



United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization



Global
Education
Monitoring
Report

Country case study prepared for the 2017/8 Global Education Monitoring Report

Accountability in education: Meeting our commitments

Accountability in Education in Pakistan

This paper was commissioned by the Global Education Monitoring Report as background information to assist in drafting the 2017/8 GEM Report, Accountability in education: Meeting our commitments. It has not been edited by the team. The views and opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and should not be attributed to the Global Education Monitoring Report or to UNESCO. The papers can be cited with the following reference: "Paper commissioned for the 2017/8 Global Education Monitoring Report, Accountability in education: Meeting our commitments". For further information, please contact gemreport@unesco.org.



In Pakistan, 'Ehtasab' is the direct translation of term 'accountability'. However, the commonly understood meanings of the word allude to holding someone accountable mostly for money. It does not refer to self-regulation or the obligation of a person or organization towards the entrusted responsibility or property. Even one of its derived words in the local language, the word **Muhtasab** (Master of Accountability), borrowed from the Persian language, is traditionally perceived as a narrow-minded religious zealot who mercilessly suppresses the spirit of social liberalism and free thought. Its main use is in political sloganeering, criticism of political adversaries in power and the creation of controversial public institutions with anti-corruption function has resulted in the term carrying connotations that are more political. (Mottahedeh & Stilt, 2003; W. A. Shah, 2016)

Some alternative terms exist which though closer in meaning to accountability, tend to be narrower or broader in scope. Though significantly narrower, the function of **audit** is often used as a replacement to general accountability mechanisms. However, it is limited to the financial domain, restricting its applicability for the public. A more pertinent though widely underused phrase is the contextually relevant '**Jawab Dahi**' or '**Being answerable to**'. This phrase is widely understood, and conveys the nuances of accountability with respect to self-regulation and responsibility for one's actions, roles and functions. **Jawab Dahi** is also a phrase that fits within Pakistan's hierarchal, bureaucratic and religious culture and as such is far more palatable to the public (SSDO PAKISTAN, 2016).

In public affairs, the word 'Ehtasab' has political baggage. It is tagged with the establishment of Ehtesab Bureau in 1997, which faced severe criticism for being used as a tool to prosecute political opponents (Rizvi, 1999). In the public system of governance, the scope of accountability initiatives is generally confined to anti-corruption (Siddiq, 2013). The National Accountability Ordinance was promulgated and the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) formulated in 1999 with the mandate to control corruption in public office holders of political and civil services. Due to recurring political interference, NAB remains largely toothless and ineffective even within its limited mandate. In cases where it manages to identify financial irregularities of public office holders, the outcome is either meek acceptance of **Voluntary Return** (mechanism wherein on returning the crime proceeds the accused is restored to his position of influence) or **Plea Bargain** (whereby prosecution is limited to tendering a small fee for those who have removed large tranches of public funds during their time in office) (Siddiq, 2013; "The NAB effect," 2016).

The excessive and oft inappropriate use of the word 'Ehtasab' or accountability in general politics and arbitrary underlying process to create institutions with the mandate of accountability has rendered the word largely negative and meaningless and its processes futile. Read in this context, most of the Pakistani institutions currently linked with "Ehtasab", i.e. Wafaqi Muhtasab, Tax Muhtasab, Banking & Insurance Muhtasab, Provincial Muhtasab etc. enjoy only an advisory or recommendatory role but still require progress to ensure meaningful and lasting change (W. A. Shah, 2016; "The NAB effect," 2016).

Thus in Pakistan the term and process of Ehtasab becomes associated with political victimization, ineffective processes and institutions for anti-corruption work, and restricted to financial accountability of others. The elements of self-regulation, personal and organizational responsibility for roles, function and performance, transparency and integrity need to be weaved in the accountability discourse for its broader application in the social, political, and financial domains of the society.

1. Country Context

Upon its creation in 1947 Pakistan held its first All Parties Conference, which highlighted free and compulsory education as its primary need. However, to maintain national unity, Urdu was selected as its national language despite being spoken only by a small section of its Muhajir (migratory) population. Under the influence of the ruling elite and other power brokers (Bureaucrats, Generals, feudal landlords and the religious right) the emerging education infrastructure resulted in the four tier parallel education systems: **Madrassas** (Religious Schools), **Private Schools** (English and Urdu), **Public Schools**, and **Army schools** (Andrabi, Das, Khwaja, & Zajonc, 2005; Lall, 2009; Rahman, 2005).

Pakistan followed a centralised education system until April 2010 and the passage of the 18th amendment. Article 25 A of the amendment stated a “Right to education: The state shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to 16 years in such manner as may be determined by law” (*Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act*, 2010). The amendment also decentralized the system of education, limited the role of the federal government, and expanded the purview of the provinces, despite concerns of a lack of provincial capacity (Imran, 2016).

2. Challenges

Pakistan’s education sector faces several stark challenges. A mix of issues related to poor leadership and governance, institutional imbalances and a lack of political consensus building have resulted in a milieu of issues including (Anwar, 2015; Azfar-ul-Ashfaq, 2016; Haider, 2013, p. 20; Lall, 2009):

Structural Inefficiencies:

Pakistan has demonstrated that that the impact of any educational reform or policy does not necessarily trickle down to the very poor, females. Female literacy remains problematic as does rural education. Constant political interference in school and colleges, results in reduced school/college autonomy and independent decision-making. An extremely inefficient managerial capacity and an evident lack of dedication/motivation of low salaried teachers, likely reduce the quality of offered services. In the wake of devolution, some adjustment issues would pose a major challenge to the provinces, given their relatively low capacity as well as a lack of experience especially in matters related to policy formulation, planning and management of programmes. However, time, and a marked dedication of provincial governments and INGOs have the potential of improving this (Ahmed, 2016; Habib, 2013; Mukhtar, n.d.; UKEssays, 2013).

A lack of established training and hiring practices:

Pakistan’s teacher recruitment sometimes has been problematic. Political interference, nepotism, ghost teachers and non-transparent practices are frequent. In the light of political devolution, it is heartening to note that many provinces have made inroads to improve matters. For example Kyber Pakhtunkhwa enacted a policy requiring all teachers undergo a test from the National Testing Services (NTS), increasing the transparency and meritocracy of the teacher hiring process (Ahmad 2015). Additionally the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Independent Monitoring Unit and Punjab Programme Monitoring and Implementation Unit work to ensure that now Data collection occurs monthly and captures information on teacher and student attendance, retention rates, infrastructure, and management (Read and Atnik, 2017; p7). However, cases still emerge in provinces like Punjab where ‘despite having qualified on merit, teachers were not considered because of issues like obtaining No Objection Certificates (NOCs) from the highest competent authority and clerical misconducts’; Sindh where

involvement of many stakeholders has caused excessive delays in hiring; and Balochistan where teachers with fake degrees have managed to enter the system. (Alam, 2015)).

