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**What does “quality” look like for post - 2015 education
provision in low-income countries?**

**An exploration of stakeholders’ perceptions of school benefits
in village LEAP schools, rural Sindh, Pakistan**

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List of Abbreviations

ASER: Annual State of Education Report

CLTS: Community-Led Total Sanitation

EDO: Education District Officer

EFA: Education For All

GMR: Global Monitoring Report

HRCP: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan

ITEP: Initial Teacher Education Programme

LEAP: Literacy Education Awareness Project

LIC: Low Income Country

LSRDA: Lower Sindh Rural Development Association

MDG: Millenium Development Goal

MNA: Member of the National Assembly

NER: Net Enrolment Rate

PEP: Primary Education Project

PPP: Public Private Partnership

RECOUP: Research Consortium on Educational Outcomes and Poverty

SMC: School Management Committee

SPELT: Society for English Language Teachers

UPE: Universal Primary Organization

VEC: Village Education Committee

University of Sussex

Jane Jerrard

EdD Thesis

What does “quality” look like for post-2015 education provision in low-income countries? An exploration of stakeholders’ perceptions of school benefits in village LEAP schools, rural Sindh, Pakistan

Summary

The continuing disadvantage that poor and marginalized communities face in low-income countries is well recognized but international initiatives and government policies still fall short of providing sustainable quality education. The recently published Global Monitoring Report 2013 – 2014 “Teaching and Learning: Achieving Quality for All” recommends strategies for solving the quality crisis through attracting the best teachers, getting them where they are most needed and providing incentives to retain them. Few would dispute these strategies but their achievement is problematic, given the vastness of the challenge in a financially constrained global environment. This study is predicated on the acknowledgement that the strategies proposed provide too narrow a focus and that poor quality education is also due to contextual factors that have been relatively ignored. These contextual factors are investigated through this research.

This research study explores community perceptions of school benefits as a lens through which to engage with marginalized rural communities’ conceptualization of “quality” education. It utilizes Tikly and Barrett’s (2011) framework for analysing quality education with its three key dimensions of inclusion, relevance and democracy. It investigates the factors and processes that are shaping perceptions of benefits within the three environments of policy-making, school and community.

The research study uses a qualitative methodology, employing a critical stance, but engaging also with the insights of Bourdieu and Foucault viewing power as both repressive and productive. This research engages with the “regimes of truth” that have constrained social action as well as the process of discourse deconstruction and reconstruction that has shaped agency and facilitated social change.

This is a multiple case study of four rural primary schools in marginalized communities in Sindh, Pakistan (two opened in 2002, two in 2007), using purposive sampling to maximize data heterogeneity. Data, mostly qualitative, was generated from semi-structured interviews with community leaders, school management committee members, parents and teachers. Focus groups were conducted with school graduates and teachers. Photographs were used as a participatory tool to facilitate interview and focus group discussions.

The findings indicate that context-led policy, contextualized teacher training, pedagogy and curriculum and community leadership that facilitates agency are the key factors shaping perceptions of benefits. Emerging from these factors is both the employment of local teachers who can experience a transformational process that enables them to bring social change and a dynamic interaction between pedagogy and benefits. Positional benefits are highly valued with social skills being key to the development of social capital, which the findings indicate should be included in the discourse of “quality” education.

The study provides empirical data demonstrating how the recent theoretical frameworks for quality education are being “fleshed out” in specific contexts and addresses issues raised in quality debates. It makes recommendations for the complementary role of non-government schools in the post-2015 EFA strategy and the provision of quality education in hard to reach areas characterized by poverty and marginalization in the global South.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

As a teacher and head teacher I have for many years recognized my critical professional role in developing the potential of children so that school can become a formative place in their future lives. This is especially true for children who face socio-economic barriers to achieving their life's goals.

I arrived in Sindh Pakistan in 1996, seconded to work as a teacher trainer for the Diocese of Hyderabad. In one of the schools I met a teacher whom I increasingly realized was a man of deep conviction and motivation. He had struggled to overcome his barriers due to discrimination experienced in school and was determined to ensure that other members of his tribal low-caste community, particularly girls, would not experience those same barriers. I recognized that he was a man taking every opportunity to learn, developing his skills to be better equipped to achieve his ambitions. In 2002 I founded the Primary Education Project to incorporate the various educational initiatives of the diocese in the rural Sindh. Together we started Village LEAP (Literacy, Education Awareness Programme) with the first school being opened in his village in 2002. Our vision was that these community schools should be transformative for children's lives and that the teachers would become agents of change to address the injustices that communities had experienced for generations. To this end, the schools were set up through international funding but included local contributions, networking with the government where possible, following their syllabus to achieve government certification, but also developing a contextualized curriculum.

Initially this led me to focus on teacher education and to an awareness of the need to engage with international research to not only avoid "re-inventing the wheel" but also to learn from the mistakes of others, particularly those in the West imposing models that resulted in "tissue rejection" since they did not resonate with the local context. I wanted to develop a training model that would assume that community members had dreams, values and experience that equipped them to be change agents, but who needed skills to achieve valued outcomes.

In recent years my attention has turned to the sustainability of these schools, since many such projects in low income countries (LICs) have closed once external funding has

stopped. This directed me again to engage in reading and research in order to have tools to better serve the communities, strengthening their ownership of the schools and motivation to continue to address the problems of poverty and marginalization. At first following a review of the literature, I planned to interrogate the relationship between school benefits and school costs and to engage the communities in its tensions. I was interested in exploring what specific “quality” would generate their desired benefits and how much of this “quality” was expected to justify the payment of school fees and the acceptance of other opportunity costs. However, as I progressed in the study, I realized that school costs were not an issue that the communities were interested in discussing. I have therefore focused exclusively on “quality” which has enabled me to engage at greater depth with its conceptualization and the factors that are currently constraining and promoting the future agency and well-being of the children in these communities.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The study aims to explore what constitutes “quality” education for marginalized communities in the rural Sindh, Pakistan and how their understandings of quality are constructed. The objectives include:-

- To investigate how community stakeholders perceive the emerged, emerging and intended benefits of their community school
- To explore the factors and processes that are shaping perceptions of school benefits to address social justice concerns
- To interrogate the relevance of the findings for “quality” debates in the post-2015 provision of sustainable quality education in LICs

1.3 Rationale

My rationale is rooted in my professional identity since I have been the co-ordinator of the Primary Education Project (PEP) since its inception in 2002. From 2009 PEP transferred other educational initiatives that had been developed within PEP to other diocesan departments so that PEP could focus exclusively on Village LEAP. Since 2010 the project has given particular importance to how the communities can achieve long-term sustainability of their schools. It has been involved in iterative discussions and strategic planning with the communities. My doctoral research is intended to contribute to this process.

There is an international imperative to achieve Education For All (EFA) by 2015, but the role of “community schools” to meet this objective has not been clearly established, with some governments, including Pakistan, failing to provide any national framework for a multi-prong “complementary” approach for the provision of its educational services (Santosh & Parthasarathi 2006; Bano 2008; Rose 2009; Batley & Rose 2011). Communities in a wide range of LICs have struggled to develop sustainable arrangements for their community schools to provide short and long-term benefits (Tietjen 1999; DeStefano et al 2007; Laugharn 2007; Rose 2007; McKibben 2010). No comprehensive model has emerged to enable the sustainability of these schools to be an integral part of their planned development.

The poorer the community, the more important it is that members engage with the objectives of their school and its benefits, which enshrine the quality, so that those facing pressures on their limited resources may think it worthwhile to continue participating in their school (Molteno et al 2000). These objectives are likely to be subject to change and development within a community’s socio-cultural, economic and political context, which in turn will be impacted by global issues such as climate change, already clearly observed in the rural Sindh¹. Very little empirical research has been conducted on community perceptions of educational quality. These understandings would not only inform the debates on promoting sustainability, but also the analysis of *what* should be sustained.

This study is intended to strengthen community ownership of the school through “practising participation”, (Rose 2005; Govinda & Bandyopadhyay 2010) a concept informed by my findings from assignment two, for which I engaged with perceptions of community participation in two village LEAP school communities (Jerrard 2011). For local communities, the research can increase their awareness of what they want from their school and how it can be achieved. For teachers, it can develop their understanding of their role as potential change agents, strengthening their intrinsic motivations (Bullough et al 1997; Akyeampong & Stephens 2000; UNESCO 2005; Tanaka 2010), facilitating them to build the community around the school (Pryor 2005). For graduates of the schools, it can develop their understanding and articulation of the benefits of the school. For NGOs, it can assist their analysis of their crucial role, strengthening their

¹ Rural Sindh experienced devastating floods in 2006 and 2011. Annual monsoon season rainfall has also significantly increased in recent years.

stakeholder relationships both within and outside the community (De Grauwe et al 2005).

1.4 Research Questions and Methodology

This study uses a qualitative approach to analyse both the understandings of “quality” education in marginalized communities in rural Sindh and the factors and processes that are shaping these understandings. In order to locate the study within a social justice framework which is pertinent to marginalized communities, “quality” in education is studied within the three dimensions of inclusion, relevance and democracy and is guided by the following four questions:-

- How do community stakeholders perceive inclusion in their community school?
- How do community stakeholders perceive their school’s relevance for addressing social justice concerns?
- How do community members perceive their participation in determining the valued outcomes of their school?
- How are perceptions of inclusion, relevance and democracy being shaped by the key variables of time, landownership and proximity to a town?

My research study is informed by critical theory, incorporating additional insights from Bourdieu and Foucault. It is a multiple case study, gathering data from four marginalized communities to answer the research questions. All four have opened a Village LEAP school - two in 2002 and two in 2007 -, one each in villages where the community leaders and school management committee have their own land, one each where they do not, with the community working under a feudal landlord. All four are in rural Sindh, but with three being in close proximity to a town and one in an isolated location.

The study uses semi-structured interviews and focus groups for data collection and photographs as a participatory tool. The participants include community leaders, school management committee members, parents, teachers and school graduates.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. **Chapter 1** outlines my personal reasons for selecting the study topic, the purpose and objectives of the study, its rationale, and the questions to be addressed, its methodological underpinnings, the research design and layout of the thesis. **Chapter 2** reviews the key literature on “quality” in education and provides a theoretical framework for the study. **Chapter 3** provides the international, national and local context for the research. **Chapter 4** engages in more depth with the methodological underpinnings of the research, the research design, methods of data collection, data analysis and issues of validity and reliability. **Chapters 5, 6 and 7**, present the study findings, addressing respectively the first three research questions with the fourth question being addressed throughout all three chapters. **Chapter 8** as the final chapter, summarizes the key findings, discusses the contribution of the research, engages with the implications of the study for policy and “quality” debates and makes suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the key literature on quality education to frame my research. It begins by engaging with why “quality” in education is becoming an increasingly important international focus. It continues with a discussion of the main conceptualizations of quality, including the important work of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum on capabilities. The chapter then introduces the three key principles of inclusion, relevance and democracy that are at the heart of theorizations of quality from a social justice perspective. The chapter then moves to the subject of benefits, which enshrine quality and a typology of benefits is presented, that frames my specific research topic. This is followed by a key theorization of quality as being an *iterative* process. The chapter concludes with a summary of the literature review including a diagram of the theoretical framework for my research.

2.2 Quality: an imperative focus

The World Declaration on Education for All (EFA) 1990 and the Dakar Framework for Action 2000 provided an international mandate for UN millennium goals that included gender equity in education by 2005 and the achievement of universal primary education (UPE) by 2015. The Global Monitoring Reports (GMR) 2012 and 2013 - 2014 recognized the progress that had been made: the number of out-of-school children had halved in South and West Asia; the enrolment rate in sub-Saharan Africa had increased by a third despite the large population increase. However, most progress was made in the first five years and since 2008 has stagnated due to the impact of natural disasters, climate change, violent conflict and in particular the global financial crisis. The GMR 2013-2014 highlights that if the rate of reduction in out of school children had continued at the pre-2008 level, UPE would have been reached by 2015. However it is now estimated that only 68 out of 122 countries will achieve it. In 15 countries, on current trends, the ratio will still be below 80%. In 2011 there were still 57 million children out of school, with fourteen countries in sub-Saharan Africa estimated to account for two-thirds of them, the region having made no progress since 2007. Of the countries with available data, Pakistan has the second highest number of out of school children, namely 5.3 million. The gender parity in primary school enrolment had improved significantly in regions that in 2000 had the largest gender gaps (UNESCO

2012). However, only 60% countries with data achieved parity by 2011 and with just over a fifth of low-income countries achieving parity, girls are being disadvantaged (UNESCO 2014). As we approach 2015 there is increasing debate about the educational priorities *post*-2015. Despite the continuing challenges regarding access to education, the focus seems to be shifting towards improving quality for learners.

Within these new priorities, quality is considered important as clearly access to learning and quality are inter-related (Barrett et al 2006): for example, in LICs, the poor and marginalized will not use their meagre resources for educating their children if the education being provided is considered to be of poor quality (Molteno et al 2000). Although their connectedness is evident in the early EFA documents cited above (Barrett et al 2006), the Global Monitoring Report 2005, “The Quality Imperative” (UNESCO 2005) is an admission that quality has been relatively neglected and the most recent report “Teaching and Learning: achieving quality for all” (UNESCO 2014) underscores its perceived importance. In addition, a zone of “silent exclusion” (Lewin 2007, 2009) has been identified in which children, though enrolled in school, are at risk of learning very little due to the poor quality of education they are receiving. Lewin echoes the concerns of others (e.g. Michaelowa 2001; Filmer et al 2006) in asserting that the rapid rise in school enrolment has been accompanied by low completion rates, with high drop-out rates, grade repetition and overage students in primary grades.

Consequently there are powerful voices that argue for priority to be given to the measurement of learning *outcomes* as a path to quality improvement: three World Bank economists, Filmer, Hasan and Pritchett (2006) propose a post-2015 Millennium *Learning* Goal as an approach to ensuring quality remains in the foreground. Barber & Mourshed (2007) have conducted seminal research on the key factors for sustained and widespread gains in student outcomes. The World Bank (2010a) has funded a research programme to develop an international benchmarking tool for measuring learning outcomes and the Learning Metrics Task Force has more recently made recommendations for tracking learning outcomes globally (UNESCO 2013). However, Alexander (2008) argues that these priorities indicate that the EFA discourse on quality has moved from a commitment to its importance to a focus on its measurement, without sufficient debate on what quality entails. Nickel & Lowe (2010) point out that these initiatives reflect a conceptualization of quality that is only about product and limited to classroom activity. Barrett (2011b) also critiques this outcomes based approach,

concerned that this will result in a narrowing of educational goals through focusing on standardized tests, which even if nationally determined, could have a detrimental impact on low-income countries, reminiscent of the “diploma disease” (Dore 1976). Barrett et al (2006) remind us of the broader goals of education that earlier writers espoused (Hawes & Stephens 1990; Delors et al 1996; Chitty 2002). They emphasized learning for social development through the promotion of life skills as well as for preparation for the world of work. Education, they argued, is important for human fulfilment, encouraging life-long learning and the development of critical thinking and creativity. Through such skills students are equipped to adapt to a fast changing world and to transform their world, facilitating social change. The 5-year (2005 – 2010) Research Programme Consortium for Implementing Education Quality in Low-Income Countries (EdQual), along with other researchers, has therefore focused its attention on developing new theoretical models for quality in education to assist governments and international development agencies in formulating policies and strategies for educational development that will especially benefit disadvantaged learners (Unterhalter & Brighouse 2007; Nikel & Lowe 2010; Barrett 2011a; Sayed & Ahmed 2011; Tikly 2011; Tikly & Barrett 2011).

2.3 Conceptualizations of quality

One of the reasons for quality’s relative neglect is the reality that there is no universally agreed definition of “quality” in education beyond the unproblematic generic sense of degree of excellence. Alexander (2008, p.1) asserts that although there is some consensus on the conditions for quality, namely the inputs of infrastructure, resources, teacher supply, enrolled children, there is less consensus on the pedagogy “through which educational quality is most directly mediated”. This is because “quality” in education is rooted in many variable factors, including cultural values and traditions, social and economic conditions and the ideological positions of the different stakeholders in any particular context.

Conceptualizations of “quality” are rooted in three different approaches to education: the human capital approach, the human rights approach and the social justice approach. These have been analysed in Barrett’s literature review (2006) and further interrogated by other researchers, especially those working with the EdQual research programme, cited above. Both the human capital and human rights approaches are top-down

approaches. The human capital approach focuses on quality's relationship to economic growth, with the objective of producing graduates who will be employed and contribute directly to the growth of the market and therefore a country's economic development (Hanushek & Wößmann 2007). It seeks to improve outcomes and therefore quality through school choice and competition, greater school autonomy and more accountability through international benchmarking of mainly *cognitive* skills. The human rights approach conceptualizes quality through its relationship with fundamental human rights: rights *to* education, rights *in* education and rights *through* education. It focuses on the intrinsic value of education and educational processes. UNICEF (2009) has been in the forefront of creating a "child-friendly" framework based on the Convention for the Rights of the Child (1989) with all decisions taken based on the learner's best interests. Both approaches have been critiqued as providing too narrow a lens through which to address "quality" in education: rooted in the Western episteme and reflecting its dominance of neo-classical economics (Tikly 2011); conceptualizing identity as emerging from the individual, rather than the community and therefore less appropriate for many LIC contexts; and leading to frameworks that are underpinned by a linear input-process-output model (Robinson-Pant et al 2010).

My research framework draws on the social justice approach which emphasizes education's role in promoting basic freedoms, which although still emerging from the Western episteme of social justice, by contrast is a bottom-up approach and as Tikly (2011) reminds us, therefore provides an opportunity for non-Western understandings to be included. It assumes that any "quality" model must recognize the multiplicity of cultural norms and traditions and socio-economic contexts in a globalized world. It therefore privileges participation and indigenous voice in defining what education quality might look like. It has at its core the understanding that educational quality is contextually constructed and therefore differentiated. It is not about achieving an "end state" (Nikel & Lowe 2010), but is iteratively constructed, as socio-cultural and political realities change. It facilitates a consideration of the implications of climate change, violent conflict, the international financial crisis and its impact on the flow of aid (Tikly 2010). It asserts that to achieve the desired outcomes from the inputs of the education process, inescapably engages us with the socio-cultural barriers that limit agency for the poor and marginalized. This approach is relevant for my research study which engages with community perceptions of school benefits in order to access local understandings

of quality education and the factors that shape these. It also seeks to interrogate gendered individual and community agency and engage with the micro-political realities that inhibit agency.

2.4 The capabilities approach within a social justice framework

Researchers working within a social justice framework draw on a range of social justice theories that provide analytical insights into educational disadvantage. Fraser (2008) deconstructs institutional and structural constraints, while Sen (1999, 2009) and Nussbaum (2000) focus on the “situated nature of disadvantage” (Barrett 2011a, p. 1). The “capabilities approach” of the last two theorists is helpful for my research since it foregrounds the *conditions* needed to enable people to make decisions, based on what they consider to be valuable. Its two key concepts are “capabilities” and “functionings”. Sen (1993, p.30) defines capability as “a person’s ability to do valuable acts or reach valuable states of being; it represents the alternative combinations of things a person is able to do or be”. They are the opportunities to achieve valued outcomes. Capabilities are the potential to achieve. Functionings are achieved outcomes. Capabilities may likely include literacy, numeracy, and basic scientific knowledge but also include autonomy, critical thinking, and emotional intelligence (Walker 2006). The capability approach focuses on the relationship between capabilities and functionings, highlighting the diversity of human experience, the complexity of social relations and gives importance to the factors that can prevent an individual from converting capabilities into functionings, thereby unmasking disadvantage (Walker & Unterhalter 2007).

Although Sen views schooling as a transformative space for developing conditions for social justice, this view has been critiqued as too optimistic: structures and systems associated with race, gender and class can be constraining factors (Walker & Unterhalter 2007). Furthermore, post-colonial theory highlights the impact of history, power and conflict on educational processes. It engages with the impact of the colonial experience: the existence of educational elites, the questionable relevance of some curricula and textbooks, the medium of instruction, the continuing use of corporal punishment and teacher-centred classroom practice (Tikly 2010), which result in education not being transformative, but oppressive, maintaining the status quo. Critical pedagogy, which seeks transformative education, engages with the above concern. One of the key objectives of critical pedagogy is to facilitate students to identify the sources

of power and their relationship to them and enable them to have the social skills to actively participate in transforming society (Kincheloe 2007).

2.5 Quality enshrined by benefits

Unterhalter & Brighouse (2007) provide a typology of benefits which frames my core focus on school benefits. It is helpful since it emerges from the capability approach that informs the social justice approach to education. They identify three types of benefits: instrumental, positional and intrinsic, which they argue contribute to an individual's or community's freedom to live the kind of life that they have reason to value. Instrumental benefits include qualifications and skills for future life and better job opportunities that increase the economic capital of an individual or community. Positional benefits increase the status and reputation of a person or community, and may develop new understandings of gender, race or class, helping to redress these sources of inequality, providing cultural capital. Intrinsic benefits are those that enhance agency and well-being, for example having a more rewarding and complex mental life, regardless of whether it results in gaining employment or enhancing status.

Although this typology of benefits is useful for engaging with a wide range of benefits, benefits cannot be entirely neatly mapped into three categories since they often interact and overlap. For example, the instrumental benefit of a better job can lead to great social and cultural capital that generates positional benefits. Social capital accumulated through strategies unrelated to employment that increases positional benefits can then impact job and other life opportunities as achieved instrumental benefits. The acquisition of instrumental and positional benefits can yield further intrinsic benefits and influence perceptions of them.

