AID EFFECTIVENESS IN EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN FROM 2005-2015

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Doctor of Education - EdD

Declaration

I, Fawad Shams, hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

Word count (exclusive of appendices, the list of references and bibliographies but including footnotes, endnotes, glossary, maps, diagrams and tables):

45,468 words.

Abstract

This study reviews the effectiveness of international aid in improving the performance of government school education sector in the four provinces of Pakistan with a focus on key education indicators from 2005-2015.

There has been a steady flow of foreign aid to Pakistan since the 1990s to help the state to assure universalisation of public education delivery. This influx has followed several international agreements that aim at ensuring Education for all. It picked up further momentum after the tragic events of 9-11-2001. While the donors have used different strategies to deliver their aid, all of them have attempted to increase the enrolment, retention, and the quality of learning imparted to children in classrooms. However, the impact of aid on any of these indicators remains unclear as no systematic analyses have been done in this regard that look at the performance of education indicators over a substantial time period in light of international aid.

The study findings, reviewed in light of the concept of Steiner-Khamsi's (2012) policy borrowing and lending and Habermas' (1964) concept of public sphere in alignment with the Paris Declaration principles (2005) show that the performance of key education indicators in the four provinces during the decade under review has not been satisfactory despite substantial international aid being provided. There have been marginal gains made in some indicators, more in some provinces than others, but the overall performance of the government education sector has remained much below the desired level.

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Acknowledgements

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to my mother and father, without whose support I would not be where I am today.

The 2000-Word Statement: My learning experience under the EdD programme and how this learning has contributed to my professional growth

Introduction

In this note I will describe how the EdD has contributed to my professional development through its various elements during the course of the programme, and how the courses are systematically aligned to enhance my learning experience.

I have been working in the education sector in Pakistan and in some other countries for more than 22 years. Right from the start of my career in 1994 I was exposed to the world of international donors and aid, and have since worked regularly with large and small programmes and projects, and consulting assignments funded by international aid agencies. I was always intrigued by international aid, its motives, its design and the way it was managed. I used to come up with hypothetical explanations, such as aid being a foreign policy hegemony tool with a political agenda, or some donors being more apolitical than others.

My professional life provided opportunities to engage with designing and conducting research and doing reports for projects and consultancies. As I progressed through my career I realized that I needed to develop a good repertoire of research methods, identify and use the right theoretical frameworks, and my writing should be more critical and less descriptive.

In pursuit of my questions about international aid, and with the need to polish my research and writing skills I started the IOE EdD programme in 2006.

My Learning Experiences in the Programme

At the IOE the courses that I took were aimed at developing critical insights based on sound theoretical frameworks with which to make sense of the international aid for education and its effects. I had entered the EdD programme with the motive to inform myself more systematically about some of the key questions on international aid and its effectiveness for improving education performance in Pakistan. But the answers to questions about international aid and its effectiveness were going to be possible only once I

had acquired skills for conducting research, use relevant theoretical frameworks, and carry out critical analyses.

The four core courses provided necessary insights to various theories and ideas, each one followed by an assignment that provided the opportunity to examine areas that one is interested to investigate in light of the theoretical, political, social and cultural underpinnings that each course had to offer.

During some of initial courses I took up assignments that were broadly focused and ambitious in their scope, resulting in compromises made with the relevant literature review and developing the necessary theoretical insights as I tried to fit in information within the stipulated word limit. Later however, I narrowed down the research focus, identified theoretical frameworks and interrogated relevant literature.

I had more than 12 years of professional experience when I joined the EdD, and this professional practice focus showed up very prominently in my assignments, but the theoretical context was weak. My initial research designs lacked necessary information; for instance, why did I choose certain methods, or how were the interviewees selected, and through which sampling technique. The writings lacked critical analysis and were descriptive, and at times with assertions without evidence.

The courses were very useful for clarifying the challenges mentioned above; I learned how to systematically design research, choose a methodology, identify research methods and come up with key questions. I learned about sampling techniques for selection of research participants, and how to position myself given my background as a development practitioner.

The core courses were followed by the institutional focused study (IFS). The Institutions Focused Study provided a very useful opportunity to design and conduct a research study immediately following the four taught courses to provide a useful linkage between the learnings from the courses and the research study. It took me about two years to complete the IFS - first going through the proposal stage, then developing a research design for the study, identifying the relevant theoretical framework, selection of interviewees, collection and analysis of data, and in between continuous feedback from my

supervisor on a number of drafts. The IFS helped polish skills on the design of research, methodology, the use of methods, collection of data and analysis and the actual writing. I was continuously reminded to use the theoretical framework when reporting findings, to be more analytical and less descriptive in my writing, and to be more conclusive when doing the final analysis. The use of dependency and modernisation theories as a theoretical framework provided an excellent opportunity on how to inform field data and report findings from the theory and vice versa.

I further developed the research done under the IFS and took it forward to my thesis for the EdD. The scope of IFS was geographically expanded and the theoretical part was modified to help with the analysis. The learnings from the IFS have been most useful in helping with the research design for the thesis, its methodology and approach, and identify relevant theories. The IFS has almost served as a pilot study for the thesis in that it looked at the aid and education data in a single province of Pakistan, whereas the thesis expanded the scope to include all the four provinces, with amendments to the research design and the use of theories.

The structure of the EdD to provide two back-to-back opportunities for conducting medium and large scale research studies (the IFS and the thesis) has helped polish my research and writing skills to a great deal, and has provided an opportunity to further develop myself to pursue a career in the academics.

I learned specifically how to use the conceptual and theoretical frameworks for guiding and reviewing the data findings, learned about the research methods and techniques, and learned about challenges and issues relating to aid effectiveness for education in Pakistan, and how an independent and dynamic public sphere is crucial to effective policy borrowing for improving education.

Linkages between Courses

The four core courses were sequenced very systematically, building upon key knowledge and information gradually. All courses emphasised on engaging with and interrogating relevant literature to inform myself about the current and recent work on the topic of assignment. Similarly, all courses emphasised on

the need to identify and use a theoretical framework and to inform findings from the field with the relevant theory. Professional positioning of oneself within the assignment was an important piece, and as I learned later, did have ethical implications in my case, being an insider researcher. Aspects relating to empirical research were introduced systematically, initially through design of a research proposal followed by two small scale research studies in two separate courses.

Following on from the core courses, the IFS was designed to draw upon knowledge in the core courses and further build on it. The learnings from the core courses were essential to develop the IFS research design, gather field data and do the analysis. However, the IFS provided a much more comprehensive opportunity to conduct a field based research study.

The feedback, initial as well as final, provided in the core courses as well as the IFS was extremely useful in continuously correcting the course and taking the required direction.

The thesis, presented here, builds upon the IFS and the core courses conceptually, but with a much larger scope. Nevertheless, without the systematic process of learning acquired through core courses and the IFS it would not have been possible to develop this thesis.

The contribution of EdD to my Professional Career

The focus of this thesis as well as the IFS and one core course has been on the effectiveness of international aid and the performance of key education indicators in different provinces of Pakistan. This has been a key learning area for me, as I continue to work with donors on education projects in Pakistan. The theoretical framework on policy borrowing and public sphere has been a tremendous learning opportunity, allowing me to relate the framework directly to my experiences in the practical field and immediately see a relationship, with some issues becoming more clear than others.

Prior to the EdD, even though I did see issues and challenges in the donor funded projects, in the absence of any research, and no exposure to any theoretical framework, I used to hypothesise, coming up with explanations that largely identified issues with the government sector, the apathy of public sector

officials, their poor systems and lack of commitment. However, having gone through the EdD programme, I am now able to look at donor funded projects from both theoretical and practical stand points. Theoretically, I can see my findings validating the importance of a public sphere, the absence or weak presence of which results in ineffective policy borrowing. Practically, I can see the performance of key education indicators, having used robust research methods for collection of data.

EdD's contribution has also been paramount in terms of developing an understanding about key aspects of qualitative and quantitative research, an insight into different education and development theories, and improved writing skills that take into account aspects to make writing coherent, analytical, clear and balanced.

While pursuing the EdD I have had opportunities to work as a lead researcher and consultant in many countries and in different continents. The learnings from the EdD courses have been most useful in designing and conducting assignments, and reporting on the findings. My professional exposure has taken me to conflict and post-conflict states in fragile situations to review and assess education situations. The insights from my academic preparation through the EdD programme have helped me look at issues and challenges in education from different theoretical lenses, engaging with relevant literature to inform myself about past and emerging practices, and inform findings in light of various socio-cultural and political milieu.

The EdD may also open an academic career for me, with a premium university in Pakistan who is in the process of setting up a school of education. I have been invited by the organisers of their school of education to contribute in different discussions forums, and have also been asked to conduct a seminar for the students on my research findings.

The research done in the IFS and thesis will build upon work already done on aid and education in Pakistan, and will provide an opportunity to the donors as well as the government to inform their existing practices in light of the research findings, and to help them possibly revisit their approaches for designing and implementing aid projects for education in Pakistan.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background and Context Setting

The education sector in Pakistan faces tremendous challenges in the areas of access, quality, and availability of financial resources. Around 25 million children of school going age are out of school; a large number of public schools in the country run with single classrooms and single teachers (Alif Ailaan 2014). A major contributor to the problems faced by Pakistan's education sector is the lack of available resources for education. Pakistan is currently spending around 2.14 % of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on education (I-SAPS 2015). While the provinces are spending significant portion of their budgets on education, the problem still remains owing to the quantum of challenge faced by the education sector in Pakistan. Pakistan has therefore been relying on international donors for grant assistance and loans for improving access and quality of education in the country. Table 1 provides a summary of some key education indicators for Pakistan.

Table 1 – Key Education Indicators of Pakistan

Indicator	Total	Boys	Girls	Urban	Rural
Population that has ever attended school	62%	72%	51%	77%	53%
Literacy Rate (10 years and above)	60%	70%	49%	76%	51%
Gross Enrolment Rate at primary level	89%	97%	81%	103%	83%
Net Enrolment Rate at primary level	57%	60%	53%	66%	53%

Source: PSLM Survey 2014-15

Enrolment and number of schools fall down sharply as we go up the educational levels. According to Pakistan Education Statistics report for 2014-15, compared with 124,070 government primary schools in Pakistan, only 16,418 middle and 12,116 high schools exist. Looking at the enrolment, in comparison with 15.4 million students at pre-primary and primary level in public schools, only 4 million and 2 million children are enrolled at middle and high level.

International aid for education has been a palpable feature of the government school education process in Pakistan since its inception, getting momentum in the last two decades. The supply of aid has continued unabated since the early 1990s in the wake of the Jomtien declaration of Education for All (1990). Aid provided by international donors does not just consist of financial assistance whether through grants or loans, but also includes human resources for technical assistance, policy level plans and recommendations under 'best practices', and specific implementation level strategies for improving the overall education system of recipient countries.

However, even after two decades of almost uninterrupted supply of international aid for education in the public sector, Pakistan's performance is still far from satisfactory. Pakistan still lags behind on a number of access and quality indicators. For example, Pakistan was ranked 106th out of 113 countries on EFA Development Index (EDI) in 2012, a composite index used to evaluate overall progress towards education for all (UNESCO 2015). With an EDI score of 0.654, Pakistan was one of the 18 countries considered to be far from achievement of education for all. Pakistan's score marginally improved to 0.660 in 2015. In both 2012 and 2015, Pakistan had the lowest EDI scores in South Asia.

With the challenges of access and quality persisting in Pakistan, questions are raised towards lack of aid effectiveness for the education sector in Pakistan. This lack of effectiveness stems from issues related to both host and the donor countries.

Donors and the government are both accountable to each other and to the citizens as the beneficiaries of the aid. There is sufficient evidence available that points towards a lack of participation of citizens and civil society organizations in education programme designing and monitoring (I-SAPS, 2012). Therefore, there is a need to view aid effectiveness in light of accountability mechanisms that are in place in all the provinces, as well as planning and management capabilities of the provincial education departments for utilisation of aid successfully. The lack or absence of participation of citizens also points towards a weaker public sphere in Pakistan. Borrowing of policies and ideas and implementing them without adequate debate and adaptation is also a symptom of the absence of an effective public sphere. It is therefore important to see what kind of public sphere exists in

Pakistan and to what extent is it beneficial in informing the debate and discourse on education.

Reviewing aid effectiveness in light of Paris Declaration will make a lot of sense since the key principles of the Paris Declaration cover aspects of ownership, partnership, harmonisation, and accountability.

The OECD Paris Declaration (2005) brought together developing and developed countries and multilateral and bi-lateral institutions to reform the ways in which aid is delivered and managed. It was agreed that while the volumes of aid and other development resources must increase to achieve these goals, much more importantly aid effectiveness must increase significantly to support the recipient countries to enhance their efforts to strengthen governance and improve development performance. This will be all the more important if existing and new bilateral and multilateral initiatives lead to significant further increases in aid. Key principles were agreed upon to strengthen partnership mechanisms between donors and recipient countries; these included:

Ownership – Issues and challenges relating to ownership of donor funded initiatives at the province and sub-province level have been rife as reported in interviews and focus group discussions in all the provinces. The absence or lack of ownership can be seen to be an outcome of absence of public spheres, and a contributing factor for ineffective policy borrowing. In rare cases where we have seen organisation of stakeholders into a professional development forum in some districts of Sindh and Balochistan under the USAID funded ESRA project, the ownership of project activities increased, but only temporarily and faded as soon as the forums were dissolved following an end to the project.

Alignment – During the period under review alignment of donor interventions with government policy frameworks and institutions have gradually improved and the donors as well as their implementing partners have increased their coordination with government programmes. However, such alignment was more prominent at the provincial level, and where government officials were more actively involved. Successful alignment of programmes with government institutions and policy frameworks is a necessary step for ensuring that only the best policies and practices are borrowed and are implemented to pursue improvement efforts. As in case of

ownership, the presence of a public sphere can almost be seen as a pre-condition to effective alignment of donor interventions with the government.

Harmonisation – In the presence of multiple donors in the education sector in Pakistan, their harmonised efforts are crucial to effective service delivery by avoiding duplication and poor management of resources. While each province has created its own donor management unit to organise donor interventions, in some cases the donors have not coordinated their interventions with each other resulting in duplication of interventions, and management challenges for the government. Smaller implementing partners and non-government organisations (NGOs) operating through donor funds are also a challenge for harmonising their initiatives resulting in multiple initiatives implemneted in the same districts and schools, causing disruption and mismanagement for the teachers and education officials.

Mutual Accountability – The implementation of accountability mechanisms is a challenge in government systems; no one is answerable on why the performance of education indicators is declining, or why is aid not contributing sufficiently, or being utilized to its maximum. Similarly, no one is held accountable if a donor funded project fails to achieve its objectives. Partnership covenants under aid programmes do not focus upon accountability based conditions for either side, allowing everyone to get away without being answerable. The absence of public spheres further contributes to an absence of accountability systems as there are no forums or platforms where people can debate, review and hold office bearers accountable.

Table 1 provides figures for international aid for education received by Pakistan under development and economic assistance from bilateral and multilateral donors every year since 1996. The aid constituted both loans as well as grants.

Table 2 – International Aid for Education to Pakistan (US$ Million)

Year	Aid for Education	% share of Education in Total Aid
1996	112.7	12.8%
1997	83.1	13.9%
1998	80.8	7.7%
1999	84.2	11.5%
2000	71.6	10.3%
2001	59.6	3.1%
2002	43.0	2.0%
2003	52.3	4.9%
2004	47.5	3.3%
2005	194.6	12.0%
2006	16.8	0.5%
2007	411.3	11.2%
2008	241.1	5.1%
2009	820.1	22.3%
2010	521.5	19.9%
2011	129.8	7.8%
2012	267.0	8.8%
2013	200.9	7.0%
2014	456.2	6.7%
2015	426.2	7.4%

Source: Calculated from I-SAPS (2012) and Economic Affairs Division ODA
Statistics reports

1.2   Research Rationale and Research Questions

I have worked on international education projects with the World Bank (2007, 2010-2011), USAID (2003-2010) and DFID (2012-2015)[1] in all the four provinces of Pakistan during the decade under review, assisting the provincial governments in their reforms of school education through utilisation of international aid. I have

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[1] In KP with the DFID funded KPESP, in Sindh and Balochistan with the USAID funded ESRA and EDLINKS, and in Punjab with the World Bank funded PESRP

had the opportunity to closely observe the processes of programme design and planning, management and implementation of activities, as well as reviewing the impact of interventions from the donor side. My experience suggests that prima facie aid has not been able to achieve the desired results for the education sector in Pakistan, and therefore there is a need to carry out research to establish this notion so that current and future initiatives can be better informed by findings of this study.

Pakistan receives large amounts of international aid under development and economic assistance from bilateral and multilateral donors every year as shown in table 2 above. The aid constitutes both loans as well as grants, and with each passing year the amount of international loans is increasing for Pakistan, currently at US$ 65.1 billion (State Bank of Pakistan Annual Report 2014-2015). A significant portion of this aid is used to improve the education sector, and therefore requires an evidence-based understanding of whether aid is achieving its objectives.

This study will review the effectiveness of aid for education in the four provinces of Pakistan from 2005-2006 to 2014-2015, specifically looking at the performance of government school education sector in Pakistan. The review process will report results and findings in light of the following questions:

1.   How have the provinces performed during the period under review with a reference to key education indicators in access, quality and governance?

2.   How are the five principles of OECD's Paris Declaration (2005) applied by donors and host government when designing and implementing interventions focusing upon the key education indicators?

3.   Do public spheres exist in Pakistan, and how beneficial are they in improving aid effectiveness?

4.   How has international policy borrowing contributed to the improvement of the government education sector during the decade under review?

It is important to see how the international aid interventions have aligned with the demands and priorities set out by the federal and provincial governments in the area of education. A review of the Government's policies and plans during the past decade will help in understanding the government's development agenda and

priorities; alignment of international interventions with these policy frameworks serves as a first step towards developing an ownership of the government. Lack of alignment with these policy frameworks on the part of donors can lead to reduced ownership and commitment on the part of government towards aid programmes. There has also been an influx of 'best practices' through policy borrowing or travelling reforms under various donor funded programmes - schemes and strategies promoting public-private partnerships, voucher schemes, lesson plans for teachers, to name some. A case in point is the strengthening of provincial education foundations that are mandated to increase public-private partnerships for improving access and quality, but have essentially promoted development of low-fee private schools - utilizing public funds to promote private education.

1.3   Significance of the Research

The contribution of this research is both theoretical and practical. On theoretical front, the study looks at education aid effectiveness in Pakistan using Habermas' concept of the public sphere (1964) in order to see whether public spheres exist in Pakistan, and if they do what kind of role are they able to play in effective policy borrowing (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). On practical lines, the study reviews the effectiveness of aid against the performance of the public education sector in the four provinces of Pakistan in light of a number of important questions at the policy and implementation level.

The OECD's Paris Declaration and the Accra Agenda (2005/2008) emphasize the importance of ownership, partnership, alignment, results, accountability and harmonization of aid between donors and recipient countries. The Declaration and the Agenda both serve as key drivers for promoting the ownership and partnership of recipient country in all aid programmes and projects, and for increasing accountability for the government as well as donor organization. This study will look at the five principles of the Paris Declaration (2005) in light of the aid context in Pakistan and see if these principles are considered while designing and implementing aid interventions.

An important aspect in the debate on aid effectiveness is the mechanism under which aid programmes are implemented and decisions made by the beneficiary country's civil servants and public sector organizations. This study utilizes

Habermas' concept of the public sphere (1964) to understand the prevalent culture of communication and participation in decision making in Pakistan, along with an engagement (or lack) of private stakeholders (parents, civil society) in planning, decision making and accountability matters.

In the current foreign aid environment, funds are not simply transferred from the donor to recipient country. The entire package consists of both funds as well as policy ideas and reform practices, with the aim to uplift and modernise the education sector of the recipient country. Existing solutions to policy problems, which are preferred by the donors, also travel with funds to the recipient countries. Recipient countries increasingly import reforms, at times coercively as a condition for receiving aid, or as 'best practices' – under a perception to use them as a tool to accelerate local education reforms. Policy and reform borrowing can play an important role in establishing or giving up ownership and partnership in aided interventions.

The research will also contribute to the existing knowledge about effectiveness of international aid for education to Pakistan in as far as analysis of the key data in education in the four provinces is concerned. Some of the more recent works on international aid for Pakistan have included Altaf (2011) focusing more on health and the social action programme (SAP), Malik (2007) on the evolution of education policy and the role of donors, and I-SAPS (2012) on aid effectiveness for education seen in light of the Paris Declaration and Accra Agenda between 2009 and 2011. The analysis of province-wise education data from 2005-2015 will be a useful contribution to the existing knowledge on education and aid in Pakistan as such extensive provincial data analysis has not been done for education in Pakistan.

1.4 Mapping Policies and Practices in Pakistan – The 18th Amendment

The following section outlines education-related developments in the pre-18th amendment period and as a result of the 18th amendment.

Pre-18th Amendment Period (1947-2010)

Education exclusively remained a provincial subject until the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan. In the 1956 Constitution of Pakistan, education was placed under

provincial legislative list through entries 20 and 23. These entries provided provinces the autonomy over school and higher education.

The 1962 Constitution of Pakistan provided a single Federal Legislative list of 49 subjects over which the Federal government had autonomy. Education was not part of this part; highlighting the fact that education remained a provincial subject as per the 1962 Constitution.

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan made major changes in the educational setup and gave the Federal government the autonomy to devise education policies and plans while the provincial government only had the role of implementing these policies. When the current constitution of Pakistan was adopted in 1973, education functions were divided between the Federal and provincial governments in Pakistan. Ministry of Education (MoE) was primarily in charge of the education policy-making and planning. The Policy and Planning Wing of the MoE was mandated with policy-making and planning in education. The Wing was also assigned the function of preparing, implementing and monitoring of development plans for education in consultation with the provincial governments. The Curriculum Wing of the MoE, assisted by the provincial Curriculum Bureaus, was assigned the charge of curriculum for public education sector and also approved the textbooks developed by the provincial Textbook boards. At provincial level, education departments existed; the provincial minister being the executive head and Secretary as the administrative head. The provincial education departments executed education policies and plans devised by the Federal MoE.

Musharraf's Devolution Plan in 2000 transferred powers to elected representatives at local level. Education was one of the twelve departments answerable to the District Nazim (elected head of the district government). School education, its planning and budgeting were devolved to the district governments as per the Plan. However, this system was reverted in 2009 with the powers transferred back to the provinces.

Education Devolution under the 18th Amendment (2011 onwards)

During the summer of 2011 under an act of Parliament the constitution was amended to decentralise education entirely to the provinces[2]. Decentralization of education created many challenges for the provinces, and it is important to see how the provinces utilise international aid to seek support for effective implementation of the constitutional amendment. It would be pertinent here to understand how does the 18th amendment impact education in the provinces.

The 18th Constitutional Amendment has impacted education in two ways: Devolution to the provinces and access to free education for all children aged 5-16. The pre-18th Amendment Constitution contained two legislative lists that divided functions between the federal and provincial governments in the country. These were the Concurrent Legislative List and the Federal Legislative List respectively. Under the Concurrent Legislative list both the federal and provincial governments could undertake executive functions and also legislate on the subjects. However, in case of a conflict the federal law would prevail. The Federal Legislative List was the exclusive domain of the Federal Government. Under the Concurrent Legislative List, the following entries were on education: Curriculum, syllabus, planning, policy, centres of excellence and standards of education, and Islamic education.

In 1976 the Federal legislature promulgated the 'Federal Supervision of Curricula, Textbooks and Maintenance and Standards Act 1976'. The law gave the federal government exclusive powers to develop and notify national curriculum and approve textbooks. With the repeal of the Concurrent Legislative List, the law's impediments on provinces for curriculum development and textbook approval were also rendered redundant. The legal status for all other areas listed in the Concurrent List remained unaffected.

In addition to the purely legal implications a number of policy and implementation issues have also arisen. These have resulted from decisions of the Implementation Committee on the 18th Amendment. The Committee abolished the Ministry of Education as a consequence of the amendment. The Ministry, in addition to being

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[2] Article 25-A of the 18th Amendment devolved education in its entirety to the provinces in 2011, revoking the previously existing concurrent list that had items like curriculum, policy and planning under the ambit of the federal MOE with input sought from the provinces

responsible for the development of national curriculum and approval of textbooks, also developed national education policies and performed the role of coordination across provinces. The above vacuum would need to be considered carefully including federal funding in certain areas.

2.   Research Design, Methodology and Ethical Issues

2.1   Research Design and Methodology

This research reviews the effectiveness of aid against the performance of the government education sector in the four provinces of Pakistan in light of a number of important questions (research questions) at the policy and implementation level. I have looked for causal relationships (Miles and Huberman, 1994) and attribution factors between international aid and its effectiveness in the education sector through studying the performance of key education indicators at the school level in light of the research questions. Causal relationships show how various dependent (in this case student learning levels, teacher behaviour, school enrolment and drop out, school facilities) and independent variables (in this case aid design and distribution process – policy borrowing, government accountability and ownership of the programmes – public spheres) in a field study behave with regards to the influence of one over other(s). Causal analyses allow identifying factors that are influencing key indicators, and will also be helpful in quantifying their effect within a given causal model. I have also looked at the coefficient of correlation (Brown and Dowling, 2009) to see if there are trends and patterns that indicate a relationship between aid and education performance in light of the research questions, regardless of whether the relationship is causal. The coefficient of correlation indicates an association between different variables within international aid and key performance indicators, and is of particular use when answering the research questions.

The study uses a mixed methods approach for answering the research questions, including case studies of various donor funded programmes (Robson, 2002; Brown and Dowling, 2009; Yin 2009), doing systematic desk reviews of the aid data and education indicators for all four provinces, reviewing covenants and partnership documents between the government and aid agencies, looking at government policy framework documents, carrying out interviews, and holding discussions with stakeholders. A case study approach helps focus upon donor funded programmes and projects, using multiple methods of data collection and an evaluative approach for establishing a correlation between aid data and key performance indicators. A case by case analysis of the province also helps provide a useful comparison between the provinces, and what factors have led to

the differentiating results. I have used ex-post facto research method (Brown and Dowling, 2009) for reviewing the performance of key education indicators against the backdrop of international aid for a baseline year (2005-2006), a middle year (2009-2010) and the final year (2014-2015). Ex-post facto is relevant because it refers to a situation in which the researcher, rather than making the intervention, examines the effect of an intervention after it has occurred.

Research question 1 is answered through review of the education and aid data, and for investigating research questions 2, 3, and 4, I have carried out interviews and held discussions with different stakeholders in all four provincial governments, and have also looked at the partnership agreements and other strategic documents between the government of Pakistan and donor agencies. A review of the agreements and other strategic documents is useful for understanding the design of the aid programmes, the terms of partnership between the government and donors, and the alignment of aid programmes with the government education frameworks.

Based on a review of government school education data, aid data, and relevant reports and documents, this research provides a performance summary of selected education indicators for all school levels (grades 1-12) in the government sector in all the four provinces where different donor funded programmes have been implemented. A review of the base year (2005), middle year (2009), and the final year (2015) provides a useful comparison between performance of key education indicators over these years in the backdrop of theoretical frameworks used in this research. The research is focusing on **four broad areas and specific indicators** that are relevant to the scope of all donors and government. The proposed areas and indictors for the focus of this research will include:

1. Access to Education - including enrolment, dropout, school environment and facilities - information available with provincial education departments - **relates to research question 1.**

2. Quality in Education - including student assessment and examinations, school environment and facilities, and support to in-service teachers through mentoring and training - information available with provincial education departments - **relates to research question 1.**

3. Governance in Education - including decision making processes, communication processes, accountability procedures - information to be extrapolated from government policy documents, and through discussions with key stakeholders - **relates to research questions 2, 3 and 4.**

4. Aid Covenants and Procedures - including specific partnership indicators, aid alignment with government policy frameworks, monitoring of aid programmes, coordination mechanisms among donors - information to be extrapolated from grant documents, partnership agreements, programme proposals, various government policy frameworks - **relates to research questions 2, 3 and 4.**

2.2   Data Sources

For access indicators, the Education Management Information System (EMIS) data for all four provinces has been used in this study. For learning outcomes, data from the Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) has been utilized. Budget data has been used from various reports on public education financing by Institute of Social and Policy Sciences (I-SAPS). In addition to these sources, data and reports from different donor agencies including the USAID, the World Bank, and DFID have been used. Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement (PSLM) survey reports have also been analyzed for the purpose of this research.

