

Informal Assessment of the Educational System of Pakistan,  
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Contractor was charged to analyse and assess the following matters:

1. The Government of Pakistan's (GOP's) intentions and directions regarding the education sector as discussed in conversations and revealed in reports, such as the Annual Development Plan, and the upcoming Sixth Five Year Plan;
2. Major constraints in the education sector including policy, management, institutional, cultural, and financial constraints; and
3. Other donors' contribution to the education sector.

As specified in the contract, Article I C., I delivered an oral report in Islamabad on August 30, 1982. Here is my written report.

## Preliminary Observations

In meeting this assignment I worked in Pakistan during the period August 6 - August 30, 1982. I had meetings, most often in the company of William McKinney, with the persons listed in Appendix II. I consulted a number of documents, the most important of which are listed in Appendix III.

At a basic level the questions I am asked to address concern the relationship between education and economic development in developing nations. In the mid-1950's there was a much-heralded rediscovery of the "theory of human capital." A positive relationship was shown to exist between the education of an individual and his/her income, and the extra lifetime income associated with a given increment of education was shown to exceed, ordinarily, the cost of acquiring that increment of education, all comparisons made in present discounted values. Alternative calculations indicated that education accounted for a measurable share of economic growth - from approximately 25 to approximately 40 percent; these calculations served to revise previous estimates that had attributed economic growth strictly to changes in the size of the labor force and the real stock of physical capital.

On the basis of the acceptance in the economics profession of the concept of "investment in man," (excuse the sexist phrase) international donors urged an increase in educational expenditures upon the developing nations. True, the donors had in mind efficiency criteria (agricultural universities and polytechnics were preferred as projects over liberal arts colleges), but these preferences were based simply on common

sense. The economic theory of human capital and the empirical studies that supported it did not distinguish clearly between types of educational investment.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, most of the empirical work was done in Europe and America, places in which educational systems were already well developed. Hence, when the developing countries came under local political pressure to expand secondary and post-secondary programs, they could in conscience respond by choosing those very types of education for expansion that were relatively cheap for the government to run and easy for students to enter - namely, liberal arts. Nothing in human capital theory demanded that the leaders of developing countries give priority to primary education, functional literacy, occupational training (at the skilled worker level) or the establishment of quantitative rigor throughout the system. Nor were developing countries warned that educational services are subject to a kind of Gresham's law: bad education (meaning low standards of attainment) tends to drive out good education - and sometimes at a frightful rate!

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<sup>1</sup> It is true that one well-known study of the late fifties indicated a high rate of return to primary education in the United States, but because secondary education had become virtually universal in the 1930's in our country, one had difficulty in using this somewhat freakish result to establish a priority for primary education in the developing world in the 1970's.

I worked in the Education Section of the Central Planning Commission in Pakistan during the later heyday of educational expansionism, i.e., 1968 - 70. Pakistan has never put much money into education but it did go in for unbridled expansion of places, especially in the high schools and liberal arts colleges. If the country had not allowed this expansion to take place or if it had spent 4 - 6% of GNP instead of 1 1/2 to 2 1/2%, so that the quality of primary education and occupation training could have been protected in the face of liberal arts expansion, things might not have turned out so badly.

During my tenure in the Planning Commission, I tried to argue for the following things: expansion of primary school places (to be achieved by earmarking development money for the primary sector); improvement in quality of primary school education (as I saw it, to be achieved by in-service training of teachers and substitution of female for male teachers); shifting content of secondary education toward technical, quantitative subjects; improvement of work skills training. I suggested further that the government pay for these changes by raising rates of taxation and if that proved not to be palatable, that the government pay for them by shifting the costs of university education to students and their households through a system of income-contingent loans. The Fourth Five Year Plan made rhetorical reference to most of these points, but the government's targets (quantitative) largely ignored them. Certainly plan implementation ignored them, and the expansion of liberal arts education was about the only kind of educational change

achieved in Pakistan during the 1970's.

There were other voices of course. In 1968 Mabub ul Haq helped to establish a President's National Commission on Manpower and Education, G. Ahmed, Chairman. The chief focus of the Commission was to devise plans to make the whole educational system more "functional" toward promoting economic growth. A change of government rendered that Commission ineffective.

In presenting my arguments I was repeatedly challenged to give evidence that functional literacy was related to productivity (at the time it was claimed that the introduction of literate workers into Pakistan's factories had the effect of lowering productivity) and that the education of women had any economic value. I was hard pressed to find such evidence. As liberal arts education expanded and as the quality of education in the whole system deteriorated, many people became skeptical of the value of educational investments, especially in the light of rising rates of educated unemployment and over-certification of the work force. These phenomena were not confined to Pakistan, though it may be regarded as an extreme case. The result overall was that international donors reduced the priority given to educational grants and loans.

