

DECENTRALIZED MANAGEMENT OF PRIMARY EDUCATION  
IN BALOCHISTAN

REPORT PREPARED FOR OFFICE OF ADDITIONAL DIRECTOR,  
PRIMARY EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT QUETTA, BALOCHISTAN

BY DR. NEK BUZDAR, CONSULTANT

MARCH, 1991

DECENTRALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT IN BALUCHISTAN.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. BACKGROUND.....	4
1. Purpose of study.....	4
2. Methodology.. ..	6
II. BALUCHISTAN'S UNIQUE GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT.....	7
1. Baluchistan Geographic Area.....	7
2. Baluchistan People-Socio-Cultural Environment..	8
3. Social Organization.....	10
4. Culture, Customs, Traditions and Attitudes Towards Education.....	12
5. Cross Cultural Factors and Education.....	16
III. THE EXISTING SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENT OF EDUCATION IN BALUCHISTAN AND IN THE MAKHRAN AND ZHOB DIVISIONS	
1. Introduction.....	18
2. Provincial Administration.....	19
3. Female Education-Administration.....	21
4. District Education Administration.....	21
5. District Position Allocations, 1990.....	23
6. Agencies Impacting Upon Primary Education.....	24
7. Observations and Questions.....	24
IV. PROBLEMS OBSERVED IN ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS AFFECTING PRIMARY SCHOOLS DURING VISITS TO MAKHRAN AND ZHOB	
1. Teacher Recruitment.....	26
2. Politicization of Educational Institutions....	28
3. Examination Systems.....	28
4. Allocation of Funds.....	30
5. Centralized Education Functions with Little Public Participation.....	31
6. Supervision.....	31
7. Training for Teachers.....	33
8. Curriculum and Textbook Content.....	34
9. Teaching Mother Tongue.....	35
10. Teaching Supplies and Resources.....	35
11. Female Education.....	36
12. The Private Sector and Private Education.....	36
13. Summary.....	37

## V. SUGGESTED FUNCTIONS FOR A DIVISIONAL DIRECTORATE- PRIMARY EDUCATION FOCUS

1.	Introduction.....	38
2.	Problems and Suggested Functions.....	38
	Problem #1. Teacher Recruitment.....	38
	Problem #2. Politicization of Education .....	40
	Problem #3. Examination Systems.....	41
	Problem #4. Allocation of Funds.....	42
	Problem #5. Centralized Educational Functions.....	42
	Problem #6. Supervision.....	43
	Problem #7. Teacher Training.....	47
	Problem #8. Curriculum and Textbooks.....	48
	Problem #9. Teaching Mother Tongue.....	48
	Problem #10. Teaching Supplies and Resources.....	49
	Problem #11. Female Education.....	49
	Problem #12. The Private Sector .....	51
3.	Summary.....	52
4.	Chart-Two-Way Functional Linkages.....	53

## VI. DECENTRALIZATION STEPS PROPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF BALOCHISTAN AND THOSE UNDERTAKEN IN OTHER PROVINCES

1.	Establishment of Divisional Directorates.....	54
2.	Bifurcation of the Elementary Education System in Balochistan.....	56
3.	Decentralization Efforts in Sindh and NWFP Provinces.....	57
4.	Decentralization Efforts by the Health and Local Government Depts. in Balochistan.....	59

## VII. APPENDICES

Annex 1.	Civil and Educational Administration.....	61
Annex 2.	Area/Population and Dist. of Schools.....	62
Annex 3.	Ethnic and Linguistic Composition.....	63
Annex 4.	Sindh Visit Report.....	64
Annex 5.	Makran Visit Report.....	68

## DECENTRALIZATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT SYSTEM IN BALOCHISTAN: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE PROCESS IN MAKRAN AND ZHOB DIVISIONS.

### 1. BACKGROUND

#### 1. Purpose of Study:

Under a program Grant Agreement between the governments of Pakistan and the United States of America, USAID will provide sector assistance grants for the improvement of primary education system in Balochistan. The main goal of the grants in primary education development is to improve access to quality education for primary school age children of Balochistan. The 1990-91 Balochistan Education Department workplan calls, among other things, for an examination of the process and conditions of decentralization of educational functions in Balochistan that have an impact upon primary education in the province.

One must remember that the education system in Balochistan is undergoing very rapid growth at the primary level. Whether decentralization to a divisional level is the only solution to the growing pains facing the education system is not the purpose of this particular study.

However, since an experiment in decentralization along divisional lines is currently about to occur, this study will suggest ways in which a divisional level might function to assist in the improvement of primary education at this tentative stage of educational development.

It was proposed in the workplan that a two phased study be conducted to look into the various aspects of decentralization and bifurcation of the education system in Balochistan. Specifically the studies would include the following areas of emphasis:

(i) Assess the processes and prospects of decentralization of education, with particular reference to the establishment of Divisional Directorates in the two Balochistan Divisions of Makran and Zhob.

(ii) Develop recommendations for managing primary education under decentralized circumstances.

(iii) Review recommendations of the organizational study of elementary education in Balochistan completed in Spring 1990 and also a similar study performed for the province of NWFP, and examine the possible impact of these recommendations, if implemented.

(iv) Document in a case study the Balochistan government

process of creating positions and the development of rules covering responsibilities under decentralization.

This consultancy activity looks into the first two elements of emphasis.

Real development in any area of human endeavor must be a response to the local needs, must suit local temperament and conform to local customs, traditions and value systems. A study of the issues related to educational development in Balochistan, must, therefore include a brief description of the socio-cultural and economic environment in which this development activity is proposed to take place.

The socio-economic and political environment prevailing in Balochistan in general, and in Makran/Zhob Divisions in particular, having an impact upon the education system, are therefore briefly described in section II. Section III deals with the existing system of educational management. The main problems as perceived at the Division and District level are presented in section IV. Functions that deal with decentralization measures proposed for the improvement of the system will be found in section V. Finally, section VI contains descriptions of some of the current efforts of decentralization in other government agencies. District and Subdivision level.

Although the government of Balochistan Education Department has already issued notification to establish divisional directorates at Zhob and Makran, matters concerning the details of staffing, powers delegated and responsibilities assigned at the divisional as well as provincial and district level are still under consideration. A decision in this regard is still pending with the government of Balochistan Education Department. Moreover, as will be discussed, the divisional directorates have not yet started functioning. Even the directors to head the offices have not yet been nominated. Matters concerning bifurcation of primary/secondary education are, similarly, in the initial stages. Although an Additional Director Primary Education has been appointed, and his office has started functioning at Quetta, his full staff at the provincial and lower levels has not yet been appointed. His own responsibilities have not yet been totally defined. The process of decentralization undertaken by other Balochistan provincial government departments, and by the provinces of Sindh and NWFP are likewise in their initial stages. Therefore, it is obviously too early to assess the actual performance and success or failure of the process of decentralization.

## 2. Methodology:

Most of the information on which this report is based was collected through the following sources and means.

(i) Personal interviews and discussions with various education department officials, mainly those positioned at the District and sub-division level and primary school teachers.

(ii) Interviews with community and village elders, members of local councils and the provincial and national assemblies.

(iii) Observation of teaching facilities, teaching processes, teacher qualifications, particularly in the rural areas.

(iv) Various publications and organizational studies, including the report on "Organizational Structure and Data/Information Flow Within the Education System of the Province of Balochistan" Jorge A. Valdes, March 29, 1990, "An Analysis of Structure and Functions of the Directorate of Elementary Education, Balochistan and NWFP, by Education Development Center (Allesandro and Chiappetta, Spring, 1990), Study of the Management Structure of the Education Department, Government of Balochistan, August, 1984, Primary Education Management by Teachers Resource Center, Karachi, Annual Workplan for Balochistan (1990-91), Primary Education Development Program for Balochistan, PC-1, and the Balochistan Province Education Statistics, 1989.

(v) Visits to the Education Departments of Sindh and NWFP provinces, and interviews with the Education Department officials at Karachi and Peshawar.

Reliable quantitative data on most aspects of study at the District level are not available at this stage. Therefore conclusions are mainly drawn on the basis of interviews and observations. It must be mentioned here that data collected under the Human Resources Survey and School Census are now being processed and will be available for use very soon.

## II. BALOCHISTAN'S UNIQUE GEOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

### 1. Balochistan Geographic Area:

Balochistan, meaning "the land of the Baloch people", is a vast arid/semi-arid country spread over southwestern Afghanistan, southeastern Iran and western most Pakistan. The Pakistan province of Balochistan, with a geographical area of 347,000 square kilometers constitutes about 45 percent of the total area of the country and has a variety of climatic, topographic and rainfall zones.

Most of the province is mountainous, although areas bordering Afghanistan and Iran in the extreme west are in fact an extension of the Iranian desert, Dasht-i-Kawir. The rainfall varies from a mere 50 mm in the west to over 400 mm in the northeast. The temperatures vary with elevation, and elevations range in Balochistan from sea level to about 4000 meters. A map of Balochistan showing its political divisions is in Annex 4.

#### (i) Makran Division:

Makran is the southwestern Division which borders Iran to the west and the Arabian sea to the south. With an area of 55,000 square kilometers, it is spread approximately over 17 per cent of the total provincial geographical area, and generally with parallel mountain ranges and intersecting valleys. The topography is typical of most of Balochistan. The Division has three administrative Districts; the coastal Gawadar, the central Turbat (Kech) and the northern Panjgur. Elevations range between sea level along most of the coastal areas and about 1500 meters in the northern Panjgur. The relatively low elevations combined with scant rainfall, result in high temperatures. In Turbat area it is not uncommon for temperatures to reach over 50 degrees C for extended periods of time in summer. The annual average rainfall ranges between 50-150mm.

#### (ii) Zhob Division:

Zhob Division is located in the northeastern extreme of the province, bordering Afghanistan, as well as Punjab and NWFP provinces. There are three districts in the Division, Loralai, Zhob and Killa Saifullah. The total area of the Division is 45,200 square kilometers. Loralai district has an area of 19,071 square kilometers, while Zhob and Killa Saifullah have a combined area of 27,129 square kilometers. The administrative Division is a recent creation; until recently Zhob and Loralai were part of Quetta Division while Killa Saifullah was part of Zhob District. Thus while Loralai and Zhob are well established districts with government offices, Killa Saifullah was created about a year ago. It is still in the process of being established.

The Division contains not only the highest but also the most green and forested mountain ranges in Balochistan. The main Sulaiman mountain ranges that extend north into Afghanistan forms part of the boundaries of the Division and of

Balochistan with the provinces of Punjab and NWFP. Takht-i-Sulaiman is the highest peak in Balochistan. Temperatures vary from below freezing in winter to 115 degrees F(46 C) in summer and average annual rainfall is about 400 mm.

## 2. Balochistan People-Socio-Cultural Environment:

Most of the Balochistan population has historically been nomadic, pastoral and tribal, although sections of tribes have, in recent times, settled down in agricultural valleys and fishing villages. Animal and crop raising, fishing and trade, provide a subsistence living to the majority of the population. Baloch and Pushtun are the main ethnic groups in the province and the main languages spoken are Balochi, Pushto and Brahvi. According to the 1981 census 36 percent of the Balochistan population speak Balochi, 26 percent speak Pushto and 22 percent speak Brahvi. The rest speak Sindhi, Saraiki, Farsi and Khetrani etc. Rough estimates of the ethnic composition of the province are shown in Annex. 2. According to 1981 census, the population density in Balochistan was the lowest in the country; 12 persons per square kilometer.

### (i) Makran Division:

Although about a hundred percent of the people of Makran speak Balochi, claim common Baloch ancestry and adhere to Islamic religion, obvious variations exist. Racially and ethnically many groups originally came from Africa, India and Arab Middle East. The Baloch themselves are a Central Asian/Middle Eastern people who entered Makran over a period of hundreds of years. The last Baloch tribal groups entered and settled in Makran during 15th and 16th centuries. Makran has about the same population density as the provincial average, i.e. 12 persons per square kilometer.

### (ii) Zhob Division:

The Division is predominantly Pushto speaking, although a number of Baloch tribes also live in the eastern and southern parts of the Division. Historically the areas of Zhob have frequently changed hands, and have at various times fell under the domination of Indian, Afghan and Iranian empires. The Pushtun belong to the larger cultural and linguistic group, which dominates most of Afghanistan and the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan. The main Pushtun tribes living in the Division are those of Kakar, Dumar, Tarin, Mandokhel, Mirani, Kibzai and Musakhel. Zhob Division has a slightly higher population density than the provincial average, i.e. 16 per cent.

### Settlement Patterns:

The majority of Balochistan's population engages in one or more of the following economic activities to make a living:

- (i) Animal raising
- (ii) crop raising
- (iii) Fishing
- (iv) Trade
- (v) Services

The vast majority of the province's population engages in the first three of the above activities, and historically the settlement patterns have been determined by those activities. The settlement patterns of above groups of people are described below:

#### (i) Animal Raisers.

Rangelands able to produce enough vegetation for flocks throughout the year, are not in abundant supply in Balochistan. The animal raisers, therefore, are generally either truly nomadic or semi-nomadic. The latter meaning that movements are in relatively smaller areas and at least part of the year is spent in one fixed location. The rangelands of Balochistan have never been productive because of semi-arid and low rainfall conditions, but in recent years the situation has further deteriorated.

Increase in human and animal populations, increase in animal raisers demand for necessities of life, and a gradual change of the general economy in Balochistan from subsistence to commercial, have all contributed to the depletion of rangelands. The result is diminishing rangeland productivity and carrying capacity, and thus the necessity to have ever increasing rangeland areas to feed a fixed number of animals. Dependence on animals and rangelands as the main means of production necessitates smaller and smaller human settlements over larger areas of the rangelands. The settlements in animal raising areas are generally small and dispersed.

(ii) Crop Raisers: Crop raising in Balochistan is broadly divided into irrigated and rain-fed crop raising. Except the areas of Nasirabad Division bordering Sindh, where canals from Indus river irrigate the land, the rest of Balochistan has either very minor or no irrigation systems.

