a foreign government and founded upon political, social, economic and cultural concepts totally different from those of an independent state."[29]

The First Educational Conference

Educational planning was started immediately after independence with the convening of the First Educational Conference in November 1947 to consider the reorganization of the educational system. The Quaid-e-Azam's message to the delegates outlined the task before the conference:

> The importance of education and the right type of education, cannot be over-emphasized. Under foreign rule for over a century, sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people and if we are to make real, speedy and substantial progress we must earnestly tackle this question and bring our education policy programme on the lines suited to the genius of the people, consonant with our history and culture and having regard to the modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the world.[30]

This first conference dealt with practically all aspects of education. Among its major recommendations were the following:

(a) the educational system should be inspired by the Islamic ideology, emphasizing among many of its characteristics those of universal brotherhood, tolerance and justice;

(b) free and compulsory education should be introduced for a period of five years, which should be gradually raised to eight years;

(c) primary schools could be co-educational or otherwise according to local needs; and

(d) a comprehensive scheme should be prepared for the reorganization of technical education suited to the economic needs of the country and the peculiar genius of the people.[31]

The Six Year Development Programme

In January 1951, the Government of Pakistan set up a new planning machinery to implement the Six Year Development Programme. A twenty-member Planning Commission was established to oversee the economic planning process.[32] The deliberations and recommendations of the Educational Conference served to stimulate planning to deal with the task at hand: the reorientation and expansion of Pakistan's education system. The central and provincial governments accepted the recommendations made by the Conference and set up committees of experts to develop proposals and to review and modify the primary and middle school syllabuses.

The Six Year National Plan of Educational Development issued in 1952 was based on the plans proposed by these committees of experts. The plan laid out in detail the resources that would be needed in order to meet the recommendations of the First Educational Conference and the committees. The plan could not be implemented, however, because it was unrelated to a larger plan of economic development. Its implementation was also hampered by the recession which started in 1952, after the Korean war boom.[33] Nevertheless, it laid the framework for such future planning for education in Pakistan. A UNESCO study observes that "the chief merit of the plan was its translation into money, buildings and people, of the educational job envisioned by the several advisory bodies and groups."[34]

The First Five Year Plan (1955-60)

The First Five Year Plan (1955-60) was announced eight years after the creation of Pakistan. The delay bears testimony to the infancy of the bureaucratic and economic planning structure of the country. The plan focused on the problems and issues raised by the Educational Conference

and the Central and Provincial committees. It summarized the most pressing needs of education and related these needs to a total plan for development and the total resources available. The plan reviewed the various alternative schemes for educational development that could be financed. An analysis of the existing educational system revealed deficiencies and gaps at various educational levels.[35] It was found, for instance, that the failure rate had increased ominously since independence showing that the staff and the equipment were being poorly used. It was discovered that one third of the primary teachers had no training, no provision existed for research in education, and many university departments were mere skeletons. This assessment suggested that the growth of education since independence had not been very well-managed. The improvements had been quantitative rather than qualitative with the result that the educational system in 1955 exhibited many deficiencies and gaps.

It was decided that the First Plan should fill the gaps and the deficiencies in the educational system. The growth of the system till 1955 had to be consolidated before more expansion was undertaken. The country also suffered from a lack of resources. The First Plan, therefore, envisaged consolidating the existing facilities through qualitative improvements and making modest expansion. The Plan had the following specific objectives:

(a) the enrichment of primary education so that instruction is pupil-centered and rooted in the spirit of Islam. Such enrichment was seen as a prerequisite to universalizing primary education.

(b) the selective improvement of secondary and higher education with emphasis on the skills and leadership required to implement the development plans. This improvement was seen to require the expansion of education in the sciences, in addition to the traditional liberal arts curricula.[36]

The thinking on the subject of primary education was colored by the desire to reorient the education of children to reflect Islamic values. A need was also felt to develop higher education in the sciences to complement the liberal arts education that had been developed and encouraged by the British.

The accomplishments of the First Plan period were disappointing in several respects. Ghafoor points out that no significant improvements in the quality of school education were made.[37] Primary school enrollment did not increase to the extent expected, although secondary school enrollment increased appreciably. The training of teachers to meet the expanding requirements was satisfactory at the secondary stage but no increase was registered at the primary level. Approximately Rs. 400 million (including recurrent expenditure) was spent during the First Plan period, against the total allocation of about Rs. 580 million.

A serious problem in resource allocation and resource absorption appeared in the primary education sector. The Plan had envisioned universalizing primary education by the year 1975. However, during the First Plan period, only 20 percent of the total outlays for education were earmarked for primary education.[38] The experience of the First Plan reflects the state of education in Pakistan and mirrors what was to be repeated in each Plan period from then on. The bias in making larger outlays for higher education is evident in the spending pattern during the First Five Year Plan and it still exists despite persistent recommendations to the contrary.

A second problem was that of absorptive capacity in the primary sector. The UNESCO review of Pakistan education notes that "out of the meagre allocation of Rs. 50 million only Rs. 18.3 million i.e. 37 percent of the amount, was

spent on primary education."[39] What are the implications of the disparity between allocations and actual spending in primary education? Does it mean that the funds could not be spent because they were not needed? The question of demand for primary education in Pakistan will be discussed in detail in chapter 3. Here we can conclude that for the planners of the First Plan, higher education was a higher priority than primary education.

Commission on National Education

In 1958, the Government of Pakistan constituted a high-powered commission on national education to study the educational system in depth and to make recommendations for improvement. The commission is also called the Sharif Commission, after its chairman's name. It was recognized that education played a pivotal role in economic development and national unification. Stress was laid on primary education. The commission produced a comprehensive report the next year. The report covered a wide range of subjects of vital importance to the future of the educational system. The central theme of the report was that education should be viewed as a productive activity and as an investment in human resources essential for the development of a progressive and prosperous welfare state.[40] It is interesting to note that the recommendations of the report mirror the development of human capital theory in the West. The report argued from a human capital standpoint. It recognized the preeminence that needs to be accorded to primary education if the goals of economic development are to be achieved.

The commission recommended a decentralization of the educational planning and implementation process. The report recommended that people should be encouraged to become active participants in the acquisition of education. However,

the implementation of the commission's recommendations led to "a disintegration of the existing system of education without the emergence of a new order" in the long run.[41] The recommendations of the Sharif commission were incorporated into the planning of the Second Five Year Plan (1960-65).

The Second Five Year Plan (1960-65)

The Second Five Year Plan (1960-65) envisaged the achievement of the goal of compulsory primary education within 10 years. The Second Plan document stressed that "no uneducated community has progressed far in the world."[42] Universal literacy was accepted as the most important goal of the sector.

In many areas, the performance of the education sector under the Second Plan was quite good. In the field of primary education, about 18,000 new primary schools were opened and 8,152 existing schools were developed against the plan targets of opening 15,000 new primary schools and developing 8,600 existing primary schools, thereby exceeding the plan targets by 13 percent and 20 percent respectively.[43] Secondary school enrollment increased by 60 percent. The number of teachers also increased, going up from 200,809 (both primary and secondary) in 1960/61 to 259,511 in 1964/65. However, of the total allocations made for the education sector, primary education was provided about 4 percent; secondary education 21 percent; college and university education 28 percent; technical education 17 percent and teacher education 4 percent.[44] Further, only Rs. 17.7 million, i.e., 27 percent of the allocation was spent on primary education, the rest was transferred to secondary, higher and technical education.[45] The experience of the second plan underscored the chronic problem of low priority and low absorptive capacity in the primary sec

The Third Five Year Plan (1965-70)

The Third Plan experience was decidedly less encouraging than that of the Second Plan. Table 2.1 summarizes the performance of the education sector. As compared to the

Table 2.1

EDUCATION IN THE THIRD PLAN

Subsector	Allocation (1)	Achievement (2)	(2) as % of (1)
Primary Education	318.51	173.33	54
Secondary Education	554.18	314.69	57
Teacher Education	81.01	38.20	47
Technical Education	615.75	274.98	45

Note: Figures are in Million rupees.
Source: Planning Commission.