In the meantime economic analysis of the relationship between education and economic development has been much improved. For one thing economists are now able to use data from the developing countries themselves. For another their econometric

models are vastly more powerful. What comes out of the new analysis: First, the connection between farmer literacy and farm productivity. More educated farmers are more likely to adopt improved techniques, to purchase yield-increasing inputs (chemical fertilizers, pesticides, and high-yield seed varieties), and to make effective use of market information regarding input and output prices.<sup>2</sup> Since Pakistan is mainly rural and is not known for high standards of farm productivity overall, these findings are significant toward the extension of basic education.

A second set of findings has to do with the results of educating females. Literate females are more likely to be successful in controlling the size of their families; they are also better able to acquire and use information about child nutrition, clean drinking water, and better grade child rearing practices generally.<sup>3</sup> Hence, education of females leads to improvement in quality of population and a reduction in the national rate of population increase.<sup>4</sup> It thus seems appropriate that major donors reestablish a high priority for

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<sup>2</sup> See Dean T. Jamison and Lawrence J. Lau, Farmer Education and Farmer Efficiency, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, there are not yet studies as well developed as Jamison/Lau or Balderston (fn. 4) on the effect of female literacy on farm productivity - or not any of which I am aware.

<sup>4</sup> See Judith Balderston, et al., Malnourished Children of the Rural Poor: The Web of Food, Health, Education, Fertility and Agricultural Products, Boston, Auburn House, 1982.

educational investment, provided host governments themselves are willing to place greater emphasis on primary education, functional literacy, education of females, and occupational training (the last included for common sense reasons and also because occupational training of females appears, in my mind at least, to be especially important).

Government of Pakistan's Intentions and Directions Regarding the Education Sector

The record of Pakistan in education during the last decade is not good. In 1966, I calculated that GOP was spending 1.2% of GDP on education, and this was a relatively low figure for that time.<sup>5</sup> In 1980, a common estimate of educational expenditure as a percent of GNP in Pakistan is 1.5%. This may be compared with 5.0% for Malaysia, 4.9% for Sri Lanka, 3.4% for South Korea, 3.1% for Burma, 3.0% for Thailand, and 2.2% for Indonesia. If one considers recurrent expenditures only - and these include the important item of teachers' pay - I estimate that these outlays represented only 1.1% of GNP in Pakistan in 1980. As a percent of government expenditure, education accounted for about 5.5% in 1980; this represented a fall from 6.45% in 1978, the high point of <sup>that</sup> relationship for the decade.

Not only has total public support of education been rather

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<sup>5</sup> Charles S. Benson, Finance of Education, Training and Related Service in the Public Sector, Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, 1970. Iran at the time was spending 2.6%, Egypt, 5.0%, Sri Lanka, 4.0%, and India, 2.7%.

meager in Pakistan, but the internal allocations within the education sector have favored liberal arts education at the secondary and post-secondary levels. On the face of it this means that the country is insufficiently supplied with persons who possess quantitative skills. It also means that primary education is likely to be starved of resources. As it turns out, primary school teaching is one of the lowest paid occupations in the monetized sector of the economy. I am told it now ranks below domestics. Nevertheless, the majority of primary school teachers are male. A job that pays very little and that requires a man to spend his working hours in the company of 5 - 10 year old children can hardly be a job that attracts a high level of competence and energy from amongst members of the male labor force. Moreover, part of the fiscal austerity in primary education takes the form of minimizing resources for administration and inspection. It is said some primary schools are not visited once in a year by any official and that some teachers pick up their checks without having taught a day during the pay period.

Weakness at the primary level is not necessarily damaging to higher education if there is a reasonable number of elite primary institutions (there are) and if the country is very selective by academic meritocratic standards in admitting students to college and university. Pakistan is not very selective; if a student's family can support him/her in status of student, then most likely the student can attend college or university,

without regard to international standards of intellectual competence. The result is that poor standards in basic education extend into the higher levels. An open system of higher education cannot rise above the quality of the base, for faculty cannot teach very far above the modal competence of students. Thus, the Gresham's law of educational deterioration applies.

The historical record shows that in the first three five year plans, primary education was allocated the following percentages of the development budget: 20%; 16.6%; and 6.9%. It does not always follow that the central government appropriates the funds for development in each sector as the plan indicates; nor, also an important point, are the provinces required to spend the development money in just the ways the central government's plan indicates. Thus, we find that actual utilization of development money in primary education reached only these levels in the first three plans, respectively; 37%, 27%, and 36%.

