# The Role Of Pluralistic Educational System In Pakistan In Creating And Reinforcing Oppressive Class Structure In The Larger Society: A Case Study Of Lahore

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## CERTIFICATE

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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my late grandfather, Mr. Ghulam Hussain.

## ABSTRACT

The research on which this dissertation is based utilizes primary data. The field work for this dissertation was carried out in four schools of schools namely; Lahore Grammar School Paragon City, Lahore Grammar School (Landmark) Shalimar Town Branch, Govt. Boys High School Model Town Lahore and Government Girls High School Glucan e Ravi Lahore. The methods employed to collect primary data include Participant Observation, Interview Guides, Interview Schedules and Census Forms. The units of data collection for this research are a) students and teachers of selected schools, b) parents of the sampled students from each school, c) sampled functionaries of government and non-government bodies addressing policy making in the country and d) potential employers of the graduates of the selected schools. Another unit of data collection for this research is education policy documents of the country. In this research, the scholar has tried to figure out the relationship between privatization of education in Pakistan and emergence and reinforcement of the pluralistic education system. The other two concerns of this research include the issue of our pluralistic education system maintains exploitative economic class structure in the country and how that affects the future socio-economic prospects of the children belonging different classes.



**Key Words;** Pluralistic Education System, Education and Class Structure, Pluralistic Education System and Job Opportunities, Class System and Exploitation of the Have-nots by Haves.

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# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

Education is the process of facilitating learning. Through it, knowledge, skills, habits, values and beliefs are acquired (Dewey, 1916). It can take place in formal or informal settings. At the global level, the constitutions of 135 countries have made provision of free primary education for children mandatory for respective governments(UNESCO, 2010). Moreover, Article 26 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights clearly mentions that "everyone has the right to education". Hence, most of the nation states today agree upon the importance of education for all. That means everybody has a right to get educated whatever class, gender, color or creed he or she belongs to. This fact notwithstanding, in a lot of countries this is not happening in reality.

In today's globalized capitalist world, almost everything is being privatized and turned into a marketable commodity. Same is the case with education. This privatization of education has resulted in the creation of pluralistic educational system in many countries. Pluralistic educational system means the presence of more than one type of educational systems in the society. In other words, the privatization of education has divided the domain of education in to public and private institutions. This has resulted in deepening the social and economic inequality in the larger society and hierarchized the citizenry. This in turn has given birth to a vociferous debate among international academics and scholars about the relationship between education, politics and socio-economic inequalities of class and status groups. The social class debate in the sociology of education asks how class hierarchies are reproduced through different educational systems. This debate also tries to investigate whether privatization of education has become a tool of suppression and exploitation of lower classes on the hands of the rich.

"Social class is the division of society based on social and economic status" (Jones R. J., 2001, p. 161). For Marx, the class structure of a society comprises two main classes, the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat. The former controls most of the factors of production, latter being the non-propertied and working class that provides labor to the former at the cost of their own economic interests. This, as argued by Marx, results in the economic inequality and oppression of the have-nots by the haves. The haves, being the dominant economic class also control the political institutions of the society and use those according to their own interests(Andrew, 1983). My

assertion here is that the hierarchical and exploitative relationship between haves and have-nots in larger society is also manifested in pluralistic educational system. The bourgeoisie own private schools and run the same to make profit and thus perpetuate their superior position in the society.

Another voice in the scholarship in terms of class structure is that of Max Weber. He considers class position as determined by education and skills rather than the ownership of means of production (Weber in Jones, 1997). According to Weber, provision of equal opportunities to all in a society can harmonize the society and make it fairer.

Cornel Ronald West, the American philosopher and academician has also addressed this issue(West, 2000). He voices concern over the unchecked faith in the privatization of education that makes educational structure pluralistic. He points out that the pluralistic educational system has turned the quality of education into a privilege rather than a right. Thus, it is making poor more vulnerable to illiteracy, marginalization and oppression.

My stance here is that, the socioeconomic class of a person, that he/she belongs to, has multidimensional consequences. In case of education, particularly in pluralistic educational setups, the socioeconomic class of a person determines the school he/she will attend. Thus, it would not be inaccurate to say that the educational opportunities available to a person are very much defined by his or her socioeconomic position. A person, coming from a rich background can afford an expensive school with quality education. On the other hand, a person belonging to a lower economic class is not able to afford the fee of such schools and thus will get marginalized. The lack of ability of the lower classes to get their children educated in good schools perpetuates the class divide across generations.

Like many other countries across the world, educational system in Pakistan is of pluralistic nature. According to Zubeida Mustafa, Privatization of educational system and the presence of multiple education systems have resulted in limiting quality educational opportunities for the most part in hands of few and denial of education to many in the country(Mustafa, 2012). Ghulam Rasool Memon opines that the education sector in Pakistan is facing immense challenges of equity and justice because of pluralistic educational systems. In summation then I find myself in agreement with Memon that the presence of different types of schools, like elite private schools, non-elite private schools, public schools, and Madrassahs in Pakistan have multiple impacts on the life of

Pakistani citizens (Memon, 2007). I am further arguing that different types of schools mentioned above that exist in contemporary Pakistan differ along the axis of curriculum, medium of instruction, pedagogical processes, teachers training structures and trajectory. This in turn imparts different types of grooming to students coming from different backgrounds.

The educational system in Pakistan is divided into different tiers as discussed above. However, for the current research only three out of the four tiers have been studied namely the elite private schools, public schools and the non-elite private schools. The privatization of education has changed the way in which education is managed, organized and delivered. With the emergence of Elite private schools and Non-Elite Private Schools the difference in the quality between education in private and public schools has become obvious to the parents. Owing to this parental awareness parents don't want to send their children to substandard schools but they also can't afford elite private schools. Thus, the ultimate consequence of this paradox in the rural and sub-rural areas is that many children are not going to any kind of school. This situation has arisen because people now understand that quality education is a ladder for upward social mobility and there is no point in sending a child to a sub-standard school. It would be of no use to him/her. Good schools give one good career opportunities. People know that a child educated in a quality school can get a good job in future through which he/she can improve his/her socio-economic class. But, unfortunately, in case of Pakistan, good schooling is not affordable to all. Article 25 A of 1973 Pakistan constitution promises the right of free and compulsory education to all children between the age of five to sixteen years(Pakistan G. O., 1973), but the difference of quality of education in different types of school makes things complicated.

My interest in the current research is very narrow and modest. My stance is that education is central in the reproduction and maintenance of social inequalities. My broad area of academic interest is the articulation between education, politics and inequality in the country. My assertion is that the national educational policies, different school systems, pedagogical processes and the courses taught in school represent the hegemonic politics in Pakistan which in turn means few powerful people get advantage at the cost of the poor. Through my research, I have tried to bring out as to how the pluralistic educational system in Pakistan is being used in a derogatory fashion. This pluralism is creating and reinforcing the unfair power structure in the larger society through the provision of different types of education to people from different classes. Moreover, it has also

been investigated as to how Educational Pluralism because of privatization of education leads towards class oppression and perpetuation of the socioeconomic inequality in the larger society.

## 1.1 Statement of the Problem

As obvious from the preceding text my broad area of interest is to study and analyze the structure and dynamics of pluralistic education as a phenomenon. This for me, is a means to understand the socioeconomic and political consequences of the same. Ensuing out of this is my other interest namely engaging with the debate in sociology of education regarding prospects and consequences of pluralistic education. The research study intends to look at the broader concerns within Pakistan. As far as debates are concerned the proposed research is aligned with the position of Zubeida Mustafa and Ghulam Rasool Memon(Mustafa, 2012)(Memon, 2007). Thus, I have formulated my research position as follows:

"**The Role of the Pluralistic educational system in Pakistan in creating and reinforcing, the oppressive class structure, in the larger society: A case study of Lahore."**

I have operationalized this research problem into three hypotheses:

## 1.2 Research Hypotheses

1. Privatization of education in Pakistan has led to the enhancement of a pluralistic system of learning.
2. Pluralistic educational system in the country maintains the exploitative economic class structure in the same.
3. Maintenance of the exploitative class structure through educational pluralism determines future socio-economic prospects of children from different classes.

## 1.3 Objectives of Research

1. To understand the history of privatization of education in Pakistan. This involved researching and reconstructing the historic trajectory of education systems in Pakistan. This means that it has seen how over time education went from an exclusively public activity to being predominantly privatized commodity.
2. To study the relationship between the co-existence of private and public schools in Lahore with the maintenance of the class structure in the larger society. This involved

figuring out the articulation between private and public-school systems. Furthermore, I tried to unearth various dimensions of how bifurcation of education into public and private has contributed towards the reinforcing and perpetuation of class structure in the larger society.

3. To understand the impact of the interface between public and private schools in Lahore and the prospects of children from different classes. Building on the second objective, this aimed at seeing how educational pluralism in my locale has contributed towards creation and perpetuation of professional hierarchies in the larger society.

## 1.4-Key Terms

For the convenience of the reader and to make this research proposal more understandable, key terms used in it are defined as follows

### 1.4.1 Privatization:

**"**The transfer of the ownership of property or business from the government to a privately-owned entity" (Oxford Advance Learner Dictionary, 2005).I will use this definition in the context of privatization of educational system in my locale and see how it has resulted in the creation of multiple educational systems in the same.

### 1.4.2 Pluralism:

**"**A condition in which numerous distinct ethnic, religious, or cultural groups are present and tolerated within the society" (Oxford Advance Learner Dictionary, 2005). I am improvising upon this definition and defining pluralism with specific reference to Pakistani context. For this research, pluralistic educational system is not making the larger society tolerant but increasing the class gap between different classes. Thus, it is creating disequilibrium in the society overall.

### 1.4.3 Social reproduction:

**"**A sociological term referring to the emphasis on the structures and activities that transmit social inequality from one generation to the next" (Doob, 2013, p. 86). The same definition is used in the current research.

### 1.4.4 Social class:

**"**A division of the society based on social and economic basis" (Kuper, 2004, p. 151). I borrowed Kuper's definition for my research.

### 1.4.5 Education:

**"**The process of receiving or giving systematic instruction, especially at a school or university" (Dewey, 1916, p. 37).The same definition has been utilized in the current research.

### 1.4.6 Pluralistic educational system:

I am defining it as the presence of more than one type of educational system in my locale.

### 1.4.7 Public education system:

I am defining it as government schools maintained at the public expenditure.

### 1.4.8 Private educational system:

A school funded, conducted, and maintained by a private group rather than the government, usually charging very high tuition and often following a philosophical viewpoint etc.(Zaidi, 2011)

### 1.4.9 Elite private school system:

Elite Private Schools are the English medium schools which offer foreign curricula and 'O' 'A' level examination system. These schools follow Cambridge curriculum and have monthly fees that are more than double than the non-elite and public schools. The medium of instruction in these schools is always English and right from the first grade.

### 1.4.10 Non-Elite Private school system:

The English medium schools which offer local curricula and same examination system as in public schools. (Nagata, 2007). These schools don't follow Cambridge curriculum, have monthly fees between (500-7000), and have bilingual medium of instruction.

### 1.4.11 Globalization:

**“**The process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas and other aspects of the culture”(Albrow & King, 1990, p. 27).

### 1.4.12 Liberalization:

“The removal or loosening of restrictions on something, typically an economic or political system” (Oxford Advance Learner Dictionary, 2005)

# CHAPTER 2

# METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

## 2.1 Difference between Methodology and Methods

There is a difference between research methods and methodology. “Methodology is concerned with the logic of an enquiry; with investigating the potentialities and limitations of particular techniques and procedures. It deals with methods and the assumptions about the ways in which knowledge is produced. On the other hand, methods are the techniques and procedures used to collect, collate and analyze data”(Grix, 2004, p. 112).

## 2.2 Research Design

Research design is the framework in accordance to which methodological decisions are taken by the researcher and it also shows the epistemological and ontological position of the researcher. Bernard Russell in his book points out three types of research designs that are mostly employed in qualitative social science research. Namely, exploratory research design, descriptive research design and experimental research designs (Bernard, 1994).Moreover, he opines that the experimental research design is most appropriate for hypothesis based qualitative social research.

While discussing the advantages of experimental method in qualitative social science research, Russell opines that employing experimental research design in anthropology and other social sciences has many advantages. While discussing these advantages he asserts that, experimental research design allows a social science researcher in gaining an in-depth understanding of the natural events(Bernard, 1994).Bernard Russell asserts that there are four types of experimental research designs namely True experiment, Quasi True Experiment, Natural Experiment and Naturalistic experiment. For the purposes of current research, I have used the natural experiment research design.

### 2.2.1 Natural Experiments

“True experiments and quasi experiments are conducted and results are evaluated later. Natural experiments by contrast are going on around us all the time. They are not conducted by researchers

at all, they are simply evaluated. Here are four examples of common natural experiments: (a) some people choose to migrate from villages to cities, while others stay put. (b) Some villages in a region are provided with electricity, while some are not. (c) Some middle-class Chicano students go to college, some do not. (d) Some cultures practice female infanticide, some do not. The trick is to ask the right questions to understand the situation with reference to the topic of one's research and discover the relationship between different elements that constitute the social process or phenomenon being studied."(Bernard, 1994, pp. 133-134).

I decided to use Natural Experiment Research Design for several reasons

a- It allowed me to collect data from the natural habitat of my respondents.
b- It demanded that I be a participant observer in their lives. This in turn allowed me to obtain first-hand information about my respondents and their context.
c- Participant observation led me to gain in-depth &multidimensional information regarding the postulated cause and effect in the ongoing experiment.

## 2.3 Units of Data Collection

The unit/source of data collection can be a person, group of people, processes or entities that a researcher explores to get information relevant to his/her research topic. My research study is a multi-locale one. It is also a multi-level study in that, it connects educational system in Pakistan as it operates at the micro level (Lahore) with national policy making and process of globalization. The units of data collection in this research study are as follows:

1. Students of selected schools
2. Teachers of selected schools
3. Parents of the interviewed students
4. Education policy documents
5. Functionaries of Government and Non-Governmental Bodies dealing with education policy making.
6. Potential Employers in Public and Private sector of the graduates of the selected schools.

## 2.4 Methods

The methods discussed below have been used for the collection of data in the study.

### 2.4.1 Rapport Building

Rapport building is very important at the point of initiating a research. It entails establishing close and harmonious relationship with the people of the community that the researcher wants to work in. Through rapport building researcher gains the trust and confidence of the community. It becomes easier for people to relate with the researcher when he becomes an insider and this in turn facilitates the researcher in data collection exercise. Rapport is built by communicating with people in their language as well as behaving and acting just like local people. This is crux of how Bernard in his 1994 work defines rapport building.

### 2.4.2 Census Forms

It is a tool for "enumerating of family units and their membership (or a sample of such units) near the beginning of the field work" (Pelto & Pelto, 1978, p. 193). It allows the researcher to create a demographic profile of his/her locale/s. The data collected through census forms becomes a basis of sampling in the later part of my research.

### 2.4.3 Participant Observation

"Participant observation involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record accurate information about their lives" (Bernard, 1994, p. 342). Participant observation requires that the researcher lives in the community for a certain period and gets used to the local culture. He/she understands the community and experiences it the way that the local experience it. In my study, participant observation method started with the rapport building in schools and continued throughout my interaction with UDC 1 and UDC 2.

### 2.4.4 Interview Guide

"Interview guide is a tool in which a researcher figures out a finite number of broad areas of interest to him/her and formulates one or two questions for each area to be asked as a point of

departure for the discussion of that area. The backbone of an Interview guide is the concept of "**probe"**. The interviewer asks the questions she/he has formulated for each area and obtains details about that area by formulating subsequent questions based on responses he/she gets from the interviewee. The more probe done by the researcher within his/her broad areas of interest, the more the interview guide become useful for him/her. It is a very useful technique for a researcher to obtain in-depth information. The control of the interview, in case of an interview guide rests primarily with the interviewee. The role of the interviewer is that of a smart discoverer in a situation where the parameters of discovery are laid down by the interviewee. Thus, the authorship of the information obtained rests with the interviewee, disallowing the interviewer to impose his/her social reality onto the native's perception." (Khan, 2006, p. 61). The researcher through this method gets in depth, multidimensional and emic perception. I administered interview guides for UDC 1, 2, 3, and 6. These units of data collection required to be investigated in depth. Through interview guide I could conduct several sessions simultaneously and had a longer discussion with respondents.

### 2.4.5 Unstructured Interviews

"Unstructured interview is not based on an already planned agenda. The questions are formulated and asked on the spot without help of a guiding document. It is totally based on conversation. The idea is to get people to open and let them express themselves on their own terms and at their own pace. A lot of ethnographic interviewing is unstructured"(Bernard, 1994, p. 210). Unstructured interview method was helpful throughout my field work and it was handy as a pivotal tool during rapport building phase.

### 2.4.6 Interview schedule

Interview schedules are also referred to as structured interviews. "Structured interviewing involves exposing every informant in the sample to the same stimuli. The stimulus is a set of closed ended questions. Every member of the sample is asked these questions in the same sequence. The most common form of structured interviewing is the questionnaire"(Bernard, 1994, p. 212).Because of time restraints and busy schedule of my respondents in government departments, I have used interview schedules for UDC 5 i.e. Functionaries of government and non-government

bodies concerned policy making. Following the standard practice within the research 80 percent of questions in this instrument and the rest were open ended.

## 2.5 Sampling

A sample is defined as "a smaller collection of units from a large target population, such that the researcher can study a smaller group and generalize about the target population" (Neuman, 2007, p. 241). In the current research, different sampling methods have been used for different units of data collection.

### 2.5.1 Stratified Random Sampling

"A random sample in which researcher first identifies a set of mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories, divides the sampling frame by the categories, and then uses random selection to select cases from each category"(Neuman, 2007, p. 231). Furthermore, "**Stratified random sampling** ensures that key sub-populations are included in your sample. You divide a population (a sampling frame) into subpopulations (sub frames), based on key independent variables and then take a random sample from each of those sub-populations" (Bernard, 1994, p. 153).

I have used stratified random sampling for UDC 1 i.e. Students of selected schools, UDC 2 i.e. Teachers of selected schools and UDC 6 i.e. Employers in Private and Public domain. In case of UDC 1 and UDC 2, I stratified them with respect to gender, type of schools and subject groups. In case of UDC 6, I made strata with respect to gender, hierarchy of staff, nature of work, private vs. public firms and location.

### 2.5.2 Purposive or Judgment Sampling

"In purposive sampling, you decide the purpose you want informants (or communities) to serve, and you go out to find some. This is somewhat like quota sampling, except that there is no overall sampling design that tells you how many of each type of informants you need for a study. You take what you can get" (Bernard, 1994, p. 190). I used purposive sampling for UDC 3 i.e. Parents of selected students.

### 2.5.3 Cluster sampling

**"**Cluster sampling is a way to sample populations for which there are no convenient lists or frames. It's also a way to minimize travel time in reaching scattered units of data collection. Cluster sampling is since people act out their lives in natural groups, or clusters." (Bernard, 1994, p. 157). I have used cluster sampling for UDC 5 i.e. Functionaries of government and non-government bodies concerned with policy making. After identifying the clusters, I stratified each cluster and picked the relevant persona from each cluster.

## 2.6 Locales

As the topic suggests this is a Lahore based study. I took an elite private school, a non-elite private school and a public school within Lahore city. I visited Lahore Grammar School Paragon Branch, Lahore Grammar School Landmark Branch Shalimar Link Road Branch, Govt. Girls High School Gulshan e Ravi Lahore and Government Model High School for Boys Model Town Lahore. This makes it a multi-locale study within the larger city of Lahore. I have selected these schools because I have local sponsors here who introduced me to the Principals and students there. Moreover, to make this study holistic above-mentioned branches gave me a complete outlook into educational system of Pakistan.

### 2.6.1 Lahore

Lahore is the second largest city of Pakistan and Punjab's capital city. It has ancient history and has always been a center of learning and knowledge. It is said to be 2000 years old that makes it one of the oldest cities in the country too. It is famous for its old legacy, rich history and culture, majestic buildings, famous universities, tasty food and a relatively liberal lifestyle. Soft arts like music, paintings and films also make it distinctive from other cities. It is also known as a "City of Gardens" because of its gardens and parks. Many people across the country have settled in this city for education, jobs, and business as it is considered as leading banking, industrial, and commercial Centre of the Punjab. Lifestyle in Lahore portrays a good blend of old and new. Based on these factors it is rightly said as "The Heart of Pakistan".

#### 2.6.1.1 Lahore Grammar School (LGS) Paragon Branch

Lahore Grammar School, Paragon City Campus, is situated on eight acres piece of land, and is told to be one of the largest school campuses in the city. It is situated in Paragon City near Barki Road Lahore. It opened its doors to the students2009 and provides comprehensive co-educational facilities from Playgroup to A levels. This improvement has manifested itself in the fact that school's students have been recipients of several national and international prizes over the year's. This academic rigor is also manifested in exceptional local and overseas placements for the alumni of the school. LGS system, overall, is thought to be the leading school system not only in Lahore but in the entirety of the province of Punjab. Students in this school mostly belong from Upper Class families 'because only they can afford the higher fees.

#### 2.6.1.2 Lahore Grammar School (LGS) Landmark Branch Shalimar Road, Mughal Pura

The Lahore Grammar School system is mostly known as an elite school system. The tuition fees are very high. To cater for the educational needs of students from middle class, who cannot afford the high fees of mainstream branches like LGS Paragon, a project was established namely LGS Landmark Project. The branch from this project that I am referring to is LGS Landmark Shalimar Road, Mughal Pura Lahore. It is situated in 16-B Shalimar link road Lahore near Shalimar Hospital. Its building encompasses 22 rooms. This branch offers classes from Play Group to Matric

#### 2.6.1.3 Government Model High School for Boys Model Town Lahore

Government Model High School for Boys is situated in B Block of Model Town. This school is considered one of the most reputable schools among government schools in Lahore. It has a very spacious campus with lush green grounds. The total enrolled students in this school are around 1500. The teaching staff consists of around 33 teachers. The non-teaching staff is 10. There are 42 class rooms in this school and the average students per is class in between 50-60. Students in this school mostly belong from lower middle and lower-class families.

### 2.6.1.4 Government Girls High School Gulshan e Ravi Lahore

Government Girls High School Gulshan e Ravi is located at 134 Main Blvd Gulshan-e-Ravi, Lahore. Currently their teaching staff number is 45 and Non-teaching staff is 12. The total no of students enrolled is around 1900 and it caters the educational needs of girls from families having very humble economic backgrounds. There are 47 class rooms in this school and student per class are 55 to 65. Sanitation and sports related facilities in this school were found not up to the mark, though it has a well-maintained building that has been recently revamped.

## CHAPTER 3

# REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

## 3.1 Literature Reviewed

Given my topic and research hypotheses, I have reviewed literature in seven domains namely, Theories of Education and Knowledge, Pluralistic education, Inequality and Language, Education whether a public or private good, History of Pakistan's educational policies and the Role of Religion, Education and Globalization, The politics of Education and Development, Multiple educational systems and its impact on Quality of Education. I read numerous books, research papers, education policy papers of central and provincial governments, and relevant articles published in national dailies.

In the first thematic domain, i.e. **Theories of Education and knowledge**, I have reviewed the work of Paulo Freire, Pierre Bourdieu, Michael Foucault, Steven Best and Roger Deacon. In the second thematic domain i.e. **Pluralistic educational system, Language and Inequality**, I reviewed the works of David J Roof, Zubeida Mustafa, TahirAndrabi and Jishnu Das, Asim Ijaz Khawaja, Ghulam Rasool Memon, Muhammad Ashraf and Peter Kopweh, Irfan Muzzafar and Ajay Sharma, and Tayyaba Tamim.

In the third thematic domain namely **Education whether a public or a private good?** I have reviewed the works of Faisal Bari, Irfan Muzzafar and Ajay Sharma, Muhammad Ashraf and Peter Kopweh, and Jane S Shaw.

In the fourth thematic domain, namely **History of Educational Policies in Pakistan and the role of Religion**, I have reviewed the works of Irfan Muzzafar, David J Roof, Muhammad Ashraf and Peter Kopweh, Faisal Bari, Zubeida Mustafa, Sajid Ali and Malik S a Tahir, Qaiser Bengali, Mumtaz Ahmad and Tariq Saleem, and comprehensive reports of University of York and International Crises Group.

In the fifth domain namely **Education and Globalization**, I have reviewed works of Muhammad Ashraf and Peter Kopweh, Sajid Ali and Malik S a Tahir, Mumtaz Ahmad and Tariq Saleem, and the report of University of York.

In the sixth domain, namely **The Politics of Education and Development**, I have reviewed the works of Paulo Freire, Hassan Askari, Sanchita Bhattacharyya, Zubeida Mustafa, Faisal Bari, and Ghulam Rasool Memon.