The poor capacities of policy implementers, education managers and teachers:

This has been addressed in many forums, most succinctly by the then Country Director of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) who pointed towards the “lack of capacity to plan, implement and deliver results”. He further noted that on the issues of MDG’s the presence of sound and consistent social-sector policies could have enabled Pakistan to perform better. (Ahmed, 2016). This inability to develop and plan sound policies often can result in ad hoc implementation plans and resultantly an under-spending of allocated education funds (Bethke, 2009; Naz et al., 2016; Watson & Khan, 2010).

Insufficient financial support and expenditure:

According to a UNESCO situation analysis, rough estimates indicated that attaining the net primary enrolment rate of 100% by 2015/16 would have required, ‘besides massive improvements in governance and implementation, a fund of PKR 1,300 billion’. In the context of literacy, making 36 million people literate in the next five years would require PKR 1,788 billion. (Mukhtar, n.d.). The federal or the provincial governments’ allocations to education have not matched these figures. A lack of allocation however is not nearly as worrying as a lack of expenditure on budgeted amounts (Dawn, 2016; Y. H. Khan, 2016; Setna, 2016). This resource constraint is a major challenge which restricts improvement in education indicators (Kiani, 2016).

This practically means: only about 49% of grade 5 students can read a sentence in English; half of them can do 2-digit division; half of all government schools have usable toilets; many are missing key resources and other facilities; and massive disparities of outcomes exist within and between provinces (ASER Pakistan, 2015, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, 2009, UNESCO, 2010; IWPR, n.d.; Lall, 2009). In provinces like KPK reports note that (Shaheen, 2013):

- Schools have been established at places where not needed.
- Due to political consideration / pressures, the sites have not been chosen well and non-feasible planning has been conducted in this regard.
- School buildings have been constructed without basic amenities. Wherever made available, those are irrespective of its suitability for school and how much strength the school has.

The encouraging aspect in this state of education is the emerging advocacy for the resolution of these issues. The influence of non-governmental organizations and pressure groups along with international commitments has created a marked visibility for the gaps and inefficiencies in the system pushing for accountability amongst government actors (“A history of education,” 2013; Z. Khan, 2015). This trend is evident through an emphasis on education in the constitutions of political parties, policy priorities and budgetary allocations of the national and regional governments. Provinces like Balochistan have recently dropped their budget from a high 20% of its total budget to 17% this year, still marking a total monetary increase of 2%(S. A. Shah, 2016). Sindh and KPK have each increased their education budgets by 19 per cent followed by Punjab with a nine per cent increase(Abdullah Alam, 2016).

3. Actors and Accountability

Several groups play pivotal roles in the state of Pakistan’s education sector. The following section will strive to outline each actor’s roles and responsibilities, their priorities, the means through which they are held accountable, and a few inputs that could potentially enable them to perform their functions better.

The Federal and Provincial Governments

Prior to devolution of power to provincial governments in 2010, the Federal Government in Pakistan was responsible for education policy planning and its implementation in across the country. The devolution of education to provincial governments under 18th Constitutional amendment has restricted the scope of the federal government's role in education sector (Government of Pakistan, 2010; *i-Saps 2010*).

In the post 2010 education governance framework, the federal government is responsible for: standards in higher education along with technical and scientific institutions and research, coordination and inter-provincial matters; implementation of international treaties, and administration of education in Islamabad and federally administered areas (Government of Pakistan, 2010; *i-Saps, 2010*). The provincial governments are responsible for determining and developing policy, planning, curriculum, standards and Islamic education.

The Education Policy 2009 (Government of Pakistan 2009) holds provincial governments responsible for the:

- Effectiveness of educational policies
- Allocation and application of funds to achieve policy targets
- Effectiveness of regulatory and monitoring mechanism for private sector
- Collection and availability of educational data

As a constitutional obligation, all provincial governments must provide free education to all children aged 5-16 (Article 25 A in the Constitution of Pakistan). However due to financial constraints, capacity issues and lethargy prevailing in the public sector, this obligation faces severe qualitative and quantitative shortcomings. Provincial governments are still striving to ensure general education, school security, subsidize professional education and have a priority of technical education focusing on semi-skilled labour. The sheer size of the educational system with 44,435,753 diverse learners, 1,652,141 teachers and 267,955 existing educational institutions is overwhelming. In addition, low fund allocations, interference of feudal and elite to retain their hegemony, capacity deficit and pervasive corruption in the system (Government of Pakistan, 2009) also pose challenge for energizing a strategic commitment for a well-performing and accountable education system.

However, governments in Pakistan have a structure of enabling factors to establish a culture of responsibility and accountability in their system, which includes:

- availability of public funds for desired budgetary allocations as provincial governments earmark significant portion of their total provincial budget for education, which was highest in 2014-15 budgets ranging between 19%-26% (*i-Saps, 2014*);
- existing regulatory bodies with rules, regulations and processes in the form of government education departments, assessments boards, policy forums, registration and accreditation bodies with elaborate procedures, rules and guidance laid out in law;
- trained workforce in the form of 1.6 million teachers, their supervisors and people working in allied departments and institutions like assessment boards, curriculum wings, institutes of teacher education, Inter-Board Committee of Chairmen;
- infrastructures for desired system enhancement such as trainings and inductions through provincial institutes for professional development and recruitment of experts at national and provincial levels on consultancy and special management scales;
- monitoring and evaluation systems such as the Independent Monitoring Unit (IMU) in KPK and the Project Monitoring Implementation Unit (PMIU) in Punjab;

- and quality assurance and certification structures, and reporting systems like bi-monthly stock-takes by Chief Minister, district Performance Management System and District Review Committees in Punjab, District Steering Committees KPK, Local Education Groups in Sindh and Balochistan.

Governments in Pakistan can use these institutional resources of funding, certification and regulatory bodies, huge pool of human resource and monitoring systems to incentivize performance within the system. It is possible through establishing effective standards, incentives, information sharing, and accountability mechanisms (Lewis and Pettersson, 2009) to be used for internal accountability of schools, teachers, departments, and governments by the system itself as well as for accountability by engaged and informed external actors like parents, community organizations and civil society. Clarity on standards, information about the standards as well as sanctions for not meeting them and incentives to motivate performance will be the key elements for internal accountability in the system. On financing, making disaggregated allocations; ensuring timely release of funds and tracking spending on quarterly basis; and making information on these three facets of financial performance publically available can be the key steps for engaging internal processes and external actors in the drive for a well performing system. For public accountability on system effectiveness, devising meaningful information packages on performance and publishing these continuously and periodically like Education Report Cards (Andrabi et al 2014) and district education ranking system (Alif Ailaan 2016) can be the way forward.