Data from EMIS, Finance, and PSLM is available annually, but for the requirements for this research it had to be collated from ten annual reports between 2005-2015 to prepare the tables appearing in the sections below. Similarly, data on school drop outs required doing cohort analysis on a year-to-year basis for each province to attain drop out figures.

The process of collation and analysis was time consuming in that it required going through each year's data separately, doing manual calculations, and then reporting all this in a cumulative table as seen later in the report.

2.3   Research Tools

The research tools include structured interview questionnaire and unstructured guidelines for focus group discussions. The tools, which had earlier been tested and used as part of the IFS were modified to include the broadened scope of the current study.

2.4   Sampling and Research Participants

Participants for interviews and discussions were selected using a mix of purposive and simple random sampling from among key officials at the provincial and district education departments, teachers in all the provinces, and from the NGOs and aid agencies. The criteria included randomly selecting two to three mid to senior level officials in the provincial government and two mid to senior level district education officials. The interviewees mostly constituted deputy/additional secretaries at the provincial level or heads of attached departments, and executive and deputy district education officers (EDOs and D-EDOs) at the district level.

Selected teachers and head teachers were also invited for discussions for seeking their feedback on school level facilities, enrolment and drop out, and their perception of quality in education. Teachers were either interviewed in schools or invited from the district headquarter to avoid travel from long distances and included roughly half men and half women in case of Punjab and Sindh[3], from the primary as well as high school level. Altogether 65 teachers and 21 head teachers were engaged for discussions in three provinces.[4] 29 interviews (5-6 in each of the four provinces and Islamabad) were also conducted covering government departments and aid agencies. The table below provides a list of interviewees and focus group discussants province and area/indicator wise with the actual numbers in parentheses.

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[3]In KP very few women teachers turned up for the focus group discussion

[4] Focus groups in the province of Balochistan could not be held due to poor security conditions that did not allow travel to the province

Table 3 – List of interviewees and FGD participants

	Balochistan (5)*	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (39)	Punjab (28)	Sindh (36)	Islamabad (7)
Access	EDOs/D-EDOs (2)	Teachers (27), Head Teachers (8), EDOs/ D-EDOs (1)	Teachers (18), Head Teachers (3), EDOs/ D-EDOs (2)	Teachers (20), Head Teachers (10), EDOs/ D-EDOs (3)	Aid Agency Staff (5), NGO (2)
Quality	EDOs, D-EDOs, Staff from PEAS, BOC (1), PITE (1), GCETs	Teachers, EDOs, D-EDOs, Staff from PEAS, DCTE (1), PITE (1), RITEs	Teachers, EDOs, D-EDOs, Staff from PEAS, PEC, DSD (2), DTEs (1)	Teachers, EDOs, D-EDOs, Staff from PEAS, BOC (1), PITE (1)	Aid Agency Staff, NGO
Governance	EDOs, D-EDOs, Deputy and Additional Secretaries (1), DCOs	EDOs, D-EDOs, Deputy and Additional Secretaries (1), DCOs	EDOs, D-EDOs, Deputy and Additional Secretaries, DCOs (1)	EDOs, D-EDOs, Deputy and Additional Secretaries (1), DCOs	Aid Agency Staff, NGO
Covenants	Secretaries, Additional Secretaries	Secretaries, Additional Secretaries	Secretaries (1), Additional Secretaries	Secretaries, Additional Secretaries	Aid Agency Staff

* In Balochistan no teacher or head teachers could be interviewed due to ongoing poor security in the province.

For selection of teachers, whether for interviews or focus group discussions, I approached the concerned district EDOs and informed them about my research and its purpose. The EDOs were first interviewed, covering aspects of access, quality and governance and then I provided them with criteria for nominating teachers for the interviews and focus group discussions. The criteria included equal number of men and women teachers, coming from rural as well as urban schools, and representing primary as well as secondary school levels. At the time of actual interviews and focus groups I learned that the nomination criteria were not entirely followed by the EDOs, but the participants were still representative of the criterion except nomination of equal number of females in case of the KP province.

At the time of interviews and focus group discussions I explained in detail the background and purpose of my research and asked if any participant was not willing to participate. No one refused to participate in the discussions and interviews. I took down notes in my notebook during the focus group discussions and used the templates for noting down information from the interviews.

In KP 23 teachers and 8 head teachers were invited for discussions from the districts of Charsadda and Mardan, and school based discussions were held with 4 teachers in Peshawar. Due to various security related issues teachers were not invited from far flung districts in KP.

In Punjab school based discussion and interviews were done with 3 head teachers and 18 teachers in the districts of Rahimyar Khan, Lahore and Rawalpindi, covering the south central and northern parts of the province to ensure representation from all parts of the province that are diverse not just geographically but also in terms of the education performance levels. The participants included 9 men and 12 women.

In Sindh, school based discussions and interviews were conducted with 10 head teachers and 20 teachers (12 women and 18 men) in 10 different government school. The teachers and schools represented the southern district of Umerkot, central district of Mirpurkhas and northern districts of Sukkur and Sanghar, providing a good representative sample across the province.

The interview participants also included representatives from different aid agencies including World Bank, Asian Development Bank, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), DFID, USAID and the German Development Agency (GIZ). The reason for selecting these agencies is because they represent the largest bilateral and multilateral donors for Pakistan and fund the largest education programmes in the four provinces.

Other interview participants included representatives of international and national NGOs who have been involve with implementation of education programmes and projects funded by the aid agencies mentioned above. The NGOs included AKU-IED, SAHE and I-SAPS and the project staff of USAID funded ESRA, EDLINKS and CMP projects representing various international NGOs.

Government participants included representatives from various attached departments of the provincial education departments in all the provinces – these involved the provincial institutes for teacher education in all the provinces, curriculum departments, donor coordination and reform support units within the education departments, and district level officials. The officials and departments were selected on the basis of their level of understanding of and involvement with the aid agencies and their projects so that they could be effectively engaged and provide necessary information.

2.5   Ethical Issues

I have worked as an education consultant with various aid agencies, supporting their work with the four provincial education departments and the federal ministry of education. I am therefore seen as an external consultant and evaluator within government departments. At the same time, I have worked as a staff member in donor funded projects, working as a colleague with people who still work with projects, or with aid agencies, and who I was going to interview for my research. I am therefore carrying out insider research and seen as an insider researcher when conducting interviews and focus group discussions for this study.

Insider research has its advantages and disadvantages, and by its very nature it also raises ethical issues; being an insider I am aware of many issues, but am also a stakeholder by virtue of being a consultant or project worker and therefore likely to be protective of sensitive information. At the same time as an independent researcher I have to report the findings honestly as they are interpreted by me, but which may be in total contrast to how people sitting on the other side of the table see them.

I addressed the issues of insider researcher by resorting to the use of secondary quantitative data. The quantitative data sets used in this study are compiled by independent sources and are publicly available; therefore, the data is not affected in anyway by my position as an insider researcher. However, my location can have a limiting effect on the analysis of data and its interpretation. I address this issues by critically setting the goals of my study. Is the goal of this study to generate objective and generalisable knowledge about aid effectiveness? Or is it to develop new insights and use them to raise provocative questions about this subject in order to push the boundaries of the discourse on aid effectiveness? If I limit myself to the latter the problem of objectivity is no longer as limiting as it is when the goal is the former. Since I do not position myself as an objective observer, this study should be read not as presenting objective truths. This work will have achieved its purpose if the questions it raises are able to make aid practitioners critically reflect on their work.

The key ethical issue to be managed is that of confidentiality as people have provided sensitive information privately to me, and I have gathered this information by assuring them of anonymity when reporting results.

When gathering information from the government departments there could be possibilities that I may have not been provided with the most up to date or accurate information, being seen by the participants as a former evaluator. Robson (2002) notes challenges in objectivity given the researchers' previous and present contact with the institution, or access to confidential information that may impact relationships with colleagues at the institution. Therefore, at the outset I clarified my current position to the officials, indicating that the present research has a purely academic agenda, and the findings will have no direct bearing on the performance of the departmental staff and officials.

I also assured the participants that their responses will be kept in confidence and anonymous (BERA, 2004), and not shared with anyone unless they have given their consent, and shall be destroyed once the research is completed. I have used the principle of informed consent (Oliver, 2003) and have informed interviewees and discussants in detail about the research before seeking their consent to participate.

For purposes of confidentiality I will not use names of any officials that I have interacted with, except mentioning names of their institutions.

3. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

3.1 Literature Review

I have divided this section into two main parts. In the first part, I have summarised the literature on broad aspects of foreign aid and the discourse concerning its effectiveness or lack thereof. In the second part, I have discussed the main theoretical ideas that will undergird the subsequent analysis of the data in this study.

Investigations of the politics, role, impact, challenges and promises of the foreign aid abound. In this section, I attempt to provide an overview of various arguments about foreign aid. In doing so, I also trace some of the theoretical perspectives that provide analytical tools for the analysis of the effectiveness of aid for education inasmuch as it pertains to shaping the capacities of the provincial School Education Departments.

Today we take the concept of foreign aid for granted. However, as Morgenthau argues, it is quite an 'innovation which the modern age has introduced into the practice of foreign policy." (Morgenthau, 1962, p. 5). As such foreign aid and foreign policy are interrelated. Foreign aid, as we know it, did not exist until the end of the Second World War (Lancaster, 2007). The introduction of foreign aid into the field of international relations between the states, especially in the relations between the donors and recipient states has created a whole new field of possibilities inviting both policy analysis as well as radical critique.

The arguments for and against foreign aid in general, and aid for education in particular, have proliferated. Those who favour aid justify it with reference to existence of insufficient resources, lack of technical capacity on the part of institutions within the recipient nations to implement the reforms, which will put them squarely on the track of development already beaten by the developed states. These arguments are also grounded within a widely accepted narrative of development for which the Western industrial and post-industrial societies are seen as the models and the *telos* of development. Development, in this narrative, entails setting up of a democratic polity, a liberal or neoliberal economic regime, backed up by a universal education system paid for by the taxes and supported by

the state (Rist, 1990, 2002). Some even refer to this idea of development as a Western myth (Gana, 1996; Oswaldo de Rivero & De Rivero, 2001).

As such, then, the foreign aid is conceived within an international system consisting of the so-called *developed* and *developing* or *less-developed* countries. While the politics of foreign aid is more complicated and its total value depends on the internal politics of the donor countries it is usually justified as adding value and pace to the *development process* of developing countries. Yet, there is little consensus on whether foreign aid actually achieves development and growth in the recipient countries (Wright & Winters, 2010).

There is an emerging and compelling argument about the failure of aid in achieving its objective of facilitating the development of less developed countries (See, for example, Alesina & Dollar, 2000; Moyo, 2008, 2009a, 2009b; Moyo & Tantor Media, 2011). Many scholars argue that a large portion of foreign aid is wasted. Easterly (2006), for instance, regards this wastage as bordering on tragic. According to him, the West has wasted over $2.3 trillion over the last five decades and this hefty sum has been unable to prevent even the malarial deaths that cost only twelve cents per malarial tablet. Millions of children continue to be out of school despite the aid for education (Easterly, 2006, p. 4).

The critique of foreign aid is sometimes rooted into the use of aid as a tool of foreign policy, used to coerce and control recipient or host country policies. Inasmuch as *aid as a tool of foreign policy* critiques are concerned, the US government aid to Pakistan is frequently offered as an example (Fair, 2009; Ibrahim, Science, & Affairs, 2009; Rashid, 2009). The US Government provided massive economic and military assistance to a military-led dictatorial regime in Pakistan after the latter's decision to join the US led alliance in the war against terror, discreetly ignoring an antidemocratic regime and nuclear proliferation, two reasons for which Pakistan was put under various sanctions from 1998 (Easterly, 2006; Kronstadt, 2010). Whenever Pakistani civilian governments were toppled by the military, the ensuing military regimes were legitimised by the US and West.[5]

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[5]The examples are of General Zia in 1979 after joining the USA against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and General Musharraf in 2001 again after joining the USA against Afghanistan post 9/11/2001

Massive aid funds were provided to both the military regimes for years following their legitimisation.

It was hard to hold the regimes accountable for the aid funds and the funds were utilised at times to suppress democratic regimes.[6] Thus, Moyo's (2009) argument about the rise of corruption due to easy availability of aid money though made in the context of Africa may also applicable in the case of Pakistan, but it would need more investigation.

An example of the kind of corruption that accompanies aid is provided by Easterly (2006) who notes that mosquito nets given as aid to certain African countries appeared in the local markets for 50 cents apiece instead of reaching the intended beneficiaries. A similar story may be told for the aid provided to Afghan refugees in 1980s and for the *Internally Displaced People* (IDPs) in 2009 in Pakistan. On both occasions the blankets, pillows, school bags and other aid items found their way to local markets and were available to consumers who could pay for them (Fleck & Kilby, 2010).

Ferguson (1994) argues that aid projects are typically designed and implemented without considering the political and historical context and realities. Little can be achieved, Ferguson argues, by a-politicizing and de-historicizing the development interventions. The recent account of aid implementation in Pakistan by Altaf (2011) also validates this concern. While reviewing the effectiveness of aid and donor funded programmes, Altaf focuses on the role of international consultants and contractors within aid agencies which appears to be central to all international aid programmes and projects. Altaf argues that the technical experts working for aid agencies and usually trained from Europe or US education institutions have little or no knowledge of the local context, but are given charge of designing programmes for countries like Pakistan. They are mostly oblivious to the local constraints, and, therefore, come up with strategies that guarantee failure in terms of real improvements in ground realities (Altaf, 2011). In case of donor programmes for education, the consultants are a mixed bag, some with sound

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[6] A case in point are recent allegations made against the Pakistan Army for distributing money to various political parties to suppress the rise to power of a popular regime. See, http://paktribune.com/news/Asghar-Khan-case-Supreme-Court-seeks-govt-reply-248165.html - though it is not established whether the funds used to suppress democracy were part of the aid money

knowledge and expertise but many without knowledge of the local context, and there are quite a few who lack on quality and related skills.

Ferguson's, and to some extent Altaf's, critique constructs aid as serving the interests of self-serving state bureaucracies instead of the intended beneficiaries. While Ferguson draws his conclusions from a development project in Lesotho, it could very well be applied, much like Moyo's analysis of aid in African context, to Pakistan as well. Ferguson's arguments seen in the context of Pakistan draw a good parallel where two army regimes that had destroyed political institutions and the process of democratisation were provided with large sums of aid for economic assistance; no mention of dictatorial decision making or procedures appears in the donor reports and documents. Even in case of democratic governments, processes that are based on nepotism and cronyism and marred with corruption do not make leading highlights in donor reports; non-performing officers and systems are simply termed as issues of capacity and capability, and not linked up with systemic faults in recruitment and political interference. Issues like the ones mentioned here will need to be further examined in light of the OECD Paris Declaration (2005) principle relating to mutual accountability.

Altaf (2011) also discusses the role of civil bureaucracy and other government officials impeding the progress of interventions made through international aid due to their attitude and work style. Ferguson (1994) looks at this issue slightly differently, implicating donors and aid money for further extending the politically self-serving state bureaucracies in the case of Lesotho. Civil servants and bureaucrats in the context of Pakistan get strengthened as political processes weaken with the intermittent intrusion of military, and every time the political process is destabilised the aid agencies have poured in money and resources, strengthening the bureaucratic and autocratic regimes.

In the case of Pakistan, flood gates of international aid opened during the Soviet-Afghan war (1979-1989), and then during the USA-Afghan war (2001-present), and on both occasions Pakistan was showered by aid from the West and from the financial institutions such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. As such, largely because the aid was provided due to political exigencies, the readiness of the government or people to effectively utilise it was not present as

much as may be needed for its effective utilisation.[7] The effectiveness of politically driven foreign aid is placed under a question mark and the answers are not very encouraging (Dreher, München, Wirtschaftsforschung, & CESifo, 2010; OECD, 2011). The supply of aid during international political crises, such as the ones mentioned above, is seen by Wood (2005) as a security driven motive by donor agencies to pursue their own security agenda rather than a development agenda.

Notwithstanding the frequent documentation of corruption and associated wastage of aid funds, there are also some silver linings. The pessimism regarding the failure of aid to produce the desire effects is matched by cautious optimism of some, who claim that development aid has also had some positive effect on many development indicators[8]. Stiglitz (2002) argues that foreign aid has succeeded in bringing benefits to millions of people despite many of its faults. As he puts it, '…guerrillas in the Philippines were provided jobs by a World Bank-financed project as they laid down their arms; irrigation projects have more than doubled the incomes of farmers lucky enough to get water; education projects have brought literacy to the rural areas; in a few countries AIDS projects have helped contain the spread of this deadly disease' (Stiglitz, 2002, p. 5).

Also, when aid is accompanied by effective accountability devices the results are sometime as intended. The case of microfinance is usually presented as an example of this. Small loans under microfinance (using donor funds) have been given out to hundreds of thousands of individuals and groups across Pakistan and elsewhere in the developing countries have been utilised effectively and loaned amounts returned along with the accrued bank interest (Latif, Nazar, Mehmood, Shaikh, & Shah, 2011; Nawai & Bashir, 2009). If individuals and groups are made accountable and given responsibility, better results on aid utilisation may be obtained as opposed to providing direct assistance to the Governments, and return on aid obtained through conditionalities and compliances. Adding greater ownership, responsibility and better aid management is likely to increase aid effectiveness (Riddell, 2007).

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[7] This is similar to Moyo's (1990) observations in the case of Africa

[8] See, for example, the case studies compiled by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) at http://www.developmentprogress.org/

Riddell (2007, p. 91) also examines aid motives and why countries and their institutions offer aid. He identifies different reasons that serve as motives for aid giving including 1) genuine need of the recipient country, 2) showing solidarity with the country, 3) furthering donors' political and strategic interests, 4) historical ties between the two countries, 5) the recipient country showing a good track record of human rights and other international accords/charters, 6) promote donor-country commercial interests, 7) assist recipients to meet their development (growth and poverty reducing) goals. In case of Pakistan the key periods when international aid has been provided include the two army regimes, mentioned earlier, and the period during the 1950s and 1960s to keep Pakistan from following the communist regime of the USSR, on all occasions serving the political and strategic agenda of the donor countries.

The political and strategic interests of western aid agencies, it seems, have been kept over and above other motives when it comes to aid giving for Pakistan. According to Maizels and Nissanke, the aid allocations were made in support of donors' perceived foreign, economic, political, and security interests (Maizels & Nissanke, 1984, p. 891). Lancaster also suggests similar motivations for foreign aid (Lancaster, 2007).

In the case of Pakistan, which also followed IMF and World Bank conditionalities for receiving aid in various forms and packages, benefits and results from structural adjustment programmes in the 1980s were never achieved. Government Deregulation and Privatisation of State Enterprises, two of the conditions of the Washington Consensus were widely implemented in case of Pakistan from 1990s and have continued up until now. In the education context, the setting up of education foundations (Punjab Education Foundation – PEF under review here) was for promotion of private sector at the cost of public sector, as we shall see later in this study. Restricting the Government to regulate the private sector on entering a competitive market gave a massive rise to the setting up of private schools across Pakistan.

3.2   Theoretical Framework

This research benefits from of the ideas of Habermas' concept of public sphere and Steiner-Khamsi's concept of policy borrowing and lending, in alignment with the OECD Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness.

3.2.1 Policy Borrowing

The role of international aid and foreign assistance for education raises questions about the influence that such assistance is likely to have on national education policy making and planning.

Policy borrowing and lending in education refers to the transfer of educational reform ideas from one country to another as a conditionality for foreign aid. Policy borrowing is time bound and usually disappears with the cessation of external funding packages. The policy borrowing by poorer countries is similar to what 'structural adjustment, poverty alleviation, and good governance, are to the public sector at large: a condition for receiving aid'. (Steiner-Khamsi, Waldow, 2012, p. 5). Given its role as an essential condition for the grant of aid and loans, the borrowing assumes a coercive character. As Steiner-Khamsi puts it, 'policy borrowing in developing countries is coercive, and unidirectional. Reforms are transferred from the global North/West to the global South/East' (Steiner-Khamsi, Waldow, 2012, p.5).

Steiner-Khamsi suggests remarkable similarities in the reforms and practices that have been lent/borrowed and travelled across the globe and nations – from per-capita financing in schools, quality assurance in higher education, lifelong learning, student-centred teaching, public-private partnership, decentralization – to name a few.

Policy borrowing is mainly divided into two domains – political and economic. Steiner-Khamsi contends that policy borrowing in the political domain often has beneficial effects on the recipients since it helps build consensus or coalition among politically opposed groups, i.e. a change in leadership in a country can lead to policy borrowing for the new establishment in their pursuit to build ties and relationships. Economically however, policy borrowing is short lived and dependent on the availability of the funds to support the lent policy or reform.

Policy borrowing and lending is not a new concept according to Steiner-Khamsi. In fact, it constituted one of the key research areas for academics working on colonial education. One example of policy borrowing is the study of adapted education in early twentieth-century British colonial education policy. This model was disseminated to over thirty former British colonies and dependent territories (Steiner-Khamsi & Quist 2000). The current debate on policy borrowing, politically and economically, and the benefits as a result of disseminating, exporting, or lending 'best practices' is a revived, rather than fresh, area of colonial education research.

It is instructive to note that in making a case for the policy transfers, the current discourse of policy lending and borrowing mostly refers to 'international standards', instead of particular educational systems. That is, while the ideas being transferred may have their origin in particular rich countries, their particular origins are not referenced in making the case for transfers. Instead they are described mostly as reflecting a global or internationally established best practices.

Because of its unidirectional nature, prescription for policy making can also increase the dominance of certain ideologies, for example neo-liberal principles and philosophies (Bourdieu; Wacquant 2001). Such dominance comes about in the midst of extensive exchange of policies and education reforms across countries, and the involvement of international organizations in advising national governments in their policy making processes (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). These international organizations exert influence on developing countries through a rhetoric of standards, targets and procedures, and policy prescriptions that are not necessarily aligned with national needs, objectives and priorities (Stiglitz, 2002).

For example, the Washington Consensus of 1989 is a set of ten relatively specific economic policy prescriptions that constituted a standard reform package promoted for developing countries by Washington, D.C. based institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and the US Treasury Department (Serra, Spiegel, & Stiglitz, 2008). These reforms, popular from the late 1970s to mid-1990s are generally described as a form of economic liberalism, which seeks to emphasise the efficiency of private enterprise, liberalised trade, and the openness of markets. The adoption of these policies was often a

precondition to receiving aid from the World Bank and IMF. Stiglitz (2002) analyses the inefficiencies and failures caused by IMF and World Bank related reforms and structural adjustment programmes that countries followed as part of the Washington Consensus. Examples from Africa, Latin America and Asia have been shared where rapid changes towards globalisation put enormous pressure on societies; traditional authorities and systems were challenged and relationships reassessed causing social instabilities (Stiglitz, 2002).

In case of Pakistan, which also followed IMF and World Bank conditionalities for receiving aid in various forms and packages, benefits and results from structural adjustment programmes were never achieved. Government Deregulation and Privatisation of State Enterprises, two of the conditions of the Washington Consensus were widely implemented in case of Pakistan from 1990s and have continued up until now. In the education context, the setting up of education foundations in all the provinces under the ambit of public-private partnership was a step for promotion of the private sector, financed by the public sector. Restricting the Government to regulate the private sector on entering a competitive market gave a massive rise to the emergence of private schools across Pakistan, most of which do not offer education at a quality that they are charging the fee for.

By its very nature policy borrowing is likely to conflict with the principles of Paris Declaration. The essence of ownership, alignment, harmonisation and accountability, which is central to the Paris Declaration is likely to get compromised when polices are borrowed without much debate and research at the recipient country level, and are implemented in haste[9] to achieve results in a quick timeframe. The absence or weak presence of a public sphere is also likely to weaken the process of effective policy borrowing, whereas a strong public sphere will investigate and research all ideas and policies put up for export or borrowing, and will accept only those that are in the best interest of the recipient country.

3.2.2 *Public Sphere*

Jürgen Habermas' concept of the public sphere (1964) in its ideal form is made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the decision makers in the government. The public sphere is expected

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[9] Most projects are 3 to 5 years in duration, and are packed with results to be achieved under tight deadlines

to generate opinions which serve to affirm or challenge the affairs of state. The public sphere therefore, represents public opinion that is needed to legitimise authority under a democratic set up.

The public sphere, according to Habermas, depends both upon the quality of discourse and the quantity of participation. This means that not only should discussion be constituted 'around rational critical argument' (Calhoun, 1992: 2) but 'the more people participate as citizens in politics, the closer one comes to the ideal of a public sphere' (Schudson, 1992: 147).

The public sphere was structurally transformed and declined, according to Habermas (1989), with the mass consumption and commodification of culture that was reinforced by the media. According to Habermas, the liberal model of the public sphere does not sit well with the modern industrialized democratic state, since the ideology involved with this model of the public sphere is tied with values that have changed since the 18th century. Journalism and propaganda have expanded as well as the boundaries of the public and the public sphere. In the past publicity was used to subject people or the present political decisions to the public. Today the public sphere is recruited for the use of hidden policies by interest groups. For Habermas, the principles of the public sphere are weakening in the 20th century. The public is no longer made out of masses of individuals but of organized people that institutionally exert their influence on the public sphere and debate. In the realm of the policy making and implementation in the poorer countries, these ideas are extended to contend that coerced consumption of borrowed policy ideas within a short span also has a debilitating effect on the development of the public sphere. Coercion of borrowed policy and the disengagement of a public sphere will also conflict with the tenets of Paris Declaration that promote ownership, harmonization and alignment. The emergence of public sphere and its successful operation is likely to promote the principles of ownership and alignment, resulting in significant development and implementation of sustainable education initiatives.

Communication among the stakeholders plays a key role in the development and maintenance of the public sphere. Kemmis and McTaggart (2005) examine some key features of the public sphere as defined by Habermas: public spheres are constituted as actual networks of communication among actual participants, and

are not an abstract concept; public spheres are self-constituted. They are formed by people who get together voluntarily; public spheres frequently come into existence because potential participants do not feel that existing laws, policies, practices, or situations are legitimate; public spheres are constituted for communicative action and for public discourse; public spheres aim to be inclusive, and not exclusive - as that will cast a doubt on whether they are public; public spheres tend to involve communication in ordinary language, breaking down any barriers and hierarchies that may be formed through specialist discourse; participants are free to occupy (or not occupy) the particular discursive roles of speaker, listener, and observer, and they are free to withdraw from the communicative space of the discussion; the positions and viewpoints developed through discussion will command the respect of participants not by virtue of obligation but rather by the power of mutual understanding and consensus; public spheres do not affect social systems (e.g., government, administration) directly; their impact on systems is indirect. In public spheres, participants aim to change the climate of debate, the ways in which things are thought about and how situations are understood; public spheres frequently arise in practice through, or in relation to, the communication networks associated with social movements; that is, where voluntary groupings of participants arise in response to a legitimation deficit or a shared sense that a social problem has arisen and needs to be addressed.

The theory of public sphere suggests a culture of openness and democratic values as a *sine qua non* for participatory and deliberative policy development and implementation.