Capturing and analysing perspectives on benefits is not an unproblematic process especially for intrinsic benefits which are highly significant but not always easy for individuals or communities to identify and articulate. The qualifications and skills that are considered to be instrumental benefits or those that will confer increased status and reputation will vary tremendously across time periods, locations, cultures, gender and class and be influenced by national economic and social policies. Analysis of benefits is facilitated by full engagement with the local context and by developing a good understanding of it.

2.6 Inclusion, relevance and democracy: their relationship to quality

My research study is further informed by Tikly and Barrett's three social justice principles of inclusion, relevance and democracy (Tikly 2011; Barrett 2011b; Tikly & Barrett 2011). Central to their first principle of inclusion is the understanding that quality education does not require one globalized set of inputs. Communities in LICs are addressing a range of injustices for complex reasons and therefore the choice of inputs must be efficient, given the limited resources available, and effective in facilitating the development of capabilities that individuals and communities value. Monitoring of these educational outcomes is implicitly important. If the outcomes are not being realized, it is critical to engage with the socio-economic and cultural barriers to learning that are preventing capabilities from being achieved. My research study is in alignment with this principle since in engaging with the respondents, my purpose is to discover the gendered capabilities that individuals and communities value and whether the education that is being provided in the Village LEAP schools is perceived as achieving these outcomes. It also aims to provide understandings of the contextual barriers being experienced to inform future initiatives in the iterative development of quality education for these communities in rural Sindh.

Tikly and Barrett's second principle of relevance interrogates quality's relationship with curriculum content, environment and processes that takes account of the priorities of different socio-economic and cultural groups, in particular those of marginalized communities. Nikel & Lowe (2010) provide further theoretical understanding by highlighting the changing priorities over time: that the needs of children will be different from those of their parents. They identify two further dimensions of reflexivity and sustainability, which foreground coping strategies in a rapidly changing world and the implications of longer-term global and local environmental changes. This principle connects with my research goal in accessing perceptions of school benefits, within the context of changing community and national needs, given the situated nature of emerging crises and their impact. It informs my decision to use photographs as an initial vehicle for discussion with respondents comparing the lives of parents and school graduates.

Tikly and Barrett's third principle of democracy draws attention to the importance of public debate and accountability, especially "downward accountability" (Chambers

1997). The principle emerges from Fraser's (2008, p.16) definition of justice as "parity of participation". It informs my research aim, emerging from my positionality as the PEP Coordinator, to demonstrate accountability to Village LEAP communities and be part of the on-going process of engagement with them, nurturing participation and community ownership of the school. Bray's (2000) eleven dimensions of community participation in education – designing policy, mobilizing resources, curriculum development, teacher hiring and firing, supervision, payment of salaries, teacher training, textbook design, textbook distribution, certification, building and maintenance – are useful for framing an exploration of community participation in school "functionings".

Aikman and Unterhalter (2013) have a particular interest in gender and social justice and its implications for quality education. In presenting a review of the literature on gender and education they raise concerns that if the three principles of inclusion, relevance and democracy are not ordered, the attention to local meanings could result in the retention of the status quo by those in power and limit the development of both women's capabilities, an important aspect of inclusion, and sustainable livelihoods, a core focus of relevance. They argue for some top-down frameworks for gender equality and rights in and through education, since prioritizing local understandings might simply facilitate powerful elites to resist social change in marginalized communities. They therefore advocate the prioritizing of inclusion rather than democracy in the ordering of the three principles. This seems a valid argument for practical action in specific contexts, but Tikly's (2013) assertion that democratic participation is a necessary precondition for inclusion and relevance remains well argued.

In addition to the arguments arising from socio-economic and cultural factors, other researchers have critiqued the prioritization of democracy from the pedagogical standpoint. While Taylor (2004) argues for the involvement of the community in creating a contextualized curriculum which Hoppers (2005) supports, viewing it as a strategy for developing school ownership and social capital for participation. Chapman et al (2002) ask "*Do communities know best?*" They argue that communities may use "conventional wisdom" and not make decisions from research-based evidence of what promotes good teaching and learning. Singh (2010) asserts that parents are not interested in curriculum development while Barrs (2005) demonstrates that village education committees align "good teaching" with task-orientated behaviours,

understanding that would promote a positive ethos in the school and facilitate monitoring of teacher attendance and teacher – student relationship, but not necessarily influence the quality of teaching.

Furthermore, democracy may not mean Western understandings of democratic participation. In 2011, I conducted a small case study of two communities (Jerrard 2011). Already having some awareness of the macro-context in Pakistan, it enabled me to increase my understanding of the economic, social and cultural capital that was being utilized in each village that serves to facilitate and inhibit community participation in their schools. Using Arnstein's (1986) "Ladder of Participation", a typology of participation, as a theoretical framework, I analysed the perceptions of gendered participation in the two communities. The findings revealed the importance of the community leader, with community members' participation in village level decision-making understood as male alignment with the leader's decisions and no direct female participation. However, in villages where people own their own land and are educated, a transition process was observed: new male leaders are emerging who are recognized according to their level of education and their proven ability to bring progress and increased facilities to the community. These leaders are introducing different cultural norms and there is an emerging gendered negotiation of power.

Several researchers argue that community participation must often be created through establishing a community in the school, since the geographical community is often fragmented and disintegrating. Pryor (2005) argues that the habitus of the community is more pertinent than its capacity for participation. So instead of trying to extract what the community can do for the school, he argues for focusing on what the school can do to "galvanize local collective activity" (p.201). Likewise, Hargreaves & Fullan (1998 p.7) describe a process of "rescuing and reinventing" the community. My research study is intended to be part of the continuous process of the school to create community, encouraging participation, by practising participation (Rose 2005; Govinda & Bandyopadhyay 2010; Singh 2010).

The social justice approach to educational provision assumes that providing quality education involves more than attending to technical solutions in schools, since the root causes of poor quality lie to a large extent within the macro and micro realities of poverty and marginalization. Tikly (2013, p. 201), building on the context led model and the three social justice principles discussed above, further argues that a good quality

education will emerge from the “*interaction*” of three enabling environments: policy-making, the school and the community, each responding to the “conditions, needs and valued goals expressed within the other two”.

2.7 Quality as an iterative process

I have already engaged with international literature that conceptualizes “quality” in education as being an iterative process rather than reaching an “end game”. Nikel & Lowe (2010) take this understanding further through their model of “quality” with its seven dimensions of effectiveness, efficiency, equity, responsiveness, relevance, reflexivity and sustainability. It seeks to recognize the complexity of the term and its context-specific nature, aiming to provide a tool that can make explicit the values that lie behind any definition, opening them to analysis, raising awareness of the relationships between the dimensions, which may be complementary or introduce tension, thus assisting communities to decide what “quality” looks like in their school. This is especially important in LICs which are vulnerable to the imposed values of international organizations and donors and Western project staff. The model emerges from perceiving “quality” as a commitment to a continuous process of adjustment where the seven dimensions are in a dynamic relationship with each other, not required to be in a relationship of equivalence, but in a balance that emerges from a consideration of what is desirable and feasible in ever-changing socio-cultural, political and economic contexts. Nikel & Lowe advocate that a profile should be constructed for each quality dimension, identifying goals and associated indicators. It is beyond the scope of my research to undertake this process with the communities, but their model influences my assumptions about “quality” in three particular respects: their highlighting the importance of engaging with educational outcomes and impacts that are not measurable; that relevance for individuals and communities is complex and reflects local economic and cultural struggles; and that education is being provided within a rapidly changing world so that the capacity to reflect, orientate oneself, provide understanding of human activity and facilitate agency is important. The model therefore provides a wider framework for engaging with the communities in a discussion of school benefits.

Inherent in the understanding of quality as an iterative process is the notion of sustainability. Quality is an iterative process because you want it to be sustained. Previous theoretical and empirical work on this concept has additional relevance since

my study is a longitudinal one, tracing the communities' perceptions of school benefits over time in four communities: two over ten years and two over five years. Sustainability has been conceptualized as systemic change (Adelman & Taylor 2003). Fullan (2006, p. 119) observes that this adaptation frequently occurs in a problematic environment "in the face of complex changes that keep arising". The literature indicates that sustainability is perceived as having two important aspects: firstly, achieving long-term benefits to individuals and communities and secondly, the motivation and capacity of a community to give on-going attention to the problem being addressed (Bamberger & Cheema 1990; Shediak-Ritzkallah & Bone 1998, Adelman & Taylor 2003, Johnson et al 2004, Scheirer 2005). Scheirer (2005) conducted a review and synthesis of 19 empirical studies of programme sustainability in the health sector. She concludes that there are five key factors that influence the extent of programme sustainability and by implication the sustainability of quality: modification over time, existence of a "champion", alignment with the organization's mission and procedures, achievement of readily perceived long-term benefits and support from stakeholders in other organizations. These findings inform my research study and are interrogated by my research findings.

Since quality is conceptualized as an iterative process that involves a continuous process of adjustment, Bourdieu's (2004) work is pertinent since it provides further insights into adaptive processes. Underpinning Bourdieu's theories is the epistemology of critical theory that knowledge is constructed in society through power relationships. His concepts assist the unveiling of the dynamics of power and a critical reflection on how they can be shifted to make a difference. He sees sociological method as part of the process of change. People are unaware of their subordination to the powerful because it is embedded in their taken for granted assumptions that have not been unmasked. Bourdieu proposes a "reflexive sociology" where the underlying biases, beliefs and assumptions are unmasked, the sources of power are disclosed and the "reasons that explain social asymmetries and hierarchies" are revealed (Navarro 2006, p. 15). He proposes it as a powerful tool to promote social change. His work therefore, is very relevant to research within a social justice framework which assumes engagement with the socio-cultural barriers that limit agency for the poor and marginalized.

My research uses his theoretical framework for engaging with community members in a discussion of the perceived differences between their lives and the lives of their children and the relationship of these differences to their Village LEAP school. I seek to uncover my assumptions as well as theirs and engage with how those assumptions have been constructed by power relations and have influenced our perceptions of the benefits of the school.

Bourdieu rejects both the structuralist and subjectivist views of human behaviour, arguing that our actions are neither totally determined by external conditions, nor devoid of social influence. Bourdieu develops the three conceptual tools of habitus, capital and field to assist our understanding of the social world. Habitus is the socialized norms that guide thinking and behaviour. Bourdieu (1989 p.119) defines habitus as “a system of schemes of perception and appreciation of practices...which are acquired through the lasting experience of a social position”. Through their habitus individuals understand their own position and those of others in society. Habitus is the way social relations become deposited in people and is embodied, expressed through body language, dress, way of speaking and gesture and in a wide spectrum of behaviours. It emerges from the formative years of an individual’s childhood and socialization within the family but also from the collective history of class, ethnicity and gender. It is not static but develops over time through individuals’ life experiences, including their educational trajectory (Di Maggio 1979). “The habitus – embodied history, internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history – is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product” (Bourdieu 1990, p. 56).

However, while habitus predisposes people to act in certain ways, limiting their choices since they regard certain courses of action as unthinkable it does not pre-determine their actions. There are both inherited and innovative aspects to habitus (Swartz 2002). It can generate both constraining and transformative courses of action. As a game is played according to the rules, but also gives scope for creative strategy with varying degrees of competence and success, so habitus “carries with it the genesis of new creative responses that are capable of transcending the social conditions in which it was produced” (Reay 2004, p. 435). Since this is a longitudinal study, an integral part of my research will be an analysis of the habitus of my respondents in each of the four villages and its development over time. I will interrogate to what extent their habitus has

generated constraining and transformative courses of action and the impact of the process on perceptions of inclusion, relevance and democratic participation.

Bourdieu (2004) expands the concept of capital, beyond the economic, to include cultural, social and symbolic capital. Cultural capital – and the means by which it is created or transferred from other forms of capital – plays a central role in societal power relations, as this provides the means for a non-economic form of domination and hierarchy. Cultural capital comes in three forms: embodied, such as ways of speaking, walking and dressing, objectified, through the possession of objects that are valued in each specific social arena; and institutionalized, that is through credentials that demonstrate cultural competence and authority, such as formal qualifications or particular skills and knowledge. This concept is useful when considering the Village LEAP communities since beyond the economic dynamics of the feudal system and the “modernity” discourse, the perceived impact on social and cultural capital can frame a wider discourse on school benefits.

Bourdieu creates the third concept of fields which are the various social and institutional arenas, such as home, school and community, in which people express their habitus. They are sites of struggle and the participation of agents in each field depends on the form and amount of capital they have. Individuals or groups utilize these resources of power both to reproduce social structures of domination and to resist them. People can experience power differently depending on the context and environment. Therefore in a new field new habitus can be created. A community school can become a place - a field - where a new shared habitus can be created. My research seeks to engage with the communities, including teachers and school graduates, interrogating the processes that have been experienced or can be facilitated through the research process.

2.8 Conclusion

The international community has faced the fact that the UPE and gender parity goals established through the EFA initiatives are unlikely to be met by 2015. This is accompanied by awareness that inherent in this stark reality is the need to refocus our energies, since while the *quality* of education is so poor for the disadvantaged, these targets are not going to be met. However, how exactly we should aim to improve quality is a matter of considerable debate. Researchers have two main concerns about the

initiatives that are being proposed: both pedagogy and socio-cultural realities outside the classroom are being relatively ignored, viewed as critical factors if educational provision for the poor and marginalized is going to address their social justice concerns. My research aims to respond to these concerns and a diagram to illustrate my theoretical framework developed in this chapter is presented below.

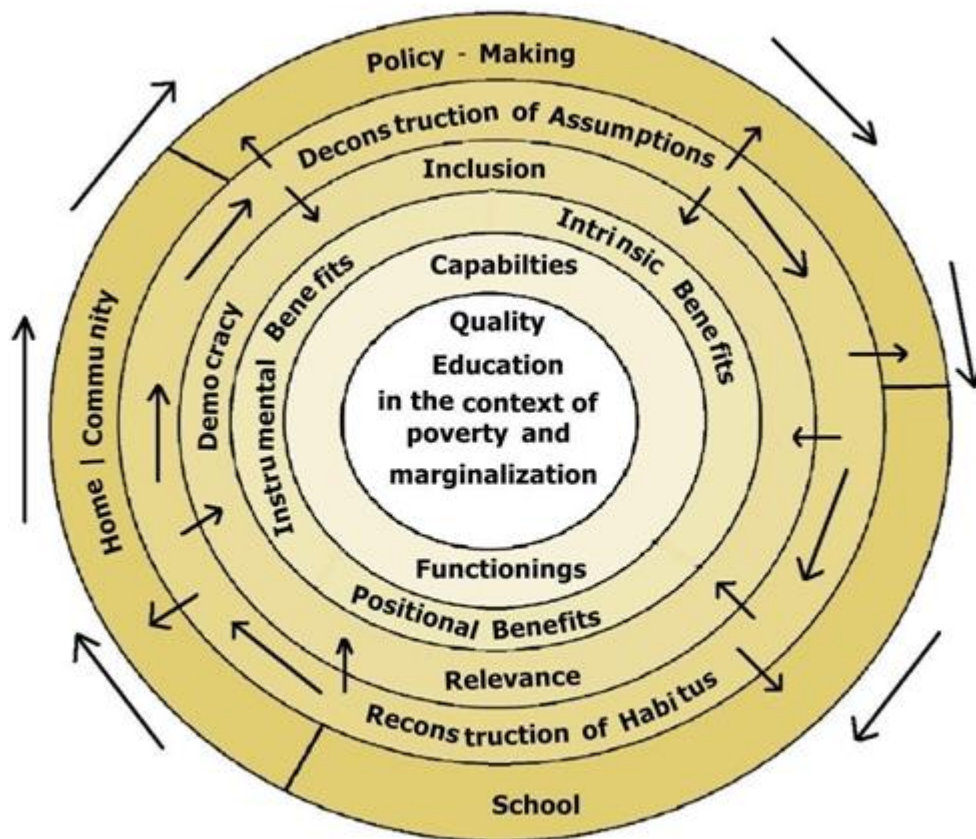


Figure 1 Theoretical Framework: Quality Education

My research emerges from the social justice approach to education which emphasizes the role of education in developing basic freedoms to develop the life people have reason to value. It acknowledges that quality in education is contextually constructed and privileges indigenous voice and participation of stakeholders in deciding what their valued educational outcomes are and therefore what quality looks like. Through the capability approach with its key concepts of “capabilities” and “functionings” it highlights the factors and processes that may prevent individuals and communities from achieving their desired outcomes. These core values underpin my research and hence are placed centrally in my theoretical framework (Figure 1). The typology of benefits

discussed in this chapter, namely instrumental, positional and intrinsic benefits, has emerged from within the capabilities approach. It draws attention to a wide range of benefits that are pertinent to disadvantaged communities. The study aims to discover the gendered outcomes that individuals and communities value and whether the education that is being provided in the Village LEAP schools is perceived as achieving these outcomes. At the heart of this investigation are Tikly and Barrett's (2011) three social justice dimensions of inclusion, relevance and democracy. My research, through its engagement with local communities, aims to both provide empirical data on the concerns which researchers have raised about quality debates, investigating the extent to which inclusion, relevance and democratic participation are being achieved in these community schools; and in asking communities to practice participation, encourage the third principle of democracy in addressing the injustices that poor and marginalized communities face. Bourdieu's work assists the investigation of disabling factors and processes since it acknowledges agential constraints and the necessity for assumptions held by individuals and communities that subordinate them to the powerful to be challenged to promote social change. This research explores whether community respondents identify a process of deconstruction and reconstruction of "habitus" that has shaped perceptions of inclusion and relevance and facilitated democratic participation. The enquiry - as shown in the diagram - is bounded by the three interactive sites of policy-making, school and home / community since these have been recognized as being the critical environments from which a "quality education" can emerge (Tikly 2013). Finally, the theoretical framework is presented as a wheel in motion to emphasize the iterative nature of "quality" education, a core understanding of several key researchers working within a social justice framework. This research is not conceptualized as reaching an "end game" but part of an on-going process of adapting educational provision to global, national and local challenges, to enable communities to achieve their valued outcomes over time.

Chapter 3: Context of the Research

In this chapter, I explore the context of the research from three perspectives: international, national and local. I begin with the international context which focuses on the findings of the Global Monitoring Report (GMR) as they relate to Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Secondly, I engage with the national context, namely the political and educational context of Pakistan. Finally I explore the local context, in particular the Village LEAP Project, including its teacher education programme and school curriculum development.

3.1 International Context: EFA and MDGs

The GMR 2013-2014 recognizes that despite considerable achievements, EFA will not be achieved by 2015. Universal primary completion for poor girls is not expected to be achieved in 24 out of 28 low income countries until after 2060. These realities have focused minds on the key relationship between achievement of EFA and quality education, since poor, marginalized communities in particular will not invest limited resources on education if its value is questionable. The GMR 2013-2014 also asserts that a key reason why MDGs have not been fully realized is because *equity* in education has not been at their core. There are critical issues pertaining to access and quality of education in low-income countries that need to be interrogated by research, especially quality of teaching and learning, as indicated by the theme of the GMR 2013-2014 report: in particular teacher education, teacher deployment and teacher motivation, all regarded as key factors for improving quality of schooling. Furthermore, even though gender parity is likely to be achieved for primary enrolment in 70% countries by 2015, only 20% low income countries will reach this target. There is concern that even if it is achieved in terms of enrolment, education may not be impacting gender inequities (Chisamya et al 2012). In a broader perspective it is being recognized that political, social and economic systems act as constraints on women's agency despite parity being achieved in educational measures. Researchers are calling for other models of schooling that might address these concerns and enable schooling to become more transformative of gendered norms (Murphy-Graham 2009; Bartlett 2007, cited in Chisamya et al 2012).

3.2 National Educational Context: Pakistan

Pakistan was created in 1947 following the end of British rule in India and was founded on the principle of the two-nation theory, namely that a nation's primary identity is religion, rather than language or ethnicity. Indian Muslims and Hindus, it is argued form two separate nations. Pakistan, which means "land of the pure", was therefore intended as a homeland for Muslims, who make up 96.3% Pakistan's population of 180 million. Christians and Hindus each make up 1.6% population with 0.3% from other religions. East Pakistan became independent in 1971, after violent conflict, forming the separate nation of Bangladesh. Both military and civilian governments have struggled to bring political stability and to maintain control over the tribal areas bordering Afghanistan. This has been intensified in recent years, through their involvement in the "war on terror", with the conflict impacting an increasing number of Pakistanis, while still continuing tensions with India exist over the disputed territory of Kashmir. Nevertheless in 2012 Pakistan achieved an "unprecedented milestone" (HRCP 2013 p.1) through a democratically elected government completing its five year tenure.

Pakistan is categorized as a country of low human development, being placed 146 out of 186 countries². According to the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index Report 2013, the Global Gender Index, which encapsulates the four pillars of women's socio-economic gender inequalities, namely political empowerment, health and survival, education attainment and economic participation and opportunity, places Pakistan 135 out of 136 participating countries. The number of illiterate adults has trebled since 1951, estimated at 55.24 million, with a literacy rate of 58%, for over 10 years age population (UNESCO 2012) with a female, living in a rural area, as a member of an ethnic minority in an agrarian community, as the most disadvantaged citizen. Pakistan has the world's second largest number of out of school children aged between 5 – 9 years, estimated at least 5.1 million (HRCP 2013), two thirds of them girls (UNICEF 2012). The projected literacy and net enrolment rates (15 years and above) for 2015 are 59% and 63% respectively, the lowest in South and West Asia (UNESCO 2011a). In the Sindh province, where my research is located, it is reported that there are 1.8 million primary age children out of school and 35% schools have no building. The Gender Parity Index (GPI) of the Gender Enrolment Rate for primary education in

² Human Development Index (HDI) 2012 = 0.515 (Academy of Education Planning and Management annual figures)

Sindh is 0.82 with a 44% enrolment rate and 62% completion rate at primary level for female students³. The rural Sindh female literacy rate is 22% (UNESCO 2012).

