

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 453 988

RC 023 000

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TITLE Education Reforms in Balochistan, 1990-1998: A Case Study in Improving Management and Gender Equity in Primary Education.
INSTITUTION World Bank, Washington, DC.; Commonwealth Secretariat, London (England).
PUB DATE 1999-09-00
NOTE 40p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Access to Education; *Administrative Change; Change Strategies; *Community Involvement; Curriculum Development; Educational Administration; Educational Change; *Educational Development; Elementary Education; Foreign Countries; Parent Participation; Partnerships in Education; *Rural Schools; Single Sex Schools; *Teacher Education; Women Administrators; *Womens Education
IDENTIFIERS *Pakistan

ABSTRACT

Between 1990 and 1998, Balochistan, a poor, rural, and underdeveloped province in Pakistan, undertook a major restructuring of its public education system aimed at increasing girls' access to schooling. Strategies included establishing more girls' schools, appointing local female teachers, providing special inservice training for female teachers, and increasing the number of female administrators at both the senior policy and local management levels. By 1998 there was a 159 percent increase in girls' enrollment in primary classes and a 241 percent increase in girls' primary schools. An important element in the success of this effort was the productive partnership between Balochistan's education department, nongovernmental organizations, and international donors. Strong political will was required to improve primary education, especially for girls. Political leaders used the conditionalities of international donors as leverage to push through difficult reforms. In addition, involvement of parents at every stage of local initiatives strengthened government and community partnerships. This report begins with a brief review of education conditions prior to 1990 and in the early years of the reform program, then looks at three major reform objectives: restructuring management, improving educational quality, and involving communities in expanding primary education for girls. In each area, challenges to achieving the objective and reform strategies to overcome these challenges are examined. The study concludes with a discussion of current reform initiatives in Balochistan, factors behind the successes to date, and the outlook for the future. (Author/TD)



EDUCATION REFORMS IN BALOCHISTAN, 1990-1998

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A Case Study in Improving Management and Gender Equity in Primary Education

Dr. Uzma Anzar

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EDUCATION REFORMS IN BALOCHISTAN, 1990-1998

A Case Study in Improving Management and
Gender Equity in Primary Education

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September 1999

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Foreword

This country study is one of two studies jointly commissioned by the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Girls' Education Team of the Human Development Network of the World Bank. The second country study is of Malawi and is titled "Improving Girls' Lives Through Education: Strategies in Malawi, 1990–1997." In commissioning these studies, we were seeking to examine the process by which education policies targeting girls were implemented and to assess whether the desired outcomes were achieved. We were also especially interested in examining whether, and how, policies aiming to improve education quality and curriculum relevance had taken account of the gender dimension. Where serious efforts are being made to increase girls' school enrollment rates, it would seem appropriate to simultaneously work to ensure higher retention rates of girls. Ensuring that curriculum content and instructional practices are appropriate and supportive of girls is key to consolidating the gains made through increased enrollments.

There exists a vast amount of research which confirms that gender and school quality are dependent variables and that gender equity is linked to quality of education. Gender-appropriate curriculum is usually referred to as having more females shown in professional roles in the books; an equal proportion of female and male role models in mathematics and science subjects; and men shown in less conventional roles, such as helping a wife in the kitchen or assisting daughter with homework. Therefore, while reviewing the educational reforms, these two studies would especially focus on curriculum improvement in terms of gender and quality.

In the case of Balochistan, one observes significant structural changes during the last eight years which are aimed at increasing girls' educational enrollments. Establishment of more girls' schools, appointment of local female teachers, provision of special in-service training for female teachers, and increases in the number of female educators both at the senior policy and local management levels are some just some examples.

Even though Balochistan has made significant progress in terms of overall primary education improvement and gender equality in education management structure, the study revealed that gender issues were only very marginally addressed under initiatives to improve educational quality and instruction. This was in spite of the very significant efforts put into quality improvements. The current curriculum at the primary education level demonstrates major improvements, in terms of multigrade teaching and activity-based learning. Although revisions in textbooks were made, very little attention was paid to ensuring that greater coverage was given to girls' and women's activities and interests. As is mentioned in the case study, the major concern of the government in Balochistan was to provide some kind of training to its untrained teachers. Basic skills upgrading was provided with considerable effort, but the inclusion of training on *gender issues* in the classroom was very secondary to efforts to simply upgrade basic subject knowledge. In Malawi, however, special measures were made to revise the curriculum and a Gender Appropriate Curriculum Unit was established to assist in this process. The purpose of this unit was to revise textbooks and ensure that new materials supported girls' self esteem and were free of gender biases. But the dramatic increases in primary schools enrollments following the abolition of school fees required the government to focus more on providing condensed teacher training courses to newly recruited, and largely unqualified, teachers than on gender sensitive training. Thus, despite good intentions, many of the new teachers in Malawi entered the classrooms with little if any understanding of gender issues.

The findings of these two country studies show that very real and significant progress is being made in improving girls' access to education. They also reveal, however, that there is a real

need to shore up these achievements with efforts to improve the quality of education and ensure that both instructional content and instructional methodologies are adapted to be more appropriate and consistent with girls' and their families' educational expectations. It is clear from these case studies that this can present special challenges. Improving educational quality is difficult in and of itself. Ensuring that gender issues are incorporated in improved curricula and instructional methodologies is even more challenging. There is obviously a role here for international and donor agencies.

Some research studies have indicated that mathematics is perceived as a barrier to learning science (especially physical sciences) and technology by girls. Recognizing this problem, the Commonwealth Secretariat organized a pan-Commonwealth symposium on the topic. The symposium revealed that very little in the way of substantiated evidence is available to support any response to this question. However, the symposium recognized that the difficulty faced by girls was not due to the nature of mathematics, but by the way mathematics curriculum is packaged and delivered. As a follow up, the Commonwealth conducted a study on Gender Sensitivity in Primary Mathematics in India. A series of primary grades (I to V) mathematics textbooks of India was analyzed which revealed that a composite picture builds of active males with money, possessions, and leisure, all of which depend on the unacknowledged work but acknowledged trivialities of the domesticated female who appears half as often throughout the series, doing much less valued things.

Through different regional meetings organized by the Commonwealth Secretariat, it was discovered that an outdated, stereotyped attitude was one of the biggest barriers to women entering science- and technology-related professions. On the recommendations of these meetings, the Commonwealth Secretariat decided to:

- (i) Publicize women scientists and technologists to serve as role models to girls in schools to challenge the stereotyped assumptions of their parents and teachers.
- (ii) Initiate Girls' Science Clinics in Ghana. In the beginning of an academic session, about 200 girls from all over Ghana are brought to a camp for a week. A large number of eminent women scientists and technologists from different parts of Africa are invited to deliver lectures on popular topics of science and technology. The girls were also provided the opportunity to talk to the scientists and technologists on a one-to-one basis so that they could clear their doubts and apprehensions both about the subjects and influence of science related careers on family life. During the week the participants were also taken to different science- and technology-related research institutions and establishments, including industries where opportunities were provided to them to operate instruments. This had a positive effect on the enrollment of girls in science and technology.

Another program which again focused on the importance of role models in motivating girls to learn science and technology and take up related careers was the Science and Technology Road Show held in Botswana. The road show was conducted to:

- (i) Convince women and girls that they could succeed in many more areas of employment if they sought appropriate qualifications and training in science and technology.
- (ii) Make an impact on the attitudes and myths which prevent girls and women from taking advantage of today's opportunities in science and technology.

- (iii) Provide information to parents, teachers, employers, and the public in general on the country's need for scientific and technological manpower and to encourage them to change their attitudes towards women in these fields.

The Botswana Road Show led to the development of a manual which could help others in organizing road shows of this kind and a video film entitled "Righting the Imbalance."

Acknowledgements

Preparation of this paper was jointly financed by the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Girls' Education Group in the Human Development Network of the World Bank. Acknowledgements are due to the many people in Balochistan who contributed their thoughts and recollections on the education reforms. Special thanks need to be given to Ved Goel, Chief Programme Officer in the Commonwealth Secretariat who provided thoughtful comments and suggestions during conceptualization of this study. Carolyn Winter (World Bank) and Brian Spicer and Paula Gubbins (AED) provided thoughtful comments on drafts of the study. Madelyn Ross provided careful editorial assistance.