In the context of Pakistan, decentralisation in education came through a radical devolution policy in August 2001 introduced by the Musharraf government. Not only education but the whole governance structure of the country was reconstructed with a pattern of devolved responsibilities. District governments were established with district, tehsil and union council tiers[10]. The Local Government Plan 2001 was designed, according to the government, to address issues of good governance at a systemic level. It addressed five fundamentals:

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[10] Sindh Local Government Ordinance 2005 – tehsil is the next tier after district in the downward administrative structure, followed by the union council

devolution of political power, decentralization of administrative authority, decentralization of management functions, diffusion of the power-authority nexus and distribution of resources to the district level[11]. As the Musharraf government was replaced by the new political government of the Pakistan People's Party this devolution plan was abandoned almost entirely, and to-date no alternative local government plan has been introduced.

Winkler and Hatfield (2002) note that devolution of the public education sector in Pakistan was 'not a response by the education authorities to widespread dissatisfaction with the performance of the existing system', but rather an initiative of the federal government to launch a full-fledged restructuring. The reform particularly in the education sector focused on dismantling the centrally controlled system and installing a decentralised governance mechanism to ensure efficiency and institutional autonomy at local level (Memon 2003). This devolution plan, as designed by the National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB), involved fiscal decentralization and civil services decentralization. In any case, the devolution strategy was thought through and implemented under an authoritarian regime, and in the truest spirit was never meant to devolve any ownership to the lowest levels, or allow a real democratic process to be initiated.

3.3   Discussion

If enhancement of education quality is the key goal of education reforms, the process of education reforms has largely benefited from the presence of a robust public sphere in the educationally successful societies. Borrowing or transfer of ideas from a society to another with a robust public sphere has typically not been coercive or tied to conditionalities. In the case of poorer countries, however, the coercive nature of borrowing excludes public debate and, as a result, potentially has a debilitating effect on the public sphere. The reforms introduced through borrowing, therefore, run the risk of being ineffective and counterproductive in the medium to long term. In the absence of a public sphere and any public discourse, the all-important factors of alignment, harmonisation, ownership and accountability (Paris Declaration) are also compromised, and without these factors

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[11] ibid

improvements pursued through policy borrowing are short-lived and not sustainable, as we shall see later in this report.

The concept of public sphere used in this research somewhat departs from Habermas's idea of the sphere, which was meant to be essentially for economic or business purposes, bringing together the private bourgeois of the society to challenge the government policies and ideas. This report uses the concept of public sphere in as far as it involves getting together of stakeholders to question and engage the government, but moves away in terms of who constitutes the public sphere, and the focus and interest of the sphere. The constitution of the sphere has been shown to be more broad based, including stakeholders from the lower echelons of the public sector education system, and the focus of the sphere is not economic or business but social goods like education.

To understand this in the context of Pakistan, it is important to recognise the existence of global, regional and national spheres of authority, and not public, which mainly involve borrowing of policy ideas. Their presence not only influences, but can potentially undermine the communicative action at the heart of public sphere. The global and regional spheres of geopolitics influence the local politics, economy as well as foreign policy of Pakistan and have a direct impact on the way education is designed and conducted. The global economic sphere influences the national economic scene and creates resource gaps and imbalances, directly impacting education.

There are also internal features of the Pakistani state that challenge its authority. There are histories of centralisation that undermine provincial and district autonomies. The debilitating effect of policy borrowing on the public sphere can be further deepened by the role of the army and the bureaucracy in government. It is traditionally much stronger as compared to that of the legislature, and external policy influences affect national decisions more easily in this context. Within the domain of education, the educational reforms during Zia's time to Islamise, and during the Musharraf regime to liberalise also represent a similar case. Thus in historical terms, and in the contemporary context, the internal and external challenges to the sphere of authority are interconnected and synergetic, with continuing consequences for the capacity of the state of Pakistan to make education policy through a deliberative democratic process.

As stated above, the borrowing of policy ideas must accompany research and debate in the public sphere within the recipient country. This entails the presence of a vibrant public sphere where concerned citizens engage in a deliberative democratic discourse to examine all policy borrowing (Gutmann & Thompson 2009). This tension between the flow of policy ideas and their acceptance through dialogue and debate shapes the eventual potential for aid effectiveness.

But the tight time frames for international aid projects tend to exclude the possibility of maturation of ideas through adequate debate. The cultivation of public sphere in the host country is potentially impeded by the exigencies of development aid projects.

Public debate on policy alternatives matters (Gutmann & Thompson, 2009). Without sufficient public debate, borrowed policies may not result in the modernisation that is desired by both the suppliers and recipients of aid.

International policies and plans in education are also being pursued in Pakistan through aid agencies direct interventions (projects and programmes), and through the government's own national policies and plans. The nature of education reforms in Pakistan over the past decade has pursued an international wave of policies and practices focusing upon privatisation and decentralisation; human resource development and capacity building; an emphasis on the achievement of international targets as set by the UNESCO sponsored Education for All (EFA) and UN sponsored Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); an emphasis on ensuring the availability of numbers – increased testing and assessment results, and an education census for comparative purposes and to ensure accountability. Such trends indicate the impact of globalisation on the education policy in Pakistan (Carnoy, 2006).

Education policy borrowing or lending in the case of Pakistan can be viewed in the light of political as well as economic dimensions (Steiner-Khamsi 2012) and is tied to international aid. All international policy prescriptions and directives are tied to different aid packages, whether in grants or loans. Almost all economic assistance (including education) to Pakistan is delivered under certain policy conditions, deliverables and outputs and in many cases is tied to political compliances for the country. The fact that a lot of this economic assistance was initiated during the

military rule in Pakistan, having earlier sought their consensus on regional conflicts, there is a definite political dimension to this assistance, and to any policies borrowed under it.

While Pakistan is not as aid-dependent as some of the African countries, foreign aid - both multilateral and bilateral - makes up a significant proportion of resources being allocated to the development side of the education sector in Pakistan.

For meeting its various economic needs that require international transactions, Pakistan relies mostly on loans from IMF, World Bank and Asian Development Bank[12], with which come clearly laid out policy prescriptions tied to conditionalities and standards. International and regional political dynamics have mostly resulted in an influx of aid in the form of grants mostly from USAID, DFID, EU and other bi-laterals with somewhat less stringent policy directives.

Habermas's (1989) notion that the role of journalism and media has expanded immensely to use the public sphere for specific interest groups is not unfounded as we see in the case of Pakistan where media groups promote agendas of groups and parties whose interest align with that of the media, and who pay generous amounts to the media for running their view points and campaigns. The thriving media of Pakistan has not focused in education barring a rare show or an occasional campaign, paid for by some aid agencies. The NGOs in Pakistan, who are a substantial part of the development sector in Pakistan on the other hand, have formed spheres and forums to scrutinize and challenge government policies, but these are essentially in the human rights and gender sectors. The education sector NGOs are either involved with community based school education programs, or adopting government schools under public-private partnerships, though some are also involved in advocacy campaigns for education improvement.

The NGO forums as well as my own experiences with public forums and spheres in the past (PDFs under USAID funded projects) while on the one hand are a slight departure from Habermas's concept of public sphere as mentioned earlier, on the other they can also be seen as a response to the critique on Habermas

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[12] Pakistan Economic Survey 2014-2015:
http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_15/Overview_of_the_Economy.pdf

(Negt and Kluse, 1972), making the spheres more inclusive in terms of class and gender. I have used the public sphere concept in the sense of a public platform where stakeholders, private as well as public, gather to investigate and scrutinize a concept, idea, policy or practice, hold policy makers accountable, and provide a basis for informed planning and decision making.

4. Provincial Data and Analysis

4.1 BALOCHISTAN

4.1.1 Background

Balochistan is the largest but least populated province of Pakistan, spreading over an area of 347,190 square kilometres forming 43.6 per cent of the total area of Pakistan, but with a population of less than 8% of the whole country[13]. Balochistan is divided into 32 districts and has a population density of only 18 as per last census done in 1998.

According to Balochistan Annual School Census 2014-15, Balochistan has a total of 13,279 public schools out of which 28% are girls' schools. A major portion of these schools are at primary level (84%) followed by middle schools (9%), secondary schools (6%) and higher secondary schools (1%). Public sector schools in Balochistan have an enrolment of 1 million out of which 39% are girls. The number of teachers working in Balochistan is 0.04 million out of which 32% are female teachers.

According to the PSLM 2014-15[14], the gross enrolment rate at primary level[15] is 73%, net enrolment rate at primary level is 56% while the literacy rate for population 10 years and older is 44%. The survival rate of students to grade 5 is 34% while the effective transition rate from primary to lower secondary in the province is 71%[16]. The number of out of school children of 5-16 years' age in the province is 2 million which is 66% of the total population of the school-going age children in the province[17].

In 2015-16, the government of Balochistan allocated a budget of Rs. 48 billion for education which constitutes 20% of the total provincial budget[18]. The highest share of 32% of the education budget has been allocated for higher education in 2015-16

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13 Pakistan Bureau of Statistics 2015
14 Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey 2014-15
15 Combined for public and private sectors
16 Pakistan Education Statistics 2014-15
17 Alif Ailaan (2014). *25 Million Broken Promises: The Crisis of Out-of-School Children*. Islamabad: Alif Ailaan.
18 I-SAPS (2015). Public Financing of Education in Pakistan 2010-11 to 2015-16. Islamabad: I-SAPS.

followed by secondary and primary education with allocations of 31% and 26% of the education budget respectively.

The province's low educational levels are both a cause and a consequence of continued underdevelopment. As in other provinces, the international aid agencies have been working in Balochistan for a long time, providing their support for improving the education performance of the province.

USAID has been working in Balochistan almost uninterruptedly for the past 10-12 years, covering the areas of teacher professional development (pre and in-service), public-private partnerships, youth and adult literacy, school and classroom improvement, and early grade reading and mathematics.

The USAID funded Education Sector Reform Assistance (ESRA) programme was implemented in five districts of Balochistan from 2003 to 2007 and spent almost $40 million. The programme focused upon teacher professional development at the primary level, literacy drive, and public-private partnerships for improving education delivery. Almost 10,000 teachers, head teachers and other education officials were trained through different initiatives, and more than 50,000 individuals were offered literacy programmes. Some good practices emerged from the ESRA initiative, which however could not be continued beyond the project duration as the government was not interested, which was evident by the fact that it showed no commitment to include any of the good practices as part of its future policies and plan.

The USAID funded EDLINKS project covered eleven districts in Balochistan covering teacher professional development at the middle and secondary levels, school improvement, education policy support, and flood relief services. The programme spent around $40 million in the province between 2007 and 2012.

The USAID funded Pre-Step was implemented in the province from 2008 to 2013 covering all the teacher training colleges for strengthening pre-service teacher education, and introduced a two-year Associate Degree in Education as well as a four year B.Ed. Altogether some $15 million were spent in the province. Both the programmes faced and are still facing numerous challenges relating to context, capacity and resource limitation.

In 2013 USAID initiated another initiative called the Pakistan Reading Programme (PRP) valued at $120 million across all provinces and areas of the country focusing upon early grade literacy and numeracy.

The Balochistan Education Support Project (BESP) is a World Bank funded $22 million initiative operating since 2006. The key objective of the project is to promote public-private-community partnerships for improving access to quality primary education, in particular for girls. The project, like many other donor initiatives is contributing to Pakistan's objective of achieving MDG Goals by targeting literacy, gender equity in education, and increased net enrolment. The data analysis following this section shows the challenges that the province faced with regards to enrolment, dropout, and access in particular for girls.

The Canadian Government through CIDA initiated a Canada Debt Swap Programme (2008 – 2013) to convert a $100 million debt into an education programme for strengthening of teacher training across Pakistan. Under the Programme, a Computer Laboratory was established at the Provincial Management Unit (PMU). Other than conducting trainings and provision of material, general repair and renovation of 14 teacher training institutions was done; 16 transport buses were also provided to the training institutions and 14 air conditioners and generators have also installed been in the training institutions.

A number of other smaller initiatives focusing upon increasing enrolment, teacher education, public private partnerships, and community mobilization and strengthening were also implemented under UNICEF, UNHCR, AKF, JICA and some other donors.

For better organization of donor programmes, following on the same lines as other provinces, Balochistan also created and notified the Project Planning and Implementation Unit (PPIU) in September 2008. The PPIU supports the Education Department in decision making, policy & planning, coordination with donors and development partners working in the education sector and also compiles and disseminates the educational information/data. The TORs of the PPIU included coordination with donors; lead the education sector plan implementation; steer Balochistan Education Department implementation strategy and agenda by working closely with districts and provincial institutions, and lead EFA, MDG and

other donor funded initiatives through closer coordination with the districts. The PPIU, per its TORs should be facilitating all policy borrowing done under donor programmes by creating a platform for review, research and dialogue before any best practices or policies are borrowed. However, in reality there is no mechanism to review any international best practices or approaches imported under policy borrowing, be it the stipend programme for girls, or setting up of low cost private schools for increasing access in the province.

There are many NGOs working in Balochistan in the education sector, receiving support from the international donors. In theory, many of these NGOs can be seen to operate like a public sphere, bringing together stakeholders and hold the government sector accountable; however, in practice these NGOs are created through donor funds, and their role as a public sphere will serve at cross purpose with the donors, who neither have the time nor the resources to allow a public/private body to review, research, and carry out dialogues on their interventions. Aside from these NGOs or smaller community based organisations (CBOs) there are no other organised groups that could be termed as a public sphere. However, the experiences under USAID funded ESRA and EDLINKS projects with the professional development forums (PDF) from 2003 to 2012 in selected districts of the province provide evidence that if resources are provided along with a conducive environment and the independence to operate freely, such groups can be very effective for steering the education process, holding accountabilities and providing a platform for doing effective planning and informed decision making.

4.1.2 Provincial Data Analysis

a) Schools, Enrolment, Teachers

An analysis of the data below shows that over the last 10 years, enrolment, schools and teachers have increased consistently every year for the government education sector. The rise in enrolment figures however, has to be reviewed in light of the net and gross enrolment rates and the dropout rates to establish if actual enrolment has improved.

According to the 2014-2015 data there were 11,167 government primary schools (out of a total of 13,279 government schools in the province) and about 20,000

primary school teachers, or a little less than 2 teachers per primary school on average. We know that there are 6 grades or classes in each primary school counting the katchi (early grade) class, requiring at least 6 teachers to help children achieve the curricular objectives, at one teacher per grade or class. However, given the current situation where there are less than two teachers per school, the quality of education is seriously compromised.

The 2014-2015 data also reports that there are 11,167 (3087 girls) primary schools, 1233 (512 girls) middle schools, 836 (264 girls) high schools and 43 (17 girls) higher secondary schools. The data shows that there are diminishing opportunities for accessing education for each level as one moves from primary to the next stages, with only one middle school for every 10 primary schools. At the same time, while girls' enrolment is 40% of the total enrolment, at the primary level there are only 27% of the schools available for them, about 41% at the middle level, 32% at the secondary level and 40% at the higher secondary level.

Table 4 – Schools, Enrolment and Teachers in Balochistan

Year	Number of Schools			Enrolment			Teachers		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Total
2005-06	8,447	3,249	11,696	535,011	344,065	879,076	28,908	12,364	41,272
2006-07	8,517	3,269	11,786	543,916	353,246	897,162	29,730	12,920	42,650
2007-08	8,605	3,290	11,895	565,180	361,339	926,519	30,031	13,183	43,214
2008-09	8,789	3,362	12,151	582,247	375,864	958,111	-	-	-
2009-10	8,823	3,362	12,185	597,291	398,846	996,137	31,258	14,412	45,670
2010-11	8,899	3,394	12,293	598,762	399,819	998,581	32,797	15,551	48,348
2011-12	8,939	3,408	12,347	618,796	416,690	1,035,486	33,958	16,693	50,651
2012-13	8,928	3,429	12,357	617,973	406,855	1,024,828	34,875	17,604	52,479
2013-14	9,053	3,523	12,576	654,231	416,985	1,071,216	39,302	20,279	59,581
2014-15	9,399	3,880	13,279	-	-	1,075,729	-	-	-

Source: Pakistan Education Statistics 2005/2006 – 2014/2015

The overall enrolment increased by only 196,000 students between the base and final years, and the schools grew by about 1600. Balochistan's population according to the 1998 population census was around 6.8 million, out of which 5-15 year old were about 30% (2.04 million). The estimated population for 2014-2015 is around 8.5 million according to the population welfare department of the government of Balochistan, and by estimation the 5-15 population would be some

2.55 million. During the same year the total government school enrolment for Balochistan is around 1.075 million. When we divided the total enrolment in government schools by the total population in the age group of 5-15 we will get the gross enrolment rate (GER), and it comes to around 42%. This means that almost 60% of the school going children (5-15 age group) are outside of the government schools, perhaps in other school systems[19] or never enrolled. The net enrolment rate (NER) is another indicator used by the government and aid agencies to look at the number of 5-15 years only who are enrolled in schools. This data is not available, but if it were, the NER would have been even lower as it would only take into account the 5-15 age group children enrolled in schools and divided that by the 5-15 population, indicating that a large population of school going age is outside of the government schools.

The NER and GER situation above should also be examined in light of the 18th Constitutional Amendment. The Constitution guides education policy through Articles 25A, 31 and 37 (subsection a, b and c). Article 25A stipulates free education for all children between ages 5 to 16 years, as their fundamental right. The article was added as a result of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution, which has also increased the province's responsibility for delivery of education. The Amendment has completely devolved education to the provinces and in pursuit of its implementation the Federal Ministry of Education has been dissolved as of 2011. Article 37 and its relevant subsections focus on equity, literacy and higher education and article 31 bases education on values of faith. Low GERs and NERs indicate that the provincial government is not geared to fulfil Article 25A for all children between 5-16 age group, as many them are outside of the government system, either in private schools or never enrolled in any school system.

b) Missing Facilities

Balochistan has serious deficits in basic facilities. The table below depicts the situation showing the numbers and %age of government boys and girls primary schools without access to water, electricity, toilets and boundary walls.

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[19] Low fee private schools have grown considerably in Balochistan as in other provinces, largely through support of the Balochistan Education Foundation (BEF) which is helping set up community and private schools under its public-private partnership domain. According to 2011 estimates, the BEF supported community schools were catering to 5% of the total school going children in the province

Table 5 – Missing Facilities in Schools in Balochistan

Year	School Type	Without Boundary Wall	Without Electricity	Without Toilet	Without Water
2005-06	Boys	6526	7105	7111	2414
	Girls	1425	2385	1698	802
	Total	7951	9490	8809	3216
2006-07	Boys	6425	7161	6951	3382
	Girls	1387	2411	1580	1039
	Total	7812	9572	8531	4421
2007-08	Boys	6120	6845	6669	3022
	Girls	1271	2316	1499	929
	Total	7391	9161	8168	3951
2008-09	Boys	6439	7317	6975	3075
	Girls	1250	2489	1453	1122
	Total	7689	9806	8428	4197
2009-10	Boys	6512	7133	8452	3981
	Girls	2592	2688	3451	1539
	Total	9104	9821	11903	5520
2010-11	Boys	6404	6871	6675	2385
	Girls	1688	2708	2152	1020
	Total	8092	9579	8827	3405
2011-12	Boys	5499	4379	7515	5994
	Girls	897	1616	2033	1827
	Total	6396	5995	9548	7821
2012-13	Boys	5477	4432	7066	3951
	Girls	920	1716	2004	1467
	Total	6397	6148	9070	5418
2013-14	Boys	5035	1545	7554	3924
	Girls	623	917	2281	1559
	Total	5658	2462	9835	5483
2014-15	Boys	3702	3664	-	4425
	Girls	511	1437	-	1298
	Total	4213	5101	-	5723

Source: Pakistan Education Statistics 2005-2006 – 2014-2015

With more than 80-90% of all the schools without toilets, electricity and drinking water facility during the base, mid and final years, this not only impedes student

learning levels, but is also likely to have a negative impact on their health given the severity of both winters and summers in the province.

It is important to note that wherever the numbers appear less, it is not that facilities have improved but it is because the number of schools reporting data during that year were much fewer, and that is why the numbers fluctuate massively in between years.

c) Student Dropout

The data on student drop out shows alarming rates for both boys and girls dropping out of government schools at all levels. The drop out calculations have been done by reviewing the cohort data – class 1 enrolment in year 1, class 2 enrolment in year 2, class 3 enrolment in year 3 and so on until one gets to the class level at which drop out calculation is required. At that level subtract the total enrolment from the class 1 enrolment to get the numbers and the % dropping out of the system.

Table 6 - Primary Level Dropout between Classes 1 and 5 in Balochistan

Cohorts	Boys	Girls	Total
2005-2010	54%	56%	55%
2006-2011	54%	55%	55%
2007-2012	54%	53%	54%
2008-2013	55%	57%	56%
2009-2014	65%	68%	66%

Source: Pakistan Education Statistics 2005-2006 – 2014-2015

Primary level dropout rates (table above) show a large %age of students, both boys and girls, dropping out of the system before completing the primary level (grade 5) for all the cohorts. The enrolment data shared earlier (table 4) shows that between 2005 and 2010 overall enrolment increased by almost 117,000 students (64,350 dropped out at the primary level), between 2006 and 2011 by 101,000 (55,550 dropped out at the primary level), between 2007 and 2012 by 109,000 (58,860 dropped out), between 2008 and 2013 by 98,000 (54,880 dropped out), between 2009 and 2014 by 75,000 (49,500 dropped out), and between 2010 and 2015 by 46,000. Correlating the enrolment data with the

dropout data shows that very soon there would be more children leaving the system then entering, and enrolment will show less students each year.

Table 7 - Dropout between Classes 5 and 6 in Balochistan

Cohorts	Boys	Girls	Total
2005-2006	17%	35%	26%
2006-2007	17%	35%	26%
2007-2008	15%	28%	22%
2008-2009	18%	32%	25%
2009-2010	22%	34%	28%
2010-2011	20%	32%	26%
2011-2012	22%	36%	29%
2012-2013	18%	31%	25%
2013-2014	22%	33%	26%
2014-2015	25%	35%	29%

Source: Pakistan Education Statistics 2005-2006 – 2014-2015

The dropout situation between classes 5 and 6 after the students have completed primary level shows a similar situation, though much more pronounced for girls. This situation can be correlated with the availability of the next (middle) level of schooling, and according to the data presented earlier, there are only 1165 middle schools, out of which 495 are for girls across the province. The increase in girls' dropout between grades 5 and 6 (table above) can be explained by the lack of availability of middle schools, and the fact that in order to access middle level schooling they may have to travel some distance to get to the school. Given the cultural sensitivities, the families prefer not to send their girls to schools that are at a distance and would rather have them stay at home[20].

The dropout between classes 1 and 10 is reported at almost 78% - only 22 out of 100 children who started in grade 1 in 2005 got to grade 10 in 2014.

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[20] This is substantiated from a community-public-private (CPP) partnership initiative in Punjab in 2001-2002, a much less conservative province compared with Balochistan, where girls dropped out of schools after completion of primary because there were no nearby middle level schools and parents were not willing to send their girls to distant schools.

Table 8 - Dropout between Classes 1 and 10 in Balochistan

Cohort	Boys	Girls	Total
2005-2014	77%	79%	78%

Source: Pakistan Education Statistics 2005/2006 – 2014/2015

d) Student Assessment under ASER

The Annual Status of Education Report (ASER), a private sector initiative carries out sample based household surveys across all the provinces in Pakistan, covering education assessments in English, mathematics and Urdu/mother tongue for all grades in both private and government schools. ASER findings are now widely used by donors, NGOs and other organizations for planning their interventions.

Following are the ASER assessment reports for the province of Balochistan for 2015 covering 51,734 children aged 5-16 years who were tested for language and arithmetic competencies.

Table 9 – ASER Balochistan Learning Levels in Urdu

Class wise % - Children who can Read (combined for private and government)						
Class	Nothing	Letters	Words	Sentences	Story	Total
1	38.8	51.0	8.4	1.1	0.7	100
2	12.1	34.7	47.1	5.4	0.7	100
3	5.1	18.2	48.1	25.6	3.0	100
4	2.8	8.3	30.8	43.8	14.3	100
5	1.8	3.6	19.9	29.6	45.3	100
6	2.1	3.6	10.0	17.8	66.5	100
7	2.5	0.8	4.6	10.5	81.6	100
8	1.7	0.3	3.1	8.7	86.2	100
9	2.6	0.0	1.1	4.3	92.0	100
10	3.8	0.0	2.5	5.5	88.2	100

Source: Annual Status of Education Report 2015

66% of children enrolled in class 5 in a private school were able to read at least a story in Urdu, as compared to 44% enrolled in government schools. 63% of private school children could read at least sentences in class 5 in English, whereas only

39% of government school children could do the same. Almost 55% of the children (private and government) could not read a story in Urdu in class 5. In class 8, 14% of the children could not read a story, and in class 10 12% of children were unable to read a story.

Table 10 – ASER Balochistan Learning Levels in English

Class wise % - Children who can Read (combined for private and government)						
Class	Nothing	Letters		Words	Sentences	Total
		Capital	Small			
1	42.9	45.8	8.5	2.4	0.4	100
2	14.8	38.2	39.6	6.7	0.7	100
3	7.1	16.1	50.0	22.4	4.4	100
4	4.2	7.7	32.2	43.8	12.1	100
5	3.0	2.9	17.0	37.0	40.1	100
6	3.8	2.4	6.8	26.2	60.8	100
7	2.8	1.0	3.2	15.8	77.2	100
8	1.8	0.5	3.4	13.5	80.8	100
9	2.7	0.6	1.0	6.4	89.3	100
10	3.9	0.4	1.6	7.5	86.6	100

Source: Annual Status of Education Report 2015

Table 11 – ASER Balochistan Learning Levels in Arithmetic

Class wise % - Children who can do (combined for private and government)						
Class	Nothing	Number recognition		Subtraction (2 digits)	Division (2 digits)	Total
		1-9	10-99			
1	34.4	49.0	14.6	1.4	0.6	100
2	9.8	29.6	54.5	5.2	0.9	100
3	4.5	9.6	57.1	25.7	3.1	100
4	3.1	4.8	33.2	44.1	14.8	100
5	1.9	2.1	17.2	35.0	43.8	100
6	2.3	2.2	9.3	24.0	62.2	100
7	2.5	0.6	4.4	15.6	76.9	100
8	1.9	0.1	3.4	13.9	80.7	100
9	2.6	0.3	2.2	8.0	86.9	100
10	3.8	0.2	1.6	5.2	89.2	100

Source: Annual Status of Education Report 2015

In arithmetic, 36% of children enrolled in private schools (class 5) were able to do division, compared with 44% of class 5 children in government schools. However, class 1 and 3 children in private schools did better in arithmetic then government school children. 56% of the children in class 5 were unable to do division; in class 8, 20% children could not do division, whereas in class 10, 11% of students were unable to do division problems.

While the overall private schools' results, as reported in ASER 2015 were better than government schools, other factors such as availability of required number of teachers in a school, children's access to additional help outside school through private tutoring are factors where private schools are better off.

e) Resource Allocation for Education

The Balochistan government has been increasing its allocation in education every year as seen in the table below. However, over the past five years more than 80% of the current budget has been allocated for salaries only. In fact, in 2012-2013 and 2013-2014 more than 90% of the budget was spent on salaries. The justification therefore for an increased budget each year in Balochistan is a result of increased staffing. This can be correlated with the teacher data above which shows that more than 7000 teachers were added to the work force in 2013-2014.