Second Five Year Plan, the expenditure on primary education increased from 4 to 4.6 percent, secondary education from 21 to 24 percent, and technical education from 17 to 20 percent.[46] From this comparison, one can easily infer that primary education remained a low priority area in terms of allocations as well as distribution of resources. Although the Plan reiterated the government's commitment to education, the actual priority attached to the education sector paints a different picture. A review of Pakistan's education sector notes that "required funds were denied to the education and training sector because of pressure for resources in other economic sectors."[47] A combination of adverse circumstances forced the economic planners to divert the development funds from programs with long gestation to quick yielding programs. The result of this underinvestment in education at a crucial juncture in Pakistan's economic development has

been that the economy was left with insufficient human capital to match the developments in agriculture and industry. The under investment in education has led to severe imbalances between the supply and demand of trained man-power. The Evaluation Report released by the Planning Commission of the Government of Pakistan in 1971 revealed:

> there is nothing to indicate that any substantial qualitative improvement has been achieved. At the higher levels of education there has been no significant change in the rate of failures in the examinations held at various levels.[48]

Nationalization

After a bloody civil war in 1971 that led to the emergence of East Pakistan as Bangladesh, a renewed need was felt for educational advancement in Pakistan. The government of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announced a new educational policy in 1972. All educational institutions (with the exception of a few elite schools) were nationalized. The government felt that the economically deprived section of the society was not getting its share of education because of the prohibitive costs involved. The well-to-do, especially the urban elite, enjoyed complete access to education while the poor often did not have the means to pay for their children's education. The government decided to nationalize education to balance the opportunities available to all sections of society by taking upon itself the duty of providing access to free education to all Pakistanis.

Under this policy, education was made free and universal up to class 10 for all children throughout the country in a phased manner. In the first phase from October 1, 1972 education up to class 8 was made free. In the second phase starting from October 1, 1974 free education was to be

extended to classes 9 and 10. The policy anticipated that universal primary education for boys will be achieved by 1979 and for girls by 1984.

The nationalization policy, despite the good intentions behind its announcement, exacerbated the lack of resources flowing into the education sector. The policy made the public sector the preponderant source of financing education at a time when it could not meet even the limited obligations toward education. The burden of educational expansion and consolidation that was earlier being shared with private investment in the sector, was now taken up completely by the public sector. It is worth noting that since the nationalization of education in 1972, the expenditure on education in Pakistan has lagged behind that of even the poorest developing countries.[49]

Annual Development Plans 1970-78

The Fourth Five Year Plan (1970-78) was abandoned because of socio-political disturbances in the country which later led to the civil war in 1971. The country faced serious military and political threats to its independence and sovereignty during 1970-71. A total of Rs. 444 million was spent on education through Annual Development Plans in the eight year period (1970-78). The under investment in education in these years exacerbated the already-malnourished education system. The needed expansion and consolidation of primary education did not materialize. The education sector suffered enormously because of a lack of commitment and shortage of resources. While reviewing Pakistan's performance in education, a World Bank report commented: "In some respects, the educational system has regaressed vis-a-vis the expected performance of a country with per capita income of near to $ 400 per annum."[50]

The New Education Policy (1979)

The inadequacies of the education system that had been exacerbated by the nationalization policy of 1972 prompted the Government of Pakistan to reevaluate its educational policy in 1978. A new education policy was announced which reversed the nationalisation policy and encouraged private education at all educational levels, especially the primary level. The nationalized schools were returned to their owners. It was realized that the government simply did not have the resources to provide universal primary education to all the people who desired it. The indigenous system of education, the mohalla and mosque schools, was given due recognition and is being revived. The main emphasis of the policy is on reorientation of the education system by inculcating Islamic values side by side with the promotion of national cohesion and integration.[51] The policy of encouraging private education has led to the emergence of a large number of private schools, especially in the rural areas. Given the preference of the urban well-to-do for private schools, this has freed up public resources for their utilization in the rural areas.

The New Education Policy sets the following goals for primary education:

> Primary school enrollment will be so increased that all boys of Class I age-group are enrolled by 1982-83. Universal enrollment of boys will be attained by 1986-87. In the case of girls, universalization will be achieved by 1992. Nearly thirteen thousand new primary schools will be opened during the next five years *mainly in the rural areas.* Adequate number of residential units particularly for the female teachers will be constructed in the rural areas. Efforts will be made to improve the quality of primary education. This will involve substantial provision of teaching aids, strengthening of pre— and in-service programmes of teachers, and improvement of physical facilities. A number of non-formal

means will also be used to achieve universalization. *Opening of nearly five thousand mosque schools* is a step in this direction. [underscoring mine] [52]

The planners who formulated the new education policy realized that in the past, outlays earmarked for primary education were transferred to higher education. One of the important changes made in the new policy is that funds earmarked for primary education cannot be transferred to other education sectors. Realizing that considerable groundwork had to be done before primary education could be made compulsory, the policy-makers avoided making a commitment to compulsory education. The policy formulations of the new education policy were incorporated into the Fifth Fiver Year Plan.

The Fifth Five Year Plan (1978-83)

Following the Fourth Plan (1970-75), policy differences within the government delayed preparation of a Fifth Plan. This was published only in June 1977 and covered the years 1977 to 1983. It was prepared under the Bhutto government, which was succeeded in July 1977 by the government of General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq after a military coup. The Fifth Plan was then revised to cover the years 1978-83. In the Fifth Plan, an amount of Rs. 1,413 million was spent on primary education out of the total allocation of Rs. 5,944 for the Education sector. The target of universalized primary education still remained elusive.[53]

The Sixth Five Year Plan (1983-88)

The Plan sets a total allocation for primary education of Rs. 7,000 million, a substantial amount keeping in view the overall resources of the country. The number of schools, including mosque and mohallah schools, will increase to 115,408 and the participation rate is expected to rise to 75

percent of the primary school age children. Universalized primary education is expected to be achieved for boys by 1988 and for girls by 1992.[54]

The Action Plan for Educational Development (1983-88) published by the Government of Pakistan outlines the following are the salient features of the strategy:

(a) Mosques will be utilized to accommodate classes I-III of new schools and overcrowded existing schools;

(b) Two teachers (including the Imam) will be provided in each mosque school; one teacher each, for classes IV and V, will be provided in the existing schools where only one or two teachers have been provided;

(c) The curriculum will be simplified. The school hours will be staggered to enable a larger number of children to stay in the school;

(d) Only religious instructions and the skills of reading and writing will be emphasized in classes I-III. The teaching of full curriculum will be started from class IV;

(e) Obstacles in the way of women education will be removed through motivation of the community especially the parents;

(f) Private sector will be encouraged to participate in the development of primary education;

(g) The local bodies will be induced to share the responsibility for the development of educational facilities.[55]

The State of Primary Education in 1987.

A recent Discussion Paper of the World Bank begins its discussion of primary education in Pakistan thus: "In Pakistan today less than half the relevant school age population attends primary school. This level of enrollment compares poorly with the median—of 83 percent—among developing countries. Public spending on education, as a percent of GNP, is only

about half that in the average developing country. This allocation of fiscal resources may account partly for the slow expansion of education in Pakistan."[56] The state of primary education in Pakistan is even more discouraging than what the above summary may suggest it to be.

The education sector has been severely neglected in Pakistan. The country's literacy and school enrollment rates are among the lowest in the world. Table 2.2 compares enrollment and literacy rates for Pakistan with other developing and developed countries. Only 24 percent of Pakistan's

Table 2.2

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION INDICATORS, 1984
(Percent)

	Enrollment Rates			
	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Literacy Rate
Pakistan (1985)	49	16	5	24
India	79	30	9	36
Bangladesh	60	15	4	26
Sri Lanka	103	54	4	86
Low Income Economies	85	30	4	n.a.
Lower Middle Income Econimis	103	35	10	n.a.

Source: World Development Report 1985; Social Indicators Data Sheets, World Bank, 1984

population knows how to read and write and only 49 percent of its primary and 16 percent of its secondary school age population is enrolled in school. Rural-urban and male-female imbalances are striking; literacy rates range from 6 percent for rural females to 52 percent for urban males and primary enrollment rates from 33 percent for rural females to 77 percent for urban males. Only 15 percent of the rural

population compared to 44 percent of the urban population is literate and 68 percent of the urban primary school-age group is enrolled in school, compared to 40 percent in the rural areas. More importantly, little progress has been made in this sector in the last forty years as the education system has barely kept pace with the rapidly expanding school-age population. The unusally low educational attainments of Pakistan's rapidly growing population, particularly of the female population, will become a serious impediment to the country's long-term development.