What has been happening in the current five year plan (1978-1983)? I was provided with the following figures about development plan allocations to the education sector and actual provisions for some recent years:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Plan Allocation</u> (Millions of Rupees)	<u>Actual Provision</u>
1978-79	875	878
1979-80	1,677	891
1980-81	2,204	1,292
1981-82	2,550	1,424

It would appear that the record of underfinancing of education below targeted levels has persisted until quite recently.

Also instructive are internal allocations within the education sector. For selected years the following figures compare Annual Development Plan Allocations with actual expenditures in the primary schools and in the universities.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Primary Education</u> (Millions of Rupees)		<u>University</u> (Millions of Rupees)	
	ADP Allocation	Actual Expenditure	ADP Allocation	Actual Expenditure
1975-76	108.1	139.4	66.8	148.5
1976-77	89.6	48.5	78.5	104.7
1977-78	205.6	101.9	84.0	105.2
1978-79	242.5	163.7	74.3	69.8
1979-80	210.1	137.5	78.2	81.0
1980-81	246.9	243.2	164.4	172.3

In only two of these six recent years did primary education receive its approximate allotted share or more; in only one of the six years did the universities fail to achieve their allotted share and in most years university expenditures exceeded the allotted share by a substantial margin.

If the approach of GOP toward primary education is tentative, so I would judge it also to be with regard to vocational educational and, indeed, to the whole field of occupational training. In a country like Pakistan, one might think that skills and technical training, including agriculture, should command at least an equal share of resources with liberal arts. Leaving agriculture aside, I was told that vocational education gets only

about 10% of the education money. (Agricultural training is a separate activity, existing in the agricultural ministry, about which I have little information, but it is not well financed and its inclusion in the vocational sector share would not change this argument.) Vocational training is mainly small scale and fragmented and I suspect it is very inefficiently conducted (with an exception to be noted below). The Government College of Technology, S.I.T.E. Manghupir Rd., Karachi, a large, male polytechnic is in deplorable condition. Vocational/technical education does not have a voice in the higher circles of government; in the center and in the provinces the chiefs of vocational/technical training are in positions subordinate to the liberal arts establishment.

These conditions in primary education and in training for work skills, conditions I regard as unfavorable for the development of the country, are, of course, subject to change. Has GOP created new educational priorities? The signals are mixed, but I believe on balance the prognosis is favorable.

One major piece of evidence is the Education Chapter of the Fifth Five Year Plan.<sup>6</sup> The chapter reads (in part): The Fifth Plan marks a fundamental reordering of material priorities in favor of primary education and vocational and technical training . . . The plan proposes a bold readjustment of intra-sectoral priorities by placing special emphasis on the development of primary education. The policy of allocating only residual re-

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<sup>6</sup> Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, The Fifth Five Year Plan, 1978-83, Sectoral Programmes, Part II, June, 1978.

sources to primary education shall be reversed." (p. 302)

Among arguments to support a priority for primary education there is mentioned the relationship between functional literacy and agricultural productivity. Also, it is said that the evolution of a democratic society requires a reduction in urban-rural disparities in social class disparities in general. It is stated that improvement of quality in higher education cannot be realized without a strengthening of the base of the educational pyramid.

An especially important statement then follows:

... In the past, there has been a marked bias in favour of higher education, both general and professional. Without reversing this trend it would not be easy to implement the Plan policy of according highest priority to primary education. The popular demand emanating from the well to do and educated sections of the society is generally for expansion of higher education. Demands for expansion of primary education, on the other hand, are not made forcefully since the underprivileged are very often not conscious of their deprivation. Therefore, to highlight the importance of school education, covering classes I—X, together with the training of teachers required for the implementation of the proposed programmes, shall in the Fifth Plan form an independent section of the chapter of Education and Training. To protect the programme proposed for the development of school education, it has been decided that funds allocated to this programme shall be non-transferable to other programmes in the Education Plan. The amount earmarked for school education shall lapse if it is not utilized.

(p. 303)

This paragraph recognizes that in the past provinces have diverted development <sup>money</sup> /away from primary education and into college education. The paragraph unfortunately does not address the other problem that is related: the past practice of provinces to divert education money into other industrial sectors, like agriculture or transport.

The Fifth Five Year Plan specifies that educational expenditures would rise by 1983 to 3.1% of GNP. As they are currently estimated to be in the range of 1.5 to 2.0%, this was wishful thinking on the part of the educational leadership.