Acronyms

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BIMDTC	Balochistan Instructional Material Development and Training Cell
BOCE	Bureau of Curriculum and Extension
BPEP	Balochistan Primary Education Program
DEO	District Education Officer
MFTTU	Mobile Female Teacher Training Unit
PED	Primary Education Development
PEQIP	Primary Education Quality Improvement Program
SCSPEB	Society for Community Support for Primary Education in Balochistan
SDEO	Subdistrict Education Officer
TVO	Trust for Voluntary Organizations
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Summary

Between 1990 and 1998, Balochistan province in Pakistan undertook a major restructuring of its public education system, with the principal objective of increasing girls' access to schooling. Beginning with only 503 schools for girls in 1990, Balochistan now has more than 2,058 girls' primary schools. These schools enroll more than 203,000 girls, an increase of 159 percent over the 80,200 girls enrolled at the beginning of the decade.

How was Balochistan province able to achieve these remarkable results in just eight short years? How were education reform policies formulated and put into practice so quickly?

One important element of the education reform efforts in Balochistan has been the productive partnership between the public sector (Balochistan's education department), the private sector (NGOs), and international donors. A major goal for all of them was to strengthen the province's institutional capacity to formulate and implement equitable policies to improve the condition of primary education. As previous policies generally favored boys' and higher education, some of the recent educational policy changes in Balochistan were a result of strong political will at all levels to improve primary education, especially for girls. The government officers and political leaders used the "conditionalities" of international donors to give them leverage to push through difficult reforms. On several occasions, government bureaucrats themselves insisted that the donors include certain "conditions" in the agreements.

Implementation of the primary education reforms in Balochistan has not been easy. Problems and constraints required numerous changes in strategy along the way. The technical advisors, donors, and government officers worked as partners and took the responsibility of actual policy implementation, rather than simple policy formulation and related paperwork. Each component of the program was developed based on lessons learned previously. No one component of the overall primary education reform was developed in isolation from others. From teacher training and development to the establishment of girls' primary schools, from management and administrative restructuring to curriculum reforms and information systems development, the technical assistance teams and government officers worked together, and each helped to make this effort a success.

This study focuses on the process of change in Balochistan's primary education sector during the 1990s. The study begins with a brief review of education conditions prior to 1990 and the early years of the reform program. The study then looks in turn at three major objectives of the reforms: management restructuring, improving educational quality, and involving communities in expanding primary education for girls. In each area, challenges to achieving the objective, and the reform strategies developed to overcome these challenges, are examined. The study concludes with a discussion of current reform initiatives in Balochistan, factors behind the successes to date, and the outlook for the future.

Background to Balochistan's Education Reforms

Education reform is a complex undertaking, especially in an environment such as Balochistan's, where the education system was weak and where existing social and economic constraints worked against management and delivery of quality education. The situation became even more difficult because target beneficiaries were located in remote areas and because reforms required changing long-term attitudes toward female education. This report is a case study of how Balochistan, a poor and underdeveloped province of Pakistan, reformed its education sector from 1990 to 1998, making especially dramatic progress in terms of primary school education for girls.

Education at the National Level (Pakistan) prior to 1990

The state of education in Balochistan prior to 1990 is best understood in the context of low national education expenditures and achievements. In 1988–89, education accounted for only 7.8 percent of government expenditures in Pakistan, only a slight improvement over the 5 percent share that went to education in the early 1980s. These levels of investment were less than 2.5 percent of GNP, thus failing to meet UNESCO's recommendation that developing countries should spend a minimum of 4.0 percent of GNP for education.

Primary education received the fewest resources. Although primary students in Pakistan represented almost 70 percent of the total school enrollment, primary education received only 30 percent of the national education budget until 1989. Most educational spending was directed to secondary and higher education, where the constituency was more vocal.

National literacy rates confirmed this grim picture of inadequate educational investment. Only one-fourth (26.2 percent) of the country's population was able to read and write in 1981. The situation was even worse in rural areas and among women. Urban literacy rates were 30 percent higher than those in rural areas, and male literacy rates exceeded those of women by about 20 percent. The national literacy rate for rural women in 1981 was just 7.3 percent.

Education Challenges in Balochistan

The education situation was even worse in the province of Balochistan, which is located in the southwestern part of Pakistan. As shown in Table 1, while national literacy rates in the early 1980s were very low, those in Balochistan were even lower. Only 10.3 percent of Balochistan's population, and less than 2 percent of its female population, were literate in 1981. The situation had not improved much at the end of the 1980s—a UNICEF school census done in 1989 estimated the rural female literacy rate in Balochistan at about 1 percent.

Table 1. Literacy Rates for Pakistan and Balochistan (Based on the 1981 Census)

	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>
Pakistan			
Male	55.3%	26.2%	35.1%
Female	37.3%	7.3%	16.0%
Both Sexes	47.1%	17.3%	26.2%
Balochistan			
Male	42.2%	9.8%	15.2%
Female	18.5%	1.8%	4.3%
Both Sexes	32.2%	6.2%	10.3%

Balochistan is the largest, least populated, and least developed of Pakistan's four provinces. The province covers 347,190 square kilometers, making it about the same size as France, but it has a population of only 6.5 million (1998 census) out of Pakistan's total population of some 140 million. With its small share of the national population, Balochistan received very little of Pakistan's already low expenditures on education.

Delivering quality education was made more difficult by the sparse and scattered nature of provincial settlement. More than three-fourths of Balochistan's residents live in one of about 9,000 small rural settlements. Villages are separated from each other by an average of 30 miles, and most have no paved roads, telephones, or electricity. Only one major highway connects Balochistan with the neighboring province of Sindh. Transportation must rely on dirt roads, which wash away during the monsoon rains every year, leaving many villages totally isolated from other parts of the province.

The province's diverse population is another challenge to improving education. Many ethnic groups reside in Balochistan, and four major languages are spoken in the province, although Urdu is the national language and the medium of instruction in schools. Two major ethnic groups in the province are Pathans and Balochs, each with distinctive tribal and social arrangements. A large but unknown percentage of the population is nomadic.

In addition to social challenges, other systemic issues confronted educational reformers during 1989–98. While Balochistan is relatively peaceful compared with other parts of the country, its people are generally not accustomed to the rule of law or to fully accepting government's decisions. Civil disobedience is widespread. Financial mismanagement, waste, and pervasive public misappropriation are exacerbated by poor bookkeeping practices and a lack of accountability at all levels in the public sector.

Special Issues for Girls in Balochistan

While primary education conditions were poor throughout Balochistan, the state of primary education for girls was especially alarming. As previously noted, literacy rates for girls were far lower than those for boys. The reasons for this were not hard to find. As shown in Table 2, Balochistan had far fewer schools for girls than for boys. While a majority of the villages in Balochistan had at least one primary school for boys, only 8.3 percent of all primary schools were for girls. Addressing inequities in female education in Balochistan required immediate attention at all levels.

Table 2. Total Number of Schools in Balochistan, by Gender and Level (1990)

	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>High</i>
Girls' schools	503	74	47
Boys' schools	5,990	524	212
Girls' schools as % of boys' schools	8.3%	14.1%	22.1%

Source: Balochistan Education Management Information Systems Data, 1990.

Adding more schools for girls was not an easy proposition. For cultural reasons, parents preferred their daughters to be taught by female teachers. But the historic lack of educational opportunity for girls meant few educated women were available to teach in girls' schools—especially in the rural areas where they were most needed.

Qualified women from urban areas were often unwilling to teach in rural schools. The government tried to appoint female teachers from population centers to teach in rural schools, but many never showed up at their postings, taught only irregularly at their assigned rural school, or transferred (often unofficially) to schools near their homes. This situation created many defunct "ghost" schools and low participation rates, especially for girls, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Girls' Enrollment as a Share of Boys', Balochistan (1990)

	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>High</i>
Boys' enrollment	315,111	44,830	14,794
Girls' enrollment	80,206	8,236	2,797
Girls' enrollment as % of Boys' enrollment	25.4%	18.3%	18.9%

Source: Balochistan Education Management Information Systems, 1990 data.

There was also a severe shortage of female education administrators. Due to its large size, Balochistan is divided into six administrative divisions and 26 districts. Prior to 1990, all schools in the province were managed by a director of education, with divisional directors in charge of schools in each division. In accordance with local customs, female schools had to be supervised by female education officers. As a result, many girls' schools lacked appropriate supervision, since there were only *two* female divisional directors responsible for management and administration of *all* female schools in the province.

The quality of schools was another major issue. The primary education curriculum was based on that of Punjab province, and had little relevance to Balochistan's cultural and social environment. In addition, textbooks were replete with grammatical mistakes, ignored gender education, and tended to promote rote memorization rather than activity-based learning.