The government of Pakistan is committed to providing education for all its citizens through its 1973 constitution (Article 37-B), to improving literacy under the internationally agreed Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and according to its 2009 National Education Policy, to achieving 86% literacy by 2015. The GMR 2013 – 2014 recognizes that although there has been overall international progress, new challenges threaten to reverse the process, which in particular affects the poor and vulnerable. Threats from global economic recession, environmental degradation, climate change, violent conflict, all critical factors identified in the report, are ones that are impacting Pakistan: for example in 2010, an area the size of the UK was under water through severe flooding, affecting around 20 million people (Oxfam 2011) and “hundreds of schools” have been destroyed through armed conflict (UNESCO 2011b). Pakistan also suffered a devastating earthquake in 2005. Nevertheless, in addition to these global factors, other issues have been identified as “road blocks to literacy” that are specific to Pakistan (UNESCO 2012): lack of political will and leadership; low investment in education since Pakistan spends just under 2.8% GNP on education (HRCP 2013) - spending on arms is seven times that on primary schools - and inefficient utilization of available resources, including 30,000 “ghost schools” that are receiving government funding (HRCP 2013). Bano (2007) in her country profile, prepared for the EFA GMR 2008, argues that although the Net Enrolment Rate (NER) has risen by 8% since 2001, it has largely been achieved through an increase of private schools - now 31% of total enrolment- (UNESCO 2008) and the state sponsored push for non-formal education (NFE) implemented by NGOs. The public system remains largely unreformed. The Ministry of Education’s limited capacity has resulted in less than 50% allocated non-recurrent expenditure being utilized. Bano (2007) also reports that the government faces huge challenges in delivering *quality* education: 23% primary state schools are without textbooks; life skills are the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour which impedes their integration into the primary and secondary school curriculum; monitoring teams are understaffed; there are too few teachers, government teacher training “remains obsolete” while programmes provided by NGOs have little impact on the whole system. The Annual

³ AEPM Education Statistics 2011 - 2012

State of Education Report (ASER) 2013 indicates that Bano's concerns about quality are still pertinent, reporting low educational attainment levels in primary schools⁴. Seventy per cent of rural Sindh children in government schools are in multi-grade classrooms for which teachers are not adequately trained (ASER 2013; Aly 2007). These realities are reflected in the GMR 2013 – 2014 which records that less than 30% pupils completed grade 4 and attained basic learning standards with nearly 50% pupils not completing four years of schooling. The most recent government action plan designed to achieve quality primary education in Pakistan (Government of Pakistan 2013) points out that the main reason for children dropping out of primary school is because children are not willing to stay in school. This further emphasizes the importance of "quality". Furthermore, since completion rates are low for other reasons too, including parents refusing to keep their children in school, the costs of schooling and children having to help parents at work, the provision of "quality" education becomes even more urgent since the GMR 2013 – 2014 also cites an example where effective teaching in the early years achieved a minimum standard in reading even with no more than four years of schooling.

Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) were viewed as the "anchor" of the government's strategy to tackle issues of educational access, equity and quality (Bano 2008). However Bano (2008) maintains that there was low commitment to this strategy and that it was proposed to establish Musharaf's military government's development credentials as a means to access international funding. This is evidenced by the reality that PPPs were promoted by educational foundations and not by a department within the Ministry of Education, resulting in ad hoc projects with no systematic impact, which accentuates inequitable service delivery. The National Education Policy 2009 admits that "access to educational opportunities remains low and the quality of education is weak" (p.13), recognizing that it must increase its ownership of the education system and bridge the public-private divide that has sprouted inequitable parallel systems.

One initiative that has reported positive results through public-private integration is the Punjab Schools Reform Road Map implemented from 2010. This was predicated on the acknowledgement that the basic problem in Pakistan has been *non-implementation* of educational plans and that there is no path to achieve UPE without engaging with the

⁴ Appendix D 3

private sector (Barber 2013). The Punjab Education Foundation was given funds to enable children from poor families to attend low-cost private schools free of charge. The Road Map introduced three programmes that resulted in 1,380,000 new enrolments in the private sector: a voucher scheme, a new schools programme to enable non-state providers to open schools in areas where the government provision was weak or lacking; and funds for registered low-cost private schools to facilitate free enrolment for children from poor families. It was an ambitious scheme designed to reform the whole government system of educational provision in the Punjab. It faces many future challenges in terms of quality provision and sustainability, but the Independent Commission on Aid Impact recognized in their evaluation report that the programme was “sophisticated, multi-dimensional and innovative, with a balanced approach to access, equity and quality” (p.1). The Commission welcomed this experiment in working with the private sector as a “potentially cost-effective way of reaching out-of-school children” (Barber 2013, p. 26). Further cooperation is anticipated through the establishment of an Innovation Fund: non-state providers would be funded through DfID to introduce innovations that have the potential to accelerate progress at scale in future. Nevertheless, the programme still did not reach outlying areas where there were no schools. Such a programme was also regarded as “impossible” to introduce in Sindh since the Provincial Education Secretary postholder has been changed three to four times a year.

Apart from the impact of these latest interventions the Punjab has always been the best performing province in terms of educational indicators. The ASER 2013 confirms this continuing pattern: 66% class 5 children in Punjab can read a class 2 level story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto as compared to 41% in Sindh; 56% class 5 can do division in Punjab as compared to 29% in Sindh; 25% class 1 children in Punjab can read small letters in English as compared to 8% children in Sindh studying in the same class. In two of the four Sindh districts where PEP has opened schools, out of school percentages for 6 – 16 year age group are even lower than the Sindh average - 46% and 33% as compared to the provincial average of 29%. Similarly, data presented for learning outcomes in Urdu/Sindhi, English and Arithmetic in primary schools frequently reveal

lower rates of attainment in these districts as compared to the already challenging provincial data⁵.

3.3 Local Educational Context: Village LEAP

Village LEAP has been developed by the Primary Education Project (PEP) of the diocese of Hyderabad in response to requests for opening schools in villages in the four rural districts of Sindh, namely Badin, Mirpur Khas, Sanghar and Tando Allahyar.. It seeks “to provide sustainable, quality education, especially for girls, without discrimination in unreached marginalized communities, developing the skills of teachers and creating a network of effective leaders through wide ranging training programmes” (PEP Mission Statement, p.1). It seeks to contribute to the government’s declared aim of achieving 86% literacy by 2015. PEP has therefore opened schools in villages where there is no government school or a “ghost school”, in which case permission has been sought for use of the government building. These requests are located in districts of rural Sindh where educational access and learning outcomes are low and are even lower than the provincial averages.

Table 1: Village LEAP School Enrolment District-Wise Summary⁶

October 2012						
S#	Name of District	No. of Schools	Total Students	Total Boys	Total Girls	Girls %
1	Badin	11	617	418	199	32%
2	Mirpurkhas	18	855	566	289	34%
3	Sanghar	27	1347	762	585	43%
4	Tando Allahyar	28	1703	1199	504	30%
TOTAL		84	4522	2945	1577	35%

⁵ Appendix D 3

⁶ Further details in Appendix D1

Table 2: Village LEAP Teachers District-Wise Summary

October 2012				
S#	Name of District	Total Teachers	Male	Female
1	Badin	15	14	1
2	Mirpurkhas	19	15	4
3	Sanghar	33	29	4
4	Tando Allahyar	37	34	3
Total		104	92	12

The community schools are in villages largely defined by the feudal system of socio-economic organization. Agriculture employs an estimated 45% of Pakistan's work force, but its productivity is reduced through exploitative practices, in particular that of bonded labour, which is especially prevalent amongst socially excluded minority groups. National laws abolishing the practice have not been enforced nor those defining a more just relationship between landlord and tenant. Since these landless farmers have to rely on the landlord for access to the land and even provide their own agricultural inputs, their resultant poverty frequently obligates them to take loans at times of marriage, death and religious festivals which can put them in generational debt to these landlords. Villagers who have opened a school in the Village LEAP project are mainly from three tribal groups (Bheel, Kohli and Menghwar⁷), some of whom work as bonded agricultural labourers for the landlord whose permission is required before opening a school.

Village LEAP began in 2002 and schools have been opened incrementally. The focus in more recent years has been on the sustainability of existing schools. Time and resources have been invested in further development of the supplementary curriculum (described below) and in the construction of more permanent school buildings which were requested by the School Management Committees (SMCs):-

⁷Castes into which pre-independence Indian Hindus divided their people. They are amongst the lowest and poorest in the hierarchy

In many ways the selection criteria for the opening of a Village LEAP school have been defined by the *baradari*⁸ system. The first two schools were opened in villages where relatives within a key staff member's *baradari* were living. Later schools were opened through word of mouth, within different *baradaris* through a variety of contact networks. Each community signed a partnership agreement with PEP. The community agreed to build a hut for the school, select one of its members to be trained as a teacher, and achieve 30% female enrolment. The PEP agreed to pay all setting up costs, train the teacher and pay the teacher's salary. Females face the attitude that it is less important to educate girls than boys. Restricted to the home they have minimal opportunities for developing their lives.

Village LEAP has been funded by international donors since its inception and following an external evaluation in April 2010, certain initiatives were taken: communities would be expected to contribute higher fees and devise a fees plan to enable them to cover their school running costs; SMCs were to be formed with a clear structure, agreed responsibilities and procedures to provide accountability. In a three-phase plan, each year from 2011 – 2013, an agreed annual quota of schools would achieve financial sustainability so that by the end of 2013, all schools would be covering their running costs. By the end of 2012, sixty of the existing 84⁹ schools achieved this goal.

The teachers working in the village LEAP project have all been enrolled in ITEP (Initial Training Education Programme), which has been externally funded. This is a research based programme that formed the subject of my MA in International Education (University of Sussex) final dissertation. It was created out of a recognition that the teachers concerned often did not have the appropriate entry qualifications for government training institutions. Moreover, they did not offer contextualized teacher education, which I considered vital if teachers with low qualifications, rooted in a feudal culture, would be able to become change agents for their communities. Although research-based, the account that follows of the teacher training and curriculum is from my insider perspective as the project director. They have not been the specific focus of any academic research.

⁸ From the Persian root "baradar" meaning brotherhood, an extended family network, where all members are related

⁹ 16 communities following the devastating floods migrated to other areas, usually Thar Desert where other relatives lived

ITEP has three dimensions: knowledge and skills, attitudes and values and action and behaviour. As the village LEAP teachers have received a basic education to matriculation that has been acquired through rote learning methods of schooling, they had experienced little engagement with the curriculum content and lacked conceptual understanding. Therefore to effectively teach the government curriculum, it was clear that they would need to increase their own subject knowledge and understanding as well as pedagogical knowledge. An approach whereby village LEAP teachers learn in the same way as they would teach their pupils, has been adopted with short periods of input (4 x 5 day workshops) followed by practice. This emerged from a consideration of the apparently successful BRAC (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) model in Bangladesh which utilized a similar approach, supported by Eraut's (1997) theoretical work on "professional knowledge", which is built up by a combination of public propositional knowledge and practical knowledge through classroom experience both during and after the training course.

Knowles' (1992) case studies and research by Akyeampong & Stephens (2000) indicate that trainee teachers' initial beliefs act as an "interpretive lens" through which they view the teacher education curriculum (Zeichner, Tabachnick & Densmore 1987; Tillema 1994; Gupta & Saravanan 1995). Mifsud (1996) asserts that entering characteristics of teacher trainees should be acknowledged and discussed as a "crucial step" in the process of creating effective practitioners. Therefore accessing our teachers' initial beliefs about teaching and the role of the teacher has been an important aspect of ITEP: trainees are asked to write a guided childhood autobiography, complete a questionnaire and be individually interviewed. We use the findings as a discussion starter in the first workshop, including an analysis of their metaphors for the teaching process providing a foundation for a shared set of values that can be affirmed, encouraged and built on throughout their year's training. We are also able to access details of their socio-cultural background, motivation to become a teacher and likely training needs.

The third dimension of action and behaviour addresses the question of how the trainees will learn best. ITEP is based on the belief that the best way to learn is by doing (Schon 1988). This begins in the 5-day workshops which are conducted four times during the year and continues in weekly training in regional centres. Vygotsky's theory (1978) of assisted performance in the area of proximal development has been built on by Tharp & Gallimore (1988) who claim that for adults as well as children, learning is increased

through social interaction with a capable other. Their case study evidence of the most helpful ways of assisting teachers have been adapted by ITEP: modelling and role-play; setting goals on a specific component in the classroom with a mentor and during Saturday weekly training demonstration of lessons by both experienced teachers and trainees, with feedback.

When the first village school was opened, teachers were trained to implement the government curriculum, which included the teaching of English, so that as requested by the communities, children would receive a government qualification. Children sit government exams each year¹⁰. However, since 2002, the curriculum has expanded to encompass now a substantial supplementary curriculum, prepared by PEP, whose training department has produced resources to accompany the curriculum, including teacher training modules. This supplementary curriculum has several components. An extended multi-sensory English language curriculum to develop the four language skills, introduced through in-service teacher training, has extended the government curriculum. A child-to-child health curriculum was started to help improve the health of the community. Provision of hand pumps to facilitate access to clean water and a community-led total sanitation (CLTS) programme has been launched, aimed at motivating communities to construct their own simple latrines, further contributing to community health. Given the increasing ethnic and religious tensions within the country, PEP networked with another NGO to introduce a peace curriculum, facilitating role play, art work and discussion on conflict resolution and building peaceful communities, both within the family and outside in the wider society. Similarly, with the severe flooding experienced by these communities in 2006 and 2011, a disaster risk reduction curriculum has been incorporated, which includes an understanding of global climate change and its impact in Pakistan; strategies for minimizing risk of flooding and practical awareness raising for both children and parents of measures that can be taken annually prior to the monsoon season, to help preserve their animals, food supplies and personal belongings against flood damage. Finally, with awareness that school graduates are the potential future leaders of their communities, those who will exercise agency to bring change (Stromquist & Fischman 2012), PEP has introduced a social and financial education programme, linking with Aflatoun International, using their resources to create a modified curriculum. The five modules: personal understanding

¹⁰ Examination data for 2012 can be found in Appendix G 2

and exploration, rights and responsibilities, saving and spending, budgeting and planning and social and financial enterprise, are developing self-worth, capacity for agency, recognition of the inter-relationship between rights and responsibilities, decision-making skills and small business skills. The curriculum has facilitated children to start saving clubs and small enterprises. It has enabled them to provide uniform, new clothes for special festivals, basic school materials and medicines for their family members.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has engaged with the three contexts for this research: international, national and local. The GMR 2013 – 2014 admits that EFA will not be achieved by 2015 and that a key factor to be addressed in accelerating this process is the quality of education. To achieve greater equity, the report recommends new and innovative strategies for teacher education, teacher deployment and teacher motivation. It also draws attention to the particular disadvantage of rural girls in low-income countries.

Pakistan has the second largest number of out of school children aged 5 – 9, with the lowest projected 2015 literacy rates in South and West Asia. Lack of political will and low investment in education compounded by environmental challenges has resulted in the public system being under huge constraints in the provision of quality education. This is reflected in the burgeoning private sector alongside the growth of non-formal education. However until recently there has been no public acknowledgement of the complementary role of non-state education and even where this public-private strategy has been successfully adopted in the Punjab, it fell short of delivering education in hard to reach areas. The village LEAP project aims to contribute to the government's declared aim of achieving 86% enrolment by 2015, by opening schools in hard to reach areas for marginalized communities, to be accessible in particular for girls. A research-based teacher education programme is being implemented to facilitate the attainment of learning outcomes as well as a supplementary curriculum that addresses local needs.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Methods

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the methodological paradigm used for this research along with the underlying reasons for its selection, its strengths and limitations. This is followed by the research design, including the research objectives, the research questions, the strategy used to answer the questions including issues of sampling with a profile of participant communities and teachers. After this I explain how the data was collected and analysed for each research instrument along with a consideration of ethical issues. Finally I discuss the trustworthiness of the research, its limitations and generalizability.

4.2 Methodological Underpinnings

My research paradigm is “critical research” which challenges taken-for-granted norms and aims to expose structures of power and domination. It assumes therefore that there are marginalized groups, whose interests are not best served by existing societal structures. Critical research has an unashamedly political agenda: “the emancipation of individuals and groups in an egalitarian society” (Cohen et al 2007, p. 26). Critical research is therefore highly value mediated. This paradigm is appropriate for my research since I wish to locate my research within the socio-economic and political milieu of rural Sindh where the villagers in our project taking part in the research belong to groups that have been defined as “marginalized”, many of them working for a feudal landlord. Critical research is dialectic with the researcher acting as an authoritative facilitator who has a clear vision of what transformation is needed, although more radical critical theorists assert that the nature of the transformation should be determined by the participants (Guba & Lincoln 1993; Semali & Kinchloe 1999; Smith 2000). I take a convergent view. Given my position as the project co-ordinator and recognizing the passion with which I have worked with marginalized communities in Pakistan over ten years, I acknowledge my own vision for the research. Within the critical paradigm, I draw on the principles of feminist and critical indigenous research that seeks to open up the silenced, female voices and indigenous perspectives. Therefore, one of the criteria for the choice of villages for the research is the agreement of communities to arrange for an equal number of male and female respondents so that opportunity for transformation can be given to both. I seek to build on the small research project I conducted for assignment two (Jerrard 2011) which investigated

gendered / indigenous perspectives and provides insight into the communities' power relations, their perceptions of community participation and likely barriers to change. My goal is to make a contribution to the process of promoting the sustainability of the Village LEAP schools. My aim is that through interaction with the communities, the villagers would have a clearer awareness of the purpose of their school, identify its benefits and enhance their ownership of the school's role in promoting social justice.

Nevertheless my vision has resonance in the communities. I am aware from my experience in the project that women have been pro-active in talking to me during previous visits and would be likely to welcome an opportunity to participate in a study that aims to contribute to the sustainability of their school and to the achievement of their objectives, especially for their daughters. I aim to privilege their discourses for reflection as a space for potential transformation and am open to responding to this as the study progresses. As described in chapter 1, this resulted in my abandoning discussion of school costs and focusing entirely on school benefits as a lens for engaging with perceptions of "quality" in education.

Critical theory's value laden agenda has been critiqued, notably by Hammersley (2009). He questions the ability of researchers to prove the correctness of their value judgements, and their methodological justification for the combined research goals of producing knowledge and seeking transformation. Hammersley argues this dual approach is liable to considerably increase the danger of bias. However, his critique stems from an objectivist assumption that knowledge is free from social construction. Critical researchers (including those with feminist, anti-racist, or indigenous perspectives) assert that all research is value laden since the call to be "neutral" researchers is to allow the status quo to be reproduced and therefore just as value laden (Acker, Berry & Esseveld 1983; Humphries 1997). Instead of defining excluded and marginalized groups as objects of research, critical researchers seek to give them voice as subjects, who are able to give attention to the possibility of social transformation. Of course there is a risk of a new domination by the researcher, with even wider ramifications if that researcher is western-educated, supported by an international funder. Tikly (2004) terms this a discourse of "new imperialism", the imperialism of ideas, where education as a site for increasing social capital, is interpreted through western cultural values, for example forms of participation that are western in origin and emphasis. Therefore the marginalization need not just arise from the local power

structures, but from international funding of educational initiatives. I aim to use research methods that deprivilege my voice and privilege the voices of the communities. I do not assume an end game, but a study that is part of an iterative process of deconstruction and reconstruction of discourses. My position of power as the project co-ordinator influences the construction of knowledge and requires me to engage in a continuous reflexive process around my positionality.

Critical theory asserts that knowledge is constructed in society through power relationships. “What counts as worthwhile knowledge is determined by the social and positional power of the advocates of that knowledge” (Cohen et al 2000, p.29). Critical theory’s ontology emphasizes human agency and the importance of individuals gaining awareness that the restricting social structures are within their control to change. Knowledge generated from critical research therefore must be forward looking, practical and reflective. Critical research is dialogic since it seeks to gain deep insight through interactions between the researcher and the participants. The researcher seeks to work collaboratively with the participants, using a variety of participatory tools. For Habermas (1984), a founding father of the critical tradition, the concept of “discourse” has central importance. He provides the tool of the “ideal speech situation”, so that discourses rely on consensus with the best argument winning, providing opportunity for positive change (Prasad 2005). However in reality it is very hard to reach this utopia since dialogue takes place within a micro-political context of power relationships that inhibit “free” dialogue. Furthermore, the process may alternatively generate awareness of more contradictions and uncertainties, rather than consensus. I did not expect to uncover just one dominant discourse, but a range of discourses in the different villages and social groupings, some of which would be complementary, but others would be competing in a relationship of tension. However, I draw on Bourdieu’s concepts, explored in chapter 2, contributing to the development of a shared “habitus” in the “field” of the community school.

Other researchers (Ellsworth 1992; Gore 1992) argue that critical theory provides an over-optimistic view of agency since it ignores the more complex micro-politics where social actors are negotiating actions. Poststructuralists critique the grand narrative of empowerment, which is based on three assumptions: firstly there is an agent of empowerment, secondly, power is something that can be given, and thirdly, it has a desired end state. Foucault introduces new insights about the nature of power (Foucault

1979). He argues that power is not held but exercised in a multi-directional, complex web of interaction involving both the powerful and the powerless and only exists in action (Dunne, Pryor and Yates 2005; Somekh 2006). If power is exercised through some discourses becoming dominant over others as “regimes of truth”, empowerment can be regarded as producing alternative knowledges that have within them an inherent capacity to bring change. Employing a Foucauldian analysis of power enables agency to be viewed as deconstructing discourses that construct social action and instead of viewing power negatively, to regard it as a positive energy released through social interaction that can bring about change (Somekh 2006).