International Partners

Many bilateral and multi-lateral international organizations work very closely with the government of Pakistan and through their networks of implementing partners lead efforts to address the lingering gaps in education service delivery. These organizations have different thematic and geographic priorities for educational development programmes (Government of Pakistan, 2009) as USAid has a huge reading programme for developing literacy skills of primary school children and DFID education programming priority areas are Punjab and KPK. Some international partners work through governments by providing budgetary support like DFID, GPE and World Bank and others have thematic focus as Australian Government has supported early childhood development projects in Balochistan and KPK. One concerted focus of all big donors in education sector in Pakistan is policy development and system strengthening like DFID's funding for Education Sector Plans and technical assistance for their implementation capacity building, USAid's support for teacher education strengthening and the Australian assistance in developing Early Childhood Education Policy for Balochistan and the Gilgit-Baltistan Education Strategy (GBES). The established international development partners like USAid, DFID, EU, and multilateral partners like World Bank have extensive monitoring and evaluation requirements (ADS 200[USAid's standards for programming]) and stringent compliance regimes delineating internal controls, procurements, cash management and financial reporting (European Commission 2010; House of Commons, 2011; USAid, 2011). These internal controls help international partners in ensuring justification for spending taxpayer money of their respective countries. In addition, international actors have some mechanism for performance accountability of the organizations or interventions they sponsor such as:

- Third party performance audits as captured through evaluations both mid-term and end of the project ,
- Supervisory and oversight bodies as Global Affairs Canada (GAC) projects have project steering/oversight committees with representation of donor, implementer and respective government officials,

- Effective campaigns by donors for feedback and complaints like USAid helpline for complaints of corruption/misappropriation in any of their projects,
- Compliance of local laws including tax laws aiming at documentation of activities and funding provision as part of procurement policies of all major donors

The target audience of these internal controls and performance monitoring and evaluation frameworks in international partners' work is the providers of the funding-respective governments and their taxpayers. The government of Pakistan and the people of Pakistan are considered the beneficiaries of the funds and programme interventions; yet, their views and priorities are not sought at the country strategy and programme design stage. Recent changes in country aid strategy for Canadian and Australian governments have affected the ongoing support for educational development as the Canadian government has removed education from its priority area of support and Australian government have substantially reduced funding for its early childhood development program (DFAT, 2016; Government of Canada, 2015). This approach, mainly responsive to donor governments' priorities, has implications for the aid's effectiveness here. The varying development priorities of their respective home departments and Pakistan governments while working in a volatile security and political environment are a big challenge for international partners. These development partners have provided generous support for education in Pakistan, however, sometimes there is duplication of effort and disconnect between donor funded programmes and government priorities. Pakistan Education Policy 2009 document also refers to this issue and points out lack of coordination and political commitment as the main factors (Government of Pakistan, 2009). Similarly, sustainability, impact, scaling up and ownership of interventions is also a big challenge for foreign assistance programmes (Gillies, 2010).

International actors have access to home government, bilateral and multilateral funding, and an advantage of diplomatic ties to spearhead strengthening public system on the model of efficient human resource, facilitative mechanisms and high performance targets. They can link budgetary support with strong evidence of performance and facilitate civil society in establishing development models that are efficient and accountable such as DFID's result based financing model in technical assistance program for KPK Education Sector Program. Even the World Bank recently pressured a local agency to tighten reforms and failing to see any 'progress towards achieving the development objectives of the project as well as no disbursement against project-related activities' they cancelled a USD100m loan (Rehman, 2016). Towards the achievement of this goal stronger coordination amongst international partners, governments of Pakistan and implementers can help avoid overlapping of activities and wastage of resources. In addition, more thoughtful development models tailored to local sensitivities and capitalizing on local mapping and networking for the proper identification and sustainable execution of projects is paramount. This also requires an introspective look at each organization's own capacities and a redressal system for when their models or capacities are not at par with the requirements of their initiatives. Over the last two years, government of Pakistan has introduced stringent registration regimes for foreign assisted programs, which has created a need of detailed documentation on activities and financial information available for periodic submissions to the Ministry of Interior in Pakistan. The implementing partners get permissions to operate only after getting certificate of registration from the government (HRW, 2015; USAid, n.d.). However, beyond just registration function, governments in Pakistan should take on the role of effective partner in development efforts of international actors by establishing mechanism on standards, incentives, information, and accountability (highlighted in the previous section), which encompass the work of international partners and ensure aid effectiveness for the people of Pakistan.

Private Education Providers

Approximately 30% of all Pakistani students are enrolled in private institutions (with more enrolled in urban centres vs rural locations)(NEMIS-AEPAM, 2015;Dahal and Nguyen 2014,)so private education providers are an important facet of the Pakistani education landscape. The growing trend in private schooling among more mid to high-income parents reflects a faith deficit in the quality of public education system and calls for effective public private partnerships with some mechanisms of accountability. It has implications for equity as some private institutions can reap excessive profits through the high demand for their quality services, while narrowing their scope to select localities of main urban centres with concentration of more affluent social class (Andrabi et al, n.d).

Private schools have the flexibility and means to supplement governmental efforts of providing quality education to the youth coming from mid to high-income groups(DeStefano & Moore 2010; Razzaq, 2015). Middle to high end private institutions prepare students to take internationally accepted assessments (GCSC, O and A levels, SAT, GMAT, Baccalaureate) for pursuing higher education across the world. The elite institutions falling in high tiers of service charge readily and absorb the more educated and trained workforce available within the education sector and tend to focus on specialized segments of education catering to the needs of industry and commerce some chains of private schools and also universities like LUMS and IBA. In the middle are a large number of private actors, which in many cases are providing low cost and low quality services to those that cannot afford better but do not trust public facilities. These schools in some cases are not better in quality than public schools (Razzaq, 2012; Andrabi et al, n.d). For the lower income youth, organizations like Nasra Public Schools, the Aga Khan Education Services and The Citizens Foundation provide services while some trust schools like Abdul Razzaq Foundation School provide basic education to the most financially challenged populations , these are still limited in scope or outreach (Razzaq, 2016).