The most important traditional small irrigation system is the Karez system (underground channels carrying water from higher to lower elevation through gravity). In the canal irrigated areas of Nasirabad, relatively large urban centers have developed. The population growth in these areas is very high,

mainly because of migrating population from other areas of the province. An average Karez system irrigates between 40 and 60 Ha of land, and normally oasis settlements have developed around karez irrigated areas.

In different valleys where rain-fed agriculture is possible, small villages have developed over the years. These village populations are also growing at a fast rate because more animal raisers are settling down. Also, formerly common tribal rangelands are being distributed as farm land among the tribesmen.

(iii) Fishing Communities: It is only in the coastal areas of Makran that people engage in fishing to make a living. Here the settlements have arisen in places where drinking water was available. There are at least five fishing villages with populations of 15,000 to 20,000 people. By Balochistan standards, these are large settlements.

### 3. Social Organization.

Balochistan is home to hundreds of small and large tribes. Many have their origin, as well as fellow tribesmen, in neighboring Iran and Afghanistan. The Baloch and Pushtun tribes living in Balochistan today belonged to the wandering central Asian groups of tribes who entered Balochistan over a period of many centuries.

Large portions of tribes in both Zhob and Makran Divisions have in recent times abandoned traditional animal raising and have switched to irrigated and rain-fed agriculture and to fishing and trade. Important differences in the socio-cultural as well as climatic and topographic environment in the two Divisions of Balochistan make it necessary to describe the social organizations separately.

(i) Makran Division: Makran is the only Division in Balochistan which presents a social organization radically different from the rest of the province. Although the people speak Balochi language and members of all important Baloch tribes are found throughout the Division, Baloch tribal social organization is completely absent. There are no tribal territories and there is no tribal hierarchical leadership patterns as is found elsewhere in Balochistan.

Instead the population in Makran is divided into three main categories or classes. The first category consists of members of former ruling classes and is called "Hakim". The second category is that of animal raisers and peasants and is called "Baloch" and consists of groups of tribes tracing their origin to various known Baloch tribes. The third and last category is called "Hizmatgar" and consists of groups of people who were

traditionally landless farm and domestic laborers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and former slaves.

In tribal Balochistan a person born to a member of a particular tribe, always remains a member of the fraternity. Similarly, in general, in Makran a person born to a former ruler tribe, blacksmith tribe or former slave tribe remains in his own class regardless of economic changes in status.

Although the social organization is changing, the rural village level leadership is still enjoyed by the former ruling classes. Access to education and economic opportunities within the country and in the Middle East did have some impact on the social organization and leadership in recent years. Some upward social mobility has been possible and in recent elections some former lower class individuals have been elected to leadership positions.

The three newly emerging political forces are the student, the religious, and Baloch nationalist organizations.

(ii) Zhob Division: As mentioned, Zhob is mainly inhabited by Pushto speaking tribes, although certain Baloch tribal groups also live in southern and eastern regions of the Division. The Pushtun are divided in tribes and the tribal structure is as follows: At the top of the structure is the tribe (kaam), which has many clans (Shakh); each clan in turn has many sections (Pesha), and each section has lineages (khel). Finally each lineage consists of sub-lineages called Zai or Kahol which consists of families called Kor.

With respect to leadership, the tribe is headed by a Sardar (chief) sometimes given the title of Nawab, the clan and section by a Malik, lineages by a Spin Zhiray and sub-lineage/family by a Mashar.

As is obvious, the leadership is hierarchical and decision making is, for the most part, decentralized as discussed below. At the lowest level, the sublineage has complete autonomy and all decisions regarding resource use, property and other interpersonal disputes within the sublineage are decided by the Mashar. Matters and disputes between the sublineages are decided by the lineage head or Spinzhiray, those between lineages by the Malik, and those between clans by the chief or Sardar.

A tribesman owes allegiance first of all to his sublineage, then to his lineage, then to his section, then to his clan, and only lastly to his tribe.

While dealing with alien tribes, groups, or individuals, solidarity towards one's own tribe and tribesmen must be

maintained. In a larger context such a solidarity among Pushtun against non-Pushtuns is important, although tribal and family rivalries are always there.

The term "Pushtunwali" refers to Pushtun solidarity against non-Pushtuns, while "Tarburwali" refers to the perpetual rivalries between families, clans and tribes. The corresponding terms in Balochi are respectively "Balochi" and "Siali". Among both Baloch and Pushtun, cooperation and conflict go side by side.

The tribal Sardars/Nawabs of Pushtun have lost their traditional blind following, but they still have significant support among their tribesmen, mainly due to their landed property and economic resourcefulness.

Pushtun nationalist /student organizations and religious parties are the new emerging yet opposing forces and would probably provide future political leadership.

#### 4. Culture, Customs, Traditions and Attitudes Towards

##### Education:

The Balochistan Gazetteer, published in 1906, describes the entire population of Makran as illiterate, with only a very small number of people being educated in Persian and Arabic languages to become Mullahs. A more significant cultural trait of the Baloch is alluded to, when it is mentioned, "It is remarkable that nearly all the Mullahs and Qazis are derived from the lower class, the Darzadas and sometimes the Loris. There is only one Baloch Mulla in all of Kech, Makran (which then had an estimated total population of 79,000 people)"

The Baloch, like other tribal nomadic groups, have never been an education loving people. Such lack of interest is based mainly in their living conditions and environment. For a nomadic and pastoral people moving from place to place and engaged in subsistence economic activities, education is an unaffordable luxury.

Because of the environment and socio-economic conditions there were certain personal characteristics that a Baloch was required to possess at any cost. The traditions of hospitality, bravery, individual freedom, and group solidarity, were the characteristics most valued.

When western type schools were first opened in Balochistan, they were fiercely opposed. They were considered to be institutions to convert the tribesmen to western ways. More importantly, it was believed that going to schools and getting education, even religious education, might cause an individual to lose the traits of "Balochi" which were so highly valued in Baloch culture.

For a long time trade was an activity considered beneath the dignity of a Baloch. For instance, in Kalat, Khuzdar and Mari/Bugti areas, an overwhelming majority of shopkeepers even today are Hindu and non-Baloch. Trade and education were similar activities, since both could negatively effect a Baloch's behavior and actions, as far as his adherence to the Baloch traditions and culture was concerned.

Contrary to the Baloch perception of education, the Pushtun by and large, opposed western education, but recognized the importance of religious education. They established many religious schools in their areas.

In general, religion has a more important place in Pushtun culture than in the Baloch culture. In fact, among most Pushtuns the word "Pushtun" has a wider meaning than just a person speaking pushto language; Pushtun also means Muslim and in most cases the words Pushtun and Muslim are used interchangeably. This is one of the reasons why the pushto speaking areas of Balochistan have a relatively high rate of literacy than the Balochi speaking areas.

As far as women are concerned, their status among the tribal societies of Balochistan, whether Baloch or Pushtun, is different than what it is among the urban area communities in Pakistan.

But the general and wide spread impression, that they are more restricted and confined to home and perform limited household chores is grossly exaggerated. Among all the animal raising communities, women work side by side with men and tend their flocks in rangelands far removed from home.

Women work in the fields and certain farm functions like hay making and crop harvesting are specialized women functions.

In Makran coastal villages, women work not only as fisherwomen but also engage in fish sale and purchase business in the markets. Even elsewhere in Makran the women can inherit, own and exchange property, and they are frequently involved in trade and business.

Putting on a veil and remaining indoors is a very recent custom which came from urban areas of other provinces and is still confined to the urban areas of Balochistan.

In general, the impression that the people of Balochistan are more conservative than those in Punjab and Sindh is incorrect, as far as female participation in education and other activities is concerned.

During our visits in the interior of Balochistan, we found a relatively large number of girls, in primary sections, going to schools with boys. The District Education Officers of more than one District indicated that at the request of parents, they have allowed female students to attend boys primary schools and primary sections of Middle and High Schools.

Colonialism had its effect upon some of the educational customs and traditions in Balochistan. Around the turn of the century when the British developed interest in Balochistan, they already had schools established in neighboring Sindh and Punjab provinces with Hindustani (Urdu/Hindi) medium of instruction.

The first western type primary schools were introduced in what was then known as the British Balochistan (areas of Zhob, Loralai, Quetta and Sibi/Nasirabad) during the last decade of 19th and the first decade of the 20th century by the British rulers. At first, these schools were vehemently opposed by the local tribal chiefs and Mullahs, because they were believed to have been opened for the purposes of converting Muslims to Christianity.

At the same time, the British, in return for their loyalty, conferred many privileges to the local chiefs. One of these privileges was to grant scholarships to the sons of the chiefs to go to schools located in different parts of India and England.

While the chiefs/Nawabs themselves readily availed these opportunities and sent their children to schools outside of Balochistan, the tribesmen in general, remained opposed to foreign education and exposure.

Those sending their children to local schools in the beginning consisted almost entirely of the children of settlers who came with the British from Punjab and those of some local non-tribal and generally lower class people.

At the time of independence in 1947, there were more than a dozen high schools and numerous primary and middle schools, most of them being located in British Balochistan. Only a couple of schools existed in the states of Kalat, Lasbela, Kharan and Makran.

The reasons for lack of interest in education along the areas bordering Iran and the Sea, compared to the high interest areas bordering Afghanistan were political, and based on the well known British "Forward Policy".

The importance of this initial policy is that foundations were laid for a policy where the individuals and areas with the highest potential of trouble making would be rewarded by more government support and investment.

Until late 1960s, the administration and management of education in Balochistan was completely controlled from Lahore. This city was the capital of the province of West Pakistan, of which the present province of Balochistan was a part.

During the 1960s and 1970s there were widespread disturbances in Balochistan and a political campaign was launched against the federal government. On the presumption that opposition to the federal government was a product of years of deprivation, poverty and illiteracy in Balochistan, the federal government embarked upon a comprehensive program of opening new schools and colleges in the province. But, following the earlier colonial government policies, the allocation of schools was based entirely upon political considerations and on policies of rewarding the opponents and "purchasing their loyalties". No prior planning was done and no assessment was made regarding the need for and benefits of a school in a particular area before it was opened.

The result today is that certain regions in Balochistan have education facilities far in excess of the need while other areas suffer because of lack of educational facilities.

According to the latest Balochistan education department statistics (Education Statistics, 1989) there are a total of 3606 primary schools in the province, out of which 3091 are male and 515 female schools. In addition there are a total of 2311 mosque schools. The total number of Middle schools is 551 (481 male and 70 female), and those of high schools is 275, out of which 217 are for male and 58 for female.

The total number of students is 352,414 in the primary schools and primary sections of middle and high schools, while the enrollment at the Mosque schools is estimated at 73,222. Other statistics relevant to the study and about the two Divisions vis-a-vis other Divisions and the province are given in Annex 1.

In Makran Division the total number of primary schools stands at 315 (38 female), with 176 (20 female) in Turbat district, 71 (10 female) in Panjgur District and 68 (8 female) in Gawadar District.

The total primary enrollment to the end of 1989 in Makran Division was 10,272, with 5,957 in Turbat District, 2,642 in Panjgur District and 1,673 in Gawadar District. Zhob Division

has a total of 814 primary schools (94 female), with 432 (51 female) in Loralai District, 248 (43 female) in Zhob district, and 104 in Killa Saifullah District. The number of students enrolled in primary schools in Zhob Division by the end of 1989 was 7684, with 3333 in Loralai District, 2588 in Zhob District and 1763 in Killa Saifullah District.

##### 5. Cross-Cultural Factors And The Education System

As the above descriptions show, the Makran and Zhob Divisions of Balochistan have unique geographical, cultural, and socio-economic characteristics. The rather detailed descriptions were presented so that any reader considering educational revision in Balochistan would at least concurrently reflect upon this cross-cultural perspective of the province, and consider ways of capitalizing upon them in any reform in education.

1. Makran and Zhob are only two of the six divisions of Balochistan. As we have seen there are significant socio-cultural and historical differences between the two Divisions. Such differences also exist between and within other divisions of Balochistan.

2. Majority languages spoken in Makran and Zhob are respectively Balochi and Pushto. These languages are also the two most spoken languages in the province. The Balochistan government policy of introducing local languages at the primary level may be a first step in recognizing the importance of cultural differences within the province.

3. The most serious problem with the education system in Balochistan so far has been the lack of community participation and cooperation to improve the education system. To make the local communities partners in the educational development activities, their unique social organization and leadership patterns must clearly be understood.

The social organization and leadership in Makran is based on a system that originally divided the population into various classes, so that leadership as well as following, came from particular classes of the society. Although the socioeconomic and political changes of the past few decades lessened the importance of the traditional class structure, a strong influence of the same still exists.

Education opens up new opportunities and new horizons particularly for those from lower classes who otherwise see no hope of change in their status. The former rulers still provide leadership and have some following, but they are not in a position strong enough to oppose education. As recent election results have shown, the new educated classes will

probably be providing the future political leadership in Makran.

Similarly the culture does not impose as many restrictions on females, thus there is less resistance to female education.

The Zhob Division, on the other hand, presents a typical tribal social organization where tribal customs and traditions are still strong in most areas. The Sardars and Maliks have an important role in social decision making. There is still some resistance to education, which is encouraged by the Sardars/Maliks. Their past experience has shown that educated tribesmen refuse to follow and respect the chiefs.

The allocation of primary schools, as well as contracts for the school buildings, have in recent years been used as gifts by the political leadership to the Maliks/chiefs. However some of the Maliks have, in many cases, kept these schools closed, so that not many tribesmen get education.

Tribalism is now passing through an evolutionary decline, but in the meantime the local Jirga system can be utilized for many positive educational development purposes. The Jirgas are councils of tribal/clan/sectional heads constituted, normally, for purposes of dispute settlement between individuals and tribes, but can be made use of for other purposes as well. The Education Department supervisors and subdivisional education officers can cooperate with Jirga and seek their help for the improvement in certain aspects of the education system.

4. The general implication derived from a review of early education in Makran is that in the absence of tribal customs and traditions, there will be less resistance to male as well as female education. Thus more cooperation can be expected.