By my tastes, the Fifth Five Year Plan is much better in its rhetoric than it is in quantitative projections. Consider the following points. In 1977-78, the share of primary education in the development budget for education was 26.8%; during the period of Fifth Plan, 1978-79-1982-83 the share was forecast to be 31.6%. The share of higher education in the development budget for education in 1977-78 (colleges, universities, and scholarships) was 26.0%; over the plan period 1978-83, it was forecast as 20.1%. Recurring expenditure in primary schools represented 38.9% of the total recurring outlay for education in 1977-78; higher education accounted for 21.3%. For the plan period (1978-83, primary education's share is estimated as 17.2% and higher education's share as 18.5%. These estimates do not reflect any large shift in priorities as between primary education and the college/university sector.

In 1977-78, 73% of the 5-9 male cohort was enrolled in primary schools. Over the plan period, i.e., by 1982-83, this ratio was projected to rise to 90%. For females

the proportion of the 5-9 age cohort enrolled was projected to rise from 33% to 45%. In other words, it was intended to create a system of near universal primary education for males while leaving over half the females out of school. For classes VI through VIII, 45% of the male cohort (ages 10-12) were to

be enrolled by 1982-83 but only 15% of the female cohort. For classes IX-X, 25% of the male cohort (ages 13-14) were to be in school by 1982-83 but the corresponding figure for females was 9% (up from 6% in 1977-78). Accordingly, if the male-female disparity in education is one of the factors that inhibits economic growth in Pakistan, and I believe it is, then the Fifth Five Year Plan proposed no strong effort to reduce the disparity. Furthermore, if one barrier to education of females in rural areas is a shortage of female primary school teachers, then the Fifth Plan, by maintaining relatively low rates of enrollments of girls at the secondary level, offered little to reduce that barrier.

Indeed, the Fifth Plan estimated requirements for new primary school teachers as follows:

	Year 1978-79	Year 1982-83
Male Teachers	3,701	13,712
Female Teachers	3,098	9,259
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Total	6,799	22,971

Ratio of females to total:

45.6%

40.3%

In other words, the projected ratio of new female primary teachers needed to total new primary teachers needed declined over the plan period. Regardless of whether the male/female disparity in education is a problem in the economy and life in Pakistan overall, this last projection can be seriously questioned on the grounds of educational efficiency alone. Primary school teaching is not a job that appeals to intelligent and energetic

males, but it is still a good job for females to hold. Hence, the substitution of females for males in the teaching force should raise the quality of teaching per rupee of salary.

As noted, the verbal commentary in the Education Chapter stated that there was to be a shift in priorities toward "primary education and vocational and technical training."

(Italics mine) The latter shift is hard to detect when one examines the quantitative projections. The enrollment capacity for vocational institutions was estimated as 7,400 in 1977-78 and it was projected to rise to 14,550 in 1982-83. This last figure of 14.5 thousand may be compared with the projected enrollment in 1982-83 in secondary schools (which have a liberal arts curriculum altogether) of 2,023,000 (grades VI-VIII) and 722,000 (grades IX-X). Relative to secondary enrollments, vocational education is forecast to remain tiny. The projected annual out-turn from vocational institutions in 1982-83 is 5,900 - this is a country of over 80 million people.<sup>7</sup>

Another document that can be taken to reveal GOP's intentions regarding the education sector is Planning Commission, Special Development Programmes, 1982-83. The programmes are for the year indicated and are preparatory to the launching of the Sixth Five Year Plan. The SDP are commonly seen to reflect the leadership of Mabub ul Haq in the Planning Commission and his influence in the central government.

As far as education is concerned the document re-asserts GOP's commitment toward primary education. It adopts as a centerpiece a feature of the Fifth Five Year Plan, namely, to

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<sup>7</sup> It is true that some occupational training is conducted by the Ministry of Labor, but even taking that into account the annual output of training by both labor and education departments currently is

conduct primary education in the setting of the Mosque. SDP proposes the opening of 8,000 new Mosque schools. It is also proposed to construct 1,500 two room schools to accommodate students in Class IV and V and to build 400 primary schools for girls. The proposals are additive to the ADP for 1982-83. Leaving aside the Mosque schools for a moment, the SDP represents approximately a doubling for the one year the usual rate of proposed primary school construction. "Proposed" is the operative word, because outside NWFP, proposed schools most often do not get built. As far as accommodation is concerned, the big feature of the plan is the opening of schools in Mosques.

Presently, there are about 2 1/2 teachers per primary school of classes I-V. Under the new program, there would be two teachers in the Mosque for Classes I-III, one of whom would be the Imam, paid Rs. 150 a month. There would be two teachers in the schools serving Classes IV-V, or for a group of students classes I-V, four teachers, an increase of 1.5. However, one of the teachers, the Imam, does not get full salary. It is a provincial responsibility to pay for any new teachers needed under the SDP.