Pakistan is an example of a country which is still struggling to achieve universal primary education and mass literacy. The government's educational policy statements have consistently recognized the vital role that education can play in the country's socioeconomic growth and development. However, these statements have not been translated into action. The resources allocated to the sector have been deficient from the outset. In all the Plan Periods, expenditure on education consistently ranked sixth in the national resource allocations to the various sectors of the economy, and ranked seventh in the Non-Plan Period (1970-78). Table 2.3 compares budget

Table 2.3

PERCENTAGE BUDGET SHARE OF EDUCATION

Period	Share of Education %
First Plan	4.8
Second Plan	4.4
Third Plan	4.3
Annual Plans (1970-78)	4.6
Fifth Plan	3.6
Sixth Plan	8.3

Source: Ministry of Education: APED (1983-84)
Government of Pakistan, Islamabad.

share of education with other sectors from the First to the Sixth Five Year plan. It shows that education's share of the National Budget has declined from the First Five Year Plan to the Fifth Five Year Plan! The expenditure on education in the five year plans has fluctuated between 1 to 2 percent of the GNP. Thus on the basis of the GNP and budgetary ratios it appears that the education sector has not received the attention it should have, contrary to the importance given to it in the education policy statements.[57]

The low priority given to education in budgetary allocations, compounded by social and political constraints has made the effective implementation of educational objectives difficult to achieve. The government acknowledges the urgency of expediting the achievement of universal primary education and mass literacy. Whether it can afford to delay the development in other subsectors of the system depends to a large extent on its development goals. Government policies appear to focus on socioeconomic equity and social mobility while at the same time giving due consideration to qualitative improvement of areas that are more crucial to the manpower needs of the economy. The formulation of an appropriate mix of educational programs that are relevant to the immediate needs of Pakistan but allow for adjustments to changing needs in the future is the difficult task at hand.[58]

The primary education system also suffers from serious inadequacies both in terms of efficiency and in terms of quality. The efficiency of primary education is low, with less than half of students completing the five years of primary school; the proportion is even smaller in rural areas. The system is flooded with repeaters and over-age children. The quality of education at the primary level is also low. The majority of rural primary schools lack buildings of their own, being housed in rented or rent-free private buildings, in a

spare room, or even meeting under a tree. Other factors causing low quality are the lack of relevance of the existing school curriculum, the wide age spread in each class, the large number of schools with only one or two teachers where two to five classes must be taught together, the rigid system of examinations, the inadequacy of teachers and their absenteeism, outmoded procedures of supervision and administration. and the indifference of those responsible for these functions, Teacher training and curriculum reform are the other two dimensions of quality that need attention.

* * * * *

Chapter 3

CONSTRAINTS ON IMPROVING PRIMARY EDUCATION

There are various constraints that hamper the development of primary education in Pakistan. Some of them are rooted in the traditional norms and values of the Pakistani society. The British colonialism gave rise to a reaction against "foreign" and "alien" ideas such as schools, English language, and the sciences. Some of the constraints are rooted in poverty. The high drop-out rates and low enrollment ratios in the rural areas are attributable in large measure to poverty. Other constraints, however, have arisen out of the way educational planning has been implemented in Pakistan. This chapter will outline the major constraints that hamper the development of primary education in Pakistan.

1. Low Demand?

One of the uncharacteristic findings about education in Pakistan (as compared to education in other developing countries) is the low rate of return to education. Investment in education can be compared to investment in other sectors of the economy by comparing the returns to be obtained from the various investments as noted in chapter 2. It has been long established that rates of return to different levels of education are among the useful tools for educational planning. Rates of return to different levels of education can be used as a signalling device to allocate resources, both within the education sector itself to the different levels, and within the over-

all plan for education and other sectors.[59] The calculation of the rates of return to education, however, poses a problem. How can we measure returns to investment in education? The benefits of education do not lend themselves to an easy quantification. It is hard to quantify the benefits of, say, lower fertility rates, improved health, and improved participation in economic development. This problem has challenged economists for a long time. Many models of measurement have been suggested.

One of the better ways of looking at the benefits of investing in education is to compare the earnings of an educated group of people to a control group (uneducated people with similar social and demographic profiles). A detailed discussion of rates of return analysis will detract from our main concern here. We will confine ourselves to determining whether the rates of return to education in Pakistan are uncharacteristically low. Low returns to education will imply that an average Pakistani may not be convinced of the benefits of education. If such is the case, then the argument can be made that the level of literacy in Pakistan is low because the people do not desire education. This section will look closely at the evidence compiled so far on the returns to education in Pakistan. The review would also be useful in deciding the extent of investment that should go into education and in allocating resources within education.

There have been a number of studies of the rates of return to education in Pakistan, most of which have been conducted with data collected in the 1970's. If taken at face value as they are reported in the original studies, the results are mixed regarding the profitability of different levels of education relative to each other and to other sectors. Table 3.1 summarizes the results of three different studies on the same data base, a 1975 household survey of Rawalpindi City.

Source	Hamdani		Haque	Guisinger et al.			Khan and Irfan	
				Self –			Self –	
Level of Education	Private	Social	Private	Employee	Employed	All	Employee	Employed
Incomplete primary	7	5	–			3.4		
Primary	20	13	2.6	4.3	1.2	3.5	4.0	6.7
Secondary	11	9	5.2	12.5	8.4	11.6	5.6	7.7
College	14	10	9.8	14.2	3.7	13.1	6.8	3.8
University	27	8						
Coverage	Rawalpindi 1975		(Same as Hamdani)		(Same as Hamdani)		All Pakistan 1979	
Year of Data	PIDE Socio-		"		"		ILO-UNFPA	
Source	economic Survey						Labor Force and Migration Survey	
Sample Size	1,295		"		"		11.288	

The studies came up with very different conclusions regarding the magnitude of the rate of return to different levels of education. Hamdani (1977) concluded that the social rate of return to primary education was 13 percent and exceeded that of higher levels of education.[60] Private rates of return were even higher. Haque (1977)[61] and Guisinger et al. (1984)[62] concluded that the private rates of return to primary education were even lower than the social rates calculated by Hamdani and were lower than those to higher levels of education. Khan and Irfan (1985),[63] with a later (1979) nationwide survey of workers, came up with similar results to Haque and Guisinger et al., except that their rates of return to higher levels were also low.

The most recent survey of worldwide rates of return concludes that the rates of return to education as a whole are high, exceeding the benchmark rate used to evaluate the opportunity cost of physical capital, and that, within the education sector, the returns to primary education are highest (see table 3.2). The studies of Haque, Guisinger et al. and Khan and Irfan have been used to conclude that the rates of return to education in Pakistan are different from those in other parts of the world. Various explanations have been advanced for this phenomenon. For example, Guisinger et al. ascribe the low rates of return to a conscious government policy—wage controls—which drastically compressed the skill-wage structure.[64] If the compression in the skill—wage structure results in an undervaluation of the returns to skill-acquisition, the true social benefits to education are likely to exceed the estimated private benefits. Another explanation is that the relatively high rate of outmigration from Pakistan affected the earnings differential.[65]

Africa	28	17	13	45	26	32	16
Asia	27	15	13	31	15	18	10
Latin America	26	18	16	32	23	23	10
Europe & Middle East	13	10	8	17	13	13	9
Developing Countries	24	15	13	31	19	22	45
Developed Countries	–	11	9	–	12	12	15

Whatever the validity of these explanations the pattern in the rates of return reported in the studies are nevertheless at variance with earlier studies within Pakistan, such as Hamdani, with studies in other parts of the world[66] and with the prior intuition of government policy makers and their advisers. A major difficulty in accepting the above analyses as satisfactory is the data base that was used. Coverage is extremely important in such studies. The Rawalpindi city survey is based only on workers in a city that has an over-representation of government workers. Wider national samples, such as those used by Khan and Irfan, would be more valid for generalizable results.

Aware of the methodological difficulties encountered by the early analyses, Emmanuel Jimenez and Jee–Peng Tan have recently computed the rates of return to education in Pakistan.[67] They used the age-earnings profiles by level of education, computed from tables derived from the 1979 Household Income–Expenditure Survey (HIES). The results are summarized in table 3.3 The main conclusion is that

Table 3.3

RATES OF RETURN BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION (%)

Level of education:	Primary	Matric	Intermed	Degree	Postgard
Full Opportunity costs					
Social rate of return	16.4	6.3	11.3	10.3	7.8
Private rate of return	12.1	6.7	13.4	11.6	11.4
No opportunity costs for ages 6–10					
Social rate of return	39.1	------- Same as above -----			

Source: World Bank, Jimenez and Tan, 1985

the trends in, and indeed, the magnitudes of the rates of return are very similar to those found by Hamdani for Rawalpindi city. The social rates of return to education range from about 7 percent (secondary) to about 16 percent (primary) under the assumption that there are opportunity costs of schooling at the primary level. Moreover, both private and social returns decline with higher educational level (see table 3.3).