In Zhob Division, Mosque schools will be relatively more successful, but otherwise some still powerful forces including tribal chiefs will at heart be opposed to education and development. Yet for any educational improvement in the rural areas, the cooperation of the Maliks/Sardars would be necessary.

In conclusion, Educators need to consider the uniqueness of the culture, and find ways to utilize its strong points when seeking changes in local practices.

### III. THE EXISTING SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENT OF EDUCATION IN BALUCHISTAN AND IN THE MAKRAAN AND ZHOB DIVISIONS

#### 1. Introduction

In general, the educational and the civil administration at both the Provincial and Divisional levels, are closely related. A brief description of the civil administrative structure in the province will help understand the educational system better.

The province of Balochistan is divided into six administrative/civil Divisions. Each Division is subdivided into 2-4 Districts, with a total of 20 Districts in the province. Each District is divided into 1-3 Subdivisions. Each subdivision has between 1-3 Tehsils and Subtehsils. The civil Division is headed by a Commissioner, District (Agency) by a Deputy Commissioner (Political Agent), Sub-Division by an Assistant Commissioner, Tehsil by a Tehsildar and Sub-Tehsil by a Naib Tehsildar.

Normally the education as well as other "line" departments follow a system closely coinciding with the above civil administration system. But during the last few years, rapid changes have been taking place in the civil administrative structure of the province. In particular the redrawing and creation of new division and district boundaries has occurred. No similar changes and expansion have taken place in the department of education.

The various civil and educational departmental structures in Balochistan are shown in Annex 1, page .

During most of the One Unit period (1955-70), Balochistan had two Divisions, Quetta and Kalat, with eight Districts between them. The education departments in both Divisions were directly controlled by the West Pakistan One-Unit administration in Lahore. There was just one Inspector of Schools in each of the two Divisions. All matters pertaining to education including curriculum development, textbook printing, teacher recruitment and training, educational supervision and examinations were conducted and controlled from Lahore, the capital of the province of West Pakistan. At the time of reemergence of the province of Balochistan in 1970, the provincial government had to completely depend on those officials from Punjab who had been running the affairs of the department. Gradually the new provincial government was able to establish its own system of educational administration which was similar to Punjab and other provinces.

The presently existing system of educational management and its organizational structure in Balochistan, has been

documented in various reports and studies including those recently conducted by the Education Development Center (Spring, 1990) and the Teacher Resource Center (Fall, 1989). For our purposes some of the salient features are briefly described.

## 2. Provincial Administration

At the top of the provincial administrative pyramid, secretarial level, is the Secretary to Government of Balochistan, Education Department. This officer is responsible for running the education department in the province. The Secretary Education works under the supervision of Chief Secretary Balochistan, as well as under the Minister of Education. Under the Secretary there are at least four provincial level education department officers working under him. These officers are Director Education (Schools), Director Education (Colleges), Director Bureau of Curriculum Development and Extension, and Chairman- Balochistan Textbook Board. The Directorate of Education (Schools) is responsible for the administration of schools throughout Balochistan.

The education department has two categories of officials; the line officers and staff officers. The line officers are those with powers in matters of recruitment, promotions, discipline, supervision as well as financial management. The staff officers are basically there to assist the line officers in their duties and responsibilities.

Under the existing system the Director Education (Schools) at the provincial level, the Divisional Education Officer (Female) at the Divisional level, the District Education Officer (Male) at the District level and the Sub-Divisional Education Officer at the Subdivisional level are the main line officers. These line officers have, of course, Deputies and Assistants at each administrative level.

The provincial level education departments impacting most upon primary and secondary education are the Directorate Education (Schools), the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension, and the Textbook Board. Indirectly, the University of Balochistan also impacts in part upon the Secondary Schools of the Province.

The Provincial Director Education (Schools) provides guidance, supervision and control to the provincial directorate and to the subordinate offices and institutions in the province. The main areas of control are school instruction, budget, teacher training, teacher recruitment to grade 16, and transfer of officials of grades 17-19. He prepares annual development plans for the department of education, presides over departmental subcommittees for development, and presents projects for approval to the provincial development working party.

The Bureau of Curriculum and Extension provides an on-going program of in-service education for teachers, as well as providing the PTC and CT certificate training programs for teachers.

The Bureau is also responsible for developing curriculum as mandated by the Curriculum Wing, and assisting teachers in any dissemination and implementation of new curriculum.

The Bureau has a Director, a Deputy Director (Curriculum), a Deputy Director (Extension), and two Assistant Directors, one each for Curriculum and Extension. There are also about 40 different subject specialists. The Bureau also arranges short term courses and seminars.

Presently there are six Government Colleges for Elementary Teachers for men located at Quetta, Mastung, Panjgur, Uthal and Kalat and Loralai. Three Colleges for Females are located at Quetta, Sibi and Pishin. Each of the elementary colleges has a principal, 5-6 subject specialists, 4-8 instructors in regular subjects, Arabic, drawing and physical educational instructors, a librarian and the usual support staff. These colleges train primary and middle level teachers (PTC/CT).

During 1990-1991, the six colleges/institutes had a total intake of 845 male teacher trainees, while there was an intake of 250 teacher trainees in the three female colleges. The total number of primary teachers in the province stands at 13,716 out of which 11,391 (83 per cent) are male and 2,325 (17 per cent) are female. Among these teachers only 4000 male (35 percent of the total) and 1300 female (56 percent of the total female) are trained. The remaining need to be trained.

The Textbook Board is specifically responsible for producing the required texts needed by the schools. The scope of these requirements are defined by orders from the Director of Schools.

In producing textbooks, the professional staff of the Textbook Board work with writers recruited in part from the schools, the Curriculum Bureau, the Colleges, and the University. The Board is headed by a Chairman, a Secretary who executes the orders of the Chair, and six professional subject specialists.

The University of Balochistan has a Faculty of Education and prepares High School level teachers through their B.ED and M.Ed programs. The University is not, however, under the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary of Education.

### 3. Female Education Administration

The Provincial Director Education (Schools) assisted by a Deputy Director (Female) controls the female education system in the province. The Deputy Director (Female) is assisted by Divisional Education Officers(Female).

Until recently, there were only three Female Divisional Education Officers in Balochistan. That number has been increased to six to cover the six divisions in the province. Some Districts have Assistant Divisional Female Education Officers. There are even a few Female Subdivisional Education Officers in some Subdivisions.

Headmistresses of schools report to the Divisional or Assistant Divisional Education Officer, as the case may be, and usually enjoy very little decision making powers themselves.

In general, there are simply not enough female schools to justify the position of a female DEO in each District. For the present, the Female Divisional Education Officers can supervise the relatively few female schools in each division without any difficulty.

Due to various historical, socio-economic and geo-climatic factors, differences in female enrollment between a few urban areas and the rest of Balochistan are vast. Therefore a single administrative and management system, as presently followed, may not be able to sufficiently serve both type of areas. Probably it would be more appropriate to divide the province into rural and urban areas, as is the case in Sindh, and then determine the generally applicable administrative needs of each of the two areas.

### 4. District Education Administration

The District Education Officer has the following major administrative, academic and financial powers in the District.

In matters of administration, the DEO is the appointing authority for the staff and teachers up to grade 7 through selection committees. He is the transferring authority for all the officers up to grade 16 and is authorized to propose the transfer of headmasters of high schools within and outside the district. The DEO is the controlling authority for travel allowances in respect of all officers in the District. He can sanction leave and order suspension or retirement of all education department officials up to grade 16.

In academic matters the DEO regularly inspects personally or through the Assistant DEO, all the high, middle, and primary schools in the District. The DEO also conducts examinations and awards scholarships to the primary and middle level students.

In financial matters the DEO is the drawing and disbursing officer for all travel allowances, contingency and the staff salaries. He is responsible for the preparation of budget estimates and annual development plans including opening new schools and initiating improvements in the quality of education.

The DEO and his deputies are required under rules to pay to each of the primary and mosque school at least five visits in the year.

The Deputy District Education Officer assists the DEO in the execution of his duties.

The Subdivisional Education Officer has administrative, supervisory, and financial duties with regard to primary schools only. The SDEO supervises all the staff in his office and in the field, and delegates authority to them whenever necessary. He is responsible for the collection of data at the village primary school level, through the supervisors. He makes sure that the curriculum content and programs in the schools in the subdivision are in accordance with the policies and objectives of education. He is responsible for conducting primary school examination and countersigns all certificates issued. He checks the general school conditions and records of student progress and recommends ways for helping the low achieving students.

The SDEO observes teacher performance and suggests further training to those needing it. The SDEO also organizes short courses and in-service training for the primary school teachers and identifies teachers for promotion, discipline and further training.

He is the drawing and disbursing officer for primary teachers and the staff of his office. The SDEO prepares Annual Development Plan schemes for his subdivision. He attends meetings with the local Union Council and consults with them about educational issues. He also collects all kinds of local data for development planning and submits them to the DEO and Director office.

The SDEO and his assistants are required to pay at least seven visits to each of the primary and mosque school in the subdivision.

The Assistant Subdivisional Education Officers are the most important grass roots level education department officials working in the rural areas and with the primary school system.

The ASDEO's maintain a record of schools and enrollment, teachers and their qualifications, and student examinations. They observe teacher punctuality, grant casual leave to the teachers, and recommend cases of transfer and promotion, etc. to the SDEOs.

The ASDEO's are required to visit each of the primary school in their areas, assess student competence in each subject, and help teachers with low performance. He is required to contact community members in the villages and ask their opinions regarding the student performance. He also tries to help teachers in obtaining community support for solving problems.

The ASDEO's guide the primary and mosque school teachers in the improvement of the quality of education. Each ASDEO is required to pay at least 12 visits per year to each of the primary and mosque schools in his jurisdiction.

Headmaster (primary school). The Headmaster of a primary school supervises the performance of the other teachers in his school, and is responsible for the maintenance of the school records, buildings and furniture etc. He conducts all but the 5th grade scholarship examinations of his school and issues certificates.

He is supervised by the area ASDEO, unless he is of a higher grade, in which case the SDEO will directly supervise him.

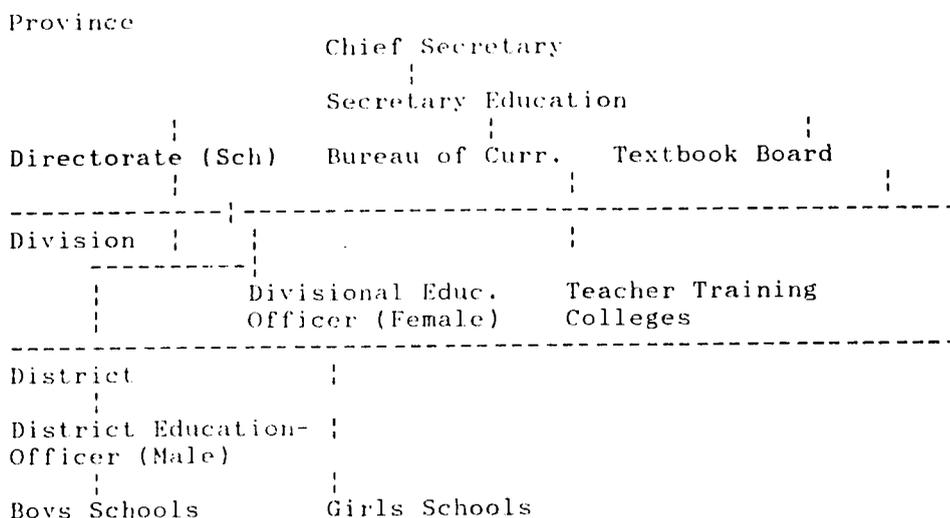
##### 5. District Position Allocations, 1990.

There are a total of 20 District Education Officers (Male), six Divisional Education Officers (Female), 36 Subdivisional Education Officers, and about 300 Assistant Subdivisional Education Officers/Supervisors/learning coordinators in the province of Balochistan.

### 6. Agencies Impacting Upon Primary Education

The following chart shows the agencies within the Provincial Government of Balochistan with the most impact upon primary education.

Table No. Agencies Most Impacting Primary Education



### 7. Observations and Questions.

Although the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension and the Textbook Board impact in part or all upon primary and secondary education, the Directorate of Schools is the only education agency with official line and staff positions below the provincial level.

The Directorate (Schools) second level authority rests with the District Education Officers for the male sector, and with the Deputy Director-Female and her Divisional Education Officers-Female.

All educational efforts from other Directorates or agencies aimed at levels below their provincial status, often require cooperation from officers at lower levels to implement their work. It is important to note that although professional academic functions are assigned to education officers at all levels, they are only accountable in their performance to the Directorate of Schools.

As the complexities of a fast growing educational system build up at the provincial level, little has been done to provide

additional support for the over-burdened field workers within the District Education-Male and the Divisional Education-Female sectors.

A "layering on" of duties from the provincial offices to the second tier, has created enormous workload burdens to this level, and that burden has in turn been passed on to lower level personnel.

For example, as the BEMIS system is put in place throughout the 20 Districts, data collected becomes a major source of information for planning in all provincial Directorates and Bureaus. Yet the workload imposed for data collection falls upon the shoulders of the already over-worked employees at the District level.

As one reviews even a few of the functions required by a District for the province, one can't help but wonder if the existing administrative structure of the education system is adequate to suit the needs of Balochistan. A few questions initially come to mind.

#### Questions.

Question 1. Is a "gap" developing between the provincial level and the district level in its administrative capacity to adequately deal with a fast growing education system?

Question 2. At a district level, are education officers professionally able to do all the educational tasks requested by provincial offices?

Question 3. Can a district adequately utilize the professional human resources of the province to improve the local system?

Question 4. Is the cultural and physical diversity of the district reflected in the educational system it is operating?

Question 5. To what extent is there a "two-way" flow of information between provincial Directorates and Bureaus with local Districts?

Question 6. If problems exist, can they best be corrected by an increase in manpower, a change in administrative structure, or a combination of alternatives?

Let me now share some "problem topics" reflecting the administrative system impacting upon primary schools that I encountered during my field visits to the Makran and Zhob Divisions.