Almost all teachers (male and female) in the province received only minimal training, and more than 8,000 of them (about 60 percent of all teachers) had no formal training or teaching certificates. There were only two teacher training colleges for women, both located in or close to Quetta, the provincial capital. Although in-service training was considered necessary, the province had no meaningful budget and no in-service training for female teachers. Learning coordinators, paid with funds from international donors, were appointed to provide instructional support and assistance to rural teachers. However, they acted largely as "inspectors" rather than mentors or trainers. Only 12 out of the 567 learning coordinators in 1990 were women, and they worked primarily in administrative assignments.

An Overview of Education Reforms in Balochistan, 1990–98

Based on alarmingly dismal assessment of primary education in Balochistan in 1989–90, the provincial government decided to take concerted action. With financial assistance and strong support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and UNICEF, the government of Balochistan initiated the Primary Education Development Program, or PEDP.

Initial Targets Met and Exceeded

Table 4 shows the targets for the PEDP that the government of Balochistan's education secretariat, with assistance from donor-supported PEDP implementation teams and the Ministry of Planning and Development, established over a nine-year period.

Table 4. PEDP Enrollment Targets, 1990–99

	Enrollment Rates		Participation Rates	
	1989 Actual	1999 Target	1989 Actual	1999 Target
Boys	301,000	564,000	60.1	93.6
Girls	58,000	135,000	12.3	35.8

Source: The Primary Education Development Program, Pakistan; Final Report 1994, AED.

The goal was to increase girls' enrollment during the nine years of the PED program life by 132 percent; for boys the target increase was 87.4 percent. The increase in participation rates targets for girls and boys were 23.5 percent and 33.5 percent, respectively.

In fact, these goals were surpassed before the end of the nine-year period. By 1997, the number of girls' primary schools had risen 241 percent over 1990. The increase in girls' primary enrollment in *separate* primary schools over the same period (1990–97) was 86.2 percent. There are 58,704 additional girls who are studying in primary sections of middle and high schools. This increases the total figure of girls' primary enrollment in Balochistan to 208,053, which far exceeds the initial target of 135,000 for girls' enrollment increase by 1999.

Table 5. Increase in Number of Girls' Primary Schools^a and Enrollment in Balochistan, 1990–97

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Schools	503	531	746	907	1,010	1,220	1,395	1,719
Enrollment	80,206	82,099	95,035	110,917	126,075	139,012	146,119	149,349

a. Represents enrollment figures of *separate* primary schools only, i.e., those not connected to a middle or high school. See above paragraph.

Source: Balochistan Education Management Information System Data, 1990–97.

The dropout rates for girls have fallen to an average of 11 percent each year, while primary school completion rates based on 1997 data are approaching 30 percent, compared to only 7 percent in 1990. These rates are expected to improve further as quality improvement initiatives take full effect over the next few years.

During the eight years of educational reforms in Balochistan, girls' enrollment increases in middle and high schools also deserve mentioning. The percentage increase in number of girls' middle and high schools between 1990 and 1997 has been 63.5 percent and 44.6 percent, respectively. The corresponding numbers for girls' enrollments in middle and high schools during the same period are 176.5 percent and 173.6 percent (Table 6).

Table 6. Increase in Number of Girls' Middle and High Schools and Enrollment in Balochistan, 1990–97

	Number of Schools			Number of Enrollments		
	1990	1997	% Change	1990	1997	% Change
Middle	74	121	63.5%	8,236	22,766	176.5%
High	47	68	44.6%	2,797	7,655	173.6%

Source: Balochistan Education Management Information system (BEMIS), 1997 data.

While a major focus of Balochistan's education reforms during the 1990s has been on improving all aspects of girls' education and ensuring full access and equity to girls, boys have benefited from the reforms as well. Since 1990, the enrollment of boys at primary schools and the number of boys' schools have also increased steadily, by 23.8 percent and 30 percent, respectively (Table 7).

Table 7. Increase in Number of Boys' Primary Schools and Enrollment in Balochistan, 1990–97

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Schools	5,945	6,097	6,480	6,683	6,779	6,791	6,906	7,726
Enrollment	315,111	315,558	339,980	352,251	362,606	371,277	380,844	390,328

Source: Balochistan Education Management Information system, 1990–97 data.

Other Highlights of Education Reform in Balochistan, 1990–98

In addition to these remarkable quantitative increases, a number of systemic changes have been made that bode well of the future of the education reforms. These include:

Management restructuring. The government of Balochistan established a Directorate of Primary Education, with complete fiscal and personnel autonomy, to take over and improve primary school education in the province.

Growth in the number of women educators and administrators. Because social constraints in Balochistan prevented male education administrators from effectively supervising and monitoring female teachers, the government changed its service rules and allowed more women to be hired in senior educational administrative posts. This has resulted in the creation of new posts for female district education officers and their staff to manage and support girls' at the district level, as well as other senior policy level posts for women educators (Table 8). Currently there are four senior policy level and 13 district level posts filled by women.

Table 8. Female Educators in Balochistan, 1990–98

<i>Female Administrative Posts 1990</i>	<i>Female Administrative Posts 1997</i>
Grade 19-20 positions: 0	Senior-level Additional Director (Grade 19-20): 1
Senior Deputy Directors (Grade 18): 0	Senior Deputy Directors (Grade 18): 2
Divisional Education Officers (Grade 18): 2	District Education Officers (Grade 18): 13
Sub-Divisional Education Officers (Grade 17): 3	Sub-District Education Officers (Grade 17): 17

Notes:

- In 1990, a total of five female administrators were responsible for managing all girls' schools in the province.
- The highest grade in the education cadre is 20, which is the post of the Director of Education (primary or secondary).

Teacher Training. All untrained teachers in Balochistan (approximately 8,000) received some kind of in-service training from mobile training units. Regular in-service training sessions are now being organized through teacher mentoring programs to continuously upgrade the skills of rural teachers, especially females.

Curriculum Reforms. The Balochistan government has produced 34 new activity-based textbooks, which have become part of the regular primary curriculum. These books were written by local professionals, trained by the foreign consultants and technical advisors.

Before the path of education development is further explored, it is important to mention some administrative and donor changes which the primary education program faced during earlier years of its implementation.

Program Transition and Strengthening, 1992–93

In late 1992, international circumstances led to unexpected changes in the financial support of education reform in Balochistan. As a result of Pakistan's nuclear program, the United States Congress passed the Pressler Amendment to sanction Pakistan. This amendment required USAID (one of the major PEDP donors) to withdraw from Pakistan. While USAID was closing down its activities, the government of Balochistan asked for, and received, World Bank support for the continuation of education reform efforts in the province.

The World Bank promised close to a \$120 million for the program in 1993, and the transition from USAID to World Bank funding went smoothly. The technical advisors, government officials, and other program partners continued at their posts, and many did not even realize that a financial transition had taken place. Activities were only slightly modified to fit World Bank procurement practices and other requirements. The PEDP team leader described the transition as a mere "changing of hats." One thing did change with the entry of the World Bank: the program's name was officially changed from the Primary Education Development Program (PEDP) to the Balochistan Primary Education Program (BPEP).

Because of the early positive progress in the education sector in Balochistan, from this point on the education reforms had even more donors providing essential financial and technical support. The BPEP partnership included the World Bank, UNICEF, the Asian Development Bank, the Netherlands government, the government of Balochistan, the Trust for Voluntary Organizations (TVO), the Habib Bank Trust, and local NGOs.

The fact that all these donors were working in support of one integrated work plan, administered by the Director of Primary Education, was a key to the program's success. In other provinces during the same period, fragmentation and competition between donor projects hindered development programs. In contrast, the annual work plan of the BPEP was prepared jointly by donors and the Director for Primary Education and approved by a steering committee (consisting of donors, various departmental secretaries, and NGO members). The Additional Chief Secretary of the Planning and Development Department of the province chaired the steering committee.

Although the education reforms now had a new name and several new donors, the program objectives remained the same. The principal objective of both the PEDP and its successor, the BPEP, was improving primary education in Balochistan, especially for girls and rural children.

Three major initiatives were planned as part of the program:

- Restructuring education management to create a strong base for education reforms.
- Improving education quality through teacher training and curriculum reforms.
- Involving communities in expanding primary education for girls, especially in rural areas.

The next three sections of this study summarize the way that these initiatives were implemented during the 1990s. In each case, the major challenges that had to be faced, and the responses that evolved to address these challenges, are described in order to provide insight on the actual process of change in Balochistan.

Initiative 1: Restructuring Education Management

To create a strong base for primary education management, Balochistan's education system needed extensive reform.

Challenge: Lack of Administrative Focus on Primary Education

As primary education was the focus of the new reforms, the international donors insisted from the outset that the government establish an office with sole responsibility for primary education planning and implementation. Prior to this, the provincial government had only one Director of Education, covering all levels of schooling for both boys and girls, with no one overseeing just primary education.