In the seventh domain namely**, Impact of Privatization of education on the quality**, I have reviewed the works of S a Raza and S A Naqvi, Waqar un Nisa and Aneela Fatima Shakeel, Irfan Muzzafar and Ajay Sharma, and the report of University of York.

### 3.1.1 Theories of Education and Knowledge

Richard Shaull, in his foreword to Paulo Freire's book "Pedagogy of oppressed", asserted that "There is no such thing as a neutral education process. Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of generations into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world" (Shaull in Hederman, 1968, p.58) In his work, Paulo Freire observes that in every society there are two types of people, the oppressed and the oppressors(Friere, 1972). Both differ significantly in their thoughts, behaviors, attitudes and actions. Freire analyses the relationship between oppressors and oppressed and try to find out how the former can dominate the later. He introduces the concept of "Fear of freedom" and "The Security of Conformity". According to him, oppressed people are reluctant in doing something substantial to change their miserable condition because of the fear of freedom and security of conformity. They are very open to accept the guidelines and orders of the oppressive class. In other words, the oppressed have become accustomed to the structure of domination of the oppressors and they are not ready to take risks. This means that they prefer the security of conformity and fear their own freedom because of it (Hederman, 1968).

While relating above relationship with knowledge and education, Taylor while discussing Freire's work introduces the idea of pedagogy of oppressed. This idea is very relevant to the concepts of education and knowledge. He explains how the pedagogy of oppressed is used as a tool to dominate the oppressed. According to him, pedagogy is mostly determined by the oppressors, so it serves their interests. It helps oppressors to dictate the oppressed and make them do what they want them to do. Hence, pedagogy is used as a mean of repression and control. He

further asserts that the participation of oppressed in the development of pedagogy is important for their liberation because through this the society's structure may be transformed for the betterment of have-nots. Humanistic and libertarian pedagogy is the way forward. The dominant pedagogy should be changed with a more liberated and democratic one. The development of pedagogy should be progressive, inclusive and it should respect the knowledge of all (Taylor, 1993).

For Foucault, Knowledge is power (Foucault, 1980). Foucault has tried to produce a shift in thought so that things can really change. The goal of Foucault's philosophical studies is to show how different domains of modern knowledge restrain human action, and how they can be transformed by alternative forms of knowledge in service of human freedom.

Roger Deacon in his paper titled "Michael Foucault on education: a preliminary theoretical overview" shows how Foucault's work may articulate with different themes of education. By theorizing the connections between knowledge, truth, and power, Foucault transforms the history of science and reason into a critique of modernity and its various models of power.(Deacon, 2006) For Foucault, people don't have power explicitly, and power is technique or action which individuals can engage in. Power is not possessed; it is exercised(Best, 1996). Foucault observes that the power relationships are governed by the knowledge processes. The interface between various forms of power and knowledge have served to create a new form of domination. Humans are not free in such power structure to think openly. Roger Deacon presents the techno political history of schools in his study. Building further on it, Roger Deacon regurgitates the ideas of Foucault that state control over its people through knowledge does not take same form every time but varies with the nature of that era's educational system(Deacon, 2006).

Deacon further argues that Foucault analyses schools with the lens of "Moral Orthopedics"(Deacon, 2006). This means the role of schools has changed drastically. Initially, the schools' role was framed negatively. Educational institutions were supposed to protect the children from various dangers like disease, ignorance, immorality and adult sexuality. With the passage of time the need of positive role was felt and then the role of educational institutions was framed in a positive sense. So then, educational institutes were supposed to positively strengthen children, by developing them physically, psychologically, morally and intellectually.

Foucault's work becomes more relevant to the educational domain when he talks about "Capacity-Communication-Power" (Foucault, 1980). Modern schooling, covertly or overtly, has become a means of subjugation of the students by the state ideology. A profound analysis helps us understand the process through which students in academic institutions are expected to absorb socially desirable modes of behavior. Academic institutions have become mostly political and a source of inculcating a set agenda in the minds of students. Thus, being a source of reinforcing the pro status quo discourse for the socio-political interests of the dominant knowledge proponents. As mentioned earlier, for Foucault different types of knowledge are produced by mechanisms of power which dominate the minds of people. The pedagogical power relationship plays a major role in reinforcing the power structure and manipulating the student's minds in the favor of established notions.

As per Best, Foucault's concept of power/knowledge has direct implications for a critical theory of political knowledge, particularly for understanding the authority of an intellectual. The intellectual participates in the creation of the political will, but does not constitute or mandate it. He opines that the intellectuals should listen to the non-intellectuals and help them formulate their problems and solutions rather than making them dependent on others (Best, 1996).

Pierre Bourdieu has made a substantial contribution to the sociology of education. His ideas of structure, agency, habitus and the cultural autonomy of schools are very significant (Nash, 1990). Bourdieu's work is primarily concerned with the dynamics of power in the society and the process through which power is transferred and social order is maintained within and across generations. Bourdieu asserts that "I can say that all of my thinking started from this point: how can behavior be regulated without being the product of obedience to rules?" (Bourdieu P. , 1990, p. 65).

He observes that the role of school is very important in shaping the character, habits and social life of the students. The type of schooling a child gets has immense influence on his future life. Schooling shapes the consciousness of the students and this is an ongoing process. He also puts forward the concepts of "Field" and "Habitus". "A field is a setting in which agents and their social positions are located. The position of each particular agent in the field is a result of interaction between the specific rules of the field, agent's habitus and agent's capital (social, economic and cultural)" (Bourdieu, 1984). He takes education as a field.

Habitus is “the way society becomes ingrained in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them” (Navarro, 2006, p. 16). Habitus is defined as a system of dispositions, schemes of perception, thought and action.

Cultural bias in schools is a core element of Bourdieu’s thesis of social production. Different studies have found a relationship between family’s socio-economic status and children’s educational achievements and social mobility. Here Bourdieu talks about different forms of capital that eventually determine the class of people. For him, capital can be divided into three categories namely economic capital, social capital and cultural capital. Economic capital refers to an individual’s financial status and state. In Bourdieu’s own words, “cultural capital can be seen in three forms: in the embodied state-the disposition of body and mind that is how one acts and looks; in the objectified form- in the form of valued cultural goods; and institutionalized state- in the form of educational qualifications/credentials” (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 114). The social capital means an individual’s social network or relationship with other people that allow the individual to maximize his/her opportunities to gain and trade other forms of capital. Economic capital for Bourdieu is not the only factor for perpetuating the social class inequalities. For him, social and cultural capital is equally important for creation and perpetuation of inequality. Bourdieu’s sociology of knowledge constitutes a fundamental part of his sociological theory. He successfully revisited the relationship between knowledge and society while relating it with educational processes and different forms of capital.

### 3.1.2 Pluralistic Educational System, Language and Inequality

Education is a wider concept, both in meaning and scope. It has different positive impacts of social, economic, moral and political nature on the life of people in the society. Among these, one of the most important is the process by which it improves the access of people to a better life, through social participation and promises equality. The said benefits of education however, can be achieved fully only if the system of education in the country is fair and based on equity and equality. That means a system of education that assures the right of uniform education to everybody without any discrimination based on caste, class, gender and language.

Unfortunately, that is not the case in Pakistan. The education system in Pakistan is of pluralistic nature and is divided into different tiers. Zubeida Mustafa in her article "Educating the educators" observes that it would not be wrong to say that education has been commoditized to a level where unprivileged classes are being exploited(Mustafa, 2012). According to her, the pluralistic type of education, because of different quality and affordability, has resulted in limiting education in hands of few and denial of education right to many in Pakistan. While examining the poor situation of education sector in Pakistan, she points out the inequitable distribution of resources between have and have-nots as of the major reasons. The poor are bound to study in public schools that don't have good infrastructure, possess outdated system, poor facilities, and sub-standard curriculum. On the other hand, children of rich can afford good schooling and they study in elite private schools with well trained teachers, up to the mark infrastructure, good facilities as well as relevant curriculum. This gives the latter a comparative advantage and keeps the former in the viscous circle of poverty and inequality.

David J Roof, in his paper "Problems of common interests: The shaping of education in Pakistan" agrees with the position of Zubeida Mustafa. He analyses it by linking it with Colonialism. In addition to it David Roof proves through historic data that, education in the subcontinent, for the British, remained a tool to control the populace. They never wanted to make it a channel for social advancement (Roof, 2015). By and large, the same was the situation in the early years of Pakistan, because of colonial legacy; education kept serving the interests of a small higher class and further reinforced the class gap. The elite class primarily the industrialists and the landlords were against the masses getting educated, so that they may be kept in their control and be employed as labor in industrial and agricultural sectors. Moreover, according to him education in Pakistan does not promote social change because there is a lack of democratic tendencies among the policy makers and functionaries in the education sector. Due to this lack, the educational domain in the country does not facilitate students from all types of socio-economic background to enter the system. It is facilitating the rich and hinders and discourages the poor.

Tahir Andrabi, Jishnu Das and Asim Ijaz Khawaja in their research paper titled "The rise of private schooling in Pakistan: catering the urban elite or educating the rural poor?" analyzed the issues of rising fees, medium of instruction divide, parent's affordability and the equity issues between rich and poor. While commenting on the impact of multiple educational systems, they

observe that “the rise of private schooling in rural areas is likely to bring rural and urban areas closer in terms of quality of education, while at the same time increasing disparities within the rural and urban areas”(Das, Khawaja, & Andrabi, 2002, p. 19). They partially disagree with previous writers in that, they say pluralistic education further escalates class divide. They found that more private schools have been set up in rural areas than urban areas in the last decade. They divide private schools into two categories, one for elite and the other for poor. For them, the private schools are not only designed for the use of the elite and they are serving the middle and lower classes because of lower fees.

Ghulam Rasool Memon in his research paper, “Education in Pakistan: the key issues, problems, and the new challenges” argues that what irks the education sector of Pakistan are the issues of efficiency and equity. He asserts that the increasing trend of privatization of education has made education less affordable for the poor (Memon, 2007). He accepts the reality that the condition of private schools is far better than public schools because of better infrastructure, good training of teacher and better selection of curriculum. They argue however that ideally speaking, the responsibility of providing good and affordable education rests on the shoulders of government; it should play its part. The weak counter balancing to the private sector by the public sector is alarming. Many are being deprived of the right to education just because of the affordability issue. Hence, he concludes that the growth of private schools should be monitored to see if they are serving the interests of capitalist elite only or also providing quality education to students at large.

Irfan Muzaffar and Ajay Sharma in their paper “Public-Private debates in education: whither private without a public?” seem concerned about the multiple education systems. They tend to see the multiple education systems in the country as conduits of producing inequality and affordability issues for public at large. They observe and consider the weak counter balancing to the private sector by the public sector in Pakistan quite alarming(Muzaffar & Sharma, 2011). According to them, many are being deprived of the right of education just because of affordability issues. They suggest uniform educational system and a check on privatization of education to ascertain whether it is serving the interests of capitalist class or benefiting the society overall. Having discussed the structure, dynamics, and impact of pluralistic education system on the

prospects of Pakistani citizens, I will now proceed to discuss how the educational system and language policy is polarizing the society.

Tayyaba Tamim in her research paper "The politics of language in education: issues of access, social participation and inequality in the multilingual context of Pakistan" studies the implications of languages in education for widening opportunities for participation and access. She further argues that education has been losing its transformative role, relatively, due to the hegemony of English language. She argues that, it has an adverse impact on social justice and multilingual education has remained a doorkeeper that allows the privileged class upward social mobility(Tamim, 2013). She points out that on the country's inception in 1947; Urdu was declared the national language, while English retained its colonial status as the official language. Most of Pakistan's education history reveals that both English and Urdu have remained mediums of instruction in the private and public schools respectively. She points out that the very first implication of this fact has been the enhancement of the class divide.

Zubeida Mustafa in her article "Rethinking Medium" is on the same page with Tayyaba Tamim. While analyzing the impact of medium of instruction on the society, she elaborates upon the importance of mother language as the medium of instruction. She quotes the example of China's Educational system as a successful model in which students are supposed to study in their mother language for the first 9 years while English is taught as second language. The comparative advantage of education in mother language can't be taken lightly because it improves the mental processing of students and lets them think better way (Mustafa, 2014).

Though education in English medium is not a proof of quality education, yet offering it for few but not to all is a social issue, particularly, in a country like Pakistan, where education is measured with the yardstick of medium and job market is friendlier to students coming from English medium institutions opine Zubeida Mustafa and Tayyaba Tamim. English as medium of instruction gives comparative advantage to students from a certain class in which English is spoken at home. That means, they will have an edge from day one just because of their family background. Hence, in the later period to come, it will further increase the class gap between the haves and have-nots. Moreover, English medium schooling they argue also acts as a class separator. Being schooled in English medium makes one distinctive as this language is a symbol of prestige, good education and a well-off family. Furthermore, as the medium of instruction in higher education in

Pakistan is English, a person coming from Urdu medium schools must face serious problems. Related implication is that of a hostile of job market. Having said all the above about the relative advantage of English medium, a preference for English competence in jobs and workplaces can be clearly noticed.

So, the debate of language in education is at two levels. At one level it's between English and National language, and the other is between National language and regional languages. A study conducted by International Crises Group, named "Educational reforms in Pakistan" investigated the issue of medium of instruction while suggesting reforms in the country's educational system. On the national v/s local level, the state imposition of Urdu as a medium of instruction fails to value the linguistic and cultural diversity in the country(International Crises Group, 2014). The arguments are same as given by Zubeida Mustafa and Tayyaba Tamim when it comes to a discussion of English v/s National language.

### 3.1.3 Education: a public good or a private one

The academicians are yet not clear in answering the question that whether education is a public good or a private one? There is a clear divide in the scholarly opinions on this question. One group terms it a public good and focuses on equity and social justice. The other takes it as a private good and links it with the individual's liberty, competition and marketization. Irfan Muzzafar and Ajay Sharma are of the view that the debate of privatization of education in Pakistan is being carried on in a wrong direction. The meanings of public/private dichotomy are different in western countries and Pakistan(Muzaffar & Sharma, 2011). In western countries, the process of education remained in a state of balance b/w private and public forces as it was based on discourses of equity and social justice vs. individual freedom and competition. In Pakistan, however the concept of private is not accompanied by a counter concept of public. Owing to this fact the rise in the privatization of schools in Pakistan is not due to the acceptance of the narratives of choice and individual liberty but because of the paucity of recourses and inefficiency of public sector to deliver. So, the weakness of public schools has resulted in the unchecked growth of private schools and the process goes on.

Education is both a public and private good (Bari & Muzzafar, 2010). Instead of indulging into private vs. public education debate, both public and private sectors should be provided level field and should be improved to uplift the overall standard of education. Both private and public sectors they argue, have certain benefits for general education as the private sector complements the freedom of choice of the citizen and the public sector ensures the equity and equality of provision of education as a right. Furthermore, Faisal Bari believes the private and public schools ask for different check measures. For the private schools, the threat of leaving school and competition is enough but in case of public school's political influence is needed. The government and relevant authorities must intervene for the improvement of the public education system. The situation becomes more alarming when nearly all children of rich and influential parents attend private schools resulting in the loss of political and administrative will towards improving the public education sector.

Zubeida Mustafa disagrees with the opinion of Faisal Bari in her article titled "The question of Nationalization". She opines that the education must be in the public domain if the universal right of education must be provided. So, education cannot be left as a subject of private domain(Mustafa, 2010). As the private sector aims at profit maximization, it will not show interest in providing education in areas where people can't afford fees and can't bear other related expenses of the private schools. In one of her articles, "Educating the Educators", she also questions the working of private schools, both elite and of low fee nature. She observes, the former has very high fees and the latter compromise quality to increase their profit by cost cutting(Mustafa, 2012).

In a related study, private public debate has been studied while analyzing the dynamics of rise in private schooling in Pakistan. It was examined whether the rise of private schooling, educates the poor too or just caters for the needs of the elite? Researchers reached interesting conclusions. They observed that the rise of private schooling has resulted in substantial cost savings for the government in delivering education. Furthermore, they said, two types of private schools are operating in Pakistan, the expensive elite schools and low cost private schools. The paper concluded that low cost private schools are not that bad as they may not be providing very high quality education yet they provide decent education at a lower cost to poor(Das, Khawaja, & Andrabi, 2002) Jane S Shaw in her paper titled "Education-a bad public good?" opines, what makes education a public good is the benefits that it gives to whole society in the form of "positive

externalities". An educated citizen is more conforming to the laws of society and is beneficial to the society. So, what motivates government to publicly finance the education is the collective social benefit of the society (Shaw, 2010). The arguments rest on the principle that education should be affordable for the poor too, so that it may serve both the private interest of the populace and public interest of society. The writer terms this principle as "government-provision rationale".

She further asserts that to make performance of public education system better by creating competition and incentives systems, private schools, home based schooling, charter schools and the voucher educational system has been introduced. Such movements were criticized by different teachers' unions and school's administrators because of their personal financial interests. They protested by saying that such steps were a negation of public good principle of education. She further asserts that; their justifications were lame as even if education is termed as a public good it does not mean that it must be provided by the government exclusively.

Moreover, she observes that, there is another dimension in the debate whether education must be a public good or a private one. There is a school of thought that believes that in the present world the private rewards linked with education are high and thus they under value education as a public good argument. In other words, the education now is as valuable as a private good that everyone wants it and the related externalities are very much irrelevant now.

The authors of above research studies accept the importance of public and private sector and the need to make them work complementarily with each other. The different meaning of public/private duo in cultural and regional contexts asks for different policies. Hence, what is important is to look beyond the public/private dichotomy and to focus the debate on the meaning and purposes of education.

### 3.1.4 History of Educational Policies in Pakistan and the role of Religion

Education is a multi-disciplinary subject. It is not only an activity being done in class rooms but a wider system connected with religion, politics and economy. That is why education policy in civilized societies is made with much caution so that longer term multi- faceted benefits may be taken out of it. That is why, to understand the impact of pluralistic educational system on creation and reinforcement of oppressive class structure, the educational policies in Pakistan need to be reviewed to analyze the dynamics of politics of education. Since religion has remained an important factor while framing the educational policies so its importance cannot be ignored.

To decipher the role of politics and religion in education policy formulation in Pakistan, Kaiser Bengali, David J Roof, and International Crises Group have done a historic review of the educational policies of Pakistan. Writers narrate that beginning with the national educational conference in 1947; seven national educational policies; eight five year plans and half a dozen other schemes have been prepared and launched to date.

They all observe that the very first step was the National Education Conference in 1947 (GOP, 1953). Many committees were formed during this conference, particularly about the secondary and primary education and adult education (Bengali, 1999).The reports of these committees were pragmatic in their approach in which efforts for the free and compulsory primary education were recommended. A related step was the National Plan for Educational Development for the period 1951-1957. It anticipated the needs and goals of education sector for the next six years (Bengali, 1999). However, the efforts from independence to 1957 were not very fruitful in the end since the literacy rate literally remained unchanged. Since independence till 1970, there were 3 five-year development plans. The first plan devoted considerable attention to organization and management of primary education schools. The second five-year plan evaluated the shortcomings of the first five-year plan. It found out that nothing significant was done to improve the quality of education in the country. Moreover, the literacy and enrollment rate remained unchanged. It recommended measures for improvement and highlighted the need for the education of girls. Down the line, the third development plan focused on the relationship of education with the economic growth and social development(Ali & Tahir, 2012). Attention was focused on improving literacy and enrollments rates, training and salary of teachers and the physical structure of education.

From 1970s onwards, education policy rhetoric has intolerance and sectarian tensions. The students are getting away from progressive and liberal thinking. The author argues that the present curriculum in Pakistani high schools is contrary to the true teachings of Islam that promote peace, harmony and tolerance and urges free inquiry, investigation and exploration, the curriculum is based on literature comprising hate material, historical distortions and harsh sentiments against non-Muslims. Unfortunately, the government acknowledges the street power of the right wing and sounds reluctant in removing religious indoctrination from the curricula at the cost of political interests. Similarly, Muhammad Ashraf and Peter Kopweh have also observed the strong influence of religious ideologies, regional trends and set agendas in educational policies of Pakistan (Ashraf & Kopweh, 2012).

### 3.1.5 Globalization and Education

Work has been done to study the idea of globalization and to measure its impact on educational reforms. This scholarship points out that globalization has limited the domain of independent decision making and it is influencing the educational policies of Pakistan. The calls for decentralization, privatization and universalization speak at length about the shadows of globalization.(Ali & Tahir, 2012).It is argued that various superfluous campaigns initiated by the governments in history to increase enrollments; literacy rates and passing ratio that do not actually improve the educational system are mainly because of the financial dependency on foreign donors. Even if policies are dictated from abroad with some positive intentions, there is a misfit of these global prescriptions with the grass root level realities in the country. In a related study by Muhammad Ashraf and Peter Kopweh, have argued that globalization is a major cause of the confusion and inconsistency in educational policies in Pakistan(Ashraf & Kopweh, 2012). They build their argument by giving the example of medium of instruction. Foreign donors ask for implementation of International language i.e. English while the local academics suggest local or mother language as medium of instruction (Mustafa, 2014). So, both writers are on the same page on this issue and conclude that the issues of suitability and relevancy of education policies are being violated by the dictation of international agencies.

On the other hand, Muhammad Ashraf and Peter Kopwah observe that globalization also has some positive impacts. Not only has it resulted in increasing the literacy rates and reduced the

gender gap by campaigning for women's education but it has also increased competition between different stakeholders(Ashraf & Kopweh, 2012). They assert that all these factors have contributed to slight improvement in the quality of education. On the contrary, a study conducted by researchers of European student's union mentioned consider internationalization of education as a major reason of declining standard of education(European Studetns Union, 2005).It talks about the lack of applicability of tailored curriculum and reforms for the indigenous institutions. It pleads the case for the consideration of the context and needs of society before introducing reforms based on global agendas.

Zubeida Mustafa blames globalization for the dependency of policy makers on the international donors. In her opinion, this financial and technical dependency cripples the discretion of developing countries like Pakistan to decide independently and the unfortunate result of this is over competition, internationalization and needless privatization(Mustafa, 2012).

Writers of the papers discussed above agree when it comes to solutions. They conclude that the policy makers should keep in mind the need of balance between the global prescriptions and the grass root level realities. By doing so, the mismatch between educational initiatives and cultural, social and religious values may be avoided. This in turn, they assert will lead to improvement in educational standards, eventually.

### 3.1.6 Politics of Education and Development in Pakistan

Politics, education and development are very much related. Taking education related decisions and making policies are the tasks of the government and that's why politics is very much involved in it. Education also plays a vital part in the development of the country. Education and development are correlated and education is a prerequisite for developing an alternative view of development. Sanchita Bhattacharya in her paper "Education as a paradigm in development theory: a case study of Pakistan" points out that educational backwardness is one of the major causes of underdevelopment in Pakistan(Bhattacharya, 2009). She terms education as the main indicator of development. The importance of adult literacy in development is undeniable, particularly while basing it on the Alternative development model. The very definition and the indicators of Human Development Index (HDI) speak at length about it.

Ghulam Rasool Memon shares the opinion of Sanchita Bhattacharya, in his paper "Education in Pakistan: The key issues, problems and the new challenges". He argues that the role of education in the development of a country cannot be taken for granted. The contributions of educational institutions are manifold and literacy rate of a country is an important indicator of the socio-economic health of the country (Memon, 2007). Zubeida Mustafa, in her article "Education Pitfalls" terms good health and quality education as key factors of social development of the country. An educated populace is at a clear advantage for the socio-economic development of the country(Mustafa, 2012). Not only does it provide educated and well skilled labor for the economy but also a well-informed citizenry regarding their rights and duties which in turn proves to be very useful for social harmony and stability.

Moreover, Hassan Askari Rizvi in his chapter "Political Impediments to Development" in his book titled "Development challenges confronting Pakistan" considers educational backwardness detrimental to socioeconomic development and human welfare in Pakistan. For economic development, it is essential to have a political and social environment that is conducive. Education plays a very important part in harnessing social frictions and in ensuring political stability that makes development possible (Rizvi, 2013).

Qasier Bengali agrees with Sanchita Bhattacharya, Hassan Askari and Ghulam Rasool Memon, in his paper "History of education policy making and planning in Pakistan". He observes that despite the early realization at the time of independence of Pakistan that nation building and development can be only achieved with an educated and well skilled manpower, not enough has been done to translate this idea into a concrete reality.(Bengali, 1999)

Education being the main engine of socio-economic development, democratic awareness and the overall uplift of the country cannot be taken solely in terms of economic factor is mentioned in the European Students Union Policy Paper titled "Commodification of education"(European Studetns Union, 2005). It is asserted that the importance of education as a tool of socio-cultural development cannot be ignored.