The SDP incorporates two very important ideas for Pakistan. The first is the decertification of primary school teaching. Provinces and their subdivisions can now appoint almost anyone to teach in primary school, and the minimum educational standard is simply completion of the 8th year of schooling. This opens up the market to a lot more females, i.e., to those who have completed class VIII. There are many thousands of Class VIII female graduates coming out of school each year.

The second important idea is that provincial departments of education should adjust teachers' salaries to recognize differences in supply of people who have various levels of qualification from one locality to the next; in other words, the authorities are to fit salaries to local labor market conditions. This is a big jump forward from the former centrally-imposed, national salary scales.

To summarize, I think GOP has made progress along the following directions:

- . the assertion of a high priority for primary education
- . the earmarking of development funds for primary education in the Fifth Plan (though whether this had real meaning I do not know)

decertification of primary school teachers

establishment of a flexible salary policy in primary school teaching.

On the other hand, I have some skeptical feelings about the much touted Special Development Programmes. In the first place, the amount of money for primary education, Rps. 300 million is not all that great. I read in the paper in Pakistan that the renovating of airports in Karachi, Lahore, and Islamabad is costing as much or more.

Secondly, the program for primary schools during the time of my visit was cut from Rps. 400 million to Rps. 300 million; and two of the main items dropped affected education of females. One item was a scholarship of Rps. 20 a month for rural girls

attending Classes IV and V; another was a "displacement allowance," what we in the U.S. call "combat pay," for female teachers who go to work in rural areas.

Thirdly, there is the important question of how the greater reliance on Mosque schools will affect the education of females. Opinion seems to be strongly divided on the question of whether parents will send their daughters to Mosque schools - or whether Mosque schools would accept female students. Several educators with whom I talked, including the central education secretary and the education secretary, Government of the Sind, said flat out that it will never happen in any significant number of cases. The split in opinion appears to follow professional background: economists and planners believe that Mosque schools are low-cost answers to the country's primary school problems; educators believe they are not, or at least not an answer to the problem of male-female disparity. (The one exception is that the circle around the education secretary, Government of the Panjab, was highly optimistic, but even they refused to answer the question about what proportion of Mosque primary students now are female.) Interestingly, the chief of the Education Section, Planning Commission, being partly a planner and partly an educator, gave a middle-of-the road answer to that question - "Maybe 20 to 30% of the enrollment will turn out to be girls, after the parents accept the idea that there aren't going to be girls' schools for Classes I to III."

I was told that females cannot teach in Mosque schools, so at the least, major reliance on such schools will be an impediment

to the creation of a large, strong corps of female primary teachers. This in turn means that mothers will have difficulty in communicating with the teachers of their sons and daughters in the early grades, because discourse between women and men in Pakistan extremely limited. It is possible that this barrier to exchange of information between mother and teacher is one cause of the high rates of student wastage, which, in turn, is one of the largest sources of educational inefficiency in the country. There is furthermore the condition that Mosque schools prevent female teachers from serving as role models for girl students when the girls are of an impressionable age.

All in all, taking account (a) of the major emphasis placed on Mosque education, (b) the dropping of scholarships for girl primary students, and (c) the dropping of the displacement allowance for female primary teachers, I am led to say that the Special Development Programmes, 1982-83, maintains the pattern of educational discrimination against females that the country had traditionally practiced.

The next main test of the intentions of GOP in education will be in the Sixth Plan. (The Special Development Programmes were repeatedly described to me as "stop-gap.") I think the draft plan, ready soon, should be examined carefully not just in terms of its rhetoric, regarding which the Planning Commission has become masterful, but also in terms of the priorities revealed in the quantitative projections. Also, I think the plan projections should be regarded as super-maximum estimates for primary education and vocational training.

I comment now about my interviews. At the center, I sense a genuine commitment to move ahead strongly in the field of primary education, at least as far as males are concerned. The leaders are still convinced that the objective can be met cheaply (no big additional increase in teachers' salaries planned, use the Mosques, etc.), and I am very doubtful that they are right on that point. The new approaches, however, are more flexible and that's good.

One may speculate about what has led the government to emphasize educational development and within education, the extension of primary schooling. For what it's worth, I think there are two reasons. The first is a "turn of the century" mentality. Population growth is rapid and with each extra million, the price tag for universal primary education goes up. It is thus seen that *unless* Pakistan begins to make really substantial progress toward educating its people by the turn of the century, it may never be able to do so. Accordingly, it's a kind of now or never choice, as to beginning to make progress, and on the choice rests the question of whether Pakistan shall ever have one of the most common characteristics of a modern nation--basic education of the people. The same choice, I would judge, faces India.