Response: Creation of the Office of Additional Director of Primary Education and Strong Technical Support Team

In response to donor requests, the government of Balochistan created the position of *Additional Director of Primary Education*, with full support staff and a separate office building. Although the Additional Director reported to the current Director of Education, he was also responsible for coordinating with donors and the government to plan and implement the primary education program in the province.

Another important management element was establishment of a technical assistance team (including representatives from USAID, UNICEF, and later, the World Bank) to assist in implementation of the PEDP program. The technical team included a Team Leader, a foreign consultant for teacher training and development, and foreign and local consultants (one each) for education management information systems. This team began work in a small office, just a block away from the office of the new Additional Director of Primary Education. The Additional Director's office was responsible for education management information systems, donor coordination, primary school construction and rehabilitation, and managing associated accounts and administration.

Challenge: Lack of Good Statistical Information

At the time that the PEDP was initiated, information on schools, students, and teachers in the province was minimal. Policy decisions at the provincial level were based on verbal information provided by divisional directors. There was no organized method of collecting and analyzing school data. Most information was simply noted on loose papers and registers. As a result, even the actual number of schools and teachers in the province was not known.

Response: Creation of the Balochistan Education Management Information System (BEMIS)

The first goal of the Additional Director and foreign consultants was to identify, based on accurate statistical information, inadequacies in primary education management and operations. One of the earliest steps in PED program implementation in Balochistan was, therefore, to gather up-to-date information on school enrollment of boys and girls, as well as to learn more about the views of community members about girls' education.

Through joint funding from the government and international donors, a small computer facility was set up to develop survey questionnaires and to process and analyze data from the field. This office was called the Balochistan Education Management Information System

(BEMIS). The office's first major undertaking was a human resource survey covering more than 9,000 villages and schools. The alarming state of primary education and the severity of gender inequities in schools and enrollment were confirmed by this survey, which was the first complete school survey ever conducted in the province. Analysis of the survey results also indicated the following:

- In more than 75 percent of villages, parental demand for female education was strong. Even male parents and leaders supported the idea of girls' education.
- There were 28,000 girls attending schools with boys, who had not been accounted for in previous government reports (where they were counted as boys).
- Females with middle school (grade 8) and matric (grade 10) qualifications were already residing in many rural villages. These females had been able to attain higher education either through local boys' schools or by studying in city schools and staying in their relatives' houses.

This statistical data, combined with photographs and anecdotes from field visits, was used to solidify political and bureaucratic support in the province for efforts to improve girls' education. The high level of parental interest in girls' education, and the number of girls studying in boys' schools in rural villages, surprised many at the provincial level, who were unaware of the changing social attitudes toward female education in rural Balochistan.

With the availability of this new statistical information, and funding from the government of Balochistan and donors, support strengthened for the creation of a permanent directorate of primary education. In the absence of an office fully responsible for solving the problems of primary school teachers and students, the sustainability of the primary education reforms was questionable. How long could the additional director's office, which was supported by temporary donor funds, be counted on to manage primary education in Balochistan? Transforming the current additional director's office into a *permanent* primary education directorate, as an attached department of the government with full fiscal and administrative authority, became a rallying point for reformers.

Challenge: Resistance from Unions to Creating a Permanent Primary Education Directorate

But the idea of making the Additional Director for Primary Education a permanent position worried some members of the education establishment, such as members of the Senior Education Staff Association (SESA) and other political groups. These groups feared that a major reform of primary education would mean more accountability and require some of them to transfer from their current positions. As a result, daily newspaper articles from teachers' unions and other political groups began to appear, commenting on the "vices" that the new PEDP would bring to the province.

The Additional Director for Primary Education himself became a prime target, and his religious affiliation to a minority group received special attention in daily news. One such news item talked about how "the non-Muslims are planning to distort present efficiencies in the education system by creating high level posts for themselves and their friends." The principal argument of opponents was that, while reforms were needed, all activities should be carried out under the direction of one person: the current Director of Education.

Response: Enlisting Support of Teachers and Administrators through Constituency Building

Other provinces, including Sindh and Punjab, were also in the process of developing new primary education directorates. As pressure and criticism from the teachers' unions mounted, the Team Leader of the PEDP and the Additional Director decided to take several very vocal unionists on a "study tour" of Sindh and Punjab. The purpose of this study tour was to expose the plan's opponents to the new education ideas being adopted by these relatively advanced provinces. During the tour, the teachers' union representatives (two of whom were former colleagues of the Director Public Administration in Punjab—equivalent to the Director Education in Balochistan) were briefed about the merits of having a separate directorate of primary education. The "outsiders'" arguments in favor of the new directorate had some impact on teachers' union representatives.

After their return to Balochistan, the union representatives on the study tour told their colleagues about the number of 18- and 19-grade level posts that would be created under the new directorate (grades 18 and 19 are high level positions). It was estimated that the new directorate would create a total of 52 new positions for District Education Officers (grade 18) and related staff. In addition, numerous posts for Subdistrict Education Officers (grade 17) were planned, based on the number of schools in each district. The members of SESA, a majority of whom were working as head teachers in schools (grade 16), finally realized that the proposed new directorate of primary education might be the key to their own progression and development in the education system.

Observing the softening in the attitude of the unions, the PEDP Team Leader and the Additional Director requested SESA assistance in developing the job descriptions for employees of the new Directorate of Primary Education. This action not only brought the directorate's most severe opponents on board, but gave opponents a sense of ownership by allowing them to participate in overall planning for the new directorate of which they would be an integral part. In addition, much of the opponents' constructive criticism and suggestions were taken into consideration as the final organizational plans for the directorate were developed and implemented.

The major argument in favor of a separate Directorate for Primary Education was that primary education management and expansion in Balochistan needed single-minded effort and attention. Given the magnitude of education needs and plans, as well as the problem of corruption and bureaucratic inertia in the existing Directorate of Education, the PEDP donors and concerned officials (including Balochistan's Secretary of Education, Secretary of Finance, and Secretary for Planning and Development) decided to make the change permanent. In June 1993, the Directorate of Primary Education was created by a cabinet decree and the Additional Director's position became the new Director of Primary Education position. Since USAID had agreed, prior to the 1992 Pressler Amendment, to pay for a new building to house the directorate, the foundation stone for the new building was laid and construction began.

Challenge: Problems with Administering Girls' Primary Education

As the primary education program expanded and new girls' schools were established, female teachers experienced increasing problems in communicating effectively with male education administrators at the local level. Social restrictions made such contact difficult to begin with, and the large distances between villages and divisional education offices made the process even more difficult.

Response: Strengthening the Female Education Cadre

The need to strengthen the cadre of female educators in Balochistan province became increasingly pressing. After negotiations with the Department of Services and General Administration, service rules were modified to allow women educators to take leadership positions both at the central and the district levels. In addition to senior policy level posts, each of Balochistan's 26 districts was assigned a post of female District Education Officer (DEO), with full staff and resources. This dramatically expanded the number of female education administrators at the local level from two to 26. Additional posts for female administrators at the subdistrict level were created to closely manage and support rural and far-flung girls' primary schools and teachers. Currently, 13 out of the 26 districts have fully operational female DEO offices. Due to the small number of girls schools in some districts, some female DEOs have administrative authority for neighboring districts.

Women educators received ample opportunities to progress in the newly-formed directorate. Previously a female could only advance to the grade 18 post of Divisional Education Officer for female schools. Under the new rules, a female education officer, based on seniority and ability, could advance to the top post of Director of Primary Education in Balochistan, at grade 20. The Directorate of Primary Education has a grade-19 level Additional Director's position permanently reserved for a female candidate. The first woman to hold this post was promoted from the position of principal of a female teacher training college. In addition, females filled two other senior Deputy Director's posts in the new directorate.

Challenge: Administrators not Using Statistical Information for Policy Decisions

The newly established BEMIS had an ever-expanding database of information on schools that had the potential to significantly improve educational planning and decision making. But although the BEMIS system had begun to make education information available to decision makers at all levels of the government, very few were using it to make decisions.

Response: Strengthening BEMIS and Increasing Its Local Presence

Sensing an inadequate use of information, the Director of Primary Education and his teams organized training sessions for education officers, both senior and junior, on the use of information for decision making. During one of the training sessions, the District Education Officers (DEOs) were given data on schools, students, and teachers in their districts and were asked to prepare the district's education profile. This helped them learn to study data carefully and identify inconsistencies. BEMIS also trained DEOs (both male and female) and their staff to collect school, student, and teacher data. This data is now gathered twice a year and cross-checked to reduce inconsistencies.