Thus, the literature has yet to achieve a consensus on quantifying rates of return to education in Pakistan. Jimenez and Tan conclude that "it is not possible to reject the notion that the returns in Pakistan exhibit a similar trend to those in other countries: higher for primary relative to university. Relative magnitudes appear to be lower than the average for other developing countries. However, at least for primary levels, there is evidence that they are higher than the returns to investing in physical capital."[68]

This brings us to the question of low demand for education. If the private returns obtained from education are small, then an individual's desire for education may be correspondingly low. In a pioneering study, Nazar Mohammad surveyed the rural and urban areas of Punjab to measure the motivation of people to educate themselves or their children. He concludes that

> the major cause of illiteracy both in rural and urban areas is the disinterestedness of the parents. Poverty and the lack of schools play comparatively minor parts. . . it would also indicate that unless the people are motivated to get an education, opening. . . primary schools will not achieve the desired results.[69]

Mohammad's analysis illustrates a generally prevalent way of thinking in Pakistan. Although acquisition of knowledge is recognized as desirable, acquiring literacy is not

generally considered a pressing need in the rural areas. The adult farmer in the village is not interested in attending classes in the literacy centers. Neither does he see any direct benefit of educating his children. The situation is especially worse as far as female education is concerned. The general attitude of the head of the house–hold in the rural areas is to avoid educating the females since the traditional expectation is for the girl to get married and to attend to the household chores. Added to this is the urge to put children aged five and above to work either in the fields or in some work place due to economic pressures.[70]

We can conclude this section by pointing out that the demand for education in Pakistan *is* low. This poses serious difficulties for educational expansion and improvement. We will deal with some of these difficulties and suggest solutions in chapter 4.

2. Low Priority by Government

In chapter two, we reviewed the history of educational planning and thinking in Pakistan. One of the conclusions that emerged from our discussion was that the Government of Pakistan has consistently assigned a low priority to improving primary education, despite verbal and written committments to the contrary. Almost as much is being spent to educate the 3 percent of the nations's students who are at the college and university levels as is being spent to educate the 74 percent of the nation's students who are at the primary level.[71]

The low priority assigned by the government to the primary sector has hampered the development and expansion of primary education. In an editorial, *The Pakistan Times* noted:

> In spite of an early realization that mass illiteracy can be eradicated with an emphasis on education at the lowest level, we have been steadily discriminating against primary education. . . this discrimination has hit at the base of our attempts to educate the masses.[22]

Table 3.4 illustrates the relative importance attached by the Government of Pakistan to the education sector. The sectoral allocations over the 6 Plan periods are compared. The education sector has been allocated between 4.6 percent to 8.3 percent of the total financial allocation over the last 22 years. This does not compare well with the outlays made by other developing countries.

Table 3.4

SECTORAL SHIFTS IN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS UNDER THE PLANNED PERIOD

	1955-60 I Plann	1960-65 II Plan	1965-70 III Plan	1970-78 Non-Plan	1978-83 V Plan	1983-85 VI Plan
Agriculture & Water	31.4	41.9	36.9	34.4	17.6	18.4
Energy	10.7	10.1	14.0	11.9	21.0	36.1
Transport and Communications	23.0	17.6	17.1	16.1	21.6	16.7
Industriy	14.8	7.5	9.3	9.0	14.8	3.5
Minerals	2.4	1.8	2.0	1.2	0.3	1.0
Education and Panpower	5.6	5.4	5.6	4.6	4.6	8.3
Health	2.1	2.2	2.5	5.0	3.7	5.4
Others	10.0	13.5	12.6	14.5	16.4	10.6

Source: World Bank, Pakistan Basic Strategy Study, 1984.

Table 3.5 illustrates the extent to which the Government of Pakistan has underinvested in primary education.

Table 3.5

INTRA SECTORAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF TOTAL FINANCIAL OUTLAYS BY PLAN PERIOD

	First Plan 1955-60	Second Plan 1960-65	Third Plan 1965-70	Non-Plan 1970-78	Fifth Plan 1978-83		Sixth Plan 1983-88	
					Planned	Actual	Planned	Actual*
Primary	10%	4%	4%	13%	29%	25%	35%	18%
Secondary	20%	21%	23%	16%	34%	19%	21%	23%
Technical	6%	19%	23%	14%	8%	13%	12%	7%
Post Secondary **	31%	27%	22%	23%	15%	22%	17%	26%

* Actual for 1983-85

** Does not include scholarship

Source: "Sixth Plan", Table B 8.1 and "Sixth Plan Implementation".

The table shows that till as late as 1978, the government was spending as little as 4 percent of its allocation to the education sector on primary education. The inequities are being reversed, as is illustrated by the higher allocations to the primary sector in the Fifth and Sixth Plans. However, a great deal still needs to be accomplished for major progress to be made.

There are strong indications that the government is recognizing the inequity it has encouraged in the education sector. The Fifth Five Year Plan can be considered the turning point in this regard. The Plan document acknowledged that "in the past, there has been a marked bias in favour of higher education, both general and professional. Without reversing this trend it would not be easy to implement the Plan policy according to the highest priority to primary education."[73] The document goes on to note that "the popular demand emanating from the well-to-do and educated sections of the society is generally for expansion of higher education. Demands for expansion of primary education, on the other hand, are not made forcefully since the underprivileged are very often not conscious of their deprivation."[74]

The low priority attached to primary education by the Government of Pakistan has had an adverse effect on the expansion of primary education and accounts to a large extent for the low literacy rates found in urban and rural areas alike. Without reversing this policy, no real progress in increasing the literacy rate can be made.

3. Social and Religious Constraints

By and large, Pakistan is a traditional society. Although the values and norms that define acceptable social behavior are in flux, many traditional beliefs are too well-ingrained to change in the short run. Social and religious constraints hamper the development of primary education at a general

level.[75] Although the Quran and the Holy Prophet emphasized the need for acquiring education, many Pakistanis still see education and schools as alien inventions. The hostility towards school education can be traced back to the decline of the madrassh education and the rise of the British-introduced schools under the British empire.[76] Many Ulema (relgious scholars) objected to the Muslims' acquiring British education since the British, by definition, were Kafir (non-believers in Islam). Hence, their education would distance the Muslims from their religion. In the rural areas especially, the benefits to be derived from primary education are not well-understood nor appreciated.

Although traditional beliefs and values constrain the spread of education in general, they have a particularly negative effect on female education. Tilat Yusuf's survey of squatters in Karachi city provides valuable insights into the traditional beliefs of many Pakistanis toward female education. She found that while they were willing to send their boys to school, they were very unwilling to send their daughters to school: "We are sending our older boys back to our village to stay with relatives and to attend the village school there. Our girls we wouldn't even dare take a chance with. It isn't safe to send them back to the village or even across the road to a school."[77] Yusuf had great difficulty in getting access to a young girl for an interview. The elders in the squatter colony were very reluctant to have a stranger speak to a young girl, even in their presence. It was after quite some time that the eldest man in the group finally said to Yusuf: "Our girls are not articulate. They won't be able to converse with you."

Unfortunately, such thinking is characteristic of many Pakistanis, especially in the rural areas. It is no surprise then that the level of literacy among rural females is shockingly

low (as compared, for instance, to the literacy rate among urban males). Most females in Pakistan live their entire lives as dependents on one male or the other. The young girl is brought up in a very protected environment. She learns how to perform house-hold chores and very probably takes care of her younger brothers and sisters. At the age of 16 or 17, she is married away. After marriage, her primary responsibility is to give birth to children and take care of the home and the children. This life-cycle pattern is prevalent in most urban house-holds as well. As one can see, education hardly enters the picture. Since the women are not supposed to enter the market place and earn a living for themselves, their education is not a pressing concern for their fathers. These attitudes need to change before female education can advance and claim its rightful place in parallel with male education.

4. Economic Constraints

Pakistan is a very poor country. About 60 percent of the population lives below the poverty line. For the poor, the difficulty in making a living often forces the parents to make their children work as well thus depriving them of the opportunity to attend school. The costs of attending school are often prohibitive as well. The fees, text books and the uniforms end up costing a great deal. Given the level of poverty in Pakistan, it is understandable why many parents simply cannot afford to send their children to school.

The economic constraints are very real and affect a large portion of Pakistan's population. Any efforts at expanding primary education will have to recognize these economic constraints and somehow provide sufficient incentives to the parents to send their children to school and forego the income that could have been earned by their children.

5. Fiscal Constraints

One of the less obvious but important constraints on developing primary education in Pakistan is the way education is financed by the Government of Pakistan. The financing of education is jointly shared by the Federal and provincial governments. The former is responsible for development budgets and the latter for recurrent expenditures.[79] Development expenditure covers those for construction, renovation, equipment, furniture, books and scholarships. The allocation of development finances by the federal government is based on the population in each province except for the backward provinces which have a backwardness weighting. Provinces can get additional development funds from the federal government in the form of loans, or in the case of poorer provinces, as grants. Most of the annual expenditure on education is recurrent expenditure and with the exception of the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) (64 percent), the recurrent expenditure on education constitutes about 80 percent of the provincial education budget.[80] This being the case, the quality of education depends to a large extent on the willingness of the provinces to meet the recurrent expenditures.