Critical theory does have its limitations. It positions the empowerer and the empowered and can therefore introduce another form of domination and create passivity. It assumes the “rightness” of the empowerer. It also over-simplifies the local context of power relations, assuming that reflection will produce change. I am mindful of these limitations and utilize mainly the insights of Bourdieu but also Foucault, who encouraged researchers to use his theories as thinking tools. I therefore adopt a “toolbox” approach, utilizing them for the purpose of my research project (Manias & Street 2000; Jackson & Mazzei 2012).

4.3 Research Design

The study aims to explore what constitutes “quality” education for marginalized communities in the rural Sindh, Pakistan and how their understandings are constructed. The objectives include:-

- To investigate how community stakeholders perceive the emerged, emerging and intended benefits of their community school
- To explore the factors and processes that are shaping perceptions of school benefits to address social justice concerns
- To interrogate the relevance of the findings for “quality” debates in the post-2015 provision of sustainable quality education in low-income countries

The study utilizes an exploration of school benefits as a lens through which to engage with perceptions of “quality” education within a social justice framework. As discussed in chapter 2, this requires an investigation into three dimensions of quality: inclusion,

relevance and democratic participation. The study therefore seeks to answer four questions:-

1. How do community stakeholders perceive inclusion in their community school?
2. How do community stakeholders perceive their school's relevance for addressing social justice concerns?
3. How do community members perceive their participation in determining the valued outcomes of their school?
4. How are perceptions of inclusion, relevance and democracy being shaped by the key factors of time, landownership and proximity to a town?

4.3.1 Research Strategy: Case Study

A case study is not easily defined since it is an approach to research that has emerged from a range of disciplines. However, writers of seminal works on the subject (Miles & Huberman 1994; Yin 2003; Stake 2005) agree that it is an intensive, in-depth holistic study of a social phenomenon within its specific context. The literature focuses on several aspects of the study: first of all the research process where the boundaries between a phenomenon's variables and their context are not clearly evident; secondly, the unit of analysis which is always a bounded system and may be child, a school, or a community; and thirdly, the end product. Qualitative case studies have been characterized as being "particularistic", "descriptive" and "heuristic" (Merriam 1998). They have a specific contemporary focus; investigate the complexities of the phenomenon; dissect different perceptions often demonstrating the influence of critical individuals and the impact of the passage of time; generate greater understanding, providing new meanings, relationships and insights that may lead to a complete reconceptualization of the phenomenon, suggesting ways forward and influencing future policy. Case studies are not defined by the research *methods* utilized: methods are varied, the choice dependent on what the researcher wants to explore.

Case study method is compatible with my methodological underpinnings and theoretical framework, since as a critical researcher I want to engage in depth with people's perceptions of a specific phenomenon, namely "quality" education, through uncovering the discourses about school benefits, within a complex context. I aim to explore the

factors and processes that are shaping these perceptions and use research methods that will elicit and challenge understandings.

4.3.2 Research Participants

My study is a multisite case study of four communities that have opened a Village LEAP school, selected to provide maximum variation of data (Flyvbjerg 2006) to enable me to investigate the significance of different social and geographical contexts and their impact on the social phenomenon being studied. Since my intention is to uncover the discourses about school benefits, I used purposive sampling to assist my engagement with a wide range of discourses. I assumed that land ownership is a significant variable. Within our Village LEAP Project 35% of the schools are in villages where people have their own land, 65% where they do not, with many working for a feudal landlord, some as bonded labourers. The challenges in each of these two contexts are different. Land ownership by community leaders provides greater freedom for decision-making within their own community and is usually accompanied by a higher level of education and wider experience of critical thinking. I assumed that recognition of benefits develops over time and is another significant factor. Therefore research was conducted in four villages: two villages where the community leaders and school management committee have their own land, two where they do not, with the community working under a feudal landlord. Within these two categories, one school was selected that opened in 2002, the other in 2007. Although it was not by design, a third variable is proximity to a town. This provided a wider range of contextualized knowledge from communities who may have different understandings of their school's benefits, different barriers to and opportunities for participation, and for whom the research process provides a range of experiences and potential benefits that can promote the sustainability of their school. All villages were ones identified by field leaders as having strong school leadership and social cohesion in the sense of having a history of members working together to establish and maintain their school. Nkansa and Chapman (2006) found that these were the two critical factors in sustaining community participation and has therefore informed my sampling criteria. They are also villages where the teacher is recognized by PEP monitoring staff as effectively delivering "quality" education. As I am interested in the gendered narratives, it was made clear to community leaders that consenting to participation in the research would involve equal numbers of men and women, separately being interviewed. If they were not happy with

this arrangement then they were free to decline participation in the research - though none did - and another village would have been approached.

<u>Table 3: Participant Communities</u>			
Marginalized Communities with Village LEAP School			
4			
Category A Community leaders and some members own land		Category B Community leaders and members do not own land and work for landlord	
2		2	
School that opened 2002	School that opened 2007	School that opened 2002	School that opened 2007
Tabdeeli Village	Aman Village	Rehmat Village	Noor Village

Within each village, the participants included the community leaders, school management committee members, parents, and teachers and, where the school opened in 2002, school graduates¹¹.

4.3.2.1 Profile of the four villages

Tabdeeli Village

Tabdeeli village and Rehmat village were originally one community. The first Village LEAP project school was opened in this community in 2002. It was an isolated community where men worked in the landlord's fields and had a bonded relationship with the landlord. In 2006 the villagers suffered the destruction of their crops and loss of animals due to severe flooding. This coincided with the landlord's decision to lease 90% of the land to another man. The villagers had a good relationship with their landlord but were unsure about the implications of the change. Fifteen families decided to leave the *baraderi*¹² and create a new community near a town about 80 kilometres away, establishing a new school, identified for the purposes of this research as Tabdeeli village. There is accessible post-primary education in the nearby town.

¹¹ Pseudonyms have been used to protect the identity of schools and communities

¹² Extended family network

Rehmat Village

In 2006, twenty families from the above original community decided to make a less radical move to a nearby village where the landlord was known to them, where they could rely on the support of their relatives and where their friends lived. They re-established the school with the same teacher. This is identified for the purposes of this study as Rehmat village. Given the isolated location there is no easily accessible post-primary education.

Noor Village

Noor community was established about fifteen years ago when a group of fifteen Hindu families left their previous village due to disputes with their landlords. Their present landlord has a small acreage of land and lives locally. He is a social activist supporting educational and health initiatives in the rural Sindh, including the village LEAP school in his village. A few men work for him as farmers but unlike Rehmat village they are not bonded labourers. It is a settled but small community, with most men earning daily wages through construction work, other labouring, or in garment factories in Karachi. A few are tailors, *peons*¹³, or gardeners. Three kilometres away by road (but reachable by foot in ten minutes) is another larger village, with about 150 families living on government land with secure tenure. It has a government primary school, regarded locally as providing low quality education since teacher attendance is very irregular. There is also a girls' school established and funded by Sindh Education Foundation (SEF). Post-primary school education can be accessed in the nearby town.

Aman Village

Aman Village is well established where a number of Hindu tribal groups, namely Thakurs, Kholis and Bheels live as well as Punjabi Muslims. A cooperative environment has been encouraged by the Talpurs, the original landowners, nurturing peaceful relationships between members of different tribal, ethnic and religious groups. The majority of villagers are farmers, working their own plots of land. Some work as tailors or in daily labouring. Post-primary education is accessible in the nearby town.

¹³ Unskilled office worker engaged in menial tasks such as taking messages and providing chai to guests

<u>Table 4: Summary of Case Selection</u>			
	Landownership	Time	Proximity to Town
Tabdeeli village	Yes	opened 2002	close proximity
Rehmat Village	No / bonded labour	opened 2002	isolated village
Noor Village	No	opened 2007	close proximity
Aman Village	Yes	opened 2007	close proximity

4.3.2.2 Profile of Village LEAP teachers

It is the policy of PEP that the village LEAP teacher should come from the local community and be selected by community members. Most of the 105 teachers are sons or daughters of farmers. Some were working in a variety of lower status jobs, some were unemployed, helping their family to cultivate the landlord's land. As a minimum requirement, male teachers have a matriculation certificate and all attended government schools, many having lived in a hostel to be nearer to the school. They all successfully completed the 1-year ITEP provided by PEP, described in chapter 3. Greater flexibility in appointment criteria is given to female teachers, who are trained through the same ITEP course.

4.3.3 Research Methods and Instruments

Since my research paradigm is critical research and my research questions are concerned with perceptions of school benefits, dialogic methods were used to enable in-depth interaction with the participants. Therefore, I used semi-structured interviews (see Appendix A for schedules) to give access to both individual insights, especially of those in leadership positions, and group interviews, where knowledge is constructed through interaction, but where the researcher can play a facilitative role to ensure that all voices are heard and no one person plays a dominant role. Focus groups were also employed, utilizing different participatory tools to frame the discussion.

4.3.3.1 Photographs: A Participatory Tool

Photographs were used in the graduates' focus groups, drawing on the emerging use of visual-based research methods. Given my power position as the project co-ordinator, I sought to employ methods that minimized the power relationship with the graduates. Woodward (2008) argues that the use of a digital camera re-negotiates power relations. Cronin (1998) observes that photographs should not be treated as “mirrors” held up to reality, but they can be part of the process of knowledge construction. Wright et al (2010) have found that photographs can open up productive dialogue between respondents and researcher and can allow access to semi-public parts of their lives that are often inaccessible to the researcher through traditional qualitative methods. Photographs can empower the photographers, introducing areas of importance to them and providing a vehicle for discussion that can assist a reflexive consideration of their lives. For my research I asked the graduates to take photographs which tell the story of daily life in their village for their parents, for example, work in the fields, in the home, accessing water, preparing food, caring for children¹⁴. They worked in four groups (two male and two female), each with a camera and were given one hour for this activity. They could take as many photographs as they wished but each group was asked to choose twelve which were then downloaded on to a laptop computer. Each group then presented their photographs explaining why they had chosen each photograph. They were then used as the basis for the group discussion with the other graduates which lasted about an hour. I explored the perceived differences and similarities in their lives as compared to their parents and grandparents (already evident and anticipated in the future). From these photographs a discussion emerged on life issues such as job, age of marriage, family size, state of health, and experience in times of crisis, and I interrogated gendered, sibling and village differences. I related the discussion to my research questions exploring their understanding of the contribution of the school to these differences and similarities, as well as the contribution of other supporting and inhibiting factors. I later used the same photographs with the male and female parent and SMC respondents, which was effective in creating a positive and relaxed atmosphere to begin the group interviews.

¹⁴ Photographs taken and selected by graduates can be viewed in Appendices G1 – G4

4.3.3.2 Focus Groups

Focus groups give opportunity for data to emerge through the interaction of the group. These can be dominated by particular individuals (Bryman 2004). As described above, photographs were employed in the graduates' focus groups which functioned as single-sex groups. In Tabdeeli village, the female graduates group was easily convened since all participants were working within PEP, four as teachers, one as a part-time trainer, and were close to the city. They had considerable experience of articulating their opinions with visitors and during trainings and were confident about taking the photos and participating in the discussion which covered topics about which they appeared to have already given considerable thought. The eldest young woman, regarded by the others as a role model, was given some deference, but I was able to invite contributions from different members of the group to ensure all voices were heard. The male graduates group had one particularly articulate speaker, but again I facilitated the discussion to give as equitable an opportunity as possible to all the participants. Unfortunately there was no representation from male graduates who had moved away from the village, which limited my access to data in particular in the discussion of constraints to achieving school benefits. In Rehmat village, it was much harder to conduct focus groups. There are only five female graduates from the village LEAP school: one died in childbirth and two migrated due to marriage. Only one married female was able to participate which involved a superlative effort and commitment, involving considerable travel and permission from in-laws. This provided a group of three graduates to capture and select photos for the discussion. I also interviewed separately the mother of the deceased graduate which was not recorded. Since there were sufficient male graduates who were still living in their village, it was easier to create their focus group.

As regards the teachers' focus group their level and quality of education and relationship built with and within PEP, gave them confidence to articulate their opinions and justify them in front of each other. They were asked initially to work in pairs, then fours and then in a plenary discussion, comparing understandings of gendered benefits for students and then for communities. They itemized benefits on small cards and displayed them in the plenary for mutual discussion. My aim as the facilitator was to elicit and develop their analysis of the benefits.

4.3.3.3 Interviews

As a qualitative researcher I conceptualize the interview as a social process, an interview (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009) where the interviewer and interviewee(s) are co-constructing knowledge. Individual interviews were held with the community leaders and all eight teachers. These lasted about an hour. Group interviews were held separately with male and female parents and SMC members. From these interviews I was able to gain rich data but the trajectory of the interviews was different within and between each village: some respondents engaged with a wider range of issues; others with fewer at depth; sometimes there were issues with which particular respondents minimally engaged: for example, with Tabdeeli village male parents in their group interview, there was considerable discussion regarding the prospects for their educated daughters such as age of marriage, disadvantages of early marriage, choice of marriage partner, potential for decision-making; this compared to Rehmat village male parents who were much more interested in discussing their *sons'* prospects. Where I found a particular individual's experience and passion was in a particular direction, I focused on developing that theme if it had potential for in-depth understanding of the local context: for example, since the Tabdeeli village leader was training to become a human rights lawyer, he spoke passionately about the role of agriculture in rural Sindh and the rights of farmers, the changing dynamics of community participation and its impact on marginalized groups. Since the Noor village SMC chairperson as compared to the other villages is a farmer, I was interested to explore his positionality in deconstructing and reconstructing habitus and how his leadership compared to that of the other chairpersons. Interviews were semi-structured and therefore open-ended to allow for diversity and to facilitate opportunity for deep engagement. As a critical researcher's agenda is transformative, I aimed to engage with the habitus of the respondents, to understand the reasons for their opinions, sometimes challenge them and encourage the more "silent voices" to consider a greater agency. Some examples are included in the main text but further examples of these interactions are provided in the appendices.¹⁵ I also intentionally took an oblique starting point by discussing the differences between parents and graduates' lives to avoid leading their responses. This was a necessary approach due to my positionality, but could take the interview on different trajectories. The interviews became a developing story involving iterative analysis as further

¹⁵ Appendix A 2

explored in 4.4 below. For this reason I allowed sufficient time between interviews and between villages to nurture this process.

Table 5: Research Participants, Methods and Instruments

Research Participants	No. per village	Research Methods	Research Instruments
Community Leader	1 (2 in Tabdeeli village and Noor village)	Individual Interview	Semi-Structured Interview
Community Members (SMC members and parents)	20 50% male, 50% female	Group Interviews (separately men and women)	Semi-structured interview Participatory exercise i.e. photos provided by researcher
Teachers	1, 2, or 3 (total 8 teachers)	a) Individual Interviews b) Focus Group (all 8 teachers together)	a) Semi-structured interview b) Key topics for discussion
Graduates	10 50% male 50% female (from schools opened in 2002, Tabdeeli village and Rehmat village)	a) Focus groups b) Individual Interview (only for mother of deceased female graduate)	c) Photographs d) Key topics for discussion arising from selected photographs e) Semi-structured interview (for mother of deceased female graduate)

4.3.3.4 School Documents

As well as using qualitative methods, I gathered the available data from the teachers on school enrolment and exam results (Appendix D 1 and D 2) and graduate profiles from SMC chairpersons (Appendix C). No data was provided on completion rates.

4.4 Fieldwork, Translation and Transcribing

The fieldwork took place from October 2012 – January 2013. The interviews took place in each village in the order indicated in table 4, one village per month. Given my researcher identity, I aimed to use the advantages of my professional position within the project, namely the trust that I have built up in the communities (with both men and women) and with students. My own commitment to them helped me to demonstrate that “sensitivity and empathy of the researcher are highly significant to the outcomes” of the research (Dunne, Pryor & Yates 2005, p. 33). This was especially significant when interviewing women who have had few opportunities to have their “voice” heard. My gender and insider positionality alongside the use of photographs enabled me to communicate to them their value, the importance of their community and my genuine interest in their thoughts and feelings. These factors created a strong foundation from which to conduct the interview. My outsider positionality, in that I am not a member of their baradari, made it safe for them to speak from their hearts. These factors were also present in my interviews with graduates, especially female graduates. Having been present when they began their education, having visited their communities over many years and followed their progress, they regard me to some extent as a mother figure: someone who knows their history and is deeply interested in their lives. They felt able to talk about their seemingly impossible dreams and their successes. Similarly, when interviewing the teachers I was able to ask sensitive questions, especially to the disabled teacher which gave me considerable new understanding of the dynamics of his journey, including his developed habitus, and the impact on his community. Other teachers felt able to be vulnerable and admit their starting point and previous behaviours and articulate their progress. My knowledge of the project, knowledge of the government school system, Sindhi culture and communities also facilitated me to probe in-depth during the individual interviews and focus groups.. This was particularly helpful when I wanted to challenge assumptions or go deeper with a point that had been raised. I could do so in a culturally appropriate manner which with men meant making the most of my

insider position as an “honorary male”. I was also able to build on my previous research when I had explored perceptions of community participation. Although my position as an insider meant I needed to employ strategies that minimized the risk of respondents telling me what they thought I wanted to hear, it also meant they could not “pull the wool over my eyes” as my knowledge of their culture and communities enabled me to ask further clarifying questions or challenge their opinion.

A critical methodological issue is the use of a translator, who was needed for the community visits so that the women could speak in their tribal language and the men in the provincial language of Sindhi. While it was possible for me to use Urdu as the national language, I found when conducting my earlier research that this constrained the co-construction of knowledge: it seemed to limit the data generated since the respondents were not using their first language and I abandoned its use after the pilot phase. It can be difficult to decide when to pause for a translation, so as to neither break the flow of thought and expression nor risk significant detail being forgotten by the translator. Although the actual words can be checked afterwards from the tape with the transcription, translation still inevitably impacts the social construction of text, which becomes a three-way process.

As building a relaxed environment of trust with the respondents is important, training and orientation of the translator becomes vital to ensure sensitivity and empathy, especially important in individual and group interviews and focus group discussions. When interviewing female groups, I used a female translator whose first language is Sindhi and who has worked for PEP as part of a monitoring team and as a trainer and therefore has developed communication and facilitation skills.

Translation introduces a further layer of interpretation, but this unavoidable reality can be approached positively by involving the translator in the data analysis and comparing our analysis in an iterative way, maintaining a daily journal to provide an insider-outsider spectrum of positionality, as well as gender balance. For my interviews with male respondents I engaged my previous translator: he is an educated Muslim language teacher from the rural Sindh, with experience of working with other NGOs in translating non-Muslim religious texts from English into Sindhi. This gives him awareness of the nuances of language and the process of communicating meaning. I agree with Kvale & Brinkmann (2009, p. 183) that “transcriptions are constructions from an oral conversation to a written text” and that the important question is not “how

can I achieve a true transcription but what is a useful transcription for my research purposes?” My translator reflected that on the occasions when I asked a long question, which I regard as poor interview “craftsmanship” (Kwale & Brinkmann 2009) it created an assumption in the interviewee that a long answer was required. This resulted in respondents, especially uneducated community members, repeating themselves or wandering into unrelated topics. In this situation he explained that when writing the transcription it required very concentrated listening in order not to miss anything but still provide a transcription useful for the research purposes.

4.5 Data Analysis

Different ontological and epistemological positions will influence how data analysis is viewed and the methods of analysis used. In conducting the interviews and focus groups, my understanding was that I was constructing data with the respondents in an on-going reflexive process. My data analysis did not start after the data collection, but was a “pervasive” activity throughout the life of the research project (Silverman 2005). As I had four villages taking part in the research project, I planned a research schedule that would enable me to collect data and analyse it in an iterative way. Analysis took place during the two-hour journey home as I always discussed each interview with my translator, comparing impressions of the interview itself from a methodological point of view, namely the perceived quality of the interview in terms of “craftsmanship”, the relative effectiveness of the use of photos and the impact of my positionality as an insider-outsider. I asked for his initial interpretation of the data, and as the interviews developed, we compared respondents and villages and I made brief notes of these discussions which I later further developed in my journal, utilizing it as a “thinking tool”. In order not to be overwhelmed by the quantity of data and to maximize the value of each interview I allowed sufficient time between the field work in each village. This process enabled me to generate further questions that were addressed with later participants in subsequent villages in a snowballing effect. Interviewing Tabdeeli village first was significant, since my relationship with this community was long-standing and having more educated members to interview, enabled me to engage in depth and therefore gather data on the specific processes involved in bringing about social change. This data generated useful questions for my second set of interviews in Rehmat village and helped my analysis of the factors and processes shaping perceptions of benefits in this second village. These two villages could then be compared with Noor

village and Aman village facilitating me to engage with the different and additional factors and processes present there.

After translation and transcribing of each interview, I used Nvivo for initial data handling and management of text. I imported the data into Nvivo and read all the text. My exploration of school benefits as stated earlier was approached obliquely with community members and graduates through discussing perceived differences between their lives and those of their children and parents. The interview themes that emerged were jobs, homes, family life and minority status. From these themes I developed early codes for school benefits, creating tree nodes in Nvivo such as employment prospects, health awareness, greater decision making, leadership development, discriminatory practices reduced, that described segments of data. I highlighted phrases or sentences from the text which Nvivo copied into these nodes. I then extended these tree nodes into further sub-categories, for example later marriage, marriage to an educated man, reduced family size, graduates become future leaders of community, more consultation with women in family decisions. After completing the research in the first village I made an initial mind map of community school benefits which was revised and updated as I completed interviews in the other villages¹⁶. Using Nvivo I was able to easily see the number of sources and relative frequency of each code and sub-category across the four villages. I wrote memos which were reflections on particularly rich transcriptions. I then combined and repositioned codes into the larger categories of instrumental, positional and intrinsic benefits, using Unterhalter and Brighouse's typology of benefits from my theoretical framework. I noted that there was one code with sub-categories, "education on the doorstep", which did not fit into these typologies, but which I still included in the mind map. I made a final mind map and a summary table of perceived school benefits to complete this part of the data analysis¹⁷.