When the Directorate for Primary Education became a permanent government office, BEMIS was strengthened through provision of up-to-date equipment and additional support from both local and international computer experts. The school mapping system was introduced in 1994-95, and became the only one of its kind in an educational setting in the subcontinent.

Complying with approved annual plans, the education department created computer operators' and specialists' posts for each district education office. Those district education offices with electricity and adequate facilities to host a computer system were provided with a mini-BEMIS system. Currently, 73 percent of the district education offices in Balochistan have a fully

operational Education Management Information System. Some district offices are also using email to communicate with the central office.

During recent interviews with senior and junior education officers in Balochistan, the author learned that the information produced by BEMIS is now being used regularly by a majority of education managers. The information is especially important while making decisions on school construction or repair and in forming clusters for teacher training.

Challenge: Administrators Lacked Firsthand Knowledge of Primary Education Issues

Since the primary education program in Balochistan was new, secondary school teachers initially filled most of the posts in the Directorate of Primary Education. While these new administrators had relatively high education qualifications (M.A or M.Ed.), many lacked the skills to do justice to their new responsibilities. With the development and expansion of primary education in the province and the creation of administrative posts at all levels, it became necessary to provide specialized management training to the new administrators.

Response: Management Training for New Education Administrators

Strengthening the capacity of the directorate to meet the needs of primary schools and teachers included strengthening human resource management, information systems management, and accounts administration training. Both senior and junior officers received professional development training in institutes in Pakistan, at universities and colleges in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Malaysia, Indonesia, Bangladesh, and South Korea. Almost all district education officers, both male and female, received some kind of professional development training. Training participants also included education department personnel (male and female) at all levels.

Numerous in-country workshops were also organized to plan and implement strategies for effective delivery of primary education in the province. This included workshops on monitoring and supervision, project and general operational planning, curriculum development and assessment, community participation, and teacher training and development.

In all areas of human resource development, the program has been very much the result of collaborative planning between the Directorate of Primary Education and the long-term team of technical advisors. Although the training has improved the general education management culture in the province, interdepartmental transfers and retirements create an ongoing need for renewal and professional development on a large scale.

Box 1. Achieving Gender Equality in Training

The former technical advisor of the BPEP program recalled the following incident:

“We sent a letter to the education secretariat stating that funding was available to send 10 education officers for one month of management training in the United States. The next day we received a list of 10 proposed participants, seven of them men. When I called [the secretariat] on the phone and said that an equal number of men and women must be nominated for this training, I was informed that there were no more qualified women. I then replied that ‘I see the names of three women here, so we have to reduce the number of men from seven to three and send only six people to the United States.’ By the end of that business day, I was provided with another list by the same people. This list had the names of 12 qualified women and about 18 men, out of which we had to choose five from each gender. After this incident, all training sessions included equal numbers of men and women.”

—From an interview with the author

Initiative 2: Improving Educational Quality

Challenge: Need to Coordinate Efforts to Improve Primary School Curriculum and Textbooks

In the early 1990s, Pakistan's National Education Policy for Primary Education indicated that textbooks needed to be made more relevant to the local environment, better address children's needs, and recognize the role of families and communities in the education process. In 1990, as part of the PEDP, an instructional material and training unit evolved to cater to the instructional needs of students and teachers in Balochistan. At about the same time, UNICEF sponsored a Primary Education Curriculum Reform project to produce supplementary instructional materials for students and teachers. In addition, the government of Balochistan, with assistance from the international technical advisors' team, had developed plans to reform all the primary school textbooks in the province.

The Balochistan textbook program was approved by the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education in Islamabad. In 1992, the future Deputy Director of the curriculum unit in Balochistan and other concerned government officers participated in a trip to Egypt and Jordan to study the instructional material development process in these two countries. The information gathered from the study tour helped government officers conceptualize the framework and processes needed to establish an instructional material development facility in Balochistan.

Meetings and discussions held in 1992–93 among senior representatives of BPEP, the Directorate of Primary Education, and the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension focused on three types of material that should be in classrooms throughout Balochistan: (i) student centered, pilot-tested books; (ii) teacher guides; and (iii) supplementary material.

Response: Creation of the Balochistan Instructional Material Development and Training Cell

Out of all these various activities, the Balochistan Instructional Material Development and Training Cell (BIMDTC) was established in 1993 under the Directorate of Primary Education.

The objectives of the BIMDTC were to (i) develop, test, and produce gender sensitive, quality instructional materials for all primary classes (K-5); (ii) provide on-the-job training to teachers in curriculum development, text writing, and desktop publishing; and (iii) develop and/or select appropriate supplementary materials based on National Curriculum Documents, primary textbooks, and teachers' and students' needs.

Even though Balochistan has made significant progress in terms of overall primary education improvement and gender equality in education management structure, the gender dimensions in curriculum development were only marginally addressed. It is important to mention that the current curriculum at the primary education level demonstrates a major improvement in terms of catering to multigrade teaching and activity-based learning. It is also interesting to note that several books at the primary level show women in professional roles. But several of these changes in curriculum were made without concerted efforts to "gender sensitize" the teaching force in the province. As is mentioned in the case study, the major concern of the government in Balochistan was to provide some kind of training to its untrained teachers. Therefore, the efforts to upgrade the basic skills of teachers were given much more attention than to those concentrating on gender training.

This shows that there is a real need to shore up educational reforms with efforts to improve the quality of education and ensure that both instructional content and instructional methodologies are adapted to be more appropriate and consistent with girls' and their families' educational expectations. It is clear from this case study that this can present special challenges. Improving educational quality is difficult in and of itself. Ensuring that gender issues are incorporated in improved curricula and teachers are provided training on instructional methodologies which focus on gender dimension is even more challenging. There is obviously a role here for international and donor agencies.

Challenge: Staffing the BIMDTC

Since 1993, BIMDTC has matured into a fully operational unit producing instructional materials, but obtaining permanent staff to work on its many tasks has been a constant struggle. There were few computer-literate primary school teachers available to assist in primary school curriculum development. Many of these teachers were doing an excellent job in their schools and local education administrators were unwilling to let them go and work in the curriculum unit fearing that their absence would have a negative impact on the school where they were assigned.

Response: Hire Staff from Schools on a Contract Basis

Many primary teachers and other personnel were hired by BIMDTC as contract staff to write and field test new books. Although they subsequently returned to their respective schools, they have carried with them skills that may be used again once further changes in the books are required.

A total of 34 books have been developed by BIMDTC for primary grade levels K through 5. These books incorporate the National Curriculum goals and Balochistan's unique social context. Currently, every primary school in Balochistan is using these new, activity-based textbooks. For children in grades 1 through 3, the Science, Math, Urdu, Islamiyat, and Social Studies books were integrated into a single text. All primary level books now include special learning activities and lessons for students to perform on their own if or when teachers are busy with other students.

Challenge: Resistance to New Textbooks

Introducing new and very different textbooks into a 50-year old school system was not easy. Many teachers complained about "too many pictures and activities" in the newly introduced books.

Response: Train Teachers in the Use of New Textbooks

Through rigorous in-service and cluster training sessions, teachers' confidence in understanding and then using the new books in class has developed. The Mobile Female Teacher Training Units (see below) were the key to providing in-service training to all rural and urban teachers.

Challenge: More Rural Teachers Needed

More teachers were needed for primary schools as the government's PEDP initiative led to the opening of new schools. The need was greatest for female teachers in rural areas, as the

number of girls gaining access to school for the first time was proportionately large, and parents were more willing to send their girls' to schools if there were female teachers.

Response: Create More Teaching Posts and Train More Teachers Locally

In response to the information gained through the school census, in 1992 the government of Balochistan and the provincial assembly promised unrestricted resources for establishing female teaching posts and schools in rural areas. Female access and equity in education became a major theme of the PEDP program.

Although new teaching posts were being created along with new school construction, the problem of *availability* of rural females to be appointed as teachers remained. What was needed was a process through which qualified rural female candidates could be identified, selected, and trained to serve as primary teachers in their own areas.

A new approach for Balochistan, which had never been tried before, was to identify and train local women to serve as teachers in their own villages. A woman from the village is more likely to remain there and attend to her classroom responsibilities. The human resource survey had shown that many women living in rural areas of Balochistan were willing, and had the basic pre-qualifications, to be trained as teachers. The survey information was used to identify clusters of villages containing such eligible young women.