While evaluating the performance of Pakistan during the Sixth Fiver Year Plan, a study concludes that "a number of factors contributed to the poor perfromance of the opening years of the Sixth Plan, chief of which has been the unwillingness of the provinces to absorb the high recurrent expenditures of an expanding formal education system."[81] The Federal Government's policy of making resource allocations to the provinces as loans or grants on an annual basis discourages them from making long-term commitments to education. Since the Federal Government's financial resources fluctuate from year to year, it cannot

guarantee the provinces that it will provide them with the additional funds if the provinces expand their primary education base thus taking on additional recurrent expenses. This being the case, the provinces are very reluctant indeed to take on additional expenses.

In his study of domestic resource mobilization in Pakistan, Nizar Jetha notes that the two main issues in provincial financing are the imbalances between provincial responsibilities and revenues and the limited control by provinces over their revenues.[82] Provincial governments play an important role in the provision of services, but their involvement in resource mobilization is limited. The provinces have major responsibilities in the areas of education, health, and irrigation, among others. They presently receive about 80 percent of their proceeds from the taxes collected by the Federal Government. Their independent revenues are relatively insignificant. Jetha notes that "the inadequacy of recurrent expenditures to provide a reasonable quality of basic economic and social services is perhaps the most serious financial problem at the provincial level."[83] There has been no real growth in per capita terms in provincial recurrent expenditures on education. The total outlays in education "do not seem to have grown in real terms in recent years," Jetha concludes.[84]

The Federal Government's ability to provide the provinces with the required outlays for education is defined by many external and uncontrollable factors like aid from international lending agencies and foreign governments. The provinces resist taking on additional recurrent expenditures like hiring new teachers since they do not know whether they will be able to meet the additional expenses each year. Rallies organized by teachers who have not been paid by the provincial authorities make for bad press. They do happen

every now and then. Since they reflect badly on the provincial administration, the solution they have been able to come up with is to be conservative with spending on education. This has been a major constraint on developing primary education and explains why outlays earmarked for primary education are often not spent by the provinces.

6. Lack of Coordination in the Administration and Supervision of Primary Education

Let us briefly review the structure of the Ministry of Education in Pakistan at the Federal and provincial levels. The administrative head of the Federal Ministry of Education is the Education Secretary with a Deputy known as Additional Secretary. The Education Secretary is in charge of eight divisions known as the Administration Wing, Planning and Development Wing, Primary and Non–formal Education Wing, Institutions Wing, Sports and Welfare Wing, Curriculum Wing, Science and Technology Wing, and International Cooperation Wing. Each of these divisions is headed by a Joint Secretary/Joint Education Advisor.[85]

Each province has its own department of education, headed by a Secretary of Education who is sometimes assisted by an Additional Secretary. The administration and supervision of primary schools and middle schools are carried out at the district level while high schools come under the direct control of the division. School supervision has both a male and female component of officers with females taking charge of girls' schools. The provinces have full authority in implementing policies according to local needs. In matters where the Federal Ministry is in control, decisions are often arrived at through consultation with provincial representatives at committee meetings or joint participation in the area of concern. For example, curriculum revisions are always done

by the Federal agency responsible for that curriculum in consultation with the corresponding provincial agency with the revised draft being circulated to the provinces and federal areas for comments and improvements before decisions are agreed upon.

The present system of administration and supervision of primary education consists of District Education Officers (DEOs) and Assistant Education Officers (AEOs). It was adopted in 1973 with the intention of decentralizing administrative arrangments for effective functioning. The DEOs directly supervise the AEOs resulting in a heavy load of work in the District Education Offices. Despite the fact that thousands of new primary schools have been opened in recent years, no corresponding increase in the strength of administrative and supervisory staff has taken place. In some cases, on AEO has to look after academic as well as administrative affairs of as many as 100 primary schools.[86] With this large number of schools and without any supporting staff, the AEO rarely finds time to supervise these schools effectively. It is no surprise then that there are many primary schools that have not been visited by AEOs in more than ten years.[87]

This lack of coordination manifests itself at other levels of administration and supervision as well. The administration and supervision of schools by the provincial governments are hampered by five factors: (a) inadequate funding to permit employment of enough supervisors, train them properly, and provide them with enough transport visits to schools; (b) excessive administrative claims on the time of supervisors (as discussed in the last paragraph); (c) inefficient administrative practices, such as separating male and female supervisory services; (d) bureaucratic compartmentalization and rigid vertical lines of communication, so that, for

example, those who prepare the exams do not talk to those who are introducing the new curriculum, and neither feels a vested interest in seeing that the new curriculum and textbooks are widely distributed; and (e) political influence resulting in the tenure of a District Education Officer (who inevitably cannot please everyone) often being much shorter than the "normal" three—year term.

The management of education is a shared responsibility of the federal and provincial authorities as noted earlier. The Federal Government's constitutional responsibility is mainly in policy, planning, curriculum development, and setting of standards while provinces must manage educational institutions both at the school and the college level. The government's plans and policies are often at odds with the realities of the yearly investment in the education program. Such divergence between plan and program weakens the credibility of the policy and planning process and leads educational administrators to rely only upon the yearly "bottom line," effectively reducing the capacity to plan for the future. Without a credible policy and planning process it becomes increasingly difficult to establish a consensus around national priorities. Without a practical working consensus resources will continue to be siphoned off from agreed upon priorities to the immediate political expediency. This probably is the root cause for the over-investment in higher education in Pakistan over the last 40 years.

These coordination problems also need to be addressed before definite progress in expanding primary education can be made. A closer working relationship between the central ministry and provincial departments of education is a prerequisite for meaningful planning in education. The implementation of the various plans suffers because of the coordi-

nation problems, over–burdening of the DEOs, and the fiscal constraints outlined in the previous section.

7. Bureaucratic Constraints

The education system in Pakistan operates at a low level of efficiency which has the effect of driving up unit costs and reducing educational achievement for the students within the system as well as failing to provide a sufficient attraction to those outside the system to overcome their indifference to education. In this section we will look at the bureaucratic constrainst on developing primary education.

The Ministries of Education in Pakistan (both at the Federal and provincial level) also suffer from a lack of prestige as far as the CSP (Civil Service of Pakistan) officers are concerned. If someone is transferred to education, it is often seen as an indication that the bureaucrat was "shunted to the side."[88] Charles Benson made the following observation about the Ministry of Education: "In the central government, I have the impression that assignment to the education sector is not a favored assignment for members of the CSP. I think I can say with some accuracy that the education section of the Planning Commission has a low standing within that organization."[89] The perceived lack of prestige of the Ministry of Education implies that the most talented people in the CSP try to avoid working in education if they can help it.

The education planning and management system also suffers from an inadequate data base. Education enrollment statistics from one source have been at variance with those from another due to the process by which these figures have been collected. These data and their analysis are essential not only for effective planning but also for accurate evaluation of the new programs being implemented to increase access

and quality. Unless this system is improved, the government will continue to be unable to assess educational needs and plan effectively anything other than isolated projects where effective collection and maintenance of data is practised.

In addition, the cost and budget data which represent the accounting side of educational planning also have shortcomings. Difficulties in relating capital and recurrent expenditures to development and non-development categories by source and by purpose hampers educational expenditure analysis. In addition, reconciliation of budget and actual expenditure accounts presents a major technical difficulty. Final expenditure figures for the fiscal year are published long after the close of the year and often are not reconcilable with the revised estimates made during the fiscal year. In the absence of program budgets it is difficult to account for all expenditure which properly fall under, for example, primary education. There is no way of assigning overhead costs of Federal or provincial offices to various programs, nor are there procedures by which expenditures included under the broad category of "education" are comparable among the provinces and the Federal Ministry of Education. It is essential for the government to be able to measure the cost-effectiveness of its programs. This is not the case at the present which underscores the need for implementing standardized accounting procedures at all levels of educational planning.

* * * * *

Chapter 4

POLICIES TO ENCOURAGE PRIMARY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

There are a number of policy options available to the Government of Pakistan in its efforts to universalize primary education. A number of policies are being implemented at the present. The discussion below will point out some of the problems that have been encountered. We will also discuss a number of policies that can be implemented to realize the goal of universal primary education in Pakistan.

1. Mosque Schools

As noted in the beginning of chapter 2, the mosque has traditonally been a center of learning in Muslim communities. Mosques exist in almost every residential community (urban and rural alike) and are supported financially by the local residents. Both boys and girls go there to study the Quran and receive instruction in Islam. With the advent of the British, the mosques declined in their role in educating Muslim children. The National Education Policy announced in 1978 makes developing mosque schools a cornerstone of expanding primary education. The document reads:

> The mosque will be used as a place of learning for the children; for out-of-school youths and for adults. In additon to the traditional curricula of Islamiyat [instruction in Islam] the children will study the modern curricula for primary schools. . .In order to

> teach modern subjects a primary school teacher will be appointed in such schools, who, in co-operation with the Imam, will teach school children and adults at hours convenient to the community.[90]

One of the major rationales behind promoting mosque schools is that establishing mosque schools is very cost-effective for the Government of Pakistan. Mosques already exist in almost all residential areas. The Imams (religious teachers) already instruct young boys and girls. The expenses incurred by the government, therefore, comprise of the stipend for the teacher. Additional expenses will be incurred on providing free books and teaching aids. The government does not need to spend on building the physical structure of the mosque or on maintaining it. The area residents traditionally provide for the upkeep of the mosque.