Education is both a private and public good, opines Faisal Bari. So, education being a public good makes government responsible to provide it, and make elected representatives responsible if they are not able to ensure its availability. For Faisal Bari, it generates interesting

questions. It is observed that despite knowing the importance of education and being aware about the loopholes in the educational system of Pakistan, people show reluctance in knocking at the doors of politicians for demanding quality education. In his article "Demand for education reforms", Faisal Bari points out disconnect between the awareness of the people about the need of quality education and the measures they are supposed to take like pressurizing the representatives. The need of multiple interventions on the part of politicians to provide education policies, weak relationship between politicians and citizens, and the priority of people for their private interests rather than common interests is the reasons of the above mentioned disconnect(Bari, 2011). On the same note, David Roof in his paper "Problems of common interests: The shaping of education in Pakistan" feels that the community is not pragmatically involved and there is less pressure, from the demand side, to provide quality and affordable education (Roof, 2015).

Mostly, students in public schools come from a poor background. Faisal Bari in his paper "Education debates in Pakistan: Barking up the wrong tree?" addresses the question of political pressure. Private and low fee private schools can be made efficient, transparent in working and accountable by the potential threat of exit of students(Bari & Muzzafar, 2010). He argues but a different strategy is needed in case of public schools as the exit threat doesn't work. He argues that political influence is required to improve public schools. But the situation becomes complicated when nearly all the children of rich and influential parents attend private schools. Thus, it weakens the voice of public school students for improving the quality of education.

Global politics also has its imprints on the educational landscape of Pakistan. Muhammad Ashraf and Peter Kopweh in their paper titled "Globalization and education policy of Pakistan: the challenges of access and equity in education" opine that education, in form of policies and reforms have been influenced by the global agenda. Increased privatization, campaigning for having English as a medium of instruction and interference of international agencies, reflects the interests of global politics(Ashraf & Kopweh, 2012).

The article 25-A of the 1973 constitution binds the government of Pakistan to provide quality education to all. Zubeida Mustafa again and again in her articles "Educating the educators", "Rethinking medium", "The question of Nationalization" reminds the government to fulfill its responsibility. Being a staunch supporter of public provision of education she doubts the political will of the government to do it.(Mustafa, 2010).

International crises group, in its report named "Educational reforms in Pakistan" observes the need of political ownership. Politicians, the group says, should pledge to prioritize education not only by their rhetoric in elections but also by their actions when they come in legislature(International Crises Group, 2014).They should prove their commitment and will by introducing reforms for the betterment of education sector.

Moving on with the review several scholars of education have focused on the political economy of education. The resource allocation for the education sector is not enough. Despite promises of successive governments to increase budget for education, only 2 percent of the GDP is spent on the education sector (Mustafa, The question of Nationalisation, 2010). That is far less than required to provide good education. At least a double of it is needed.

### 3.1.7 Privatization of Education and its Impact on Quality

Commodification of education results in over competition (Andrabi, Das, & Khawaja, 2006). Because of this over competition, importance is given to commercial benefits and that results in losing the actual meaning and purpose of education. The privatization of education besides making and transforming the courses more efficient and competitive has also changed students' identity by making them consumers. Due to this fact, education is considered as a product and students are treated as consumers. Only those subjects are offered that have more market acceptability. Offering subjects of social sciences has diminished and quality of education is compromised. The relationship of students and teachers has also changed because of the said commercialization it is argued.

Furthermore, it is pointed out that there also is a direct pedagogical cost of privatization of education. While treating education as a saleable commodity, private education sector has now become more like a money-making enterprise(Nisa & Shakeel, 2010). Putting educational standards at the backburner and having profit making the foremost priority puts educational sector at risk.

Commodification of education results in the application of demand and supply mechanisms in education sector which makes education costly. Because of it many are deprived of the basic right of education. Zubeida Mustafa expresses a similar opinion in her article for Dawn. Privatization of education has resulted in limiting education in hands of few and denial of

education right to many (Mustafa, 2012). She blames the inequitable distribution of resources between have and have-nots for the poor literacy rates and sorry of education in Pakistan. This turns into the debate of access and equity.

To understand the impacts of commodification of education and other education related problems fully, the comprehensive inquiry of both demand and supply side of education is important as per the writers(Raza, Majid, & Zia, 2010). The employers are not very pleased with the performance and competency of the graduates. Their research explored perceptions of employers about the quality of Pakistani university graduates in terms of intellectual development skills, personal development skills, professional development skills, and social development skills. The performance of students, as employers perceived, was relatively better as compared to personal development skills but it was poorest as far as social development skills are concerned. There are various institutional, professional and organizational level deficiencies at faculty and student level. These deficiencies reflect poorly on the performance of Pakistani universities in terms of producing well learned, educated, properly skilled professionals who can meet the challenges of the national economy.(Austin, 1984).

## 3.2 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework that I used for the analysis of the data ensued out of the review of literature that I have done. For my conceptual framework, I have borrowed theoretical concepts of Michael Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Paulo Freire, Karl Marx, Irfan Muzzafar and Ajay Sharma.

From Foucault, I borrowed the concept of Discourse, concept of the articulation between knowledge and power, Moral orthopedics and the concept of "Capacity-Communication-Power". From Marx, I borrowed the concepts of false consciousness, Class and Class Dialectics. From Bourdieu, I am borrowed concepts of Field, Habitus and different forms of Capital.

I borrowed form Irfan Muzzafar and Ajay Sharma the concepts of Privatization, and educational pluralism as a tool of deprivation for poor classes. From Paulo Freire, I borrowed the concepts of Fear of freedom, Security of conformity, Pedagogy of Oppressed vs. Humanistic and Libertarian Pedagogy. In a composite manner, I have connected ideas and philosophies of Foucault, Freire, Marx, Bourdieu, Irfan Muzzafar and Ajay Sharma while analyzing Pluralistic educational system in Pakistan.

To start with the different concepts of knowledge and education, Foucault's terms knowledge as power. For him, power is diffused everywhere and embodied in discourse and knowledge. The apparatus of power produces different types of knowledge which brings together and disseminates information that constitutes regulatory discourse for people's life and existence. Knowledge gathered and disseminated through this process becomes a technology of power. He addresses the multidimensionality and multi-functionality of the relationship between knowledge and power.

Furthermore, Foucault defines discourse as a way of connecting knowledge with social practices and the power structures. He argues that discourse consists of practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Discourse encompasses more than just what is said, it is also what is thought, who can speak, when, and with what authority. I tried to analyze the presence of pluralistic educational system in Pakistan with reference to its impact on creating and further reinforcing the oppressive class structure through Foucauldian ideas elaborated in the preceding text.

Using discourse in Foucauldian sense is helpful for the analysis of the expected data in the current research since it will allow me to get an understanding of how school knowledge is used to support power relationship within the broader society through differences in the kind of knowledge being taught in public and private schools.

I also employed the Foucauldian idea of "Moral orthopedics". Through it I analyzed whether the role of schools has changed in Pakistan or not, historically. If not, then why not? Foucault uses the concept of moral orthopedics to analyze the working of schools. For Foucault, the discourse around the purpose of schools has changed while the function remains the some. disciplining and subjugating the students who form the future workforce. He asserts that the educational discourse has always centered on morality negative or positive but this change is only at the level of Rhetoric. It seems that schools have become spaces of emancipation in contemporary times just like the job of an orthopedic that emancipates a person with broken bones from pain. The crux of his argument is that one can talk of schools as places of correction on enhancement but in practical terms they remain spaces of oppression.

Foucauldian idea of "Capacity-communication-power", in which he takes modern schooling as a means of subjugation of the students by the state ideology, is used in this research study. It was used to analyze the data related to how academic institutions, particularly public financed institutions, in Pakistan have become a source of inculcating a set agenda in the minds of students.

I will connect Foucauldian concepts discussed above with some ideas of Marx. Marx's concepts of false consciousness and class dialectics have been conjoined with Foucault's concepts of discourse, knowledge and power relationships. The Marxist class analysis, in which he gives the concept of interclass dialectics, may be applied to educational sector of Pakistan very fruitfully. The presence of different types of educational system offering different types of education to people from different classes hinders the creation of social equality and justice in society. The exploitation of weak classes by the dominant class is quite evident in case of Pakistan. They are subjugated by the state ideology and are made to conform to societal expectations through pedagogical processes. On the other hand, in few elite schools, conducive environment is provided for creativity and excellence and thinking out of the box. Eventually, students from such schools can be in a better socio-economic position in the society.

Philosophy underlying pluralistic educational system is to create and reinforce orthodoxy in terms of social practices. Bourdieu takes education as a field. He observes how rhythms of practices like in the case of teaching and learning stop people from thinking creatively. Students are made to think and learn what state wants them to think. Thus again, difference is clear when one analyses the situation of private and public schools. In public schools in Pakistan, the students are taught those subjects and in a fashion, that makes them obey the policy and directions of the state. In private schools, however the case is different. The courses offered, the pedagogical practices followed the medium of instruction, the extracurricular activities and the general environment creates opportunities for students that make them creative, progressive, confident and liberal in their approach.

Moreover, Bourdieu's ideas of Habitus and different types of capital are also very relevant to the study. Grooming of a child depends immensely on his family and schooling. A child coming from a well-educated family having good socio-economic position in the society has an obvious edge. He/she is different in his habits, ethics, language even dressing and dining sense. For

example, a child of a bureaucrat has an obvious advantage. He/she possesses better economic, social and cultural capital than a child coming from lower class family.

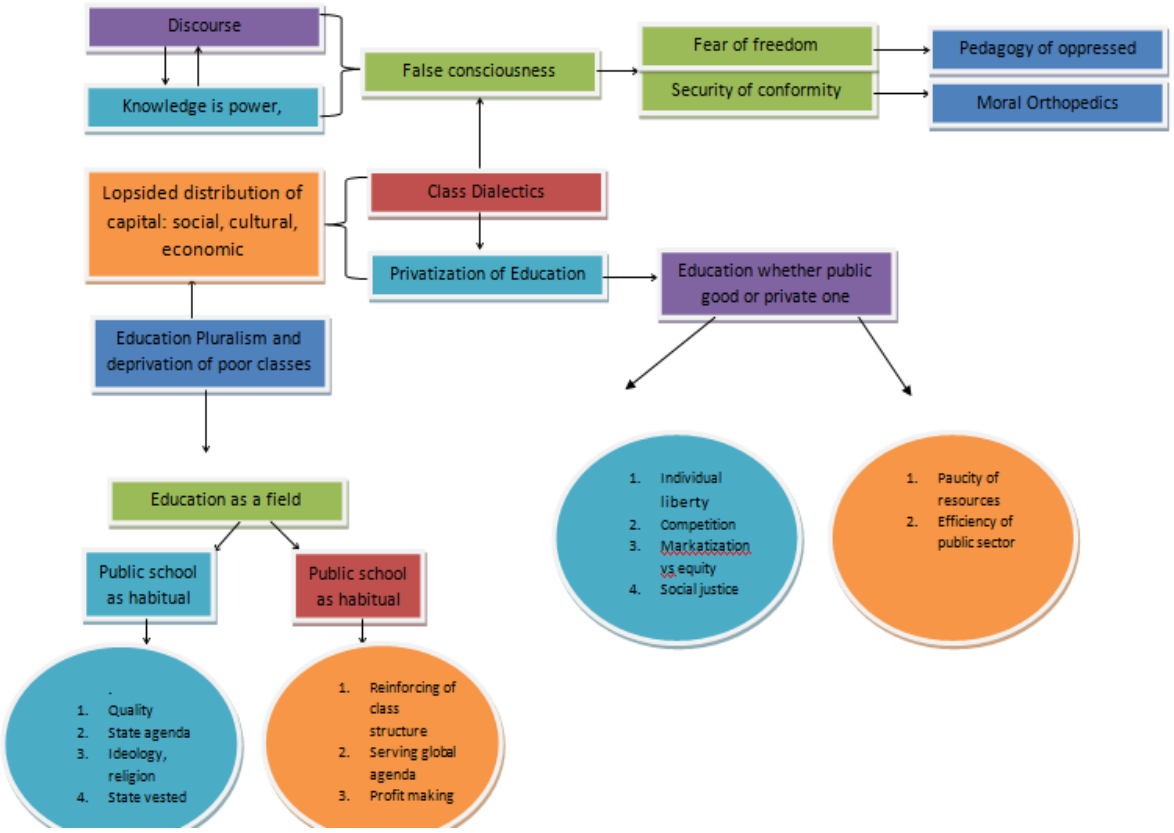
For analyzing the data related to the privatization of education, nature of pluralistic educational system in Pakistan and how educational pluralism is working as a tool of deprivation for poor classes, I used the concepts of Irfan Muzzafar and Ajay Sharma. Even today, there is no clarity in Pakistan in understanding that whether education is a public good or a private one. There are different narratives about this question. I tried to understand the implications of privatization of education in Pakistan by using the concepts of Irfan Muzzafar and Ajay Sharma. In western countries, the process of education remained in the state of balance between private and public forces as it was based on discourses of equity and social justice vs. individual freedom and competition. In Pakistan, however situation is different. Here, the rise in privatization of schools is not due to acceptance of the narratives of choice and individual liberty but because of scarcity of resources and inefficiency of public sector to deliver. This complicates the situation.

Last but not the least; Paulo Freire's ideas of pedagogy of oppressed, humanistic and libertarian pedagogy, fear of freedom and the security of conformity will also be used. He redefines the relationship between students, teachers and the society. It is very relevant for analyzing pluralistic educational system and oppressive class structure in Pakistan which is the focus of my research. He observes that in the case of oppression of lower classes on the hands of the dominant class, pedagogy plays an important role. Since pedagogy is determined and controlled by the dominant class, it serves their interests. It helps oppressors to dictate the oppressed. Hence, it is used as a mean of repression and control. The participation of oppressed in the development of pedagogy is important to reverse this exploitative order. He highlights the need for humanistic and libertarian pedagogy.

The need of participation of the oppressed in the development of pedagogy seems evident in case of Pakistan. In Pakistan, despite knowing the ills in the educational system and awareness that pluralistic educational system is reinforcing suppressive class structure, not much is being done to change it. To analyze the data related to this issue I employed Freire's concepts of "the fear of freedom" and "security of conformity". Oppressed people are reluctant to do something substantial to change their miserable condition because of it. They are not ready to take risks.

Freire's concepts have been employed to analyze the educational policies and pedagogical methods used in the educational institutions.

## 3.3 Conceptual Framework: A pictographic Presentation


Discourse
Knowledge is power,
False consciousness
Fear of freedom
Security of conformity
Pedagogy of oppressed
Moral Orthopedics
Lopsided distribution of capital: social, cultural, economic
Class Dialectics
Privatization of Education
Education whether public good or private one
Education Pluralism and deprivation of poor classes
1. Individual liberty
2. Competition
3. Marketization vs equity
4. Social justice
1. Paucity of resources
2. Efficiency of public sector
Education as a field
Public school as habitual
Public school as habitual
1. Quality
2. State agenda
3. Ideology, religion
4. State vested
1. Reinforcing of class structure
2. Serving global agenda
3. Profit making

# CHAPTER 4

# PRIMARY DATA PRESENTATION 1

# ARTICULATION OF ACADEMIC AND DOMESTIC DOMAINS

In this Chapter I will present the primary data obtained during field work from UDCs 1, 2 & 3 namely Students, Teachers and Parents. Data from the remaining UDCs will be discussed in Chapter 5. These UDCs required to be investigated in depth and involved lengthy discussions, owning to this fact interview Guides have been used as a tool. The Chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part I will present the demographic profile of the UDCs mentioned above. The second part will be a presentation of the in-depth data obtained from the same UDCs. The data presented in the second part will be in the form of themes thrown up by my data. The data for part 1 comes from the census forms that I conducted with various UDCs, while data in part 2 comes from interview guides administered to the sample population within each of the UDCs mentioned above.

## 4.1 Part 1: Demographic Profiles of the Students, the Parents and the Teachers

### 4.1.1 Demographic Profiles of Class 10$^{th}$ and O Level Students from 4 Schools.

The demographic profiles of Class 10$^{th}$ students in case of Lahore Grammar School (LGS) Landmark Shalimar Link Road Branch, Government Model High School for Boys Model Town Lahore and Government Girls High School Gulshan e Ravi Lahore, and O level students in case of Lahore Grammar School (LGS) Paragon have been presented in the Table 1 on next page. Column 1 mentions name of the respective school, Column 2 represents total no of students in the 10$^{th}$ or O levels (depending on the nature of school), Column 3 mentions the subject's choices of girl's students, Column 4 mentions the subject's choices of boy students Column 5 tells about the occupation of their family, Column 6 mentions average monthly income of their parents and Column 7 mentions total number of students interviewed. Data in these 7 Columns of the table have been provided with respect to each school mentioned in 4 Rows.

Table 1: Demographic Profile of Students

| Name of School | Total No of Students in respective school | No of Female Students Science/Arts in case of Matric …… Business Studies & Humanities/ Natural and Social Sciences in case of O Levels | No of Female Students Science/Arts in case of Matric …….. Business Studies & Humanities/ Natural and Social Sciences in case of O Level Students | No of students whose Parent Occupation is Agriculture/ Business/ Government Jobs/ Private Jobs | No of Students whose Parents Monthly Income is 2 Lakh and above/ 1 lakh to 2 Lakh/ 51000 to 1 Lakh/ Below 50000 | Total No of Students Interviewed |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **LGS Paragon Branch (O Levels)** | 67 | 14/13 | 26/14 | 7/32/8/20 | 35/24/8/0 | 15 |
| **LGS Landmark Branch (Matric)** | 76 | 17/15 | 19/25 | 9/18/24/25 | 5/8/48/15 | 20 |
| **Government Model High School for Boys Model Town Lahore (Matric)** | 71 | 0/0 | 6/6 | 5/14/23/29 | 0/0/8/63 | 12 |
| **Govt. Girls High School Gulshan e Ravi (Matric)** | 63 | 26/37 | 0/0 | 3/9/27/24 | 0/0/4/59 | 12 |
| **Total** | 277 | 56/69 | 28/36 | 24/73/82/98 | 40/32/68/137 | 59 |

**Source: Field Data**

The modern education system is bifurcated into private English-medium schools and Public schools. According to the prominent scholar Tariq Rahman, based on their purpose, kind of education imparted, and the sum of tuition fees, the private English-medium schools can be categorized into two major groups: (a) private elite schools, and (b) private non-elite schools. To serve this purpose I selected two Schools. One is from elite school branches, and the other from non-elite branches. However, in case of Public Schools I selected one boy's branch and one girl's

branch namely, Government Model High School for Boys Model Town Lahore and Government Model Girls High School Gulshan e Ravi Lahore respectively.

100 percent census forms were administered to the students of Class 10th and O Levels in four schools namely LGS Paragon Lahore, LGS Landmark Branch Shalimar Link Road Mughal Pura, and Government Model High School for Boys Model Town Lahore and Government Girls High School Gulshan e Ravi Lahore. It is pertinent to mention that two branches of Government Schools were visited because there was not even a single branch of public schools in Lahore where co-education existed. So, one boys and one girls branch was selected. However, in case of Private Schools, there was not even a single mainstream branch where both O levels and Matric were being offered in co-educational setup. To fulfill the research requirements LGS Paragon Branch and LGS Landmark Shalimar Link Road Mughal Pura were selected. LGS Paragon is a mainstream Elite branch where O Levels is offered to both boys and girls. However, LGS Landmark Mughal Pura is a non-elite branch where Matric is offered in a co-educational setup.

The descriptive details for students from each School as presented in the Table 1 are provided below:

#### 4.1.1.1 Students of Lahore Grammar School (LGS) Paragon Branch.

This branch is in Paragon City, near Defense Housing Authority Lahore, where upper economic class resides. Lahore Grammar School is a famous chain of schools spread in different areas of Lahore. This chain is considered an elite school chain as students from rich families come in this school as fees are quite high. This is an O Levels branch and offers co-education. For instance, the lump sum fee of an O level student roughly comes up to 25000-35000 a month depending on the number of credits a student takes.

In case of O Levels schooling, there is nothing like different class sections for science or humanities like those in Government Schools in Matriculation. A student is given choice to select subjects from a pool of different subjects. However, all academic disciplines are categorized into four major categories – Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Humanities and Business Studies. Each student of O Levels must choose certain number of credits among available courses within above mentioned groups as per his/her interest.

The total number of O Levels students in this school was 67. Among these 67 students, 27 were girls and 40 were boys. 13 girls and 14 boys had opted for a combination of Natural and Social Sciences and remaining 14 girls and 26 boys had gone for a combination of Humanities and Business Studies. At the in-depth interview stage, I interviewed 7 girl students and 8 boy students while employing stratified random sampling based on gender, nature of subjects and socio-economic status.

Majority of students studying in this school were residing in upper class neighborhoods like Defense, Gulberg and Bahria Town. English was the most spoken language in their homes and their parents were well educated. On the financial background front, we see that, their parents either owned businesses, did jobs in private firms, worked in Civil Service or were landlords or professionals like surgeons and chartered accountants. The family monthly income of most students was above 2 Lac and not even a single student's family income was below 50000 a month.

#### 4.1.1.2 Lahore Grammar School (LGS) Landmark Shalimar Link Road, Mughal Pura.

The Lahore Grammar School, Landmark Project comprises many institutions committed to offering quality education to middle income families. LGS Landmark schools admit children from a large cross-section of society and their fees are much lower than elite/mainstream branches. The branch that I worked in is located on the Shalimar Link Road Mughal Pura and this branch offers Matric in a co-educational setup.

Lump Sum fee of a Matric student in this branch is 6000-8000 a month. The total number of Matric students in this school was 76. Among those, 32 were girls and 44 were boys. 17 girls and 19 boys had taken science subjects and the remaining 15 girls and 25 boys had gone in humanities. At the in-depth interview stage, I interviewed 9 girl students and 11 boy students while employing stratified random sampling based on gender, nature of subjects and socio-economic status.

Majority of the students studying in this school were residing in middle class neighborhoods like Islampura, DharamPura, Ichra and Bhaatti gate. Urdu is the most spoken language in their homes. Their parents are doing blue collar jobs in private and public offices. Few of them have small businesses like grocery stores and automobile workshops. The monthly income of most of these families is between 50000 to 1 Lac.

#### 4.1.1.3 The Issue of Co-Education in Public Schools

As discussed earlier, there is not even a single government school offering co-education at Matriculation stage. Due to this fact two separate branches of government schools were taken as Locales Namely Government Model High School for Boys Model Town Lahore and Government Model Girls High School Gulshan e Ravi Lahore.

#### 4.1.1.4 Government Model High School for Boys Model Town Lahore

In total, there were 71 students of 10th class in this school. 34 were in Science section and 37 in the Humanities Section. Majority belonged to lower class and few from lower middle class. They reside in under privileged areas. Majority of the parents of the students in this school didn't have any formal education and their source of earning was quite humble. In 90 percent cases, monthly income of the families of students was below 50000. Punjabi was the most spoken language in their homes and the spoken English skills of these students was poor. Based on stratified random sampling and using interview guides, I interviewed 12 students from this school. 6 students were from science section and 6 from Arts section.

#### 4.1.1.5 Government Girls High School Gulshan e Ravi Lahore

In total, there were 63 students of 10th class in this school. 26 of these opted Science subjects and 37 are pursuing Humanities. Demographic situation was almost like the one in Government Boys School. Majority hailed from lower class and few from lower middle class. They were residing in less developed areas like different towns and colonies. Majority of the parents of the students in this school didn't have any formal education and their source of earning was very modest. In 90 percent cases, monthly income of the families of students was below 50000. Punjabi was the most spoken language in their homes and the English spoken skills of students were quite inadequate. Based on stratified random sampling and using the tool of interview guides, I interviewed 12 students from this school. 6 students were from science section and 6 from Arts section.