Challenge: Need to Improve Teachers' Qualifications and Skills

Many of the women available to teach in rural areas held only eighth grade certificates from middle school. To be appointed as a teacher, the minimum qualification was a tenth grade certificate (matric). The expansion of primary schools for girls required the education department in Balochistan to become more flexible about the matric qualification requirement for potential teacher candidates in rural schools and allow females who have passed the eighth grade to be teachers. In addition, a training system had to be developed to cater to the special training needs of these women. The prevalent practice of "*pardah*," for instance, requires many women to cover their faces, and restricts their travel and social activities. Training needed to be provided at a local location, so that potential rural teachers could take part in the training without the social pressure of being away from home for extended periods.

Response: Creation of the Mobile Female Teacher Training Unit (MFTTU)

In response to the above considerations, the Mobile Female Teacher Training Unit (MFTTU) program was developed. This new training program would take training directly to teachers, instead of bring them to the training. The MFTTU was developed in 1992 with joint funding from UNICEF, the government of Balochistan, and funds remaining from the USAID grant to Balochistan. The government formally approved the waiver of the tenth grade requirement and authorized women with eighth grade certificates to be trained as teachers in rural schools. These teachers were required to upgrade their educational skills through distance or private education within three years of formal school opening in their village.

The MFTTU training program development was assigned to the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension (BOCE) under the Department of Education. BOCE was responsible for all teacher training in Balochistan. BOCE received technical assistance for the MFTTU program from foreign technical advisors. The main idea behind the MFTTU was to create mobile training units to train rural teachers in a cluster in or near their own villages.

Data from the 1989–90 Human Resources Survey was used to identify village clusters in the province with a sufficient number of suitable female trainees to make the training cost effective. The first MFTTU was implemented in Khanozai, a subdistrict near Quetta, with two trainers and 12 teacher candidates. A technical assistance team consisting of the BOCE members and foreign experts closely supervised the training. Ten of the women completed the three-months of training and two dropped out for personal reasons. After their training, each of the 10 certified teachers was appointed to a primary school in her own village. Eight of the trainees started girls' primary schools in their villages, with a net enrollment rate of 86 percent and higher. In the remaining two villages, problems not related to the MFTTU led to significant delays in opening schools.

Challenge: Need to Develop an Appropriate MFTTU Training Curriculum

Developing an appropriate teacher training curriculum was viewed as the MFTTU's greatest challenge. MFTTU needed a modified training package that would provide quality training compatible with existing basic teacher training standards, would be easily understood by trainers, and could be conducted in a condensed time period.

Response: Develop a Condensed Curriculum

The need to train teachers within a relatively short time period was resolved by developing a condensed training program. The existing Primary Teacher Certificate (PTC) training curriculum used in government-run teacher training colleges was a nine-month course of study. But schools in rural areas would run into operational problems if teachers were taken away for nine months, since substitute teachers were not available. The foreign consultant hired to help develop the MFTTU curriculum selected and trained a team of teacher educators and subject specialists, headed by the Director of BOCE. This team carefully condensed the PTC curriculum from nine months to three months. The condensed course was appropriate for implementation during the three-month school vacation period.

Core curriculum constructs were retained and the amount of actual contact hours between teacher candidates and trainers was maintained at approximately 90 percent of that prescribed for the longer PTC training. An absence from training for more than four days during the total three-month training period could disqualify a teacher from receiving the certificate. During later evaluation, it was found that the actual contact time between trainers and trainees in MFTTU was greater than in regular government training settings, which were frequently disturbed by teacher strikes and other disruptions.

Challenge: The Need to Find Good MFTTU Trainers

In Balochistan, educators at teacher training colleges were usually interim staff, chosen from the secondary school teacher cadre in urban areas. They were generally untrained and not interested in training rural teachers, who needed extra attention and time.

Response: Recruit Local Candidates

Because the candidates for MFTTU training were teachers in rural areas, BOCE officials decided that the trainers should be hired from local high schools and should have qualifications equal to those of teachers in the regular training colleges. Selecting trainers from the local areas gave them the benefit of local awareness and increased their accountability to the nearby schools. These trainers received advanced training, supplementary teaching materials, and technical

support. Assembly halls at secondary schools within daily commuting distance for teacher candidates were transformed into temporary centers for MFTTU training during school vacation periods.

Challenge: Rapid Expansion of the MFTTU Leads to Multiple Problems

Based upon the initial success of the first MFTTU training program in Khanozai, the government decided to expand the program into other areas of the province where there was interest in girls' education and a cluster of 10 or more villages that could support the MFTTU concept. The expansion of MFTTU soon ran into following problems:

- Many teacher candidates participating in MFTTU came from population centers, not from villages, but obtained fake documents in an effort to get training and the government teaching post. They had no intention of teaching in rural villages.
- Many of the girls' primary schools started by newly trained teachers soon closed down because teachers were absent and there was no local support.

Response: Reflection and Identification of Problem Areas

The MFTTU was put on temporary hold and the situation was reassessed. Why had the initial training session at Khanozai been successful and subsequent sessions a disappointment?

Some elements of success in Khanozai:

- Before MFTTU training began in Khanozai, the government officers visited the villages to ensure that a sufficient number of primary school-age girls actually wanted to go to school and that the teachers actually resided in the villages.
- The Khanozai area was committed to education, and village leaders and parents had stepped forward early to support the schools.
- The female Divisional Education Officer located in Quetta directly supervised the new Khanozai schools.
- Khanozai's educated leaders agreed to provide tutoring and other support to their local teachers.
- Khanozai women agreed to help teachers take care of small children in the school.

In areas where MFTTU was not successful:

- The villages targeted for new schools were not visited in advance to validate support for girls' education. Politics played a role in selection of the target areas and teacher candidates.
- There were no female education officers to verify the qualification documents of candidates. The male education officers could not do the verification properly due to social constraints and gave in to political and other pressures. In addition, male officers were preoccupied with boys' schools and saw MFTTU and girls' education as an additional burden.

- The quality of training delivered at the MFTTU sites was poor, due to lack of regular supervision by a female education officer.

To address these issues, several initiatives were taken over the next few years, such as creation of additional posts of female education administrators at the local level, additional training of the MFTTU trainers, and involvement of communities. Of these initiatives, the most successful was the community support program (CSP), an initiative that mobilized rural communities to actively support their local schools and teachers. This program is described in detail in the next section.

Initiative 3: Involving Communities in Expanding Primary Education for Girls

Challenge: Need for Communities to Support Their Schools and Teachers

Research about teaching identifies three key factors in improving teaching practices (Yoder 1992):

- Instructional material and methodology;
- Techniques of classroom management; and
- Teachers' relationships with students and community members.

While instructional materials and classroom management techniques were being addressed by MFTTU trainers and new curriculum development in Balochistan, the creation and nurturing of a relationship between the teacher and community members needed further attention.

Response: Constituency Building at the Community Level—The Community Support Program

The need to strengthen community support for schools led to the development of the Community Support Program (CSP), the objective of which was to create within teachers and community members a sense of school ownership. This sense of ownership required that all those directly affected by the school establish an ongoing dialogue about school functioning and related support services.

To facilitate a partnership between community members, teachers, and local education officers, a step-wise process of opening schools in rural villages was developed. The step-wise process leads the community development expert and community members to follow chronological steps, after which a girls' primary school is formally sanctioned in a village. The process clearly defines the roles and responsibilities of community workers, village members, government officers, and teachers. These roles and responsibilities must be fulfilled before the formal opening of a school. This process focuses on interaction of teachers with community through weekly and monthly meetings. All parents participate with education officers in selecting their local teachers. During a village survey, a potential teacher candidate is introduced to every household in the village. The government agrees to provide school buildings, teachers' salaries, training for the teachers, and instructional materials, while communities agree to ensure teachers' personal security and facilitate regular attendance by students and teacher. The community also assists with tutoring services to teachers, teachers' transportation to and from the training site, minor repairs and maintenance at the school, and liaison with the district education offices. To ensure continuity of community participation in their school, the local education officer or NGO representative visits the village regularly to monitor and guide village members.

Challenge: Need for Female School Administrators at the Local Levels

Although the community support initiative created a basic support structure for teachers at the village level, close supervision and support of school activities had to be ensured by creation of female administrative posts at the district and subdistrict levels.

Response: Creation of New Female Administrative Posts

While communities were being mobilized and teacher training was in process, the senior-level government officers, technical advisors' team, and donors were in the process of modifying the service rules to create additional female administrative posts at the local level.

Creating these female district education offices had a very positive impact on rural communities. Having women in positions of responsibility and authority over female schools further stimulated the development of female education in Balochistan. Women were better able than men to work with teachers and mothers in Balochistan. The new administrators also served as role models and gave young women the hope of promotion within the education system. The responsibility for community mobilization and rural teacher support was included in the newly developed job description of the district education officers.