The expansion of primary education has been hampered by the inadequacy of resources. A recent Ministry of Education document observes:

> One recognizes. . . that the cost of universalizing primary education through conventional means of the formal system is so formidable for a country like Pakistan one has no alternative but to employ some innovatory approaches to meet this challenge.91

Given the financial constraints on expanding primary education, the mosque schools project appears a very viable appraoch to universalizing primary education.

The *Action Plan For Educational Development (1983-88)* proposes a distinction between elementary education and primary education. It defines elementary education as "the ability to read and write and do simple arithmetic, an ability which can be acquired by 3 years schooling."[92] The plan makes it a distinct stage in the education system and lays the emphasis on quantitative expansion at the elementary

level through the expansion of mosque schools so that the literacy problem can be reduced to "manageable proportions."[93]

The test projects implemented to date have demonstrated the effectiveness of the scheme. An Evaluation Report compiled by the Government of Sind province notes that

> higher enrolment, same teaching methods by untrained and unqualified teachers, low or same dropout rate, as compared to Government Primary Schools in the area, testify that the mosque schools, if not running more efficiently, are presumed to be functioning better.[94]

The responses of the parents demonstrate that they are more willing to send their children to mosque schools than they are to sending them to government established primary schools. The report summarizes the parents' reactions as follows: (a) since the mosque schools are functioning in their own villages, the parents are not worried about their children going to schools as they don't have to go out of the village premises and (b) the parents prefer to send their children to mosque schools due to teaching of the Holy Quran.[95]

Although the Government of Pakistan has strongly advocated the project, the actual progress in its implementation has been less than satisfactory. The program proposed to establish 42,300 mosque schools during the Sixth Plan period (1983-84). Only 4,653 mosque schools were opened in fiscal year 1984-85 and a further 8,400 mosque schools are to be operating by 1988. As noted above, the first evaluations of the program point to encouraging results. Enrollment rates are higher and drop-out rates lower than in comparable regular primary schools. Attitudes of teachers and Imams of schools participating in the scheme are positive and they support a full integration of the mosque schools into the regular

system.[96] This integration is lacking; contact between teachers of mosque schools and District Education Officer's (DEOs) is miniscule, and supervision and inspections very rare. Significant organizational short-comings continue to trouble the program. In addition, qualifications of mosque school teachers are much lower than in regular schools. A recent survey conducted by the Government of Pakistan notes that only 6.9 percent of mosque school teachers surveyed had received training to teach primary school students.[97]

To improve the integration and quality of teaching in mosque schools, special mosque school supervisors should be appointed under each DEO. To assist the largely untrained teachers, the supervisors should be aided by learning coordintaors responsible for 10 to 20 mosque schools each. The coordinators should be fully trained and experienced teachers and should provide in-service, on-the-job training to mosque school teachers. Other improvements can also be made. The syllabuses and the curricula should be carefully reviewed and standardized. It should be emphasized here that despite the difficulties involved, the project in itself is very feasible. It fits in well with the cultural and religious heritage of the people (given the especially traditional values prevalent in the rural areas). It also is feasible because of the low costs involved. Once the supervisory and managerial hurdles are overcome, the program can contribute immensely to developing primary education in Pakistan.

2. User Charges on Higher Education

The present system of public financing of education in Pakistan generates social inequities. The heavy dependence on public funds at ali levels of study, coupled with budgetary constraints facing the government, has meant that only a limited number of places can be provided. The result is that public expenditure on education benefits only a small group

in the country. Moreover, since the unit public cost of education increases rapidly with the level of study, and fees at all levels are minimal, those in higher education receive substantially more public subsidies than other students. In addition, at each level of education, there is evidence that most of the public educational expenditure have benefitted higher income groups in the population. Psacharopoulos has observed that "the degree of public subsidization of higher education is such that there is considerable margin for reducing subsidy levels. The savings from the reduction of university subsidies could be used to expand primary education."[98]

Table 4.1 shows that in Pakistan nearly 30 percent of funds are spent on the students enrolled in higher education who constitute less than 1 percent of the total students, at all levels. The subsidy which a student in higher education receives is nearly seven times the average subsidy per primary student and nearly five times per secondary student. Within higher education, those enrolled in universities enjoy an even large advantage. The average subsidy they receive is six times that of a college student, 19 times that of a secondary and 29 times that of a primary student.

Table 4.1

ANNUAL PUBLIC EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION, 1984-85

Level of Education	Share of Total Public Expenditure**	Per Student Expenditure (Rupees)	Pess as % of Public Expenditure	Per Student Subsidy*	
				Rupees	As % of per capita GNP
Primary	45.6	373	0	373	8.2
Secondary	24.6	564	0.3	562	12.4
Higher	29.8	2,811	9.0	2,557	56.4

* Public expenditure includes recurrent and annualized capital expenditure.

** Defined as p blic educational expenditure net of fees.

Source: World Bank, Jimenez and Tan, 1985

In order to bring about a more equitable distribution of educational opportunity, fees should be collected from those who most immediately benefit from public education spending—students enrolled in higher education. Fees collected at higher levels remain low in comparison to student costs. Only 9 percent of total costs was recovered through student fees in 1985, including tuition plus other charges such as admission and examination fees. The average student contributed Rs. 253 per annum of the Rs. 2,811 unit cost.[99] Since there is substantial excess demand for higher education, tuition costs and other public charges contribute only a small portion of total private education costs. Since price elasticities for higher education are estimated to be low, there is substantial room for increased user charges without impairing demand.[100] World Bank estimates conclude that even with full cost recovery there would remain excess demand for admission. Even under very conservative assumptions, fees for higher education could be increased to Rs. 1,005 per annum without impairing demand. This would represent a cost recovery rate of about 37 percent. To prevent poor students from having to terminate their studies, a more extensive scholarship system would need to be established.

Improved equity in education could be achieved if increased revenues collected from higher education fees were reinvested in primary education. With the 37 percent recovery rate suggested above, 1.2 million additional primary school students could be enrolled. This would represent an increase in the primary school enrollment rate from 49 percent to 58 percent.

3. Private Education

Before the nationalization of education in 1972, much of the country's secondary and higher level education was in

the hands of the private sector, at least in the urban areas. In 1968, 22 percent of primary, 42 percent of secondary and more than one-half of higher education students were enrolled in private schools. After 1972 the government nationalized more than 3,300 institutions, reducing the private sector to all but a few institutions. Only 4 percent of all primary and secondary schools remained private, mostly religous and selected elite institutions. Shortly after the change in government in 1977, private schools were again allowed to open and nationalized schools were gradually denationalized.

In its National Education Policy, the government allowed private enterprise to open educational institutions:

> provided the administration of these institutions ensures availability of suitable physical facilities like buildings, playgrounds, laboratories, libraries and adoption of prescribed standards of qualifications and scales of pay for teachers.[101]

The rationale was that the national exchequer as a result of the nationalization had to bear an additional burden of more than Rs. 15 crore (150 million) recurring expenditure per annum.[102] Further investment by private sector in education was blocked. "This negated the principle of community participation in the development of education [thus impeding] ... expansion of education in the country," the Policy noted.[103]

Since 1979, there has been considerable growth of private schools on the primary and lower secondary levels but only a modest increase at higher secondary and higher levels of education. Openings of private schools have almost exclusively been in urban areas, where demand for education is high and public facilities are overcrowded. While the total percentage of primary and secondary students attending private institutions in 1984 was estimated to be only 9 percent and 4 percent respectively, an estimated 35 percent of urban primary

and 14 percent of urban secondary students attend private institutions.[104] The fiscal impact of this expansion is already substantial. Had these students been accommodated in public schools, an additional 10 percent of the 1984 education budget would have been required.[105]

Although the positive impact of private schools on the size of overall enrollment is clear, some have expressed concern about their impact on the quality of education, the efficiency with which it is provided and equity of access. Hard facts on these issues have yet to be gathered, although the preliminary evidence indicates that many of the concerns are unfounded.