#### IV. PROBLEMS OBSERVED IN ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS AFFECTING PRIMARY SCHOOLS, DURING VISITS TO MAKRAN AND ZHOB DIVISIONS

##### 1. Teacher Recruitment and Quality Issues

As mentioned, prior to 1970, most of the education department officials administering and teaching in the schools of Balochistan, came from the province of Punjab. After Balochistan attained provincial status, its' new local administrators repatriated most of the teachers from the Punjab.

The new administrators realized that Balochistan was far behind other provinces in education. Concerted efforts were made to expand educational opportunities in the province. Many new schools were established and teachers were recruited from local villages. An important step in this direction, was to relax qualifying conditions for appointment as teachers. It was decided to recruit high school graduates directly as teachers without any preservice training. This also helped some of the problems of unemployment among educated youth.

The powers for recruitment of primary school teachers (JV/PTC) are vested in the District Education Officer, while the recruitment for other teachers (SV/JET/SET) is done by the Director Education at the provincial capital.

The Problem: Teachers recruited at the District level must be approved for hire by the Provincial Directorate (Schools). Enormous delays and changes in personnel often occur at this level.

The teachers, particularly at the rural and independent primary schools, are of extremely poor quality. Most of those interviewed in the two Divisions were untrained high school diploma holders (Matriculates) and their standards were very low.

They lacked minimum basic skills of science and mathematics and were even weak in Urdu reading and writing skills. Some of the main causes of poor teacher quality are as follows: (i) Most primary school teacher recruits come directly from high schools.

Many of these recruits have questionable "pass scores" since they often lack even the very basic knowledge of the subject matter that they are supposed to teach in a primary class.

(ii) The recruitment is theoretically done on merit basis. In actuality, merit does not always count. Relatives of influential people, bureaucrats, politicians and their political supporters are often recruited for the teaching positions.

Primary school teacher appointments are made by a selection committee at the district level. Generally a written test is given to the candidates. I was told that the District Education Officer forwards the selection committee recommendations to the Director of Education (Schools) in Quetta, who finally issues the appointment orders. But frequently, those appointed as teachers are not the same candidates recommended by the district selection committees.

The Director of Education (Schools) in Quetta, on the other hand, stated that even he is not authorized to take any action regarding appointments. It is the Minister of Education who normally decides on all appointments, I was told.

The Problem: Many factors may affect the final appointment of a teacher to a post, other than merit.

Merit is not the only basis for teacher appointment in Balochistan. The politicians are not the only ones interfering in the teacher recruitment process. The very strong teacher and student organizations do their own interfering. In Loralai, we were told that at least a dozen full time college students had their names registered as teachers in different primary schools and received payment without ever attending the schools.

These so called teachers, are members of student organizations and are protected by their organizations. The Balochistan Government Teachers Union is also an extremely strong organization and protects its non-attending and non-teaching members. In 1989, the then provincial Education Minister of Balochistan, after discovering that the president of the teachers union was interfering in his functions, transferred him from Quetta to Turbat. The Teachers Union went on strike and finally forced the Minister to rescind his orders. We were told that the District Education Officers did not take any disciplinary action against teachers without the approval of the local branch of teachers union.

Lack of respect for the "teaching profession" is not the only problem facing recruiters. Teachers receive very low salary. As one teacher put it, "In Balochistan you accept a teaching job as a last resort only when no other jobs are available." Subsequently the least qualified among the matriculates become candidates for teaching posts.

Finally, the general practice of appointing untrained teachers may be detrimental to students. The teacher training colleges/institutes are unable to provide the required education, particularly when the teacher being trained lacks basic knowledge of the subject content. Recent studies by Harvard BRIBGES showed that whether a teacher was trained or

untrained made no impact on the achievement levels of the children.

The Problem: The "status of the teaching profession" may not always attract the most qualified candidates for teaching positions.

## 2. Politicization of Educational Institutions.

Since early 1970s, the student involvement in politics even at the lowest primary levels has been progressively increasing. The various political and student organizations often use school children and teachers for their causes.

In the examinations, cheating at all levels is reported as "common". People claim that these same student organizations and teachers who use children for political causes often help them pass examinations through unlawful means.

In the recently concluded provincial and national elections, various student organizations had their own nominees contesting elections. Some of the student organizations reportedly used all kind of tactics, including coercion and the threat of force, against those who tried to prevent them from involvement in education department affairs.

Teachers have political organizations of their own and are normally also affiliated with other political organizations. Thus, as the teacher and student political organizations are getting stronger, and involving students in practical politics, the standards of education are progressively suffering.

Even the very utility of education is being questioned by many parents. The parents seem to feel helpless and do not even try to improve the situation. The responses of some parents interviewed were very interesting. They said, "We are the illiterate and our children are the literate ones. We believe that whatever the "knowledgeable" do is right."

The Problem: The use of the education system to foster political goals can be detrimental to the quality of education.

## 3. The Examinations Systems:

The High School (Matriculation) examinations are conducted by the Board of Secondary Education, Quetta, while all elementary class examinations are controlled by the District Education Officers and by the school headmasters/headteachers. Scholarship examinations of primary school (5th grade) are

conducted and supervised by the District Education Officer or his assignee.

Under a recently introduced system, the Middle level examinations conducted by the Registrar Examinations-the Provincial Directorate, are also locally supervised by the DEOs.

There are mid year/term examinations but final examinations are held only once in the year. Examinations of all grades except 10th (Matriculation) are held in the month of December. The Matriculation examinations are held in March-April.

The Problem: The question of appropriate levels of testing, and their construction and control (whether it be local, district, divisional or provincial) needs to be considered as the education system expands and improves.

Balochistan follows a system of both winter and summer school vacations. In the winter vacation areas, examinations up to the 9th grade, are held in December. Students go on vacation, and new classes are formed in March when the schools reopen.

In summer vacation areas, on the other hand, examinations are held in December and new classes are formed in January. In these summer vacation areas, students attend school from January until May. Then they have three months of vacations. Students return to classes in August, and appear in the annual examinations in December.

Under an annual examination system, this arrangement is the most disruptive and detrimental for children. During the three months vacation, children forget much of what they had learned. Teachers have to spend much effort to help children pick up from where they left off prior to vacations.

One would think that a more logical system of examination timing could be established, particularly since now all examinations except the Matriculation were held locally.

The Problem: The dual school year calendar with a single-year examination system needs to be reconsidered so it does not harm students scores.

During the last few years, large scale cheating and copying in the examinations has become very common and mostly accepted by the society.

Firstly, political interference, nepotism and false nationalism have found their way into the education system. Secondly, the teachers are unhappy and many times scared to take any action against those engaging in these activities.

Thirdly, the parents seem to have given up their hopes, and see it most opportune to walk in the same direction along with everybody else. Finally the government civil administration is unable to do anything because of public noncooperation, and a generally prevailing sense of alienation between the people and the government.

The Problem: The examination system has a bad reputation, and its creditability is undermining quality education efforts.

#### 4. Allocation of Funds

In theory, proposals for fund allocations for purposes of new school openings etc. in a particular tehsil or subdivision, are initiated by the local ASDEOs and SDEOs. The proposals are then forwarded to the higher echelon of the administration up to the Directorate of Education (Schools) at Quetta.

These proposals/schemes are included in the education department's annual development plan (ADP). A departmental subcommittee headed by the Secretary Education approves schemes costing up to 2 million rupees.

Each year the Provincial Development Working Party, headed by the Additional Chief Secretary Planning and Development, and attended by all Provincial Secretaries, including the Secretary of Education, holds its ADP meetings.

In these meetings, schemes costing more than two million, and up to thirty million are discussed. If approved, they are included in the provincial ADP.

All schemes costing more than 30 million rupees must be submitted to Islamabad for approval by the Central Development Working Party (CDWP) and by the Executive Committee of the National Economic Council (ECNEC).

In practice, however, allocation of funds for all types of development schemes at all levels, is made through an informal process involving political power play and bargaining etc.

The Problem: The "gap" between the budget originators at a subdivisional level and the final decision makers at the provincial and/or federal level, provides very little administrative "give and take" for lower level administrators.

The Problem: Program development is a highly specialized endeavor, and it requires both short and long-range insight, into the full scope of the education system. Whether local education officers have the skills needed for good ADP development is questionable.

## 5. Centralized Educational Functions with Little Public Participation

Decision making powers regarding most of the educational functions including administration, curriculum development, teacher recruitment and training, supervision and examinations are concentrated in a few hands at the Provincial Directorate at Quetta.

This is a serious problem for both the teacher and student communities, particularly for those living in the far flung areas of the province. Often these remote areas have very poor communication and transportation connections with Quetta.

Even for minor problems, like obtaining leave permissions and pay slips by the teachers, and mark sheets for students, one has to travel to Quetta.

On the other hand, the decision makers in Quetta seldom visit far flung areas of the province. Many teachers remain absent and schools remain closed for long periods of time, without the responsible supervisors knowing about it. It appears as though there is no meaningful dialogue between the education department decision makers and the public, including the parents of students.

A problem concerning the annual examinations and the summer vacations, brought to our notice, seemed to indicate the indifference of the Education Department towards the problems of the student community.

The problem: There is a growing gap between the community and the education department. It is probably a colonial legacy in all of Pakistan that the government departments and those working for the government are still considered aliens and "foreigners" who should not be trusted. Although this is a problem not confined to the education department, there is no justification for its existence.

## 6. Supervision

The Provincial Director (Schools) and his staff, as well as each District Education Officer and his staff, are expected to pay several visits or inspection tours in the year to the schools.

The DEO is required under the Education Department rules to perform an inspection of each school in the District at least three times in a year. In his capacity as drawing and disbursing officer he facilitates the work of the Deputy DEOs and Assistant DEOs as well as Subdivisional Education Officers

in the supervision of schools and in teachers performance and evaluation. He is required to attend the District Council meetings and maintain close contacts with community leaders and parents.

ASDEOs(Supervisors) working under the guidance of SDEO, are the most important education department officials for regular everyday supervision work of primary schools and for contacts with the community. The Supervisors, normally experienced senior teachers, are the main contact points between the primary teachers and SDEO/DEO. They help the later to evaluate the performance of teachers and they recommend and sometimes organize in-service training for primary teachers.

Many areas in the province take up to three days of arduous and tiresome travel to reach from Quetta. This alone makes supervision of the lower echelons of the department, and those of teachers in remote areas of the province, extremely difficult.

Such a lack of supervision is mainly responsible for hundreds of primary schools in the province, which exist only on paper. In reality, there are neither students nor teachers where records indicate their existence.

During this consultant's trip to Zhob/Loralai areas during November 19-30,1990, forty primary school sites were visited where there were no teachers or students. The village/settlement residents indicated that actually there were no schools and the Malik (village elder) had them sanctioned for prestige, for the award of building contract, and for the small amount of money that he received every month as a proxy Mulla.

Cases were reported of one person receiving teachers salary from eight locations, and a large number of college students being paid as teachers without ever teaching, are also indicative of lack of supervision.

In reviewing the scopes of work for the provincial, district and subdivision officers, all have supervisory functions. If adequately performed even as "inspection", these types of misconduct could be corrected, and result in a more efficient education system.

The Problem: If "supervision of instruction" is meant to improve the quality of education in the province, then clearer and more manageable scopes of work need to be defined at all levels of administration.

The Problem: Functions of "inspection" and "supervision of instruction" are often perceived as conflicting functions when performed by the same individual.

The Problem: Adequate "supervision of instruction" may require improved training and incentives for the lower level field workers normally assigned these "grass roots" functions.

## 7. Training for Teachers

As mentioned, 65 per cent of the male and 44 per cent of the female primary teachers in the province of Balochistan are still untrained. The DEO offices in all of the six districts visited could not provide actual figures about the number of untrained teachers in their districts. But we heard figures of 30-90 percent of the total primary teachers being untrained.

The vast number of untrained teachers is considered quite serious to some educators. There is a feeling that training needs to be strong in pedagogy, as well as in subject matter, particularly science and math.

The six Divisional Teacher Training Colleges (for men), and three for women, need to be better staffed and strengthened. The staff of the elementary training colleges is generally not well trained and the quality of training provided to teachers is not up to the mark.

The quality of existing teachers is so low that in-service training should be attached as much, if not more, importance as the regular PTC training. A separate cell or coordinating section for in-service training needs to be established. This cell in collaboration with the DEOs and SDEOs and mainly using the services of experienced Supervisors and Headmasters/Headmistresses etc. could embark upon a program of in-service training for the already working teachers.

This suggestion originally came from a number of teachers, supervisors and SDEOs who thought that periodic in-service training programs could be arranged in each of the subdivisional headquarters.

According to them, such training should first be in the subject matter fields of science and math. The suggestions advanced were that in each subdivision there are teachers and

supervisors who are well trained, experienced and expert in these subjects. The services of such persons within the subdivision should be availed and all teachers should be required to undergo training sessions which could continue throughout the year on some rotation basis. We were told that the costs of such training in time and money would be extremely low, as all the teachers need to be paid are negligible amounts of TA/DA allowances.

The Problem: The "in-service" needs at the local school level may not be reflected in the in-service activities sponsored by the provincial level.

The Problem: The extent to which local human resources should be enlisted to aid in the in-service needs of an area needs to be considered.

The Problem: The question of whether primary school teachers should receive "training" prior to employment needs to be considered.

The Problem: If 8th grade pass and Matric level pass certificates are minimal standards for teacher employment, then the extent of content mastery needs to be compared between what teachers have learned and what they are expected to teach.

The Problem: The curriculum of the PTC needs to be re-evaluated to see if it is relevant to meeting the needs of conditions faced by teachers in the field.

The Problem: The question of cultural relevance in teacher training needs to be examined to see if it promotes the socio-cultural diversity of the districts served by the Primary Teacher Training College.

The Problem: The question of whether an adequate administrative structure exists to provide better District-PTC needs should be considered.

## 8. Curriculum and Textbook Contents

Throughout our visits in the two Divisions we heard complaints about the Curriculum Bureau and the contents of textbooks. The province of Balochistan is geographically, economically and socio-culturally different from most of Pakistan. The differences within Balochistan are also significant.