Some private sector providers come with a publically stated mission or code of ethics delineating what their roles and responsibilities to their students should be, and provide quality low cost education bridging the gaps left by the public sector(Khan et al, 2007). Some private schools are categorized as ‘low cost private schools’ in the government system where governments fund the student places at fix fee and based on student performance in government-administered assessments (Government of Punjab; Government of Sindh; Government of Balochistan; Government of KPK).Schools falling in this category have to meet a set criterion for students’ learning, building standards, teacher qualifications and other regulations to qualify and maintain government funding. The issue of private institutions’ regulation and accountability is more pertinent to low cost schools not receiving government funding and elite or high fees charging institutions.

Despite the existence of some regulatory laws in Pakistan, private sector educational institutions have largely remained unregulated in the past with no mechanism for inspections, or quality assurance of facilities and services provided by the private institutions. More recently, governments in Pakistan have taken some measure for quality control and accountability of private sector; e.g., passing the Private Educational Institutions Regulatory Authority (PEIRA) act in March 2013 to register and regulate private-sector schools in the capital territory (Government of Pakistan 2015). Provinces have also passed or amended existing acts of law to establish registration and regulation bodies (Government of Sindh, 2002;Government of Balochistan 2015;Government of Punjab, 2016). Parental protests in 2015 (The Dawn, 2015)brought visibility to the issue of private institutions’ regulation. Parents organized rallies in different cities against the sudden and steep hike in school fees(The Friday Times, 2015). Some parents went to the courts and sent legal notices to schools. In response, private schools also approached courts and got court orders barring administration taking disciplinary action against private schools on the issue

of school fee ((The Friday Times, 2015). This tension between parent associations and private schools representative bodies put pressure on the government to energize the efforts, laws and institutions for the regulation of private educational institutions (The News, 2015). This incidence of rare parental activism in Pakistan has highlighted the issue of accountability for private providers and role of governments, parents and institutions in ensuring the affordable quality education for all. It is just the beginning and a step towards the creation of an environment where governments are actively regulating, monitoring and supporting the private providers; parents are engaged with schools for ensuring the learning of their children at reasonable cost; and schools are ethical business models with responsibility towards students, parents, governments and the society as a whole.

Teachers

Teachers are the backbone of any education system. In Pakistan, the standards for teacher quality have not been prioritised in the implementation of policy guidelines (Aziz, 2004). Though national professional standards for teachers and accreditation of teacher education programme have been developed (Government of Pakistan 2009 b), institutions and operationalization processes have not been in place. Under education sector support funding from DFID, Punjab (Programme Monitoring and Implementation Unit-PMIU) and KPK (Independent Monitoring Unit-IMU) have initiated monitoring and data collection mechanisms for controlling mainly the absenteeism among teachers. Though teacher absenteeism has been reduced significantly in Punjab (The News, 2013), these monitoring mechanisms do not address issues of untrained teachers, insufficient and irrelevant teacher education programmes, lacking operational standards for professional performance and professional development, inadequate service conditions and a clear lack of motivation among teachers (Bashiruddin, 2014; Jaffer, 2010; Ahmed et al, 2013). These gaps in teacher development and management affect not only the teaching profession but also have serious implications for the quality of the whole education system. Government of Punjab has initiated LND (Literacy and Numeracy Drive) through which information on student learning for Grade 3 students is collected to structure curriculum and inform measures for teachers' professional development (Government of Punjab, 2016). However, it will take some time and a lot of effort to create comprehensive data and its analysis for linking student learning outcomes data with teacher development needs; and then creating programmes for meeting these needs. In the current context, teachers are accountable to be present in the public schools. However, for being truly accountable for their services and performance they need support in terms of:

- High quality teacher preparation programs,
- Continuous training, capacity building and periodical evaluation,
- Efficiency and quality benchmarking,
- Teacher professional networks and forums

Education service users: students, parents and the community

Parents, students and community members are the main stakeholders in any education system. To make education relevant and acceptable, the system and services should respond to the needs of parents, learners and society as a whole. These users have the responsibility of making the system accountable for its effectiveness. In Pakistan, parents are included in school management committees with the authority to develop school development plans, manage enrolment drives, monitoring teachers' presence, and activate parents for sending their children to schools under the right to education/compulsory education acts by different provincial governments (Government of Balochistan 2014; Government of Sindh 2013, Government of Punjab 2014). The issue is with the formation and activation of these committees, awareness among parents about their role and their training on how to play an affective role in the committees. The compulsory education acts passed by the provincial governments hold

parents accountable for sending their children to school stating that the duty of parents is to ‘cause a child to attend a school in the neighbourhood until the said child has completed the prescribed education’ (National Assembly Secretariat, 2016). However rules for enacting these acts have not been developed yet (Dawn, 2015). These gaps in mechanism for parental participation in school management and holding them responsible for sending under 16 children to school need to be filled.

Some international and local partners in development sector like Aga Khan Development Network in Gilgit-Baltistan, Global Partnership for Education-Balochistan Education Project are supporting governments in the establishment of school management committees in combination with community mobilization initiatives for awareness and capacity building of parents and communities. Rural Support Programme Network (RSPN) has established ‘Parent Ittehad (Parents Union) in 11 district of Pakistan where communities raise voice for quality education in their area.

These examples provide models for community based organizations for playing a role in creating the critical mass of community members interested and committed to education improvement. Community organizations can become forums for citizen voice, advocacy and parental activism on educational development, which is relevant and context specific. They have the challenge of activating scattered and divided community members, creating democratic space for their activism in the wake of long tradition of dictatorship rules and scant financial resources. However, they can start with raising education improvement issue, which due to a common appeal can become a point of communal convergence.

4. Developing a Provincial Education Strategy and Jawab Dahi

Devolution created a huge need for the capacity building of provincial governments to enable them to perform their functions at the regional level. This need was most pronounced in the Northern Areas of Pakistan, renamed Gilgit Baltistan (GB), when it was given a ‘like-province’ status with some rights of provincial authority in 2009. Due to its once contested status with India and its mountainous and isolated geography, the pace of development there was slow. This prompted an international network of NGOs, the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN), to support the local government and its people through a multi-faceted development approach across multiple sectors.

One activity within the domain of education was supporting the development of a regional education strategy through technical and financial support, and coordination amongst diverse stakeholders. Though this process began in 2007, the devolution agenda provided new impetus and importance for the review of this document, the inclusion of a wider range of stakeholders and an explicitly regional view of the policy itself. The process of developing the Gilgit Baltistan Education Strategy (GBES) was also used as an opportunity to build the local capacities, and expand the net of buy in and support for the process of policy development and the policy itself. The main thrust of the strategy was to improve the quality of education for Gilgit-Baltistan, within the framework of the National Education Policy 2009.