### 4.1.2 Profiles of Parents Interviewed

## Table 2: Demographic Profile of Parents

| Name of School | Total No of Parents Interviewed | Parent Occupation Agriculture/ Business/ Government Jobs/ Private Jobs | Monthly Income 2 Lakh and above/ 1 lakh to 2 Lakh/ 51000 to 1 Lakh/ Below 50000 | Father's Education No Formal Education/ High School Education/ Graduation/Beyond Graduation | Mother's Education No Formal Education/ High School Education/ Graduation/ Beyond Graduation | Parents Location Posh Areas/ Middle Class Areas/ Poor Localities | Nature of Accommodation Own / Rented | Type of Family Nuclear/ Extended/ C-Joint |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **LGS Paragon Branch** | 15 | 2/6/2/5 | 8 / 5 / 2 / 0 | 2 / 3 / 7/ 3 | 3/4/5/3 | 10/4/1 | 12/3 | 10/2/3 |
| **LGS Landmark Branch** | 20 | 2/5/6/7 | 1/2/14/3 | 4 / 6 / 8 / 2 | 5/8/3/4 | 5/11/4 | 11/9 | 12/2/6 |
| **Government Model High School for Boys Model Town Lahore** | 12 | 1/2/4/5 | 0/0/2/10 | 4 / 3 / 2 / 3 | 5/3/3/1 | 2/4/6 | 3/9 | 6/4/2 |
| **Govt. Girls High School Gulshan e Ravi** | 12 | 2/1/4/5 | 0/0/3/9 | 4 / 4 / 2 / 2 | 4/5/2/1 | 3/3/6 | 2/10 | 5/4/3 |
| **Total** | 59 | 7/14/16/22 | 9/7/21/22 | 15/16/19/9 | 17/20/13/9 | 20/22/17 | 28/31 | 33/12/14 |

**Source: Field Data**

Table 2 depicts the demographic profiles of Parents of the Students those were interviewed. Their occupation, monthly income, education, residential location, nature of accommodation (whether it's on rent or they own it) and the type of their family's structure has been tabulated in 7 Columns. The first two Columns tell about the names of schools and the number of parents from students of these schools interviewed respectively. Column 3 tells about their occupation (whether it is Agriculture, Business, Private Job or Public Job). Column 4 tells about their monthly income (whether it is above 2 lakhs, between 1 lakh and 2 lakhs, between 50000 to I lakh or below 50000),

Column 5 is about father's education (whether he has no formal education, high school education, graduation or above graduation), Column 6 tells the same about the mother's education, Column 7 tells about the area of their residential (whether it is posh, middle class or poor locality. Posh areas for this study are areas like Defense, Gulberg, Model Town and Bahria Town like areas. Middle class areas are like Allama Iqbal Town, Faisal Town, Azam Garden etc. Poor localities are Awan Town, Gulshan e Ravi, Muhafiz Town like localities), Column 8 tells whether they own the house they live in or it is on rent. Lastly, Column 9 tells about the nature of their family structure (whether it is nuclear, joint or extended).

Selection of the school for children is mostly done by their parents. They are the ones who pay fee of schools and foot other expenses. It was important to know about the socio-economic background of students and that would have been incomplete without knowing about their family status. It is said that the home is the first social institution where the education process of a child starts. The education and income of the parents of the students matters and plays a major role in the upbringing and grooming of the students.

Census forms for parents were designed in a fashion that complete family demographic information was available to the researcher. In census forms the basis information about the parents of the students was sought. Census of Parents and students allowed me to pick my Sample for in-depth interviews for both at the later stage of my research.

In the case of government school's students, most of the parents were from lower and lower middle class. Their monthly income was mostly between Rest. 25000-40000. Few were doing jobs in private firms and most of them were doing small businesses like grocery shops and electric mechanics. Almost 80 percent of these parents, especially mothers, didn't have any formal education but did have religious education. Few had neither religious nor formal school education. Moreover, only few had their own house and most of them were residing in rental flats.

In case of non-elite private schools, situation is slightly different. In non-elite school branch, almost 90 percent students are from middle class and the rest are from lower class. The average income of their parents is between 50000 –1 Lakh Rs. a month. They are literate and majority have at least intermediate degrees. They are doing jobs blue color jobs in government and

private sector. They are for the most part settled in middle class areas like Iqbal Town, Samna bad, Wapda Town etc.

On the other hand, in case of elite private school, situation was entirely different (as compared to government schools). In the elite school branch, almost 90 percent students were from upper class families and the rest were from upper middle class. The average income of their parents was between 2 Lac – 3 Lac Rs. a month. They were formally qualified and even had degrees from international universities. It is pertinent to mention that parents of few students in this school hail from rural areas and they have no formal education. Their source of income was agriculture. It was also found that not only the fathers of most of these students but mothers are also highly educated professionals like doctors, professors, chartered accountants and bureaucrats. Moreover, they were settled in posh areas like Defense, Gulberg, and Model Town.

### 4.1.3 Profiles of Teachers Interviewed Using Interview Guides

After students, teachers are the most important Unit of Data Collection in the current research. As discussed earlier interview guides have been used for this UDC as detailed investigation was needed. Moreover, Stratified Random Sampling was used to do justice to the representation based on Gender, Type of School and Subject Group etc.

In LGS Paragon, which is an elite private school, there were total 17 male and female Teachers teaching different subjects to $9^{th}$ and$10^{th}$ standard classes. The total number of teachers in LGS Landmark, non-elite private school, was 21. In case of Government Model High School for Boys Model Town Lahore there were total 21 Male teachers teaching different subjects to $9^{th}$ and $10^{th}$ standard classes. Similarly, in case of Govt. Girls High School Gulshan e Ravi Lahore, there were total 19 female teachers teaching different subjects to $9^{th}$ and $10^{th}$ standard classes.

Based on Stratified Random Sampling, 5 teachers from each school were interviewed. Moreover, keeping in mind the relevancy and importance of subject with this current study, it was made sure that teacher teaching English, Mathematics, Social Studies, Islamic Studies and Urdu were must interviewed.

As mentioned in the tables beneath, in interview schedules teacher's demographic profile was asked. It was found that most of the teachers working in government schools were from lower

middle class. Their only source of income was the salary they draw from school job. Majority was married and residing in joint families. They were having Graduation and relevant education professional degrees like B.Ed. Not even a single teacher working in the government schools was foreign qualified. Few of them have done English language courses but the standard of their spoken skills was poor.

On the contrary, teachers working in both types of private schools were not only more educated but also better trained. Majority have done English language courses, particularly the teachers from elite branch had sound grip on spoken English. It was interesting to find out that few of them have also basic know how about French, Italian and Arabic. Teachers from these two branches were mostly from upper middle and upper classes and this profession was not their solo source of income. Many of teachers of elite branch were foreign qualified and have degrees from well-known universities. As far as education profession related degrees are concerned, private school teachers didn't have B.Ed. degrees but they were having Certificates of Certified Teachers Training Courses.

## 4.2 Part 2: Thematic Presentation of Data

In the forthcoming text, I will present data obtained from in depth interview guides administered to the sampled students, parents and teachers. I conducted in depth interviews from students, their parents and teachers.

I will present the data, thus obtained, in a thematic form. My data throws up following 7 themes;

1. Dictums, Directions and Destinations
2. Education as a mean of Cultural Capital Creation
3. English as an Extended Arm of Elite Hegemony
4. Schools as a space of construction and reinforcement of class differentials
5. Pluralistic Education; A Monster or Mermaid
6. Schools as a source of Added Value or Dead Weight Value
7. From Yesterday to Tomorrow; Foundations Matter

6 themes are applicable to all UDCs namely, Students, Parents and Teachers. While out of them Theme 2 i.e. Education as a mean of Cultural Capital Creation is not applicable to Teachers. The following text presents the data obtained from the interviews conducted during the field work.

### 4.2.1 Theme 1: Dictum, directions and destinations: -

Education is like a journey. A student starts his/her educational journey on a decided path that must lead him/her to a desired destination. It starts from his belief and philosophical grounds to understand the need of education. His/her parents or he/she himself, depending on his/her age, must decide what sought of education he/she wants to acquire. Next step is the stage of execution and the translation of belief and understanding into practical actions. As we all know that every action leads to a result. This process starts from the selection of school and ends with landing in the career that a student aims at. It is not just about the job and economic gain. The destination here is a bigger concept. Education is mostly termed as a ladder for upward social mobility. Through education a person can have better access to opportunities to uplift his socio, economic and political class.

This theme is very important, especially in case of articulation between academic and domestic domains. Not only students but other UDCs parents and teachers are very relevant to it. Both parents and teachers are important stakeholders in the education of students. In most of the cases, parents decide their children's schools. They are the one who fund children school fee and arrange other education related expenses. Alongside parents, teachers also shape the future of their students by leading them to learn new skills, ethics, values and habits.

#### Students

My data indicates that after selecting school which is mostly done by the parents the most important task is the selection of subjects for the students. They were asked their subject of interest and whether that subject selection compliments their career ambitions or not. In case of students from private schools, majority of the students were very clear about their ambitions and subject selection. The dominant voice indicated that they had opted for these subjects because they will help them in reaching where they want to be in life. One student said

"*I have interest in Biology and Natural Sciences. I developed my interest because I want to pursue medical profession*"

It is also important to mention that in most of the male students want to pursue business studies as a subject because they plan to run their family business in later period of their life. On the other hand, in case of girl students, humanities are the most opted group. Dominant voice here is supportive of English Literature as the subject of popular interest. When parents were queried about subjects they would want their children to study, an interesting situation came up. Private school students, especially boys, were independent in selection of subjects. Their opinion was hardly influenced by their parent's decision. One of the boy students of the elite private school mentioned:

*"I am the one who is supposed to select subjects because I am the one who has to study and earn good grades"*

However, in case of government and non-elite private schools the story was a bit different. Majority of the students here said that science subjects interest them as they want to be doctors and engineers. They believed only science subjects can enable them to pursue a good career. One of the male students of the government school said;

"*Arts and Humanities are the subject for rich students who are not worried about making money. They study for fun and have to run their family business ultimately*"

Even career ambitions were different in different schools. Majority of the private school students, especially boys, said that they didn't want to do a job but to run business. A student noted;

"I want to expand my family business. My subject of interest is business studies as I plan to learn new business techniques that will help me in achieving my business goals"

Moreover, among those who mentioned that they want to do a job, majority said that they would prefer to do a private job rather than a government job. Only few mentioned that they want to do CSS. Girls form private schools preferred to run individual consultancies, small businesses or a private clinic.

However, government school students mentioned doing a job as their priority and they were more interested in doing government jobs. They believed only a government job can make their future secure. Boys from Public schools were predominately interested in engineering career. A student observed;

"*I am planning to do FSC Pre-engineering after my matriculation. Engineers are respected and well paid*"

Few wanted to join Army. Similarly, girls from the government schools wanted to practice medical profession and their second choice was academia and teaching.

When asked why they wanted to pursue the careers mentioned above, dominant voice in Government school students, both girls and boys, was that they wanted to support their families and wanted to improve their socio-economic class. They recalled the financial difficulties that their family had faced in the past. In case of private school students, the situation was different. Though many mentioned that money is important for them, the majority said that pursuing a career was like a passion for them. It is obvious in the following quotes from students of Private schools;

"*Being a lawyer is my passion. It's not about money as I have my family business too. I have always desired to be a corporate lawyer*"

"*I want to be a fashion designer. This profession suits me as I think I have got good aesthetic sense. I will run my own boutique*"

Students of both schools were asked whether they want to go aboard for higher education and do they want to come back or not after completing their foreign degrees. Dominant voice of the students in private school, both elite and non-elite, is that they were interested in going abroad for higher studies. Not only boys but majority of girls also wanted to do their next degrees from International institutions. 60 percent boys told me that they don't want to come back to Pakistan and will prefer to settle abroad after completing their education. However, majority of the girl students wanted to come back to Pakistan, get married here and settle in their homeland. A boy student said;

"*I want to be a Neurosurgeon. I want to do my specialization from England and live there for at least first ten years"*

A girl student however said;

> "*I will definitely come back to Pakistan after completing my education. It's all about family at the end. Rest comes and goes*"

Dominant voice among Government school students shows that their ambition was not foreign education. For them even obtaining degrees from reputable expensive Pakistani universities was enough. Due to the affordability factor, some students said that they will only go abroad for education if they win a scholarship. Almost 95 percent of the girl students from government schools straight away struck down the idea of foreign education. They believed that, their parents will never allow them to go abroad. So, the disparity was evident not only in mental approach but also in ambitions and destinations between the students of Private schools as compared to those from Public schools.

## Parents

School selection for the children, especially the first school, is done by the parents. They are the most important stakeholders after students themselves. That is the reason that their opinion has been given due consideration in this study. The data from the parents indicate that the choice of school was made based on different factors. In case of Government Schools, especially those where students from lower economic class studied, this choice was made based on affordability, proximity and convenience. Parents sent their children to schools that they can afford. Data reveals that despite being well informed about the low standard & quality of education provided in a public school, they were sending their children to the school. Though parents wanted to give better educational opportunities to their children so that they may achieve their goals and find respected positions in society, they couldn't. Parents were asked if they were satisfied with the quality of education in the school where their children were studying and then they were asked why you are sending your children to this school if not satisfied with the quality of education.

For instance, the response of the father of a student studying in Government school who knew that the quality of education is not up to the mark in that school was as under

"*My children are very intelligent and this is not the school that they deserve. I am personally convinced that the quality of education is better in high fee schools that I can't afford. This particular school is near my house and it's easy for me to drop both there*".

In the case of Government school students, almost 90percent of the parents told me that they want their children to do jobs. They were also of the opinion that they will prefer government job for their children. Engineer, Doctor, Army, Government service were most aspired careers. Only 10 percent said that they want their children to do business. This reflects the approach that they considered government jobs to be more secure and were not ready to take risks. Majority aspired to send their children abroad but only if they win a scholarship. Moreover, it would be pertinent to mention here that the aspired career of a student and his/her parents were mostly similar in case of Government schools.

However, situation was entirely different in case of parents whose children studied in elite school. Selection of school was based on school brand, child's choice, market acceptability and alignment with aspired career, potential to secure admission in a good foreign university and room for harnessing extra-curricular skills. Almost 50 percent of the parents mentioned business as a better option for their children. If not business, a private job was noted as the second best option. Moreover, almost 40 percent of parents said that they want their children to stay abroad after education and to make their career there.

**Teachers**

Motivation is very important in case of teaching profession. The interest and motivation through which a teacher teaches his/her students have a very strong impact on the quality of education of the student. The argument here is that the direction and destination of a student are strongly affected by the same of his teacher. Thus, this UDC has been given its due importance and consideration. In the case of government schools, dominant voice of teachers considered teaching as a "Noble Profession". There was no clear response to the question about what inspired them to join teaching career and what inspires them to stay in the same. The majority was not satisfied with the remuneration and wanted to change this profession if given another option. In case of male teachers, majority of them said that they joined this career to pursue a government job. Few of them opined that teaching career allows them to do business or some other activity in

evenings. Very few considered teaching as their passion. Moreover, in case of female teachers teaching in government schools was preferred. They appeared more motivated to stay in the teaching career. Dominant voice here was that "teaching career is a perfect career for a woman". Dominant voice was in favor of staying in teaching career. One of the female teachers in government school pointed out that: -

> *"I belong to a rural family. In our family, a woman is hardly allowed to join any profession other than teaching"*

Unlike government school teachers, especially male teachers, in the case of private schools, teaching career was mostly aspired by choice rather than financial or social compulsions. Teachers in the elite private school were graduates from well ranked universities and they were pursuing this career with zeal. The majority in case of female teachers mentioned teaching profession as their passion. A female teacher told me that; -

"*Knowing that you have a small part to play in shaping young lives is a constant motivation. When students remember you even after they are gone, that feeling is very rewarding"*

When asked if it was necessary to have a M.ED. or B.ED. degree the situation in private schools was different than that in public schools. In case of recruitment in a private school there is no pre-requisite to have a professional teaching degree like Masters or Bachelors in Education. However, teachers are inducted based on relevant degrees in the subjects that they are supposed to teach. Likewise, training mechanism is also different in elite private schools. Teachers are provided in service training like Cambridge International Examinations Workshops. Foreign trainings are also imparted. The teachers in elite private school were found better trained and the school administration kept a check on teachers if the training was being utilized by the teachers in class rooms or not.

### 4.2.2 Theme 2: Education as a mean of cultural capital creation: -

Cultural capital refers to the collection of symbolic elements such as skills, tastes, posture, clothing, mannerisms, material belongings, credentials, etc. that one acquires through being part of a social class. Education of a person provides him advantage to achieve a higher social status in the society. It works as a ladder in case of upward social mobility. Ideally, school level education plays a foundational role in this regard. A student who is enrolled in a quality school has better economic and social prospects in later life. Students of the same school come from almost similar socio-economic classes. They share similar values, tastes, and manners. In schools, these values, tastes and manners are further reinforced and this results in shared cultural capital of the students. To understand this theme, UDCs were asked their opinions about different cultural capital issues pertaining to the education sector. They were asked about their interests, beliefs and priorities. This theme is quite broad as it covers almost all the opinion based questions. I have tried to be brief while presenting the details.

#### Students

Students from different types of schools were asked about their favorite subjects, aspired career/profession, their plans to study abroad, there interest in cu-curricular activities, the most spoken language in their home and their take on the medium of instruction. It was interesting to find that the responses of students from both government and private schools were like their class fellows in their respective schools.

In case of government schools, majority mentioned science subjects as their major subjects. In case of private schools, it was mostly Arts and Business studies. Similarly, most of the students from government schools said they want to join government jobs because they feel secure since these jobs are pensionable and thus give a sense of social security. However, above 80 percent of the private school students said that they will either do business or a private job.

For private school students, the most spoke languages at home were Urdu and English. These were Punjabi and Urdu in case of government school students. Above 90 percent of private school students mentioned that they will go abroad for higher studies. Among those, 60 percent mentioned that they will try to settle abroad and will not come back. On the contrary, less than 50

percent of students from government schools said that they would like to go abroad for higher studies. Among them, more than 80percent students said that they will come back to Pakistan.

**Parents**

Parents are highly relevant to this theme. The students reflect the preferences, of the parents when it comes to the issue of subject selection. The shared values, tastes, means and ambitions that a student has usually come from his/her family, parents being the most important stakeholders in the family.

Parents were asked why they are so particular, (if they are), while sending their children to a school where children from the same class as theirs study. Moreover, to understand the general perception of parents of students coming from different socioeconomic classes, I asked them whether they want their children to go abroad for higher studies or not? Building on the same question, I further inquired, do they want their children to settle there or come back after completing studies.

Majority of the parents from Elite Private School said that selection of the school for their children matters a lot to them. Not only is the quality of education an important factor in this regard but also the economic/occupational status of the parents of the students studying there matters. Parents opined that selection of school was a herculean task. Both visited different schools. Not only did they meet the principals and teachers of the schools we visited but also some of the students studying there. Coordinators briefed them about the profile of the students' families too. They said that the impact of the peers of a child on his/her personality and character development cannot be ignored. It's not just about the income or the material belongings of the family that shapes the personality but also the education and occupation of the parents that play an important role

However, in case of Public school's majority of the parents were not that much concerned about the socio-economic background of their children's class fellows. Though they acknowledged the fact that the company of a child matters and the peers play a role in the development of a person, but for them the background of the family was not that important a factor. Father of a student opined;

"*It's a very subjective phenomenon. We all know that the students studying in public schools mostly belong to lower middle or lower-class families. A student's interaction with his/her class fellow leaves an impact on his/her personality, but can we be so sure that the elite private students are better in character or more civilized than those studying in public schools when there is rampant use of drugs, late night parties and aloofness from religion in students in these elite schools*"

Similarly, the dominant voice in case of the parents of the students coming from private schools was in favor of sending their children abroad for higher studies. They considered international exposure to be very important for their children's grooming. However, the voice was divided when asked whether they want their children to settle abroad or comeback. Father of a student observed;

"*Definitely I am in favor of sending them abroad. My son is trying for scholarship as he is interested in doing his BSC (Hons.) from London School of Economics. We both encourage him and will sponsor his education there even if he is not able to secure a scholarship*"

When asked should he settle their or come back, he opined;

"*It depends on his choice. We don't mind if he settles there if he gets a good opportunity*"

"*, that the standard of education here in Pakistan is not at par with international universities. Even best institutions like LUMS & IBA are not that competitive. I want my daughter to go abroad for higher studies. She is up to going there and gets her degree from a top business school*"

The scenario was different in case of public schools. Opinion was divided. Almost 40percent of parents desired that they want to send their children abroad for higher studies but they could not because it was too expensive. However, the remaining fraction opined that they want their children to complete their education in Pakistan and start earning. Father of a student opined;

"*I am waiting for that time when my son will start earning. It was very difficult for me to afford his education and other day to day expenses in this much salary. I will ask him to start a job soon after his graduation rather than going abroad for studies*"

"*Education is very important in the present times. One can hardly survive without it. I want to send my children to abroad for higher studies*"

When asked do you want them to settle abroad, he said;

"*I want them to settle there. This country has nothing to offer to a class to which we belong. I always advise my children to aim higher and try to settle abroad whenever they go for higher studies"*

### 4.2.3 Theme 3: English as an extended arm of elite hegemony: -

Importance of English in the present world is immense. Being one of the most spoken languages in the world its significance has been accepted as an International Language and now it is termed as the "Language of the World". The dominance of English language is felt in all sectors, education being one of them. This theme is very relevant to this research study. English is being used as a tool of dominance in the society. The ability to communicate in this language comes handy in getting admissions in good schools, high grades and high-profile jobs. Expertise in English language gives a comparative advantage to the students on those who are not well proficient in this language. It has been well noted that sometimes a student who has good understanding of a subject is not able to score good just because his language skills are not up to the mark. On the other hand, a student, whose writing skills are good, gets good grades despite being average in his studies. Almost the same thing happens in case of interviews and other screening processes for jobs.

**Students**

I tried to understand the position of students in this regard through variety of questions. They were asked about the language mostly spoken at their home, in which language they find themselves most proficient, in what languages lectures are delivered in their schools and their opinion about medium of instruction in schools.

In case of Government Schools, majority of the students mentioned that Punjabi was mostly spoken at their home. Punjabi was their mother language. Almost 30 percent students from these schools mentioned that both Urdu and Punjabi was spoken in their homes. Not even a single

student from government schools mentioned English as the most spoken language at home One of the students said: -

"*We mostly speak Punjabi at home, though my father always asks me to learn and speak English*"

Majority of the students stated that they are more proficient in speaking Urdu and Punjabi. Like a student mentioned;

"*I am fluent in speaking Urdu and Punjabi. My parents are illiterate and they can't even speak a single word of English*"

Only few students mentioned that they are comfortable in speaking English and find themselves proficient. The later were mostly from upper middle class and their parents have done graduation. One of the girl students, who mentioned English Literature as her most favorite subject, mentioned that: -

"*Though my mother language is Punjabi and even lectures in our school are delivered in Urdu, but still I am proficient in English Language. Thankfully, it is because of my interest in reading English novels since my childhood"*

Almost 80 percent of the students said that lectures are delivered in Urdu in their schools. Remaining students mentioned that it is done both in English and Urdu. Interestingly the majority observed that English should be the medium of instruction in their schools and importance of English language should be acknowledged. A student opined;

"*We shouldn't deny the reality. English is the global language; one should have its basic understanding if he/she wants to make him/her competitive*"

However, in case of Private school, dominant voice mentioned both English and Urdu as the most spoken languages in their homes. It was mostly because their parents were highly educated and they have been trying to polish their English languages skills since childhood. Moreover, significant majority observed that they are more proficient in English language than any other language. Almost all of them said that lectures are delivered in English in their schools

and the medium of instruction should be English. A male student from the private school observed: -

"*Excellent communication skills in English language are very important. My parents are very particular about it. My school selection was done based on it".*

**Parents**

To understand the role of English language in supporting elite hegemony in larger society, parents were asked about the language or languages they speak at home. Moreover, what made them to select a school for their children was being English medium school a pre-requisite for this selection? What should be the medium of instruction at schools? Whether it should be the mother language, the National language or the International language i.e. English? Why should it be? To understand it from a class perspective, parents were asked if the medium of instruction be same in all type of schools.

Majority of the parents of the students of private schools mentioned that the most spoken languages in their home are either English or Urdu. They said that they ensured that their children are exposed to Punjabi at their earlier age. One set of the parent, who was working professional, mentioned: -

"*The importance of English language can be hardly denied. It is the language of the world. I and my wife have always tried to speak English in front of our children. Moreover, while selecting school for our children we visited different school chains personally and met with the teachers. Spoken English skills of teachers played a major role in our decision making"*

Almost these parents said that the medium of instruction in their children's school is English and they approved of it. Mother of a student said;

"*I endorse English as a medium of instruction. Strong communication skills in this language come handy throughout the life of a person*"

Only few of the parents showed their concern over their children's Urdu being weak owing to the school's emphasis on English. They said national language should also be taught properly in elite private schools but it is not taken care of.

"*Urdu is our national language and its importance can't be denied. I am always concerned about my children's inability to speak this language fluently*"

Majority said that the medium of instruction should be the same in different types of schools. Marginal voice was of the view that medium of instruction should not be same in private and public schools. They said, we pay a lot of fee to schools and the quality should be different for those who pay less.