The textbook content seem to totally ignore these variations of socio-economic and cultural/linguistic differences as these exist between Balochistan and other provinces, as well as

those that exist within Balochistan.

The Director Curriculum Bureau at Quetta indicated that department employees at the district and subdivision level were consulted regarding the curriculum contents, but that most were unable to contribute.

The DEOs, SDEOs, Supervisors and senior teachers that we were able to talk to, on the other hand, indicated that they were never consulted or asked by the Curriculum Bureau to make any contribution towards the curriculum development.

As far as could be determined, even the large number of subject matter specialists at the Bureau office in Quetta did not contribute to the development of curriculum in any significant way.

The Problem: The process of "curriculum development" and textbook creation needs to be reviewed to determine its ability to reflect more adequately the localization of curriculum content.

The Problem: The process of "curriculum development" and textbook creation needs to be reviewed to find ways to more adequately involve the local "consumers" of education.

#### 9. Teaching in Mother Tongue

A variety of languages considered "Mother Tongue" are spoken in certain areas of Balochistan. Great pride, history, and tradition, is attached to these local languages. To accommodate the interests of the people, the Province has a policy which allows Districts to determine their own Mother Tongue as medium of instruction in Primary classes.

The Problem: The medium of instruction (Mother Tongue Options) issues involved in establishing adequate language instruction from primary through secondary schools needs thoughtful long-range planning in order to avoid future literacy problems.

#### 10. Teacher Supplies and Resources

Primary schools lack more than the rudiments of teaching materials and supplies. Even basic safe storage space is a problem in a majority of the schools in Balochistan. Teachers interested in trying to improve themselves professionally, find little help both in terms of human and material resources locally.

The Problem: Incentives for teacher self-improvement need to be considered more imaginatively at a variety of levels in the education system.

The Problem: Resources-both human and material- need to be made more accessible to primary teachers in the province.

#### 11. Female Education

The most important factor regarding female education in Balochistan is understanding the socio-economic conditions of a majority of the population in Balochistan. Neither officials at the Provincial level at Quetta and its environs nor its population, including the Baloch and Pushtun, represent all of the attitudes of the people of Balochistan. That seems to be something not very well understood by the Education Department of Balochistan.

The officials appear not to be aware of the considerable demand for female education by parents in the rural areas of the province.

There also seems to be a lack of understanding by the Education Department officials, of the acceptance of coeducation, and male teachers for girls in the lower primary grades (Human Resources Survey, 1991)

The Problem: Attitudes towards Female Education may be changing, and the provincial decision makers need to perfect the functions of the education system to more adequately receive input from local parents concerning their needs.

#### 12. The Private Sector and Private Education

In many parts of the world, the private sector has been encouraged to assist the education system in acquiring incentives, adequate curriculum, and other resources to improve quality and status of teaching.

The Problem: Although there is currently a lack of involvement by the private sector in the workings of the education system of the province, one needs to be alert to the potential benefits that can be gained from mutual efforts in the future.

13.

Summary

Problems reflecting adequate participation, communication, and resource availability at lower levels of the education system seem to be a common concern expressed by people during my site visits.

The degree to which the existing administrative structure is able to meet the needs of the rapidly developing education system is highly questionable.

In the following section of this report, I would like to propose some administrative functions for a Divisional Directorate of Education which might help to meet these changing needs. At least they might be useful thoughts to consider in discussing possible solutions to problems presented in this paper.

## V. SUGGESTED FUNCTIONS FOR A DIVISIONAL DIRECTORATE OF EDUCATION

### 1. Introduction.

During the last few years, creation of an increased number of districts in the province, appointment of district education officers at the district level, and delegation of some powers, particularly with respect to primary education, have been important steps towards a decentralized education system in Balochistan. However, there are certain areas where powers are still unnecessarily concentrated in the provincial capital. In certain other areas, the DEOs need to relinquish some powers and receive closer supervision than the present Directorate at Quetta can provide. With basically these objectives in mind, the Government of Balochistan has decided to establish directorates in each of the six divisions of the province of Balochistan. As mentioned earlier, the GOB Education Department decision to establish two divisional directorates at Turbat and Loralai is a first step in this direction.

The establishment of Divisional Directorates can play a positive role in the improvement of, particularly, the primary education system, if honest efforts towards a genuine transfer of authority are made. The concept of "divisional directorates" allows one to think more creatively about using human resources in a more practical way. Divisions can provide access to more competent professional educators, while reducing the burdens imposed for help upon both District and Provincial officers.

#### Divisional Directorate

##### Aims

- (1) Provides support to Districts
    - (a) Administrative/in community relations, BEMIs, Planning
    - (b) Instructional Improvement/in supervision
    - (c) Instructional Improvement/in in-service
    - (d) Curriculum involvement
    - (e) T.Ed.
  - (2) Establishment of 2-way communication from/to District-Province.
  - (3) Provides extension of resources/Bureau of Curriculum/Textbook Board
- Cells in the Divisional Directorate might include:
- (a) Administrative cell
  - (b) In-service cell
  - (c) Supervision cell
  - (d) Curriculum/T.Ed. cell
2. The Problems and Suggested Functions
    - Problem #1. Teacher Recruitment, Final Approval and Transfer

Function #1 Final approval of teacher recruitment should occur at the Divisional level rather than the provincial level.

Recruitment of teachers is the single most important administrative function, not only because it effects the quality of education, but also because of a variety of other socio-economic and political reasons.

The Education Department is about the only source of employment for the educated youth in rural Balochistan, and everybody from local Maliks/Chiefs to politicians and student organizations want to have their people appointed as teachers.

Thus, there are at least two important reasons why the recruitment process should be centralized to the level of divisional headquarters.

Firstly, the vesting of powers to recruit at the division level would most probably result in recruitment of staff including teachers from among the residents of a larger area, enlarging the pool of deserving candidates and having a positive impact upon the quality.

Secondly, it would be easier to avoid local political pressures on the recruiters, if it is done at the divisional level rather than at the district level.

Function #2. Transfer of teachers between Districts within a Division might provide for a greater access and quality of primary education, if this function was coordinated at the Divisional level.

Presently the primary teachers are not only recruited from within their respective districts, they also remain part of the district pool, and normally cannot be transferred to other districts. It is expected that the quality of teachers would significantly improve, if along with recruitment, this system of compulsory positioning within the district is also changed. Establishment of a Divisional rather than a District pool will be a more efficient system as more competition should result in the appointment of better quality teachers. The recruitment of primary teachers should, therefore, be done at the divisional level and it should be possible to transfer them to any district within the Division.

Presently the DEO has the powers to recruit PTC (grade 7) teachers, but such appointments must be approved by the Provincial Director. The Provincial Director now has authority to make recruitment of teachers up to grade 16. If the recommendation regarding Divisional Directors and the Provincial Director General are followed, authority for appointment of teachers from grade 8-16 will have to be shared

by the two Directors.

In this regard thorough discussions within the Department of Education, and with those provincial departments who are undergoing similar structural changes, should be undertaken. Besides the recent decentralization efforts by the Health and Local Government departments, the Department of Agriculture at Quetta, has for some years now, a Director General and various Directors. The Department of Education could benefit from their experience as far as distribution of powers and responsibilities at different levels are concerned.

Problem #2. Politicization of Educational Institutions.

Function #3. A Divisional Education Officer should have specific responsibility for developing better community relations within and between Districts of a Division.

The administrative system could be made responsive to the needs of the student and teacher communities, not only by making it more accessible, but also by making interaction between the Education Department officials and the community easier.

It is extremely important for the Education Department to work with and seek the cooperation of the community leaders, politicians, and student and teacher organizations.

The cooperation of informal institutions of jirgas in Zhob Division and various village level community organizations including water users associations in Makran should be established.

Within the formal institutions of union councils at the tehsil and subdivision level, and district councils at the district level, cooperation must also be sought.

The relationship between the Education Department and student and teacher organizations need not be confrontational. Many times one hears Education Department officials say that since some student, teacher or political organizations were affiliated with opposition groups, they may not be prepared to cooperate with the Education Department in its efforts to improve the education system.

Yet during our visits to Zhob and Makran areas, we were able to see members and leaders belonging to the Baloch Student Organization, Pushtun Students Organization, religious student organizations and various teacher unions. All realized that the present system of education needed to be improved and indicated that their organizations would cooperate in any ameliorating province-wide measures that are taken by the

Government of Balochistan.

The effort to work more cooperatively within local organizations of a Division would hopefully reduce some of the "local political" pressure occasionally directed at District offices.

Function #4. A Divisional Education Officer should have specific responsibility for providing feed-back to provincial Directorates and Bureaus on all matters relating to primary education.

Official staff and line positions relating to both the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension, and the Textbook Board at the Divisional level might aid in this critical two-way communications process in all agencies impacting upon primary education.

Problem #3. Examination System

Function #5. A Divisional Registrar of Examinations should be created to oversee the primary 5th grade examination and the 8th grade examination and insure the integrity of the scores.

A more centralized system of examinations, particularly 5th grade, should be followed. The newly established Divisional Directorates should have a registrar examinations responsible for conducting all primary (5th grade) and 8th grade (and possibly 9th grade) examinations. Under the existing system, the examinations of grades 1-7 and 9 are conducted locally by the headmasters of the respective schools. The 8th grade examinations are conducted by the Registrar examinations, at the Education Directorate at Quetta. The 5th grade scholarship examinations are conducted by the DEO or his deputy, while the 10th grade matriculation examinations are conducted by the Board of Secondary Education, Quetta.

The conducting of the examinations under conditions of limited control and reported open and massive cheating, has been a major problem. Measures taken by the Education Department alone will not improve the situation. But certain steps could be taken so that combined with other socio-political measures, these could help improve the situation.

As mentioned earlier, particularly with regard to primary education, there are too many examination centers. The controlling officers are inadequate, and subject to local influences and even threats. Complaints of favoritism, nepotism and bribery etc. are common. Such complaints are by no means confined to the Balochistan Education Department, or for that matter to only primary education.

A more centralized control of examinations would be useful. Such a centralized control could involve the District and even (new) Divisional Education Department officials to go to different examination centers to conduct examinations. Another means could be arranging examinations for groups of 5-10 primary schools in one central location, but again controlled by the District and Division Education Department.

Function #6. A Divisional Registrar of Examinations could work with the Board of Secondary Education, Quetta to adapt school calendars and exam schedules to insure equity for all students taking these examinations.

An instance of summer vacations falling in the middle of the academic year and adversely effecting the studies was cited on page 27. Another such instance is the High School (Matriculation) annual examination which covers the courses studied during a period of two years (9th and 10th grade).

It seems that a better system would be to have an examination at the end of the first year (9th grade) and the 10th grade examination should be confined to the courses studied during the second year. The Registrar in the office of the Divisional Director and the Board of Secondary Education at Quetta could decide who would conduct this examination. It would seem to be an important step towards reducing examination burdens on students, and at the same time improving the quality of education.

#### Problem #4. Allocation of Funds

Function #7. A Divisional Education Officer could assist the DEOs within the Division in the development of their Annual Development Plans (ADPs).

The coordination of development plans may best be accomplished in initial stages through the assistance of more experienced administrators at the Divisional level.

Function #8. Greater coordination and use of resources within and between Districts might be enhanced by the guidance and direction of a Divisional Officer to DEOs.

Problem #5: Centralization with little public participation

Function #9. Divisional Education Officers can create citizen advisory groups to assist in the planning and development activities of the Division's Districts.

Function #10. Divisional Education Officers can help Districts elect lay representatives to serve on education committees.

Problem #6. Supervision and In-service.

Function #11. A Divisional supervisor should help coordinate in-service training programs to more adequately meet the needs of local teachers.

Function #12. A Divisional supervisor should coordinate specific in-service needs to personnel resources of other Divisional and Provincial agencies.

Function #13. A Divisional supervisory team of subject specialists, pedagogical specialists, and administrative inspection specialists should work with District Education Officers to more adequately meet the needs of both "inspection" and "instructional improvement".

Function #14. Divisional supervisory staff should have specific working relationships to Bureau of Curriculum and Extension, as well as the Textbook Board in order to best coordinate in-service supervisory training needs. This might result in the creation of an "In-service Training Cell".

In-Service Emphasis

The supervisory function of administration, inspection, pedagogical, and academic subjects at various levels of the education system should be clearly defined, and assigned to the officials concerned.

A more rational incentive system should be introduced for supervisors, with more powers and responsibilities delegated to lower level field personnel.

Many of the problems of quality of education in Balochistan can be attributed to a lack of effective supervision, and clear definition and assignment of supervisory functions. At present the Director Education (Schools) and Director-Bureau of Curriculum and Extension are responsible, at the provincial level to supervise school teaching and teacher training. Location of schools in far flung and dispersed areas, poor means of transportation and communication, and heavy office work at Quetta, make it almost impossible for these officials and their staff to provide an effective administrative and academic supervision in all the 20 districts of the province.

The District Education officers do provide some inspection/supervision of schools, but they generally have their hands full with administrative (recruitment, transfers of staff etc.), and budgetary concerns (salaries, TA/DA), that they can hardly find any time to oversee the academic and pedagogical work, particularly in the rural areas.

The poor quality of primary teachers throughout the province testifies, in part, to the poor quality trainers and subject matter specialists in the elementary teacher training colleges, but also to the lack of supervision and guidance by the Bureau.

The following table shows the existing supervisory functions, responsible staff for such functions, and recommended changes in the system.

Table---- Supervisory staff and functions, education department Balochistan.