Stakeholders would also need to address key challenges faced by the region for the successful implementation of the strategy. These included factors like (GoGB et al., 2015):

- Significant human resource constraints, with the required technical and professional capacity to tackle the challenges emanating from this strategy;
- In addition to the poverty dimension, there are also social and cultural barriers to sending children to school, impacting mainly girls.
- In recent years a volatile law and order situation has had severe repercussions on society, and thus on the education sector. This has led to restrictions on movement of teachers, students,

parents and management staff, and has caused long delays in the implementation of projects and activities.

- With major reforms in the education sector requiring significant changes in the existing mechanisms and introduction of new ones, the issue of compatibility during transition arises. The transition is fraught with risks, as it takes time for any system to adjust to major changes.
- The education strategy will not be successful unless there is full political commitment. Such commitment includes ensuring that the necessary regulatory framework is put in place, that the costing of the activities is built into the annual budgets and funds made available by increasing the education sector budget for GB as required, and that the DoE receives all necessary human resource and capacity support for implementation.

Within this framework, the key strategies are summarized in the following table (GoGB et al., 2015):

Access and Equity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equitable education for all, regardless of gender, ethnicity, religion, race or disability. • Introducing incentive systems for districts to improve their female enrolment figures and scholarships for girls for higher levels of schooling and tertiary education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Practising inclusive education wherever possible • Demand based new/existing infrastructure renovated and/or established (including establishment of vocational, technical, medical and engineering colleges). • Environment proof/friendly and child friendly physical environment and infrastructure are set up.
Quality and Relevance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving the quality of teacher education • Reforming the curriculum, teaching–learning materials and assessment system • Establishing a language policy for medium of instruction, especially in the early classes to develop multilingual proficiency • Focus on ECD and primary education as a lead in for better learning at the middle and secondary level. • Comparable curriculum for both government and private schools.
Governance and Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutionalizing policy making at Gilgit-Baltistan level through establishment of a joint forum for all issues related to education • Strengthening the basis for effective decision making, especially through EMIS, M&E and educational research • Establishing conditions for quality and stability in schools, including encouraging PPPs, raising the status of teachers and ensuring merit-based appointments • Establishing mechanisms for effective human resource management and development through a HRD centre • Set-up a programme-project management unit at core office in Gilgit to facilitate and guide donor funded projects.

Distinguishing features of the process

Development of the GBES was a long and arduous process. The AKDN helped spearhead it through an approach capitalizing on the shared vision and shared responsibility of public and private sector

stakeholders. Utilizing the unique perspectives of these stakeholders, and tapping in to them through various round table discussions, working groups, and broader stakeholder meetings, the AKDN aimed to ensure positive and sustainable long-term development. Its role was limited to facilitation, coordination and technical assistance while government representatives guided the process by adopting a leadership role. The first round of development in 2008 saw a greater inputs from international consultants and NGOs driving the process, while the revised round in light of political devolution saw more participation from local government officials (GoGB et al., 2015).

A vigorous, participatory and comprehensive process was utilized to develop the strategy and vision. The process was led by the Directorate of Education (DoE) in Gilgit, which formed the first Working Group, comprising members from various government departments (including the Department of Finance (DoF), and the Department of Planning and Development (PnD)), and representatives from AKDN agencies for the purpose of carrying out the exercise, and an Advisory Group to support the Working Group. To supplement the Working Group, one international and five national consultants worked at various key periods (GoGB et al., 2015).

61 public consultation exercises were also held with various stakeholders, in which more than 1000 male and female stakeholders from many occupations across all districts¹ were consulted in order to build in their views as to how they felt that education in Gilgit-Baltistan ought to develop. Along with creating a sense of local ownership and responsibility for educational development of the region, this diversity positively influenced the equity implications of the strategy (GoGB et al., 2015).

The Working Group first carried out an analysis of the current situation regarding the education system in Gilgit-Baltistan and put this in the context of national policies. They discussed ideas for a vision and identified a number of objectives and strategies, aimed to feed into the later consultation processes.

The stakeholders can be clustered into 4 major groupings:

- 1) Teachers, lecturers, and professors
- 2) Vice Chancellor of Karakoram International University, heads of AKDN agencies, GM KCBL, Ulema, Managers and Education department officers
- 3) School management committees, PTA members, other parents, students, and others
- 4) Intellectuals, social workers, representatives of civil society, political and religious organizations.

This process and the interdependence and closely linked collaboration was an attempt to create a sense of shared ownership and responsibility as these actors developed a long term vision, short term targets and implementation strategies nestled within the GBES, and the unique needs of GB. This model of participatory development entailed a two pronged strategy: improving skills in the areas of educational planning, financial management and policy review in support of provincial level educational reforms or revisions and creating a sense of responsibility for the development and implementation of the education sector plan.

¹ This was done to ensure that district-specific issues stemming from unique cultural, political, economic or religious contexts would be highlighted. For instance, one cannot generalize the issue of lack of well qualified teachers to Gilgit and Ghizer districts. Tertiary education data reveals that in most private colleges the teachers are well qualified from reputed educational institutions of the country.

Challenges & Issues

The participatory process of strategy development had its own challenges. The main challenge in this long and difficult process was maintaining the required level of motivation among key participants, especially those from various government departments. Buy in was generated through the inclusion of each diverse actors ideas within the strategy, while motivation was generated through systematic rewards and pressure (noted below).

The regular posting and transfers of government officials and heads of the respective departments also had an impact on the pace of work. The process of creating the level of rapport desired among the group and developing a basic understanding of the task had to be restarted any time a change in the government officials' representation would occur; sometimes multiple times a year. The constant reshuffling of the higher echelons of the local government often required the bureaucracy to refocus efforts into establishing ties with the new leadership, often shifting their attention away from the strategy development process.

Efforts were made to put top-down and bottom-up pressure on the new leadership to push the process, that sometimes had to be moderated and piqued by the new leaderships' own agendas and areas of interest. These efforts required careful thought as the repercussions of using this pressure became evident from time to time. Too much of a top down push would alienate those working with the AKDN on the ground as pressure moved down the hierarchy. Too much of a bottom up approach would put the positions of these same officials in jeopardy if the new leadership were not amenable to hearing what their predecessors' intentions or goals were.