Table 12

Breakdown of Total Government Education Expenditure by Educational Level - (Rs. Million)

	2010-11		2011-12		2012-13		2013-14		2014-15	
	Allocation	Expenditure	Allocation	Expenditure	Allocation	Expenditure	Allocation	Expenditure	Allocation	Expenditure
Primary Education	10,231.23	9,375.08	10,209.49	10,102.74	5,313.75	8,871.69	7,809.70	9,425.08	9,851.71	11,275.92
Secondary Education	6,345.07	6,487.10	9,344.81	9,869.41	7,094.45	11,670.09	14,113.16	17,092.99	14,627.53	18,306.85
Higher Education	2,787.51	2,866.29	3,055.59	3,196.41	4,503.92	4,120.75	6,985.16	4,517.42	77,68.68	5,071.84
Others	20.27	22.32	49.75	38.83	7,607.45	2,555.50	5,990.64	2,915.02	8,425.75	3,963.20
Total	19,384.08	18,750.80	22,659.65	23,207.39	24,519.58	27,218.01	34,898.62	33,950.50	40,673.66	38,617.81

Source: I-SAPS Public Financing of Education Report 2015-16

Table 13

Breakdown of Government Development Expenditure by Educational Level (Rs. Million)

	2010-11		2011-12		2012-13		2013-14		2014-15	
	Allocation	Expenditure	Allocation	Expenditure	Allocation	Expenditure	Allocation	Expenditure	Allocation	Expenditure
Primary	1,086.28	32.72	790.04	346.97	344.82	297.40	1,449.20	382.20	2,665.80	1,520.58
Secondary	191.27	183.27	504.96	504.96	442.02	332.97	4,743.71	3,475.19	3,924.99	2,786.22
Higher	587.74	587.74	732.03	732.03	1,274.77	1,059.87	3,265.0	1,297.79	3,080.17	1,604.49
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	696.80	151.48	2,065.47	1,644.77
Total	1,865.29	803.73	2,207.03	1,583.96	2,061.61	1,690.22	10,154.72	5,306.67	11,736.44	7,556.07

Source: I-SAPS Public Financing of Education Report 2015-16

The above table shows the amount allocated and spent on development related schemes in the education sector by the Government of Balochistan. Given the existing situation on missing facilities in primary schools in Balochistan, the development side allocations are paltry, and even these amounts are not fully utilized. In 2013-2014 out of the allocated amount of Rs. 10.15 billion, only Rs. 5.3 billion was spent, and a similar situation was observed in 2014-2015 when more than Rs. 5 billion could not be spent. The inability to spend the allocated amounts in the development budget are a result of poor planning and delayed releases of funds.

4.1.3 Stakeholder Perspective

In the province of Balochistan a total of five interviews were conducted with provincial and district education officials. The discussions focused upon provincial education indicators, donor funded programmes, issues of communication and coordination between donor and government and between province and districts, and issues of ownership and partnership.

According to one EDO there were numerous issues of coordination and communication between the province and districts, and between the donor and provincial and district governments. Plans were made by donors or the provincial department unilaterally and then approved for implementation at the district level, with no consultation ever done with the district education authorities, which is in stark contrast to the principles of Paris Declaration and will lead to poor ownership of interventions at the district level. The absence of a vibrant or active public

sphere is visible in case of Balochistan, with widespread central or unilateral planning and decision making without any accountability to the stakeholders:

Some of the USAID funded Projects I have come across were EGRA, USAID Teacher Education Project, ED-LINKS and ESRA. I was working as EDO, DOE and Principal Government High School at that time. There was no consultation at all with any district authorities before launching these projects. They were planned in isolation and implemented without considering the ground realities.

EGRA tool was not shared with any of the district authorities or principals of the schools. The selection of schools had already been completed without the consultation and consent of district authorities. Although the team was led well and they achieved their targets efficiently yet they needed to consult district authorities much ahead of time to avoid any kind of issues.

The above quotes coincide with my experiences with the ESRA project where as part of the project team we had for a good part excluded the districts from any consultation and did the entire planning with the provincial authorities. This did change later in the project, or with the subsequent EDLINKS project, yet the way government hierarchy existed in the province, as in the rest of Pakistan, the provincial government did not deem it necessary to engage the districts, thus creating challenges for the project team. The absence of any public sphere further exacerbated the exclusion of stakeholders at the district and lower levels.

The quote below is a classic example of policy borrowing, wherein it is perceived that through 'best practices' improvements in the education system could be adopted to improve delivery of services without taking into account the realities of Balochistan, rural and urban distinctly:

The USAID Pre-Step included capacity building of pre-service teachers. New Degree Courses such as the ADE (2 years) and B. Ed (4 years) were introduced in all the elementary colleges across the province without taking into account the challenges that they were facing; their faculty members were already facing many challenges while dealing with the B. Ed (1 year) degree course, to now implement the two and four year programmes. The

new programmes did not prescribe any textbooks, but recommended many, claiming that they are promoting independent learning and research culture. However, without any libraries and internet facility how could the students and teachers implement this programme. The teachers in Elementary Colleges faced severe difficulties in understanding the courses due to language barrier - the course guidelines were in English language. Most Elementary Colleges did not have sufficient teachers, to now handle three programmes simultaneously – the outgoing one year B.Ed., the two year ADE, and the four year B.Ed.

The above quote can be substantiated from the findings of another study (SAHE Pre-Step Study, 2014) that reviewed the Pre Step initiative in Punjab and Sindh and came up with similar findings.

A representative of the Bureau of Curriculum mentioned issues of coordination between the federal and provincial governments, and between provincial and district governments, and how this led to problems of sustainability and ownership:

Generally, all the donors come through the Federal Government[21] *with their plans for implementation in the provinces and areas. There is no communication with provinces or districts. Federal and provincial government sign MOUs with the donors and allow them to work either directly or through local partners in the provinces. District authorities are bound to allow the donor to execute its activities without any delay or problem. International donors hardly focus on the government preferences. They have their own objectives. There is a little ownership within the concerned department because they are not involved in the planning of the activities.*

In the absence of any provincial plan or framework, it is not easy for donors to align their work with the government priorities. It was only in 2013 that a provincial sector plan was developed for the first time.

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[21] This of course was a practice prior to the 18th amendment. Post amendment the donors now contact the provincial governments for all programmes

One NGO representative identified poor organization of the government as an issue with regards to effective coordination with the donors:

Unfortunately, there is no planning culture in the province, and it is only recently that the government has developed an Education Sector Plan; in the past all the interventions operated in isolation from each other and the outcome was never encouraging. There is little ownership of donor interventions within the concerned department. It is because they are not involved in the implementation process and the NGOs' services are used instead. However, due to lack of accountability everyone walks away freely even if the programme fails to achieve its objectives. I think the new projects should be planned after a thorough and detailed baseline survey in accordance with the ground realities of that particular area.

The opinion of the NGO representative resonates with the situation on ground, particularly with regards to the absence of ownership of donor interventions and lack of accountability for the donors as well as government, both key principles of the Paris Declaration.

4.1.4 Overall Analysis

Balochistan has only about 6-7% of the country's total population but covers more than 40% of the land area. The population is spread in smaller settlements across the province, which results in increased costs of service delivery.

Given the above context, the delivery of education services is probably more challenging compared with other provinces and areas in the country. Problems of a difficult terrain, poor availability of transportation and poor security[22] mean that it will not be easy to find the required number of teachers for schools, which at present are only 2 per primary school. It was only in 2013-2014 that a significant number of teachers (7000) were recruited by the government.

The school enrolment, even though it has been rising every year, when reviewed with the dropout data shows that a large number of children are leaving the system, and almost 80% drop out between classes 1 and 10. The GER for 2014-

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[22] A Balochistan Separatist Movement has been going on in the province for a while, targeting the non-Baloch population. At the same time, many Afghan Taliban have crossed the border into Balochistan and reside in the province causing a security risk as well

2015 stands at around 42%, and the NER would be even lower. The dropouts are alarming at the primary level, after completion of primary, and between classes 1 and 10. The girls are dropping out at a higher rate than boys after completion of primary level, perhaps because there are very few opportunities available for the next level of schooling near home.

Similarly, the situation of missing facilities and infrastructure is also very poor, with 80-90% of the children studying without access to water, electricity and toilets. The budgetary allocations on the development side are paltry, which given the poor state of infrastructure is hard to understand.

With a serious shortage of teachers, poor commitment of the government towards teacher capacity building, and given the poor facilities and infrastructure, especially in primary schools, the performance level of students as reported in the ASER is understandable. In addition to this, the children are made to study either Urdu or English textbooks, neither being their language in Balochistan.

The stakeholders have identified a number of issues that relate to a culture of poor planning within the government, and the inability of the donors to effectively coordinate with the government for implementation of their programmes. Many issues highlighted by the stakeholders as well as those emerging from analysis of the data relate to the key principles of the Paris Declaration. Is Balochistan driving its own development agenda or largely towing a donor agenda? This is a key question to answer, as it relates to the ownership principle of the Paris Declaration. Similarly, we need to question if donor interventions align with the government policy frameworks, and whether donors harmonize and coordinate their efforts with each other to avoid duplication and confusion. The weak presence of a public sphere either in the form of NGOs and CBOs or the media, gives rise to ineffective policy borrowing, with no discourse or dialogue process in place, and no accountability mechanisms ever applied for anyone. Moreover, the NGOs are all funded by different donors, and the essence of a public sphere - debate, dialogue, holding accountabilities, adopting ideas after debate and research – does not align with the way donors or NGOs operate, given their tight deadlines, providing hardly any space for a discourse or review. The presence of a vibrant public sphere can promote better ownership, partnership and accountability.

The experience from two USAID projects where I worked indicates that coordination with the provincial government mostly involved providing a briefing to the secretary's office once every now and then, or inviting some official of the education department to the concluding sessions of project workshops. Beyond that, neither the government nor the implementing partner bothered to enhance any partnership, build ownership and seek sustainability. Subsequently however, with the establishment of the PPIU in 2008, better coordination was seen with an increased effort to mutually review the progress of donor initiatives and monitor and review results frequently. A project steering committee was formed for EDLINKS involving government and project team officials that came together more frequently to review the progress. Nevertheless, no mechanism for mutual accountability of the government or donor is in place relating to performance, planning or decision making. A donor coordination committee exists at the national level, but it is not sufficient to monitor issues relating to lack of donor coordination at the provincial and district levels where duplication, especially in areas of teacher training and enrolment is rife, resulting in management difficulties for the government and wastage of resources.

As a consequence, while some interventions did show improved performance of teachers and children, as in the case of USAID funded ESRA project, these could not be continued beyond the project as neither the government nor the donor made any efforts or arrangements to pursue continued commitment of the government. The absence or lack of sustainability in donor led interventions is a consequence of lack of ownership on the part of the government and poor alignment of donor led interventions with government policy frameworks.

Overall the effectiveness of international aid programmes has been minimal in helping improve the education indicators and systems in Balochistan for reasons mentioned earlier in this discussion. Almost all aid programmes were driven by tight deadlines, targets and timeframes, aiming at modernising and improving systems through borrowed 'best practices'. However, the nature and design of aid programmes and projects did not allow the creation of any public sphere or platform that would have researched and reviewed programmatic interventions, worked towards creating an ownership, and ensured sustainability beyond project mode. The creation and working of a public sphere is paramount for ensuring

viability of any international or local initiatives, and without which sustained improvement is elusive. As reported by some stakeholders, the level of communication between some donors and the education department was very poor resulting in lack of information and ownership, and an apathy towards the initiative by government officials.

4.2 KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA (KP)

4.2.1 Background

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) province is located in the north-west region of Pakistan and covers an area of 74,521 square kilometers, which is less than 10% of the total area of Pakistan, but has around 15% of the total country population[23]. KP is administratively divided into 26 districts with a population density of 238 according to the last census done in 1998.

According to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Annual School Census 2014-15, KP has a total of 28,178 public schools out of which 37% are girls' schools. A major portion of these schools are at primary level (82%) followed by middle schools (9%), secondary schools (7%) and higher secondary schools (1%). Public sector schools in KP have an enrolment of 4 million out of which 43% are girls. The number of teachers working in KP is 0.12 million out of which 35% are female teachers.

According to the PSLM 2014-15[24], the gross enrolment rate at primary level[25] is 92%, net enrolment rate at primary level is 71% while the literacy rate for population 10 years and older is 53%. The survival rate of students to grade 5 is 69% while the effective transition rate from primary to lower secondary in the province is 77%[26]. The number of out of school children of 5-16 years' age in the province is 2.5 million which is 34% of the total population of the school-going age children in the province[27].

In 2015-16, the government of KP allocated a budget of Rs. 120 billion for education which constitutes 25% of the total provincial budget[28]. The highest share of 45% of the education budget has been allocated for secondary education in 2015-16 followed by primary education with an allocation of 35% of the education budget.

International aid agencies have been working in the KP province for more than three decades providing assistance in various areas including education. The focus of most programmes is on increasing access, improving quality and better

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23 Pakistan Bureau of Statistics 2015
24 Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey 2014-15
25 Combined for public and private sectors
26 Pakistan Education Statistics 2014-15
27 Alif Ailaan (2014). *25 Million Broken Promises: The Crisis of Out-of-School Children*. Islamabad: Alif Ailaan.
28 I-SAPS (2015). Public Financing of Education in Pakistan 2010-11 to 2015-16. Islamabad: I-SAPS.

governance and management, which is in line with key education department indicators that are also under review in this report.

The UK Government through DFID has been providing a lot of assistance to the KP province since 2009 through several initiatives. From 2009 to 2011 DFID provided £28 million of budgetary support to the KP government for provision of free textbooks to all student of Class 1-12 and provided stipends to girl students from class 6 to 10. From 2012 to 2016 DFD provided a £203 million KP Education Support Programme, covering literacy, numeracy and critical thinking; improved school performance; girls' stipend programme and voucher scheme; and improving teacher management along with some other areas. In 2014 DFID initiated a school infrastructure and community mobilization initiative to the tune of £350 million covering KP and Punjab, going through to 2018.

The World Bank initiated a Development Policy Credit for the KP government in 2006 for $130 million for the next three years covering a number of things in different sectors. The education focus of the initiative was to improve access, equity, quality, and governance of the education system.

USAID funded Pre-Step for $75 million which was implemented from 2008-2013 across all provinces - including KP - for improvement of pre-service programmes offered through Elementary Colleges. The initiative has resulted in creation of two and four-year degree programmes in teacher education, moving away from the traditional one-year degree programme. USAID funded EDLINKS project, though focusing on Sindh and Balochistan, had some support directed towards KP for school reconstruction amid ongoing militancy and war in FATA and KP that has resulted in severe damage to schools.

The German Government, directly as well as through GIZ, has been providing a lot of support to the KP province for a long time. From 2005-2009 there was a $10 million debt swap programme for supporting school construction and provision of library books to schools. In 2008 another initiative for €14.5 million was initiated focusing upon improvement in the education governance structures, capacity development, and quality in education. The programme continued until 2015.

The Canadian (CIDA) debt swap programme from 2006-2013 was implemented in all provinces across Pakistan including the KP province. The programme focused

upon capacity building of Elementary Teachers and improvement in existing facilities of Teachers Training Institutions.

There have been several other donor funded initiatives in education in the KP province during the period under review, offered by AusAid, Norway, WFP and others.

The KP government also established an Education Sector Reforms Unit (ESRU), an integral part of the Education Department. The ESRU was established in 2007 on a temporary basis. However, realizing the important role of the unit the Government moved ESRU to permanent budget (current side) in July, 2010. The unit has an important role in the formulation and monitoring of provincial education reforms. Besides, it is also coordinating with major development partners (donors) for their support in education.

4.2.2 Provincial Data Analysis

a) Schools, Enrolment, Teachers

According to the KP Education Department (EMIS 2014-2015) there are some 23000 primary schools, 14500 for boys, 8500 for girls; 2600 middle schools, 1500 for boys and 1100 for girls; 2100 high schools, 1400 for boys and 700 for girls; and 400 higher secondary schools, 260 for boys and 140 for girls. The data shows that opportunities for accessing higher levels of education from primary to higher secondary diminish at each level for both boys and girls.

Primary level enrolment grew by about 890,000 children between base and final years but the number of teachers grew by 16,500, or one teacher for around 55 students. Girls' population at the primary level grew by about 536,000 between the base year and 2013-2014 (2014-2015 figures were not available) and the number of teachers rose by about 8000, or one teacher for about 67 girls. While the overall provincial teacher to student ratio at the primary level is around 1:40 in 2014-2015, for girls it is around 1:50 and for boys around 1:35, indicating that there are much fewer women teachers. More so, when district level data is analysed, 16 out of 24 KP districts have an overall teacher to student ratio exceeding 1:40, and in many cases going past 60 and 70 children to a teacher at the primary and middle levels - and much higher for girls. This shows that the

overall provincial estimation may not be the best approach to planning as the situation can vary considerably between different districts and among genders. Overcrowding of classrooms leads to reduced dedicated attention of teacher and can contribute to reduced learning levels in children.

At the primary level there are around 3.50 teachers for each school, or one teacher responsible for two classes, counting the katchi (early grade) class as well. This leads to a multi-grade teaching and learning situation, which is neither supported by the curriculum nor the textbooks. Teacher contact time with students is almost halved as a result of this situation with one teacher teaching two classes either simultaneously, or one after the other. The reduction in contact time has an impact on the overall learning levels of children.

Table 14 - Schools, Enrolment and Teachers in KP

Year	Number of Schools			Enrolment			Teachers		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Total
2005-2006	17370	8846	26216	2030980	1253680	3284660	73899	32999	106898
2006-2007	17475	9023	26498	2171004	1363524	3534528	74886	34234	109100
2007-2008	17611	9255	26866	2249793	1452483	3702276	77887	37486	115373
2008-2009	17622	9171	26793	2162936	1426037	3588973	76924	37440	114364
2009-2010	17646	9261	26907	2171369	1436669	3608038	76764	37805	114569
2010-2011	17728	9479	27207	2234692	1528779	3763471	76609	39105	115714
2011-2012	17823	9633	27456	2262280	1609300	3871580	77257	39692	116949
2012-2013	18055	9920	27975	2279601	1650418	3930019	78172	41102	119274
2013-2014	17802	10090	27892	2372872	1789628	4162500	77715	41039	118754
2014-2015	17649	10529	28178	-	-	4174369	80069	43311	123380

Source: KP EMIS Annual Statistical Reports 2005-2006 to 2014-2015

The population in KP is growing at a rate of 2.82% per annum according to the KP Development Statistics, and the population between the age group of 5-14 is 31% of the total provincial population. According to KP Development Statistics, during 2014-2015 the population of KP was estimated at 27.9 million and the 5-14 age group population by estimation would be around 8.65 million. Comparing this with the school enrolment data for 2014-2015 shows that there were 4.13 million children (after taking out higher secondary level student population since they fall

in the age group of 15 and higher) enrolled in government schools, showing a gross enrolment rate of 47.6%. As mentioned earlier in case of Balochistan, if age data was available for the enrolled children during 2014-2015 a net enrolment rate could also be established, which would have been even lower because only children up to the age of 15 enrolled in schools would have been counted and compared with the 5-15 population in the province. The gross enrolment rate indicates that 52.4% (4.53 million) children are out of the government schooling system, either enrolled in other schools or not going to schools at all.

A cursory look at the above analysis indicates that the planning exercise in KP was not up to the mark when establishing schools or recruiting teachers to adequately cater to the existing school population, or accommodate the projected population of out of school children. This becomes all the more important in the aftermath of the 18th constitutional amendment and article 25A in 2011, according to which the State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children between five and sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law. Between 2011-2012 (when the 18th amendment was ratified) and 2014-2015 only 722 new schools and close to 7000 teachers were added to accommodate some 300,000 children from primary to higher secondary levels.

b) Missing Facilities

During the base year of 2005-2006 more than 57% of the boys' schools were without boundary walls, 50% without water, almost 60% without electricity, and almost 50% without toilets. By comparison more than 55% of the girl primary schools were without electricity and more than 33% without water. However, only about 10% of the girl schools were without a boundary wall and about 11% without toilet, and during the final year of 2014-2015 less than 5% of the girl schools were without a boundary wall, and less than 8% without toilets. This is mainly due to the conservative KP culture where it is unacceptable to the parents and community to send their girls to schools that are exposed or without a boundary wall, and where there is no toilet facility and girls would have to go out to the open fields.

Table 15 – Missing Facilities in Schools in KP

Year	Gender	Without Boundary Wall	Without Electricity	Without Toilet	Without Water
2005-2006	Boys	9836	10520	8657	8536
	Girls	983	5093	1066	3075
2006-2007	Boys	9265	10277	8269	8510
	Girls	1127	4776	1135	3038
2007-2008	Boys	8439	9502	7303	7564
	Girls	1049	4437	911	2596
2008-2009	Boys	8134	9433	7055	7409
	Girls	982	4286	833	2620
2009-2010	Boys	7038	8559	6079	6476
	Girls	1289	4575	1212	2804
2010-2011	Boys	6457	8097	5389	6151
	Girls	1207	4339	1188	2762
2011-2012	Boys	6652	8537	5691	6542
	Girls	655	3843	740	2557
2012-2013	Boys	6507	8378	5476	6346
	Girls	602	4025	799	2756
2013-2014	Boys	5824	7824	4924	6096
	Girls	361	3665	717	2565
2014-2015	Boys	5630	7972	4790	6524
	Girls	503	3866	810	2966

Source: KP EMIS Annual Statistical Reports 2005-2006 to 2014-2015

In case of boys' schools, during the final year there were 32% schools without boundary walls, 37% without water, 46% without electricity and 28% without toilets. In terms of availability of necessary physical facilities for schools, KP education department has made reasonable progress over the last decade for all levels of schools from primary to higher secondary, though high and higher secondary schools were in a much better shape in 2004-2005 as well. According to the stakeholders, the progress in missing facilities is a result of the priorities that the government has set each year in the education budget. However, if article 25A of the 18th amendment is fully implemented then KP government will be requiring a lot more resources to accommodate the 4-5 million out of school children.

c) Student Dropout

Student dropout both at the primary and transition between primary to elementary level is very high with more than 40% girls dropping out before completing primary level and almost 25% boys dropping out at the same level.

Table 16 – Primary Level Dropout between Classes 1 and 5 in KP

Cohorts	Boys	Girls	Total
2005-2010	39%	53%	45%
2006-2011	40%	53%	46%
2007-2012	37%	53%	45%
2008-2013	-	33%	-
2009-2014	25%	35%	29%
2010-2015	23%	43%	33%

Source: KP EMIS Annual Statistical Reports 2005-2006 to 2014-2015

Table 17 – Dropout between Classes 5 and 6 in KP

Cohorts	Boys	Girls	Total
2009-2010	13%	27%	18%
2010-2011	21%	23%	22%
2011-2012	25%	30%	27%
2012-2013	11%	23%	16%
2013-2014	16%	21%	18%
2014-2015	21%	26%	23%

Source: KP EMIS Annual Statistical Reports 2005-2006 to 2014-2015

Transition level drop out from primary to elementary is more than 20% for boys and more than 25% for girls during 2014-2015.

Correlating the dropout data with the enrolment data shows that girls population at the primary level grew by 275,000 between 2005-2006 and 2009-2010, but during the same time period 53% of girls also dropped out at the primary level. During the same time period the boys' population grew by about 63,000, but almost 39% of boys dropped out of the system during the same time period.

For the 2009-2010 to 2014-2015 cohort 53% of girls and 37% of boys dropped out at the primary level. During the same time period only 103,000 girls were admitted, and for the boys the enrolment actually dropped by almost 20,000.

Given the high dropout rates along with low participation and enrolment, the situation has reached a point where more children are leaving the system then entering.

d) Student Assessment under ASER

The following are sample based assessments in the areas of Urdu, Pashto and English languages and Mathematics as reported in the annual status of education report (ASER)[29] for 2015 covering 36,713 children from 13,958 rural households in 697 government schools and 323 private schools across KP. The ASER report provides a good comparative analysis of results between private and government schools looking at a number of variables and factors.

Table 18 – ASER KP Learning Levels in Urdu and Pashto

Class wise % - Children who can Read (combined for private and government)						
Class	Nothing	Letters	Words	Sentences	Story	Total
1	24.3	35.1	29.8	6.8	4.0	100
2	8.6	21.6	45.4	16.3	8.1	100
3	5.3	12.5	35.7	32.5	14.0	100
4	2.3	6.9	27.6	34.5	28.7	100
5	1.5	4.3	16.4	30.7	47.1	100
6	1.2	2.7	11.8	31.6	52.7	100
7	0.6	2.1	9.2	27.0	61.1	100
8	0.4	2.0	5.2	21.4	71.0	100
9	0.4	1.0	1.9	16.2	80.5	100
10	0.2	0.4	1.2	8.1	90.1	100

Source: Annual Status of Education Report 2015

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[29] ASER - The Annual Status of Education Report is the largest citizen led, household based initiative that aims to provide reliable estimates on the schooling status of children aged 3-16 years residing in all rural and few urban districts of Pakistan

Table 19 – ASER KP Learning Levels in English

Class	Nothing	Letters		Words	Sentences	Total
		Capital	Small			
1	23.7	25.9	31.3	15.2	3.9	100
2	8.7	15.6	37.3	29.5	8.9	100
3	5.5	8.3	27.8	41.7	16.7	100
4	3.0	5.2	19.8	41.3	30.7	100
5	2.0	3.5	12.3	32.4	49.8	100
6	1.6	1.8	10.1	30.3	56.2	100
7	0.9	1.6	7.4	26.2	63.9	100
8	0.7	0.8	4.3	21.6	72.6	100
9	0.7	0.4	3.1	15.7	80.1	100
10	0.6	0.1	2.2	6.2	90.9	100

Note: Class wise % - Children who can Read (combined for private and government)

Source: Annual Status of Education Report 2015

Table 20 – ASER KP Learning Levels in Arithmetic

Class	Nothing	Number recognition		Subtraction (2 digits)	Division (3 digits)	Total
		1-9	10-99			
1	20.8	24.6	42.8	8.1	3.5	100
2	7.7	12.6	49.8	23.3	6.6	100
3	5.3	7.6	32.8	40.0	14.3	100
4	3.2	5.2	24.4	39.6	27.6	100
5	1.9	3.5	13.7	33.0	47.9	100
6	1.5	2.4	11.3	30.8	54.0	100
7	1.1	2.1	8.4	27.2	61.2	100
8	0.8	0.9	4.8	23.2	70.3	100
9	0.5	0.2	4.1	15.8	79.4	100
10	0.5	0.3	2.4	8.9	87.9	100

Note: Class wise % - Children who can do (combined for private and government)

Source: Annual Status of Education Report 2015

Overall the private schools show better learning levels then government schools in all the areas including Urdu and Pashto, English and Arithmetic, and the performance variation spread is from 9% to 18% in different areas in favour of the private. Almost 37% of the children in private schools were taking paid tuition compared with 3% of children in government schools. Another factor worth considering is the availability of teachers in private schools compared with government schools – in private schools there was multigrade teaching in class 2 in 11% schools compared with 33% government schools. The availability of teachers has a direct implication on student learning, and better performance of private schools in ASER evaluations can be seen in light of the teacher availability factor.

58% of the boys could at least read a sentence in Urdu or Pashto compared with 46% girls. In English, 64% of the boys could at least read a word compared with 53% girls, and in Arithmetic 61% of the boys could at least do subtraction compared with 49% girls.

53% of the children were unable to read a story in either Urdu or Pashto in grade 5. At grade 8 level almost 29% of the children were not able to read a story, and at grade 10 there were almost 10% students who could not read a story in their mother tongue.

52% children were unable to do 2-digit division in grade 5 and 67% were unable to do 2-digit subtraction. At grade 8 almost 30% of the children were unable to do 2-digit division.

e) Resource Allocation for Education

Availability of finances not only ensures continued functioning and implementation of education programmes, it is also a determinant for government's commitment to education, especially allocations made on the development side. Resource allocations of the province are made as current budget (salary and non-salary budget) compiled and released by the Finance Department. Developmental budget is prepared by the Education Department, as part of Annual Development Programme (ADP).