The initial success of the community support program in Balochistan served as a catalyst to advance overall educational reform policies. In the villages where it had been implemented, CSP helped to increase schooling opportunities for all, especially for girls. Creation of village education committees had a positive impact on boys' schools also where male teachers' attendance improved.

Challenge: The Need for Oversight of Community Mobilization Efforts

In the beginning of the CSP implementation, it was realized by the Director of Primary Education and donors that most of the newly appointed DEOs lacked financial resources as well as technical expertise to undertake the community mobilization task. As expansion of girls' primary education was a major goal of the government, the government's first step was to sign a contract with the Society for Community Support for Primary Education in Balochistan (hereafter, "the Society"), an NGO. The assignment for the Society was to facilitate CSP implementation throughout the province. The Society was established in 1993 with financial support from the government, UNICEF, and the Trust for Voluntary Organizations (TVO) to improve communications between remote communities and district education offices. At the beginning of the program, many DEOs felt uncomfortable about an NGO "taking over their responsibilities."

Response: Institutionalizing the Successful CSP

The NGO field workers held regular meetings with the DEOs and kept them informed of all development at the village level. On many occasions, the DEOs themselves attended several village meetings. The Society management also organized several DEO training sessions to clarify the community support process goals and objectives for all partners. The message was that the NGO is just a facilitator of partnership between communities and government (DEOs), and that government must start taking responsibility for responding to the local communities' educational needs.

As government officials observed the many benefits of the CSP, they sought to find ways to ensure that the program would be widely adopted and institutionalized. All DEOs assigned a representative from their offices to accompany the NGO team during the village or school visit. This provided hands-on training to DEO office personnel. In addition, the DEOs themselves attended quarterly meetings with a cluster of village education committee members. These steps have slowly and gradually led to the acceptance, by local education officers, of the positive role of the local community in school management and teacher selection.

The Community Support Program has been one of the most important programs for the development of girls' education in Balochistan and has given more than 1,200 females the opportunity to be trained as teachers. The transparent process of teacher selection, testing, and training and the increasingly active role of mothers in supporting the school has given rural parents confidence that if their daughters study, they may also get a job in the local school.

During recent interviews with various district education officers, the author was told that, through the CSP, "each and every village" in Balochistan had the chance to establish a school for girls. From 1993 to 1998, with NGO support, district education officers visited more than 5,000 villages and established 890 community-supported schools. More than 55,000 girls are now enrolled in these community-supported schools. According to a BPEP and NGO report, the girls' enrollment rate, on average, in community-supported villages is 86 percent. With the support of three other NGOs, local education offices, and international donors, the government of Balochistan is planning to establish 430 new girls' primary schools by June 30, 1999.

The CSP has not only worked from the "bottom up" in organizing community support, but it helped facilitate "top-down" government reforms in teacher employment and training policies, management information, and expenditure allocation. The success of the CSP is determined by the extent to which provincial education officers have been willing to accept their roles as partners with communities in educational development. In 1993, the Balochistan government announced that all new girls' primary schools in the province would be established with community and parent participation. In addition, the Society was given a target of facilitating the opening of 120 girls' primary schools every year through community participation.

Challenge: Village Women Lacked a Formal Role in the Schools

Through their membership in village committees, men were getting more involved in girls' education. But male committee members were not able to interact with female teachers on a regular basis due to social restrictions. They suggested that females in the village, who lacked such an organized way of participating in the new schools, help with monitoring the schools. At the same time, it was becoming clear that the mere creation of new teaching posts and the construction of new school buildings was not enough to ensure that girls enrolled and stayed in school.

Response: Formation of Women's Village Education Committees (WVECs)

These two problems were addressed simultaneously by the formation of Women's Village Education Committees (WVECs), which have proven to be one of the most promising features of community-supported schools. Once the village members (men) suggested the idea of enlisting more women to help with the schools, NGO teams stepped in to help mobilize and motivate women to take a more active role in local girls' school management.

By June 1997 there were 639 WVECs supporting local teachers and schools. While the men's committees are responsible for managing matters outside of the school boundaries, the WVECs (staffed mostly by mothers of the schoolchildren) are responsible for making sure girls come to school regularly and in clean uniforms. When a girl stops coming to school, WVEC members are also responsible for talking with the mother and bringing the child back to school.

In an area such as Balochistan, where a mother's role is generally limited only to household responsibilities, WVECs have become an important "pressure group" responsible for ensuring maximum girls' enrollment. The NGO teams provide special training to the WVECs, focusing on general cleanliness, basic hygiene, and female adult literacy. In many communities, the school teachers also provide basic adult literacy lessons to interested mothers in the evening, thereby creating new awareness and demand for female education.

Box 2. A Women's Committee in Action: Sami Village, Turbat, Balochistan

According to the head teacher of the girls' school in Sami village:

"Before the girls' school began here, there was no tradition of education. When the NGO established the school, girls started coming here. All the girls were coming in dirty clothes and [with] torn books. My initial school was near a water channel. I bought some soap and a comb, and every day when girls would come to school dirty, I used to take them to the water channel, give them a bath, and comb their hair. When girls went home all cleaned up, mothers realized that cleanliness was important. Later, when a girl came to school in dirty clothes, I used to send her back to be washed by the mother. Then, through the women's committee's monthly meetings, I told them about basic hygiene. [The members of the committee then passed this information on to others.] Slowly and gradually the general trend of cleanliness began in our village. Now all children go to school in clean uniforms and [with] clean books. Another NGO has started evening literacy classes for mothers. I teach them in the evening. Now mothers and daughters are learning together."

—From an interview with the author, October 1997

Challenge: Teachers Needed Ongoing and Supplemental Training

While the number of girls' schools was increasing at a steady rate, teaching *quality* remained a concern. After two years of MFTTU and CSP program implementation, it became clear that, given the deficiencies in the early education experience of teaching candidates, the MFTTU program and community support alone were not adequate for upgrading teaching skills, especially of those teachers who had only eighth grade certificates.

Response: The Field Teacher Training Program

Field teacher training evolved as an additional way to address ongoing problems with teacher training and took the MFTTU program a step further. Under this concept, specially prepared field trainers, chosen from among those who had worked with teachers in the MFTTU program, provided on-the-job assistance to teachers after the MFTTU sessions ended. In this capacity, field trainers worked more as coaches than as "trainers."

Field trainers, as their name implies, traveled to distant communities for extended periods. They spent, on average, two to three days in a village, living in teachers' homes at night and observing and guiding them during school hours. Field trainers worked with teachers in the schools and also facilitated teachers' interaction with community members. The field trainer's work had four important characteristics:

- Teachers were often familiar with the field trainer, who had taught them under MFTTU for three months, so a level of trust was already established between the two.
- The field trainers were familiar with the learning problems of trainees and were better able to address them in a real classroom situation.

- The teacher and her trainer were able to develop teaching materials according to individual needs of a school.
- Field trainers helped teachers gain respect and recognition through the trainers' facilitation of interaction between teachers and community members.

The field trainers proved to be an effective supplement to the evolving MFTTU program, and their work complemented an ongoing support system to energize rural female teachers. The rural female teacher became a central figure around which several training, support, and development components evolved.

In addition to providing field teacher trainers for rural females, the positive results of MFTTU led the education department to expand it to include all of the 8,000 previously untrained rural male and female teachers in Balochistan, most of whom were posted in primary schools without any training. It is estimated that, by the end of 1995, *all* untrained teachers in Balochistan had received the primary teacher's certificate training through the mobile units.

Balochistan Primary Education Development Program (BPEP)—Current Initiatives

With the increase in educational facilities, parents in Balochistan have become enfranchised and increasingly demand that the quality of educational services improve in step with the quantity. The final years of BPEP (1996–99) are thus characterized by a major shift in emphasis from infrastructure development to quality improvement.

To cement the progress made in the first half of the 1990s, the government of Balochistan launched the **Primary Education Quality Improvement Program (PEQIP)** in 1996, with financial assistance from the Netherlands government. PEQIP supports children and teachers in the classroom by creating partnerships between communities and local education offices, and by providing pre-service and in-service training to teachers. PEQIP continues to establish community-supported girls' primary schools in remote areas of Balochistan with NGO support. Four other local NGOs, which were spun off from the principal NGO (the Society) are now assisting the government in extending the community support program to the most remote areas of the province. In addition, PEQIP is expanding the field-based teacher training program, in which trainers travel to rural schools and provide on-the-job training to teachers.

A New Mentoring Program for Teachers

An additional initiative in Balochistan (1996), which is a result of combining strategies from mobile training, field teacher training, and the district-level initiatives of education officers, is the **Primary Teacher Mentoring Program**. This program, which currently operates in six districts of Balochistan, will be expanded in regular increments until all 26 districts of the province are covered.