The next stage involved more in-depth analysis based on my theoretical framework. As this study is conducted within a critical research framework but also utilizes the work of Foucault, for each village I used my journal as a "thinking tool" to reflect on the habitus of the community members, especially the leaders in each village that was emerging from the data writing my interpretations of its impact for each community. As this was a longitudinal study I compared the transformative and constraining aspects of each

¹⁶ See Appendix F 1 and F 2

¹⁷ See Appendix F 3

habitus over five or ten years: the social change that had taken place through enhanced agency and the processes involved; the social change that had been denied through limited agency and the micro-political environment reported by the respondents. I considered whether habitus or socio-cultural factors appeared to exercise the more significant influence over perceptions of agency. From this process emerged one of the main findings related to the factors and processes shaping perceptions of benefits, namely community leadership. During and after my interviews with the teachers I particularly considered whether the teachers identified themselves as change agents and were creating a new habitus within the new “field” of school. Analysing the data from teachers’ individual interviews, I created a code (a tree node) for personal benefits and in the same way used Nvivo to bring text into this tree node, developing sub-categories such as social skills, respect from the community, wider exposure and awareness, ability to access help in times of crisis, personal identity, personal enjoyment and satisfaction as I worked my way through the text. I then wrote about the factors and processes that had shaped perceptions of these benefits and their impact on the community’s perceptions of school benefits. These reflections led me to two key factors shaping perceptions of school benefits, namely teacher training and pedagogy.

As the research process developed and my core focus changed from the sustainability of the community schools to the nature of quality education for these communities, I brought my findings on perceptions of school benefits into the wider frame of the three dimensions of quality education, namely inclusion, relevance and democracy. When I began to do this, the important code of “education on the door step” which was a frequently expressed school benefit but did not fit into the tri-partite typology of benefits, could be incorporated. This data was very pertinent to the dimension of inclusion. Engaging in more depth with the “quality” literature, I created new sub-categories of benefits that focused on the achieved “capabilities” that the communities valued to enable me to further answer my research question on inclusion. These sub-categories included competence in English, creativity, literacy and recognized qualifications. For the dimension of relevance, my findings regarding instrumental and positional benefits could be subsumed into this wider category with some reclassification. I analysed the gendered discourses, the assumptions behind them and their relevance to issues of social justice. When considering the dimension of democracy, I read all my data again and looked for new connections in and across the

data. I utilized Bray's dimensions of community participation in education to organize some of the data and engaged further with literature on participation including my own previous research, moving backwards and forwards between the data, my analysis and the literature.

The last stage of analysis was to consider whether the research process, in particular the interviews, appeared to have impacted individual or community habitus. .

4.6 Ethical Issues

Although I was already well known to the communities, it was important not to abuse their trust and to provide clear orientation on the purpose of the research and the time involved for the participants, taking the appropriate consent from the communities after receiving ethical clearance from the University of Sussex. Initial agreement was sought from the community leader of each village (see guidance notes in Appendix E). Opportunity was given for questions and permission was sought for tape-recording of discussions and interviews and the use of cameras by school graduates. No one was photographed unless they gave consent, but all appreciated being the subject of the photos and being able to see them afterwards. The communities are familiar with being photographed by project staff and international funders, but nevertheless there are cultural sensitivities to be respected. The potential benefits of participation were explained, for example, a clearer understanding of what kind of school they wanted and a greater confidence to plan for its future development. The research findings have been reported to the PEP management team and field leaders to inform future planning.

4.7 Research Trustworthiness

This research is predicated on two assumptions: firstly that all social research is permeated by the multiple identities of the researcher, emerging from his/her biography. These include the influences of gender, race, ethnicity, position and status, as well as an individual's values, motives, education and employment. Secondly, the process of conducting research is productive of researcher identity (Dunne, Pryor & Yates 2005).

As a critical researcher my study did not aim to mine "objective reality" but was based on the premise that knowledge is socially constructed and can also aim to be transformative (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). In 4.2 above I rehearsed the positivist critique of the validity of qualitative research where the researcher seeks to both acquire

knowledge and facilitate transformation. This dual role is considered to increase the danger of bias and undermine the validity of the research, which is defined as “the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers” (Hammersley 1990, p. 57, cited in Silverman 2005). However, in qualitative research for the reasons expressed in 4.2, “detachment and author objectivity are barriers to quality not insurance of having achieved it” (Lincoln 1995, p. 284) From my methodological standpoint, the researcher is constructed as the main research instrument and acknowledges the uniqueness of his/her position and what that contributes to the study (Stake 1995; Merriam 1998; Finlay 2002; Lichtman 2006). This positionality is regarded as an asset, enriching the process, but must be reflected upon at each stage of the research. Reflexivity is concerned with the impact of the researcher on the study: it involves examining one’s relationship to the respondents and how these dynamics impact responses to questions. It includes being aware of one’s “conceptual baggage” (Kirby & McKenna 1989) and how this affects the research decisions: it influences the questions that are asked, from which angle they are developed and which social arenas are interrogated. Reflexivity is the key to the productive potential of research and the achievement of its objectives (Hughes 2014).

Shah (2004, p.552) reminds us that “face to face responses are not simply given to the question, but to a researcher who asks those questions”. Therefore it was important for me to reflect on my insider-outsider positionality. Throughout the research process I moved up and down the insider-outsider continuum (Humphrey 2007). As the coordinator of the Primary Education Project, I was an insider and inevitably began the research with certain assumptions and agendas. I was motivated to conduct research which through asking community members to articulate their perceptions of school benefits, would strengthen community ownership of the schools. In particular I wanted to hear the often silenced female voices, the reflections of the school graduates and the experience of the teachers. Giving time to understanding in depth the factors and processes that had both facilitated and constrained social change would inform future policy and planned interventions. Being an insider gave me certain advantages, which I tried to use to my advantage. I had easy access to the villages and there was a sense of them being honoured since they were the four communities chosen out of the possible 84 villages. With the women and female graduates I used my gendered identity and my insider “mother” role to create a relaxed and open atmosphere. This helped me to

minimize the asymmetries of power especially with the community leaders, since I could approach the interviews as my opportunity to gain new knowledge: their perspectives on the school and how it contributed to their wider goals of overcoming social injustices and building a better future for their children. In each village the community leaders were generous with their time and I adopted different strategies in each village to encourage the construction of rich data. In Tabdeeli village there was a sense of being fellow-campaigners tackling issues of social justice. In Rehmat and Noor villages I utilized my outsider Western status by positioning myself as an “honorary male” with the *kamdar* and landlord / social activist, but also using my insider positionality to be culturally sensitive. This enabled me to ask critical and at times challenging questions in order to engage with their core beliefs. My outsider position assisted me in formulating these questions since as a Western trained educationalist and doctoral student I had engaged with the work of other researchers and experts in the field relevant to this study.

As well as capitalizing on both positions, I also aimed to circumvent the disadvantages. The use of photos was one of my main strategies to achieve this. The first objective was to minimize the power differentials with graduates and to create a relaxed and affirming environment with community members. Their use with the SMC members and parents encouraged feelings of acceptance of their individual and community life and was animating especially to the women when they saw themselves on a computer screen. The second objective was to achieve a more oblique way of engaging with perceptions of benefits to minimize the likelihood of people saying what they thought I wanted to hear. The third disadvantage was the inability to conduct school observations which would have been included in the research design by a researcher with a different positionality as providing a further source of data generation. I partially overcame this through my existing knowledge of the schools acquired in my previous visits as the project coordinator.

The first argument for research trustworthiness as indicated above is my reflexivity and open acknowledgement of my positionality as a qualitative researcher. The second is my attention to the “craftsmanship” of my interviews. I aimed to elicit “spontaneous, rich, specific, relevant” data, through questions that will lead to “new, trustworthy and worthwhile knowledge” (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009, p. 84, 164, 173).

the only instrument that is sufficiently complex to comprehend and learn about human existence is another human. And so what you use is your own life and your own experience in the world (Lave & Kvale 1995, p. 220).

Conducting pilot interviews and building on the experience of my earlier research within the doctoral programme, I aimed to demonstrate good craftsmanship. My professional life had given me some experiencing of interviewing and my personal interest in the unique qualities of each person and how these can be developed, assisted me in this process. Furthermore by allowing sufficient time between the interviews in each village, I was able to assess my craftsmanship, review the questions and adapt accordingly. Through iterative questioning and analysis of the phenomenon, in interviews and focus groups I aimed to engage with the core values and beliefs of the interviewees, out of which deeply-held convictions and emotional responses were sometimes expressed, which was consistent with my critical researcher identity. Excerpts from interview texts have been included in the main body of the thesis and in the appendices to demonstrate these meaningful interactions and to tell a convincing story (Dunne, Pryor & Yates 2005). As stated earlier, there were occasions when my “craftsmanship” was lacking, but my male translator reflected that rich authentic data emerged from these interviews.

My third argument relates to the research design. There is a methodological consistency within the different elements of the design. I used a variety of well-established research methods that I have presented as appropriate for the purpose. A wide range of participants were included, using purposive sampling to provide maximum data. There were occasions when the intended range of participants could not be achieved and I have been transparent about these occasions. The choice of SMC members, parents and graduates for the group interviews and focus groups was determined by the community. This was important since the research aimed to develop ownership and be transformative. It assisted this process positioning participants as either transformers or those to be transformed within each community. I have provided details of the choice and number of participants, the minutiae of the research instruments and their use in the field and how data was collected and analysed. Although it would have been difficult for many of my respondents to scrutinize my interpretations, they were discussed with my translator and field staff to give opportunity for fresh perspectives and to challenge my assumptions.

4.8 Limitations of the Research

The main limitation is the extent to which the research study *was* transformative. I stated earlier in this chapter that my objective was that this study would be part of an iterative process of deconstruction and reconstruction of discourses that will contribute to addressing social justice concerns. From the Foucauldian perspective of empowerment, namely to generate new power-saturated knowledge, this is difficult to achieve even for an individual or a group of respondents given the limited duration of the study. Action research is needed to create further engagement with the habitus of individuals and communities to expand its generative potential and bring social change. However, there were some constructive implications of the research which are discussed in the final chapter.

4.9 Transferability

Since a case study is an in-depth study of a social phenomenon within its context, it may seem contradictory to suggest that the findings of a case study could be applied to other situations: that would appear to undermine the importance of the contextual factors that are critical to the case (Shenton 2004). However, Stake (1995) has suggested that although every case study is unique, it may be an example within a broader group. Within a multiple case study, careful selection of cases to provide maximum variation (Flyvbjerg 2006) can extend its potential generalizability. Both the researcher and the reader can adopt analytical generalization which is based on a comparison of the similarities and differences between two situations (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). I as the researcher can adopt this analysis when considering this study's application to the other Village LEAP communities in the project. The reader will do the same for other situations. The thick description of the case study can resonate with the reader's experience for wider application of the findings. Within this thesis I have provided rich contextual data of the units of analysis as well as precise information on the participants, data collection methods and duration of interviews and focus groups.

4.10 Conclusion

In this chapter I have engaged with my research positionality and how this is reflected throughout the research design. This provides the starting point for the reader to engage with the next three chapters which present the research findings followed in the final chapter by an interrogation of the relevance of the findings, the contribution of the research and the implications for quality debates and policy decisions.

Chapter 5: Perceptions of Inclusion

5.1 Introduction

My theoretical framework is underpinned by the social justice approach to education and the three dimensions of inclusion, relevance and democracy. In the next three chapters I focus on these three dimensions as perceived by the respondents, addressing my first three research questions. Inclusion - this chapter 5 - can be defined as the provision of a basic education being available to all and the opportunity to achieve. Relevance - chapter 6 - is concerned with whether the education being provided becomes a tool for meeting social and economic needs in the local context and for addressing injustices. Foundational to the third principle of democracy - chapter 7 - is the acknowledgment that quality in education is contextually constructed and privileges the participation of stakeholders in deciding what their valued educational outcomes are. Within each of these explorations of inclusion, relevance and democracy I give voice to the respondents' perceptions of school benefits, using Unterhalter and Brighouse's (2007) typology of benefits, outlined in my theoretical framework, namely intrinsic, positional and instrumental benefits. However, as argued in chapter 2, neat departmentalizing of these benefits is difficult since they interact and overlap. Therefore in presenting the findings in these next three chapters the findings on benefits are subsumed into the three dimensions of quality and are not presented as sub-headings within the chapters. I draw on perceptions from each category of benefits for each of these three chapters, but intrinsic benefits are largely subsumed within chapter 5 on inclusion, instrumental and positional benefits within chapter 6 on relevance. Intrinsic benefits are those that enhance agency and well-being, for example having a more rewarding and complex mental life, regardless of whether it results in gaining employment or improving status. Positional benefits are those that increase the status and reputation of a person or community and instrumental benefits are those that increase the economic capital of an individual or community through qualifications and skills that result in better job opportunities. In the third dimension-democracy I focus on the contextualized nature of schooling and the extent to which respondents are participating in determining the valued outcomes of their community school.

In these three chapters I draw on all my sources of data from the four villages, chosen through purposive sampling. These four villages can be classified along two

dimensions—land ownership and time since the establishment of the village school. Tabdeeli village and Aman village are those where community leaders and members of the SMC own land. While both Rehmat village and Noor village members do not own land, Rehmat village is located in an isolated area with members in bonded relationship to their landlord. Noor village members, by contrast, live near a town. With regard to time since the schools were established, Tabdeeli village & Rehmat village schools were opened in 2002, while Noor village & Aman village schools opened in 2007. I draw on male and female parent group interviews, male and female graduate focus groups (only applicable in Tabdeeli village & Rehmat village where sufficient time has elapsed since the opening of the school in 2002), individual interviews with every teacher in the four village LEAP schools as well as data from the teachers' focus group and individual interviews with SMC chairpersons and community leaders.

My aim in this first chapter is to interrogate the nature of inclusion for my respondents. Inclusion is a broad concept and it is beyond the scope of this research to study all its dimensions. Inclusion is concerned with access to educational inputs. However, Tikly and Barrett (2011) in their theoretical model draw attention to the nature of the inputs which are not one globalized set, but those that facilitate the development of capabilities that people value in each context. Therefore in this chapter I first consider access to inputs, namely whether the respondents believe that their village LEAP school provides an accessible place of education for all children and if not, why not. Secondly I investigate whether that provision gives opportunity for children to achieve capabilities that communities have reason to value.

5.2 Access to inputs

The last decade has witnessed significant progress towards universal primary education, especially in low-income countries, narrowing gender gaps and providing more opportunities for disadvantaged groups (UNESCO 2010). Nevertheless, in Pakistan there are still over 6.5 million children, aged 5 – 9 years, who are out of school, with continuing gender disparity, especially in rural areas amongst poor households (UNICEF 2013). Parents are concerned about lack of school facilities, security and distance to travel. Responding to these concerns, my respondents from the four villages described their school as providing “education on the doorstep”. They regard the education as accessible and therefore inclusive since they consider their village school

safe and secure, eliminating fears of road accidents, which are frequent occurrences in rural Sindh. The proximity of the school was seen as particularly significant for the enrolment of girls, since cultural norms regarding female mobility prevent them from travelling out of the village to attend school. Apart from 'safety', the village schools make education more accessible for these poor rural communities by cutting cost and time required to travel to schools located out of the village:

It is clear they (parents) are very poor and they are not able to admit their children in any other school, or it is too far away from the village (community leader, Noor village)

more children go to school and they don't waste their time on the way while going or coming back because the school is very near...that is a big benefit (male parent, Aman village).

The education is also considered inclusive since the respondents regard it as affordable, even though there may be occasions when it is difficult to pay fees. Even though they do not own land, paying fees is considered manageable in a village where community members are not in a bonded relationship to their landlord:

They (people in other villages) acquire money from landlords when they are very poor...but people here are self-sufficient. That is the reason why the parents can afford their children's education (community leader, Noor village).

We do some saving from the income we get from our labour and then we pay monthly...in case we don't have money then we pay as arrears (male parent, Aman village).

Although these schools are fee paying, parents consider the fees very low compared to town schools where not only are the fees much higher but the standard of education provided may not be as good.

...we can't afford to send our children to the town for education (male parent, Tabdeeli village).

There is a retired Head Master from our community... his grandchildren study in good schools...when he comes to the school in our village, our children speak with him in English. He often says that I am paying higher fees for my grandchildren but

their performance is not as good as these children (SMC chairperson, Tabdeeli village).

There is also an awareness that although there are free schools, to achieve an education for their children that provides capabilities that they value, the payment of fees is necessary.

In government schools there are no fees but there is no education either (male graduates' focus group, Tabdeeli village).

Even in Rehmat village, where many parents are in bonded labour, the respondents maintained that they are willing to pay the fees as they want their children educated.

Paying fees is necessary as our children are studying...we all are happy to pay the fees...there may be some delay in paying the fees but we are committed to pay it (male parent, Rehmat village).

With no transport costs, free textbooks from the government and no uniform unless the community chooses to introduce it, the village schools appear to offer a feasible option for parents to secure an education for their children the quality of which they are convinced of since it requires some sacrifice on their part.

You can understand that when a farmer is sending his five children to school how difficult it would be for him... there are many sacrifices made by the parents to make it possible for us to study (female graduate and teacher, Tabdeeli village).

How respondents perceive this quality will be addressed in the second part of this section on inclusion.

Given my positionality it might have been difficult for parents to express unwillingness to pay fees, but nevertheless a fees plan had been established in all villages in 2010 and in accordance with the sustainability plan for the 84 villages, phase one and two schools (60) are already covering their basic running costs, including teachers' salaries, from fees and other generated income. The third phase schools are scheduled to achieve the same financial sustainability by the end of 2014.

Despite the proximity of the village schools and their low fees and other related costs, in Rehmat village, which is the most marginalised socially and economically of all four communities, some parents are not sending their children:

Some are not coming due to poverty...they can't afford the fees...and some just don't understand (the value of education)...and don't send their children (SMC chairman, Rehmat village).

This echoes Molteno et al's (2000) insight that the greater the degree of disadvantage, the earlier the pressures of daily reality will impinge on a community's involvement in its local school and the more pressing the need to identify clearly the benefits of sending their children to school. A key question for such communities is whether education is perceived as having intrinsic benefits, that is, whether it has intrinsic worth as a capability in its own right. Those families who do not recognize intrinsic benefits to education are less likely to send their children to school and so those children will not have access to the inputs in their community school that facilitate the development of capabilities. Perceptions of intrinsic benefits shape respondent perceptions of inclusion in their community school and will now be considered.

The capability approach, from which Tikly & Barrett's three dimensions of quality education emerge, is about fundamental freedoms: to have the opportunity to choose a life that people have reason to value, exercising agency and achieving a sense of well-being. This approach helps us understand the nature of the intrinsic value of education (Unterhalter 2003), highlighting the difference between those aspects of education related to achieving "functionings" and those that are part of a broader concern for agency and empowerment that give a sense of well-being. These might include the capacity to access a range of opinions through the media, participate in discussions, make decisions and be regarded as an informed and educated person. Although as stated above, some parents disagree, parents from all four case study villages reflect these understandings. They describe the process of education as moving from "darkness to light", as "more valuable" than anything else and an educated person as having "four eyes". For Hindus, Diwali, the festival of lights, is an important annual religious festival and reflects the centrality of the theme of light that dispels ignorance. In a rural

Pakistani context where the arrival of darkness limits human activity, the metaphor of light also conveys the sense of greater agency.

This awareness of greater agency was also expressed as an expanding of the mind and experience, especially by female respondents. Educated people have “more awareness”, can “go out and see the world, grow and develop” and “make decisions”, whereas uneducated people “have to remain in their homes and suffer” (female parents focus group). It seems to reflect the cultural norm of women particularly being confined to their village with very limited agency. Parents also recognize the discipline and sense of purpose which education brings since their children are no longer “roaming about” and “wasting time”.

Community leaders who own land and have completed their own education, were more articulate in expressing education as a capability in its own right, a “unique thing that can neither be lost nor stolen” (SMC chairperson, Aman village). They recognise its impact on all aspects of life and that educated people are able to assess which cultural traditions should be kept and what to change. This reflects Sen’s argument within the capability approach that communities “should be able to be active in the decisions regarding what to preserve and what to let go” (1999, p. 242).

Teachers in all four villages are also shaping understandings of intrinsic benefits. Since these villages are extended family networks, the lives of these teachers are clearly observable to all community members. The teachers, mostly sons of farmers reported significant life changes. They felt happiness and satisfaction in teaching the children, using the skills they have acquired through training and teaching experience. Through running a successful school and being able to help community members with other needs, especially in times of crisis when their villages were flooded, they recognized an inner process of personal transformation, which they expressed as positive feelings of self-worth. Their elevation to the profession of teaching was regarded by all of them as a change that has brought a deeper awareness of the difference between an educated and uneducated person. They have therefore become greater advocates for the importance of education, demonstrating to parents its intrinsic benefits.

There is huge difference between an educated and uneducated person...it is like the difference between day and night.... I feel very happy and now I can see and

understand the qualities of an educated and uneducated person (male teacher, son of a farmer, Rehmat village).

Becoming a teacher had reintroduced them to the world of learning and expanded the horizons of their life experience.