Table 21 – KP Development Budget 2005-2006 to 2014-15

(Rs. in millions)

Year	Allocation	% increase	Foreign Aid (FA) Allocation	Local & FA
2004-2005	1,903	8%	834	2,737
2005-2006	2,295	21%	406	2,701
2006-2007	2,754	20%	277	3,031
2007-2008	3,526	28%		3,526
2008-2009	4,576	30%	-	4,576
2009-2010	5,574	22%	1,256	6,830
2010-2011	7,115	28%	807	7,922
2011-2012	7,115	0%	3,065	10,180
2012-2013	7116	0%	7,250	14,366
2013-2014	8,132	14%	12,131	20,263
2014-2015	8,132	0%	11,795	19,927

Source: I-SAPS Public Financing of Education Report 2015-16

Traditionally, most of the development funds were invested in infrastructure and repairs, with minor allocations for teacher training, equipment and provision of basic facilities. On average about 60-70% of annual development funds are spent on infrastructure schemes. This is mainly because building more schools provides visibility and helps gain more political mileage as opposed to improving the quality of instruction and learning. The table shows that in 2011-2012, 2012-2013 and 2014-2015 there was no increase in the development budget. For development side expenditures the government also relies on donors, expecting them to take up initiatives like teacher training, school construction and basic facilities. The absence of a public sphere leads to a centralised decision making process serving personal goals and objectives and without much accountability. Public spheres promote a democratic discourse and allow for sufficient investigation into any interventions before a decision is made.

The increases in budget allocation during 2009-10, 2010-11 and 2011-12 in table 24 below can be largely attributed to increase in salaries and escalation in the prices of consumable and utility bills[30].

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[30] KP ESP 2010-2015

Table 22 - Current Budget KP Government Education Department 2005-2006 to 2014-2015

(Rs. in millions)

Year	Salary	Non Salary	Total	% increase
2004-2005	11056	1200	12256	18
2005-2006	14,119	760	14,879	21
2006-2007	15,531	836	16,367	10
2007-2008	17,084	919	18,003	10
2008-2009	19,840	1051	20,892	16
2009-2010	30,943	1028	31,970	53
2010-2011	32,531	1,404	33,934	16
2011-2012	35,859	1,371	37,230	11
2012-2013	45,122	1,480	46,602	36
2013-2014	56,441	4,112	60,553	19
2014-2015	65,771	7,914	73,684	22

Source: I-SAPS Public Financing of Education Report 2015-16

4.2.3 Stakeholder Perspective

Interviews were held with four government officials in the KP Education Department A focus group was done with teachers and head teachers and five respondents working for NGOs and aid agencies provided their responses electronically:

Aid is of two types: grants and loans. Grants to some extent have contributed towards achieving development goals but loans have failed to contribute to the overall development of education. Loan giving agencies normally use business approach rather than development approach since many of them are 'banks'. Hence, they keep 'interest' as a source of income at a high priority. USAID, UNICEF, UNESCO, CIDA, JICA, EC grants have been helpful to some extent; however, most of funds go back to the grant giving countries[31].

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[31] The Director is alluding to the presence of international consultants, and procurement of equipment and services from the donor country, resulting in funds being transferred back to the donors

The respondent made an interesting distinction between loans and grants. It would be useful to see which one of the two types of aid is demand led (recipient country asking for it) as opposed to supply driven (donor country supplying without being asked). A demand led aid may add greater value to the reform initiative as opposed to a supply driven intervention. It may also lead to demand driven policy borrowing, improved ownership, partnership and communication. Currently, the perception among the stakeholders is that the aid is mostly supply driven. This has implications for the ownership and trust of local stakeholders for any intervention financed by foreign aid.

> *There is lack of ownership of international aid due to number of reasons including lack of capacity and political will. Donor agencies are always in a driving seat, and if ever there is any negotiation that is of superficial nature; donors dictate their terms and conditions. There is a trust deficit at provincial, federal and districts levels with donors.*

The stakeholders also indicated their helplessness inasmuch as they had no trust in the capacity of their government either. While stating that donors decide the agenda they also acknowledged that in the absence of sustained capacity within government structures and the lack of planning, there was no choice but for the donors to push the envelope. Most stakeholders seemed to agree that the reforms, whether supply or demand driven, were unlikely to succeed in the presence of bad governance. This comes out clearly in the following quote from a focus group participant:

> *The impact of training programmes (whether funded through donors or government) in classrooms is minimal for a number of reasons. Many schools are heavily populated and do not have enough teachers, at almost 80-100 students per teacher. How will the teacher implement learning from the training programme in a classroom of 100 children? At the secondary level there is a shortage of subject level teachers, and few teachers are expected to teach 100s of students in most high and higher secondary schools. Again implementation of training becomes a big challenge in overcrowded classrooms. Schools are lacking labs, libraries, multimedia and other necessary equipment. Among those who receive trainings, there are a number of cases of teachers attending trainings for subjects that they neither*

teach nor have the training in, but attend because nominations are political and based on cronyism.

The importance of basic facilities and having an adequate number of teachers in schools, which are problems of governance, seem to override other reform initiatives such as teacher training. The latter is unlikely to work without the former:

Teachers do not have a job description, which keeps their scope of work vague and open to their being used for everything and anything, such as election duty, health campaigns, floods and other disaster duties, examination duties to name a few. If they are given proper TORs with clear objectives, annual targets, and standards then they can be held accountable as well. Without any TORs, holding them accountable does not make sense. The current annual confidential reporting (ACR) system is the most useless appraisal system that there can be. Teachers get their supervisors to complete numerous ACRs at the same time when their promotion time is due. According to the teachers, there have been instances of getting 8-10-12 ACRs done at the same time to be made part of the teachers' promotion file. In the absence of a proper job description, targets, standards and objectives, what can the ACR focus upon?

There is enough evidence through data to support the claims made by the discussants on poor level of basic facilities and the availability of adequate number of teachers, both of which are key determinants for the low level of education delivery in the province. The issue of multi-grade classrooms is not handled in either pre or in-service programmes resulting in massive loss of contact time between students and teachers.

Most reforms were perceived by discussants to be supply driven and routinely compromised on governance issues, lack of coordination and fragmentation abound.

In-service teacher education, is almost entirely supported through donor programmes, but there is little coordination or cohesion among programmes or donors. All donor funded programmes at present focus at the primary level (except CIDA that also covers middle level). High and higher secondary levels are completely ignored. If the government wants to make best of

international support, then it must organize itself better and guide the donors toward areas of need and gaps. A process of consultation involving field level staff must be ensured before any new programme is initiated. Provincial level bureaucracy is in no position on its own, nor has the information to guide donors, or agree to their plans without consulting key education stakeholders. Also, the government must begin to make its own commitment to in-service teacher education by allocating schemes under the ADP.

Trends in international policy lending (Steiner-Khamsi 2012) have been more focused upon primary education and have ignored higher school levels. At the same time, lack of communication, ownership and partnership at the government level does not fully convey the areas of need at the host country level. This yet again delves into the debate of demand versus supply notion of international aid. This lack of coordination and fragmentation in donor driven reforms highlights the need for a public debate and communicative action a la Habermas (1962), while constantly communicating with all stakeholders. Kemmis and McTaggart (2005) mention that Public Spheres do not affect social systems (e.g., government, administration) directly; their impact on systems is indirect. In public spheres, participants aim to change the climate of debate, the ways in which things are thought about and how situations are understood.

4.2.4 Overall Analysis

In the course of the decade under appraisal, hundreds of millions of dollars have been disbursed for the education sector in KP, through direct budgetary support, debt swap, project based funding and disbursements through NGOs. The partnership covenants of aid agencies with the KP education department focus upon improvements in indicators like enrolment and participation (especially for girls), basic facilities, learning levels of students, and governance and management of education department. However, the situation emerging from data analysed from 2005 to 2015 suggests that net and gross enrolment and participation in government schools is not at par with the increase in the population for the relevant age groups increasing the number of out of school of children each year, which further exacerbates as the dropout is increasing incrementally every year. Similarly, the student assessment results reported by ASER show a dismal state of learning levels in the province. The basic facilities

data has however, improved over the period under review, but is still far from ensuring an adequate school/classroom learning environment for every child in KP.

Like other provinces, the policy framework of donors in KP stresses increasing enrolment and reducing dropout rates. Alarmingly, at both the primary and secondary school levels in KP, the dropout rates are high and the enrolment rates are in decline. The number of children exiting public schools are far more than the number of children enrolling in schools. This situation can be attributed to a number of factors including missing facilities, limited education access opportunities beyond primary, and low quality of education in government schools as perceived by parents. Though the situation of basic facilities has improved over time, it is still far from guaranteeing an appropriate school/classroom learning environment for every child in KP. An absence of mutual accountability for donors and the government has allowed both to escape criticism despite poor performance of certain covenants such as enrolment and dropout rates, especially for girls. It is also important to highlight here that the question of how and where is aid to be spent is crucial in determining its effectiveness – this requires far better coordination among government and donors, and also between the province and districts. However, within government the decisions of 'how' and 'where' largely rest with the province with minimal or no involvement of the districts, resulting in a lack of ownership of the implementation at the district and lower levels.

The training programmes for in-service teachers are short term and fail to produce desired results. A large number of training programmes for in-service teachers are donor financed and with the relocation of the donors these programmes dwindle. The irony is that the programmes for in-service teacher that are run by Government are not aligned with the school needs - rather they are aligned with the budget. Also, these programmes are mostly designed for primary level teachers. This all exhibit a disconnect between actual needs, budget and programme design.

The existing skill level of faculty members at RITEs is derisory, particularly when taking into account the advanced core curriculum of the ADE and the B.Ed. This is due to the absence of auxiliary training for existing faculty members for the ADE or

B.Ed., and lack of training initiatives for new recruits or to faculty members transferred to training colleges.

In order to improve the overall quality of education in the province, it is vital to have effective as well as needs-based policies and programmes that cater to the requirements of all levels of education in all districts.

The effectiveness of aid in case of the KP province has been minimal during the period under review in as far as improving the performance of some of the key indicators is concerned. The state of missing facilities has improved over the years, but this has been largely done through the government's own initiative, though with some support coming from the donors following the 2005 earthquake. The coordination between donors and government has however, improved, mostly since 2013 after elections, and with the new government in office. Working groups were created and the education department took greater ownership and a central role in steering all donor related interventions, aligning them with its own reform agenda. The results of improved ownership and coordination are yet to be seen, but are likely to ensure good results for the province.

The stakeholders did not identify any public groups or platforms, which could qualify as a public sphere. Except for the NGOs which have some space to engage with stakeholders about key issues, there were no other groups or bodies in the province who would independently debate and review education progress. And the NGOs, as with Balochistan were constrained in their arrangements with the donors to engage in regular and extended dialogues before adopting any new ideas or practices. We have seen all too often that policy making and planning in the development and education sectors is an exclusive process, and implementation decisions and budgetary allocations are also done at executive levels without any involvement of the largest stakeholders in the education sector, i.e. the teachers, parents and community members. Even the district level staff were excluded from all planning and decision making processes. In discussions with the field officials and teachers it was further substantiated that their say in the education development process is non-existent, and all planning and decision making is highly centralized, confined to senior officials and politicians.

One of the main issues is that in all the aid-led interventions, a mechanism to hold responsible parties and stakeholders answerable (both within government and the implementing donor party) is absent. Aid agreements are usually designed to keep targets very low, therefore, do not place any accountability conditions for both sides. Without accountability or recompenses for either side, the probability of programme success will be marginal.

4.3 PUNJAB

4.3.1 Background

Punjab is Pakistan's largest province in terms of population, at around 55% of the total country population and covers around 26% of the total geographical area[32]. It is administratively divided into 36 districts and has a population density of 358 according to the last census done in 1998.

According to Punjab School Census 2015, Punjab has a total of 53,095 public schools out of which 51% are girls' schools. A major portion of these schools are at primary level (69%) followed by middle level (16%), high level (12%), mosque schools (2%) and higher secondary level (1%). Public sector schools in Punjab have an enrolment of 10.8 million out of which 46% are girls. The number of teachers working in Punjab is 0.3 million out of which 53% are female teachers.

According to the PSLM 2014-15[33], the gross enrolment rate for the province at primary level (public and private) is 98 %, net enrolment rate at primary level is 70% while the literacy rate for population 10 years and older is 63%. The survival rate of students to grade 5 is 77% while the effective transition rate from primary to lower secondary in the province is 87%[34]. The number of out of school children of 5-16 years' age in the province is 13 million which is 47% of the total population of the school-going age children in the province[35].

In 2015-16, the government of Punjab allocated a budget of Rs. 287 billion for education which constitutes 20% of the total provincial budget[36]. The highest share of 47% of the education budget has been allocated for secondary education in 2015-16 followed by primary education with an allocation of 39% of the education budget.

The state of education in Punjab is better than the other three provinces in terms of lesser number of schools without basic facilities and improved indicators like participation rates and gender parity in access to education.

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[32] Pakistan Bureau of Statistics 2015
[33] Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey 2014-15
[34] Pakistan Education Statistics 2014-15
[35] Alif Ailaan (2014). *25 Million Broken Promises: The Crisis of Out-of-School Children*. Islamabad: Alif Ailaan.
[36] I-SAPS (2015). Public Financing of Education in Pakistan 2010-11 to 2015-16. Islamabad: I-SAPS.

Between 2005-2006 and 2014-2015 Punjab's School Education Department (SED) received considerable amount of international aid for the education sector, mainly through the World Bank for the Punjab Education Sector Reform Programme (PESRP), an initiative of SED. The World Bank has provided almost US$ 500-600 million (in loans to Punjab during this time-period specifically for uplifting the performance of the education sector of the province.

The SED however, needed some reorganization to better prepare itself for managing this aid and for the effective utilization of various reform initiatives under the PESRP. An expansion of the SED took place as a 'Project Monitoring and Implementation Unit' (PMIU) was created in 2004/2005 to specifically handle the PESRP and perform donor coordination on behalf of the SED. As part of its reorganization the SED also revamped the directorate of staff development (DSD) in 2004/2005 responsible for all in-service and most pre-service training of teachers in the province. A Punjab Examinations Commission (PEC) was also set up in 2004/2005 to assess student learning achievements for grades 5 and 8. The World Bank consortia were in support of this reorganization of the SED and provide all necessary assistance in this regard.

The SED has established a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system that has deployed district monitoring officers (DMO) in coordination with the office of the Provincial Chief Secretary in all districts of the Punjab. The M&E system is helping to update online access of information and redressing public complaints. For promotion of quality education, the SED has taken a number of initiatives including the establishment of a Punjab Education Assessment System (PEAS), and a Punjab Examinations Commission (PEC), making scholarships available for students and distributing free textbooks. Additionally, under quality assurance the SED is also implementing a continuous professional development (CPD) programme for all school teachers in the province.

Under the PESRP several supply side interventions were made including teacher training, need-based teacher recruitment and demand-side measures including provision of free textbooks, providing missing facilities, school up-gradation, girls' stipends, and subsidies to low fee private schools to attract children to school. These were accompanied by institutional reforms for improving quality and governance, such as initiating PEC, and capacity building of School Councils.

In addition to the World Bank, other significant donors include DFID for supporting the PESRP 2 through a £300 million intervention. The USAID has implemented the Pre-Step (US$ 75 million for four provinces) and was also implementing the Pakistan Reading Programme valued at US$ 160 million across Pakistan.

4.3.2 Provincial Data Analysis

a) Schools, Enrolment, Teachers

The overall government school enrolment dropped by almost 483,000 children between base and final years, as well as the number of schools which were consolidated, dropping the total by almost 10,000. The number of teachers however, increased by about 40,000 during the same period.

Table 23 – Schools, Enrolment and Teachers in Punjab

Year	Number of Schools			Enrolment			Teachers		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Total
2005-2006	34661	28810	63471	-	-	11296621	167614	128549	296163
2006-2007	33538	28844	62382	-	-	11185341	167444	130282	297726
2007-2008	32856	28813	61669	-	-	10912634	161582	130551	292133
2008-2009	32407	28871	61278	-	-	10644379	153602	133287	286889
2009-2010	31334	28351	58685	-	-	10679244	164420	135022	299442
2010-2011	30552	27983	58535	5716587	4882491	10599078	153638	143981	297619
2011-2012	29592	27698	57290	5622667	4833123	10455790	155564	134901	290465
2012-2013	25748	26947	52695	5785694	5059050	10844744	-	-	319016
2013-2014	-	-	52447	5746881	5108172	10855053	155824	165240	321064
2014-2015	25822	27273	53095	5881605	4931706	10813311	158773	177820	336593

Source: Punjab Annual School Census 2005-2006 to 2014-2015

Enrolment of boys and girls is a key indicator of the SED and is also a key project development objective (PDO) under the World Bank support to Punjab. Seven out

of ten DLIs of the World Bank focus on improving enrolment in schools including: improving teachers' performance; improvements in basic school facilities (i.e. boundary walls, clean drinking water, toilets and electricity); school up-gradation (from primary level to middle level to secondary level); delivery of free textbooks to public schools; timely provision of Girls' Stipends in grades 6 to 10 in public schools; public financial support for students in low cost private schools, and enhance accountability of teachers; capacity building for School Councils; and reduction of teachers absenteeism.

It is therefore important to review the school enrolment data in Punjab as it is directly linked to indicators that work towards promoting enrolment, and are part of the World Bank/partners DLIs and covenants with the government of Punjab.

In 2005-2006 the gross enrolment for the Punjab according to EMIS/PMIU data was at 11.296 million children dropping to 11.185 million in 2006-2007, and further dropping in 2007-2008 to 10.912 million. During 2009-2010 (middle year) the enrolment further dropped to 10.679 million, and then continued dropping until 2012-2013. Enrolment figures have dropped by almost 483,000 children between base and final years in 32 districts, averaging almost 15,000 children from each district in ten years, or more than 120 children dropping out every month in every district on average. This is a very significant drop in enrolment, whether overall or district wise. GER and NER are also PDOs of the World Bank whose satisfactory achievement each year guarantees subsequent financial tranche for the next year. The World Bank's implementation completion reports (ICR) for 2007, 2008 and 2009 have indicated satisfactory performance on GER and NER indicators for Punjab, awarding a satisfactory progress status, which however, seems to be in contrast to the figures in the enrolment table above.

According to the Punjab School Census for 2014-2015 there are on average 3 teachers for each primary school instead of one teacher for every class. This has a significant impact on teacher performance in terms of completing the required syllabus effectively in a given year for every class. The syllabus or scheme of studies is designed keeping five contact hours each day for all classes. With 3 teachers available in each school where 6 teachers should be available (counting the katchi class), the teacher contact time with students is reduced to 50%. Teachers try to make it up through various initiatives including multi-grade

teaching but given the fact that neither the curriculum nor the textbooks are designed to support multi-grade teaching, the quality of teaching and learning is seriously compromised.

As in other provinces, the access opportunities diminish for children as they complete primary level schooling, and further reduce with each higher level of schooling. There are some 36894 primary schools, 8420 middle schools, 6266 high schools and 676 higher secondary schools in the province.

b) Missing Facilities

Improvement in basic facilities is also a DLI of the World Bank, and an important indicator that can contribute towards improved enrolment and reduced dropout. Basic facilities like electricity, drinking water, toilets, boundary walls, buildings and rooms are a key not only to student retention but also student learning as their availability contributes to an environment that is conducive to teaching and learning. Some of the schools that I have visited in some rural and urban districts of Punjab reveal that the state of basic facilities is abysmal. In schools where there are rooms and furniture available, children are cramped with four to five children sharing a bench that is meant for two children. A sizeable number of the schools are without toilet and drinking water facilities, and even more without electricity, though the number of schools with missing facilities has considerably reduced over the last decade. Many schools are without any room and the children are made to sit outside in the open even in extreme weather conditions, both during the summers and winters.

The data on missing facilities indicates that there has been a gradual improvement in the availability of basic facilities every year from 2005-2006 to 2014-2015 and at each level of schooling; improvement in basic facilities is also a DLI of the World Bank. Basic facilities can play a key role in improving student enrolment, and at the same time can also have a positive impact on student learning.

Table 24 - Missing Facilities in Schools in Punjab

Year	School Type	Without Boundary Wall	Without Electricity	Without Toilet	Without Water
2005-06	**Boys**	20033	19986	18661	6761
	Girls	5820	16996	7942	6576
	Total	25853	36982	26603	13337
2006-07	**Boys**	16072	17552	15164	5543
	Girls	4375	15020	5579	4910
	Total	20447	32572	20743	10453
2007-08	**Boys**	12757	15630	12650	5691
	Girls	2435	13720	4642	4940
	Total	15192	29350	17292	10631
2008-09	**Boys**	11181	14087	-	4553
	Girls	2197	12738	-	3726
	Total	13378	26825	14551	8279
2009-10	**Boys**	9376	12007	8489	3811
	Girls	2058	11012	3208	3516
	Total	11434	23019	11697	7327
2010-11	**Boys**	7771	10355	6302	3171
	Girls	1868	9721	2586	2990
	Total	9639	20076	8888	6161
2011-12	**Boys**	6716	9712	6595	2893
	Girls	1752	9115	4011	2828
	Total	8468	18827	10606	5721
2012-13	**Boys**	5161	6440	7272	720
	Girls	965	5672	5041	801
	Total	6126	12112	12313	1521
2013-14	**Boys**	4597	5746	2038	1221
	Girls	963	4757	1519	1143
	Total	5560	10503	3557	2364
2014-15	**Boys**	2893	-	-	-
	Girls	639	-	-	-
	Total	3532	-	-	-

Source: Punjab Annual School Census 2005-2006 to 2014-2015

Considering the extreme weather conditions in Punjab (40-50 centigrade during summers, a couple of degrees below zero during winters) the availability of electricity in rooms is crucial to retaining students in schools during summers as well as winters. The availability of fans (electricity does not guarantee the availability of fans unless teachers and community members at their own initiative have purchased them) during summers and staying inside classrooms during winters is important for effective teaching and learning. The absence of drinking water and toilet facilities play an important role in retaining students on a daily basis as they do not have to leave the school premises during the day to access these facilities. A school gate and boundary wall provides a sense of security for parents, particularly in the case of girls. Parents would want to see their children study in a secure environment and not wander outside the school premises; a gate and boundary wall help ensure security.

Between 2005-2006 and 2014-2015, the overall enrolment figures came down by almost 483,000 children. While the actual reasons for this dropout need to be established, assumptions based on discussions with various SED officials indicate that a key factor could be the declining confidence level of parents in public sector delivery of education. One of the main reasons provided by parents for shifting their children from public to private schools is the lack of basic facilities in public schools (World Bank 2002). The bulk of the missing facilities (more than 90%), are impacting the primary level and that is where maximum dropout is occurring. Children at the primary level, mostly in the 5-10 age group are more vulnerable when it comes to difficult conditions, and for them to survive extreme weather conditions in the absence of electricity and without drinking water and toilet facilities can be very difficult. In case of girls and women teachers there are social and cultural issues caused by the absence of rooms, toilets, boundary walls and school gates.

c) Student Dropout

In continuation with the enrolment data it is useful to look at the school dropout figures. The data below is for six cohorts for primary level drop outs, and between primary and elementary level drop outs.

Table 25 – Primary Level Dropout between Classes 1 and 5 in Punjab

Cohorts	Boys	Girls	Total
2005-2010	40%	46%	43%
2006-2011	39%	43%	41%
2007-2012	22%	30%	26%
2008-2013	31%	28%	30%
2009-2014	26%	26%	26%
2010-2015	24%	22%	23%

Source: Punjab Annual School Census 2005-2006 to 2014-2015

Table 26 – Dropout between Classes 5 and 6 in Punjab

Cohorts	Boys	Girls	Total
2009-2010	20%	19%	19%
2010-2011	8%	10%	9%
2011-2012	10%	10%	10%
2012-2013	19%	19%	19%
2013-2014	11%	12%	11%
2014-2015	13%	13%	13%

Source: Punjab Annual School Census 2005-2006 to 2014-2015

Dropout data indicates that the number of students dropping out of the public sector before completion of primary level schooling has been reducing every year for both boys and girls, from 40% down to 24% for boys, and from 46% to 22% for girls. The decline in dropout can be interpreted to be a direct result of improved basic facilities in schools. Similarly, there is a downward trend in the dropouts between primary to elementary. However, despite a downward trend in dropouts, the overall enrolment has been on the decline in the schools of Punjab. It may well be because the information on improved facilities in schools has not become fully public, and until such time that the parent perceptions about public sector schooling change for the better, enrolment trends may remain stagnant. Another explanation could be that even though the drop outs have reduced, their actual number is substantial enough to offset the new admissions and as such the overall enrolment figures show a decline.

d) Student Assessment under ASER

ASER reported assessment results in Urdu, English and Mathematics from 21,512 households in rural Punjab covering 50,686 children from 1076 government schools and 641 private schools. The data indicates that children in private schools have performed better against ASER assessments in all the three subject areas. However, when making this private-government comparison other factors of important consideration include the access of children to private tuitions, which is at 37% for private school children compared with 17% government school children. The report does not specify if the performance variation is at primary, middle or secondary levels.

Gender analysis indicate that 54% of the boys could at least do subtraction compared to 51% of girls. In the subject of English 57% boys could at least read words compared with 55% of girls, and in Urdu 56% of the boys could at least read a sentence compared with 54% of girls.

Table 27 – ASER Punjab Learning Levels in Urdu

Class wise % - Children who can Read (combined for private and government)						
Class	Nothing	Letters	Words	Sentences	Story	Total
1	28.5	37.0	23.4	6.0	5.1	100
2	9.6	23.2	37.2	18.3	11.7	100
3	5.1	11.0	29.6	26.9	27.4	100
4	3.0	5.0	15.5	25.1	51.4	100
5	2.1	2.1	7.2	19.0	69.6	100
6	1.8	1.8	4.5	12.4	79.5	100
7	1.5	1.5	3.3	8.7	85.0	100
8	1.2	0.8	1.9	6.1	90.0	100
9	1.5	0.4	0.7	4.4	93.0	100
10	1.6	0.5	0.6	3.2	94.1	100

Source: Annual Status of Education Report 2015

Table 28 – ASER Punjab Learning Levels in English

Class wise % - Children who can Read (combined for private and government)						
Class	Nothing	Letters		Words	Sentences	Total
		Capital	Small			
1	31.7	23.1	30.2	10.9	4.1	100
2	12.5	13.0	37.2	28.6	8.7	100
3	6.9	6.6	27.7	38.3	20.5	100
4	3.7	3.4	15.8	36.9	40.2	100
5	2.6	1.6	9.1	27.0	59.7	100
6	1.9	1.5	5.6	16.7	74.3	100
7	1.7	0.8	5.5	14.1	77.9	100
8	1.3	0.6	3.8	9.2	85.1	100
9	1.6	0.3	2.3	4.7	91.1	100
10	1.7	0.4	2.3	3.8	91.8	100

Source: Annual Status of Education Report 2015

Table 29 – ASER Punjab Learning Levels in Arithmetic

Class wise % - Children who can do (combined for private and government)						
Class	Nothing	Number recognition		Subtraction (2 digits)	Division (3 digits)	Total
		1-9	10-99			
1	27.9	28.2	34.7	4.8	4.4	100
2	10.7	14.1	47.8	19.9	7.5	100
3	5.9	7.0	35.3	33.9	17.9	100
4	3.1	3.3	19.5	36.6	37.5	100
5	2.3	1.3	10.8	27.1	58.5	100
6	1.6	1.1	7.7	18.5	71.1	100
7	1.6	0.8	7.0	14.9	75.7	100
8	1.3	0.4	4.9	10.8	82.6	100
9	1.7	0.2	3.6	7.1	87.4	100
10	1.7	0.2	3.2	5.6	89.3	100

Source: Annual Status of Education Report 2015

Learning levels in the mother tongue[37] (Urdu) and mathematics in grades 5, 8 and 10 in the schools of Punjab are better than in the other three provinces for the same grades. Still however, at grade 5 level almost 30% children are not able to

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[37] Although Punjabi is the mother tongue for majority of the population in Punjab, Urdu is used widely in urban areas, and also in some rural areas

read a story in their mother tongue, and 42% are unable to do 3-digit division. Performance of students at grade 8 and 10 levels are much better, and much higher than other provinces.

e) Resource Allocation for Education

A review of the budget over the years indicates that allocations and expenditures both have increased, but the development side allocations are almost entirely at the provincial level and are utilised only through authorisation of provincial bureaucracy and the political leadership. The interventions and schemes for which development budget is set aside and consumed are all planned at the provincial level with little or no participation of districts where the plans are to be implemented. District level budgets are geared mostly towards payment of teacher salaries or for paying schools' utility bills or minimal building maintenance. There is hardly any district level budget available on the development side for the districts to plan anything that they feel is important at the local level. In this scenario the role of aid becomes important if the donors are able to ensure that the districts get a share in all international aid projects and are part of the planning process.