The PTMP was first developed and tested by two male district education officers (DEOs) during 1994–95 in their districts (Jaffarabad and Quetta), without any foreign technical support or guidance. These two men, seeking to improve the skills of teachers in their districts, began a cluster training program that required minimal resources. According to one of the DEOs who initiated this program, the purpose of upgrading teachers' skills was also to weaken the teachers' union. Interviewed for this study, he asserted that:

“... teacher's unions in Balochistan thrive on ignorance and weak teachers. Once I started the cluster training program in my district, teachers became confident in their dealing with children and got a sense of progress by going to school every day. This helped us loosen the control of teachers' unions, which were basically there to protect the incompetent teachers. I formed 293 clusters in my area and tried to cover every teacher.”

The sustainability of the PTMP was an important concern. As had already been proven by the two district examples, cluster training could be organized using available resources at the DEO office. The technical advisor for teacher training of the BPEP and other provincial teacher training experts were brought in to help ensure training quality.

For the mentoring training, district education officers receive a map of their districts produced by BEMIS, showing a preliminary clustering of villages and schools, to help them with the clustering process. The DEOs are then asked to adjust these computer-generated clusters based on their more intimate knowledge of the districts. Ten clusters of 30 to 40 teachers are formed in a district. These clusters are usually near the district education office to make implementation and monitoring more manageable. Teachers are placed in clusters in such a way that no teacher must travel more than 16 kilometers from the training site, minimizing the need to

pay teachers a travel and accommodation allowance. Not all teachers are included in the initial training, but a phased expansion of clusters in each district takes place gradually.

DEOs then nominate the most capable primary teacher from each cluster as a mentor/trainer for other teachers in that cluster. The nominees are screened and substitute candidates are identified in case the first nominees are not up to the mark. The selected mentors are then trained for eight weeks in a special course at Agha Khan University in Karachi. At least 30 mentors from different districts must participate in the training. The training focuses on such topics as mentoring, problem solving, reflective practices, and teaching methodologies.

Following the initial training of mentors, the mentor oversees a two-day workshop held every month at the training site for teachers. These workshops focus on areas where the participants need special help and also attempts to solve problems they anticipate encountering in the future. Sometimes another workshop participant can come up with a solution to a problem. If not, the problem is sent to the DEO, who relays it (if necessary) to the teacher training team at the provincial level. Provincial trainers then come up with a solution, develop simple teaching materials to address the problem, and send it back to the DEO.

Currently, more than 1,200 teachers are enrolled in the teacher mentoring program. Teacher training experts at the provincial level and the DEO travel to the monthly training sites to provide guidance to the mentors. In addition, the mentors receive monthly training to continuously upgrade and improve their skills. This creates an ongoing feedback loop from month to month that involves players at three levels: mentors and teachers in clusters, the teacher trainers and the DEO at the district level, and teacher trainers at the provincial level. As the mentors gain confidence and facility in their role, it is anticipated that they themselves will do more of the problem solving and development of simple materials to use in monthly training workshops. This is desirable in itself and will also help to minimize the inputs needed from Quetta, keep the program manageable and sustainable as it expands to all of Balochistan's districts. Other elements of the PTMP's success include the fact that it directly addresses teachers' needs and that it is administered in a decentralized way by the local district education offices, which helps to keep costs down.

Conclusion: Factors in the Success of Balochistan's Primary Education Reforms

Policies create the environment and framework for change, but only people and their actions can make change a reality. In this context, BPEP has demonstrated remarkable success. There are 159 percent as many girls enrolled in primary classes in 1998 as were enrolled in 1990, and the increase in girls' primary schools is 241 percent over the last eight years. These are remarkable achievements, particularly for a program implemented under extremely bureaucratic conditions, which faced severe opposition from teachers' unions during its initial implementation. The following are three major elements that have contributed to the province's successful efforts to reform primary education.

1. Synergy Between Program Policies and Implementation Strategies

BPEP was designed to include both policy and program initiatives that focused on improving girls' education in the province. In many cases policy changes (included as condition precedents in the funding documents of donors), political will, and program implementation strategies reinforced each other, thus maximizing program effectiveness. Conditions set by both the government and donors focused on girls, female teachers, teacher training, and rural schools. Government officials, with strong support from technical assistance teams, made implementation of policies a reality. The program implementation strategies in Balochistan were based on practical solutions, reflections, corrections, constituency building, and efforts to enlist the support of program opponents.

2. Long-term Commitment and Stability

Donors and government designed the BPEP as a 10-year program and were able to basically stick to their original goals despite inevitable changes in the program. After USAID's departure in 1992, the Balochistan government and donors, now including the World Bank, remained guided by the initial plan.

The role of *long-term technical assistance* has been of particular importance in Balochistan, including foreign technical assistance for all major program components (administration and management, teacher training, curriculum development, community participation, construction, and information systems). There was also remarkable continuity in the technical advisory teams. The first chief technical advisor, who was also the team leader for administration and management, remained in Balochistan for six continuous years. He was a management expert, a politically savvy bureaucratic player, and risk taker. He teamed up with compatible government counterparts, stimulated and supported institutional development, *shared accountability* for program implementation and saw the international effort build visible momentum. Subsequent team leaders have shown the same type of leadership.

The government participants have also been committed over the long term. The job continuity of major policy makers such as the Additional Chief Secretary for Planning and Development, Additional Secretary of Education, several Deputy Directors, and the Assistant Director for Donor Coordination contributed to the excellent long-term working relationship between donor representatives and government personnel. In addition, the various technical assistance teams were well integrated with the government offices they worked with.

Since multiple actors and institutions were all aiming at the same target, different opposing groups were not able to significantly undermine or halt the progress of reforms. Later,

as momentum and consensus grew, each additional initiative could begin at a more advanced baseline, resulting in greater impact and acceptance of the initiatives.

3. A Partnership Approach

The education reforms in Balochistan relied on a true *partnership* between donors, government, NGOs, and local communities. The very design of the program focused on gathering donor resources and channeling them through the education secretariat, thereby avoiding overlap in terms of programs and finances. In addition, from the process of teacher selection to actual school construction, parents were involved at every stage of local initiative. This strategy further strengthened the government and community partnership at the local level.

Lessons Learned

The BPEP experience demonstrates that:

- Change agents, including donors, government officers, NGOs, and communities, must develop a *deep understanding* of the system in order to effectively market and implement reforms.
- The reform process is a continuous learning experience that takes time. If things happen too fast they may be nonsustainable, since the initial change may only be in surface behavior.
- Reflection and appropriate *corrective actions* are needed to strengthen the change process and ensure sustainability of programs.
- Educational reform requires local participation. Local communities and officials are more likely to identify innovative solutions to their educational problems than are central administrators because they better understand the local situation and the available options. Encouraging local education officers and communities to help in the design and implementation of the programs leads to local ownership.
- Bureaucracies can be encouraged to change rules, regulations, and procedures. To do this, however, they need to be presented with clear program concepts, suggestions with appropriate documentation, and practical examples. Foreign technical advisors and task managers must work as partners with bureaucrats and learn the art of “listening,” rather than simply working on their own agendas.
- Relevant training and guidance of government officers and bureaucrats is necessary to strengthen the change process.
- *Most importantly*, female leadership is necessary to promote female education. Female teachers, especially in the rural areas, feel more comfortable dealing with female education managers. Female leaders also serve as role models for girls, parents, and teachers in schools.

Balochistan—Outlook after 1999

Although much still needs to be done, the government of Balochistan has made remarkable progress toward providing many children in the province with access to education. There is, however, some concern that the momentum of progress may slow down or come to a gradual halt if the government commitment to the reform process weakens.

The final years of the program (1998–99) are crucial in terms of ensuring that active government support for girls' education does not waver. Although international donors have made formal financial commitments only through 1999, several have indicated a willingness to continue their support beyond that time *if* the government of Balochistan remains an active partner in the process. The political will, strong technical support, and sense of direction and initiative on the part of both government and donors must continue in order to capitalize further on the significant gains already made in Balochistan.

Currently, many dedicated district-level education officers in Balochistan feel more confident, parents feel a part of the system, teachers for girls' primary schools are being recruited through a transparent process, and female education officers are gaining visibility and status. Regardless of what happens beyond 1999, the many ongoing education initiatives in Balochistan will help to ensure that these achievements are solid and sustainable. Continued political support and the commitment of government bureaucrats to doing a better job may take the province even further.

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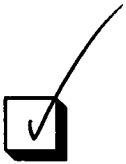


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EFF-089 (3/2000)