The quality of private schools in Pakistan spans a wide range. Although there are no rigorous studies that measure this, a considerable amount of qualitative evidence has been collected on the basis of school visits and interviews with school administrators.[106] The elite schools have British-administered A and O level school leaving examinations. Jimenez and Tan observe that

> while most of the private schools only aspire to this level of certification, they are generally considered, even by public servants who send their children there, to be, on the average, at least as good as schools in the public system.[107]

On the whole, the encouragement of private education has helped the public sector by taking on a part of the burden of universalizing primary education. This policy has freed up resources for their use in promoting primary education in areas with low population densities (where the private sector is reluctant to invest). Some issues do remain to be resolved. The major one being that of regulating the private sector. The Government of Pakistan should take a more active role in registering new private schools to ensure that they have the

facilities required to provide education. The fees charged by these private schools are exorbitant in some cases. The Ministry of Education needs to adopt some measures to check this abuse of privilege.

4. Mohalla Schools for Girls

The Education Policy of 1978 draws attention to the mosque and mohalla schools as possible aveneues for the expansion of primary education. Both have strong roots in the community. We have discussed the mosque schools in a previous section, here we will focus on mohalla schools. While the mosque school operates as an established institution within the formal structure of the mosque, the mohalla school is an entirely informal institution. The Policy describes mohalla schools as follows:

> A mohalla school concerned at least with teaching of the Holy Quran to young girls is functioning in each community, particularly in the rural areas. An elderly lady generally organizes such classes in her own home where normal facilities of covered space, drinking water etc. are already available. Maintenance and upkeep of the house is duly looked after by the owner. Since such schools are the result of community's own initiative, they carry general emotional support and acceptance. Parents feel more secure and satisfied in sending their girls and women folk to such schools.[108]

The concept of the "mohalla" is intimately linked with the community. Sabina Hafiz has described it as "a subdivision within a particular locality limited (but not necessarily determined) by the ethnicity of the people who make their homes in that particular subdivision."[109] Tilat Yusuf's observation that "these mohalla schools cropped up on an informal basis as a result of the cultural restrictions imposed by society on the mobility of the female" is a fair assessment of their origin.[110]

The mohalla school is solidly based in the life of the community. It is outside the normal institutionalized school system and additional to it. There appear to be excellent opportunities for revitalizing this cultural heritage and encouraging its expansion and development. The importance of the community base cannot be over-emphasized. Government efforts should be directed towards strengthening and revitalizing this base.

The Government of Pakistan intends to open five thousand schools in the Plan period 1983-88. It envisages providing free books, teaching aids and suitable remuneration to such ladies who organize mohalla schools in their homes. The mohalla school should receive "the recognition and support which it rightly deserves," the New Education Policy states.[111] A recent evaluation report of the Ministry of Education highlights some of the difficulties that have been encountered in developing mohalla schools.[112] While organizational and financial difficulties have hampered the project (which is expected, given the newness of the project), it is comforting to note that the community participation in this project has generally been very encouraging. The report notes that

> it should not be assumed that community participation in the implementation of the project has worked entirely smoothly and has been completely free of friction... But in most cases the problems have been solved without any detrimental effect which is apparent from the increase in the area and activities of the project.[113]

In his study of mohalla schools, Barry Harley has argued that the mohalla schools should remain outside of and additional to the formal government system. He has argued that while supervisory involvement and liaison, including professional input, will be necessary, the mohalla school movement ideally should not become yet another extention of an already

overburdened government. Harley argues that there appear to be excellent opportunities for creating a network of units which could:

(a) attract girls by providing a sheltered environment within the community, acceptable to parents;

(b) operate on a more personal, less formal basis than the regular schools, thereby lessening the drop-out rate;

(c) draw on teaching/supervisory resources which would otherwise not be used;

(d) provide basic education for girls who otherwise would be unlikely to attend school at all;

(e) develop an organizational model which would be easily transferable to other communities, urban or rural; and

(f) be sufficiently related to the formal school system to allow for mobility of children from one to the other.[115]

Female education in Pakistan is in such a sorry state that mohalla schools present a very exciting opportunity for the growth of primary education, especially for rural females. The low costs involved and the acceptance of the concept by the local people makes the mohalla school a valuable addition to the primary school system. It should be noted that at the root of the problem of female education is the deeply held cultural conviction, particularly in the rural areas, that the role of women is in the home and that education is not relevant to their needs. Mosque and mohalla schools can provide relatively low cost alternatives for female education in the lower grades which may overcome some reluctance on the part of parents to expose their daughters to education.

5. Fiscal Reforms

In chapter 3, we discussed the fiscal structure of educational planning and financing in Pakistan and noted the fiscal

bottle-necks that are responsible for the slow growth of primary education in Pakistan. In this section, we will propose a number of changes that can be made in education financing that may promote primary education.

The Report of the Working Group on Primary Education for the Sixth Five Year Plan (1983-88) (Ministry of Education) notes that:

> adequate flow of funds is an absolutely crucial input in any educational system. . .With too meagre allocation of funds for education in our country, the system has hardly taken off inspite of repeated policy statements and continuous five-year as well as annual development plans on education.[116]

The government's outlays for education have been lower than the average for developing countries. Within the sector, primary education has been denied its rightful importance. Larger outlays have been made for higher education than have been made for primary education. These trends need to be reversed before real improvement in primary education can be made. We have emphasized this point in an earlier section.

It was noted earlier that the provinces are responsible for meeting the recurrent expenditures on education (which account from 60 to 80 percent of the total outlays on education). The Federal government provides the funds for development expenditures, but when these are used for expansion of student capacity, they generate additional and continuing recurrent expenditures which are the responsibility of the provincial governments. As a consequence, any federal policy of expanding education has important budgetary implications for the provincial governments. The variability in the Federal outlays to the provinces discourages the provinces from taking on additional recurrent expenditures.

The provinces, therefore, are reluctant to increase their spending on primary education.

This problem can be solved by giving the provinces a larger role in generating revenues. It appears that taxes such as the motor vehicle tax, the capital gains tax and the tax on professions are not adequately administered. A better administration of these taxes has the potential for raising the revenues generated by the provinces. A helpful measure would be to transfer the sales tax to the provinces. The sales tax is a provincial or state tax in many countries; in South Asia, India offers a case where the sales tax is the backbone of state finances. It would be desirable to develop Pakistan's sales tax into a provincial tax.

Provincial finances can be strengthened if proposals for such strengthening provide for increased incentives for resource mobilization at the provincial level. Presently, different provinces have different capacities to generate revenues. This is due to differences in per capita income, extent of urbanization, relative importance of irrigated agriculture and, possibly, tax administration. Even in this situation, it should be possible to encourage increased revenue effort.

An interesting feature of educational financing in Pakistan is that if a province is able to secure financial support from an international development agency, the Federal government makes a corresponding cut in its allocation to the province. This policy should be reversed. If a province is able to attract foreign investment in education, it should not be penalized for doing so. The provinces' ability to raise revenues on their own should be improved. Only when the provinces are more certain of resource flows will they be able to commit larger outlays for education, since they will be confident of their ability to meet the additional recurrent expenditures.

6. Scholarships, Free Books, and Financial Incentives

This is an aspect of primary education that has largely been neglected by the Government of Pakistan. Scholarships constitute a very small proportion of total public spending on education. During 1984-85, some Rs. 118.8 million (or 1.3 percent of all educational expenditure), were spent on scholarships.[117] They tend to be allocated on the basis of merit, and only secondarily, on the basis of need. The availability of scholarships at the primary level is particularly limited.[118] The most important loan scheme in Pakistan is a joint venture between the government and the private banking system, through the Pakistan Banking Council. The scheme, called the Qarz-e-Hasna Scheme for Education, provides loans to students in higher education.

In chapter 3, we outlined the economic constraints that often prohibit parents from sending their children to primary schools. Pakistan is a poor country and the parents often are compelled to make their children work in order to supplement the family income. The low enrollment ratios and the high drop-out rates in Pakistan bear testimony to this hard fact of life for many Pakistanis. This section will attempt to suggest some solutions to this rather serious problem.

In the section on user fees, we discussed the possibility of charging higher fees in higher education. The revenues so generated can be used to develop a scholarship and financial incentives scheme for primary education, especially for rural areas. These revenues can be added to the revenues received from the Zakat levies. The Zakat and Ushr Ordinance was promulgated on June, 30, 1980 by the President of Pakistan. Its purpose was to institutionalize a system for collecting funds to assist "the needy, the indigent and the poor, with a view to securing their economic well-being (and) to help

them stand on their own feet and become useful members of society."[119] Under the provision of the Ordinance, collected funds can be sued for educational purposes, as long as they are disbursed to benefit individuals directly, that is, disbursed as scholarships.