The table below is divided into five main columns: column 2 is the provincial budget for each year covering mainly staff salaries in the SED; allocation being the original amount budgeted, and expenditure being the actual amount spent. Column 3 is the provincial budget covering development side of education, such as school construction, missing facilities, teacher training etc. Column 4 is the district budget, and this is almost entirely all for salaries of teachers and district education staff. Column 5 is the total education budget (actual expenditure) combined for province and districts.

Table 30 – Government School Education Budget in Punjab

(Rs. in millions)

YEAR	PROVINCIAL (NON-DEVELOPMENT)		PROVINCIAL (DEVELOPMENT)		DISTRICT		TOTAL BUDGET EDUCATION
	ALLOCATION	EXPENDITURE	ALLOCATION	EXPENDITURE	ALLOCATION	EXPENDITURE	EXPENDITURE
2005-2006	3,550.851	3,681.394	7,000.000	1,679.116	46,467.230	46,467.230	51,827.740
2006-2007	5,273.208	3,666.661	8,305.000	995.434	47,952.490	47,952.490	52,614.585
2007-2008	10,470.291	10,470.291	8,488.000	8,058.827	55,607.340	55,607.340	74,136.458
2008-2009	14,372.523	17,038.682	16,454.000	8,133.949	75,628.000	75,628.000	100,800.631
2009-2010	12,367.716	10,320.163	13,600.000	12,307.139	85,364.730	85,364.730	107,992.032
2010-2011	13,786.048	13,467.925	18,727.56	10,799.85	105,863.237	105,863.237	137,370.64
2011-2012	-	26,388.15	28,527.48	24,242.67	118,138.60	118,138.60	168,769.42
2012-2013	-	36,446.29	35,026.94	7,888.48	148,425.12	148,425.12	192,759.89
2013-2014	39,639.54	-	32,456.03	-	160,470.77	-	-
2014-2015	29,780.32	25,977.59	18,600.00	2,085.02	185,855.60	204,754.53	232,817.14

Source: Collated from I-SAPS Publications on Public Financing of Education in Pakistan

The total education budget (actual expenditure in the last column) has increased every year from 2005-2006 and is almost 4.5 times in 2014-2015. However, the development side expenditures during these years have been paltry and were a little over 15% of the total education budget in 2011-2012, the highest in any year. Development budget planning is mainly done at the provincial level and considerations are not made for demands made by the districts, as stated by different stakeholders at the district level. This is due to a centralized planning system that does not provide space to district and lower levels, and is a typical scenario where public spheres are devoid.

In 2010-2011 and 2011-2012, 11 per cent and 12 per cent of the allocated budget was not spent; under-spending was equivalent to Rs17.78 billion and Rs23.21 billion in the two years respectively.[38] In 2011-2012, the unspent amount was more than twice the total spending of the federal government on primary and secondary education. The biggest reason for unspent or lapsed budgets is the delayed release of funds from the finance department to the education department, and then from the SED to attached departments.

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[38] Public Financing of Education in Pakistan 2013-2014 – I-SAPS

District level development allocations as part of district budgets are scant and the figures were not available except for 2009-2010 and 2010-2011, when these were 10.5% and 2.5% respectively. District level education budgets are mostly allocated to cover salary expenses of teachers, which on average are almost 95% of the total district education budget. Lack of development side budgets for the districts warrants a strong case for international aid, if it can be clearly directed to the districts and is well planned to address key areas of need. Districts are at the centre of all activities, and by receiving direct support from the donors they can show a lot of improvement, as was the case under USAID funded ESRA and EDLINKS in Sindh and Balochistan from 2003 to 2012, though the initiatives could not be sustained beyond the projects because the provincial governments never committed to continuing any best practices beyond the project.

4.3.3 Stakeholder Perspective

The interviews with World Bank, DFID and GIZ representatives revealed a favourable view of the international aid under PESRP, which they thought had been very useful for education in Punjab inasmuch as it helped improve various indicators including quality and access. When provided data about declining enrolment, they questioned its reliability. One respondent said that:

> …the enrolment decline was in a few districts, mainly in southern Punjab, but had been increasing overall.

While this suggests data issues, both a rise and decline in enrolment remains a question mark. Different people relying on different data, and belonging to different organisations, appear to be reaching different conclusions about the effectiveness of aid in terms of improving the education indicators in Punjab. I have, however, used the government data for doing my analysis since this is the only complete data set available; there are some sample based house hold level data sets available, but I used the annual school census done by the government since it provides a comprehensive picture for all the schools at the district and provincial level.

The view point of donor representatives must also be examined in light of the donor agencies' rhetoric of 'state building' that constitutes good governance, public sector management strengthening, and devolution/decentralisation (Waites,

2008). In their pursuit of state building the donors work towards strengthening or modernising state structures such as ministries and departments. In this process, the departments and ministries in many cases become an extension of donor agencies and countries, open to learning from the experiences of the modern or developed countries. Good governance, management and devolution, are all pursued by the developing countries to be in line with the 'best practices' existing in the western countries.

In case of the Punjab, the efforts for improvement in the education sector appear to be gearing towards a neo-liberal agenda as the donor agencies are promoting utilisation of public expenditures for the private sector under the PEF and consequently a change in the state's role from provider to regulator. Globalisation and an international competitive market drive an agenda of neoliberal reforms, reducing the role of state and increasing the market role in education (Lall and Nambissan, 2011).

Another argument from all three donor representatives highlighted issues relating to organisation, management and coordination within Government systems for better utilisation of aid. The respondents said that:

> *…officials within SED needed to be more proactive with donors, creating effective communication channels, and ought to be leading the initiatives rather than letting donors in the driving seat.*

This concern resonated with my earlier experience with USAID projects, which also suggested general apathy among government officials towards aid.

The government officials tend to see the aid as supply driven, particularly on the grant side, and therefore do not feel accountable for its effective utilisation and outcome. Even loan programmes like PESRP have been largely supply driven with the World Bank and consortia taking initiatives for its continuation.

Another aspect is the lack of accountability mechanisms within government systems that allow public servants to get away without delivering the required minimum. The lack or absence of accountability exists at all levels and is further compounded by increasing political interference. In the words of a district official:

With poor accountability mechanisms in place, no one is answerable on why the performance of education indicators is declining, or why is aid not contributing sufficiently, or being utilized to its maximum.

The existence of a public sphere will ensure participation of wider stakeholders, and accountability for the government and decision makers.

The donor representatives as well as SED staff who were interviewed have said that the education aid to Punjab over the past decade has been beneficial and has helped improve indicators. Aid is definitely improving education indicators as seen by a PMIU representative in Punjab:

If aid is not provided then initiatives like Girls Stipend, Teacher Incentives, School Up-gradation and Missing Facilities will be reduced – aid has played a definite role in improving both access and quality.

Such assertions however, are not supported by the data analysed and reported in the previous sections.

4.3.4 Overall Analysis

The data indicates that gross enrolment has declined during the period under review, even though aid to Punjab is directed towards improving access indicators. Dropout data available for primary schools shows that dropouts have reduced for both boys and girls. However, access opportunities beyond primary level are disappointing with more than 80% of all the schools in the province being primary.

Missing Facilities have gradually improved over the years, but are still in a disappointing state when one looks at the actual numbers without access to basic facilities.

Government education budget allocations are on the rise, but mainly due to rising salary expenditures. Development side expenses are almost non-existent for the districts, existing only under provincial budgets and utilised as decided by higher authorities at the provincial level with little or no involvement of district or sub-district levels.

It would be fair to conclude that the effectiveness of international aid projects in the case of Punjab has been a mixed one, with some indicators showing

improvement, while others being either stagnant or declining during the period under review. The existence of a Public Sphere is important to the successful design and implementation of education reforms, but it hardly exists in the province, barring the NGOs who were able bring together key stakeholders. However, the NGOs were all dependent on donor funding and had to meet deadlines in a tight timeframe, which does not allow room for much debate or dialogue, weakening whatever sphere they may have created.

Policy borrowing is further contributing to weakening of public sphere, because the policies are borrowed and implemented without a robust debate in public sphere. Thus, the public sphere is further weakened through disuse. Pursuing improvements via neo liberalism is also anti public sphere because it leans towards provision of public services through the private sector. Almost all donor funded programmes and projects are driven by fixed timeframes, and looking for successful results quickly; however, the turnaround time for sustainable education interventions is much longer and does not come about in 4, 5 or 6 years, which are the typical durations of most donor programmes. Support to PEF schools using public funds under the public-private partnership is an initiative carried out in many countries; the use of standards in education and teaching is yet another borrowed practice – however, no public discourse or debate has been initiated to research and review such initiatives before being allowed to be implemented. Consequently, there is little understanding and ownership of such initiatives in the public sector, and no one feels accountable towards their success.

Government officials tend to see the aid as supply driven, particularly on the grant side, and therefore neither feel, nor are held accountable for its effective utilisation and outcome. Even loan programmes like the World Bank and partners supported PESRP have been largely supply driven with the World Bank and consortia taking initiatives for its continuation.

The lack of accountability mechanisms within government systems that allows public servants to get away without delivering the required minimum exists at all levels and is further compounded by increasing political interference. With poor accountability mechanisms in place, no one is answerable as to why the performance of education indicators is declining, or why is aid not contributing sufficiently, or being utilized to its maximum. Similarly, no one is held accountable

if a donor funded project fails to achieve its objectives. Partnership covenants under aid programmes do not focus upon accountability-based conditions for either side, allowing everyone to avoid being answerable. The apathy within government departments towards aided projects is therefore understandable.

A key factor in determining government ownership and commitment for any donor funded intervention is through its involvement in programme design and implementation, with clear roles and responsibilities assigned to counterpart officials and departments. A review of Punjab suggests that such partnerships between donors and government have emerged over the last few years, but they fail to trickle down to sub-provincial level where programmes are actually implemented. Therefore, at the district and lower levels there is an almost complete absence of ownership of aid projects. This is mainly the responsibility of provincial government, but donor agencies, having learned from past experience, can also push for such aid covenants that promote district and sub-district level ownership and participation.

More recently, since 2012-2013 the provincial government has taken a more active role for steering donor led initiatives and for increasing their effectiveness. A quarterly stock-take is held under the leadership of the Chief Minister that looks at donor led initiatives like the PESP, reviews progress and holds government as well as donors accountable.

The existence of PMIU has also helped improve coordination with donors, removing any duplication of efforts and increasing donor harmonization, while at the same time aligning donor interventions with the government reform agenda and policy framework.

4.4 SINDH

4.4.1 Background

Sindh is home to the one of the oldest civilisations in the world, the Indus Civilisation, and also includes Pakistan's largest city Karachi. Sindh is located in the south east of Pakistan and occupies about 18% of the total geographical area of Pakistan and around 25% of the population[39]. Sindh is divided into 29 districts and has a population density of 216 according to the 1998 census.

According to Sindh Education Management Information System (SEMIS) Census 2014-15, Sindh has a total of 46,039 public schools out of which 23% are for boys, 15% are girls' schools and 62% are mixed schools. A major portion of these schools are at primary level (91%) followed by middle schools (5%), secondary schools (4%) and higher secondary schools (less than 1%). Public sector schools in Sindh have an enrolment of 4 million out of which 40% are girls. The number of teachers working in Sindh is 0.14 million out of which 31% are female teachers.

According to the PSLM 2014-15[40], the gross enrolment rate at primary level[41] is 79 %, net enrolment rate at primary level is 61 % while the literacy rate for population 10 years and older is 60 %. The survival rate of students to grade 5 is 59 % while the effective transition rate from primary to lower secondary in the province is 66 %[42]. The number of out of school children of 5-16 years' age in the province is 6 million which is 51 % of the total population of the school-going age children in the province[43].

In 2015-16, the government of Sindh allocated a budget of Rs. 148 billion for education which constitutes 20 % of the total provincial budget[44]. The highest share of 44 % of the education budget has been allocated for primary education in 2015-16 followed by secondary education with an allocation of 29 % of the education budget.

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[39] Pakistan Bureau of Statistics 2015

[40] Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey 2014-15

[41] Combined for public and private sectors

[42] Pakistan Education Statistics 2014-15

[43] Alif Ailaan (2014). *25 Million Broken Promises: The Crisis of Out-of-School Children*. Islamabad: Alif Ailaan.

[44] I-SAPS (2015). Public Financing of Education in Pakistan 2010-11 to 2015-16. Islamabad: I-SAPS.

In the province of Sindh there are numerous education reform initiatives that have been supported by the international aid agencies, most prominent of whom are the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the World Bank. These reform initiatives have focused upon increasing enrolment, improving girls' participation, better teaching and learning standards, and improved management and governance of education. The objectives are in line with the key education indicators in the Sindh province including access, quality and governance.

Under the USAID a number of large education projects were and are being implemented in Sindh through direct grants made to international NGOs:

The Education Sector Reform Assistance (ESRA) Programme was initiated in 2003 for a total support of $83 million to assist the Pakistan government's education sector reforms (ESR) initiative until 2007 (USAID, 2008). ESRA focused upon the provinces of Balochistan and Sindh covering teacher training at the primary level (grades 1-5), public private partnership and youth and adult literacy. In Sindh the programme covered 7 out of 23 districts, training more than 20,000 teachers, providing support to almost 4500 schools under the school improvement grants programme, and offering literacy packages to more than 50,000 youths and adults.

The Links to Learning, Education Support to Pakistan (EDLINKS) Programme (USAID, 2012) was initiated at the end of 2007 for five years with a total support of $90 million covering 11 out of 23 districts in the Sindh province, and also supporting the province of Balochistan and the federally administered tribal areas (Fata) of Pakistan. EDLINKS focused upon quality improvement at the elementary (grades 6-8) and secondary levels (grades 9-10) through training of teachers, provision of teaching-learning material in schools, support for science laboratories, international exchange programmes for students, support to the examination boards to improve testing and assessment, and assist in developing content standards for the curriculum.

The Pre-Service Teacher Education Programme (Pre-Step) was initiated in 2008 for five years with a total support of $75 million across all the provinces including Sindh. The project focused upon strengthening the pre-service teacher education in Pakistan by working with teacher training colleges and universities to reform the

existing programmes in their content and duration, assist with the development of programme curriculum, and train teacher educators for implementation of the revised programmes (USAID, 2012).

A fourth project, Pakistan Reading Programme (PRP)[45] was initiated in 2013 at a cost of US$ 120 million covering all four provinces and Fata, Kashmir and Northern Areas and focusing upon improving early grade reading and math skills.

The Sindh Basic Education Programme (SBEP)[46] was also initiated in Sindh in 2013 through $165 million cost and is supporting a number of initiatives in Sindh.

The World Bank provided assistance under the Sindh Structural Adjustment Credit (SAC) and Sindh Development Policy Credit (DPC) to support the Sindh Education Sector Programme and Sindh Education Sector Reform Programme (SERP), initiated in 2002 and continuing uninterrupted since then. The volume of support in the form of loans is as follows:

The Sindh Education Sector Project (SEP) was implemented from 2009-2012 through support of $350 million, and the project development objective (PDO) was to support the Government of Sindh's Medium Term Education Sector Reform Programme (SERP). The objectives of SERP were to increase school participation, reduce gender and rural-urban disparities, increase progression and improve the measurement of student learning. The PDO had four indicators[47] including net enrolment rate (NER) at primary level, girls to boys' ratio under NER in rural Sindh at primary level, transition rate from classes 5 to 6 for girls in rural public schools, and improved learning levels for students through diagnostic testing. In addition, there were 18 outcome indicators including 10 disbursement linked indicators (DLI) to monitor the progress of the project.

The Sindh Education Development Policy Credit (DPC) for $100 million was provided in 2007 for one year to support the SERP. The PDO was set to support the Government's reform programme which aims to: improve participation, retention and transition, reduce gender and regional disparities, and improve

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[45] Information about this program is available at: http://www.pakreading.org.pk/

[46] Information about this program is available at: http://www.usaid.gov/news-information/fact-sheets/sindh-basic-education-project

[47] Implementation Completion and Results Report, (IDA-45900 IDA-48940), Sindh Education Sector Project, December 2010

quality in elementary and secondary education (grades 1-10). As a result, (i) net enrolment rates in primary, middle and secondary education were to increase from 48%, 18% and 12% in 2004/05 to 59%, 22% and 14% respectively in 2009/10; (ii) the share of girls in primary and middle schools in rural areas was expected to increase from 36% and 28% to 40% and 31% respectively between 2005/06 and 2009/10; (iii) the transition rate for rural girls between primary and middle school was expected to increase from 47% to 50% between 2005/06 and 2009/10; and (iv) completion rates and learning outcomes were to be regularly monitored. The PDO had four indicators which are similar to the indicators mentioned above under SEP 2009-2012.

Under the SAC in 2002 the Sindh Government received $100 million, out of which $20 million was directed towards improving the primary education sector through increased enrolment for girls, teacher training and schools made functional.

In addition to the above a number of other projects have also been implemented in Sindh with support of the European Union, UNICEF, Asian Development Bank and other donor agencies.

The establishment of a Reform Support Unit[48] was conceptualized as a means to build the institutional capability of the Sindh Education and Literacy Department. The RSU was also envisioned as a platform for donor coordination as a measure to synchronize different donor's resources and efforts in a consolidated vision of educational excellence.

RSU formulation was supported by the USAID ESRA and World Bank, mainly in the form of technical assistance. The institutional structure of RSU comprises three wings: policy wing; monitoring and evaluation wing; and EMIS wing. The policy wing is envisaged to provide inputs for policy formulation and develop institutional memory of the department. The monitoring & evaluation wing focuses on developing reporting mechanisms and carry out evaluations of different interventions within the department of education. The existing structure of Sindh Education Management System (SEMIS) has been made an integral part of the

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[48] See: Reform Support Unit, Education and Literacy Department, Government of Sindh - http://www.rsu-sindh.gov.pk/aboutus.html

RSU as a first step with the eventual objective to have a reliable and timely data for effective policy formulation.

4.4.2 Provincial Data Analysis

a) Schools, Enrolment, Teachers

Out of the total enrolment of more than 4 million children in the government schools in Sindh in 2014-2015, 75% are in primary and middle schools, 18% in secondary schools, and 7% at the higher secondary (11-12) level. During the base year (2005-2006) there were almost 82% children in primary and middle levels, 14% in secondary schools and 4% in higher secondary schools. During the middle year (2009-2010) there were 82% children at the primary and middle level, 14% at the secondary level and 4% at the higher secondary level.

During the final year (2014-2015), compared with 42,342 primary schools, there were only 2,336 or 5% middle schools (660 girls), 1,752 or 4% high schools (544 girls) and 298 (less than 1%) higher secondary schools (84 girls). Similar proportions existed during the base and middle years as well for the number of schools at each level.

The data indicates diminishing access opportunities for children after they have completed primary level schooling, as is the case in the other provinces.

The ratio of boys' enrolment (60%) is significantly higher than that of girls (40%) in primary schools; the situation does not change much at the middle and secondary schools, and is the same for the base, middle and final years. Similarly, the %age of men teachers is much higher (72% at the primary level) than the women staff in primary and middle schools respectively. Both the indicators show that there are huge gender disparities in the system, especially the low proportion of women is of serious concern. The provision of women teachers has a positive relationship with the enrolment of girls, as in rural Sindh, communities are generally reluctant to send their girls to the schools where men teachers are teaching in the classes (Reform Support Unit, Education and Literacy Department, Government of Sindh, 2014).

Table 31 – Schools, Enrolment and Teachers in Punjab

Year	Number of Schools				Enrolment			Teachers		
	Boys	Girls	Mixed	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Total
2005-06	20434	8457	18531	47422	2495260	1614805	4110065	95305	44529	139834
2006-07	20600	8814	19614	49028	2529967	1696768	4226735	94678	44060	138738
2007-08	11709	8958	28544	49211	2594599	1737376	4331975	94534	43473	138007
2008-09	16563	8685	23877	49125	2600034	1740940	4340974	99688	45407	145095
2009-10	11831	8761	29013	49605	2656620	1832589	4489209	98394	45240	143634
2010-11	12827	8458	27629	48914	2589148	1813845	4402993	99111	45499	144610
2011-12	11732	7801	28024	47557	2463307	1758853	4222160	99920	46183	146103
2012-13	10825	7592	28977	47394	2489856	1759177	4249033	98289	44350	142639
2013-14	12441	7354	26929	46724	2425455	1659960	4085415	100322	45116	145438
2014-15	10614	7058	28367	46039	2444958	1599528	4044476	99493	44677	144170

Source: SEMIS Census 2005-2006 to 2014-2015

The data indicates that during 2014-2015 there were far fewer girls-only schools compared with boys-only or mixed schools; only 15% girl schools exist in the province currently, compared with 18% during the base and middle years. Although a large number of mixed schools also exist in the system, the enrolment of girls in girls-only schools is at 75%, while the remaining 25% are either in mixed or boys-only schools, which constitute 84% of all the schools[49]. This clearly shows that the communities are much more inclined towards sending their girls to girls' only schools; it is important to establish separate facilities for girls and to hire women teachers. In Sindh – mainly rural Sindh, things are much more backward than in the other 3 provinces when it comes to gender (Lall, 2009).

Between the base and final years, the enrolment has declined by 65,000; however, the number of teachers increased by about 4,500. The middle years (2009-2011) show higher enrolment (4.44 million) compared with both base and final years. According to the information provided by the Sindh EMIS officials, a school consolidation policy was initiated in Sindh in 2012 under which different schools located in the same building, adjoining buildings and within 500 metres of each other are being merged for efficient management. The school consolidation may have played a role in declining enrolment (seen from 2011-2012), especially

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[49] ibid

where schools within 500 metres were merged and children may have found it difficult to commute additional distances.

Out of total population of some 45.5 million in Sindh (Population Welfare Sindh), estimated for 2013-2014, 28.5% was in the age group of 5-15, or about 13 million. During the same year there were some 4 million children enrolled in the government schools in Sindh, indicating a gross enrolment rate of some 30%, which would mean that around 70% of the children in the 5-14 age groups are outside of the government system, whether enrolled in other schools or not going to school at all. The net enrolment rate for the same year would be even lower as it would take into account only the 5-14 age group among the school going population.

There are only 2.1 teachers per primary school in the province, making it a big challenge for the teachers to provide the required contact time to students. Under the given situation, each teacher in Sindh at the primary level is teaching two or more classes simultaneously, thus creating a big compromise on the quality of teaching and learning.

b) Missing Facilities

The data provides staggering information on the lack of basic facilities in the schools of Sindh over the last 10 years. According to the 2014-2015 data, 75% of the schools are housed in either a repairable or dangerous building or are without a building; almost one third (50% at the primary level) schools have either no or one classroom; almost 75% of the schools are without any playground. For almost 4 million children there are 181,550 chairs and 366,064 benches. Even if 4-5 children sit on a bench, between the benches and chairs no more than 1.5-1.6 million children have a seating space, which would mean that the rest will have to sit on floor.

Table 32 - Missing Facilities in Schools in Sindh

Year	School Type	Without Boundary Wall	Without Electricity	Without Toilet	Without Water
2005-06	**Boys**	12054	15717	10969	10512
	Girls	3297	5863	3446	4242
	Mixed	12234	14799	10769	10363
2006-07	**Boys**	11851	15249	10407	10946
	Girls	3624	5870	3620	4603
	Mixed	12515	15211	10559	11237
2007-08	**Boys**	7085	9675	6621	7376
	Girls	3504	6503	3598	4709
	Mixed	15011	23097	13007	14682
2008-09	**Boys**	8534	13394	7855	8883
	Girls	3329	6511	3467	4562
	Mixed	12617	19711	11266	12795
2009-10	**Boys**	5633	9490	5080	5848
	Girls	3282	6938	3263	4553
	Mixed	15130	24817	13379	14193
2010-11	**Boys**	5976	9221	5506	6148
	Girls	2782	5823	3033	4097
	Mixed	13324	21264	12166	13755
2011-12	**Boys**	4834	6818	5120	5866
	Girls	2204	4171	2998	4085
	Mixed	12554	16968	12532	14233
2012-13	**Boys**	4558	6250	5241	5997
	Girls	2106	3913	3163	4051
	Mixed	12749	17208	13289	14996
2013-14	**Boys**	5316	6483	5708	6813
	Girls	2022	3409	2988	3831
	Mixed	11600	13349	11516	12403
2014-15	**Boys**	15495	22679	16681	18092
	Girls	3412	6081	4421	5223
	Mixed	-	-	-	-

Source: SEMIS Census 2005-2006 to 2014-2015

According to the 2014/2015 data more than 50% of all the schools in Sindh are without electricity and drinking water, almost 45% without toilets and a little over

40% without boundary walls. The data table shows that some indicators such as water and boundary wall have improved only marginally, whereas the availability of toilets has marginally declined; however, electricity is the only indicator that has registered marked improvement when comparing the final year with the middle year. With the situation for basic facilities as dismal as it is, other indicators relating to access and quality improvement are likely to be negatively impacted. Infrastructure and facilities constitute the overall learning environment along with the teacher and teaching-learning material, and with the facilities infrastructure in an appalling state, the quality of teaching may not achieve results or standards that many donors include as part of their performance indicators. Similarly, reasonable net and gross enrolment rates will not be easily achieved given the poor facilities situation in government schools, and only those parents with no choice are likely to have their children continue in the government schools.

c) Student Dropout

The data for the cohorts under review indicates that high dropouts occur between classes 1 and 2, 5 and 6, and 10 and 11. It is also instructive to note the huge dropout between classes 1 and 5 and 1 and 10, indicating that a very large number of students drop out before completing primary, and an even larger number (80%) drop out before completing secondary school.

Table 33 – Primary Level Dropout between Classes 1 and 5 in Sindh

Cohorts	Boys	Girls	Total
2004-2009	57%	56%	57%
2005-2010	60%	59%	60%
2006-2011	60%	59%	60%
2007-2012	62%	61%	61%
2008-2013	57%	57%	57%
2009-2014	45%	46%	45%
2010-2015	41%	40%	41%

Source: SEMIS Census 2005-2006 to 2014-2015

The highest dropout occurs between classes 1 and 5 indicating that a very large number of students drop out before completing primary school. Within primary level, the highest dropout occurs between classes 1 and 2 at almost 30-40%; this may be because younger children need maximum care and support, which given the state of poor basic facilities in schools, and the fact that there are only 2.1

teachers/primary school, is not possible. The next high level of dropout occurs between classes 5 and 6 (table 37 below) when transitioning from primary to middle level; it is also important to note that the availability of middle, secondary and higher secondary schools is a challenge, drastically reducing access opportunities beyond primary, hence the large dropout after primary level. There is a huge gap in terms of access between the primary and next levels. According to the 2014-2015 data, middle schools make up only 5% of the total schools, while secondary schools constitute only about 4% of the total public schools, and the higher secondary level schools are less than 1% of the total schools in the province.

Table 34 – Dropout between classes 5 and 6 in Sindh

Cohorts	Boys	Girls	Total
2005-2006	38%	34%	37%
2006-2007	41%	35%	39%
2007-2008	44%	35%	40%
2008-2009	38%	34%	37%
2009-2010	41%	35%	39%
2010-2011	44%	35%	40%
2011-2012	37%	33%	35%
2012-2013	37%	34%	35%
2013-2014	35%	36%	35%
2014-2015	32%	36%	34%

Source: SEMIS Census 2005-2006 to 2014-2015

According to the SEMIS 2014-2015 data, more than 70% children in the age group of 4-16 are out of government schools, accumulating an overall net enrolment rate (NER) of less than 30% for government schools. The Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey (PSLM) for 2012-2013 reports that at the government primary level the gross enrolment rate (GER) for Sindh is 54%, whereas the SEMIS reports a primary GER of 35% for 2013-2014 (2012-2013 GER not available in the report). PSLM also reports the overall government primary NER for the province for 2012-2013 at 36%.