The second reason is related but it has to do more directly with population control. The means available to the GOP to control its population are somewhat more restricted than are the means available to most other governments. The negative relationship between education and family size hence becomes of major importance in this country. But this objective, namely to use education as an instrumentality to control population, implies

an emphasis on a form of education that reaches the masses, that reaches women, and that has a lasting effect. We can thus rule out from first priority all forms of higher education (doesn't reach the masses) and most forms of informal education (short-term for the most part and hence does not have lasting effects). What is left is primary education.

~~These~~<sup>2</sup> are explanations beyond those I have given above. It is now well established that basic education raises farmer productivity by increasing the willingness of the farmer to purchase higher quality inputs and to use better methods of farming. Basic education is related in a number of ways to "quality of the population," because educated mothers are more likely to be concerned about the early nutritional status and the health of their children, as well as the education of those young people. However, I do not believe these arguments carry the same sense of urgency to the government as the two I mentioned earlier, namely, the need to act now if Pakistan is ever to have an educated population and the need to use education to limit the size of the population, absent other measures to control it.

There is a wish to experiment with user fees and to make greater use of private schools, but these are sensitive matters. There is a recognition that something needs to be done about supervision. I think it is probable GOP will extend the employment of "learning coordinators," as the title is defined in the World Bank education project.

Regarding vocational education, there is a strong feeling that something should be done and that it would be good to obtain

the active cooperation of employers in processes of training, but I sensed no sense of urgency here and no consensus about means below the level of broadest generality.

In the provinces, I felt substantial agreement had been reached with the center about giving priority to primary education. There was real concern in the provinces to extend and improve vocational education and lots of good ideas about how to do it - extend and improve it both. I had the feeling that the provinces have both the interest and the capacity to create more functional education systems. They need strong direction to keep their eyes on the right targets, because the old political pressures for expansion of liberal arts education have not gone away. They also need money. Provincial budgets in total are tightly controlled by the center. I doubt the provinces can do much to improve the education sector unless the center releases money to them for this purpose. There's a lot of inefficiency in Pakistani education but it is the inefficiency of poverty. There's not much fat to be redistributed within the system.

#### Major Constraints in the Education Sector

I shall deal with constraints in the following order: financial, policy, institutional, management, and cultural.

a. Financial. Pakistan is obviously a poor country. In some ways, the middle class acts as if it is living in a country that is not poor. In Israel virtually every apartment has a solar collector for heating water, but I saw none in Pakistan. The energy requirements for air conditioning of middle class houses must be enormous. In Africa, homes are constructed to

minimize the need for cooling - not so in Pakistan. The Pakistani middle class seems to use gasoline for driving cars about as freely as Americans.

In addition, I think it true that GOP <sup>has</sup> grossly mismanaged remittances from the Gulf States, allowing the funds to be siphoned off into some rather crude forms of consumerism and land speculation.

For an additional 1% of GNP, the Government could make a lot of progress in primary education and vocational training. Adding 1% of GNP to the education budget would not place Pakistan in the category of high spenders.

So far GOP has been unwilling to face the problems created by its historical practice of underfunding education, but perhaps it will do so soon. To face the problem requires, I believe, one of the following actions - or a combination thereof. The first would simply be to raise taxes and use part of the proceeds for education. (An alternative version is to grant localities a significant amount of revenue-raising capacity to pay salaries of primary school teachers, but I suspect such an approach would widen the urban/rural disparity, at least with respect to the poorer rural areas.) The second measure is to shift the costs of university education to students and their families and use the funds so released for primary education. The educational prospects of low-income university students could be protected by scholarships and income-contingent loans (loans where the amount of repayment required is related to the graduate's earned income).

In short, I do not see that financial constraints prevent the improvement of education in Pakistan.

b. Policy. I judge that GOP - and here I mean to include the chief provincial officers in GOP - have made the correct policy shift in their minds but the implementation of the new policies hangs in the balance. It's like deciding to do the right thing "in principle." As I have indicated, I think GOP has firmly decided to expand and improve primary education, to reduce the urban-rural disparity in schooling, to expand and improve vocational education, and to slacken the growth of liberal arts education at the post-secondary level.

I also believe GOP is impeded in carrying out these policy shifts by three conditions. First, there is an unwillingness to make a realistic assessment of the financial costs and then to act boldly on the basis of that assessment. Secondly, there is uncertainty about how far and fast to move in regard to education of females, this uncertainty reflecting deep cultural divisions in the country. Third, there is uncertainty as to how to improve vocational education, a problem exacerbated by the apparent indifference of employers toward skills training (I make the assumption that cooperation of employers is essential for improvement of vocational education within the level of resources that is likely to become available).