In case of government schools, parents said that Punjabi is mostly spoken in their homes, Urdu being the 2nd most spoken language. Though they acknowledged the importance of English language, yet they couldn't speak it because majority of them was illiterate. Father of a student noted;

*"I can't even speak Punjabi in a proper manner. Still I am very much determined to send my children to English medium schools"*

Dominant voice said the medium of instruction in schools should be English as this language plays a major role in the success of a student. All the parents said that the medium of instruction should be same in different types of schools. Literate parents knew education is the fundamental right of their children. They said that the government should play its role to ensure same type of medium in all schools. Mother of a student pointed;

"*Medium of instruction should be definitely same-why to discriminate based on language and fees*"

**Teachers**

Teachers were asked whether good communication skills played any role in their selection of teaching as a career, and have they done any English language course or not? They were also asked about the medium of instruction in their school, what language should be the medium of instruction and should it be the same in different schools.

Private school teachers said that language played a vital role at the stage of their selection. Few of them said that it even played more role than the knowledge in subject that they were supposed to teach. A teacher noted;

"*My whole interview was taken in English. Excellent communication skills in English language had been clearly mentioned in the advertisement for this position*"

However, in case of government school teachers, the selection process is different. It is mostly subject based test. Dominant voice from government school teachers was that language skills were not as important. A Government school teacher apprised;

"*Our selection was done based on cumulative score that was based on Academic Score, Teaching Experience and Written exam score*"

Majority of the teachers from private schools said that the medium of instruction in schools is English and it should be English. They considered it as a pre-requisite for starting a good career. On the other hand, government school teachers said that it is Urdu. Their opinion was divided when asked what should be the medium of instruction.

Interestingly, few teachers from private schools said that the medium of instruction should be both English and Urdu. One of the teachers said: -

"*I instruct my class bilingually; hence I think that teaching in both languages works best".*

### 4.2.4 Theme 4: Schools as spaces of construction and reinforcement of class differentials: -

Different types of school's manifest presence of students coming from different socio-economic classes. Unfortunately, in countries like Pakistan, the screening is mostly done based on fees. There is a clear-cut division into different classes when it comes to the selection of schools. A student from a weaker economic background is not able to afford a school with high fees. Students from such lower or even lower middle classes must join Government Schools. I am not arguing that the quality of education in Government schools is not good. What I am trying to establish is the existence of the notion that "different schools for different classes in Pakistan". The class differentials are constructed in schools through presence of students of a similar economic-social class in each school. Children from a class share same values, habits, beliefs and upbringing. The same is reinforced when they join a type of school where they intermingle, socialize and interact with other students coming from similar class. For instance, a student from upper economic-social class joins a school where students from the similar class

also study. He will have better social connections and will be more adaptive to the shared values and customs. On the contrary, a student from lower or lower middle class will hardly have such advantage.

**Students**

To further understand the above-mentioned phenomenon, few questions were asked from students from all schools. They were asked about the socio-economic status of their class fellows and whether they want to swap their schools- from private to public and vice versa. Students from private schools were specifically asked whether they support the argument that elite private schools should let brilliant students from lower middle class to take admissions? Effort was made to have an overall understanding of the opinion of students from both types of schools.

Dominant voice from government schools said that their class fellows are from similar class like their own. They said that they are comfortable while interacting with their class fellows as there is a lot of common space between them. However, almost 70 percent of students from government schools observed that they want to join private schools if given the choice. They said that they got admitted in government school because of affordable fees; they would want to study in private schools if scholarships or some other arrangement is available. One of the students observed: -

"*My father works at a petrol pump. He is the only earning member of the family and can't afford even the fee of a government school. I am studying on scholarship and will definitely switch to a private school if similar arrangement is done there".*

Another student mentioned;

"*Obviously, I will prefer a private school if given the opportunity to do so*"

Majority from elite private school said that their class fellows are from upper class. 10 percent of the students mentioned that few of their class fellows are from middle class too. Upon further probing, students told me that their class fellows are either from notable business families or bureaucrats, landlords and politicians. Moreover, almost all the students said that

they don't want to switch to a government school. Just 4 students mentioned that they will like to join a government school for a semester for the sake of experience.

"*It would be fun to get surrounded by students coming from a different class. I am ready to experience it if my parents allow*"

Similarly, majority said that they will not appreciate the idea that an elite private school should allow students from lower classes to take admissions. They said that we are here because we afford it. Not only for us, but it will a matter of discomfort for them too. Mother of a student from elite private school was of the opinion;

"*Schools like Atchison, LGS and Crescent are for elite not because of their high fees but due to the shared values of the families of students. I will never let my son study in a school where social class is not taken care of*"

A marginal fraction of the students was welcoming to this idea. They said they don't mind this social mix. Every brilliant student should be given the opportunity to have quality education and the same should not be restricted just based on affordability. Father of a student asserted;

"*Why not for all children? Everyone should be given the opportunity to join the best school as per merit*"

## Parents

Building on the questions asked from the students, their parents were also asked about their monthly average income, total earning members in their families, their profession and source of income. Furthermore, they were asked what type of career they want their children to pursue. Is it business or a job? They were also asked about the socio-economic class of their children's class fellows. Their insights were also taken about the role of education as a ladder for upward social mobility. In case of elite private schools, parents were asked whether they appreciate the presence of students, if any, from different socio-economic classes in the schools of their children or not?

Parents of the students from three types of schools acknowledged the role of education as the ladder for upward social mobility. But approaches of both parents (mothers & fathers) were entirely different. Father of a student from government school, who is a carpenter said: -

"Importance of education can be hardly denied. I being an illiterate person consider myself very unfortunate"

When I asked how he can be so optimistic about the system, he said

"I have no trust on the prevalent system in Pakistan. Opportunities for families like us are very short"

Parents of the private school students said that education's role in life can't be denied even in upper classes. Education helps a person to maintain his socio-economic status. Majority of the parents said that they want their children to run their business, for which quality education is very important. Dominant voice said that they are very particular about the socio-economic class of their children's class fellows. One of the parents said

"*Peers play an important role in the socialization of a child. Parents should keep a check on the class activities of their children, especially on family background of their children's class fellows, with whom they spend most of their time*."

However, parents of government school students said that they don't mind about the socio-economic class of their children's class fellows. Dominant voice said that they want their children to do government jobs. Father of a student who was a banker opined;

"*I appreciate the mixture of classes in schools. Children will have a chance to experience diversity and it will be beneficial for social harmony in the society*"

**Teachers**

Teachers are indirectly related to this theme. Private school's teachers were asked whether they have taught in a public school and vice versa. They were asked about the socio-economic background of their students. Their opinion was taken about how schools work as a space for construction and reinforcement of class differentials.

Teachers from three types of schools accepted the narrative that schools work as a space for the construction and reinforcement of class differentials. The teachers who have experience of teaching in both types of schools were better aware about this phenomenon.

More than 80 percent of the teachers said that they don't have the experience to teach in both government and private schools. Similar ratio said that they are not interested in changing their schools. Government school teachers said that above 95 percent of their students come from lower economic class, the remaining 5 percent from lower middle class. Non-elite private school's teachers noted that students are mostly from middle class. However, elite private school teachers mentioned that majority of their students is from upper economic class; the remaining marginal fraction is from upper middle class. A teacher from private school observed;

"*Fee of an O Level student, in the school where I teach, is around 25000 per month. It's self-explanatory that students of this school belong to rich families*"

### 4.2.5 Theme 5: Pluralistic education; A Monster or Mermaid: -

The prevalence of multiple types of schools in a society is often contested. The arguments in favor and against are many and have been discussed in detail in Literature Review Chapter. Though the presence of uniform system of education in a country is largely appreciated, yet the argument of allowing private schooling based on competitiveness, choice and international standardization is still given its due space. To further analyze the advantages and disadvantages of the pluralistic education systems in Pakistan, the quality of education in both types of schools need to be compared. Who can be a better candidate for doing this but students, their parents and their teachers?

#### Students

Input of students of three types of schools in this regard is most important. Students were asked whether they are satisfied with the quality of education at their school, they were requested to share shortcomings and strengths of the school system. Moreover, to share their insights about the theme under discussion, they were asked to compare the private and public-school system.

Almost 30 percent of the students from government schools mentioned that they are totally satisfied with the quality of education in their school. 40-50 percent mentioned that the quality of

education is good but needs to be improved. Remaining 20 percent showed their displeasure with the quality of education and said that a lot must be done in this regard. Dominant voice from government schools mentioned affordability, proximity and vast campuses as the major strengths of their schools. A girl student observed;

"*For me, free education is no more than a blessing. My parents can't afford my education. Fee of a government school is affordable*"

Only few mentioned quality teachers and good learning environment as plus points. However, while pointing out shortcomings, the opinion was almost unanimous. Lack of proper extracurricular activities, average communication skills of teachers, lack of teachers training, frequent load shedding and bad sanitation facilities were most pointed shortcomings. While comparing a private school with a public one, dominant fraction observed that quality of education is good in private schools. There are more extracurricular activities, better trained teachers, spacious campuses and better facilities there. However, majority of the students were of the view that the quality of students is better in government schools. They are more hardworking, obedient, disciplined and focused.

In case of private schools, 90 percent of the students mentioned that they are satisfied with the quality of education in their school. Few of the students from non-elite private school mentioned that the scope for improvement is there. Nicely trained teaching staff, good learning environment, and inculcation of the urge to think out of the box, spacious campuses and the effort to create excellent communication skills were pointed out as major strengths in private schools. Students of elite private school also noted that the private schools should be made more internationally competitive. A student asserted;

"*This school system is one among the best in Pakistan. Efforts should be made to make it one of the best schools in the world. It has the potential to be so in the future*"

The inter school's linkage with international schools should be developed through student exchange programs. Scholarship opportunities to study in top ranked universities in the world should also be provided.

40 percent of the students of both elite and non-elite private school mentioned that they haven't been in a government school, so they can't compare both schools judiciously. Remaining 60 percent of students shared their insights based on indirect experiences I was told that. Students of private schools are more creative in their approach and know the art of critical thinking. Private schools train them to be so. However, government/public schools are more affordable, approachable, based on nationalist approach and more compliant to the State ideology and policies. Student mentioned;

"*Students of private school have an edge over their counterparts. They are trained to question what is considered least questionable in case of govt. school students"*

**Parents**

The theme under discussion is a very important one with respect to my dissertation. The debate is about the prevalence of different types of school systems in Pakistan. The question is whether it is a boon or bane?

Firstly, parents were asked about the school of their children, and then they were asked about the reasons to select that school, why don't they send their children to another type of school. Secondly, questions were designed to know about the ideological positioning of the parents. They were asked to share their views about the prevalence of multiple types of school systems in Pakistan and should there be a uniform system of education in the country.

Dominant voice among the parents was that the quality of education, medium of instruction, affordability and approach were the major factors to be considered while selecting a school. Father of a student was of the view that;

"*For me, quality of education was the most important factor; though it's a subjective phenomenon. I visited the school and met with the teachers. What impressed me was their spoken English skills*"

Parents of the private school students mentioned that they sent their children to a private school because they are better in quality. However, majority of the parents of government school students mentioned that the affordability is the main factor that pushed them to select a government school. In case of girl's government school branch, parents said that distance was also an important

factor. We can't afford both socially and financially, to send our daughters to distanced schools. Parents opined;

"*I work at a workshop. My monthly income is around 25000. How can I afford education of my three children in this much earning?"*

Almost all the parents were in favor of having a uniform education system in the country. However, in case of parents of elite private school students, a marginal voice did exist which was against the uniform educational system in the country. They said that they would never send their children to a school where they must mingle with different socio-economic classes.

**Teachers**

Opinion of teachers was taken about the prevalence of multiple educational systems in the country. They were asked how they see the impact of pluralistic education system on different socio-economic classes. Moreover, they were requested to compare private and public schools.

Majority of the teachers from all type of schools were critical about the prevalence of multiple school system. They were against this disparity based on affordability and were in favor of having a uniform educational system. They showed their concerns about the impact of this uneven system on the marginal economic classes of the society. A non-elite private school teacher noted: -

"*The education system is the same as other fields in Pakistan, i.e. if you have money, you can avail good education but otherwise you can't*"

A government school teacher added: -

"*Ideally Pakistan should have one unified system that is recognized globally. But that is still a farfetched idea, unfortunately*"

Another elite private school teacher observed: -

"*It is very important for children if we want them to compete with others in rest of the world*"

### 4.2.6 Theme 6: School as a source of added value or dead weight value: -

A proverb very aptly states, **"Teach me, and I will forget. Show me, and I might remember. Involve me, and I will never forget."**(Franklin) To a very great extent, the theoretical knowledge is improved when a co-curricular activity related to the content taught, is organized. Traditionally, basic purpose of a school was to provide formal education. It was mostly done through a set Curriculum, that was taught throughout the year and the quality of learning was assessed based on examinations. In the modern era, the role of schools has drastically changed and become broader. It has been understood that education goes beyond classrooms, and different activities must be established to make schools more efficient in meeting the present needs of the society. So presently, schools are expected to not only polish the curricular skills of a student but also to polish his/her co-curricular and extra-curricular skills. That means, ideally, schools must be a source of added value. To examine this scenario in the Pakistan's perspective, different questions were asked from students, their parents and teachers.

**Students**

Students of three types of schools were asked whether their schools provide opportunity to take part in cu-curricular and extra-curricular activities, what is there opinion about the importance of such activities, do they take part in extra-curricular activities, what sort of cu-curricular and extra-curricular activities interest them and do they take part in these activities. Their suggestions for improvement of these activities were also solicited.

Majority of the students from government schools mentioned that though some co-curricular and extra-curricular activities were offered but those were not enough. Above 90 percent of students, both boys and girls mentioned that they were not satisfied with the quality of these facilities. A student observed;

"*Anything recreational should be encouraged. Students are under a huge pressure of studies and they should be given a chance to relax and enjoy*"

Almost all the students observed that the role of the cu-curricular and extra-curricular activities is very important in the overall grooming of the student. These activities make them disciplined, focused towards their goals and encourage team work. It was also found out from

government schools that they mostly participate in Debates, Nat Competitions and in team based sports like Cricket and Football. The variety of activities was very limited. Above 80 percent of the students mentioned that they do participate in cu-curricular activities. Among those, majority mentioned that their school provides just few facilities like Debate competitions. So, they just participate in Debates and Team based sports. A student apprised;

"*I am member of the Debates society. We as a team frequently participate in the declamation competitions. I won a trophy last tim*e"

Interestingly, few of the students said that they don't participate in the cu-curricular activities. They termed it as wastage of time. One of the students, who was a high achiever in his class, said: -

"*Our parents send us to school for studying. These fun activities hardly contribute in the bigger mission- that is to score good grades*"

On the other hand, there was a large variety of co-curricular and extra-curricular activities in both types of private schools. It was not restricted to just debates and team based sports. Majority of the students mentioned that they were highly satisfied with the quality of facilities being provided. They noted that provision of these facilities was the main reason that pushed them to select this school. The school has very active dramatics and debates clubs, well maintained outdoor sports grounds, sports gymnasium, Arts society, music society and many more. Students of private schools were found to be more enthusiastic to participate in these activities. Inter branch and Intra branch competitions were frequently held. Dominant voice here appreciated the school administration for arranging such healthy events and was optimistic that they will further improve it. A student commented: -

"*Music is my passion. Unfortunately, in our society at large particularly for girls, practicing music is not encouraged. But I am thankful that there is a lot of space in my school to practice it fearlessly*".

"*I am fond of playing cricket; my favorite sport. The quality of coaches, trainings and field grounds is amazing*"

"*I have been painting for last 5 years. Instructors are polishing my skills and I am improving as a painter day by day"*

**Parents**

Parents were asked to tell what they thought about the role of co-curricular and extra-curricular activities in the development of their children, which of these activities were their children most interested in, what type of sports and cu-curricular activities they encourage, are they satisfied with the facilities provided at their children's schools. Moreover, they were also asked if they considered this factor while selecting school for their children.

Majority was found aware about the importance of sports and cu-curricular activities in the overall physical, mental and emotional development of their children. They said that they strongly supported such activities but only if they are not at the cost of studies. Parents of elite and non-elite private school students said that they are satisfied with the quality of facilities being provided in their children schools. Mother of as student from non-elite private school mentioned;

"*I am satisfied with the facilities given the fee that we pay. I have observed much difference in the personality of my child since he joined this school*"

However, in case of government schools, parents were not as supportive of their children's participation in extra-curricular and co-curricular activities. Father of a student opined;

"*Co-Curricular activities are less important than studies. Priority should be grades as these are instrumental for getting a good job*"

Meanwhile, they were not satisfied with the facilities provided by schools. A student's father, who was a clerk in a govt. department observed;

"*My son has interest in swimming and basketball. But, there is no such opportunity in govt. schools*"

**Teachers**

Teachers of all schools were well informed about the need of cu-curricular activities. Though their opinion differed about what type of such activities contribute the most in the overall

grooming of a student. Dominant voice from private school's teachers was in the favor of creative activities and mental sports. A teacher from LGS Paragon believed:

"*Playing Chess improves cognitive skills of the students. I am a good player of this game and I encourage my students to learn this game*"

Similarly, Teacher of LGS Landmark opined;

"*Extra-Curricular activities develop healthy competition spirit in students. These activities leave a lot of impact on the later life of students*"

However, public school teachers encouraged the importance of team sports and rigorous physical activities. One of the teachers mentioned;

"*Healthy body has a healthy mind. Physical sports are beneficial not only for bodies but also for brain health*"

Opinion was unanimous when asked about the role of Debates in confidence building of a child.

### 4.2.7 Theme 7: From Yesterday to Tomorrow; Foundations Matter: -

This theme is related with all the themes discussed before, especially with the 1st and 4th one. As discussed earlier, the socio-economic environment of a family in which a student grows up as a child plays a very important role in building his/her socio-economic status in the future. The environment at home is a primary socialization agent and influences a child's interest in school and aspirations for the future in a major way. Similarly, the level of education of the parents of the students leaves a considerable impact on his/her educational achievements that will ultimately translate into social and economic gains. The argument is that a student's education is closely linked to his/her life chances, income, and wellbeing. The socio-economic class of a child defines the school that he will attend. Resultantly, students from low socioeconomic backgrounds who attend low fee schools do not perform as well as students from higher social classes.

The socio-economic future of a child is mostly determined by the parents' educational level, occupational status, and income level. All these factors have a combined effect on the future of the student. To understand it further, I asked different questions about the family economic

background, social status, and parent's education from students and their parents. Teachers also being important stakeholders were asked related questions to have their insight about the role of family background on the children success in future.

**Students**

Students from both types of schools were asked about the source of earning and profession of their parents, were they doing business or doing job? Information about monthly average income of the family and total earning members was also sought. Questions were also asked about their education, whether they have any formal educational degree? If yes, what was the level of their degrees, if not, do they have any informal education or religious education. Home address was also asked to know the area where they were residing.

As discussed at the start of the chapter while tabulating the socio-economic details about the students and their parents, majority of students from Government schools were from lower and lower middle-class families. In case of government schools, the average monthly income of family of above 80 percent students was below 50,000. Among those 80 percent, 50 percent even have below 30,000. Parents of 30 percent students were illiterate, and 70 percent of the remaining was under-graduates. Majority of students mentioned that their parents do jobs. Those jobs were clerical in case of government jobs, and very low paid in case of private one. Mothers were either housewives or doing some work like stitching and cutting. In majority of the cases, there was only one earning member i.e. Father. Families of almost all the students were residing in lower class areas like colonies in flats and rooms on rent. That is all that led them to take admissions in government schools.

On the other hand, in case of students from elite and non-elite private school s (both LGS Paragon and LGS Landmark), parents were highly educated and were having professional degrees like LLB, MBBS, CA and Engineering. Both father and mother were graduates in above 70 percent of the students. Majority mentioned that their parents own family business. If in jobs, they were top earning professionals. Monthly average income of the family of those in elite schools was more than 2 Lakh Rs. and above 75000 Rs. in case of non-elite schools. Families of elite private school students were residing in posh areas like Defense, Gulberg and Model Town and the

families of non-elite private schools were residing in reasonable localities like Muslim Town, Iqbal Town, Johor Town etc.

**Parents**

Having discussed earlier about the role of family background and parent's education on the overall life and education of a student, similar questions were asked from the parents. Parents were asked about their socio-economic background, profession and academic qualification. Once again, like we did in previous theme, they were also asked about the most spoken language in their home.

As expected, most parents of children from elite private schools were better qualified than their counterparts. Their education was having a major impact on the education of their children. They were about the language that they speak in front of their children. The inculcation of knowledge and values, in the minds of children, is easier in case of an educated family. There was a clear reflection of above mentioned factors on the tastes, habits and subject choices of the students. A father opined;

"*I am a Corporate Lawyer and practicing this profession since 1995. I am very particular about the study of my children. I will try to make my son best lawyer and will send him abroad for Bar at Law*"

Situation was almost the same in case of parents of students studying in non-elite private schools. Though they were not as qualified as those in elite private schools, but majority was at least graduate and doing respectable jobs. Parents mentioned that they try to speak Urdu in front of their children. Few among those who were having some knowledge of English language mentioned that they try to speak English with their children. Almost all of them mentioned that it was not that they were ashamed of speaking Punjabi, but they were trying to make their children able to speak and write their national and international language more fluently. A Parent mentioned;

"*We as a couple try to give best to our children. Though we can't afford an elite private school but we have tried to get him admitted in the best school that we could afford. Its English medium and has proper facilities"*

Majority of the parents of public school students were uneducated. They have very humble financial background. Resultantly, their children were meek in their approach. That was very unfortunate. The students of public schools were clearly showing the reflection of the families they come from. When I asked from public school students as to what their motivation behind studying is, significant majority mentioned that they want to change the basic outlook of their families.

**Teachers**

Now again, teachers were indirectly related to this theme. Teachers were asked about their general observations regarding this theme. Firstly, I asked them to tell me how their own family background and their parent's education played a part in their professional and personal life. Secondly, they were requested to share their experience of being with the students from different socio-economic classes.

Majority agreed that the family background and parent's education plays a significant role in the later achievements of their children. They said, both factors complement the students and teacher's effort. For instance, the probability of learning English language is higher in case of a student whose parents have the basic know how about this language.

# CHAPTER 5

# PRIMARY DATA PRESENTATION 2

# VOICE OF THOSE WHO MATTER

This chapter is a continuation of the previous chapter. In Chapter 4, I presented the primary data obtained during field work from UDCs 1, 2 and 3 that are Students, Teachers and Parents respectively. Here I will present the data from UDCs 5 and 6, which are the Functionaries of Governmental and Non-Governmental Bodies dealing with education policy making, and Employers in Public and Private Sector respectively. Because of time restraints and busy schedule of my respondents in Government and Non-Governmental institutions I employed interview schedule as the tool for data collection. In it, following the standard practice within social science research, 80percent of the questions were close ended while the rest were open ended. However, considering the importance of Employers in my study and to get in depth and multidimensional data, I administered interview guides for UDC 6. It was based on detailed discussions

Before presenting the data obtained from the interview guides and interview schedules administered to UDC 6 and UDC 5 respectively, I will present the personal profiles of the people interviewed. I will start with the presentation of basic occupational profiles of the functionaries of government and non-government bodies and potential employers of fresh graduates. This will be followed by a thematic presentation of data obtained from the UDCs being dealt with in this chapter. To make it more comprehensive, observations made during the field work have also been added in the data presented in the forthcoming text.

## 5.1 Profiles of Functionaries of Government and Non-Government bodies dealing with education policy making.

As the study under discussion is related with education, I tried to contact the relevant officials in government as well as non-government bodies that are either involved in the education policy making or with its implementation. As this study was Lahore based, the main stakeholders were departments of Punjab Government. The relevant departments that I visited were Planning and Development Department, Punjab Education Foundation and District Education Authority Lahore. I also interviewed a respondent from Idara e Taleem o Aghai.

Moreover, keeping in mind the importance of international agencies in education sector of Pakistan, I conducted interview of one of UNICEF officials posted in Pakistan. Brief personal profiles of the officials' interviewed are as under: -

Firstly, I interviewed a senior level official from Planning and Development Department Punjab. This is the principal planning organization at the provincial level. It has different sections dealing with different sectors like Education, Health, Energy, Transport and many more. Each section is headed by a Chief, who is a BPS 20 or BPS 19 officer. I interviewed one of the relevant officers in Education Section P&D Department who had worked in different government and non-government departments. Currently he is looking after the education sector planning of Punjab.

The next interview that I conducted was of Senior Officer from Research & Development wing of Punjab Education Foundation. Punjab education foundation is a government body that is responsible for promoting quality education through Public-Private-Partnership. It also supports the efforts of private sector through technical and financial assistance. This department takes new initiatives that would create new educational opportunities to the underprivileged children at an affordable cost. This institution was pivotal in understanding the structure and dynamics of pluralistic educational systems in Pakistan. My respondent in this outfit has been working here for the past 7 years.