Previously I had to leave my studies when my father died after matriculation, but now through being a teacher, I have had the opportunity to start learning again. Now I am inspired and have confidence to further my education. I have completed INTER¹⁸ and now I will enrol for B.A. As a tailor I didn't know about the world. I didn't have to go here and there. I have become acquainted with different situations in society, for example, the police station, government offices, how they work. I have to interact with more people and keep learning now that I am a teacher (male teacher, son of a farmer, Aman village).

Having considered the relationship between intrinsic benefits and children's access to quality inputs that develop capabilities in these four communities, I will now reflect on gendered access.

In an environment of social and economic marginalization, if children are not going to attend the village school, it is more likely that it will be girls who will not be enrolled (UNESCO 2010; Warrington & Kiragu 2012). While the SMC members in three of the case study villages report that all primary age girls *are* now enrolled, by contrast female enrolment at primary level is low in Rehmat village. Only one girl from this village was able to continue her education to class 7 but was married age 12 and had not been allowed to continue her education after marriage. Since she still had to work in the fields after marriage, the community perceived her education to have been wasted, perceptions that echo the findings of Chisamya et al (2012) in Bangladesh and Malawi. These harsh social and economic realities deter female enrolment:-

Parents spent money and got her educated but her in-laws wasted it all...they are wasting her life... Her life is just like the life of an ordinary uneducated girl.... This is false when they say, we are poor and we can't (afford to) get them (girls) educated.

¹⁸ College level education (grades 11 and 12)

They say what is the benefit of getting the girls educated...what will they do....they can't get any job (female parent, Rehmat village).

By contrast, in villages 1 and 4 there are factors that are encouraging female enrolment and retention. Warrington & Kiragu (2012) argue through their qualitative research in Kenya that if girls are supported by key people within their family, school, community or wider social network, they are motivated to complete their education and achieve this valued capability. The experience of female graduates in Tabdeeli village supports their findings, since these young women, living in a village near a town with post-primary educational institutions, could continue their education to college level, encouraged by family and community leaders. Three of them taught for two years in their village LEAP school; two have now been appointed as facilitators for their local women's empowerment group (WEG); and one as the WEG Area Coordinator. These achievements have motivated other parents to enrol their girls in school. The third female graduate teacher was retained for the now upgraded village LEAP school, encouraging parents to keep their girls in school beyond primary level. Similarly in Aman village, the Area Coordinator facilitated his daughter to complete her education. Supported by the community leader she was appointed as a teacher and encouraged female enrolment.

In Noor village, which opened in 2007, there are no such role models. Parents appear to be committed to primary education, but regard it as "enough" to enable them to "manage" their lives and "have cleanliness" (Chisamya et al 2012). Although one mother said that both she and her husband wanted their daughter to continue her education and were making practical arrangements to achieve that, the majority of mothers realised that the decision about post-primary education would be made by their husbands. The PEP Sustainability Coordinator commented that it would be safe for girls to attend middle school if parents were committed to achieving it, since there was a rickshaw driver living in the village who was a relative and from the same ethnic group. They therefore could challenge the cultural norm without harm to their daughters, but clearly male habitus presents a powerful constraint.

In the village LEAP project, there are 80 male teachers as compared to 12 female teachers. Jaffer & Jaffer (1997) regard the lack of female teachers as a "critical barrier"

to female enrolment in school. There are fewer female teachers in village LEAP schools because there has been a minimum appointment criteria of a secondary education certificate (matriculation) and the majority of villages do not have educated women to recommend for appointment. Our experience in setting up the 84 PEP schools supports the findings of Heward & Banwaree (1999) that villages are happy for their girls to be educated by a male teacher, providing he is someone known to them and the school is situated in their village. However the experience of the female teachers in Tabdeeli and Aman villages suggests the importance of female role models who, encouraged by significant others, have taken new opportunities, developed new skills and brought benefit to their families and local communities.

In summary, respondents in Tabdeeli, Noor and Aman villages perceive that village LEAP children both girls and boys, have been provided with an accessible school since it is in their own village and regarded as affordable. Children in Rehmat village, especially girls, although they have a school in their own village, may not attend, since their parents do not regard the benefits as outweighing the costs. Their greater poverty and lack of decision-making through the bonded relationship with their landlord, leads parents to prioritize instrumental benefits of job opportunities in order to justify school costs. Parents in Tabdeeli, Noor and Aman villages have clearer perceptions of the intrinsic benefits of education which motivate them to pay the agreed level of fees, now part of a sustainability plan. The presence of female teachers in Tabdeeli and Aman villages, graduates from their own community, is also changing parental habitus so that female enrolment is now viewed more positively in those two villages.

5.3 Opportunity to achieve desired capabilities

I turn now to the second aspect of inclusion which investigates whether the education being provided in these community schools is giving opportunity for the children to *achieve* desired capabilities. The fact that so many parents with limited resources are prepared to pay school fees so that their children can be educated, indicates that parents perceive that their children *are* being given opportunity to develop capabilities which is supported by the examination data¹⁹. Parents in Noor village describe their school as *exceptional*, convinced that a student who has studied two classes in their school has

¹⁹ Data in Appendix D 2

achieved more than students who have studied for five years in other schools. This is significant since even if students do not complete their primary schooling due to pressures of poverty and cultural norms, they may achieve basic learning standards (GMR 2013 – 2014). The SMC chairperson from Tabdeeli village explained how their school has frequent visitors, including the EDO (Education District Officer), responsible for private school registration) who are always “impressed” and express appreciation of the standard of the school, noticing the breadth of the curriculum as compared to other schools.

While the quality of village schools earned these communities external recognition, it also enabled the post-primary educational trajectories of the children. The SMC chairperson in Aman village said how the school graduates are well respected when they transfer to the government middle school due to the quality education that they have received, which has earned the village respect. Primary graduates of village schools, upon transfer to government middle or secondary schools, are considered “very intelligent”, and “they are respected and valued” for their “excellent performance” and being “very active” academically and socially. Two teachers observed that the implementation of the Village LEAP school supplementary curriculum with its accompanying pedagogy is so respected by the government supervisor that he signs the examination result sheets without any bribe, since he recognizes that they are providing an excellent service to their community.

However, pride in their schools does not necessarily indicate that the school is providing inclusive education emerging from its pedagogic practice. Barrs (2005) demonstrated through his qualitative research in the rural Punjab, Pakistan, that community members chose task-orientated behaviours when defining good teaching, rather than process-orientated behaviours. Several of my parent respondents spoke about regular teacher attendance and punctuality as indicators of a strong school and were not very aware of the actual classroom activities and methods of teaching. More educated respondents showed some awareness and made clear that the goal of education was not just obtaining a certificate:

education is not just copying and receiving a certificate...one can even buy a certificate or degree. But that's not education...education means that you should have ability to speak...should have expertise (knowledge) of the subject..... there are

many good schools in Mirpur Khas...but the difference that I have observed is that in our school the students are doing things practically...like learning songs etc...so what they learn they practice...this particular thing is rare in other schools...in here things are taught deeply (conceptually) from the grass-root level (from the basics²⁰) (SMC chairperson Tabdeeli village).

Inclusive education emerging from pedagogic practice is related to the human rights perspective with its emphasis on prioritizing the needs of the learner (Pigozzi 2008; UNICEF 2008). In “Embracing Diversity” (UNESCO 2004) it is asserted that every school should provide

an inclusive, learning-friendly environment (that) welcomes, nurtures, and educates all children, regardless of their gender, physical, intellectual, social, emotional, linguistic, or other characteristics (p.8).

This has led to debate not only about physical inclusion but curricular inclusion, so that pupils can develop according to their potential appropriate for their local context. This has given rise to “learner-centred” curriculum (UNESCO 2004) and “child-friendly” methodology (UNICEF 2009, 2012) to achieve “global inclusionism”, which it is assumed will automatically emerge from changing the curriculum. Le Fanu (2013) critiques these assumptions, drawing on case studies from sub-Saharan Africa and Papua New Guinea. He asserts that teachers lack the capacity to implement this kind of inclusive curriculum and are often epistemologically unwilling to implement it. He argues for “grounded inclusionism” emerging from Tikly & Barrett’s (2011) third dimension of democracy, which is responsive to contextual realities. This resonates with the “capabilities approach” which aims to maximize the ability to do things which individuals and communities value, recognized as being contextually diverse (Nussbaum 1992; Sen 2009). This requires an acknowledgement of the situated expertise of local experts (Le Fanu 2013). PEP has in its policies aimed to adopt this approach. As described in chapter 3 the PEP teacher training curriculum is contextually constructed, rooted in teachers’ initial beliefs, laying a foundation for shared values that can be built upon. Furthermore, village LEAP teachers through recognition of their own personal benefits through the training process, have come to understand the benefits of child-friendly methodology. These factors and processes encourage different responses

²⁰ My brackets to indicate meaning at interview, which is lost in translation

to a learner-centred curriculum with its attendant methodology as compared to those in the case studies reported by Fanu (2013), which are explored further in later chapters.

Since to be inclusive the curriculum must keep reflecting the changing needs of communities, PEP has shown commitment to the iterative development of the curriculum in village LEAP schools which was described in chapter 3. All these initiatives in the supplementary curriculum have shaped the communities' perceptions of school benefits as being inclusive, promoting sustainability of quality.

The UNESCO (2004) document cited above defines an inclusive learner-friendly environment as one that welcomes all children regardless of their gender. The teacher respondents reported that they aim to be sensitive to this objective, reported in this representative reflection:-

I have been teaching for 12 years...I have always given more attention to the girls...as they are less in number in the class as compared to the boys...so they hesitate in reading or writing. Therefore, I always bring them to the front and ask them to do different things (member of teachers' focus group).

This is borne out through my visits to the schools, "data" that I have access to through my insider position as the Primary Education Coordinator. Girls do participate actively in classroom activities and are given opportunities to interact with the teacher and their fellow students in role plays and presentations. Seating arrangements are considered carefully to avoid any marginalization of the girls in the classroom. Where a female teacher is available, girls develop their confidence and capabilities inspired by their female role model echoing the findings of Andrabi et al (2008).

However gendered inclusion is much more problematic than seating arrangements and the frequency and nature of girls' participation in classroom activities (Aikman & Unterhalter 2013). It has been recognized that school is a site where gender is constructed and where social norms are reproduced to continue gender inequities that disadvantage women (Stromquist & Fischman 2009; Murphy-Graham 2009). The learning environment that girls will experience in school depends very much on the expectations and perceptions of girls held by parents and teachers both male and female (Chisamya 2009; Aikman & Unterhalter 2007; Kirk 2004). There has therefore been a

call for interventions that encourage schools to provide “ideological space” to “undo” gender, to interrupt reproduction of inequities and bring social change (Bajaj 2009, p.497). Female graduates from Tabdeeli village reported that parental thinking about girls has changed as a result of their completing their education to college level and being employed in PEP as teachers and community facilitators: that girls and boys have an equal right to education; that girls can have wider social networks and for example, own and use a mobile phone and travel to the town. Male graduates indicated that they would want to marry later to a girl who has also been educated, so that they can have more of a partnership relationship with their wife, both contributing to decision making and breaking the boundaries of traditional gendered household tasks indicating, for example that “boys can also help in cleaning and contribute their efforts to get rid of diseases like malaria” (male graduate, Tabdeeli village)

Teacher education is a key component in creating a gender-sensitive learning environment (Aikman & Unterhalter 2007; Kirk 2004; Heward 1999; Stromquist 1997). It is necessary for teachers to model positive expectations of both boys’ and girls’ abilities and achievements and to challenge attitudes and socio-cultural practices that encourage low self-esteem. Kirk (2004) argues for gendered theories of teaching which facilitate female teachers to consider both their gender identities and the implications of these in the classroom.

The curriculum itself can reinforce gendered hierarchies (Durrani 2008). When considering curriculum implementation Sibbons’ (1999) report on the two DfID initiatives in Pakistan and Nepal, the Punjab Middle Schools Project (PMSP) and the Secondary Education Project (SEP), is insightful. She argues that *contextualized* curriculum development is critical. Her Nepal case study provides an example of working with both schools and communities through their Village Education Committees. She reflects:-

..although this may require a slower development of interventions, and greater need for iteration during development, this is a necessary price to pay for later sustainability (p. 7).

PEP's social and financial education curriculum, as described earlier, has included interaction with local communities and specifically aims to encourage positive gender identities and provide tools to challenge injustices.

Teachers need to be aware of the elements of schooling that contribute to the construction of gendered identities and educational outcomes (Halal 2011). Anderson-Levitt et al (1998) highlight the various obstacles that girls encounter in and around the classroom and the support that they can receive. Their study illustrates how gender continuously gets negotiated in the classroom through the interactions between teachers and pupils and pupils with each other. It is important that teacher training modules explore the different life experiences of girls and boys and trainees' beliefs about the roles they are expected to play which influence their entry to school and their ability to benefit from the learning process. Jones (1999) created a training module to address social issues facing disabled people, which was adapted for use in a problem-solving exercise relating to gender in the Initial Teacher Education Programme devised by PEP. The gender awareness training that village LEAP teachers receive includes engagement with changes in children's attitudes about gender from first to fifth grade; teachers' attitudes to boys and girls; patterns of classroom interaction; and the impact of a female teacher as a role model for girls. However, Halai (2011, p. 49) warns that in "the context of the highly gender segregated and traditional setting of Pakistan", professional development initiatives aiming to enhance teachers' awareness of gender is much more challenging and such initiatives are not likely to be very successful unless teachers' capabilities to question social and cultural hierarchies are enhanced. This is essential for teachers to understand the ways cultural and social norms shape both their own identity and the learning opportunities they provide for their students.

5.4 Conclusion

Perceptions of inclusion held in villages 1, 3 and 4 bear much similarity and are in opposition to perceptions held in Rehmat village. Tabdeeli village, 3 and 4 respondents perceive that village LEAP children, both girls and boys, have been provided with an inclusive education since the school is situated in their village and regarded as affordable. The education is also inclusive in the sense that it is providing opportunity to achieve "capabilities", since community respondents recognize their children's

academic and social competence, with some aware of its relationship to the pedagogy implemented in their village LEAP school. The achievement of these capabilities justifies the payment of an agreed fee to ensure its sustainability.

When considering the key variables in the four villages, land ownership accompanied by a higher level of education creates a greater recognition of the gendered intrinsic benefits of education that encourages physical inclusion. This recognition is further shaped by the advocacy of the teachers, which emerges from their training, teaching experience and opportunities to access other benefits for their community members. Proximity to the town facilitates students to complete their education to college level and with community leadership supporting this process becomes a significant factor, especially for female enrolment. Inclusion is limited by lack of land ownership, when accompanied by a bonded relationship with the landlord in a location far from a town. These socio-economic factors and their attendant male habitus act as powerful constraints which can be mitigated if other factors are present: strong community and/or school leadership and close proximity to a town. The longer time period affirms perceptions of inclusion either positively or negatively: positively if sufficient time has passed for graduates to achieve benefits and become role models to encourage enrolment and achievement of capabilities; negatively if socio-economic constraints prevent the emergence of intended benefits since parents with very limited resources will not invest them in their children's education when benefits do not appear to outweigh costs.

Curricular inclusion is being encouraged by the implementation of a learner-centred curriculum. It fulfils the requirements of the national curriculum for government certification but also introduces a supplementary curriculum with its child-friendly methodology since it is perceived as providing additional "capabilities" that communities have reason to value. This inclusion is being shaped by the interaction between policy, school and home/community: PEP's policy commitment to the contextual nature of the curriculum and therefore its iterative development is a critical factor in shaping perceptions of achieved "capabilities". This commitment logically leads to providing a contextually appropriate teacher training that has provided both the capacity and the motivation for teachers to provide an inclusive education. Parents have acknowledged the impact of the curriculum and the more educated community leaders

and graduates, regarded as future leaders, have articulated the external recognition of achieved “capabilities” and are facilitating their further development.

Gendered inclusion is a more challenging objective. PEP has adopted a policy of focusing on girls’ education and teachers seem to adopt classroom practices that welcome girls and give opportunity for wide participation. Gendered inclusion is being enhanced through the changing parental habitus regarding female “capability” and expectations of “functionings”. However, gendered inclusion is also dependent on the parental and teacher expectations of both girls and boys and there is some evidence to suggest that these are changing as a result of the achievements of both male and female graduates. Nevertheless, achieving gender-inclusive quality education is challenging and “requires multi-faceted strategies that address different dimensions of girl's and women’s lives each with its specific, attendant constraints” (Aikman & Rao 2010 p. 10).

Chapter 6: Perceptions of Relevance

Relevance is concerned with whether the education being provided becomes a tool for meeting social and economic needs in the local context and for addressing injustices. In this chapter, I explore whether the benefits that have been recognised by the respondents as “capabilities” are being converted into “functionings” and therefore if the education being provided is perceived as relevant. I consider perceptions of school benefits within four key areas of relevance: employment and sustainable livelihoods for sons/men, prospects of an educated husband for daughters/women, marginalization and minority status and coping with crises in a changing global environment.

Although the main concern of parents in all four villages is that their children’s lives will be different from theirs and the school is seen as integral to this process of transformation, perceptions of relevance varied along gender lines and were also related to land ownership and location that is rurality versus proximity to a town. In addition, their perceptions of relevance were shaped by their religious minority position and their location in rural Sindh, a region which has seen catastrophic flooding in recent years. I begin the analysis with how relevant the education provided was perceived for sons/male graduates and then focus on daughters/female graduates. Within each subsection, I explore the ways these perceptions are shaped by land ownership, location and time since the schools had been established in the four villages. I then move to perceptions of relevance in pursuing social justice claims as members of a marginalized minority community. Finally I consider the extent to which the education provided is perceived as preparing these students to cope with a changing global environment, especially in times of crisis.

6.1 Perceptions of relevance for male graduates

In these case study villages of the rural Sindh, while daughters will marry and join another family, most likely moving to a new location, sons are expected to not only provide for their own wife and children but contribute to the provision of their parents’ daily needs and be responsible for them in their old age. Therefore, one of the key aspects of a relevant education for these community members is whether it provides the qualifications and skills for a sustainable livelihood. In all four villages parent respondents were clear that they wanted their sons to have higher status jobs than *they*

were able to access, but there were important differences in perceptions of relevance according to land ownership and proximity to a town.

Tabdeeli village & 4 SMC members own land and are both located near a town. Most of these parents are already involved in a range of occupations other than farming, due to their proximity to a town. However, this is a more recent transition in Tabdeeli village, since the majority of these community members only moved from the more isolated Rehmat village in 2005 and come from a bonded labour background, as described in chapter 3. Therefore the dominant initial response from Tabdeeli village parents regarding employment aspirations was that their sons should not be farmers. They as fathers had “suffered under cruel landlords” and their sons’ education would be relevant if their sons emerged from the “poverty and depression” they had experienced and access “good jobs or have a business and work hard, so that they will have money” (male parents’ group interview, Tabdeeli village).

By contrast the educated SMC chairperson of Tabdeeli village reflected on the potential of working in the agricultural sector. He explained that if a more equitable partnership relationship can be gradually established between the landlord and farmer, the negative perception of agriculture would be changed.

70% people of Sindh are engaged in agriculture...agriculture is bad because of the bad attitudes of the landlords... I think what money one can earn in agriculture, he cannot earn in any (other) job...if the behaviour of the landlord changes...and he takes the farmer as his partner...no farmer will opt for another job. People...men and women are against agriculture because they spend their whole lives working in the fields...and still they cannot achieve anything for themselves or for their children. Suppose, we are partners in a business, you buy a land cruiser every year and I cannot buy even a bicycle...will that partnership continue? I believe that if that mistreatment of the landlord stops...and the farmer is paid his due portion of the profit...there won't be any problem (SMC chairperson, Tabdeeli village).

This interview data reveals that whereas the parents in Tabdeeli village coming from a bonded labour background wish their children to leave the agricultural sector since it is perceived as a sector which denies well-being and agency, the education chairperson perceived the sector to be one where the capability of education should be used to

challenge the power elites to bring a more equitable system of justice within the agricultural sector.

Both Tabdeeli and Aman village parent respondents are already sending their sons to middle and high school and seem unanimous about the wisdom of later marriage when their sons are mature, have a job and can manage their affairs properly. In Aman village, where community members for a longer period have had a more settled life in a village near to a town, which did not require uprooting themselves from their baradari as in Tabdeeli village, parents reported clearer ambitions for their sons to have professional jobs, such as teacher, doctor, engineer, or government job and expected them to live in a town, sending money back to their parents and thus caring for them in their old age. Both Tabdeeli and Aman villages parents have a sense of agency: the SMC chairman in Tabdeeli village, who is also a parent, reported that village LEAP graduates were “showing good performance” in their examinations due to the “strong foundation” that had been built through their enrolment in the village LEAP school and their inner drive to succeed. He perceived that these male graduates “can easily get through entry tests” and “can get very good jobs”. The male graduates in Tabdeeli village reported that they were considering enrolling for a degree course or using their existing qualifications to apply for jobs. Having learnt from the bitter experience of other young men, they want to delay marriage until they have secured a job that provides them with an adequate income. The Aman village SMC chairman and community leader believed that he had continued his father’s establishment of a successful rural community and perceived the instrumental benefits more in terms of each generation building on the previous ones, opening up more job opportunities as the level of education increases, improving their standard of living.