Given the very low enrollment ratios in rural areas, especially for females, perhaps a drastic measure needs to be taken. The revenues generated from the Zakat system and any revenues generated from charging higher fees in higher education should be pooled together to form an Educational Incentives Scheme. The scheme should offer stipends to poor parents who send their daughters to primary schools. The teacher at the school should keep account of the number of absences each month. If the student's attendance and academic record has been good, the parents should be paid an Education Reward. The amount should be sufficient to encourage the parents to send their daughters to school and should ofset some of the opportunity cost forgone. Although the revenues and the costs of such a scheme would have to be taken into account given the size of the target pool, a payment of about Rs. 100 per month (roughly $ 8) should be a sufficient inducement to the parents. On a test basis, the scheme can be introduced in the most disadvantaged rural areas of Pakistan, say Baluchistan and interior Sind. If the scheme is successful and more revenues become available, the Rewards can be expanded to cover boys as well. It should be noted that in his survey of mass education in Pakistan, Nazar Mohammad concluded that "the major cause of illiteracy both in rural and urban areas is the disinterestedness of the partens."[120] The Educational Incentives Scheme has the potential of raising the parents' interest in the education of their children.

Another measure that would be helpful in promoting primary education is the provision of free books and other

accessories to poor children. The costs of educating their children are prohibitive for many poor parents. The expenses on books, bags, uniforms, and transportation end up discouraging poor parents from sending their children to schools. Such a scheme can be invaluable in that it may overcome the initial inability and reluctance of the parents to send their children to school. Once the children have started going to school, it may be easier to sustain the enrollment rates.

A different kind of financial incentive has been suggested by Zardari. He analyzed the reasons for the high drop-out rate in a primary school in district Nawabshah, Sind. He proposes that a financial incentive should be offered to the teacher of a school if he keeps the drop-out rate in his school below an acceptable level.[121] In the rural areas especially, teachers are often able to convince parents to continue sending their children to school. Zardari's proposal is a feasible one and should be implemented on a test basis. If the results are encouraging, it should be expanded to cover all primary schools.

7. Management and Training of Teachers and Planners

We outlined the managerial constraints on developing primary education in chapter 3. Here we will focus on the changes that can be made in teacher training to reduce the inefficiency of the primary education system in Pakistan. The cost of the inefficiency is high in human and financial resources. The vast majority of the students who drop out do so in the early primary grades and therefore do not gain the basic competencies in literacy or numeracy necessary for economic and social advancement. The financial costs of a system that wastes a third to one half of its primary education resources on students that will receive little or no productive benefit from the experience are unacceptably high. Evidence to date indicates that by far the most important reason for uniformly

low achievement at every level is teacher performance.[122] Let us look briefly at the formal teacher training system in Pakistan for primary teachers.

The primary teachers normally have a Matriculation Certificate and a Primary Teaching Certificate. The latter requires two years of full-time training at an elementary teacher training college. Inservice training for practicing teachers comes under the responsibility of the Provincial Extension Centres (one or two in each province) and the Open University, though a few polytechnics do offer inservice programs for technical teachers. In theory, teacher are expected to go for inservice training once every five years of service but due to shortage of teachers and lack of funds, most training programs are for the less qualified teachers and those who have to teach revised curricular subjects.

The actual situation, however, is far from satisfactory. Teachers lack basic teaching skills including understanding the demands of their curriculum. Teaching materials are inadequate in supply and often in concept and design. In the primary and secondary schools, especially in the rural areas, there is little effective supervision of teachers with consequently high absenteeism. The Primary Education Project, funded in part by the World Bank, made the following observations:

> The problem of the capability of the primary school teacher in Pakistan cannot be measured simply in terms of their lack of professional teaching qualifications or their use of poor pedagogic techniques. The reality is that most of the teachers do not understand the content of the curriculum themselves, and can hardly be expected, therefore, to teach it to others.[123]

The success of the project demonstrated that regular supervision contributed to increased efficiency by almost completely eliminating teacher absenteeism.[124]

Coupled with the general problem of low quality of teaching is the lack of female teachers in rural areas. There is an urgent need to expand the recruitment and training of female teachers able to teach and willing to serve in rural primary schools, where coeducation is usually not accepted. Although female teachers from urban areas are in adequate supply, they often are reluctant to teach in rural areas. One solution would be to recruit less qualified females coming from rural locations and to give them training in the rural areas where they will be expected to serve. Other measures that could be taken include provision of hostels and the assignment of two women teachers to each school, provision of transportation for some rural women teachers, and improved wages or bonueses for rural work (rather than the present system of cost-of-living bonuses for serving in urban areas).

Teacher training facilities in Pakistan are in a need of improvement. One of the major reforms that can be implemented is an increase in the number of District Education Officers (DEOs) and Assistant Education Officers (AEOs) so that they can pay closer attention to the needs of each primary school in their district and provide support to the teachers. A system of close supervision of primary schools has the potential of improving the quality of instruction, and reduceing the drop-out rate.

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APPENDIX

THE EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE OF PAKISTAN

AMINATIONS
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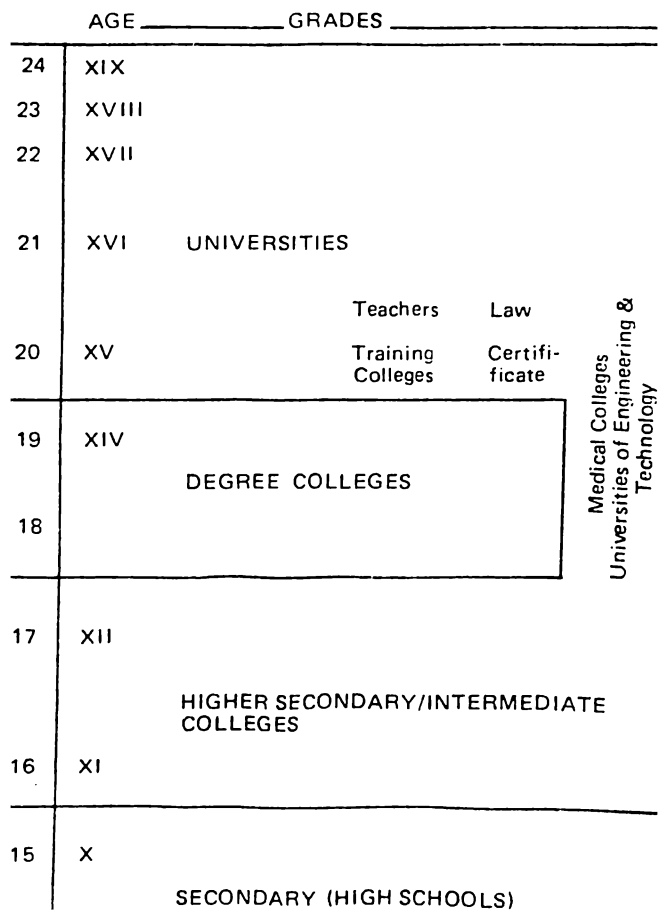

APPENDIX

Table 2

CIRCULAR SUBJECTS AT DIFFERENT STAGES IN PAKISTAN SCHOOLS (Classes I-XII)

Subjects	Primary	Secondary		Inter-mediate
		Middle School Level	High School Level	
	Grades 1-5	Grades 6-8	Grades 9-10	Grades 11-12
Language (Urdu, Sindi, etc)	*	*	*	*
Islamiyat	*	*	*	*
Pakistani Social Studies	*	*	*	*
G Maths/Maths	*	*	*	*
Science		*		
Physics				
Chemistry				
Biology				
English		*	*	*
Arabic		*		
Agro-Tech:		*		
Humanities/Social				
Sciences Group				
Vocational Subject				
Arts	*	*		
Health & Physical Education/				
Physical Exercise	*	*	*	*

* Compulsory Subjects

APPENDIX

Table 3

INDICATORS OF OPPORTUNITIES IN PRIMARY EDUCATION (1982-83)

Indicators of Opportunity Female	Female	Male	Total	
No. of schools	21842	51940	73782	
No. of teachers	56394	120327	176721	
Teachers/school	2.6	2.3	2.4	
Enrollment	2146	4608	6745	(in 000s)
Participation Rate (%)	32	63	48	
Enrollment/School	98.3	88.7	91.5	
Enrollment/Teacher	38.1	38.3	38.2	

Source: World Bank, Pakistan Basic Startegy Study, 1984

NOTES

1. Theodore Schultz, *Investment in Human Capital,* p. 27
2. Ibid., p. 27
3. Ibid., p. 27
4. Ibid., p. 25
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6. Malcolm Gillis et. al., *Economics of Development,* p. 93
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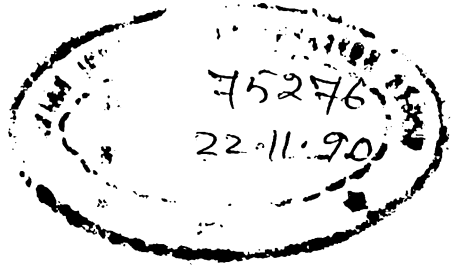

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