Different NGOs and semi-government institutions in Punjab have been working to improve the quality of education in the province for some time now. One such institution is Idara Taleem o Aghai (Center for Education and Consciousness). It is an institution that tries to respond to the profound crisis of education and multiple crises forming the nuts and bolts of the Education Challenge in Punjab. I interviewed one of its Directors.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is well known for providing development assistance to children in the developing countries, Pakistan being one of those. UNICEF has been operating in Pakistan since 1948 when its first office was established in Islamabad. It works in partnership with different policy making and execution wings of Federal and Provincial Governments to ensure that every boy and girl completes at least primary education.

I conducted an interview with an Education Consultant of UNICEF, who had vast experience of research, advocacy and training of government officials working in the educational sector.

Last but not the least; I interviewed a representative of the Education Department of Punjab. School education is now directly a provincial subject. The department works in the areas of legislation, policy formulation and planning of school education related issues across the province. In 2017 the Punjab Civil Administration Act was put in place in Punjab. As per this ordinance school education related affairs of a district are supervised by a District Education Authority. Its head has title of Chief Executive Officer, previously known as Executive District Officer (Education). I interviewed one of his immediate subordinates who was an officer from Education Cadre and was appointed in Lahore since last year.

## 5.2 Profiles of the potential employers in Public and Private Sector of the fresh graduate students.

Education sector and job market of a country are directly related. Graduates produced by the educational institutions finally land in the job market. The quality of education of a person and the level of the job that he finds is directly related. Ideally, a person with good education will get a good job and vice versa. One of the main and extremely significant stakeholders in the job market is the potential employers of fresh graduates. They hire employees for their departments in case of public sector and firms/companies in case of private sector. So, this research would have been incomplete if the input of employers was missed out. UDC 6 i.e. employers in public and private sector were thus included fill this gap.

At the beginning of my field work, I visited different government departments and private firms to have a basic idea of the nature of work and the processes through which they select an employee. While finalizing the respondents for taking interviews, I ensured that the representation of different type of departments, firms and companies is taken care of. I collected information from various departments/organizations like Lahore Grammar School, Nestle Pakistan, Telenor Pakistan, Punjab Public Service Commission, and Punjab Mineral Company. The name of the departments/organizations which I selected, clearly shows a good mix of private, public, public-private and autonomous institutions.

Among the academic institutions, I selected Lahore Grammar School. This school was established in 1979 in Lahore. Now it is one of the leading schools not only in Lahore, but across Punjab. In its more than dozen campuses, there is a lot of recruitment of teachers being done all year around. I interviewed one of the officials from LGS's Human Resource Department who was pivotal in the recruitment process in multiple branches of the school.

To make this study more inclusive, taking input of firms from private sector was very important. I took Nestle and Telenor to serve the objective. Nestle is a leading nutrition, health and fitness company and has its branches all over the world. It has been operational in Pakistan since 1988 and hires a huge no of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled Pakistanis every year. I interviewed the Human Resource Officer of Nestle Pakistan and to understand the selection process and criteria of the private sector outfit.

Telecommunication sector in Pakistan has evolved drastically in last two decades. A lot of investment has been made in it by different multinational companies. Telenor, being one of those. It started operating in Pakistan back in 2004. Since then, many graduates from multiple disciplines have joined in this company. To understand the human selection criteria, I interviewed one of the Asst. Managers in Human Resource Section of the Head office of Telenor in Lahore.

The Punjab mineral company (Pvt.) Ltd came into being in 2009 which is a semi government outfit. The company was established for Promotion, Exploration, development and economic exploitation of the minerals in Punjab. Its working is different from the regular department of Punjab Government, as it is administered by the Board of Directors appointed from Government as well as from private sectors. I interviewed one of its Directors, who has been working in it since last 5 years.

Most of the recruitment on government posts is done through Punjab Public Service Commission. It is the apex government organization which oversees employing and managing civil services across the Province. Every government department is bound to appoint its human resource on the posts, BPS 16 and above through PPSC. PPSC is a body of 8-10 members. I have chance interviewed one of its ex-member who is also a retired Federal Secretary. The following text presents the data obtained from the interviews conducted during the field work.

## 5.3 Thematic Presentation of Data

### 5.3.1 Theme 1: Dictum, Directions and Destinations

Almost every student has some aims in life. The journey of education starts with that aim and the target is to reach the desired destination. Let it be the selection of an initial school, subject group or the graduate school, ideally speaking, these decisions are made in way that complements his/her desired destination. For instance, a student who plans to pursue a career of Astronaut will be to select natural science subjects. He/she will try to get admission in a school where best faculty in these subjects is available. Same is the case with the selection of medium. A student who wants to pursue a job in private sector will be more willing to join an English medium school. This is so because this school will come handy in polishing his/her skills and abilities that are required for joining private sector as an employee.

Additionally, there is another important factor that influences the pattern of Dictum, Directions and Destinations namely the affordability. Students from economically less privileged classes have restricted options. Their parents can't afford private schooling. They must study in those schools where the fee is affordable, even though their choice of subjects may not be available there.

To consider the pattern of the directions and destinations in the job market for students coming from different type of schools, questions were asked from the Employers of Private and Public-sector school graduates. They were asked about the academic backgrounds of their employees. Whether most them were from Public schools or Private schools? Moreover, employers were asked as to what type of school mostly produce employees in their organizations and why is it so? What is the motivation behind joining a certain type of job and how is it related with the type of school a person has attended?

This theme is also quite relevant from education policy point of view. Government must have a look on the linkage between the job market and academic institutions and how this linkage is affecting the society at large. Functionaries from Governmental and Non-governmental institutions were asked to share their insights about it. They were asked how the higher fees of certain schools are restricting the career choices of students from lower economic class. Why a

student is screened out based on his/her school? What need to be done to have a check on this pattern? What role government is playing in making a policy to address this issue?

Majority of the employers from Private sector opined that type of schooling has immense impact on the professional future of a student. It has been generally observed that students from elite private schools are more interested in joining private jobs or doing their own business. On the contrary, students from public schools are more desirous to join government jobs because they considered themselves financially secure there. A HR. executive from a private firm opined;

"*In my firm, as per rough estimate, more than 80 percent employees are from private schools*"

When asked to explain why it was so, he stated;

"*This is mainly because of two simple reasons. Firstly, students from private schools apply here for the most part; secondly they are more suitable for this type of job than students from public schools*"

Another respondent from private sector endorsed the above-mentioned opinion and stated;

"*There is a technical convergence between the types of skills that a private school imparts to its students and the skills that we ask for in a suitable candidate. It is a well-established phenomenon that the students from private schools are more confident, clear headed and have better communicational skills than those from the other school system*"

However, the situation is different in case of public institutions. I interviewed senior level officials who were working in human resource sections of different government departments. Almost all of them mentioned that most of the employees in government sector are from public educational institutions. One of the officials was of the view that;

"*The recruitment in government departments is mostly done based on competitive exams. More than 70 percent applicants are from government schools"*

When asked to tell me the reasons why students from government schools mostly apply for government jobs, a senior level official commented;

"*Maybe they have limited scope in the private sector. Students from private schools have more in their plates. They have more choices to make. In case of government school students, options are quite limited*"

A retired head of a selection commission analyzed the overall recruitment pattern and opined that;

"*Situation has drastically changed these days. Previously, there was a clear bifurcation in directions. Private school students used to apply for private jobs and vice versa. But now it is not so. As per recent report of FPSC, students from private schools are also showing a profound interest in applying for government jobs. Recent results of competitive exams speak at length about it*"

Majority of the functionaries of Government and Non-Government bodies accepted the notion that the affordability factor is restricting the career choices of students. They acknowledged that the type of schooling has a direct impact on the future career of a student. Different functionaries opined that it is unfortunate reality. Students from public schools have very few options in term of their careers

It is not that the students from the public schools are less intelligent than those in private schools. Most of the students in public schools start believing that they have restricted job options that ultimately over shadows their future. There is a dire need to make the educational system more inclusive for different classes. Efforts are being made by the government but a lot must be done yet. Rather than discouraging private schools, we are trying to make public schools better. The establishment of *Danish School system, Punjab Education Foundation and opening new avenues for public-private partnerships are some of the recent efforts from Punjab Govt.*

"*There can be no other way but to bridge the quality gap between private and public schools. At least the curriculum and medium of instruction has to be made same*"

### 5.3.2 Theme 2: English as an Extended Arm of Elite Hegemony

The implications of language in education for blocking opportunities for mass participation and access are widely studied. Different writers believe education has been losing its transformative role, relatively, due to the hegemony of English language. It is having an adverse impact on social justice and multilingual education works as a barrier for the underprivileged in the way of upward social mobility. Hence, English works as an extended arm of Elite hegemony.

To further understand this phenomenon, Employers and Government/Non-government functionaries were asked questions about the role of language as a tool of class maintenance and reinforcement. To probe the role of expertise in English language, in the process of a candidate selection for a job, employers from both public and private sector were asked what factors play a decisive role in the selection of a candidate, what is the importance of English language communication skills in his/her interview, is proficiency in English language a pre-requisite or an added advantage and is it so that academic ability of a candidate is sometimes overshadowed by his ability to speak English language? Meanwhile, both employers and functionaries were asked that what should be the medium of instruction at schools, should it be same in both type of schools and how they see the role of English language in creating social disparity in the larger society.

Dominant voice among the employers acknowledged the fact that English language plays a vital role in the selection of a candidate. Nestle respondent opined:

"*It (English) works as a gatekeeper sometimes. Students from govt. schools hardly get a chance to compete with those from private schools because of language barriers*"

Especially in case of a private job, a candidate who is fluent in English language is given priority. However, in case of government jobs, there is a slight difference. Grip over the subject, ability to handle government affairs and socialize with local communities are also important factors when it comes to the selection for a government job.

"*Nature of work is different*" an employer from Govt. department states "*Govt. employees mostly work in the field. Expertise in English language is not a primary but a secondary requirement*"

Understanding of English language is important here but not at the level that is required for a private job. Human Resource Manager of a multinational said: -

"*For jobs that involve public dealing, excellent communication skills in English language of a candidate are must for his/her selection. We never compromise on that*"

The opinion was divided on the medium of instruction in schools. Though there was a consensus that it should be the same in all types of schools, but there was a division whether the common language should be English or National language. One of the respondents explained;

"*I prefer mother language as the medium of instruction. A student is definitely more comfortable in learning when taught in his/her mother language"*

Majority of the employers were in favor of English as the medium of instruction. A respondent from a leading elite school noted;

"*It's the era of globalization. Everything is revolving around the center; English being the center in case of medium of instruction*"

However, dominant voice in case of government bodies' functionaries recommended Urdu as the medium of instruction. A senior official from government asserted;

"*Providing education to each student in his/her mother language might be beneficial but not possible. The medium should be the national language. It serves many*"

Dominant voice reflected the notion that prevalence of different types of medium of instruction in schools is major cause of social disparity in the society. English language was being used as a tool of discrimination against the weaker classes. A person coming from English medium school had an added advantage in case of job selection for which expertise in English was must. Resultantly, under-privileged were being discriminated against. One of the responded pointed out: -

"*Formula of success is simple these days, join an expensive English medium school and then go to a good ranked foreign grad school and finally land in a high salaried job market*!"

### 5.3.3 Theme 3: Schools as Spaces of Construction and Reinforcement of Class Differentials

Educational inequality is very much related to the family background of a student that influences his cultural knowledge and social standing. It's a two-way phenomenon. Firstly, a student coming from rich family background has a chance to take admission into a high-fee school, where he gets education and improves his skills and abilities. Secondly, in his/her class, he/she is surrounded by other children coming from almost similar family backgrounds that facilitate him in making social connections and to improve his social capital. Vice versa is the situation, in case of students coming from poor families?

The members of the same socio-economic group show similarities in choice of housing, dressing, language, occupation, income, values and social behavior. Students are more comfortable to socialize with their group fellows than those from other socio-economic classes. This is so because they have a lot of common space. Social stratification/ class differentials arise and get reinforced out of this pattern.

Respondents were asked whether socio-economic background of a student plays some part in his/her academic and professional future or not, are different type of schools responsible for the creation and reinforcement of class differentials. Which types of schools in their opinion were responsible for the social stratification, and what steps are being taken by the government to reverse this pattern?

The economic and social background of a student and his parent's education play an important role in his/her academic achievement. One respondent, who was affiliated with an international NGO, was of the opinion;

"*Better-educated parents are more likely to consider the quality of education in their children schools. They are more concerned about their children's performance. Likewise, educated parents improve the potential of their children's development and human capital creation by inculcating advanced language skills in communicating with their children in English. Unfortunately, this mostly happens in case of private schools where children from a certain social class study*"

Another respondent opined;

"*Parents of students coming from upper economic class use their social capital to promote their children's development. The argument is that along with the parent's education, family income also plays an important role in this exercise. They select schools as per their social class because they can afford those. Moreover, they are more particular in selecting schools where their children's class fellows are also from upper class*"

Majority of the respondents agreed that the schools are working as spaces for the construction and reinforcement of class differentials. Schools are missing the role of being a social ladder. Because of the filters based on fee, schools are not encouraging class diversity. This point can be well established based on following opinions;

"*Education is often seen as a way for families to escape poverty, yet individuals from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are far less likely to pursue a successful career than their peers from more wealthy backgrounds. This phenomenon is very unfortunate but quite prevalent all around*"

"*Students coming from socio-economically disadvantaged part of society are less likely to socialize with those coming from advantaged class. They are less confident because of different complexes"*

### 5.3.4 Theme 4: Pluralistic Education: A Monster or Mermaid

Functionaries of Government and Non-Government institutions and Employers in public and private sector were asked to share their take on the prevalence of pluralistic education systems in Pakistan. In case of Employers, questions were framed in a way to understand how employers looked at the presence of different types of schools. Their opinion was also sought about the merits and demerits of pluralistic education system and they were asked to compare a candidate coming from a private educational institution with his counterpart who had graduated from a public sector educational institution. Functionaries of government bodies were also asked whether they favored the pluralistic education system in the country and what is the state's policy towards this issue in their opinion. They were requested to throw some light on the implications of multiple types of schooling in the country with reference to the job market. Moreover, respondents from both UDCs

were asked to comment on whether they were in favor of uniform educational system in the country or not.

Dominant voice from both UDCs sees the multiple education systems in the country as conduits of producing inequality and affordability issues for the public at large. Almost all agreed that the responsibility of providing good and affordable education rests on the shoulders of the Government; it should play its part. One of the officials from a Government department stated:

"*Education is beneficial for the society at large; Government has to take the responsibility of providing education to all*"

However, the marginal voice from the private sector employers was that due to the failure of the government schools to provide good quality education, the presence of private schooling in necessary. One of private sector employers said: -

"*The weak counter balancing to the emerging private sector schools by the public sector is very alarming. It is well understood that until and unless the quality of government schools is improved, the private sector must be encouraged. At least they provide quality education, though at a very higher cost*".

There was a consensus about the negative impact of the existence of different types of schooling in the country on the society. Henceforth, Dominant voice of employers and government functionaries suggested uniform educational system. As ensuring uniform educational system was a time taking process, till then, they recommended checks on private educational institutions to ensure that these schools are not serving the interests of capitalist class. It was expressed that private sector also benefit the society at large too. While responding to the role of Government in regulating private institutions, an official observed:

"*Govt. interventions through monitoring and regulation are essential for the smooth working. Privatization of academic institutions should not be left unchecked*"

Opinion of government officials about the state's policy regarding pluralistic educational system was ambiguous. There was no clear-cut response about it. Majority of the officials said that the government is in the favor of a uniform educational system. One of the government functionaries mentioned: -

"*Unfortunately, position and opinion of government differs department to department. There is a lack of unity about policy. Mostly, pluralistic education system is supported by newly made institutions like Punjab Education Foundation, but same is discouraged by different departments like School Education Department*"

### 5.3.5 Theme 5: School as a Source of Added Value or Dead Weight Value

Functionaries of Governmental and Non-Governmental Institutions and the Employers of Public and Private Organizations/Departments were asked to share their insights about the impact of Co-Curricular and extra-curricular activities on the life of a student.

Employers were specifically asked as to what type of students they prefer to select. Which factors play the major role in the selection of a candidate for the job in their respective department? How they see the role of sports and extra-curricular activities in this regard? Which type of schools has relatively better facilities that shape a student into an ideal candidate for job selection?

As the functionaries of Government and Non-Government bodies are directly and indirectly involved in shaping the landscape of educational setup, they were both asked about the role of their respective department in ensuring the provision of such activities in schools, they were also asked whether they consider such activities important or not. Moreover, the respondents from government bodies were directly asked about the role of government in providing such facilities in both types of schools, especially in Public schools. Furthermore, they were queried to tell the policy actions that government was currently taken in this regard.

All my respondents acknowledged the importance of co-curricular and extra-curricular activities. They said that these activities are as important as studies. One of the respondents noted;

"*The main role of the education is the overall development of the student. For me, it can't just be done in classrooms. It goes beyond*"

Similarly, another respondent opined;

"*These activities help to improve the overall personality of a student. A student who gets himself/herself involved in such activities is more confident, more alert and more committed to his goals*"

An employer from multinational company was of the view;

"*Based on my experience, I can say with a lot of authority that students pursuing their hobbies achieve better results in their studies. Such activities like participation in debates, drama, music, sports, etc. help in achieving the bigger purpose of achieving better education*"

Employers from both public and private sectors were asked to tell me about the factors that play a role in the selection of a candidate for a job. Majority of the respondents pointed out that academic performance, relevant qualification, good communicational and socialization skills, confident and flexible personality were very important factors in this regard. One of the respondents, who was working in HR. Department opined;

"*Screening is mostly done based on paper tests. Final selection is done based on interviews. The most important factors at interview stage are communication skills, adaptability, team skills and the ability and willingness to learn*"

Building on that, she further noted;

"*It has been observed that students who had participated in co-curricular activities and sports were the best. They were more confident, ready to work in teams and more determined to achieve their goals*"

Government and Non-government functionaries pointed out that there was a dire need of political will on part of the government to provide excellent facilities in public schools and to ensure that proper arrangement has been done in private schools in this regard, across the board. One of the functionaries was of the view;

"*In this era of globalization co-curricular activities play a vital role in the performance of students in primary education. Co-curricular activities need to be enhanced in schools through improving the available facilities*"

"*Lack of Commitment is obvious. Even in the current educational budget, very little has been allocated for the development of such facilitates*"

However, few of the functionaries were optimistic about the efforts being made by the government. One of them noted;

"*It will not be fair to say that government is not willing to develop this infrastructure. It is a herculean task at the province level. Our department is working to frame up new proposals for the encouragement of such activities*"

# CHAPTER 6

# EDUCATION POLICY IN PAKISTAN: DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

Education is a broad concept, both in its meaning and scope. It has different positive impacts of social, economic, moral and political nature on the life of people in a society. Among those, one of the most important is the process through which it improves the access of people to a better life, through social participation, and promises of the equality. But, said benefits of education can be achieved fully only if the system of education in a country is fair and is based on equity and equality. That means a system of education that assures the right of uniform education to everybody without any discrimination based on caste, class, gender and language. Here comes the need of an education policy in which the future framework of a country is drafted for a certain time. To keep educational system aligned with the needs of the social, economic and political landscape of the society and to take long term multifaceted benefits from its education policy in civilized societies is made with serious efforts. That is why, to understand the impact of pluralistic educational system on creation and reinforcement of oppressive class structure, it is required that a) I look at the history of the education policy formulation of Pakistan b) present the contents of various policy documents c) I analyze the contents using various theoretical concepts in conceptual framework. Keeping these concerns in mind I have divided this chapter into three parts in accordance with the above text.

## 6.1 Part 1: History of Education Policy

The very first step was the National Education Conference in 1947. No of committees were formed in the conference, particularly about the secondary and primary education and adult education. The reports of said committees were pragmatic in its approach in which efforts for the free and compulsory primary education were recommended. Related step was the National Plan for Educational Development for the period 1951-1957. It anticipated the needs and goals of education sector for the next x years. However, the efforts from independence to 1957 were not fruitful at the end as the literacy rate literally remained unchanged. Since independence till 1970, there were 3 Five Year Plans. The First Year Plan devoted considerable attention to organization and management of primary education schools(Pakistan G. O., The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60,

1957). The Second Five Year Plan evaluated the shortcomings of the First Five Year Plan. It found that nothing significant was done to improve quality of education. Moreover, the literacy and enrollment rate remained unchanged. It recommended measures for improvement and highlighted the need of the education of girls(Pakistan G. O., 1960). Down the line, they conceived the relationship of education with the economic growth and social development, with great interest. Attention was focused to improve the literacy and enrollments rates, training and salary of teachers and the physical structure of education.

Since 1970s onwards, education policy rhetoric has kept changing. Initially, in 1970, it was primarily centered on eradicating illiteracy through universal elementary education and adult education programs. That era faced serious challenges of lack of planning, financial constraints and subsequent population expansion. Moreover, 1970s educational policies were interrupted by the war with India and succession of East Pakistan. The private education system was nationalized in 1972 but the commitments on which it was done just remained a lips service. In 1981, education in Pakistan was Islamized, overtly or covertly. Moreover, the definition of literate was changed to reading a newspaper and writing a single letter. Educational policies in 1980s advocated the establishment of mosques schools for boys and the need of vocational training schools was highlighted. Down the line, educational policies of 1990s highlighted the shortcomings in the education sector like relevance of curricula, teachers training and outdated examination system. In 1993, 5 Years Educational Plan was launched(Pakistan G. o., 1998). The early 1990s the target remained the expansion of education canvas and in late 1990s witnessed the shift to the development of educational plans by the nongovernmental organizations. From 2000 to 2010, some disparities of education have been reduced and retention rates have improved. The number of schools and teachers increased.

## 6.2 Part 2: Policy Contents

In this part of the chapter I am going to very briefly present the crux of all the education policy documents presented in part 1. The major recommendation of the National Education Conference 1947 was the provision of mandatory free of cost primary level education(GOP, 1953). Building upon this recommendation the National Plan for educational development put together for the decade of fifties stated that in these ten years the major focus of educational development in the country would be primary education as well as increase in the literacy rates of population.

The First Five Year Plan produced by the Pakistan planning commission focused on improving the managerial capacities of primary schools in the country(Pakistan G. O., 1957). The Second 5 Years Plan however had a broader gambit. It aimed at increasing the overall literacy rates and primary school's enrollment rates. Another focus of 2nd Five Year Plan was enhancement of female education in the country and bridging the wide gap between the male and female education at that time(Pakistan G. O., 1960). After this plan came the 3rd Five Year Plan(Pakistan G. O., 1970). This plan addressed the domain of education at a multidimensional level. It took as its take of point the premise that if Pakistani education system is to develop the policy makers will have to look at education and its multi-stranded relationships with the national economy, human capital development, the development of health sector and the efficiency of the domain of governance. This plan also aimed at improvement of the educational infrastructure, literacy and high school enrollment rates and teachers training.

The education policies of the country between the time 1970 and end of 1980s focused on a) Making Pakistan a literate country which in turn meant 100 percent literacy rates in Pakistan b) Promotion of adult education c) Nationalization of all educational institutions thus creating educational uniformity nationwide d) Articulating secular education with religious education. One strategy suggested by the policy planners to achieve this goal was establishment of mosque schools e) Diversifying education in terms of types with an emphasis on vocational education.

Moving on to the time period between 1990 and 2010 the education policy planners aimed at a) making high school and higher educational curricula internationally competitive, overhauling the systems of educational evaluation and improvement of pedagogical skills among teachers b) expanding the educational space in the country by encouraging the already existing private education c) encouraging public and private sector coalition in the domain of education d) involving civil society in the dissemination of knowledge and provision of education e) to enhance the capacity of educational institutions to retain highly skilled and qualified teaching staff. f) at strengthening interfaith relationships through education g) encouraging research in higher education and h) bridging the gap between private and public-sector education in terms of education quality.

Having pointed out the salient features of Pakistani education policy throughout history I want to point out a very important debate that has been there since inception of the country to date.

The fulcrum of this debate is the medium of instruction that Pakistani education system should have. There are two voices in this debate. The dominant voice is which pushes the agenda for English to be the medium of instruction. This opinion is bifurcated in that some scholars in the policy documents have argued that English should be the medium of instruction from the beginning. The other voice has argued that medium of the instruction to be the national language but English should be a compulsory subject from class $4^{th}$ or $5^{th}$. This voice also says that English should continue to be a compulsory subject till secondary school.