FUNCTION	LEVEL	EXISTING PRIMARY SUPERVISOR	RECOMMENDED PRIMARY SUPERVISOR
Administration	Province	Prov. Director	Prov. Director
	Division	Non-existent	Divisional Director
	District	District EO	District EO/ Div.Dir.
Teaching/ punctuality/ Pedagogy/ Academic	Subdiv. Prim.sch.	Subdiv. EO Supervisor/HM	SDEO/DEO Supervisor/HM/SDEO
	Province	Prov. Director	Prov. Director
	Division	Non-existent	Divisional Director
Teacher Trng. (Regular)	District	DEO	DEO/Div. Director
	Subdiv. Pr.Sch.	SDEO Supervisor	SDEO/DEO Supervisor/SDEO
	Province	Director, BCD&E	Director, BCD&E
(In-service)	Division	Principal ECT	Principal ECT/ Div.Dr
	District	Non-existent	District EO
	Province	Director BCD&E	Director, BCD&E
	Division	Non-existent	Div.Coord/ Div. Dir.
Examinations	District	Non-existent	District EO
	Subdiv.	Non-existent	SDEO/Supervisor
	9th grade	Headmaster	Divisional Director
	8th grade	Prov. Director	Divisional Director
5th (Reg)	Headmaster	District Ed. Officer	
Scholshp	Distr. Ed. Off.	Divisional Director	

As the above table indicates, the only significant changes recommended are those relating to transfer of some supervisory work to the Divisional Directors, and expansion of in-service training functions down to the subdivision level.

The most urgent need, however, at this stage seems to be to strengthen the existing supervisory systems at all levels. An important outcome of the establishment of new divisional directorates should be the reorganization of the various supervisory functions and assignment of the same to various Education Department officials.

Although at the provincial level the supervisory functions of the various Directors and their staff could be maintained at the present level. Their representatives and subordinate staff at the newly created Divisions should be significantly strengthened and assigned more supervisory responsibilities. The Divisional Directors themselves and their staff should oversee the work of the DEOs, SDEOs and even Supervisors at the primary school level. It was recommended earlier that the burden of recruitment of primary teachers should be transferred from the district education office to the newly established divisional directorates. One consequence of this would be that the time and resources spent by the DEO, his deputies and assistants on recruitment problems can now be spared for other purposes. The most important purpose would be expending the same on strengthening the academic supervision of schools and teachers in the District. It may even be appropriate to redesignate some of the DEO deputies and assistants as DDEO/ADEO, Academic and DDEO/ADEO primary schools supervision etc.

The Education Department Supervisors/learning coordinators have long experience of work in the rural area primary schools, and with proper guidance and encouragement and provision of certain minimum incentives, they can bring about important positive improvements in the primary education system.

Because of the prevailing education system, the supervisors seem to be more attracted towards administrative and disciplinary kind of supervision than the academic supervision.

The Supervisors also seem to receive the least attention and encouragement from their superiors (SDEOs, DEOs). One common complaint by the Supervisors that was heard over and over again was that whenever they reported absentee and non-performing teachers to the higher authorities, no action was ever taken.

As indicated in the Zhob Division trip report, the time in

November that this Consultant was visiting the rural areas of the Division, the DEO and SDEO were also touring/inspecting schools in the area. Yet, 40 primary schools in different areas of Zhob Division were found to be without teachers and students. They literally existed on paper alone. Such a situation points to serious problems of supervision.

In fairness to the Education Department, the officials of the Department, in many cases, find themselves helpless in the face of high level political interference. They are unable to take any action against the school allocatees or teachers because the very existence of the schools and teachers is owed to some political favors.

The supervision of training activities and examinations are as important as the administrative and academic supervision, and these functions should not be left to be performed only by those conducting them presently.

The office of the Divisional Director should have a role in monitoring and evaluating the regular PTC training, and in the coordination of in-service training within the Division. The Divisional Director and the District education officers should be given well defined roles in the supervision and conduct of examinations.

Of more immediate concern is the training of on-job primary teachers, to which the new divisional directorates should attach the utmost importance. It is recommended that in-service training of teachers, initially in subject content and later in teaching methods, should be separated at the division level and managed or coordinated by a separate cell in the office of the Divisional Director.

The DEO and his staff at the district level and the SDEO and his staff at the subdivision level, should be active participants in the in-service training activities of the Divisional In-service Training Cell. Supervisors, majority of whom have been working in the rural area primary schools for the last 20 years or so, could be the most valuable asset in these in-service training programs.

The important point about this type of in-service training programs is that although crucial, these training programs, at least in the initial stages, would involve negligible costs. In each subdivision there are at least a few teachers and/or supervisors who are good in the main subjects of science and mathematics. The services of these teachers/supervisors could be utilized to teach groups of teachers from the Subdivision. The only expenses would be bus fare from the village to the SD headquarter, and then only a daily allowance which may not exceed a dollar a day.

A reasonable representation should be established and maintained by the Divisional Directorate with the Textbook Board and the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension. Further coordination should also exist between the Divisions and the Principals of the teacher training colleges. A two-way communications network should be established to enhance local participation and cultural authenticity in the curriculum.

#### Problem #7. Teacher Training

Function #15. Divisional representation should be created for personnel within the PTC and Divisional Education Directorate. Coordination of training slots within the Districts for PTC should be managed at the Divisional level.

Function #16. Divisional representation at a PTC should assist on program refinement to better meet teacher-needs of Districts within the Division.

Expanding the training facilities and improving the quality of training within the province should be the main focus of the current teacher education program.

The Bureau of Curriculum and Extension is responsible for providing both regular teacher training as well as in-service training. Specific relationships between the Divisional Directorate and the divisional Primary Teacher Training Colleges should occur.

The Faculty of colleges should undergo additional professional development to enhance both their pedagogical knowledge, as well as the content areas for which they are responsible. This should become a strong priority for the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension.

Efforts should be made to match curriculum programs of PTC to the environments in which teachers must teach. Visits with rural area teachers that have graduated from PTC programs demonstrated questionable pedagogical methodology, as well as content mastery of subjects to be taught in primary classes.

It is recommended that the Principals of training colleges should maintain responsibility for their program integrity. However Divisional Directorates should share in the monitoring and evaluation of training programs within their Divisions.

Problem #8. Curriculum/Textbook

Function #17. A Divisional Curriculum worker needs to be able to assist teachers in creating alternative lesson plans for objectives which capitalize upon local, district and divisional content.

Function #18. A Divisional Curriculum worker needs to be able to assist the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension and the Textbook Board in securing adequate input from local levels in textbook and curriculum development.

Function #19. Testing and try-out of experimental teaching aids and materials should be facilitated by a Divisional Curriculum worker for both locally produced and provincially produced materials.

Function #20. Specific line responsibilities should be established between the Textbook Board and the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension with the Divisional Directorate.

The Curriculum Bureau should be more involved in curriculum development activities and should encourage more input from the various linguistic, cultural and geo-climatic regions of Balochistan. The textbooks and their content should take into consideration the fact that majority of Balochistan school age population comes from cultural and linguistic backgrounds quite distinct from Urdu the usual medium of instructions. The Balochistan Curriculum Bureau's active involvement in the federal Curriculum Wing activities regarding curriculum development and its adaptation to the conditions in Balochistan is extremely important. The importance, basically, lies in the fact that Balochistan presents a variety of linguistic, cultural and climatic factors radically different from rest of Pakistani provinces.

Problem #9. Teaching in Mother Tongue

Function #21. Divisional Curriculum workers need to help the Districts to establish practices in language instruction that will not only accommodate mother tongue, but be part of a broader approach to multi-lingual Pakistani society.

At this stage when teaching in mother tongue is being just introduced, a more decentralized and regional approach to many issues is required. There is relatively more linguistic homogeneity at the Divisional level, than it is at the Provincial level. Although curriculum, textbooks, teacher training and planning for teaching in the mother tongues could be carried out in Quetta, teacher appointment, training and allocation to various schools etc. should be decided at the Divisional Directorate level.

The previous government of Balochistan initiated a program for the introduction of mother tongue as medium of instructions in primary schools. Under this program the three major languages of Balochistan i.e. Balochi, Pushto and Brahvi are taught in the primary schools. All the people we were able to talk to indicated that although there were difficulties being faced in these initial stages, in the long run the program will succeed.

Urdu as a lingua franca and as the national language is more important in Balochistan where so many languages are spoken. At the same time Balochi and Pushto languages are also spoken by relatively large groups of people not only in Pakistan but also in the neighboring Afghanistan and Iran. Unlike Punjabi and Sindhi languages, which are closely related to Urdu, Balochi and Pushto are Iranian origin languages and very distinct from Urdu. Since a very small percentage of the Balochistan population is educated and is able to communicate in Urdu, the children using different language at school and a different one at home face difficulties of learning.

#### Problem #10. Teacher Supplies and Resources

Function #22. Resource centers should be established in each Division with at least one trained Divisional worker available to assist local teachers in their own professional development at such centers.

Function #23. Division curriculum workers should establish a "mobile teaching materials center" for use in the professional development of teachers in rural and far flung areas of a Division.

#### Problem #11. Female Education

Function #24. The authority for appointing primary teachers should be transferred to the Divisional Female Education Officers.

Function #25. Liaison between Divisional Education Officers and Divisional Female Education Officers needs to be established in order to maximize use of both human and physical resources of the Division.

Function #26. Similar linkages, as suggested on male sector, need to be established between provincial agencies such as the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension and the Textbook Board with the Divisional Female Education Directorate.

Function #27. Incentive programs for the recruitment and retention of Female primary teachers needs to be actively developed by the Divisional Female Education Officers.

Function #28. A "Female Network of Information and Needs" should be developed among the Female sector to insure that their wishes are as adequately represented in both spirit and intent as that of the Male sector, from local level up to the provincial level.

Programs to improve female access to education, should not be based on the assumption of popular resistance to female education, but on creating a conducive environment for female education. For most rural areas at this stage, the lack of female teachers, not lack of interest in female education on the part of the local people, is the main obstacle. Minimum qualifications for local Balochistan origin female teacher candidates should be relaxed considerably. For primary school age children going for Quran and elementary religious instructions, coeducation has been a norm in Balochistan. The recent introduction of Mosque schools has been a continuation of that norm. Some of the problems existing in the Mosque schools are problems of mismanagement of the religious Madarassahs not of the Mosque schools. In the regular primary schools there is little or no objection on coeducation from any quarters. In both Zhob and Makran Divisions, in many cases parents were requesting Education Department officials to allow their daughters to attend male primary schools and sections.

All statistics show a very low level of female participation in education in Balochistan and the general impression is that the tribal societies of Balochistan are averse to female education. It is true that in a number of regions in Balochistan the importance of education is not fully realized and past mistrust of foreign ideas and influences persists. But basically it is a matter of exposure to the outside world, rather than any inherent traits of conservatism and general resistance to education and change.

Throughout Balochistan it is evident that those tribes or families or areas that have been exposed to outside influences and had the economic means and an opportunity to acquire education, have done so without any significant gender differences. This is true of both Baloch and Pushtun and both urban and rural areas. The Sardars (Chiefs) have always been considered as the standard bearers of Baloch/Pushtun code of honor and served as role models for the whole tribe. A close look at major tribal chiefs would indicate that they have been educating their female children for many years now. There is definitely no resistance to female education among the chiefs and other modern elite of Balochistan, nor is there any

resistance among the masses of people. Only the socio-economic and cultural environment needs to be more conducive for such an education.

Problem #12. The Private Sector and Private Education

Function #29. Divisional Directorate personnel should attempt to involve the private sector in assisting efforts to improve education in the Division.

Function #30. The Divisional Education Officers should be alert to the potential development of commerce and industry within the Division and be ready and willing to alter the curriculum to the growing educational needs of the private sector.

Since demand for private primary education in Balochistan is almost non-existent, initial efforts should be directed towards involving resourceful private individuals and groups in aspects of primary education, eg. award of scholarships to deserving students, construction of school buildings and libraries etc. Such efforts should be concentrated at the regional and district level where group solidarity is stronger. Most government efforts in the past have been directed towards creating more demand for education in Balochistan. Schools and colleges were established without regard to their cost effectiveness, returns or output, so that in many cases large sums of money were spent on constructing school buildings where they were not needed, and in some schools and colleges the teachers outnumbered the students.

Until recently private or semi-private schools in Pakistan were limited to the urban areas and were run mainly by religious minorities like Christians, Ismailis and Parsis etc.

During the last few years, commercial primary schools have emerged, but they are still confined to a few urban centers in Pakistan. In the province of Sindh private schools are limited to the cities of Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur, while in Balochistan they are confined mostly to Quetta.

In Balochistan (Quetta), the only few successful private schools have been those run by Christian or Muslim religious organizations. In general, and particularly with respect to the Jamaat Islami run schools in Quetta, most of these institutions are not truly private since they do get some government support. In general, Mosque and State schools are not separated in Pakistan.

At this stage the prospects for private primary schools in most of Balochistan are not very bright, mainly because the

demand is not there. Privatization of education, however, is a worthy goal which must be encouraged.

Awards of scholarship to deserving primary students, construction of school buildings, libraries and science equipment and other resource materials, donation of buses for girls primary schools, and other similar gifts should be encouraged from private donors.

These initial steps are obviously not for private benefit, but would definitely be initial steps to create private interest and involvement in education. The reason that such efforts should be pursued at a decentralized regional level is that more group solidarity exists at that level.

The rich Mandokhel contractors of Zhob, the Zehris of Chagai, the Jamalis of Naseerabad, and the former rulers of Kalat, Kharan, Makran and Lasbela would probably all be prepared to contribute towards the educational development of their particular areas.

3.

#### Summary

By creating a "tier" between the provincial and the district level within the administrative structure of the education system, one has the potential for providing leadership, expertise, and resources that are sadly lacking at the present time.

The "tier" also has the potential for opening new avenues of communications in a two-way direction, which enables a Divisions population more of a voice in their own educational development, as well as a better reflection of the socio-cultural diversity so rich in Balochistan.

The structure, if so organized in functions, could increase two-way communications not only vertically through the system, but between agencies horizontally as well.

Basically, administrative functions taken from either the provincial or district level of "Schools" to the Divisional Directorate has been suggested to facilitate work at either of these two extreme levels.

Functions have also been suggested at a Divisional level that are outreaches of the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension and the Textbook Board. Outreaches to the Teacher Training Colleges have also been suggested.

Such functional connections, would pull together the major agencies impacting upon primary education.