Rehmat and Noor village SMC members do not own land and therefore have less sense of agency and greater insecurity of residence, but Noor village community members, unlike those in Rehmat village, are not in a bonded labour relationship and live much nearer to a town. In Noor village most men are earning daily wages through construction work, other labouring or working in garment factories in Karachi. A few are tailors, gardeners or *peons*²¹. The male parents group, perhaps because of their greater exposure to town life, have a good awareness of work available, speaking of a

²¹ Unskilled office worker engaged in menial tasks such as taking messages and serving chai to guests

range of jobs that would be accessible for their sons. As parents are already involved in other occupations other than farming, for them the relevance question is whether their children's education will facilitate job opportunities beyond their own. They were unanimous in wanting their children to move to the town, since they were living on the landlord's property and could be moved at any time. Town or city life would provide more job opportunities for them and their grandchildren could be more easily educated to a higher level. Nevertheless, the Noor village SMC chairman explained that it was difficult to collect fees from some parents since they doubted the instrumental benefits and therefore the relevance of education for their children. However, the SMC chairman, an uneducated farmer who has eight sons, four of them aged over 20, recognised that his older sons who were working in Karachi, had not been "good in studies", achieving a low grade pass in their matriculation exams. He indicated that there was a "huge difference" in the attitude of his younger son and other children in the village LEAP school as compared to his older sons. He clearly saw their motivation to learn, interest in their studies and greater achievement. He was aware that it was difficult for sons of poor families to get any kind of government job due to the dominance of patronage, but he hoped that his son could still start a small business and that his education would mean he could organize his accounts efficiently. His comments reveal that to him the school is providing relevant education, since it not only provides access to basic education, but attitudes and skills that are tools for productive employment. The Noor village landlord also perceives that the education being provided in his village is relevant, having aspirations for a small percentage to successfully gain entry to a profession. He reported that even if only 1 – 2% achieve this, they have "the capacity to be change agents for their entire community", through modelling new cultural norms.

By contrast, in Rehmat village, where villagers do not own land and are in an isolated location, the instrumental benefits are not just intended benefits but expected benefits since the school opened in 2002 and graduates are now over 18 years old. When I interviewed the male parents in Rehmat village, the leader of the families who had moved to this village immediately spoke out very forcefully that "there has not been any benefit". His son had not been able to get "any job" and was still a farmer, doing daily labouring. He could "hardly manage the food and other basic things for the family". As a group the parents expressed their frustration with the continuing poverty and

marginalization which accessing education appeared unable to change. They were still trapped as bonded labourers, in debt to their landlords.

There are many benefits of education...but the children of us poor people don't make much difference...the children of the rich people are favoured everywhere while our children are just ignored...there is corruption everywhere, they take bribes (male parent, Rehmat village).

This indicates they do not doubt the intrinsic benefit of education, but unjust structures and power elites constrain their agency. These feelings echo Fraser's (2008, p.16) arguments that creating justice for people involves "dismantling institutionalized obstacles" that prevent their equal participation as "partners in social interaction". The isolation of Rehmat village exacerbates their constrained agency since there are no nearby middle or high schools and being far from the town very few alternative accessible sources of employment. However, interview respondents recognised that if a farmer is educated, he can control the accounts of his family and accurately assess and organize the repayments of his family's loan to the landlord. It is recognised widespread practice that landlords give loans to their farmers for weddings, medical expenses, other emergency needs and that they pay back their loans through the annual harvests. The percentage that farmers receive from the harvested crops is adjusted to accommodate these repayments. Often the landlord will take the whole crop and just release weekly allocations of flour and other basic food requirements to the families. It is also common practice for the *munchi*²² to falsify the accounts. If villagers object, the landlord will replace them with other farmers and families face a life of continuous migration. Given these circumstances, the male graduates in Rehmat village who are working as farmers, did indicate that their education has relevance for them.

If there is an uneducated farmer, he is living in ignorance and he is afraid of the landlord...while an educated one knows about things... about the bills...what is written....so the landlord hesitates to mistreat an educated farmer. When there is an uneducated farmer he doesn't write accounts, only the landlord does...so the landlord can misappropriate the record (male graduates' focus group, Rehmat village).

²² Landlord's representative, his manager, who acts as a "middle man" with the farmers

These graduates have awareness of their legal rights: for example, that when a farmer has worked for a landlord for five years, he has the right to be registered as the farmer working that piece of land, so that he cannot be forced to migrate. They were aware of an NGO “Hari Haqdar” which focuses on assisting farmers to access their rights through the courts.

Clearly there are tensions in the empirical data. Agriculture is the backbone of the Sindh economy. However, parents in Tabdeeli and Rehmat villages do not want their children to become farmers, since being the occupation of uneducated people in rural Sindh, farming does not command respect. Furthermore, the prevailing bonded relationship traps farmers in poverty. However, if more farmers become educated and can advocate for and even claim their rights and challenge the land laws, as the SMC chairperson in Tabdeeli village argues, it can become a profitable occupation. However, for the foreseeable future, while the relationship may improve due to skills acquired through education, for villages in bonded relationship with the landlord, educating their children is not yet seen to be “relevant”, since it is not facilitating a sustainable livelihood. It is therefore important to consider other interventions which can encourage advocacy and provide supplementary sources of income for graduates who are farmers. Networking with other NGOs who are focusing on the plight of bonded labourers would also be beneficial.

Having considered the differences in perceptions of relevance between the four villages emerging from land ownership and proximity to the town, I conclude this sub-section by considering the impact of time since the school opened on perceptions of relevance. In Noor and Aman villages, where communities have had a Village LEAP school for five years, students have not yet completed their secondary education and so the instrumental benefits they express are still *intended* benefits. It is not possible for them to report on whether the “capability” of education has been converted into “functionings” and parents’ responses regarding future intended benefits often seemed more rhetorical than well-thought through plans with clear strategies. This may be a reflection on the all-consuming pressures of daily living. In Noor village lack of land ownership creates insecurity of residence, and with accompanying poverty and limited decision making opportunities, may lead community members to focus more on their immediate needs (Maslow 1943). In Aman village, perhaps the benevolent feudal

leadership results in reliance on the community leader for decisions regarding future strategies.

In Tabdeeli village, although two male graduates have been appointed as village LEAP teachers, instrumental benefits are still intended. Ten years has elapsed and their sons attained a level of education that gives greater confidence that these benefits will emerge so that the relevance of their education will be recognised. These sons who are continuing their education, including two at college level, are hopeful that this will facilitate a wider range of employment possibilities. The nearest town to Tabdeeli village is called the “city of NGOs” which gives parents and graduates hope that even if their sons cannot achieve a government post, previously thought unattainable due to the patronage system, that with matriculation or college qualification, facility in English and computer skills, they can be appointed in an NGO. They regard these NGOs as open to employing qualified members of marginalized communities. They already have role models from their caste who have entered the legal profession and are practising locally.

Nevertheless, micro-political realities also impinge on these intentions as illustrated through my interview with one male graduate. This graduate had completed the first year of his 2-year college education, but his father had arranged a marriage for him and despite his son’s opposition to it, was determined that the ceremony should take place within the next two months. His son wanted neither additional family responsibilities until he could complete his studies and find a good job, nor to marry an uneducated woman. His father may have thought that the substantial dowry that he would receive would enable him to buy a second plot in Tabdeeli village for his son and daughter-in-law, which would offer more realistic benefits than an uncertain higher status job. However, this father had worked as a farmer for a landlord in a different part of the rural Sindh, living with other relatives from his baradari. He therefore had experienced little involvement with the village LEAP school and the perceived benefits that parents and graduates shared. These realities illustrate the complex constraints of the micro-political environment with its conflicting perceptions of “capabilities” and how these can be converted into “functionings” that people have reason to value.

In Rehmat village as described above, the longer time period since the school opened has resulted in the community concluding that the intended benefits have not been

realised and so has led many parents to conclude that accessing education has no relevance for their sons. Their greater marginalization and poverty has resulted in them prioritizing instrumental benefits since these are perceived as vital to their survival and emergence from a life of injustice

<u>Table 6: Male Graduates Profile 2012²³</u>			
Tabdeeli village		Rehmat village	
Teachers	02	Teachers	00
Farmers	00	Farmers	14
Family migrated / son working on land	03	Family migrated / son working on land	07
Shopkeeper	01	Shopkeeper	00
Taxi rickshaw business	01	Taxi rickshaw business	00
Donkey cart driver	00	Donkey cart driver	01
White bangles maker	00	White bangles maker	01
Labouring	01	Labouring	08
Students (Intermediate level)	02	Students (Intermediate level)	00
Students (Post-Primary)	13	Students (Post-Primary)	05
Total	23	Total	36

This table provides a summary profile of male graduates from Tabdeeli and Rehmat villages as reported by the SMC chairpersons to triangulate other data from respondents. Since only 5 years have elapsed since Noor and Aman village LEAP community schools have opened, there are no over 18 years graduates in these villages. There are more graduates from Rehmat village, since it is a more populated village. Tabdeeli village mainly comprises those relatively few families who were prepared to take risks, leave their *baradari* and establish a new village, close to the town so that they could access education to a higher level for their sons. The table demonstrates the significant differences in two variables: level of education accessed and nature of employment. Sixty five per cent of graduates are still enrolled in educational institutions in Tabdeeli village as compared to 14% in Rehmat village. Fourteen per cent are working as farmers

²³ Further details in Appendix C

or in daily labouring in Tabdeeli village as compared to 81% in Rehmat village, while two graduates (9%) have gained entry into a profession as compared to 0% in Rehmat village. The data underlines the significance of both the village location and structural constraints in shaping community perceptions of relevance for male graduates educated in village LEAP schools.

6.2 Perceptions of relevance for female graduates

In the previous sub-section, I discussed the respondents' perceptions of relevance for *male* graduates, which concern their opportunity to convert the capability of education into a sustainable livelihood. In this section, I discuss relevance for *female* graduates. A woman may not stay in her own village. She will live with her husband and in-laws and will move to their village if they are from a different village. A prime objective of a girl's education is not primarily for job opportunities but that their daughter will marry an educated man so that her life will be better than theirs, facilitating social change.

If we get our girls educated and then get them married with uneducated men... all our efforts are useless...because uneducated men will tell them to work in the fields...we spend lots of money to get the children educated...what is the use, if we give them to uneducated men!(female parent, Tabdeeli village).

All the female graduates in the Tabdeeli village focus group regard their intermediate examination certificate as their "passport" to an educated husband and a better life. Both the female and male graduates' focus groups in Tabdeeli village recognised that with an educated spouse a greater partnership relationship is possible. Arnot et al (2012, p. 182) in their study of shifting gender relations and female agency in rural Ghana and India, argue that even a *desire* for more "egalitarian gender relationships" is a significant indicator of potential social change. There was also evidence that for some female graduates this benefit has emerged. One graduate who received her primary education in the Village LEAP school in Tabdeeli village, who subsequently completed her college education and taught for two years in her village school, married in June 2011. Her husband is educated. This graduate is regarded as a role model by the rest of the female graduates. In the focus group she stated that due to the quality education that she received, her in-laws respect her, recognising that she has better English and is more confident in public speaking than her husband. This has resulted in her working for PEP as a part-time trainer. She also explained:-

In our community women are abused and beaten...but my husband is educated ...he has a job and he understands that a woman has rights...so my life is not as difficult as for other women in the past (female graduates focus group).

This young woman's experience echoes the findings of a RECOUP health and fertility project (<http://recoup.educ.cam.ac.uk>) conducted amongst Muslim women in the Punjab & Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), which suggest a positive relationship between a girl's schooling and a woman's agency. However, Bhatti & Jeffery (2012) warn that the RECOUP findings must be treated cautiously since women still have to negotiate the cultural norms of parents, in-laws and husband in order to exercise agency. This insight seems to be borne out by the experience of a female graduate from Rehmat village, who had married aged 12.

She is educated but her in-laws are uneducated...they are not supporting her to continue her education...they are telling her to work in the fields...and they are not allowing her to take a job (female parent 1, Rehmat village).

This female graduate acknowledged the limitations imposed by her in-laws who were concerned to keep her within the cultural norms:-

I'd like to work as a teacher but my in-laws have refused.They don't mind me having a government job, but they don't want me working for an NGO or English people. They don't want me being a social activist and they think it is dishonourable if I am travelling round to different villages (female graduate, Rehmat village).

A comparison of the experiences of the two graduates cited above is perhaps informed by Arnot et al's (2012) findings, which give some indication those female students who have over ten years of education and continue their education up to age eighteen, have more influence over the timing of their marriage and choice of partner. They also have some space for negotiated gender relations within the marital home. Nevertheless, employment, if it came, was likely to be unstable and short-term.

Bhatti & Jeffery (2012) argue that supportive social networks and changes in habitus of these family members are essential if schooling is to have a major impact on women's lives. Change of habitus may be encouraged when women, living with limited agency, nevertheless can demonstrate the impact of their education. The female graduate from Rehmat village, now aged eighteen with two children, still regarded her seven years of education positively. She spoke confidently and explained how she had been able to

marry a building supervisor - primary-level educated - and was regarded as a leader amongst the other uneducated women in the village where she now lives. As the male graduates in both Tabdeeli village and 2 asserted, an educated wife will manage the household affairs in a better way, will know how to keep her children clean and healthy and in later years provide them with better training and instruction. These are all capabilities that can have a positive influence on other women. As the female graduate from Tabdeeli village explained:-

First I want to educate the children of my family and then I want to work for the people in the village...I want to show the difference between an educated daughter in-law and uneducated one...my first goal is to bring awareness.

Teachers regard the school as a tool to delay the marriage of both male and female students. The media in Pakistan has given greater awareness to families of the risks and disadvantages of early marriage, perceptions borne out by the experiences of some of the women interviewed. A parent from Tabdeeli village spoke of her adult uneducated daughter, married at an early age, who was beaten and forced to work by her husband and in-laws, but due to her young age could not perform these duties and ran away back to her parents' home. A parent from Rehmat village explained how her elder daughter - primary-level educated but married to an uneducated man - had died in childbirth in the village.

Table 7: Female Graduates Profile 2012²⁴			
Tabdeeli village		Rehmat village	
Married housewife (completed college education. Teacher for 2 years)	1	Married housewife (1 completed class 7; 1 completed class 5)	2
Married housewife and studying (college level)	1		0
Teacher and studying at college	4	Teacher	0
Student (post-primary)	3	Student (post-primary)	0
Migrated and living with family	1	Migrated and living with family	0
Unmarried house worker	0	Unmarried house worker	1
Field work	0	Field work	1
Deceased in childbirth	0	Deceased in childbirth	1
Total	10	Total	5

²⁴ Further details in Appendix C

Table 2 summarizes the profile of female graduates. Although the population of Rehmat village is greater as explained in the previous sub-section, there are fewer female graduates in Rehmat village who represent 12% total school graduates as compared to 30% in Tabdeeli village. Five out of ten (50%) female graduates in Tabdeeli village have become teachers as compared to none in Rehmat village. The two married graduates in Tabdeeli village succeeded in delaying their marriage until ages 17 and 19 and have married educated men. This compares with the two married female graduates in Rehmat village who have been not been able to achieve their “passport” to facilitate their marriage to an educated man, constrained by lack of accessible middle and high schools due to distance from the town and the prevailing structure of bonded labour in the village. One died in childbirth in her in-laws’ village. The girl in Rehmat village who continued her education to class 7 married a primary-level educated man, referred to above. Sixty per cent of female graduates in Tabdeeli village have either received their “passport” to an educated husband through completion of college education or are in process of doing so.

6.3 Minority status

The third aspect of relevance is the degree to which the education being provided in village LEAP schools can assist students to tackle injustices that arise from their marginalized status as members of a minority community in Pakistan. Unterhalter & Brighouse’s (2007) category of positional benefits has an obvious relationship with marginalization. Respondents identified three key positional benefits: cleanliness, social skills and communicative English.

For most religious communities, physical and spiritual cleanliness are inter-related. For example, a Hindu believes that when their home and physical body are clean, their mind and their spirit are healthy. Hindus incorporate cleanliness rituals into their worship. For the Hindu villagers who took part in the research, farming is assumed to be a "dirty" job. You can't wear clean clothes. Cleanliness is an intended school benefit since it provides social and symbolic capital: physical cleanliness, smart clothes and clean home is your “uniform” that tells everyone that you are not a farmer, under bondage to landlords, marginalized in society, with little control over your life, but an educated person. This is the underlying assumption of the graduate’s remarks, cited below:-

Presently in the village there are no facilities available...houses of the villagers are not clean...most of them don't have bathrooms in their houses...but now as we are getting education...in my family four out of fourteen members are educated...hopefully in the future most of the family members will be educated...the houses will be cleaner and there will be bathrooms in every house...and clean water will be available... If we are clean, nobody will have a discriminatory attitude against us (male graduate, Tabdeeli village).

The female graduates associated their cleanliness with their role as future mothers. “Girls can (in future) look after their babies more appropriately” (female graduate, Aman village).

Parents recognized that teachers focus on cleanliness. “They say wash hands, change clothes every day” and so perceive that the school is “good” (female parent, Tabdeeli village). They have recognized that the children “remain neat and clean” (male parent, Aman village).

By comparison, in Rehmat village, where members do not own land and therefore are in greater poverty, cleanliness is perceived as a more fragile emerging benefit:-

I have completed six months training.....I have had lots of meetings with my community about it and told them to eat clean food and drink clean water and wear clean dress...the people are poor and sometimes it is difficult for them to achieve these things but I feel that it has made some impact in the community about cleanliness (male teacher, Rehmat village).

The children in the village LEAP schools are expected to share the task of keeping the classroom clean and tidy. This may reflect an understanding that school is a training ground for having a clean and organized home.

Therefore, if graduates achieve social and symbolic capital by demonstrating personal cleanliness and a clean home environment, they have the foundation from which to generate further social capital, which will now be considered.

Social skills are the second benefit the respondents value. Uneducated people in these

rural villages indicate that they do not have the skills to go out from their village, meet others and engage effectively in dialogue. They perceive in their children's progress in school a growing capacity to relate to other people, to speak well and appropriately "with young and old" and in different contexts and that this gives them positional advantage since "nobody listens to uneducated people" (male parents, Tabdeeli village). Male and female graduates themselves reported that people particularly comment on their social skills: their behaviour, their manners and confidence, which they perceive will bring them out from their marginalization and enable them to access their rights and fulfil societal responsibilities. The landlord of Noor village also noted these skills "bring confidence in the personality" and removes the "feelings of inferiority" which are normally associated with poverty.

The third benefit that these communities value is the ability to talk in English. With cleanliness and social skills that enable graduates to utilize social capital, further linguistic cultural capital can be acquired through competence in English. Although a sizeable minority of Sindhi adults can read and write in English to some level, it is an even greater source of capital to be able to *speak* confidently in different forums and a means of substantial positional benefit.

Although English is a compulsory subject in the government school curriculum from class 1, concern has been raised by many educationalists about the poor quality of English teaching in Pakistan, since government teachers themselves have poor facility in English, especially spoken English and SPELT (Society for Pakistani English Language Teachers) was specifically established in 1984 to address these issues (<http://www.spelt.org.pk/>). PEP partnered with SPELT for several years to develop master trainers who could empower our village teachers, both through enhancing their own English language skills and through introducing effective pedagogy. A curriculum for the teaching of English has been introduced in village LEAP schools, which is described in chapter 3. The communities believe that if their children can speak English, in future they will "have many advantages" (male parents group, Tabdeeli and Noor villages). They will be able to "meet a government officer" who will "respond to them properly" (male parents group, Noor village), "taking note of their requests, getting their identity cards, otherwise they discard them" (landlord, Noor village); earn "more respect" (male graduates focus group, Rehmat village, female parents group, Noor

village, SMC chairperson, Aman village) “go abroad” (female parents group, Noor village) and “be heard” (male parents group, Noor village). This capability will help them facilitate improvements in their village and is particularly vital during times of crisis to enable communities to access the help they need.

In the focus groups the graduates explained that the positional benefits of cleanliness, social skills and English, make a difference to how they are perceived.

When some poor people having worked all day in the fields go to a hotel in the evening they are hated because of their dirty condition...if they were educated and were clean and had some knowledge and were able to motivate people, it (discrimination) would not take place...the problem is that they don't have speaking skills (female graduate, Tabdeeli village).

The only difference that exists between us and our (older) siblings is that of education...for example I can speak in front of you but my brother won't be able to...he is not even aware of his rights...I know how and from where to get my issues solved this difference exists mainly due to education (female graduate Tabdeeli village).

These comments reflect the perceived lack of positional benefits of farmers who are not able to exercise agency to improve their lives. Educated people have capabilities through these three benefits - providing cultural and social capital - that can be converted into functionings. Graduates also indicated that where they do still face discrimination, they are better able to handle the situation, due to their greater self-esteem, confidence and sense of agency.

These perceptions of positional benefits are being shaped and reinforced by the transformation of village LEAP teachers, since they, mainly sons of farmers, recognized that their increased cleanliness, social skills and facility in English necessary for them to become effective teachers have resulted in their greater standing within and outside the community.

Before I was a teacher, I was different in status, manners, cleanliness everything. And after I became a teacher, I feel that there has been a big change in the way I speak,

the way I eat and meet with people and the way people treat me now...there is a huge difference (male teacher, Rehmat village).

When I go out of the village, the people of other communities regard me well...they call me oostard (teacher) bhaghat (religious teacher)...they acknowledge that I am serving my people in two fields: religion and education...they respect me and I feel very happy (male teacher 2, Noor village).

the difference is in me... I would not meet any person properly when he came to my home...I would just say hello and leave. But now if someone comes to my home I meet with him appropriately. I have learnt social skills... A teacher enjoys a lot of importance in the village... people often come running to him...it may be about reading a letter... if I can't do anything myself, I guide them how and where to get it done. (male teacher, Aman village)

The Rehmat village teacher had polio as a child which left him with a deformity in his spine. His disability led to feelings of rejection: other villagers doubted that he could marry and look after a family. But in the interview he shared that he had proved to everyone that not only could he provide for his *own* children, but that he had been responsible for the education of other children and he had the pleasure of seeing 36 graduates complete their primary education through his school.