The other voice which is that of the marginalized is that medium of instruction should be the national language or even the vernaculars. The point to be remembered here is that the dominant voice is the voice of the State and the marginal voice is the voice of academicians and activists

## 6.3 Part 3: Policy Analyses

In this part of the chapter I will try to connect the concepts from my conceptual framework to discuss elements presented in Part 2. An important concept in my theoretical framework is education as a private or a public good. Many theoreticians as presented in my literature review and elsewhere have taken different positions on this issue. I am referring here to Faisal Bari's position at one hand and the stance of Ajay Sharma & Irfan Muzzafar as well as Zubeida Mustafa on other hand on this issue. Bari argues that education in Pakistan should be a mix of public and private institutions. The other three scholars tend to disagree with them and their argument is that the education is the responsibility of the government and thus it should be a public good. Bari substantiates his position by saying that pluralistic education system allows people to make a choice which is their basic right. As oppose to that the other three scholars have the position that they do because in their opinion entry of the private sector in the domain of education has a direct relevance with the social classes. Privatization of education certainly helps rich class because they can afford it. Nationalization of education, here I mean the education sponsored by government, by or large facilitates middle and lower classes and, hence, education acts as a ladder for upward social mobility. If we look at the content of the educational policies of Pakistan as presented in Part 2 of this chapter I am arguing that in pre-1990s time the education was for the most part a public good and there was an emphasis in policy documents on increasing literacy rate and providing universal primary/high school education in the country. I am further arguing that this

situation overturned at the policy level beginning the decade of 1990s when private sector entered the educational domain and was encouraged to do the same with the strong force. With this shift education went from being a public good to be a private good predominantly.

Taking up Foucault's concept of "Moral Orthopedics" my argument is that the shift in Pakistani education policy from education being a public good to a private good was possible through the creation of a meta-narrative that said that entrance of private sector in education would create a competition. According to this narrative this competition would improve the quality of education overall because the private schools will give much better education and the public schools will have to catch up with them. This narrative is directly connected with Foucault's concept of Moral Orthopedics because the narrative says that, education would go from bad to better. This concept is applicable here because for Foucault education originally was a source of curbing the agency and independent thought of children and with the passage of time and formalization and expansion of education it became a source of enhancement of agency.

As we scrutinize Pakistan educational policies and the debates around the Pakistani educational system and pluralistic educational system it can be very strong argued that although the dominant narrative and discourse about this shift is appreciative of this policy shift but there is counter narrative as in the works of Zubeida Mustafa and others. This counter narrative following Freire's concept of Pedagogy of Oppressed looks at the pluralistic education as a societal structure that divides the larger society into two groups the Oppressed and Oppressor. My stance is closer to the counter narrative and in agreement with Paulo Freire. At this point of the discussion it seems very timely to bring in Marxist concept of False Consciousness, according to which the oppressed are victims of false consciousness and don't rebel against the oppressors. My argument on this point is that the pluralistic educational system supported by our post 90 education policy allows the rich to stop the poor from getting quality education. However, the poorer segments being victims of false consciousness don't understand what's going on and thus don't demand eradication of colonizing educational system. I am further arguing that the public-school students who are pushed into poorer quality education facilitated by the pluralistic educational system supported by our educational policies are satisfied with the situation and they have resigned to the fact that what they have is what they deserve. This resignation to fate is bound to lead the poorer

sections of the society towards Freire's conception of "Security of Conformity "and "Fear of Freedom".

Thus, in summation I would like to point out that the pluralistic educational system that the post 90 education policy of Pakistan vociferously supports has made the domain of education in Pakistan a political field as put forth by Bourdieu. This Field creates and reinforces two different sets of Rhythms of Practice one among the private school's students and the other in public school's students. The former set of practices open doors of confidence building, international competitive education and professional achievement for the children of upper classes. The later set of practices restraints the children of the poor in the vicious circle of poverty, underachievement and negative self-image. Both rhythms of practices together create an Educational Habitus with internal contradictions, contestations and discrepancies.

Given the application of concepts on the Pakistan education policy as presented in the preceding text my stance is that although there is a debate in the country over the medium of instruction in the schools in Pakistan the education policies have always pushed English to be the dominant language either as a medium of instruction or as a compulsory subject. The debate presented above notwithstanding, an important question to be answered here is the efficacy of different medium of instructions. But to keep my framework for social class analysis simple and depending on the grass root level realities of the society, I assert that the provision of education in mother language or national language is better as it opens the channels of better understanding for most students who feel uncomfortable with English as a medium of instruction because of their humble family background.

Another issue that I wish to highlight here is that our educational policies have emphasized the need for increasing educational institutions as a strategy to improve education sector. This is very relevant for the social class analysis. My assertion here is that in presence of different types of schools in a society, the government must do serious efforts to improve the standard of education in public schools to make them compete with private schools. A person affording fee of quality private school will be going to said school, so if a child whose parents can't afford private schooling is not provided quality education in public schools by government, it will widen class gap in the society.

Looking at the content of successive policy documents one sees a major gap that needs to be mentioned here. I am here referring to a lack of state concern with girl's education. The history of evolution of education policy in Pakistan is indicative of the fact that girl's education has always been on the margins of policy documents. Education of a girl is as important as that of a boy. Historically, in Pakistan women's education has not been encouraged due to various factors. Although all policy documents mentioned girl's education but very little work was done in this domain. Educating girls has a direct link with improving the economic and social position of her family and must be taken care of.

# CHAPTER 7

## THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF PRIMARY DATA

The prevalence of Pluralistic Educational Systems in the country has serious implications. The multiplicity of nature of schools not only serves vested interests of different socio-economic classes of the society but also produces entirely different sort of students. Based on primary data collected during this research, it would not be wrong to say that most of the stakeholders in the domain of education are aware of the benefits of uniform system of education in the country and are highly concerned about the multiple educational setups. Having presented the primary data with respect to seven themes in Chapters 4 and 5, in Chapter 7 I am going to thematically analyze the primary data with respect to the theories and conceptual framework that has been discussed in Chapter 3.

To begin with the Dictums, Directions and Destinations of the students from three types of schools that is being discussed in this study. It has been found based on primary data that the subject's choices, educational priorities and career ambitions of students were different in different school types that are Elite private schools, Non-Elite private schools and Public schools. Even the understanding and purpose of education was different for students in public schools from those in private schools. This argument must be understood in two ways. Firstly, ambition and priority of a potential student joining a specific school was different from the student of different school system. Secondly the school that a join plays a pivotal role in reinforcing his/her mindset and ambition. Not only students but also their parents, teachers, potential employers and functionaries of government and non-government bodies were asked to share their insight about this pattern. They were asked to explain how school as formal institutions play a role in reinforcing and reproducing class based consciousness of students. The students from all types of schools were asked about their subject choices and desired careers. Parents were asked as to what sort of career they want their child to pursue. Teachers were asked about how they analyze different trend of subject selection in different schools for the students coming from different socio-economic classes. In the same way, potential employers were also asked to shed some light on the career aspirations of students whom they interviewed. Last but not the least, functionaries involved in education policy making and implementation were asked as to how they considered it as policy makers and what their observations on it were.

The findings based on the primary data show that there is a clear difference in the ambitions of students in different schools. The students in government schools come mostly from lower middle-class families. Their ambition is to earn money for supporting their families. They mostly select science subjects and are more inclined towards joining government jobs as they feel that government careers will make them more financially secure. However, in case of students in elite private schools, earning money is not a primary objective of education. These students mostly come from upper class families and they are more desirous of pursuing jobs in private sector. In case of non-elite private school students, the situation lies in between. They are interested in earning social prestige based on education. They want to improve their economic conditions and are determined to step up the ladder of social mobility through education.

The research findings presented in the last two paragraphs concur with the Foucauldian idea of "Capacity-Communication-Power", Frere's concepts of "Security of Conformity and Fear of Freedom", Bourdieu's idea of "Field and Rhythms" and Marx's ideas of "Class Dialectics and False Consciousness". My assertion here is that the habits, values and priorities of the students vary according to their economic classes. A student coming from an upper-class family mostly opts for an elite private school because his parents can afford it. Elite private school then work as a field to not only create but further reinforce his/her learned traits, habits and priorities through the practice of rhythms. Based on the curriculum, the pedagogical processes, the extracurricular activities and the medium of instruction the elite private schools strengthen the dominance of the students coming from upper class families. On the other hand, students from lower class families mostly opt for government school's due to their financial restraints. Students studying in public schools for the most part desire to become government servants for the sake of a financially secure future.

It was found based on my interviews that even the competent students from government schools were not likely to compete with private school graduates for high profile private jobs because over the years through the socialization process at the level of the family and schools they acquire a false consciousness. This false consciousness gives them a low self-image and they start believing in the false notion that they can't compete with the students who have attended elite and non-elite private schools in jobs interviews etc. A sense of pre-disposition and security of conformity was found in students from government schools. Their parents have inculcated an idea

in their minds that government jobs suit them more than the private jobs and they were not found eagerly willing to come out from this mental construction.

Presently in the country, education is being employed as a tool of cultural capital creation. Cultural capital is mostly acquired from the family and from the membership of a socio-economic class. It is normally found that the life style of students in a school is similar. This is mainly because they share the same type of socio-economic class background and have a lot of unison in terms of family connections, parent's education, type of occupations pursued by their parents and the localities where their families live. Cultural capital is not only acquired based on family. Nowadays, education is also a major factor in the creation of cultural capital and the school level education plays a fundamental role in this regard. A student who is enrolled in a quality school has better economic and social prospects in later life. Thus, schools work as spaces of construction and reinforcement of class differentials. Findings of this study as presented in the Chapters 4 and 5 also support the argument and it agrees with the arguments of Zubeida Mustafa and David J Roof, and concur with the Bordieuan ideas of "Field, Habitus and Types of Capital"

My data indicates that schools ought to be studied as Fields in the sense that Bourdieu uses the term. I am arguing that every school is a political field where students come from different sets of Habitus. This study asserts that the environment of a school plays a vital role in the upbringing of students. By default, the students of elite private schools acquire more social, economic and cultural capital. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, because their families have more of it (Cultural capital) based on which they can secure admissions for their children in elite private schools and secondly because the elite private schools provide them with a platform to further increase the accumulation of cultural capital through better facilities and opportunities.

This study supports the thesis of Zubeida Mustafa who is critical of the presence of high fee schools in Pakistan. For her, these schools create an imbalance in the acquisition and distribution of socio-economic and cultural capital. It works in a vicious circle where a small segment of the society gets an edge over the masses. This study explores the commoditization of education in the country through which the poor and under privileged are being continuously exploited. The data speaks at length about the lack of democratic tendencies in the educational setup that hinder the role of education to bring social change in the society. The class differentials are further escalated because of it. Relevant functionaries from the government and non-

government bodies were asked as to how they see the social ladder role of education in the society. Similarly, teachers and potential employers were also questioned about the impact that a school has on the capability of a student to acquire, accumulate and enhance cultural capital. My argument here is that once students from private schools have accumulated substantial amount of cultural capital they use it to create and accumulate social and economic capital as they go on with their life.

The dominant voice among my respondents on this issue was that they were apprehensive about the school's role. They were critical about the lopsidedness of the prevalent system in the favor of a specific class. Thus, this study affirms the findings of David J Roof who opines that historically, pluralistic educational setup has been a leading reason for the asymmetric distribution of cultural capital. Education is a conduit of cultural capital creation, not for all but for few who are economically dominant.

The prevalence of multiple types of schools in Pakistani society is highly debated by academicians and activists. This debate notwithstanding, if we look at the educational landscape of the country it becomes clear that the private sector investment dominates the scenario. One of the prime objectives of this study was to understand the co-existence of private and public schools in the society and to analyze how this bifurcation of education has contributed towards the reinforcing and perpetuation of class structure in the larger society. The study aimed at figuring out the articulation between private and public-school systems with each other. In other words, it was to be found whether the pluralistic education is a monster or a mermaid.

Respondents from different UDCs came up with a mixed opinion on this issue. The majority termed prevalence of pluralistic education unhealthy for the society. As discussed earlier, while reviewing literature, majority of the educationists are in the favor of uniform educational system in the country. They build their arguments based on equity, social justice and similar right of access to education to all segments of society. Likewise, the data reveals that the dominant voice among my respondents in the field was also in the favor of uniform education system. That means they termed Pluralistic education system as a Monster and not a Mermaid.

Findings of the study are very much in line with the arguments of Zubeida Mustafa, Irfan Muzzafar & Ajay Sharma and Ghulam Rasool Memon. Zubeida Mustafa is a staunch supporter of

public provision of education. According to her, Privatization of educational system and the presence of multiple education systems have resulted in accumulation of the quality educational opportunities in the hands of a few and denial of good education to many in the country. She terms it as a tool of exploitation and suppression. Irfan Muzzafar and Ajay Sharma also find themselves in agreement with Zubeida Mustafa on the point that education must be in the public domain if the universal right of education is to be provided. So, education should not be left as a subject of private domain. My study reveals that the motive of private schools, both elite and non-elite, is profit maximization that is mostly done at the cost of social justice and equality in the society. Likewise, Ghulam Rasool Memon observes that the education sector in Pakistan is facing massive challenges of equity and justice because of pluralistic educational systems. Privatization of education has made education less affordable for the masses and, thus, it is doing no good to the society at large as it is protecting interest of selected elite class.

However, few of the respondents were in favor of the pluralistic education system. There are many reasons that they gave for their support to the system. Some of them considered private education as a pre-requisite for meeting the needs of globalization, international competitiveness, improvement in standard of education and knowledge creation. Some of them believed sending a child to a private school is a matter of economics and they observed that it depends on affordability. They termed the affordability factor as a right to have education in good private schools.

Few of the students of elite private schools and their parents were in the favor of pluralistic education system. Majority of those among them considered it as a matter of choice. This is in in agreement with the argument of Faisal Bari who terms education both a public and private good. Though, he acknowledges that the prime responsibility to provide education is that of the government. He, however, is also in favor of the presence of the pluralistic educational system. His argument is based on the concept of "right of choice". He opines that a person who can afford private education should be given the right to do so. However, my assertion (based on some reviewed literature and information provided by respondents in the field) is that in case of Pakistan the rise in privatization of schools is not due to acceptance of the narratives of choice and individual liberty but because of scarcity of resources and inefficiency of public sector education to deliver.

My data reveals that English is playing the role of an extended arm of elite hegemony in the society. It is being used as a tool of dominance in the society. The expertise to communicate fluently in English is given prime importance in the country. Moreover, the ability to communicate in this language comes handy in getting admissions in good schools, obtaining high grades and landing in high profile jobs. My assertion is that the importance of English language is not to be denied but only if it is done at the cost of quality of education and the progress of national language.

Dominant voice among the students, their parents and teachers in government schools mentioned that the medium of instruction in schools should be either mother or national language. That doesn't mean that they were not aware of the importance of English language. They acknowledged its importance, but noted that English as a medium of instruction mostly works as a barrier for those students whose parents and family are not familiar with the English language. Medium of instruction is very important in the pedagogical processes. The language in which a student is taught has very important consequences for the overall learning of the student. English language gives a comparative edge to the students of private schools whose families are familiar with this language and it is mostly spoken at their homes.

Likewise, majority of the potential employers of fresh graduates, especially those from private sector, considered English as an important element in professional life. The private sector employers believed the ability to speak English is a main criterion for selection of a job candidate to become employee in their company. Though they (the employers) accepted the biasedness of the system against those who can't speak this language proficiently, still they were adamant to say that the expertise to speak this language is a must for getting selected.

Government functionaries to mean those involved in education policy formulation and implementation in the country considered the dominance of English unfortunate. They believed English as medium of instruction gives competitive advantage to elite students who speak English at home. This in turn means that the elite students will have an edge from day one just because of their family background. Dominant voice among them was in favor of same medium of instruction in different schools.

Zubeida Mustafa's idea of "Rethinking Medium" and Tayyaba Tamim's concept of "Politics of Language" are at work here. Tayyaba Tamim asserts that education is losing its

transformative role due to the hegemony of English language. She further opines that the multilingual educational systems have been working as doorkeepers that restrict upward social mobility to students coming from lower socio-economic classes. Building on Tamim's argument, Zubeida Mustafa advocates the use of mother language as the medium of instruction. Furthermore, both writers term English language as a class separator. Ability to speak in English is taken as an added advantage and special prestige is attached to it. The actual content, sometimes, is not up to the mark but still given considerable attention just because of the cosmetic touches in the form of good accent of English.

## 8. Significance of the Study

Lots of research has been done on the privatization of education and the presence of pluralistic educational system in Pakistan. Despite this fact there exists a major gap in this scholarship along the axis of the research strategy used. Most of the already existing literature is quantitative research strategy based. This research is a qualitative piece of work; thus, it is a step towards filling the strategic gap, and thus this work has methodological significance.

My research study aims at finding how pluralistic educational system creates and reinforces the suppressive class structure in the larger society. The articulation between pluralistic education and class structure is not looked at in the existing literature in a substantive fashion. Thus, my research I am hoping would be an important addition to the sociology of education. This aspect gives a theoretical significance to my research.

Above and beyond this my research has applied significance too. I am hoping that the government and education policy makers of the country would use the information provided in this work as well as my recommendations to address the problems faced by the country today in the domain of education policy.

Moreover, this research study is very relevant for the development agencies and practitioners. Development being a multidimensional phenomenon and is very much related with the overall socioeconomic wellbeing of the society. In present day knowledge based economies, a country is under developed because most of its people are under developed due to poor health and less education. That means, provision of equal educational opportunities is very important for the development of the country. Health and literacy are the most important indicators of progress.

Education can reduce poverty and social injustice by providing the unprivileged the chances of upward mobility. The presence of an educational system that is maintaining the suppressive class system should be a matter of concern for the development functionaries. It will help them understand how education has been losing its transformative role because of multiple educational systems.

## 9. Recommendations/Way Forward

Based on my research findings I am putting forth the following policy recommendations for enhancement of education in Pakistan;

- The Federal and Provincials Budgets for education should be progressively increased to ensure that by the year 2030 high school education in Pakistan is uniform with education being a public good.
- In the interim period, the government should make it mandatory for all private schools to set aside a 10 percent quota for students coming from humble economic backgrounds. The students selected on these seats should be awarded 100 percent tuition waiver by the respective schools.
- The curriculum of public schools should be upgraded in a fashion that it comes at par with the curriculum of private schools.
- Since English is an international language, in the interim period the medium of instruction in public schools should be English. Alongside this it should be a requirement in both public and private schools that every student would mandatorily have to take one of the five provincial languages and give a language proficiency test at the end of High School.
- In the interim period government should subsidize at least fifty percent of the fee of the students in the public schools. The money for this exercise should be generated by the government by expanding the tax net and making the large business tax defaulters to pay up.
- Most importantly, the government controlled media, civil society organizations and the academia should act as discursive spaces to combat the meta-narrative in the society which glorifies commercialization as a way of life.

## 10. Limitations

Because of time restraints we had to exclude Madrasah Education, Vocational Education and Apprenticeship while collecting data for this research. I hope to build on this on my PhD research and at that point I would include the missing elements.

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**Appendix A**

# Census Form for UDC I; Students

1. Name: _____
2. Age: _____
3. Gender: _____
4. No. of years in this School: _____

آپ کو اس اسکول میں پڑھتے ہوئے کتنا عرصہ ہوا ہے؟

5. History of previous School (if any):

گزشتہ سکول کے بارے میں بتائیں۔

| Name of school | From | To |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |

6. What was the reason(s) of leaving your previous school?

گزشتہ اسکول کو چھوڑنے کی وجوہات

_____

_____

7. Reason(s) for selecting this school:

حالیہ اسکول میں داخلے کی وجوہات۔

- Academic
- Co-curricular
- Financing
- Other

8. Which group you are going to take for further studies?

آپ کونسےمضامین کا انتخاب کریں گے؟

- Humanitarian/Arts
- Science

9. Why you want to choose this group?

آپ ان مضامین کا انتخاب کیوں کریں گے؟

- Parental choice
- Self interest
- Market value
- Other

10. In which subject you score best?

آپ کس مضمون میں نہایت عمدہ سکور کرتے ہیں؟

_____

11. In which subject you score poor?

کس مضمون میں آپ کے نمبر نہایت کم آتے ہیں؟

_____

12. Which type of family structure you have?

آپ کا خاندانی ڈھانچہ کس طرح کا ہے؟

- Nuclear انفرادی خاندان
- Extended وسیع خاندان
- Joint مشترکہ خاندان
- Other کوئی اور

13. From which type of occupation your households belong?

آپ کےخاندان کا پیشہ کونسا ہے؟

- Business کاروبار
- Agriculture زراعت
- Other کوئی اور

14. What is the occupation of the earning hand of your family?

آپ کے خاندان کی ذرائع آمدن کیا ہے؟

- Government job
- Private job
- Self-employed
- Other
-

15. What is the monthly income group of your family?

خاندان کی ماہانہ آمدنی؟

- Below 50,000
- 50,000-100,000
- 100,000-200,000
- Above 200,000

16. Which kind of career you want to pursue?

آپ کونسا پیشہ اختیار کرنا چاہتے ہیں ؟

_____

_____

17. Would you like to go to government school / private school vice versa?

کیا آپ نجی /سرکاری سکول میں جانا چاہیں گے؟

- Yes
- No

18. In which class do you read now?

آپ کون سی جماعت میں پڑھتے
ہیں؟……
……
…

19. How many siblings do you have?

آپ کے کتنے بہن بھائی ہیں ؟

……
……

……
……

20. Kindly tell me about the educational background of your siblings, if any, in detail (starting from the eldest one).

برائے مہربانی اپنے بہن بھائیو ں کی تعلیم کے بارے میں بتائیں (سب سے بڑے سے شروع کریں)۔

| Sr. No. | Name | Sex (M/F) | Educational Detail (Degree, Institution, Completion Year) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

21. Please tell me about Job/Professional background of your siblings, if any, in detail (starting from the eldest one).

زرائع آمدنی/ نوکری کے بارے میں بتائیں۔

……
……
……
……
……

……
……
……
……..
……
……

22. What do your parents do?

آپ کے والدین کیا کرتے
ہیں؟……
……
…….....

23. Do your parents have any formal education (school, college, university)?
کیا آپ کے والدین نےرسمی تعلیم حاصل کی؟

……
……
…….....

24. If they do, what is the level of their education?
اگر ہاں تو تفصیل بتائیں۔

……
……
……

25. If they don't, then do they have religious and in-home education?
اگر نہیں تو کیا مذہبی یا گھریلو تعلیم حاصل کی؟

……,,
…….....
.....

26. Home Address?

……
……
……

27. Remarks:

……
……
……..