The bureaucratic silos entrenched within the government departments of education, planning and finance also posed problems in co-creating one policy document. The element of trust deficit among the participants from the public sector and non-government organizations at the early phases of work also had to be diffused and resolved through careful trust building strategies and intensive collaboration. The power dynamics between different actors also required careful navigation especially during discussions on the responsibility and accountability for the equitable education services in different sub-regions and yearly target settings. These power dynamics interplayed within the DoE, PnD, DoF all of which assumed the role of over-riding and vetoing proposed strategies and targets. Each department initially displayed a territorialism within its domain that made open communication challenging and committing to any action difficult. The discussions had during the strategy development and review phase included attempts to cater for these, though the facet of true commitment rather than a superficial one will become clearer during implementation.

Issues that arose during this time included matters like setting targets and achievements (DoE), determining whether there could be a sound implementation plan for those targets (PnD), and then determining how best to allocate funds for these targets (DoF). Each department had its own contentions aired in the round table process; however the tireless work of many dedicated, idealistic and pragmatic members of the working groups demonstrated a willingness to overcome these issues.

After intensive collaborative meetings, exposure visits to other provinces and countries (linked to key milestones in the strategy development process, constructing a structured path of 'carrots' as motivation), and the bonds of trust and communications that arose from members of otherwise siloed departments, significant progress was made. Intensive negotiations had to occur between the government and non-government representatives while balancing the desired scenarios with a practical reality and limitations of the public system. One key rationale for this was written into the GBES, i.e.

'The strategy cannot be funded solely from the Gilgit-Baltistan education budget, and it is anticipated that there will always be need for substantial external funding. It is intended that the document will provide a framework for donors to 'buy into'. This will require a high degree of donor coordination, and strong leadership from government to ensure that they do not simply accept donor proposals through fear of possibly losing the funding.' (GoGB et al., 2015)

Strategy Launching: Policy on Ground

The GBES was launched jointly by the Federal Government of Pakistan and regional Government of Gilgit-Baltistan in July 2016. This policy document provides long term directions for the educational development of GB including yearly targets, implementation plans and a budgetary framework all of which previously existed on an ad hoc supply side basis.

One key though underappreciated facet of its eventual signing off despite previous objections and demands for re-review by Government actors, was the role of Jawab Dahi. Each province in Pakistan hosts an inter-provincial education conference each year, attended by senior education ministers and secretaries. The rotation of the conference to GB required its officials to demonstrate to its' peers any important achievements. One such demonstrable achievement was the development of a provincial education strategy that had already been developed by most other provinces and showcased in similar fashions. Despite failing to meet its commitment of signing off on the document for a significant period of time prior, notification of the conference resulted in the signing off and ratification of the GBES in record time, despite all previous objections and requests for reviews.

The process of policy development achieved its objectives of co-creating the vision, goals and targets for educational development in the region by diverse stakeholders. The involvement of private sector, academics and development partners in the process made it more challenging and time consuming, but this brought in a sense of shared responsibility for the realization of the policy into practice.

The broad base consultation and engagement of diverse partners has created some unintended consequences as well. One such outcome is the increased expectation from the government departments that private and non-government actors will provide continued and substantial technical and financial support for the policy implementation as well. Until internal capacities are developed to the point where GoGB can request and absorb its total allocated development budget, this will lead to gaps in the sustainability of the overall strategy though facets of it will still progress.

On the other hand, non-governmental organizations over expect from an under capacitated government to take a lead role that they can support. The other unintended consequence might be the vulnerability of the policy for partial implementation through picking and choosing easy to achieve targets instead of comprehensive implementation. The fragmented implementation can flag the desire for accountability by compromising equity related targets for being tough to achieve. This was an often repeated concern of working group members during the development phase, and can only be rectified through addressing the challenges highlighted above, especially those of political commitment (pushed through the activism of local groups), and structural reforms.

5. Policy Recommendations:

The analysis of both existing and potential enabling condition-political, social and legislative and mechanisms for the creation of a well performing education system in Pakistan supports a few policy recommendations for key stakeholders, such as:

- The Government should:
 - Hold regular and open to the public policy meetings and briefings, to generate public support and scrutiny of progress on agreed goals.
 - Develop standards and clearly communicate quality benchmarks for services of teachers and education managers, curriculum, assessments, school facilities and textbooks along with sanctions for not meeting them.
 - Make disaggregated allocations, ensure timely release of funds and track spending on quarterly basis, while making information on these three facets of financial performance publically available.
 - Regulate and, monitor the private sector and provide support for the affordability of their services.
- International Partners should:
 - Link budgetary support with strong evidence of performance and facilitate civil society in establishing efficient and accountable development models that strive to ensure not simply a 'race for the numbers' approach.
 - Develop mechanisms of coordination with departments and implementing partners to avoid overlapping of activities and wastage of resources as well as for relevant and contextualized programming.
- Community organizations and parents should:
 - Develop and energize forums for citizen voice, advocacy and parental activism on educational development.

6. References

- Ahmad, R. (2015, March 21). Teachers in K-P now enjoy a level playing field. *The Express Tribune*.
- A history of education: Speaker discusses Pakistan's historical and current education policy. (2013, December 28). Retrieved November 17, 2016, from <http://tribune.com.pk/story/651612/a-history-of-education-speaker-discusses-pakistans-historical-and-current-education-policy/>
- Ahmed, A. (2016, September 13). Lack of capacity is the culprit: UNDP. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://www.pk.undp.org/content/pakistan/en/home/presscenter/undp-in-the-news/2015/september/lack-of-capacity-is-the-culprit--undp.html>
- Ahmed, H. (2016, August 30). Parents stage protest against hike in school fees. Retrieved from <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2016/08/30/city/lahore/parents-stage-protest-against-hike-in-school-fees/>
- Alam, A. (2015, May 1). The state of teacher recruitment in Pakistan. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://tribune.com.pk/story/973856/the-state-of-teacher-recruitment-in-pakistan/>
- Alam, A. (2016, July 9). Balochistan education budget — one step backwards. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://tribune.com.pk/story/1138481/balochistan-education-budget-one-step-backwards/>
- Ali, S. (2015, August). SECP initiates action against 23 international NGOs. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <https://en.dailypakistan.com.pk/business/secp-initiates-action-against-23-international-ngos-980/>
- Alif Ailaan (2016). Pakistan District Education Rankings 2016. Retrieved from http://www.alifailaan.pk/district_rankings
- Andrabi, T., Das, J., Khwaja, A. I., & Zajonc, T. (2005). *Religious School Enrollment in Pakistan: A Look at the Data*. The World Bank. Retrieved from <http://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/book/10.1596/1813-9450-3521>
- Anwar, F. (2015, June 6). Devolution talk – Sustainable Initiatives. Retrieved from <http://sustainableinitiatives.org.pk/2015/06/06/devolution-talk/>
- ASER Pakistan. (2015). *Annual Status of Education Report 2015*. Retrieved from http://aserpakistan.org/document/report_cards/2015/summary_report_cards/National.pdf
- Awad-Gladewitz, D. D. (2014). *Education Sector Development Programme in Pakistan's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province*. Afghanistan/Pakistan: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). Retrieved from <https://www.giz.de/expertise/downloads/giz2014-en-faltblatt-19-pakistan.pdf>
- Azfar-ul-Ashfaq, S. B. |. (2016, August 24). MQM in throes of power struggle. Retrieved October 17, 2016, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1279636>
- Bethke, L. (2009). Capacity development in education planning and management in fragile states. *IIEP and UNESCO: Http://www. Etf. Europa. Eu/pubmgmt. nsf/(getAttachment)/278378C19FEA93D6C1257611002F8192/\$ File/NOTE7UVHDR. Pdf*. Retrieved from <http://unesco.atlasproject.eu/unesco/file/57890c5c-8fc3-4f15-a3cb-153622743058/c8c7fe00-c770-11e1-9b21-0800200c9a66/186981e.pdf>
- Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act (2010). Retrieved from <http://lgkp.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Full-text-of-18th-Amendment-Bill.pdf>