If almost 50% of the population in the age group of 5-9 never makes it to any school according to the PSLM data, the numbers dropping out at each level become even more staggering. For example, in 2013-2014 the total number of

students dropping out between classes 1 and 2 is 29% in government schools. If we stick to the SEMIS figure of 65% out of government school children at the primary level during the same year, a drop out of 29% only between classes 1 and 2 would mean that the out of government school % has gone to almost 75% without considering the dropouts in other primary classes during the same year.

Donors including the World Bank and its partners have set indicators that focus on increasing enrolment, girls' participation and transition from primary to middle (World Bank ISR, 2012). They use the PSLM data, which has some inconsistency with the SEMIS data. Nevertheless, using whichever data set our inference is that the dropout situation may only have improved somewhat between classes 1 and 2, and perhaps because of higher enrolment figures in year 1; there has been no change in the dropout situation between classes 1 and 5 and 5 and 6. With an increase in the enrolment of private schools every year, it may be inferred that the large dropout at least at the primary level may be migrating to non-government schools owing to widespread perceptions that the quality of education in private schools is better than public schools (World Bank 2002).

d) Student Assessment under ASER

The following are sample based assessments in the areas of Urdu, Sindhi and English languages and Mathematics reported in the Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) in 2015 covering 34,744 children in 13,353 rural households from 632 government and 74 private schools of Sindh. Overall the private schools show better learning levels then government schools in all the areas including Urdu and Sindhi, English and Arithmetic, and the performance variation spread is from 20% to 46% in different areas in favour of the private schools in terms of the proportion of children being able to do things. 38% of the boys could at least read sentences in Sindhi or Urdu compared with 31% girls. In English, 34% boys could at least read words compared with 28% girls. 35% of the boys could at least do subtraction compared with 29% girls.

Table 35 – ASER Sindh Learning Levels in Urdu and Sindhi

Class wise % - Children who can read (combined for private and government)					
Class	Nothing	Letters	Words	Sentences	Story	Total
1	38.5	39.7	16.3	3.2	2.3	100
2	15.5	30.5	35.3	12.4	6.3	100
3	8.2	19.4	36.2	20.7	15.5	100
4	5.1	12.2	28.9	23.4	30.4	100
5	3.1	8.1	18.4	25.8	44.6	100
6	1.4	3.9	15.7	28.3	50.7	100
7	1.6	3.4	8.7	23.9	62.4	100
8	1.3	1.6	5.7	22.0	69.4	100
9	1.0	1.5	2.7	12.2	82.6	100
10	0.9	1.4	1.8	11.3	84.6	100

Source: Annual Status of Education Report 2015

Table 36 – ASER Sindh Learning Levels in English

Class wise % - Children who can read (combined for private and government)						
Class	Nothing	Letters		Words	Sentences	Total
		Capital	Small			
1	63.7	21.2	9.7	4.5	0.9	100
2	36.8	25.5	23.8	11.5	2.4	100
3	22.4	22.3	27.2	22.3	5.8	100
4	13.0	14.8	26.6	33.8	11.8	100
5	7.8	8.5	24.0	38.2	21.5	100
6	3.7	4.4	11.8	37.1	43.0	100
7	3.4	3.0	7.1	28.2	58.3	100
8	2.7	2.6	5.4	21.0	68.3	100
9	2.8	1.9	3.1	10.9	81.3	100
10	2.0	1.8	3.7	9.2	83.3	100

Source: Annual Status of Education Report 2015

Table 37 – ASER Sindh Learning Levels in Arithmetic

Class wise % - Children who can do (combined for private and government)						
Class	Nothing	Number recognition		Subtraction (2 digits)	Division (3 digits)	Total
		1-9	10-99			
1	44.2	34.2	17.5	2.6	1.5	100
2	19.4	25.9	40.9	10.9	2.9	100
3	11.2	18.0	36.4	26.7	7.7	100
4	6.5	9.5	33.1	29.9	21.0	100
5	4.4	6.2	22.9	32.7	33.8	100
6	2.5	3.1	14.9	35.3	44.2	100
7	2.4	2.0	10.7	31.7	53.2	100
8	1.8	1.2	8.5	29.2	59.3	100
9	2.1	0.7	7.4	18.6	71.2	100
10	0.8	1.6	5.5	11.4	80.7	100

Source: Annual Status of Education Report 2015

The data in the tables above shows that almost 55% of the children are unable to read a story in their mother tongue (Urdu or Sindhi) in class 5, 30% in class 8 and almost 15% in class 10. 38% of the children in class 1 could not read anything in their mother tongue, reflecting the absence of effective early childhood education.

20% of the children in grade 10 could not do 2-digit division, 41% in grade 8 and almost 67% in grade 5. Almost 66% children in class 1 could not recognize numbers between 1 and 9.

e) Resource Allocation for Education

Allocations to education sector out of total Sindh budget for the last seven years, both for recurrent and development expenditures are given in the following table:

Table 38 - Sindh Government Education Sector Budget Allocations

(Rs millions)	2007-08 (BE)	2008-09 (BE)	2009-10 (BE)	2010-11 (BE)	2011-12 (BE)	2012-13 (BE)	2013-14 (BE)	2014-15 (BE)	Increase since 2007-08
Total Education Budget	49,723	58,854	63,739	77,987	127,373	115,908	132,341	137,695	177%
Recurrent	43,083	48,628	54,299	68,787	110,953	103,689	118,743	126,441	193%
Development	6,640	10,226	9,440	9,200	16,420	12,219	13,598	11,254	69%

Source: Appropriation Accounts/ AG Sindh   Note: BE=Budget Estimates

The overall education budget grew by 177% during the last seven-year period, its recurrent component, which essentially covers salaries by 176% and the development budget starting with a narrow base of Rs 6,640 million by 104%. However, development as a % of the total education budget has actually reduced at around 8.5% in 2014-2015 when compared with 2007-2008 when it was around 14%. The recurrent component has almost always been more than 90% of the total education budget, leaving a paltry 5-10% for development initiatives. This could mean that for effective implementation of the SESP support will be required from the donors. This would yet again be a continuity of the past situations where the government has been unable to earmark resources for development and quality initiatives, leaving them at the behest of donors.

The budget utilization percentage of the education sector is shown in table below:

Table 39 - Variance between Education Budget and Actual Expenditures in Sindh

	FY 2007-08	FY 2008-09	FY 2009-10	FY 2010-11	FY 2011-12	FY 2012-13	FY 2013-14	FY 2014-15
%Variance	-28%	-19%	-28%	-15%	-32%	-19%	-23%	-21%

Source: Appropriation Accounts/ AG Sindh

The inability to utilize 100% education budgets varied from as high as by 32% in 2011-2012 to 15% in 2010-2011. This works out to an annual average utilization of 76.5%, resulting in underutilization of a total amount of Rs 117.829 billion (almost 1.3 billion US$) during the six-year period or an average under-utilization of about Rs 20 billion per year during this period. This reflects systemic weaknesses in the budget estimation, delayed releases against budget allocations, and planning and capacity issues of the Education Department. The under-utilization of budgets, essentially on the development side (recurrent budgets covering salaries are likely to be utilized 100%) also raises questions on whether aid programmes are needed in Sindh - if more than $200 million

equivalent of development budget remains unutilized every year, why can the capacity and systems be not upgraded to consume this amount and maybe spend less effort on pursuing or accepting aid programmes?

4.4.3 Stakeholder Perspective

The interviews and discussions with stakeholders focused upon reviewing the education outcomes against access, quality and governance indicators that are a focus of this study. Stakeholders opined about the efficacy of donor programmes with respect to their role in improving the indicators under review here. While reviewing the programmes the discussions also delved into issues relating to their design, providing space for ownership among government departments, alignment with government policy frameworks, and the flexibility to modify design or focus per government needs.

Lack of alignment between donors' interventions and government policy and programmes appeared as a major issue as put by a senior official of the Education Department:

> *They are not willing to align their interventions with the government programmes- the example of USAID who does not wish to be part of SERP and has instead created a separate platform of the Sindh Basic Education Project (SBEP) and separate project monitoring and implementation unit (PMIU) rather than working with the RSU. Even though the RSU is represented on the USAID PMIU, still it would have been more effective if all donor interventions were aligned at RSU platform and moved from there.*

However, according to a USAID official, their reason for not being part of SERP and RSU was the fragmentation in the former and lack of capacity in the latter. USAID official offered these as justifications for working through a separate platform.

The education department official also said that at present there are different platforms that donors use to operate through including SERP that includes World Bank, EU and CIDA; SBEP for USAID; a separate set up for DFID and a Global Partnership for Education (GPE) that includes World Bank and EU, and UNICEF works separately. All of these different platforms make it difficult for the government to manage programmes effectively.

The issues on donor harmonisation and alignment raised by the official also coincide with information collected in other provinces, and also with my own previous experience of working with international projects.

The official further stated that donors do not go to the field to monitor the implementation on ground. This issue was also highlighted by the office of inspector general (OIG) during his evaluation of the USAID ESRA project.

This senior official was also critical of the districts, saying that they had no capacity to do any planning, and were also poor implementers. There was also lack of accountability at the district level. Enrolment in public schools was hardly rising, and quality of education was an even bigger issue. Both, the enrolment as well as quality issues raised by the official are also evidenced through the data presented earlier in this section.

According to the official, if the education department could get committed teachers and ensure their presence in schools, the issue of quality could be resolved. Teacher attendance was a big issue and needed effective monitoring. Under the GPE one third of the funds were set aside for monitoring, and the provincial monitoring and evaluation (M&E) department will help implement a monitoring plan. SERP is now focusing on governance issues, and donor help is useful. Recently a transparent teacher recruitment system has been put in place that recruits teachers through a test. Recently two groups were created involving participants from the public and private sectors - a teacher working group (TWG) working on 12 areas such as early childhood, primary, middle, secondary, and a second local education group (LEG) for reviewing and endorsing the Sindh Education Sector Plan (SESP). The two groups are good initiatives bringing in people from the private sector as well. It could however, be very useful if the TWG and the LEG can also look into issues relating to low teacher status, esteem and motivation that may well be part of the cause for low teacher performance. Punjab has also put together a working group to look specifically at issues relating to teacher motivation.

If initiatives like the TWG and LEG can be sustained and further strengthened, this is an excellent move towards organizing a public sphere for education, while also increasing coordination with donors and improving accountability. As Habermas et

al (1974) suggest, the public sphere is a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body, and the body is really an institution that takes a concrete form only when people actively participate.

On the SESP, the official thinks that it is largely supply based, barring a few policy level strategies, such as teacher recruitment strategy. There are however, some initiatives of the donors that can go a long way, such as teacher recruitment policy which is a World Bank indicator, or the development of STEDA and the TED policy. While test based recruitment is a good initiative, the elimination of interviews from the recruitment process to avoid political pressure, as in case of the KP province, can possibly lead to recruitments that are not motivated, or have teaching as their first choice.

On the issue of effective communication and coordination within government departments, the official was of the view that there is poor coordination among provincial level departments, such as the Textbook Board, PITE, Bureau of Curriculum - they do not have enough autonomy to pursue any provincial level coordination with each other. At the same time the communication and coordination between the province and districts is also very poor. The province sits on all development budget, and makes almost all decisions unilaterally without involving the districts. If the districts are not involved, how or why should they own the initiatives led by the province. Habermas' Public Sphere theory calls for a culture of openness and democratic values to avoid unilateralism, and for ensuring progress in the development process through a participatory process.

> *There is no coordination between provinces and districts. Districts are heavily dependent on provinces. In the past, districts were encouraged to prepare their development plans but this practice is not yet streamlined in districts. Perhaps, after local election the local members will put pressure on the provincial government. Currently aid programmes are highly politicized and same districts are chosen again and again and have become beneficiaries of aids.*

The donor response to selection of some similar districts is that it is done to ensure continuity from previous interventions for a holistic reform impact.

The official further added on the issue of donor-government partnership and ownership of donor programmes within government:

> *There is lack of ownership of donor interventions due to number of reasons including lack of capacity and political will. Donor agencies are always in a driving seat. If there is any negotiation which is of superficial nature; donors dictate their terms and conditions. There is still trust deficit at provincial, federal and districts levels. On the whole all beneficiaries are at receiving end without doing much and so much so that the donors have also become implementing agencies.*

The donors driving the agenda or dictating their terms can be well understood from the fact that aid has strings attached to it, and the direction or objective of aid projects is established through larger geo-political and economic agendas (Hurst 1981, Watson 1982).

Prior to 18th amendment, EAD and Planning Commission used to negotiate loans and grants for provinces; however, after the amendment provinces are consulted and sometimes donors directly approach the provinces which has created some confusion. Some standard operating procedures (SOP) need to be developed to streamline borrowing money. Given the situation, several NGOs are getting direct funding from donors which is creating further confusion for the government.

The nature of communication varies depending on the donor. In the case of USAID, the communications were more intense at the outset of the programmes when targets, geographic areas etc. were being decided, and the MoU and the LoUs were signed. However, later as USAID's internal dynamics and objectives changed so did the level of communication with government representatives.

According to a former staff member of USAID projects the issues of communication and coordination between donor and project staff, and between donor and government impacted the project outcomes unfavourably:

> *ED-LINKS was unable to achieve the targets it had set for itself. This was primarily because it shifted its focus multiple times from strengthening governance and institutional support to teacher education towards*

infrastructural support to flood affected schools. ED-LINKS fell short on both accounts. It did not get an opportunity to work uninterrupted on its project objectives for five years, and thus had to abandon numerous successful initiatives (such as project support for EMIS) midway. On the other hand, since the technical staff had little experience or knowledge of school renovation work, or buying school supplies etc., it fell short on that front as well.

The quote above is a classic example of weak coordination and alignment between government and donors, where the donors shift programme scope due to their own priorities. In the absence of a public sphere that could better align and hold accountabilities, such issues are not uncommon. The quote below from the same staff member further reiterates the issues relating to weaker implementation of the Paris Declaration principles.

The federal and provincial governments were not consulted when the EDLINKS programme changed focus (from technical to flood assistance), changed geographic areas (Islamabad excluded from Year 3 onwards) or target schools (numbers changed based on availability of budget). A few times, requests from Sindh Government for specific types of assistance that fit in with the Sindh SERP objectives but not with the scope of EDLINKS, were turned down. The communicative actions were more on a need to know basis, rather than collaborative or consultative. USAID project assistance is limited and dependent on multiple levels of approval.

Very little donor coordination or harmonization exists in terms of ensuring there are no overlaps or replication of work, let alone building upon each other's work. Even USAID project teams are frequently unaware of each other's work. However, in the case of flood relief work in schools, the RSU played a coordinating role ensuring that there was no overlap in the target regions and schools that the donors were providing assistance to.

According to two RSU officials there are different types of funding mechanisms and projects in Sindh - grants, loans, trust funds, and accordingly different operational modalities. The officials also said that some donors are politically motivated like USAID, World Bank, EC, but others like JICA, GIZ are development

oriented. The perceptions of these officials are most likely based on public information that is widely available through print and electronic media reporting on the political relationship between the USA and Pakistan that has oscillated irregularly over the years, and that is seen by most Pakistanis as having dual standards when it comes to Pakistan and India. The World Bank and other big financial institutions are controlled by the USA, and their trajectories rest with what the USA decides.

According to the officials most of the projects and programmes have failed to deliver on access and quality indicators for various reasons to do with the government (capacity, bureaucracy) and donors (rigidity, lack of partnership). Donors like the World Bank are too indicator focused and do not look at anything else - they need to look at the process and try to understand the problem.

The officials' conclusion on the performance of donor projects is on the spot – indicator focused, rigid, low ownership and partnership, and poor capacity and accountability of the government.

4.4.4 Overall Analysis

The data on key education performance indicators provides a very dismal picture of the school education sector in the Sindh province. The ten-year data on access indicators including enrolment, facilities and dropout is appalling, hardly showing any improvements between 2005 and 2015. Dropouts between classes 1 and 2 may have marginally improved, but at all other levels there is no change. Similarly, basic facilities data has shown slight improvements in the availability of electricity, but has worsened on dilapidated and dangerous buildings, and there is no change in case of other indicators like libraries, student chairs and desks, boundary walls, playgrounds, toilets, drinking water.

Participation and net enrolment data from PSLM and SEMIS shows 46% and 65% out of school children at the primary level, and even higher at other levels. Participation and UPE have been part of all national level government policies since 1947, and the targets under each policy get pushed to the next policy without being achieved.

Student assessment data reported by ASER also shows a dismal picture, indicating the disappointing state of teaching and learning in schools prevalent

over the last many years, and raises questions on resources allocated for teacher training in almost every donor led intervention.

On the resource allocation side, budgetary provisions for development expenditures at the provincial level have reduced as a proportion of the overall education budget in 2014-2015 when compared with 2008-2009. Similarly, at the district level, the development budget in 2014-2015 has been reduced as a % of the total district education budget when compared with 2008-2009. The inability on the part of the Sindh Education Department to completely utilize the budget is another issues, that does not solely rest with the education people, but the Finance Department has a role to play as well; disbursements from Finance to Education are frequently made in the months of April-May-June, literally from a couple of months to days before the financial year comes to an end. At the same time, poor planning of the Education Department has a role to play as well; inflating costs and figures at times, and setting unrealistic targets and programmes also leads to un-utilized amounts in the budget.

On the donor side, there have been numerous issues reported in various evaluation reports, many of which align with the OECD Paris Declaration principles including lack of ownership on part of the government, ineffective partnership agreements in as far as accountability for both parties is concerned, changing objectives and targets in between programmes, focus on numbers to be attained in a quick time period. Additionally, unsustainable donor approaches, lack of alignment of donor interventions with government programmes and frameworks, and poor capacity building at the district level are areas where donors have been unsuccessful in their initiatives.

The effectiveness of donor programmes in Sindh has been minimal given the results of key education indicators during the decade under review. This has been mainly due to the nature of design of aid programmes – working under tight deadlines, sometimes with unrealistic targets, insufficient coordination between donors and government, ineffective mechanisms for mutual accountability and lack of harmonization among donors. The efforts to improve education through donor interventions is unlikely to succeed in the absence of any effective public sphere in education. In fact, the urgency set by donor programmes is counterproductive to their cause as it does not have room for a public discourse to

research and evaluate interventions, and then create ownerships for sustainability. Under the USAID funded ESRA and EDLINKS projects stakeholder platforms (PDFs) were initiated at the district level, but in the urgency of achieving project targets and goals, failed to sustain any good practices that emerged from the interventions. There was no debate or dialogue to bring stakeholders to accountability. The PDFs could not continue beyond the project, except in case of one district where the PDF lasted for about six months beyond the project. The education NGOs in Sindh, as in other provinces are part of one donor project or another and despite their advocacy mandates have not been able to create public forums or spheres where stakeholders could be questioned or held accountable.

Province-district communication was authoritative-subordinate type and not engaging for a partnership or mutual ownership. Capacity at the district level was criticized by provincial authorities, but they should be held accountable for not being able to do anything to build the required capacity, even though district capacity building has been a part of almost all interventions. Coordination and harmonization among donors was highlighted as an issue by the education department officials, leading to parallel initiatives in the province creating confusion for the government department, especially at the district and lower levels.

A couple of initiatives however, started with the joint collaboration of donors and Sindh Government have continued successfully. The Reform Support Unit (RSU), which was initiated with technical support from the World Bank (SAC) and USAID (ESRA) was set up in 2005 as an extension arm of the Sindh Education and Literacy Department with the objectives to provide support in streamlining the education reform agenda in Sindh, coordinate with donors to provide a single platform where donor led activities can converge and be implemented, and provide monitoring and research support to the Education Department through management of the Sindh Education Management Information system (SEMIS). A second initiative was the formulation of Sindh Teacher Education Development Authority (STEDA) as a result of various donor funded interventions made in Sindh in teacher education. It is worth noting here that both the initiatives were led by the Sindh Education Department with full ownership, and donor assistance was mostly of a technical nature.

5. Discussion on Data and Interview Findings

5.1 Overall Data Analysis

The analysis and discussions in the previous sections show that the performance of some key education indicators has either declined or remained stagnant, and in some cases improved between 2005 and 2015- the period under review of this study.

5.1.1 Dropouts

In all the four provinces the number of children dropping out of government schools between classes 1 and 5 are staggering: 66% in Balochistan (2010-2015 cohort); 33% in KP (2009-2014 cohort); 23% in Punjab (2010-2015 cohort); 41% in Sindh (2010-2015 cohort). Almost 75-80% children in Sindh, Balochistan and KP dropout of government schools between classes 1 and 10.

5.1.2 Access to Education

The access to education beyond primary is extremely challenging in all the four provinces. In Sindh there were 42,342 primary schools in 2013-2014, but only 2,336 middle schools (660 for girls), 1,752 high schools (544 for girls), and 298 higher secondary schools (84 for girls). In KP, there were around 23,000 primary schools (8,500 for girls) in 2014-2015, 2,600 middle schools (1,100 for girls), 2,100 high schools (700 for girls) and 400 higher secondary schools (140 for girls). In Balochistan during 2014-2015 there were 11,167 primary schools (3,087 for girls), 1,233 middle schools (512 girls), 836 high schools (264 for girls) and 43 higher secondary schools (17 for girls). In Punjab during the same year there were 36,894 primary schools, 8,420 middle schools, 6,266 high schools and 676 higher secondary schools.

5.1.3 Enrolment and Teacher Shortage

At the primary level on average there were 1.91 teachers/school in Balochistan, 2.23 teachers/school in Sindh. 2.85 teachers/school in Punjab and 3.12 teachers/school in KP during 2014-2015.

In Punjab the enrolment in all government schools dropped by almost 450,000 children between 2005-2006 and 2014-2015. Gross enrolment rates for Sindh,

Balochistan and KP were 30%, 32% and 48% for the government schools, showing that a large population of the children were outside of the government system, either enrolled in other school systems or not going to schools at all.

5.1.4 Missing Facilities

According to the 2014-2015 data for primary schools in Balochistan there were 55% boys' schools and 42% girls' schools without drinking water, and 45% and 47% without electricity. In KP during 2014-2015 there were 46% boys' primary schools without electricity, 37% without drinking water and 28% without toilets; for girls, 48% of all the primary schools were without electricity, 31% without water and 11% without toilet. In Sindh almost 50% of all the schools were without electricity and water, and almost 45% without toilets. In Punjab around 14% of all the schools were without electricity during 2013-2014, and around 2% without water and toilets.

5.1.5 Education Financing

The availability of public finances for education, while overall has increased in each province with increased education budgets as a %age of the total provincial budgets, the development side of the education budgets has not increased proportionally, and the expenditure of development budgets has remained a challenge in all the provinces. More than 90% of the total budget in all the provinces is used to cover salaries of the staff and teachers.

The state of key education indicators for all the four provinces summarised above shows a dismal performance on part of the stakeholders responsible for managing and running the education affairs, mainly the provincial or district governments but also their development partners including international aid agencies and NGOs. The availability of the required number of schools, teachers, basic facilities, and the number of children dropping out of the system or never enrolling, all raise serious questions about the capabilities and political will of the provinces who have been mandated with free and compulsory education of all the children between the age group of 5 and 16 after the 18th amendment ratification in 2011 and the introduction of article 25A to the constitution. The implementation of 25A would mean that all children are admitted to schools and they continue their education until completion of high school. However, the data shows that the

provincial governments, in partnership with the donor agencies, are unable to create a provision for children in the provinces to access and complete education up to the high school level.

5.1.6   Aid Alignment with Paris Declaration

Ownership - The efforts by donors to improve education in Pakistan in partnership with the government have not been very successful either. Some reasons for ineffective aid policies and interventions may include the approach and design of aid interventions, which is non-conducive to creation of policy level debates and dialogues and a discourse among public stakeholders to discuss the efficacies of aid interventions before they are adopted or implemented. The creation and working of public spheres is paramount for the successful ownership of foreign interventions, as also seen historically in other countries where policy borrowing and lending took place (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). As recently as in 2014 when the idea of Islamic Financing was discussed in the UK, policy papers and reports were developed[50] and public debates initiated; Cambridge University's Judge Business School was asked by the UK government to develop and offer a course on Islamic Finance. Without sufficient dialogue that engages stakeholders at every level of aid design and planning, implementation and evaluation, responsibility and accountability, the likelihood of a strong ownership will remain minimal.

Ownership of donor interventions at the district and lower levels has been marginal, mainly because the stakeholders at this level are not included in the design and planning of aid interventions, nor in the implementation and decision making of initiatives. The provincial education authorities exercise a strict control over all planning and decision making about any donor funded interventions, thereby excluding district and lower level stakeholders. The donors on their part are also not very successful in engaging stakeholders at the lower levels, resulting in apathy and a lack of ownership.

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[50] See e.g.,
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/367154/UKTI_UK_Excellenc e_in_Islamic_Finance_Reprint_2014_Spread.pdf

Alignment - Alignment of donor aid with national education priorities is a fundamental building block of effectiveness. This process, however, is still far from satisfactory. The donors are increasingly engaged at the provincial level, but they have been unable to find a high-quality education strategy aligned with national development strategies. It has been only recently that the KP, Balochistan and Sindh provincial governments have developed their education sector plans, providing a platform for the donors to align their interventions with the governments. However, even these plans are only up to the school level and do not include higher education. In Punjab, there is no proper Education Sector Plan and as a result, donors are supporting some interventions and reforms agreed with the Government of Punjab.

Harmonisation - Harmonisation requires donors to coordinate among themselves, simplify procedures and share information in order to avoid duplication of effort. In case of Pakistan, there has been little coordination or harmonisation among donors to avoid project overlaps or duplication of work. It was also gathered from interviews that some donors were not willing to join a common platform where other donors were also represented. The existence of PMIU, RSU, PPIU and ESRU have however, helped in improving coordination among donors and at the same time helped align donor interventions with government's policies and reforms agenda.

Mutual Accountability - The mutual accountability of donors and recipient governments to each other on results, and also to beneficiaries on whose behalf aid is spent is paramount. However, the stakeholder perspective is that such accountability is non-existent at any level, and this is mainly because there is little or no participation of the public/citizen groups in programme design and monitoring. Generally, citizens including parents are not even aware about donor-funded reforms, and there are no forums or platforms available where they can be represented and learn about donor initiatives.

5.2   Stakeholder Perspective

What insights can we develop from the stakeholders' perceptions of the design, development, and implementation of aid projects? I will first recount the perceptions followed by a discussion on them in terms of the key ideas of public

sphere and policy borrowing. I have already delved the conceptual connection between the three theories/concepts and the need to understand the aid effectiveness in terms of public sphere and borrowing. I will organize the perspectives under the headings of public sphere and policy borrowing for better clarity and understanding.

5.2.1 Public Sphere

More often than not, the stakeholders feel that that the donors are in the driving seat in all projects. Arguably the lack of ownership also indicates lack of public debate about project planning, monitoring and implementation. As a stakeholder in KP put it:

There is lack of ownership of international aid due to number of reasons including lack of capacity and political will. Donor agencies are always in a driving seat, and if ever there is any negotiation that is of superficial nature; donors dictate their terms and conditions. There is a trust deficit at provincial, federal and districts levels with donors.

The coordination between the donors and the government remains a thorny issue at all levels. According to an ex senior government official, now working for a donor project in Sindh:

There are donor initiatives that by pass RSU, SERP and other platforms and go directly to the districts or NGOs and start implementation of activities. They use various means to pressurize the Education Secretary, and then by pass any other requirements and go straight to the field. Such interventions are most useless, with no impact at all. A USAID project in 2002/2003, Districts that Work (DTW), was completely useless as it never coordinated anything with the government.