## VI. DECENTRALIZATION STEPS PROPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF BALOCHISTAN AND THOSE BEING UNDERTAKEN IN OTHER PROVINCES

The Balochistan government Department of Education has already started implementing two decentralization programs, viz. establishment of new divisional directorates and the bifurcation of primary/secondary education. Other Balochistan government Departments of Health, Local Government and Agriculture are engaged in similar decentralization efforts. Elsewhere in Pakistan, the provinces of Sindh and NWFP decentralization efforts, similar to those proposed in Balochistan, are already being implemented, albeit still in their preliminary stages. All these decentralization efforts are briefly described below.

### 1. Establishment of Divisional Directorates.

The government of Balochistan has decided to establish Divisional Directorates of Education in each of the Six Divisions of the province. As a first step two directorates at Turbat and Loralai are about to start functioning as most preliminary steps have been completed. The notification in this regard by the provincial government has already been issued and work on the delegation/assignment of powers and responsibilities is under way. The appointment of the two directors and their staff will soon take place. The proposed functions of the Divisional Director of Education are summarized below:

The Divisional Director will be responsible for the organization of public instruction in the division. The Director will be the appointing authority of senior English teacher (SET), Senior Vernacular (SV), Drawing Masters (DM), physical education teachers (PET) and those support staff of his office and subordinate offices in the Division that are up to grade (BPS)16. For all appointments over grade 11, the formal approval of the provincial Director will be required. The Director will recommend disciplinary action against and undertake transfer and promotion of the Deputy Divisional Directors, Assistant Divisional Directors and District Education Officers and Subdivisional Education Officers, in his Division. He will coordinate the work of the DEOs in the Division regarding planning and development and regarding the schemes to be included in the ADP. The Director will supervise the work of DDD and ADD in his office and that of all DEOs and SDEOs in the Division and will write their confidential reports of all except the last category. The Director will be responsible for the regional input to the design and distribution of new teaching materials and textbooks. The Director will control the utilization of annual budget at the division level and he will be the drawing and disbursing

officer for his office staff. He will approve the tour programs and travel and daily allowances in favor of his deputies, assistants and the district education officers in his division.

The control of the teacher training college in the Division will remain with the Bureau of Curriculum Development and Extension, but the Director will perform monitoring and evaluation of the training programs and participate in decisions regarding the training facilities allocated to various districts within the Division. The Director will also be responsible to coordinate all in-service training activities within the Division.

Most of the functions of the Director proposed above coincide with those also put forward by the Education Development Center consulting team, mentioned in the beginning of the report. The actual powers delegated will depend on a probably lengthy process of negotiations and bargaining. The Divisional Director is being placed in the middle of two of the most important controlling officers in the education department, i.e. the provincial Director and the District Education Officer. The powers and responsibilities delegated to the new directorate will have to come either from above (provincial director) or from below (the District EO) or from both above and below. The details of the functions will, of course, be decided at an appropriate time, but in general terms more responsibilities with respect to educational administration, supervision and teacher training have to be delegated at the divisional level. Certain functions as for example primary teacher appointment have to come from the district level where, in turn, more supervisory functions need to be formally delegated.

An important function of this consultancy activity was to assess the importance of establishing Directorates at Turbat and Loralai. In this connection both Divisions were visited for extended periods of time and education department and other government officials, teachers, supervisors as well as community leaders were interviewed. Based on the above, the likely impact of the establishment of Directorates is summarized below:

The common people, including teachers and students in the remote areas of Zhob and Makran have suffered in the past due to the fact that decisions that effected their lives were taken in far away places and they had little or no access to those places and persons. Any suggestions that the decision making process will be brought closer to home, brings happiness and satisfaction to them. At the same time, their past experience has made them skeptical of such promises and they do not believe that actual decentralization and

delegation of powers can take place. The importance of the establishment of the divisional directorates will not bring immediate changes but, is expected to be an important step towards the improvement of the education system. The reason for its importance is the acceptance of the principal of decentralization and of parting with the complete and strong grip on authority by Quetta and that of more participation at the lower level. More control over the personnel, mainly teachers, at the divisional level rather than at the provincial level; more supervision at the lower levels; and more decentralized training facilities are expected to be achieved as a result of the establishment of the divisional directorates. Many people believe these are important measures for the improvement of the education system in Balochistan.

## 2. Bifurcation of the Elementary Education System in Balochistan.

As another step to decentralize the education system in Balochistan, the Education Department has decided on bifurcation of the elementary education system. Since basic education plays such an important role in the general development of an area and its people, and since the literacy rate in Balochistan is extremely low, primary education should get priority over all other developmental issues. Due to numerous socio-economic and political factors, education in general but primary education in particular has been neglected in the past. During the last few years, the government of Balochistan Education Department as well as donor organizations, including the United States Agency for International Development and The World Bank have been emphasizing primary education.

As mentioned in the introduction section, the present Primary Education Development Program, with the USAID funding is aimed at helping Balochistan Education Department to improve access to quality education in Balochistan. Thus, although bifurcation of primary/secondary education is expected to achieve other objectives like more and exclusive attention to primary education, encouraging female education, enabling the rural and far flung areas of the province to benefit from educational facilities etc. the objective of decentralization will also be achieved in the process.

A beginning in the bifurcation process has been made by the appointment of an Additional Director, Primary Education at Quetta. It is expected that he will in due course take over all responsibilities for primary education in the province.

Presently he is assisted by an Assistant Director and three Deputy Directors, but more staff is being proposed for

appointment. At present there are no plans to create separate management structures for primary education at the division and district level. The number of post-Primary (Middle and High) schools in most districts and divisions is not high enough to justify separate divisional and district education officers.

It is assumed that majority of the Divisional Director and DEO's time will be spent on matters pertaining to primary education. The SDEOs and Supervisors at the subdivision and village level already exclusively deal with primary education.

Further bifurcation of the educational management system eg. separate male/female education officers at the district and subdivision level, and separate education officers for administration/instruction, may be needed at some later stage. At this point in time there is no justification for such a bifurcation.

### 3. Decentralization Efforts in Sindh and NWFP Provinces.

Regional autonomy and decentralization have been the most controversial subjects in the history of Pakistan. For many years talking of autonomy was considered unpatriotic and at times amounted to treason. Fortunately majority attitudes towards autonomy and decentralization have changed during the last few years. As mentioned, although education has always been a provincial subject, the actual authority was still concentrated in a few locations and in a few hands. The rapid deterioration of educational standards might be more serious in Balochistan but it is by no means confined to this province. The three other provinces have also seen their educational institutions losing control and being unable to serve the interest of student community in particular and the society in general. Since Balochistan was just embarking upon educational reforms that were either already under consideration or were under way in the Sindh and NWFP provinces of Pakistan, it was decided by the Balochistan Education Department and the Primary Education Development Program officials to establish and maintain contacts and share experiences with those two provinces. It was with this objective in mind that the consultant travelled to Karachi and Peshawar to visit Education Departments of the two provinces.

Both NWFP and Sindh Education Departments had provincial as well as divisional directorates for the last many years. Recently and under the same Primary Education Development Program, the NWFP Education Department decided to abolish the Divisional level directorates and delegate more powers and responsibilities to the District Education Officers. This

decision was mainly based on considerations of concentration of non-tribal (non FATA/PATA) population in relatively smaller geographical areas, shorter distances between Peshawar and various district headquarters and the relatively small number of total districts in the province.

In many respects, visits to the Sindh Education Department were the most productive and would hopefully be a beginning of beneficial cooperation between the Education Departments of Balochistan and Sindh.

Due to some reasons, the chief of which is probably the historical connections between Punjab and Balochistan through the one unit administration headquartered in Lahore, there has never been any meaningful contacts or cooperation between the Sindh and Balochistan Education Departments.

This is surprising, because Balochistan, lacking in educational development, should have benefitted from all the provinces of Pakistan including Sindh. Balochistan has the longest boundary with Sindh. The same ethno-linguistic, socio-cultural and tribal groups reside on both sides of the provincial boundaries. Karachi as well as the rest of Sindh have a sizable Baloch migrant population who maintain their tribal and family affiliations in Balochistan.

Although Karachi itself, being the largest Pakistani urban area, is in a different stage of educational development, there are localities within Karachi which are more similar to areas in Balochistan than to rest of Karachi. Take, for instance, Liyari area of Karachi where majority of the population consists of old and new migrants from Pakistani and Iranian Makrans and where the majority language is still Balochi. As was indicated by the District Education Officer Karachi (South), Mr. Moosa Baloch, the Liyari residents are still a hundred years behind the rest of Karachi as far as education was concerned.

Under a decentralized education system, the Divisional Directorate of Education at Turbat is more likely to benefit from Karachi/Makrani experience in teacher recruitment, training, administration and curriculum etc. As the DEO Karachi indicated there are hundreds of unemployed Makrani/Baloch youth in Karachi who are prepared to serve in Makran under any temporary or permanent arrangement. Even otherwise, about half of Balochistan's districts border with Sindh and in some areas even in the interior of Sindh, there are excellent teacher training facilities available. In many cases it would be easier and less expensive for teachers and supervisors to avail such opportunities in Sindh rather than travel to Quetta hundreds of Miles away. Sindh is the only province of Pakistan which has been imparting primary education in mother tongue since before independence. In fact,

Sindh, like Balochistan allows teaching of three languages at the primary level, i.e. Sindhi, Urdu and Gujrati. Since Balochistan is just beginning a system of teaching in mother tongue, the Sindh experience can be of great benefit to the province.

Sindh had Divisional Directorates for the last many years, and the recent decentralization efforts have mainly been concentrated on matters related to the bifurcation of primary education from the higher education. Sindh now has an Additional Secretary Primary education and an Additional Divisional Director for primary education, while each district has an additional District Education Officer for primary education. Similar male/female bifurcation and administration/instruction bifurcation is planned for the near future.

The bifurcation of primary/secondary education is very recent and is not completely operational yet, therefore it is not possible to draw any conclusions on the program's success or failure. But the Divisional Directorates, one each in Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur and Larkana, have been extremely successful, according to the Sindh Education Department officials.

For many years most powers were concentrated in Karachi and the rural Sindh was deprived of any share in the decision making process, although the rural populations had relatively more access to primary education. Better access is attributed to the Sindhi medium of instructions at primary level and to a long tradition of education dating back to the times when Sindh was part of Bombay province.

Since the 1970s the government has paid more attention to education in the interior of Sindh, and the divisional directorates, have been delegated more powers. Most of the primary level administrative, supervisory, training and examinations related powers and responsibilities are delegated at the divisional and district level.

#### 4. Decentralization Efforts by the Health and Local Government Departments of Balochistan.

The Balochistan Health and Local Government Departments have recently decided to follow a policy of decentralization of the management of their departments on about the same pattern as the Education Department.

The previously existing system of administration in the two departments was as follows:

The Balochistan provincial Health Department has a provincial Director of Health headquartered at Quetta. In each of the six

civil divisions (Quetta, Kalat, Zhob, Sibi, Naseerabad and Makran) the Department has a Deputy Director, while in each of the 20 districts, there is a District Health officer. Because of some of the same or similar problems as faced by those involved in Education Department, the Health Department recently realized that many of its functions as well as powers and responsibilities needed to be decentralized. It was decided to implement the Health Department's decentralization policies through newly created directorates in each of the six divisions of the province. So the initial step taken was to appoint directors in each of the divisions. Although the Directorates of Health were established before the Education Directorates were notified, the Directors had not been appointed until the time of termination of our visits to the Makran and Zhob Divisions.

In Makran we were told that the general procedure followed was to upgrade the existing Deputy Directors in each Division, without any actual change in the status or powers and responsibilities.

The Local Government department has a Provincial Director controlling field offices through Assistant Directors (LG) in the districts. Until now the ADLGs dealt with local government institutions in the district and then had direct departmental dealings with the Director at Quetta. Problems of distances, delays in the sanction/approval and implementation of projects, of administration and logistics required that a certain degree of decentralization is introduced in the department.

Again in Turbat and Loralai we met the district level Assistant Directors who did not know when and if new Divisional Directors will take charge of the responsibilities.

Both the Health and Local Government departments seem to be facing similar problems that the Education Department is also facing i.e. slow progress in defining roles and an acceptable distribution of powers between various administrative levels and officials. The fact that more and more provincial departments are undertaking such programs shows the government's realization and acceptance of the principal of decentralization

Annex. 1. Civil and Educational Administration in Balochistan.

Administrative unit (education)	Total in Balochstn	Administrative Head (civil)	Head
Province(political)	1	Chief Minister	Education
Province(bureaucracy)		Chief Secretary	Education
Province(Schools)		----	Director Education
Divisions	6	Commissioner	New Director previously
none			
District Off.	20	Deputy Commissioner	District Ed.
Subdivisions Off.	46	Asstt. Commissioner	Subdiv. Ed.
filled)			(only 36
Tehsil	--	Tehsildar	Supervisors
Subtehsil	--	Naib Tehsildar	Supervisors

## Annex 2 Balochistan: Area, Population and Dispersion of P/Schs

Entity	Area	Popul.	NO. of pr.	Sch.	HQ	
Distance of HQ			male	Female		from
Qla	sq.km	(000)				km
Balochistan	347,190	4282	3143	516	Quetta	
0						
Quetta Div.	64,310	880	590	165	Quetta	
0						
Quetta Dist.	2,653	382	165	101	Quetta	
0						
Pishin Dis.	11,112	379	310	47	Pishin	50
Chagai Dist	50,545	120	115	17	Naushki	145
Zhob Division	46,200	750	679	94	Loralai	264
Loralai Dist.	19,071	388	372	51	Loralai	264
Zhob Dist.	27,129	362	203	43	Zhob	336
K. Saifullah*			104	-	K.Saif.	190
Sibi Division	27,055	256	309	62	Sibi	160
Sibi District	9,285	131	77	21	Sibi	160
Ziarat*			39	19	Ziarat	112
Kohlu Agency	17,770	125	121	12	Kohlu	424
Dera Bugti *			72	10	D.Bugti	300
Naseerabad Div.	16,946	700	534	66	DM Jamali	300
Jaffarabad Dis.	5,832	395	200	-	DM Jamali	300
Tamboos *			102	31	D.Allahyar	300
Kachhi	11,114	305	232	35	Dhadar	144
Kalat Div.	138,033	1014	752	91	Khuzdar	400
Kalat Dist.	12,517	311	213	40	Kalat	160
Khuzdar	64,891	387	244	20	Khuzdar	400
Kharan	48,051	128	110	10	Kharan	300
Lasbela	12,574	188	185	21	Uthal	670
Makran Div.	54,646	652	277	38	Turbat	850
Turbat Dist.	22,539	379	156	20	Turbat	850
Panjgur	16,891	161	61	10	Panjgur	576
Gawadar	15,216	112	60	8	Gawadar	
1072						

\*Districts recently split from the one given immediately above.