All in all, the situation with regard to policy constraints is better than it's been for a long time.

c. Institutional. To discuss institutional constraints carefully requires a more thorough immersion in Pakistan's educational

life than I was able to achieve, so I offer the following as highly tentative. I think institutional constraints are highly limiting in the liberal arts colleges and universities. Faculty are in various degrees politicized, poorly trained, and despairing. Little work is demanded of students. Scientific and technical literature available in Urdu is scant, but students' proficiency in English has fallen considerably. Given these conditions, I think the re-assertion by GOP to concentrate its efforts in universities on "centers of excellence" is correct; likewise the decision to curb the growth of the colleges.

I likewise think it would be an extremely difficult job to revitalize the male polytechnics (probably misconceived from the beginning) and the male government vocational institutes in the Panjab. I shall note some more promising institutional developments in vocational education in my concluding section.

In primary and secondary education, there are serious difficulties (deteriorated educational plant, lack of instructional materials, low morale of teachers, etc.) but I would not describe the difficulties as "institutional," not if institutional means conditions that are deeply rooted in the structure of the agency that delivers the service. In my view primary and secondary schools are malleable. The difficulties could be overcome rather quickly with strong management and additional resources.

d). Management. In the central government, I have the impression that assignment to the education sector is not a

avored assignment for members of the CSP. I think I can say with some accuracy that the education section of the Planning Commission has a low standing within that organization.

On the other hand I was favorably impressed by provincial officers, both those in the education service and those with broader responsibilities, such as Chief Secretary or Additional Chief Secretary. The latter types appeared to be well informed about educational services and to have good ideas on how to improve them. I was also very favorably impressed with the heads of occupational training programs from both the education and labor departments in the Sind and the Panjab.

Many people spoke of the virtual absence of management personnel for local schools. In primary schools especially, teachers receive little help from consultants to improve their work. There is almost no supervision in the disciplinary or control sense, and rates of teacher absenteeism are reported to be high. There is apparently a constant stream of complaints from parents about teachers into tehsil and divisional offices but not many get acted upon.

The World Bank Project in primary education (a project designed initially by U.S.A.I.D.) has sought to address the problem by appointing "learning coordinators," one for each 10 primary schools, in the experimental areas. The results are reported to be good, and I understand GOP plans to hire learning coordinators on a large scale from its own resources. There is in the meantime a turf battle to be worked out between the regular local administrators, who are admittedly stretched too thinly, and the new breed of local coordinator.

Where it counts, i.e., primary and vocational/technical education, I do not see management constraints as insurmountable. No vast amount of technical expertise or professional training is required to run the institutions. Intelligence, energy, enthusiasm, and a strong commitment are the qualities that are required, and the supply of such persons in Pakistan is sufficient.

e.) Cultural. To write accurately on cultural constraints that impede development of the education sector in Pakistan requires far more understanding of the Islamic religion and the customs and attitudes of the people than I possess, so, again, I offer my impressions. It boils down to this: I regard cultural constraints as the single greatest impediment toward improvement of the educational services in Pakistan. To say this is to speak, of course, with western secular values.

I regard education as ineffective unless it develops an inquiring habit of mind. Education and indoctrination are polar extremes. As one high official in GOP put it, "We say our educational system is liberal and Islamic, but it cannot be both. Until we resolve the contradiction, we can get nowhere in education." If the contradiction should be resolved in favor of Islam, I would question how well Pakistan can pursue its technological development in an increasingly technological world economy. There are ways to accommodate science and religion within a single educational system, but I do not think the Pakistanis have found them yet.

Putting this matter aside, I do not sense in the Pakistani culture a deep love of learning and the arts. There is no strong national pride in education. Education is valued for personal

reasons: to gain salvation or to gain economic success. These reasons for valuing education do not create an urge to support the educational progress of a stranger's child.

Returning to religion, I sense deep, unresolved questions in Pakistan about the education of women. By failing to educate and employ its intellectually able women, Pakistan is wasting half its brain power. The subservient position held by women generally is one cause of the intolerably high birth rate, and one step toward liberation of women is to provide them with basic education. But, as I understand it, women represent too great a threat to be educated. Heterosexual love is a threat to man's love of Allah, some say, but beyond this the release of female energy could damage the very fabric of society in unpredictable ways.

At present, as I have indicated, GOP has not appeared to be strongly interested in reducing the male-female disparity in education and employment of women in the market economy, except where the work is segregated by sex, is a family disgrace in all but the most liberated or the poorest families.