The official further said that donors do not always agree with government priorities, or its approach to manage aid programmes. Similarly, government finds it hard to follow donor protocols every time. This sometimes leads to a standstill situation in the projects and slows down the 'burn rate' for donors, which is one of their big concerns because their staff's performance is determined by how quickly have they managed to spend (burn) money and achieved targets:

> *USAID decided to create a PMIU for SBEP because it wanted greater control over the intervention, and not have the government take control - like a straitjacket approach.*

Lack of communication, ownership and partnership at the government level does not fully convey the areas of need at the host country level. This yet again delves into the debate of the demand versus supply notion of international aid. As an official in the KP Elementary and Secondary Education Department (E&SED) puts it:

> *GIZ, CIDA, USAID and Save the Children are supporting pre- and in-service training programmes, but not too satisfactorily in as far as quality is concerned. While the donors coordinate with the E&SE and DCTE their programmes are not uniform, and properly sequenced.*

This lack of coordination and fragmentation in donor driven reforms highlights the need for a public debate and communicative action a la Habermas (1964), while constantly communicating with all stakeholders. Kemmis and McTaggart (2005) mention that Public Spheres do not affect social systems (e.g., government, administration) directly; their impact on systems is indirect. In public spheres, participants aim to change the climate of debate, the ways in which things are thought about, and how situations are understood.

Quite apart from the supply driven nature of reforms, another aspect of aid which is associated with weakening of the public sphere, is the emphasis on improvement and modernisation with neo-liberalism as its technology. The unfolding of neo-liberalism in the policy discourse implies a greater role of private sector in the provision of public services. This weakens the public sphere further. Public services can be outsourced to the private sector but the latter is not subject to any debate or dialogue, or for that matter any research that should essentially be required before such outsourcing takes place. This obviates the need for public debate within public sphere.

In Punjab, for instance, the improvement efforts are moving towards a neo-liberalisation approach as the donor agencies are promoting utilisation of public expenditures for the private sector under the PEF and consequently a change in the state's role from provider to regulator. Globalisation and an international

competitive market drive an agenda of neoliberal reforms, reducing the role of state and increasing the market role in education (Lall & Nambissan, 2011).

A quote from a senior official about in-service teacher education reveals that the government is unable to organise itself in ways that could influence donor strategies and policies to address them. He also blames lack of consultation. I construe lack of consultation as due to a weak public sphere and lack of communicative action:

> *In-service teacher education, is almost entirely supported through donor programmes, but there is little coordination or cohesion among programmes or donors. All donor funded programmes at present focus at the primary level (except CIDA that also covers middle level). High and higher secondary levels are completely ignored. If the government wants to make best of international support, then it must organize itself better and guide the donors toward areas of need and gaps. A process of consultation involving field level staff must be ensured before any new programme is initiated. Provincial level bureaucracy is in no position on its own, nor has the information to guide donors, or agree to their plans without consulting key education stakeholders.*

A UNDP representative clearly pronounced issues relating to communication and coordination between donors and government, within government (province-district), and the absence of a public sphere, that if present would not only be helpful for guiding the reform process, but also creating accountabilities for responsible parties:

> *Normally, the communication between donors and government is most intense at the design and negotiation stages, and is limited to troubleshooting during the implementation and closure stages. Different ministries and departments within the government have different responsibilities towards donors, and likewise the type of communication that they maintain. (UNDP staff)*

> *There is very limited public space, on media or at the local or policy levels to discuss issues related to delivery of social services including education. Media is obsessed with issues that can make a headline,*

which then trickles down to the public discourse in various informal forums. A few donors (DFID through Alif Ailaan) have tried to do so, but it has yet to translate into local level forums that engage various stakeholders to solve gaps in service delivery. Where there is any debate, it often ends up blaming the government - in the third person - for not paying sufficient attention to provide services, rather than taking it a collective issue that can addressed through collective action and partnerships. (UNDP staff)

5.2.2 Policy Borrowing

Donor representatives from USAID and World Bank had mixed responses to the areas being investigated in this report:

The government has poor accountability and governance procedures which lead to a stagnation in the reform process. (World Bank, USAID staff)

Donors need to improve their coordination and let the government take the driving seat. (Former World Bank staff)

The level of ownership of donor interventions among government departments is declining. (Former World Bank staff)

Communication and coordination mechanisms are weak between central, provincial and district levels. (Former World Bank staff)

Donors dominate the agreement planning and programme focus; recipient government has a very weak role. (Former World Bank staff)

SBEP needed a separate PMIU because RSU is overstretched. SBEP is helping achieve the SESP. (USAID staff)

Donors need to focus upon institutional strengthening, and this should be their key reform agenda. (USAID staff)

The level of coordination between the government and donors however, varies across donors and thematic programme areas. Some donors work, or are required to work, closely with government counterparts, while others prefer to work independently. The multilateral agencies (World Bank, ADB and UN) try to work most closely with the government, followed by the bilateral agencies (DFID, USAID, etc.) and then the NGOs.

While the government would like to stay away from being in the driving seat on donor projects due to various issues, the donors reinforce this attitude by the government due to their own compulsions. All three major donors in Punjab, for example, highlighted issues relating to organisation, management and coordination within Government systems for better utilisation of aid. The respondents said that officials within provincial education departments needed to be more proactive with donors and that they must lead the initiatives rather than letting donors take the driving seat.

This concern resonated with my earlier experience with USAID projects, which also suggested general apathy among government officials towards aid as well as the apathy of donors toward the government. This mutual apathy is evidently reinforcing ineffective reform or policy borrowing. Resultantly, the policy is being formulated in closed circles, is finalised without a robust debate in the public sphere, and is implemented without proper ownership and earnestness by the line departments. The stakeholders in all provinces were cognisant of this weakening of public sphere but feel helpless in reversing this trend. Various different and diverging interests contribute to this trend, hence making it difficult to reverse.

The view point of donor representatives must also be examined in light of the donor agencies' rhetoric of 'state building' that constitutes good governance, public sector management strengthening, and devolution/decentralisation (Waites, 2008). In their pursuit of state building the donors work towards strengthening or modernising state structures such as ministries and departments. In this process, the departments and ministries in many cases become an extension of donor agencies and countries, open to learning from the experiences of the modern or developed countries. Good governance, management and devolution, are all pursued by the developing countries to be in line with the 'best practices' existing in the western countries and bringing state building within the ambit of policy borrowing. In particular, interventions relating to devolution and decentralisation are pursued and pushed without strengthening and consolidating of weak district and sub-district level systems incapable of surviving on their own subsequent to decentralisation.

The interviews with donor representatives revealed a favourable view of the international aid, being very useful for education in the provinces inasmuch as it

helped improve various indicators including quality and access. When provided data about declining enrolment, and increased dropouts they questioned its reliability. One respondent said that the enrolment decline was in some districts, but had been increasing overall everywhere. It seems that different people belonging to different organisations are relying on different data sets, and appear to be reaching different conclusions about the effectiveness of aid in terms of improving the education indicators.

The government officials tend to see the aid as supply driven, particularly on the grant side, and therefore do not feel accountable for its effective utilisation and outcome. Even loan programmes like World Bank's PESRP in Punjab have been largely seen as supply driven with the World Bank and consortia taking initiatives for its continuation.

A DFID evaluation report explains the lack of cooperation and interest on the part of government officials as follows: *Pakistan, as a less-aid dependent country, showed less appetite in the government for aid coordination, despite the existence of structure* (Chapman & Vaillant, 2010). DFID's evaluation can be analysed to infer that aid is increasing an unnecessary dependency for Pakistan that it does not require otherwise except as foreign exchange to pay for international goods and services, which may be not so necessary, as stated by Hirvonen (2005): 'All too often, aid is wasted on overpriced goods and services from donor countries'.

Another aspect is the lack of accountability mechanisms within government systems that allows public servants to get away without delivering the required minimum. The lack or absence of accountability exists at all levels and is further compounded by increasing political interference. With poor accountability mechanisms in place, no one is answerable on why the performance of education indicators is declining, or why is aid not contributing sufficiently, or being utilized to its maximum. Public sector accountability to the civil society is already negligible in the absence of any public sphere.

On the donors' side, the drive for support in the form of international aid to countries like Pakistan needs to be understood in the ambit of policy lending, or as Perkins (2004) puts it, a control mechanism. All aid to Pakistan, whether in loan or grant, and under economic or military assistance, comes with a motive and with a

price to pay back as we shall see through a brief recourse to history here. From 1998/1999 when Pakistan tested nuclear weapons and then had a military coup, it was kept under strict international sanctions until 9-11-2001 happened. As soon as Pakistan decided to become part of a US led coalition in the war against terrorism, while still being ruled by a military dictator, flood gates of international aid were opened both for economic and military assistance. Not only USAID but DFID, other European donors and the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) all were in action and providing all kinds of support to the Government of Pakistan. And this was not the first time that Pakistan had received such a welcoming response from the international donor community – in 1979 when the Soviet Union had attacked Afghanistan and Pakistan was being ruled by an army dictator, as soon as Pakistan decided to support the US proxy war in Afghanistan against the Soviets, international aid came in volumes that no one could have expected at that time. Therefore, on at least two counts development aid to Pakistan has been tied up with becoming part of an international military coalition and linked with continued compliance on a number of conditions, militarily, politically and economically.

A case in point is where this aid gets reviewed by donor agencies as a result of a shift in political situation or stance - two major events that happened in Pakistan on May 2 and November 26, 2011[51] and that have led to continued discussions in US Congress on whether aid should continue to Pakistan, or if it should be stopped. More recently as Pakistan drew closer to finalising a gas pipeline deal with Iran, political pressure from the USA in various forms has been growing to try and halt the deal. The majority of international aid is clearly linked to political motives and geopolitical situation as it benefits the donor countries, whether economically or politically. Hurst (1981) claims:

> *Aid to education moreover can yield considerable diplomatic and trade-related benefits to donors…. Governments have mixed motives for providing aid. Many of the rulers are intended to serve the interests of donors rather than recipients.*

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[51] Killing of Osama Bin Laden by US Commandos on Pakistani soil and Attack on a Pakistan Military Check Post near Afghan Border

The quotes below from various school and district officials reflect a scenario where the district authorities, school councils and parents are not empowered and have to rely upon provincial institutions and representatives for procuring services for school infrastructure – instead poor quality of services through connivance in corruption are procured and used. Another area of concern has to do with the fact that development schemes and funds are left at the whims of political representatives and parliamentarians, and mostly end up with infrastructure related initiatives that may or may not be the best use of resources.

Information provided by the districts suggests that the district level development schemes are not based on their needs. The Executive District Officer (EDO) Education in a district said:

> *District level development schemes are all controlled by the province and do not take into account district needs or priorities but run on provincial whims and political motives – donor funded schemes are also decided and planned by the province, whether or not they are in response to district needs, and the funds are also routed through provincial departments - no donor provides any direct support to districts.*

The viewpoint above clearly highlights the issue raised earlier in the report of lack of involvement of the districts and a centralised planning and decision making system in place. Without involving key stakeholders at all levels a continued lack of ownership of interventions will prevail that is non-conducive to the whole development process.

A Headmaster (HM) in a High School said:

> *If procurement for missing facilities is devolved to the school level and the HM and school council (SC) are fully empowered to procure services and goods using prescribed rules, they can get much better value for money and expedited services compared with the present system.*

Issues of corruption and mismanagement of funds are commonly found in the districts. A Headmistress in a High School said:

> *Two parliament members provided two new blocks to the school - a 6 room building done through Rs. 10 million provided by one parliamentarian, and a 4 room building done through Rs. 7.6 million by the other parliamentarian.*

While the new blocks and rooms were a very useful addition to school facilities and in ensuring that all 2300 school girls will have classrooms available, the cost of construction was inflated as she learned from the builder (off the record), by almost 50-55%; excessive amount was used in various kickbacks and bribes and the remaining was used on construction. The quality of construction was very poor and within a year had water seepage and the windows needed replacement.

DSD in Punjab is a provincial institution responsible for managing all in-service and some pre-service teacher education in Punjab. Like any other provincial level institution, it would not like to pass on or share any authority or autonomy with the districts. A DSD Representative said:

Districts have no capacity to plan/manage, implement and monitor teacher training activities - capacity is a serious issue in the districts at all levels from the office of EDO through to the schools - there is poor capacity to handle finances and budgets at all levels including schools. Due to poor capacity at the district level financial management is a high risk area in district education. Due to poor capacity, funds utilisation is marred with inefficiency and does not get utilised completely.

Opinions from the DSD representative as well as from some other provincial level staff in other provinces are in contrast to the district and school level staff who feel that they are left out of development planning. Aid is not directly geared towards districts or schools, and according to district level officials, their greater local involvement could result in better services for schools and education. Senior officials of the provincial departments as well as donor agency representatives believe that international aid contributes meaningfully for education uplift and should continue. However, junior provincial officials and staff at district and school level lay a greater emphasis on reliance on local human resources and working through committees and communities – a public sphere - more devolution and decentralisation, and a sustainable approach to development that asks for better utilisation of public sector development funds – more in line with dependency theorists for reducing dependency on aid as they see little or no benefits of aid on the system.

The difference in perception among provincial officials towards donor funded programmes should be seen in light of 'investments' that are made on in-country and international training programmes for senior government officials by aid agencies, leading to a bureaucratic elite being educated to take up leadership positions that are also supportive of aid agenda and agencies. As Watson puts it (1982):

> *This is part of a deliberate policy as individuals trained as such would not only cooperate but will also take over control and leadership at some point to tow the West agenda as had been the practice in many newly independent countries.*

According to Watson, the most lasting legacy of the colonial control is seen in what has come to be known as neo-colonialism, the domination of rich world over the poorer countries of the third world, even though the latter are officially independent. Control may take place through foreign aid programmes, capital aid for buildings, technical assistance training, publishing firms, newspaper publishing, the media, recognition of examinations and diplomas and research links between universities in the Third World and North (Watson, 1982).

Over the last decade through my experience with USAID education funded programmes in Sindh and Balochistan provinces, a number of mid and senior level government officials were sent to USA for short and long term training programmes. To put this in words of a senior US government official: "*We want to change peoples' perceptions about USA, and these training programmes are an important tool in this regard*"[52]. Such education trips may not only just be working to safeguard interests of the donor agencies, they also work towards changing perceptions of people towards US and the West.

Many senior government officials and politicians are among the biggest proponents of international aid for education and development along with civil society representatives. In contrast, officials at the lower level or practitioners at school level neither have much knowledge of the aid programmes nor see any benefits and are therefore either indifferent or less approving of aid. The notions of school representatives and EDOs clearly indicate a greater reliance on local

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[52] US Ambassador to Pakistan's monthly briefings with USAID/ESRA local programme team, 2003

infrastructure and resources, reducing dependency on the international or modern institutions.

Evidently, the data shows that despite a great deal of aid driven activity in the education sector, the system of education has not registered any significant improvement in terms of processes and outcomes. That is to say, the system does not seem to have benefited from the influx of education aid. The question may be raised about where the benefits of education aid, then, are registered. Here, I can only offer a hypothetical explanation with reference to my experience instead of hard data. The latter may be obtained by further systematic research on the matter. In my experience, the biggest beneficiaries of international aid are project staff and implementing organizations, international and national contracting organisations and the staff associated with them, both national and international followed by Government counterpart staff, who receive payments under honoraria, are sent abroad on education programmes, and in some cases are also partners in an unofficial capacity with local NGOs who are partnering in project implementation. Additionally, the government officials associated with the aid programmes also receive special project incentives as well as professional development through special exposure programmes.

A large part of programme related costs that get spent on interventions like teachers' training, material development, infrastructure, and social mobilisation have a large budget head that is set aside for consultants and expert institutions specialising in various services, while some payments are also made to teachers and junior government staff as per diem for participating in programme activities. In short, the way international aid programmes are structured, they work best to benefit the privileged and those who are part of a nexus and well networked to be at the right place at the right time.

Modernisation through neoliberal approaches for delivery of educational services also inevitably involve engagements which cannot be achieved without involving the privileged because it is through these local elite networks that policies and programmes promoting private interests are devised, implemented and given legitimacy. For example, technology led interventions to modernise education delivery involved engagement of software and technology firms that were very well

established already and had connections with the donors as well as senior government officials.

According to Lall and Nambissan (2011, page 5), such policies and reforms have the active support of middle classes as they tend to benefit most from these policies.

The education policy cannot truly represent solutions to the local problems if they are not debated in public sphere. The mechanics of education are not designed to subject borrowed policies to debate in the public sphere. As long as these mechanics do not change, the expected changes in the system will not come about. The stakeholders in the implementation line departments will continue to implement the projects half-heartedly and without any genuine ownership of the borrowed concepts and policies.

6.   Conclusion

This research is aimed at understanding the effectiveness of aid to education in Pakistan. This research contributes to the existing knowledge on the topic on both theoretical and practical fronts. Advancing the theoretical knowledge on aid effectiveness, the study applies Habermas' concept of the public sphere in order to see if public sphere exists in Pakistan and how beneficial it is in the aid effectiveness context. The practical contribution of the study is to analyze the effectiveness of aid against the performance of the public education sector in the four provinces of Pakistan in light of a number of important questions at the policy and implementation level.

6.1   Performance in Key Education Indicators

The review of data indicates that enrolment has consistently declined in all the provinces across the period under review even though aid in all the provinces is directed towards improving access indicators. Dropout data also shows staggering numbers of students dropping out of the system at all levels, and the dropout percentage is increasing every year, resulting in more children leaving the system than enrolling. Opportunities for accessing education at each level in all the provinces show a steep pyramid where there are several schools at the primary level, and then a sudden drop of almost 90% in the number of schools at middle and higher levels. The availability of teachers at the primary school level, particularly women, is disappointing and contributes to low levels of learning among girls.

Missing Facilities have gradually improved over the years, more in some provinces then others, but are still in a disappointing state when one looks at the actual numbers of children without access to basic facilities.

Interventions in teacher education seem to have little impact on student learning levels except in Punjab where teacher training has been taken up as an ongoing initiative on government budget. However, no data on teacher behaviour and practices has been collected anywhere to develop some evidence based interventions.

Government education budget allocations are on the rise, but mainly due to rising salary expenditures. Development side expenses are almost non-existent for the

districts, existing only under provincial budgets and utilised as decided by higher authorities at the provincial level with little involvement of district or sub-district levels for identifying and prioritizing the needs.

It would be pertinent to conclude that the effectiveness of aid for education in Pakistan over the last decade has been marginal, showing slight improvements in some areas and stagnancy or decline in others. Increasing dropouts and declining enrolment should be seen in conjunction with increasing enrolment in private schools of all fee types, which indicates a definite demand for education among all strata of the society, and their declining confidence in public sector education. The SED in Punjab under covenants with the World Bank and partners is also heavily financing the PEF, promoting low-fee private schooling, which in the perception of many government officials is resulting in migration from public to PEF schools. Sindh has followed Punjab for supporting the creation of low-fee private schools using public funds.

Aid effectiveness must also be seen in light of effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) of accountability mechanisms that are in place in all the provinces, as well as planning and management capabilities of the provincial education departments for utilisation of aid successfully. The fact is that there is no accountability at any level, and the situation is further exacerbated by the extensive political interference that completely disregards any accountability measures that may be proposed.

6.2   Paris Declaration

The principles of Paris Declaration, with their drgrees of variations from province to province, have not been adhered to by the donors in the most effective of ways. The principle of ownership has been the most challenging one in almost every province and with most donor interventions. Provincial and district education departments have looked at many donor interventions as 'foreign' to their domain where they have little or no role to play, and therefore do not own them. The lack of ownership is much more visible at the district level where information about the donor projects within government departments is very low, and the responsiblity for this lack of information rest with the provincial department as well as the donors. Even at the provincial level, barring situations where there is presence of a dynamic leadership

within education department, the ownership is reduced only to a level where donor projects share progress with the department.

After the creation of units like PMIU, RSU, ESRU and PPIU in the four provinces there has been better alignment of donor interventions with government policy frameworks. Prior to these however, the donor interventions were not well aligned with government priorities and plans and contributed much less to the government agenda or to their pursuit of achieving international goals.

Donor harmonisation, though much improved after creating of units mentioned in the previous paragraph, still is far from satisfactory. Donors are driven by their own priorities that may or may no coincide with each other, and therefore have tended to operate in isolation from each other causing project management challenges for the provincial education departments.

The principle of mutual accountability has been a challenge as neither the government nor the donors would want to take the blame for the failure of a project, and therefore with either shift the blame or keep the performance indicators to a very low level so as to avoid failures and accountability.

6.3   Public Sphere and Policy Borrowing

In the current foreign aid environment, the funds are not simply transferred from the donor to recipient country. The entire package consists of both funds as well as policy ideas and reform practices, with the aim to uplift and modernise the education sector of the recipient country. Existing solutions to policy problems, which are preferred by the donors, also travel with funds to the recipient countries. The primary vehicles for the transfer of ideas and policies are the contracting firms and consultants who bid on large-scale aid projects. The ideas also transfer from one context to the other through educational interactions and field trips. In the case of Pakistan, for example, the ideas of child-centred and activity-based learning were implanted into the donor driven teacher education projects through the donor driven interventions in the wake of Education for All declaration. Likewise, the World Bank favoured the introduction of School Management Councils (SMCs) in the mid1990s and the idea was pushed into the mainstream through successive policy credits from the World Bank to the federal and provincial governments in Pakistan. In the following decade, the promotion of

public private partnerships and creation of low fee private schools, along with establishing standards for teachers and students were introduced in Pakistan under various donor initiatives.

However, borrowing of ideas and their implementation without adequate debate and adaptation is a symptom of the absence of an effective public sphere. The public sphere, as Habermas (1991, 1964) points out, needs to be organised and kept alive through individual and collective actions. In the case of Pakistan, the supply driven nature of the aid projects finds public spheres counterproductive to their approach, and weakens them. The absence of trust and ownership comes across, arguably, as symptoms of a weakened public sphere. While the reforms may be based on technically sound ideas, without going through the rigours of public debate and dialogue, they are short lived and mostly there for the duration of aid interventions, while continuously weakening the organisation of public sphere to achieve their goals under tight deadlines and timeframe.

Civil society is one of the most significant parts of the public sphere which has the ability to influence government and donor policies. However, an important aspect is the fact that increasing number of civil society organizations are themselves funded by the donors. Dependence on donors for funding influences civil society organizations' advocacy capacities and their capabilities as the policy influencers and watch dogs.

In short, education policies in Pakistan cannot address local problems if they are not debated in public sphere, engaging the concerned stakeholders. The mechanics of our education system are not designed to subject borrowed policies to debate in the public sphere. As long as these mechanics do not change, the expected changes in the system will not come about.

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8. Appendices

8.1 Interview Questionnaire

4-5 interviews in each province and 4 in Islamabad covering Additional and Deputy Secretaries, ESRU, PMIU, EPMU, RSU, DSD, Bureaus of Curriculums/<u>PITEs</u>, District Education Departments, World Bank, USAID, DFID, GIZ, AKF, ADB, UN

Introductory Section

1. What is your name and designation in the DED/PED[53]/Donor Agency?

2. How long have you worked with the DED/PED/Donor Agency?

3. What other positions/ranks have you served on with DED/PED/Donor prior to this current position?

Donor Programme Related Section

4. What is your understanding of the donor funded interventions that are being implemented by the PED/GoP; what are the programmes about, basic details on their structure, components? You can provide details on anyone or more programmes.

5. How in your opinion have the programmes performed since you have been associated with them?

6. Are you able to provide any quantifiable evidence to your claims on programme performance?

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[53] District Education Department and Provincial Education Department

Provincial Education Indicators Related

7.   What is your opinion about key programme areas and indicators from 2000
        to 2010? Please comment specifically on the following:

        Access to Education - including enrolment, dropout, school environment
        and facilities

        Quality in Education - including student learning outcomes, school leaving
        examinations, school environment and facilities, and support to in-service
        teachers through mentoring and training

        Governance in Education - including decision making processes,
        communication processes, accountability procedures, budgetary planning
        and allocation processes

8.   In case of either improvement or decline in areas and indicators over the
        decade under review, what reasons do you associate with it?

9.   How reliable do you think the data on performance indicators is?

Aid Covenants and Procedures - including specific partnership indicators, aid
alignment with government policy frameworks, monitoring of aid programmes, and
coordination mechanisms among donors

10.   What is the nature of communicative action[54] between the education-aid
        donors and the federal and provincial governments in Pakistan?

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[54] Hierarchical communication structures within the government system, and between donors and
government, and how these structures exclude/include key stakeholders in the processes of planning and
implementation

11. How do governments (provincial) arrive at particular agreements regarding the focus and quantum of education-aid with the donors? To what extent do these agreements contribute to development of local/national ownership of particular aid initiatives?

12. What horizontal and vertical communication and coordination mechanisms exist between the provincial and district governments for the implementation of aided interventions at the district level?

13. How closely are aided programmes and plans aligned with the government policy and implementation frameworks, medium as well as long term?

14. What is the level of coordination among donors given the context of Pakistan where multiple donors are present and many programmes are implemented simultaneously? This coordination is to be seen in light of how programmes build upon each other and ensure continuity.

15. What role does international politics play in determining preferred programme as well as geographic areas of focus for donors, and how do these align with government preferences?

16. What is the level of ownership of aid programmes within concerned government departments?

8.2 Acronyms

ADB – Asian Development Bank

ASER – Annual Status of Education Report

CIDA – Canadian International Development Agency

CPD – Continuous Professional Development

DCTE – Directorate of Curriculum and Teacher Education

DED – District Education Department

DFID – Department for International Development

DLI – Disbursement Linked Indicator

DMO – District Monitoring Officer

DO – District Officer

DSD – Directorate of Staff Development

DTE – District Teacher Educator

EDO – Executive District Officer

EMIS – Education Management Information System

EOI – Expression of Interest

E&SED – Elementary and Secondary Education Department

EVS – Education Voucher Scheme

FAP – Financial Assistance Programme

FY – Fiscal Year

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GER – Gross Enrolment Rate

GIZ - German Development Agency

HDI – Human Development Index

HDR – Human Development Report

IFS – Institution Focused Study

IMF – International Monetary Fund

I-SAPS – Institute for Social and Policy Sciences

KP – Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

KPESP - Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Education Support Programme

M&E – Monitoring and Evaluation

MTDF – Medium Term Development Framework

NER – Net Enrolment Rate

NGO – Non-Government Organisation

NSP – New School Programme

ODI – Overseas Development Institute

OECD – Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

PDO – Project Development Objective

PEACE – Provincial Education Assessment Centre

PEAS – Provincial Education Assessment System

PEC – Punjab Examinations Commission

PEF – Punjab Education Foundation

PESP – Punjab Education Support Programme

PESRP – Punjab Education Sector Reform Programme

PISA – Programme for International Student Assessment

PITE – Provincial Institute for Teacher Education

PMIU – Project Monitoring and Implementation Unit

PSLM - Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement

PTBB – Punjab Text Book Board

QAT – Quality Assurance Test

RSU – Reform Support Unit

SAHE – Society for the Advancement of Education

SBEP – Sindh Basic Education Programme

SED – School Education Department

SIS – Student Information System

STEDA – Sindh Teacher Education Development Authority

STR – Student Teacher Ratio

TIMSS - Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study

TLM – Teaching Learning Material

UK – United Kingdom

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund

USA – United States of America

USAID – United States Agency for International Development

8.3 List of Organisations and Institutions Representing Interviewees

AKU-IED Karachi
Asian Development Bank
Balochistan Education Department
DCTE KP
DFID
DSD Punjab
E&SED Sindh
ESRA and EDLINKS Project Team Members
GIZ – German Development Cooperation
Government Primary and Elementary Schools in all provinces
I-SAPS Islamabad
KP Education Department
PITE KP and Balochistan
PMIU Punjab
RSU Sindh
SAHE Lahore
SED Punjab
Selected District Education Offices in all provinces
Selected Teachers in all provinces
STEDA
UNDP
USAID
World Bank