## Annex.3 Ethnic and Linguistic Composition of Balochistan

Division	District	Majority ethnic group	Majority language
Quetta		Pushtun/Baloch/Punjabi	Pushto/Brahvi/Urdu
	Pishin	Pushtun	Pushto
	Chagai	Baloch	Balochi
Zhob	Loralai	Pushtun	
Zhob		Pushtun	Pushto
	K.Saif.	Pushtun	Pushto
Sibi		Baloch/Push./Sindhi	Bal/Push/Br/Sindhi
	Ziarat	Pushtun	Pushto
	Kohlu	Baloch	Balochi
	D. Bugti	Baloch	Balochi
Naseerabad	J.Abad	Baloch	Balochi
	Tamboor	Baloch	Balochi
	Kachhi	Baloch	Balochi/Sindhi
Kalat		Baloch	Brahvi
	Khuzdar	Baloch	Brahvi
	Kharan	Baloch	Balochi
	Lasbela	Baloch/Sindhi	/Balochi
Makran	Turbat	Baloch	Balochi
	Panjgur	Baloch	Balochi
	Gawadar	Baloch	Balochi

**Annex. 4. Sindh Province Visit Report.****January 3, 1991****To: 1. Malik Ijaz, Additional Director, PE/PEDP, Quetta  
2. Bill Darnell, Team Leader, PEDP, Quetta****From: Nek Buzdar, Consultant, PEDP, Quetta****Subject: Visits to Sindh Education Department Offices at Karachi**

During my recent visits to Makran, Karachi and Peshawar, I have had very useful and productive discussions with the Sindh education department officials at Karachi. My general impressions are summarized as follows:

1. There are many areas in which the education departments of Sindh and Balochistan can cooperate and learn from each other's experience. Geographically, Balochistan has the longest boundary with Sindh, and from Hub Chauki/Karachi to Sibi/Naseerabad to Sui/Kashmore, the same ethno-linguistic, socio-cultural and tribal groups reside on both sides of the provincial boundaries. Karachi as well as the rest of Sindh have a sizable Baloch migrant population who maintain their family and tribal affiliations back in Balochistan. Because of these similarities, the social, cultural and economic factors that effect the educational system particularly with reference to people's attitudes towards educating their children are also very similar in the two neighboring provinces. Although Karachi itself, being a metropolitan city and the largest in Pakistan, is generally in a different stage of educational development, there are localities within Karachi which are more similar to areas in Balochistan than to rest of Karachi. Take, for instance, Liyari area of Karachi where majority of the population consists of old and new migrants from Pakistani and Iranian Makrans and where the majority language is still Balochi. As was indicated by the District Education Officer, Karachi (South), Mr. Moosa Baloch, the Liyari residents are still a hundred years behind the rest of Karachi as far as education was concerned. Under a decentralized education system, the Divisional Director at Turbat is more likely to benefit from Karachi/Makrani experience in teacher recruitment, training, examinations and curriculum etc. As the DEO, Karachi (South) indicated, there are hundreds of Balochi speaking trained Makranis in Karachi who are willing to serve in Makran under any temporary or permanent arrangement. I think that this can only happen if the Makran Divisional authorities are able to make such arrangements with Karachi directly.

2. Unfortunately Sindh, more than Punjab and NWFP, has been passing through a socio-political process where almost every group of persons, including primary school children have been involved in all type of political activities including agitation and school closures. In Balochistan there has been a similar or even more severe and damaging student involvement in Politics. Another serious problem faced by both Balochistan and Sindh is massive interference by politicians in all educational processes including the recruitment of teachers, cheating in the examinations and changing the results. Certainly the two provincial education departments can learn a lot from each other as far as coping with these serious problems is concerned. It has generally been observed that the more the concentration of powers at remote locations, the less there is sensitivity and fear of accountability and thus more nepotism, favoritism and all types of intervention by politicians. At the Divisional and District levels it seems to be relatively easier to stop undue political intervention with pressure brought about by the local community and leadership. The decentralization is expected to have a positive impact on the education system.

3. Through the on-going Sindh Primary Education Development Program (1990-94), the World Bank funded Second and Third Primary Education Projects and other similar projects the Sindh Department of Education has a wealth of information regarding decentralization and other educational matters, which, they indicated, they would always be willing and pleased to share with Balochistan education department.

4. Due to recent bifurcation, the primary and secondary education have been almost completely separated, and separate staff for primary education are now in place from the Sindh Secretariat all the way down to village level. At the Secretariat level there is an additional secretary for primary education, there is an additional director for primary education in each Division and then each District has an Additional District Education Officer for Primary Education. At each level there are separate staff officers for male and female as well as for administration and instruction. This system is not fully operational yet, but Sindh is certainly ahead of Balochistan in many aspects of decentralization and the primary education (Additional) Directorate can benefit from their experience.

5. While Balochistan has a shortage of trained teachers, Sindh and particularly Karachi has a surplus of them. Through some arrangements between the two provincial governments, Sindhi school teachers, at least temporarily could be employed at least in the bordering districts of Lasbela, Khuzdar, Kachhi, Jaffarabad, Tamboo and Dera Bugti. Such arrangements could only be temporary and until such time that Balochistan

teachers are trained. In the area of training itself, there is scope for cooperation and Balochistan teachers, at least from the bordering districts can be sent to Sindh for training and refresher courses. It will cost less to the province if teachers from Hub Chauki 20 Miles from Karachi are sent for training to that city rather than to Khuzdar 250 Miles away, or to Quetta 500 Miles away.

6. For many years now, Sindh has been following the practice of imparting primary education in mother tongues, which are three; Sindhi, Urdu and Gujrati. Since this practice has just recently been introduced in Balochistan, The Sindh experience in this respect would be extremely useful for Balochistan. Karachi Division has a majority of urdu speakers while, the rest of the three Divisions of Hyderabad, Sukkur and Larkana have Sindhi speakers in majority. Balochistan also has at least three major linguistic regions. We were told that a certain level of Divisional autonomy and delegation of powers at the Divisional level particularly with reference to curriculum development, text books contents and distribution etc. have worked successfully in case of Sindh.

7. The education Department officials visited at Karachi had extremely useful suggestions for the improvement of primary education system in Sindh (and Balochistan). It is strongly recommended that contacts be maintained with the Sindh Education Department Officials in future. The officials that I visited and that assured their full cooperation with the Balochistan education Department are listed below:

1. Mr. Mohammad Ismail Memon, Additional Secretary Education (planning) Government of Sindh, Sindh Civil Secretariat, Karachi.
2. Mr. Wassi Qureshi, Secretary II, Education Department, Government of Sindh, Tughlaq House, Room No. 448, Third Floor, Karachi. Telephone 511152
3. Mr. Anwar Ahmed Zai, Director of Education (Schools), Nawab Ismail Khan Road, Near New Town Masjid, Guru Mandar, Karachi. Telephone 415638 and 410086
4. Mr. Gul Mohammad Hajjano, District Education Officer, Karachi (East), 95 Depot Lines, M.A. Jinnah Road, Karachi, Telephone 713237-47
5. Mr. Abdul Lateef Mangrio, Additional District Education Officer (primary education), Karachi District East, 95 Depot Lines, M.A. Jinnah Road, Karachi. Telephone 713237-47
6. Mr. Afsar Ali, District Education Officer, Karachi (West), Near Habib Bank Limited, SITE Branch, Sher Shah-Gulbai Site, Karachi Telephone 299323

7. Mr. Mohammad Moosa Baloch, District Education Officer Karachi (South), Opposite Boulton Market, M.A. Jinnah Road, Karachi, Telephone 2411576 and 226203

7. Mr. S.A. Mughni, Additional District Education Officer, Karachi South, Opposite Boulton Market, M.A. Jinnah Road, Karachi, Telephone 2411576 and 226203

8. Mr. Jan Mohammad Bhutto, Additional District Education Officer (Primary Education), Karachi (South) Opposite Boulton Market, M.A. Jinnah Road, Karachi, Telephone 2411576 and 226203

## Annex 5. Makran Visit Report.

January 5, 1991

To: 1. Malik Ijaz, Additional Secretary, PE/PEDP Quetta  
2. Bill Darnell, Team Leader, PEDP, Quetta

From: Nek Buzdar, Consultant, PEDP, Quetta.

Subject: Visit to Makran Division

I visited Makran Division from December 7 to December 18, 1990 in connection with an assessment of the effectiveness of educational decentralization process in general and of the establishment of Divisional Directorates in particular. The detailed findings will be included in my final report, but general impressions are summarized below:

1. Nowhere in Balochistan the need for and importance of decentralization is as evident as it is in Makran. Besides the physical distance and climatic differences between Quetta and Makran, the economic conditions and resources, social organization and patterns of settlement in Makran are different from rest of Balochistan. Because of the above factors, there is an obvious need for not only local educational management, administration and training but also for significant local inputs in areas like curriculum development and text books material.

2. Due to the absence of tribalism and tribal organization in Makran there is less resistance to change and, unlike most of rest of Balochistan, no strong traditional forces oppose education and modernization. Due to the same reasons, women in Makran play an important role in the socio-economic life. Particularly in the coastal areas, there are fisher-women, and women engaged in trade and business. In Panjgur and Turbat, I was told that quite a few women high school graduates are unemployed and looking for jobs. The DEO, Turbat revealed that the number of girls in primary schools was so high and beyond the provided class room capacity, that he had to make special arrangements for the girls to sit in boys primary schools and sections. The different situation with respect to the above require different policies, priorities and emphasis.

3. Unlike rest of rural Balochistan, most of Makran's close to one million population lives in relatively few settlements. Over 90 percent of Panjgur district population lives over less than 5 percent of its geographical area. Over 80 percent of Turbat District population lives along the Kech and Nihing river banks in about a 50 Mile long strip. The third District

of Gawadar also has over 90 percent of its population living in just five coastal villages of Jiwani, Pishokan, Gawadar, Pasni and Ormara. Such settlement patterns make it relatively easier to devise and implement programs aimed at improving the education system.

4. As far as economic pursuits, most Makranis engage in small scale agriculture and fishing. The population increases as well as the Islamic inheritance system have resulted in extremely small agricultural holdings. Due to the small holdings, the social stratification barring certain classes to engage in farming and due to the fact that date farming is relatively less labor intensive, the demand for child labor for subsistence activities is not as high in Makran as it is in animal raising areas of Balochistan. The fishermen have a similar environment and normally the school age children do not engage in fishing. It is because of these reasons that Makran seems to have the highest enrollment rate in the province.

5. Nominees of the Baloch Students Organization have contested recently held elections from a number of constituencies in Balochistan, but only in Makran they have been able to win two assembly seats. This is a confirmation of the fact that this particular student organization is very strong in Makran. In Makran this organization is also responsible for involving even primary school students in practical politics. This has obviously been at the cost of the good standards and quality of education. It may be useful to engage in a dialogue with the local community leaders as well as with the leadership of this student organization to convince them that engaging primary school kids in political activities was in nobody's interest and had worst consequences for the kids, their parents, the local community, for the province and for Pakistan as a whole.

6. The need to follow decentralization side by side with seeking the cooperation of local communities is also urgently needed in areas of supervision and examinations. During our visit to the District Education Officer at Turbat, he told us about an incident which had happened just the previous day. While visiting a school in Turbat where Middle examinations were being conducted, he caught a man who was appearing in the examination instead of a person who was not even present in Pakistan, but was working as a soldier in Muscat/Oman. The DEO expelled him from the examination hall and left. The student (pretend) followed the DEO and fired several shots at him. Luckily the DEO escaped but his car was damaged. The worst part of the story is that while we were still in the DEO office, a delegation of local notables including the district council chairman arrived and requested the DEO, to forgive the culprit so that he could be released from jail. This is a

typical case of indifference of community towards education and lack of respect for the teacher, which the local culture, traditions and religion so much emphasizes.

7. Panjgur has the only teacher training college in the Division, although it is not known why it is located in Panjgur which is in a corner and more than 300 Miles away from Gawadar, for instance. In any case, there is a need for more decentralized, more frequent and more comprehensive training in all areas including subject matter, teaching methods, supervision and administration, in Makran.

8. A large number of teachers, supervisors and SDEOs as well as the three DEOs that I talked with, all agreed that there should be more local input in the curriculum development and text book contents. This is contrary to what Dr. Kausar had earlier indicated that there was no interest among teachers, SDEOs, DEOs etc. to participate and contribute towards various curriculum development activities.

9. An effect of centralized decision making and ignoring local/regional realities is seen in the timing of summer/winter vacations and new class formation. Makran and other warmer areas of the province have a system of summer vacations (June- August) while Quetta and other colder areas follow the winter (December-March) vacation system. But new class formation in both regions takes place in January. The result is that in the warmer areas the kids go to school for five months (January- May), have three months vacations (June-August), and then attend school for another three months (September-November) before taking the examinations. Under an annual examination system, a three month gap in the middle of a nine month school year amounts to tremendous losses to the student community.

The provincial Bureau of Curriculum Development and Extension Services is responsible for curriculum and text book content. Content for all courses except social studies is decided by the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education and is conveyed to the provincial Bureau. The Bureau, through a contract system manages the writing and publishing of the books. There are as many as five books that the children are required to study from the second grade onwards. This is made more difficult considering that the children come from different linguistic backgrounds and from households where, in majority of the cases, parents are unable to speak Urdu, the medium of instructions. The newly introduced system of teaching in mother tongue has in fact increased the burden on pupils as far as the number of course books is concerned.