### Contributions of Other Donors to the Education Sector

The main impression I have is that contributions of other donors, with the possible exception of I.L.O. and World Bank are not currently very impressive. The projects seem small, uncoordinated, and to display the idiosyncracies of the donors. Even where high quality contributions were made in the past, as in the Swedish-Pak and German-Pak vocational training programs, about the most that can be said is that GOP has been able to maintain the quality of the offerings but not to extend them on a national scale.

Oddly enough, however, some things pay off after a considerable period of time. Three of the vocational education chiefs with whom I spoke, all impressive and two of whom are directing innovative programs for women, mentioned that they studied at Oklahoma, the Stillwater campus in the 1960's. I think that program of training was sponsored by A.I.D., though it may have been Ford Foundation.

The World Bank has two main projects in the education sector. The first is an experimental program in primary education, intended to bring more females into teaching, reduce wastage by improving communication between parents and teachers, provide in-service training for teachers, and strengthen management by providing a learning coordinator for each 10 schools. A series of evaluations should begin to be available from about June, 1983. The chief of the Bank's evaluation team gave me an informal preliminary evaluation to the point that the project was over-ambitious in design and that nothing done so far seems to have made

much difference except that the learning coordinators have proven themselves to be useful. The total cost to World Bank, as I understand it, is approximately \$7 million.

The second Bank project has to do with vocational education. The project provides funds for construction, furniture, and equipment for the National Training Development Institute (mainly a planning body), six new vocational training centers, and 31 existing training centers, funds for furniture and equipment for the national and four provincial training board secretariats, consumable materials of all of the 37 vocational training centers, incremental salaries for staff in the planning, management, and training facilities, and staff training for 640 instructors in the 37 training centers and 2,800 training personnel for in-plant programs. This project is just now getting launched. As far as I can determine, there is no emphasis placed on vocational education of females. The cost of the project, which is to run until 1985, is estimated as \$41.48 million of which \$25.0 is an IDA credit, with the rest to be met by GOP.

I.L.O. has a three-pronged program of training trainers, of improving and expanding apprenticeship programs, and of improving in-plant training programs. It has sponsored impressively fine work in preparing training materials. These are conceptually well developed and they are presented in Urdu. It has also sponsored programs for training rural women in poultry raising, preservation of fruits and vegetables, etc., in the Panjab, working with the Social Welfare Division. I.L.O. is now preparing

a program for women in the Sind in collaboration with the Small Industries Ministry (better on marketing than the Social Welfare Division).

I have the impression that the range of projects with which I.L.O. is associated one way or another is formidable and that the organization has a great deal of experience to draw upon in figuring out what is likely to work. The Pakistan representative expressed strong interest in collaborating with A.I.D. in training projects. He also said that the Germans and Dutch would make good partners.

Appendix I offers comments of the work of other donors. Everyone with whom I talked said they would welcome collaboration, formal or informal, with A.I.D., and they seemed to think the possibility that A.I.D. might re-enter the education/training fields was encouraging.

UNICEF and I.L.O. (maybe) seem to be free of requirements of proportionality and subsidiarity.

#### Suggestions for A.I.D. in the Education Sector in Pakistan

I have been asked what are the points of comparative advantage, if any, for A.I.D. in the education sector of Pakistan. Recognizing any such judgements are premature and demand further investigation, I make the following observations.

As I see it, there are two crucial and neglected activities in the education sector, both having to do with the education of women. I regard education of women as crucial for a number of reasons. The first is that education can contribute to the independence and self-fulfillment of women. Some interpreta-

tions of Islam accept these objectives. But these objectives must be cast in terms of a contribution toward economic development. Education of women contributes to economic development by enlarging the size of the intellectual labor pool, by reducing the rate of population increase, and by improving child rearing practices, leading to a higher quality of population generally.

That the education of women has been neglected by GOP is made apparent, I believe, in the earlier pages of this report. As far as I can tell, education of women has not been addressed systematically by donors, except possibly by I.L.O. (and even in this case, the involvement in this field is rather small). A.I.D. has the resources and time to make a lasting difference, provided it can gain the attention and cooperation of GOP.

Here are the two activities I have in mind.

1. Improving the Access of Girls to Primary Education.

I would judge that the chief barriers to education of young girls are the absence of a classroom in a girls school or the unavailability of a female teachers, or both. In some places one finds underutilized girls schools in which the problem seems to be lack of female teachers. In other places, there may be female teachers available but no buildings in which they may teach. And some places have neither a girls' school nor female teachers. The latter are most likely rural areas and low-income suburbs of the large cities.

It has been suggested to me that the best approach to the problem of girls' education is to persuade GOP to give up the