Dahal, Mahesh; Nguyen, Quynh, (2014) Private Non-State Sector Engagement in the Provision of Educational Services at the Primary and Secondary Levels in South Asia: An Analytical Review of Its Role in School Enrollment and Student Achievement . World Bank. Policy Research Working Paper 6899

Dawn (2015). Free, compulsory education dream remains elusive, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/12107-free-compulsory-education-dream-remains-elusive>

Dawn. (2015, September 14). Parents protest sudden rise in school fees. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1206823>

Dawn. (2016, April 28). Pakistan's education spending lowest in South Asia. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1254909>

DeStefano, Joseph & Moore, Audrey-Marie Schuh (2010) The roles of non-state providers in ten complementary education programmes. *Development in Practice* 20(4-5), 511-526).

DFAT. (2016). Aid budget and statistical information. Retrieved December 12, 2016, from <http://dfat.gov.au/aid/aid-budgets-statistics/Pages/default.aspx>

European Commission (2010) Financial Management toolkit https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/financial-management-toolkit-for-recipients-15112010_en.pdf

Gillies, J., November 2010. The power of persistence: education system reform and aid effectiveness. In: *Case Studies in Long-Term Education Reform USAID, EQUIP2*

GoGB, DoE, DFAT, AKF(Pak), AKU-IED, AKESP, & EU. Gilgit Baltistan Education Strategy (2015).

Government of Canada, F. A. T. and D. C. (2015, 04). Pakistan Country Strategy 2009. Retrieved December 12, 2016, from http://www.international.gc.ca/development-developpement/aidtransparency-transparenceaide/country_strategies_pays/pakistan.aspx?lang=eng

Government of Balochistan (2014) Balochistan Compulsory Education Act, 2014 <http://blncode.pitb.gov.pk/public/dr/Compulsory%20Education%20Act%202014.doc.pdf>

Government of Punjab (2014) THE PUNJAB FREE AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION ACT 2014 (XXVI OF 2014) <https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/99329/118490/F770068822/PAKD99329.pdf>

Government of Sindh (2013). The Sindh Right of Children to free and Compulsory Education Bill, 2013. http://unesco.org.pk/education/documents/2013/rte_sindh_feb/Sindh_Bill_RTFE.pdf

Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education. (2009). *National Education Policy 2009* (p. 63).

Government of Pakistan, (2010). 18th Constitutional Amendment bill. Retrieved on 10th November 2016 from http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/report_constitutional_18th_amend_bill2010_020410_.pdf

Habib, M. (2013). Education in Pakistan's Punjab: Outcomes and Interventions. *The Lahore Journal of Economics*, 18(special edition), 21.

Haider, I. (2015, June 12). "Save the Children" ordered to leave Pakistan: officials. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1187601>

- Haider, S. (2013, April 4). ECP rejects Ayaz Amir's nomination papers. Retrieved from <http://dawn.com/2013/04/04/ecp-rejects-ayaz-amirs-nomination-papers>
- HRW. (2015, October 6). Pakistan: Withdraw Repressive New NGO Rules [Text]. Retrieved December 12, 2016, from <http://reliefweb.int/report/pakistan/pakistan-withdraw-repressive-new-ngo-rules>
- Hussain, A. (2015, March 2). Education System of Pakistan: Issues, Problems and Solutions : Islamabad Policy Research Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.ipripak.org/education-system-of-pakistan-issues-problems-and-solutions/>
- House of Commons (2011) DFID's Financial Management. Report 52
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmpubacc/1398/1398.pdf>
- Imran, M. (2016, April 26). Effective implementation of 18th Amendment in education, health stressed. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/115312-Effective-implementation-of-18th-Amendment-in-education-health-stressed>
- IWPR. (n.d.). Project Reviews- Open Minds Pakistan (OMP). Retrieved from <http://iwpr.net/programme/217/project-updates>
- i-Saps (2010). Eighteenth Amendment: Federal and Provincial Roles and Responsibilities in Education Retrieved on 10th November 2016 from http://aserpakistan.org/document/learning_resources/2014/18th%20Amendment%20Federal%20and%20Provincial%20Responsibilities%20in%20Education.pdf
- i-Saps (2014) Public Financing of Education in Pakistan: Analysis of Federal, Provincial and District budgets. Retrieved on 10th November 2016 from http://i-saps.org/upload/report_publications/docs/1434014326.pdf
- Jabbar, E., & Shami, H. (2013, March). Role of NGOs in education. Retrieved November 17, 2016, from <http://nation.com.pk/lahore/09-Mar-2013/role-of-ngos-in-edu>
- Khan, Shahrukh Rafi; Kazmi, Sajid; & Latif, Zainab. (2005). A comparative institutional analysis of government, NGO and private rural primary schooling in Pakistan. *The European Journal of Development Research*, 17(2), 199-223.
- Khan, Y. H. (2016, April 12). Real issues with education system in Pakistan, a complete insight. Retrieved from <http://www.morenews.pk/2016/04/12/real-issues-education-system-pakistan/>
- Khan, Z. (2015, April 14). Opinion: Civil Society Perspective: Federalism Sans Federal Culture. Retrieved November 17, 2016, from http://www.pk.undp.org/content/pakistan/en/home/library/hiv_aids/development-advocate-pakistan--volume-2--issue-1/opinion--civil-society-perspective--federalism-sans-federal-cult.html
- Kiani, K. (2016, November 19). Development spending targets missed. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1297311>
- Lall, M. (2008). Educate to hate: the use of education in the creation of antagonistic national identities in India and Pakistan. *Compare*, 38(1), 103–119.
- Lall, M. (2009). Creating agents of positive change—the citizens foundation in Pakistan. *Karachi: TCF*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Marie_Lall/publication/241616857_Creating_Agents_of_Positive_Change_-_The_Citizens_Foundation_in_Pakistan/links/0f31753aee59d9acb9000000.pdf