**Appendix B**

# Interview Guide for UDC I; Students

1. Personal Information:

| | |
|---|---|
| Name | |
| Gender | |
| Age | |
| Siblings | |

2. In which class do you read?
   آپ کس کلاس میں پڑھتے ہیں؟
   ……
   ……
   ……
3. Since how long you have been in this school?
   اس سکول میں آپ کب سے پڑھ رہے ہیں؟
   ……
   ……
   ……
4. Why did you select this school?
   اس سکول کو منتخب کرنے کی وجہ؟
   ……
   ……
   …….....
5. Whose decision was it to join this school? (Yours, Parent's, Friend's, Other's)
   اس سکول کو آپ کےلیے منتخب کس نے کیا تھا؟
   ……
   ……
   …….....
6. Is this the school you started off with?
   کیا اس سکول سے ہی آپ نے اپنی تعلیم کا آغاز کیا تھا؟
   ……
   ……
   ……

7. Why did you leave your previous school?
پہلےوالا سکول کیوں چھوڑا تھا؟

……
……
……

8. Where do your siblings study?
آپ کے بہن بھائی کس سکول میں پڑھتے ہیں؟

……
……

9. Briefly explain your family structure.
مختصر الفاظ میں اپنا خاندانی نظام بتائیں ۔

……
……
……
……

10. What do your parents do?
آپکے والدین کیاکرتے ہیں؟

……
……
……

11. Do your parents have any formal education (school, college, university)?
کیا آپکے والدین نے رسمی تعلیم لی ہے؟

……
……
……

12. If they do what is the level of their education?
اگر ہاں تو کہاں تک ؟

……
……
……

13. If not do they have then they have religious and in-home education?
اگرنہیں تو کوئی مذہبی یا گھریلوتعلیم ؟

……
……
……

14. What is the annual income of your family/ parents?
آپ کے والدین کی سالانہ آمدنی کیا ہے؟

……
……
……

15. What is the source of earning of your parents?
والدین کی آمدنی کا ذریعہ کیا ہے؟

……
……
……
……

16. Tell me about other earning members of the family?
اپنے خاندان کے کمانے والے اراکین کے بارے میں بتائیں۔

……
……
……
……
……

17. Which subject interests you the most?
آپکا پشندیدہ مضمون کونسا ہے؟

……
……
……

18. Why do you want to study this/these subject/s?
آپ اس مخصوص مضمون کو کیوں پڑھنا چاھتےہیں ؟

……
……
……

19. Does your subject selection compliment your career ambitions?
کیاآپ کے مضامیین کا انتخاب کیرئیر کے عزائم کی حمایت کرتا ہے؟

……
……
……

20. Do you want to go abroad for further studies?
کیا آپ بیرون ملک مزید پڑھنے کےلیے جانا چاھتے ہیں؟

……
……
……

21. If yes, will you come back after completing your education?
اگر ہاں تو تعلیم مکمل کرنے کے بعد آپ واپس آئیں گے؟

……
……
……

22. Do you want to pursue a job or business?
کیا آپ نوکری کریں گے یا کاروبار؟

……
……
……
.....
23. Why is pursuing a career important for you?
نوکری کرنا کتنا اہم ہے آپ کے لیے؟
……
……
……
.....
24. Why is pursuing a career not important for you?
نوکری کرنا کیوں اتنا اہم نہیں ہےآپ کے لیے؟
……
……
……
.....
25. Which career you want to pursue? (business or job)
آپ کس پیشے کومنتخب کریں گے؟
……
……
……
26. Are you more interested to join a Government Job or a Private one?
کس نوکری میں آپکا رحجان زیادہ ہے؟ سرکاری یا غیر سرکاری؟
……
……
……
27. What language is mostly spoken at your home?
آپ کے گھرمیں کونسی زبان زیادہ بولی جاتی ہے؟
……
……
……
28. What other languages are you proficient in?
آپ اور کونسی زبانیں بول لیتےہیں؟
……
……
……
29. In what language are lectures delivered in this school?
اس سکول میں کس زبان میں لیکچردیاجاتا ہے؟
……
……
……

30. In your opinion what language should be the medium of instruction?
آپ کے مطابق کس زبان میں سکول میں ہدایات ہونی چا ہیے؟
……
……
……
……
31. What socio-economic status do most of your class fellows belong to?
آپ کی جماعت کےزیادہ تر لوگ کس معاشی و سماجی طبقہ سے ہیں؟
……
……
……
32. What would you decide if you were given an option to go to the other school system? (government to private or vice versa)
کسی دوسرے سکول میں جانا چاہوں گے؟کیاآپ
……
……
……
33. Are you satisfied with the quality of education at your school?
کیا آپ اپنے سکول کی کارکردگی سے مطمئن ہیں؟
……
……
……
34. Share strengths and shortcomings of this school system.
اپنے سکول کی خوبیاں اور خامیاں لکھیں۔
……
……
……
35. Have you ever received any scholarship?
کیا آپ نے کبھی کوئی وظیفہ لیا ہے؟
……
……
……
36. Do you take part in extracurricular activities?
کیا آپ غیر نصابی سرگرمیوں میں حصہ لیتے ہیں؟
……
……
……

37. If you do please give me the details of these activities?
اگر آپ کرتےہیں تو کس طرح کی؟
……
……
……
38. If not why is it so?
اگر نہیں کرتے تو کیوں نہیں ؟
……
……
……
……
39. Compare a government and a private school.
سرکاری اور غیر سرکاری سکول کا موازانہ کریں۔
……
……
……
……
40. Do you support the argument that elite private schools should let brilliant students from lower middle class to take admissions there?
کیا اشرافیہ کے اسکول میں لوئر مڈل کلاس کے ذہین طلبہ کا داخلہ ہو نا چاہیے ؟
……
……
……
41. Where have your siblings studied?
آپ کے بہن بھائیوں نے کہاں سے پڑھا تھا؟
……
……
……
42. What do they do now; their source of earning?
اب ان کا ذریعہ آمدن کیا ہے؟
……
……
……
43. Where is your home?
آپ کا گھر کہاں ہے؟
.....
.....
.....

**Appendix C**

# Interview Guide for UDC 2; Parents

1. Name?
   نام
   ……
   ……
   ……
2. Where are you living?
   آپ کہاں رہتے ہیں؟
   ……
   ……
   ……
3. What is your source of income?
   آپ کی آمدنی کا ذریعہ کیا ہے؟
   ……
   ……
   ……
4. What is your monthly income?
   آپ کی ماہانہ آمدنی کتنی ہے؟
   ……
   ……
   ……
5. How many children's do you have?
   آپ کے کتنے بچے ہیں؟
   ……
   ……
   ……
6. What is age of your child/children? Starting with the eldest one.
   آپ کے بچو ں کی عمر کیا ہے؟ (سب سے بڑے سے شروع کریں)
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
7. In which class your child/children study? Starting with the eldest one.
   آپ کے بچے کس جماعت میں پڑھتے ہیں؟ (سبسےبڑےسےشروعکریں)
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……

8. In which school do they study?
   آپ کے بچے کون سے سکول میں پڑھتے ہیں؟
   ……
   ……
   ……
9. Why you selected this school for your child/children?
   آپ نے اس اسکول کا انتخاب کیوں کیا؟
   ……
   ……
   ……
   .....
10. Are you satisfied with the quality of education in this/these schools?
    کیا آپ اس اسکول کے تعلیمی معیار سے مطمئن ہیں؟
    ……
    ……
    ……
11. Why don't you send your children to a Public school/ Private school vice versa?
    آپ اپنے بچوں کو سرکاری /نجی اسکول میں کیوں نہیں بھجیتے؟
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
12. What type of family structure do you have? Joint, Nuclear, Extended or other.
    آپ کا خاندانی ڈھانچہ کیسا ہے؟ (مشترکہ، انفرادی)
    ……
    ……
    .....
13. How many earning hands of your family?
    آپ کے خاندان کے کتنے لوگ کماتے ہیں؟
    ……
    ……
    ……
14. Do you and your spouse have any formal education?
    کیا آپ اور آپکی بیوی نے رسمی تعلیم حاصل کی ہے؟
    ……
    ……
    .....
15. What is the highest academic degree that you and your spouse received, respectively?
    آپ دونوں کی اعلی ترین تعلیمی ڈگڑی کونسی ہے؟

……
……
……
16. Do you want to send your children to abroad for studies?
کیا آپ اپنے بچوں کو پڑھائی کے لیے بیرون ملک بھیجنا چاہتے ہیں؟
……
……
……
17. If yes, then why?
اگر ہاں تو کیونبھیجناچاہتےہیں؟
……
……
……
……
……
18. Do you want them to come back Pakistan after higher studies from abroad?
کیا آپ چاہتے ہیں کے وہ بیرون ملک تعلیم حاصل کر کے واپس آئیں؟
……
……
……
19. What language is mostly spoken at your home?
آپ کے گھر میں عموماً کونسی زبان بولی جاتی ہے؟
……
……
……
20. What language should be the medium of instruction at school level?
اسکول میں تدریسی زبان کونسی ہونی چاہیے ؟
……
……
……
21. Should medium of instruction and syllabus be same in Public and Private schools?
کیا سرکاری اور نجی اسکولوں میں نصاب اور تدریسی زبان یکساں ہونی چاہیے؟
……
……
……
22. What should be done to improve educational system of Pakistan?
پاکستانی تعلیمی نظام کو کیسے بہتر کیا جا سکتا ہے؟
……
……
……

23. Do you appreciate / encourage the presence of students from different socio-economic tiers in the school where your children study?
کیا آپ اسکول میں مختلف سماجی و معاشی طبقوں کے طالبات کی موجودگی کے حق میں ہیں؟
……
……
……
……

24. What sought of career you want your child to pursue? Business, Job, Agriculture, Other
آپ اپنے بچوں کو کس شعبہ سے منسلک ہوتا دیکھنا چاہتے ہیں؟ (زراعت، کاروبار، کوئی اور)
……
……
……
……

25. What is your opinion about the prevalence of multiple types of educational systems in Pakistan?
پاکستان میں ایک سے زیادہ تعلیمی نظام کی موجودگی کے بارے میں آپ کی کیا رائے ہیں؟
……
……
……
……

26. Should there be a uniform system of education in the country? Kindly discuss in detail
کیا ملک میں یکساں تعلیمی نظام ہونا چاہیے؟ تفصیل سے لکھیں۔
……
……
……
……

27. Is Education playing its role of being ladder for upward socio-economic mobility? Please explain
کیا تعلیم خاندان کی معاشی و سماجی ترقی کا ذریعہ ہے؟
……
……
……

28. In your opinion, should state sponsor the education of school going students, across the board?
کیا حکومت کو اسکول جانے والے تمام طالبعلموں کا خرچہ برداشت کرنا چاہیے؟
……
……
……

**Appendix D**

## Interview Guide for UDC 3; Teachers

1. Name

   ……

   ……

2. Gender

   ……

   ……

3. Marital Status

   ……

   ……

4. In which school you are currently teaching?

   آپ کس سکول میں فی الحال پڑھا رہے ہیں ؟

   ……

   ……

5. Kindly tell about your educational background?

   برائے مہربانی آپ اپنے تعلیمی پس منظر کے بارے میں بتائیں۔

   ……

   ……

   ……

6. Any foreign academic degree that you received?

   کیا آپ نے کوئی غیر ملکی تعلیم حاصل کی ہے؟ ڈگری کا نام؟

   ……

   ……

7. Do you want to go abroad for further studies?

   کیا آپ مزید پڑھنے باہر جانا چاھتے ہیں؟

   ……

   ……

   ……

8. Any professional degree relevant to your career?

   آپ کے پیشہ سے متعلق کوئی پیشہ وارانہ ڈگڑی؟

   ……

   ……

9. Any English language course that you did?

   کوئی انگریزی زبان کا کورس جو آپ نے کیا؟

   ……

   ……

10. Any other language course that you did apart from English?

    کسی اور زبان میں کیا جانے والا کورس؟

    ……

    ……

11. Your total teaching experience, in years?

    آپ کا کل تدریسی تجربہ کتنے سال کا ہے؟

    ……

    ……

12. Have you ever taught in a Public school, vice versa?

    کیا آپ نے کسی نجی اسکول میں پڑھایا ہے؟

    ……

    ……

13. Kindly throw some light on your teaching experience in detail?

    اپنے تدریسی تجربہ پر تفصیلاروشنی ڈالیں۔

    ……

    ……

    ……

    ……

    ……

14. Which subjects you teach?

آپ کونسے مضامین پڑھاتے ہیں؟

……

……

15. In which subject you find yourself expert in?

آپ کو کس مضمون پر مہارت حاصل ہے؟

……

……

16. Any formal/informal training that you received throughout your teaching career?

آج تک کی لی جانے والی رسمی/غیر رسمی تربیت؟

……

……

17. What was your inspiration behind joining teaching career?

آپ تدریسی شعبہ سے کیوں منسلک ہوئے؟

……

……

18. What motivates you to stay in teaching career?

آپ تدریسی شعبہ میں کیوں رہنا چاہتے ہیں؟

……

……

……

……

19. Please share your future regarding this career?

آپ اپنے کیریئر سے متعلق عزائم بتائیں۔

……

……

……

……

20. Kindly tell about your family financial background?

اپنے خاندان کے مالی حالات کے بارے بتائیں۔

……

……

21. Any other source of income apart from teaching?

پڑھانے کے علاوہ کوئی اور زریعہ آمدنی؟

……

……

22. Since how long you have been in this school?

آپ موجودہ سکول میں کب سے پڑھا رہے ہیں؟

……

……

23. Why you left your previous school?

آپ نے پچھلا سکول کیوں چھڑا ؟

……

……

……

……

24. What made you to join this school as a teacher/instructor?

آپ نے موجودہ اسکول میں کیوں شمولیت اختیار کی؟

……

……

……

……

25. What is the status of your job in this school?

فی الوقت آپ کی نوکری کی نوعیت کیا ہے؟

- Permanent
- Contract
- Visiting
- Daily wages

26. Are you satisfied with the remuneration, working environment, facilities and professional growth opportunities in this school? Please share your insights.

کیا آپ اس اسکول کی تنخواہ ،ماحول اور سہولیات سے مطمئن ہیں؟

……

……

……

……

27. Does this school arrange training courses for the teachers?

کیا اس اسکول میں تربیتی کورس کروائے جاتے ہیں؟

……

……

……

28. Which language is the medium of instruction here?

اس اسکول میں تدریس کا ذریعہ کونسی زبان ہے؟

……

……

29. Does this school have a daycare center?

کیا اس اسکول یں ڈے کیئر کی سہولت موجود ہے؟

……

……

30. Please share strengths and weakness of this school system?

اس اسکول کی خامیوں اور خوبیوں کے بارے میں بتائیں۔

……

……

……

……

31. What is your take on the educational system in Pakistan? Is it up to the mark?

آپ کا موجودہ پاکستانی تعلیمی نظام کے بارے میں کیا خیال ہے؟

……

……

……

……

32. What is your position on the prevalence of pluralistic/multiple education system in Pakistan?

ایک سے زیادہ قسم کے نظام تعلیم کے بارے میں آپ کیا سوچتے ہیں؟

……

……

……

……

33. What should be the medium of instruction in schools, Mother Language, National Language or International Language?

سکول میں تدریسی زبان کون سی ہونی چاہیے؟

……

……

34. Should medium of instruction and curriculum be same in both public and private schools?

کیایکسانتدریسیزباننجی/سرکاریسکولونمینہونیچاہیے؟

……

……

35. Does pluralistic educational system of education have any negative impact on different social-economic classes?

ایک سے زیادہ قسم کے تعلیمی نظام کی موجودگی کے منفی اثرات کیا ہیں؟

……

……

36. Which socioeconomic class get affected the most?

کس معاشی و ساجی کلاس پر اس کا اثر زیادہ ہوتا ہے؟

……

……

37. How you compare a public and a private school in the light of your teaching experience?
نجی و سرکاری سکول کا مختصر موازنہ کریں۔

……

……

……

38. Suggestions to improve educational system in Pakistan.

……

……

……

……

**Appendix E**

## Interview Schedule for UDC 5; Functionaries of Governmental and Non-Governmental Bodies

1. Was there Private as well as Government Educational Institutions in Pre-Partition Era?

   - ✓ High schools
     Yes No Don't Know Other

   - ✓ Colleges
     Yes No Don't Know Other

   - ✓ Universities
     Yes No Don't Know Other

2. If yes, when did the private schools emerge in the sub-continent?
   - ✓ 1900
   - ✓ 1910
   - ✓ 1920
   - ✓ 1930
   - ✓ 1940
   - ✓ Other

3. Was the permission of federal government or provincial government required to open private schools?
   - ✓ Yes
   - ✓ No

4. If yes, why was permission deemed necessary?
   - ✓ To keep private schools in limits
   - ✓ To keep check on what was being taught as a curriculum
   - ✓ To keep private and public schools at par
   - ✓ Others

5. Were private schools regulated by educational bodies in some form?
    - ✓ Completely autonomous
    - ✓ Semi-autonomous
    - ✓ Totally regulated
    - ✓ Affiliated
    - ✓ Other

6. In case private schools were autonomous, what were their regulatory bodies?
    - ✓ Board of governors
    - ✓ School owners
    - ✓ Syndicate
    - ✓ Any other body

7. In case private schools were semi-autonomous, which bodies combined to regulate the schools?
    - ✓ Federal and Provincial Ministries of Education
    - ✓ Board of governors and federal ministry
    - ✓ Federal ministry and school Syndicate
    - ✓ Others

8. In case private schools were autonomous, what was the division of labor between government policy makers and non-government bodies?
    - ✓ Government decided the structure and dynamics of administration and criteria of exam, while day to day activities were done by non-government bodies.
    - ✓ Vice versa
    - ✓ Other

9. In case semi-autonomous, who lead recruitment of teaching and support staff?
    - ✓ Both parties consulted and decided
    - ✓ Government bodies decided but private administration advised
    - ✓ Vice versa
    - ✓ Others
10. What was the medium of instruction of early private schools?
    - ✓ English
    - ✓ Urdu
    - ✓ Both
    - ✓ Other
11. What was the rationale behind having this medium of instruction?
    - ✓ To give children capability to become internationally competitive
    - ✓ To make children efficient government servants

- ✓ To connect children with roots and cultural heritage
- ✓ To bring them at par with government schools
- ✓ Others

12. Was the curriculum same as it was in government schools?
    - ✓ Yes
    - ✓ No
13. If yes, which organization was responsible for regulation of curriculum
    - ✓ Provincial textbook boards
    - ✓ Federal textbook boards
    - ✓ Other
14. If no, what organization or authority was responsible for putting together curricula for early private schools?
    - ✓ School admin and government policy makers
    - ✓ A source outside the country
    - ✓ Other

15. When did the private schools emerge in Pakistan?
    - ✓ 1950
    - ✓ 1960
    - ✓ 1970
    - ✓ 1980
    - ✓ 1990
    - ✓ 2000
    - ✓ Other
16. Was the permission of federal government or provincial government required to open private schools?
    - ✓ Yes
    - ✓ No
17. If yes, why was permission deemed necessary?
    - ✓ To keep private schools in limits
    - ✓ To check on what was being taught as a curriculum
    - ✓ To keep private and public schools at par
    - ✓ Others
18. Were private schools regulated by governmental educational bodies in some form?
    - ✓ Completely autonomous
    - ✓ Semi-autonomous
    - ✓ Totally regulated
    - ✓ Affiliated

- ✓ Other

19. In case private schools were autonomous, what were regulatory bodies?
    - ✓ Board of governors
    - ✓ School owners
    - ✓ Syndicate
    - ✓ Any other body
20. In case private schools were semi-autonomous, which bodies combined to regulate the schools?
    - ✓ Federal and provincial Ministries of Education
    - ✓ Board of governors and federal ministry
    - ✓ Federal ministry and syndicate
    - ✓ Others
21. In case private schools were autonomous, what was division of labor btw government policy makers and non-government bodies?
    - ✓ Government decided the structure and dynamics of administration and criteria of exam, while day to day activities were done by non-government bodies.
    - ✓ Vice versa
    - ✓ Other
22. In case of being semi-autonomous, who led recruitment of teaching and support staff?
    - ✓ Both parties consulted and decided
    - ✓ Government bodies decided but private administration advised
    - ✓ Vice versa
    - ✓ Others
23. What was the medium of instruction of early private schools?
    - ✓ English
    - ✓ Urdu
    - ✓ Both
    - ✓ Other
24. What was the rationale behind having this medium of instruction?
    - ✓ To give children capability to become internationally competitive

- ✓ To make children efficient government servants
- ✓ To connect children with roots and cultural heritage
- ✓ To bring them at par with government schools
- ✓ Others

25. Was the curriculum same as it was in government schools?
    - ✓ Yes
    - ✓ No
26. If yes, which organization was responsible for regulation of curriculum
    - ✓ Provincial textbook boards
    - ✓ Federal textbook boards
    - ✓ Other
27. If no, which organization or authority was responsible for putting together curricula for early private schools?
    - ✓ School admin and policy makers
    - ✓ A source outside the country
    - ✓ Other

28. When system of O/A levels introduced in private schools?
    - ✓ 70s
    - ✓ 80s
    - ✓ 90s
    - ✓ 20s
29. Why was it considered necessary?

    ……

    ……

    ……
30. Was it pre-requisite to start O/A levels with the permission of Federal or Provincial ministry?
    - ✓ Yes
    - ✓ No
31. If yes, who was the sanctioning authority?

- ✓ Federal Educational Ministry
- ✓ Provincial Educational Ministry
- ✓ Other

32. What was the mode of taking permission?
    - ✓ Through one application
    - ✓ Through a series of applications
    - ✓ Proposal presentation
    - ✓ Other
33. If permission of Ministry was not needed and if A/O levels program is an internal decision, who makes this decision?
    - ✓ Board of governors of schools
    - ✓ School syndicate
    - ✓ Schools owners, organization or individual
    - ✓ Others
34. What were problems faced by Federal/Provincial ministries due to the opening of private schools?
    - ✓ Shrinking of jurisdiction of ministries
    - ✓ Confusion and chaos in high school education
    - ✓ Issues of equivalence
    - ✓ Loss of good students
    - ✓ Different standards of school's products

## DEPARTMENT RELATED QUESTIONS

1. When your department did come into being?

   ……

   ……

2. Which year?

   ……

**3.** Why it was deemed necessary to create department now?

- ✓ Enrollment of high school's students expanded
- ✓ Research was needed to understand causes of dropout issues
- ✓ Standard of education declining in government schools
- ✓ To become an interlocutor btw education policy makers and clients of educational system
- ✓ Inter department coordination
- ✓ Others

**4.** Your contribution towards education policy formulation?

- ✓ Conducting and providing research to Ministry of Education
- ✓ Advising the policy making agencies
- ✓ Monitoring and evaluation
- ✓ Other

**5.** What is the role of your department in policy implementation?

……

……

……

6. According to you, what are the merits of pluralistic education system till high schools in Pakistan?
   - ✓ Creates healthy competition
   - ✓ Provision of choices to students
   - ✓ Segregating student's aptitude
   - ✓ Other
7. For you, what are the demerits of Pluralistic Education System till high schools in Pakistan?
   - ✓ Create classes
   - ✓ Confuses policy makers
   - ✓ Creates Social Disharmony
   - ✓ Other

8. Is there a difference btw teacher's quality in both types of schools?
    - ✓ Yes
    - ✓ No
9. If yes, then how teachers of private schools are different along axis of

    - ✓ Quality……
      ……
    - ✓ Training…….
      ……..……
    - ✓ Medium of Instruction
      ……
      ……
    - ✓ Pedagogical processes
      ……
      ……
10. Where do you locate yourself in the debate about presence of both types of schools in Pakistan?
    - ✓ Favor
    - ✓ Not favor
11. In your opinion what are advantages of private schooling in terms of student's future?
    - ✓ Better groomed
    - ✓ More competitive
    - ✓ Better financial future/ prospects
    - ✓ International universities admissions
    - ✓ All above

12. What are advantages of government schooling in terms of student's future?
    - ✓ Hard working
    - ✓ More plugged into Pakistani society

- ✓ More adjustable in government sector jobs
- ✓ Better know how of National Language
- ✓ All above

13. In your opinion, who is more supportive of the establishment trained status quo?
    - ✓ Private schools
    - ✓ Public schools

14. Why said schools are more supportive?

    ……
    ……
    …….....

15. Which types of schools contribute more in maintaining social stratification in larger society?
    - ✓ Public schools
    - ✓ Private schools

16. Why they contribute more?

    ……
    ……
    ……

17. In your opinion, what is the position of state institution at Federal level on existence of plural educational system?
    - ✓ Support it
    - ✓ Doesn't support it
    - ✓ Flux opinion
    - ✓ Other

18. Why they have such position?

    ……
    ……
    ……

19. In your opinion, what is the position of state institution at Provincial level on existence of plural educational system?
    - ✓ Support it
    - ✓ Doesn't support it
    - ✓ Flux opinion
    - ✓ Other
20. Why they have such position?

    ……

    ……

    ……...
21. Which possible steps should be taken for educational reforms at the level of Federal and Provincial governments?

    ……

    ……

    ……

    ……

**Appendix F**

## Interview Guide for UDC 6; Potential Employers of Fresh Graduates

1. Name

   ……..

2. For which Department/ Organization you are currently working for?

   ……

   ……

3. Kindly tell about your Designation in this Department.

   ……

   ……

4. Since how long you have been here?

   ……

   ……

5. What is the recruitment process for selecting employees in this Department/Organization?

   ……

   ……

   ……

6. Do this Department/ Organization recruit directly through its HR. Team or through Outsourcing?

   ……

   ……

   ……

7. Which factors play a decisive role in the selection of a Candidate?

   ……

   ……

……

8. What sort of students apply for positions in your Department/ Organization?

……

……

……

9. What is the ratio of selection of between students from Public and those from Private Education systems?

……

……

……

10. Why is it so?

……

……

……

11. What sort of students this firm/organization/ department prefers while selecting candidates?

……

……

12. Why is it so?

……

……

……

13. Kindly compare a candidate coming from Public and Private Educational Institutions?

……

……

……

14. Does Communicational Skills of a candidate play a vital role in selection; is proficiency in English a pre-requisite or just an added advantage to a candidate in selection process?

……

……

……

……

……

15. In your opinion, is there any direct or indirect role of socio-economic background of a candidate in his/her selection for a Position?

……

……

……

……

16. Do this Department/ Organization prefer candidates having foreign degrees?

……

……

……

17. Being a Human Resource Expert, how you analyze the academic quality of a candidate?

……

……

……

……

18. What is your take on the Prevalence of Pluralistic Education Systems in Pakistan?

……

……

……

……

……

19. Please share your insights about the overall quality of education in Pakistan?

……

……

……

……

……

20. What should be done to improve quality of education in Pakistan?

……

……

……

21. Are you satisfied with the Academic Institutions and Industry Linkage?

……

……

……

22. If not, what should be done to improve this linkage and to bridge the gap in between?

……

……

……

……

……