- Mottahedeh, R., & Stilt, K. (2003). Public and Private as Viewed through the Work of the “ Muhtasib.” *Social Research*, 735–748.
- Mukhtar, D. E. M. (n.d.). *Situation Analysis Of The Education Sector*. UNESCO. Retrieved from http://unesco.org.pk/education/documents/situationanalysis/National_Final_Report_Education_Policy_Analysis.pdf
- National Assembly Secretariat. An Act to provide for free and compulsory education for children aged 5 to 16., Pub. L. No. Act XXIV of 2012 (2016). Retrieved from http://unesco.org.pk/education/documents/Right_to_Ed_Bill/Act-2012_RFCE.pdf
- Naz, S., Memon, A. S., Haque, M., Nadeem, U., Jamal, G., & Khan, A. (2016). *Alif Ailaan Pakistan District Education Rankings 2016*. Islamabad: Alif Ailaan and SDPI. Retrieved from https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/alifailaan/pages/537/attachments/original/1474368820/Pakistan_District_Education_Rankings_2016_Full_Report.pdf?1474368820
- NEMIS-AEPAM. (2015). *Pakistan Education Atlas 2015*. Islamabad.
- PnD. Department of Planning and Development Guidelines 2015: For devolved tiers of Local Governments under LGA 2013 (2015). Retrieved from <http://cdgpeshawar.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/PnD-Guidelines-2015-for-devolved-tiers-of-Local-Governments-under-LGA-2013-1.pdf>
- Rahman, T. (2005). Passports to privilege: The English-medium schools in Pakistan. *Peace and Democracy in South Asia*, 1(1), 24–44.
- Read, L., & Atinc, T. M. (2017). *Information for Accountability: Transparency and Citizen Engagement for Improved Service Delivery in Education Systems*. (Global Economy and Development No. 99) (p. 52). Brookings.
- Rehman, D. (2016, December 8). “No progress”: World Bank cancels \$100 million loan for Pakistan’s gas efficiency project. *Daily Pakistan*. Retrieved from <https://en.dailypakistan.com.pk/headline/no-progress-world-bank-cancels-100-million-loan-for-pakistans-gas-efficiency-project/>
- Razzaq J (2012). Management of Educational Change in Pakistani Educational Institutions. University of Glasgow PhD thesis at URL <http://eleanor.lib.gla.ac.uk/record=b2920284>
- Razzaq J (2015) Community-supported models for girls’ education in diverse contexts in Pakistan: Key issues for policy and practice, Brookings Institute: Washington DC.
- Rizvi, S.A. (1999) Retrieved on 9th November 2016 from <http://www.pakistaneconomist.com/issue1999/issue48/etc6.htm> Pakistan 2025 Planning Commission Government of Pakistan, at www.pc.gov.pk
- Sattar, A (n.d) The Role of Foreign Assistance in Pakistan’s Education Sector <http://www.pide.org.pk/pdf/Seminar/Seminar162.pdf>
- Setna, R. (2016, June 22). Analysis: Education: Where does all the money go? Retrieved November 20, 2016, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1266478>
- Shah, S. A. (2016, June 19). Balochistan budget 2016-17: Rs42.67bn allocated for education. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1265869>
- Shah, W. A. (2016, May 4). Govt withdraws “controversial” Ehtesab commission ordinance. Retrieved December 12, 2016, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1256195>

Shaheen, I. (2013). Education in Pakistan: A case study of hurdles and Proposals for improvement of education sector in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. *EDUCATION*, 2(3). Retrieved from [http://www.erint.savap.org.pk/PDF/Vol.2\(3\)/ERInt.2013\(2.3-10\).pdf](http://www.erint.savap.org.pk/PDF/Vol.2(3)/ERInt.2013(2.3-10).pdf)

Siddiq, A. (2013, May 29). Politics of accountability. *The Express Tribune*. Retrieved from <http://tribune.com.pk/story/556073/politics-of-accountability/>

SSDO PAKISTAN. (2016). *Senator Rubina Khalid endorsed our campaign Jawab Dahi Mera Haq*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hVc7LSZruuY>

The Express Tribune. (2013, August 29). Anti-rationalisation policy protest: Teachers vow to fight it back - The Express Tribune. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://next.tribune.com.pk/story/596662/anti-rationalisation-policy-protest-teachers-vow-to-fight-it-back/>

The Express Tribune. (2015, December 31). Access to education: "Firing teachers a tactic to show poor standards." Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://tribune.com.pk/story/1019190/access-to-education-firing-teachers-a-tactic-to-show-poor-standards/>

The NAB effect. (2016, February 27). Retrieved from <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2016/02/27/comment/the-nab-effect/>

The News (2013, March 26) Retrieved from <https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/420511-teacher-absenteeism-reduced-in-two-years>

UKEssays. (2013, November). Inefficiencies In Education Sector Of Pakistan Politics Essay. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <https://www.ukessays.com/essays/politics/inefficiencies-in-education-sector-of-pakistan-politics-essay.php>

UNESCO. (2010). *Why gender equality in basic education in Pakistan?* Islamabad. Retrieved from http://unesdoc.unesco.org/Ulis/cgi-bin/ulis.pl?catno=215106&set=50ADF488_1_6&gp=0&lin=1&ll=1

UNDP. (2015, April). Analysis: Five Years Of The 18th Constitutional Amendment: Federalist Imperatives On Public Policy And Planning. Retrieved November 17, 2016, from http://www.pk.undp.org/content/pakistan/en/home/library/hiv_aids/development-advocate-pakistan--volume-2--issue-1/analysis--five-years-of-the-18th-constitutional-amendment--feder.html

USAid. (n.d.). Pakistan NGO Legal Regulations. USAID Assessment and Strenthening Program. Retrieved from http://www.asp.org.pk/indepth/csos_governance_resources/2.pdf

USAid, (2011) Financial Management Principles and Standards <https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1868/620.pdf>

USAid ADS Series 200 <https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/agency-policy/series-200>

Watson, D., & Khan, A. Q. (2010). Capacity development for education service delivery in Pakistan: Top-down devolution. *Public Administration and Development*, 30(1), 11–26. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.547>