It has made considerable difference in my life...prior to this job I was just a nobody... when I became a teacher people began to value me and respect me (male teacher Rehmat village).

The teachers reported how important the teacher training provided by PEP was for the development and realization of these positional benefits. As already reported, two key benefits were social skills and improvement in their confidence to speak English.

The first and most important thing that I learnt was how to teach... especially teaching English...and the social skills: how to meet and speak in groups...and speaking before many people which is often difficult (male teacher, Rehmat village)

The first benefit that I had from the training was the social skills...like meeting, interacting with people and elders because in our village we don't have that type of

environment...(female teacher, Aman village)

I used to have hesitation in speaking with important people but now I don't have that problem...I have developed confidence...and I have been able to motivate people in the community for education (male teacher, Aman village).

The critical components of the teacher training have been described in chapter 3, in particular the three dimensions of knowledge and skills, attitudes and values and action and behaviour. The implementation of these three dimensions with their accompanying methodologies, have all contributed to the development of these teachers' confidence and social skills as well as teaching skills. Learning is not by lecture method, but involves practical interaction with other trainees and trainers through group work and presentations, both in workshops and regional training centres. These same skills have been employed in wider social interaction both inside their own villages and outside with government authorities to bring further support and benefits to community members, as they reported during their interviews.

The pedagogy to which these teachers are introduced through ITEP by the PEP trainers is often found to be resisted by teachers in low-income countries (Le Fanu 2013) where learners are often seen as passive receivers of top-down, decontextualized knowledge. However, village LEAP teachers through recognition of their own personal benefits through the training process have come to understand the benefits of child-friendly methodology. In addition they have contextualized the specific teaching programmes in the curriculum, integrating them with local culture and pupils' previous knowledge. This may reflect that PEP trainers drew on their socio-cultural background and prior knowledge in constructing their training curriculum. This pedagogy, when implemented in the classroom, has been shaping parents' perceptions of school benefits, since they have witnessed the progressive confidence of their children, both boys and girls, confirmed through the positive reactions of school visitors and guests.

In addition to the perceived impact of education and in particular PEP training on the teachers, perceptions of positional benefits are being shaped through the "champion" (Scheirer 2005) of the village LEAP project, a community leader in Tabdeeli village and now the project's Sustainability Coordinator. During his interview he described two incidents that illustrated the positional benefits that he has received, emerging from his

accumulated social capital. A landlord having stopped to give him a lift to college, asked him to sit in the back on discovering that he was a Bheel²⁵. Many years later Rano met this same landlord when visiting his village. Rano continued the story:-

When I arrived he bowed down in front of me, showing respect, because he knows that this man is coming who is an advocate, who is involved in social activism, is involved in education work in schools, who writes articles in the newspaper, who has a close friendship with Asma Jehangir²⁶, He gave me a cold drink from his own hands...and then gave me all the information. At the end he came with me to my car and opened the door for me. I compared these two situations. I am the same person. But the change is this: my introduction of myself is different. My caste is the same ...but my activities, my awareness, my level of thinking, my contacts have changed.

Rano is here expressing his accumulated education, experience, social and cultural capital that changed the landlord's perception of his status and therefore the respect that he was given. He inspires the communities and given the importance of *social* needs in Pakistan (Hofstede 1980), shapes the prioritization of positional benefits by community members as a valued outcome of their village LEAP school.

6.4 Coping with crises in a changing global environment

A fourth important aspect of relevant education is its capacity to enable people to cope with an ever-changing global society and to be able to deal with unexpected crises. Climate change is a great challenge for Pakistan with its recent increased incidence of flooding. Critical thinking and confidence to make decisions in such situations is important for these rural communities.

The experience of 2011 when communities sought relief and rehabilitation following disastrous flooding in rural Sindh, reinforced to parents in Village LEAP schools that educated people know what to do in times of crisis. They know who to approach, how to provide the data needed and how to harness additional support to put pressure on the government authorities to assist their communities. Aman village is in an area where the flooding was severe and communities witnessed the efforts of their teachers and field leaders to ensure they received government support. The teacher reported in his

²⁵ Member of a scheduled low-caste Hindu tribal group

²⁶ International human rights lawyer

interview that his newly acquired social skills and confidence in his profession had made a *difference* to him. He expressed an awareness of his responsibility to his community.

There is a difference in me.... the flood-affected people were my brothers...and we (the two teachers) supported them financially and by providing things like plastic sheets to protect them from the rain...if we were uneducated, we would just sit and watch but ...we visited the landlord, our MPA²⁷. Everyone is suffering. Please help us.Then he provided Rs1000 – 1200 per family. We also helped the community members obtain their Pakistan cards so that each family could receive Rs 20,000. We could only do this because of education and awareness that we had received (teacher, Aman village).

Parent respondents too in all four villages have recognized the confidence and awareness that the teachers have gained through their education, training and experience to enable them to provide help in times of difficulty. All parent respondents realize that government help “does not come automatically” (male parent Tabdeeli village). All teachers have advocated for their local school communities to obtain government support for flood relief as they were in danger of being overlooked. It is educated people who “feel easy to overcome such things” (community leader, Noor village) giving practical support to uneducated adults to enable them to access funds that each household is entitled to receive. They recognize that they have the confidence to utilize the media to ensure that government authorities take measures that will reduce future damage. In Tabdeeli village the educated graduates said that, following flood damage, they invited the media “to take photographs and (write) a report” which resulted in a better defence being built for the village. The community leader in Aman village said that it was “his duty” as an educated person to tell the community “to clear the drainage system” prior to the monsoon season. Male and female graduates reported their awareness of building their homes on higher ground.

In summary, all four communities realize that educated people are better equipped to deal with crises and to help people take preventative action to minimize future damage from such disasters. Community members in villages 1 and 4 who had personally experienced flooding in 2011 recognized the knowledge and skills that educated

²⁷ Member of the Provincial Assembly

members utilized in dealing with crisis. They also perceived that they could maximize their decision making opportunities emerging from land ownership to improve their homes and facilities to reduce risk of damage in future disasters. Their proximity to the town facilitated their involvement of the media to assist the process of rehabilitation and risk reduction.

6.5 Conclusion

I have considered benefits that relate to four key aspects of a relevant education for these four villages in the rural Sindh: employment and sustainable livelihoods for sons/men, prospects of an educated husband for daughters/women, marginalization and minority status, and coping with crises in a changing global environment. Benefits regarding employment are largely the subject of intended benefits with respondents in Tabdeeli and Rehmat villages reporting that they did not wish their sons to become farmers but to have a range of alternative jobs. In Rehmat village, these instrumental benefits have failed to emerge since their sons are still working as farmers. Respondents in Noor and Aman villages reported that they wanted their children to access a wide range of higher status jobs. For females, the primary intended instrumental benefit is that their daughters will marry an educated man. There is some indication in Tabdeeli village that this is emerging, but not in Rehmat village. These are still intended benefits in Noor and Aman villages. Positional benefits that impact marginalization and minority status appear to be most dominant, though there are structural constraints to achieving “functionings”. Respondents identified three main positional benefits, “cleanliness”, social skills and communicative English, perceived as making possible a range of further positional benefits in a variety of social settings and are ones which the communities clearly see have already emerged. These benefits are mirroring the transformation process which has already been experienced by the teachers and the project “champion” (Scheirer 2005) and therefore brings their identification more to the foreground. The wider impact of these three core positional benefits was particularly made evident to the communities during the floods of recent years, especially in 2011. Even in the most isolated Rehmat village, people are aware of “capabilities” and achieved “functionings” of educated people through their struggle to obtain relief and rehabilitation and to reduce the risk of future damage to their homes.

When considering what is shaping these perceptions of benefits that relate to a relevant education, land ownership, a more educated leadership and close proximity to a town are significant factors. They provide access to post-primary educational institutions and a wider range of employment possibilities. They generate increased agency through more decision-making opportunities and availability of a supportive network, such as through development NGOs and local media. As with perceptions regarding inclusion, lack of land ownership can be offset by access to a town and strong community/school leadership. Lack of land ownership when accompanied by a bonded relationship with the landlord generates most constraints to achieving “functionings” with the longer time period since the school opened solidifying perceptions.

In addition to these factors, when considering relevance for females, change of habitus is vitally important. Tabdeeli village parents are those who were prepared to take risks and relocate since they were convinced of their potential agency to achieve the goals for their daughters which were in opposition to traditional cultural norms: they were convinced that girls as well as boys should complete their basic education and even succeed at college level in order to marry an educated man who would facilitate their future life of enhanced agency and well-being. The wider achievements of female graduates are starting to change the habitus of community members regarding expected female “capabilities” and “functionings” and further change is anticipated as married graduates demonstrate the benefits of education to other women in their new communities. These would include functional literacy and numeracy, improved health and cleanliness for both the women and their children and a well-organized home. In villages where such role models have not yet emerged and male habitus has not changed, female “capabilities” and “functionings” are likely to be constrained.

Underlying these perceptions of benefits are two factors that pertain to relevance as well as inclusion: the contextualized teacher training and curriculum, especially the supplementary curriculum. These are significant since the processes involved in developing and implementing them have created a close relationship between pedagogy and benefits. This relationship has been identified by teachers, the people most closely involved in this process, but also by both educated and uneducated community leaders. The three sites of policy, school and home/community are generating mutually reinforcing factors and processes. In these marginalized communities where a *relevant* education is so critical for addressing social justice concerns, this synergy of pedagogy

and benefits when played out in the iterative development of the village LEAP schools, has become increasingly important. PEP policy reflects the importance of both a child-friendly school environment and a contextualized curriculum. Building from the ITEP base which created the initial opportunity for a transformational process leading to perceived benefits, the longer time period has brought additions to the curriculum based on locally emerging needs and the changing global environment which have better equipped local communities to address these challenges. Local trainers and teachers, with now considerable experience, have played their part alongside parents in developing a contextualized pedagogy for the implementation of the curriculum.

Chapter 7: Perceptions of Democracy

In this chapter I focus on the respondents' perceptions of participation in determining the valued outcomes of their community school. Utilizing Bray's (2000) eleven dimensions of community participation in education, presented in chapter 2, I explore a range of school functionings: setting policy; curriculum development; hiring and firing of teachers and payment of salaries; teacher training; supervision; building and maintenance. Findings are presented with particular reference to the three key dimensions of land ownership, time since the school was opened and proximity to a town. First of all I focus on the three key factors that are shaping perceptions of participation: PEP policy, community leadership and school leadership. These all reflect the changing dynamics with both traditional cultural norms and emerging consultative frameworks being played out. I continue the chapter with an overview of community perceptions of changing power relationships as indicators of a potentially growing process of democratic involvement within a social justice framework. Finally, I draw the findings together in the conclusion.

7.1 PEP Policy: supporting existing traditional frameworks and nurturing consultative frameworks of participation

Within a social justice agenda, justice has been defined as “parity of participation” (Fraser 2008, p. 16) highlighting the importance of identifying the “nature and extent of voice” (Tikly & Barrett 2011, p.11) that individuals and communities can exercise within educational provision. Public debate is also integral to Sen and Nussbaum's notion of “capabilities”. The exercise of community and individual voice in the educational development of low-income countries has often been initiated through the establishment of a School Management Committee (SMC) or Village Education Committee (VEC). However, concerns have been raised regarding the contribution of SMCs in encouraging participation and democratic decision making as they are often seen as imposed by funders (Mfum-Mensah 2004), resulting in “pseudo” participation (Rose 2005). Given this critique, building on existing frameworks through supporting local leadership and encouraging new consultative policy frameworks is recommended (Rose 2005).

Emerging from my position as the PEP Coordinator, having engaged with the above debates, it became PEP policy to adopt this two-prong approach. This policy has

particularly influenced two areas of participation in school functionings: overall management and setting of school policy and curriculum development. I will discuss the former through engaging with the dynamics of the SMC versus *baradari* school management and the latter through analysing the processes involved in the development of the school curriculum.

During my small research project (Jerrard 2011), I interrogated the relevance of the SMC as a vehicle for community participation in Village LEAP schools. The *baradari* already provides a framework for community participation since other aspects of community life (e.g. marriages, work, breakdown in relationships, and celebration of religious festivals) are managed by it under their leaders. PEP's required formation of SMCs by the communities with prescribed criteria for its membership and responsibilities creates a tension of trying to introduce democratic participation (both in terms of equality of representation and consensus decision making) in a system of gendered hierarchies. The community leader is being asked to yield some of his power through establishing an SMC. I concluded that to nurture genuine participation, PEP could instead relinquish *its* power and allow the *baradari* to decide how it will meet the challenge of school sustainability through its traditional and emerging structures and processes identified through my research. Since the community leaders reported that they realized that PEP could not manage the school forever, it became PEP policy to ask the community leaders what interventions would support school sustainability and for PEP to facilitate their implementation with a critical consideration of capacity building (Dunne, Pryor, & Yates 2007). This has resulted in PEP continuing its teacher training and monitoring role and overseeing the financial administration. Village LEAP schools have become or are in process of becoming financially sustainable through monthly fees, with communities taking other decisions, for example numbers of free places and concessions to families with several children in the school. Several schools have introduced a uniform while others view that as a financial burden and irrelevant to the delivery of quality education. They requested support for a more permanent school building, with their commitment to provide labour for construction and take responsibility for building maintenance.

Turning now to curriculum design and development, including use of textbooks and other materials. Chapman et al (2004) assert that parents may not have sufficient understanding of educational processes and how the quality of education might be

improved. They may reach consensus on investments that do not impact the quality of learning. This may be true but they also admit that the more uneducated the community, the more vulnerable it is to the implementation of interventions funded by external agencies that are not grounded in contextual realities and introduced in too-short a time span. Communities, especially those with few educated members, do not have technical expertise but I argue that Govinda and Bandyopadhyay's (2010) principle of "convergence" should be prioritized, which has been the principle of PEP regarding curriculum issues. All communities reported that they want government certification for their children to provide them with a recognized qualification and to enable them to transfer to government institutions for higher levels of education. Since the majority of schools are registered under the nearest government school they are able to access free textbooks. However, they also made clear that they wanted quality education with special focus on the teaching of English. PEP provided technical expertise in terms of teacher training so that the government curriculum could be implemented using research-based effective pedagogy. A "convergence" of top-down and bottom-up synergies has been achieved since PEP has introduced child-friendly methodology to facilitate children's learning, which community leaders and parents have supported since the confidence and skills emerging from this pedagogy have at the same time provided social skills which the communities report as valued outcomes from the school.

While communities may lack technical expertise, PEP has engaged them when introducing its supplementary curriculum, designed to meet the particular needs of poor and marginalized communities in a globalized world, where people are facing environmental crises and violent conflict. Programmes for health, peace, and disaster risk reduction, social and financial education have all been introduced through a three-prong strategy to empower teachers, students and community members. Therefore, although the communities may not have technical expertise, they are engaged in dialogue on these issues and invited to programmes where children present what they have learnt on these topics. In this way, these programmes can be grounded in the local context and, as Govinda and Bandyopadhyay (2010) found from their study in India, regular interaction with the community can improve democratic participation.

7.2 Community Leadership: displaying traditional cultural norms and encouraging wider participation

Considering now the second factor shaping perceptions of participation namely community leadership, I first focus on the extent of participation in the villages where the community leaders and SMC members own land, that is in Tabdeeli and Aman villages. The original composition of Tabdeeli village was the fifteen families who made the decision to leave the isolated location (the location of Rehmat village in this study) and relocate near a town, opening a school in this new location. This demonstrates the function of school policy design since the families were establishing a school that would not limit their children's education to primary level (which staying in the isolated location would), but act as a quality foundation for the next stages of educational provision. The process behind the achievement of this school functioning requires some analysis. While effective leaders in any community are key to achieving collective goals, their significance is even greater in marginalised communities such as in this research. However, conceptions of effective leadership are not universal but context specific and are specifically linked to local/national cultures. Hofstede (1980) categorizes Pakistani culture as having low individualism and high power distance. From my previous research in two of the villages in rural Sindh where a village LEAP school has been established (Jerrard 2011), both male and female respondents shared the importance of good leadership. Unity is regarded as essential and the source of a community's power and strength. However, the findings suggested that this unity is not the western notion of democratic consensus, but more a need to trust their recognized leaders and accept their decisions. This cultural perception is demonstrated through the presence and alignment of community members behind the decisions of the community leaders. Tabdeeli village parental respondents when reporting this decisive move to a new village indicated their trust in their two leaders: Rano an educated social activist and his uneducated brother-in-law, regarded as the *patail*²⁸. In the next section I use my data to build up a portrait of Rano to demonstrate the process of social change through this change agent.

A social justice perspective considers the community a site within which wider economic, political and cultural inequalities are not only produced and reproduced but

²⁸ Traditional leader who arranges marriages in his community, settles disputes and gives advice on a range of issues

can also be challenged and subverted. In his individual interview, Rano reflected on the influences that had shaped his leadership role. He described a pivotal day in his life when as the first position holder in class 10, he walked on to the stage to receive his prize. Witnessing a headmaster who refused to shake his son's hand because he was a Bheel²⁹, Rano's father set him on his life's path to challenge the prevailing norms: "You are my only son. You must change the destiny of our people". Sen (1993) argues that human development occurs when citizens organize themselves, but democratic participation cannot be presented as unproblematic in low-income countries. From a social justice perspective Bourdieu's theories are insightful since he frames social capital within an environment of conflict where social actors are struggling to advance their interests. Rano reflected on his hard struggle over many years to build up his social and cultural capital as a resource for addressing the social injustices of his own and other communities. He became a volunteer for the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) and a correspondent for a local newspaper. He was appointed by the diocese of Hyderabad as a teacher in 1993 and through that appointment met the director of Lower Sindh Rural Development Association (LSRDA) and arranged for members of his community over several years to attend seminars organized by LSRDA, to increase their awareness on a range of human rights issues recognizing, as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1996, p. 133) argue that habitus is an "open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences" and therefore although "durable.. is not eternal". Through such interventions Rano was providing the critical "mediating agency" (Krishna 2012) releasing the social capital of his community, since such seminars facilitated a vision and a determination to provide a different future for their children, including their daughters.

Having opened a school in 2002, Rano and his brother-in-law, through the use of their accumulated social capital, were able to facilitate the community's agency (Krishna 2012) in the move to create Tabdeeli village in 2005, thus creating a new "field" where the school's function would be redesigned. Firstly, their government and media contacts informed them of vacant government land which they could occupy. Secondly, their contacts with HRCP and personal relationship with a key Pakistani human rights lawyer meant that the landlord, from whom some families had run away without paying their debts, would be hesitant to take action against them. Thirdly, the diocesan authorities, as

²⁹ Member of a scheduled low-caste Hindu group

a minority group themselves, were sympathetic to providing scholarships for these students. Fourthly, their contacts gave access to government grants and support from other NGOs to develop their village. Rano combined this social capital with his human capital since his experience of social activism gave him skills to facilitate the community to step by step acquire ownership of their new village: obtaining identity cards which stated their place of residency; getting placed on the electoral role; demanding benefits from election candidates and taking political action if they did not deliver these benefits.

Through my position as the PEP Coordinator, I am aware that over the last few years the composition of Tabdeeli village has changed. More educated families and those in professions have settled in the village. The SMC chairperson is training to be a human rights lawyer. Two field coordinators working with PEP have shifted there as well as a driver and those with small businesses. These are people who after the 2011 floods were able to access government and NGO support and have been constructing stronger brick houses on higher ground or much more substantial shelters than a simple mud-thatch hut. This changed composition of the village provides additional skills and resources which enable the community to raise their status, be better equipped to develop wider employment opportunities for their male graduates and deal with environmental changes (Grootaert 2001). The changed composition has created a new *baradari*, not based on blood lines, but on a vision for education to address their social justice concerns. From the initial move from the isolated location to its present location and composition a process of deconstruction and reconstruction is evident. The new *baradari's* cultural norms are more in alignment with the required SMC. The creation of both serves a similar function to voluntary organizations (Putnam1993) though with the critical factor being the attitudes and behaviours rather than the structure (Krishna 2012). From the perspective of Bourdieu their creation is a strategy to create networks that will assist the accumulation of social capital (Siisiainen 2003), namely the trust, norms and networks that facilitate coordinated actions (Putnam1993), for school development and for addressing wider social justice issues.

Having more educated members, who are committed to each other through the discourse of modernity with professional experience and opportunity for advocacy in the town, they have a strengthened habitus that believes in the power of human agency. Thus parental respondents report a further range of school functionings. They

acknowledge that monthly meetings are held for fees administration and to “sort out any school issues”. The SMC chairperson opined that compared to 5-10% female participation in an uneducated community, 50% female participation in decision making would characterize educated communities. One of the female graduates, who through her position as a village LEAP teacher is the secretary of the SMC, reported that although “people felt that we (female teachers) could not play our role effectively in the SMC because we were women and very young”, had proved them wrong and helped change habitus on female participation. The community has demonstrated a high level of school ownership since whereas it is general policy amongst the village LEAP schools to be registered under the nearest government school, the SMC chairperson reported that they had achieved private registration of their school. He explained that they had invited the EDO (Education District Officer) to a school programme to build credibility with government authorities of their provision of quality education to facilitate the registration process and their application for a school building. He demonstrated his supervision function when he reported that it is “my routine” to visit the school two or three times a week and “even at times to take classes”. He highlighted the importance of “check and balance”, to check the attendance and performance of the teachers appointed by the SMC and how he played a motivational role by reminding them that “these children are from your own community and even if your salary is less compared to a government school... it is for your benefit...it is your future”. He further explained that he held meetings with parents especially if the attendance rate dropped to discover the reasons for their children’s absence.

I now focus on the extent of participation in Aman village where SMC members also own land. The SMC chairman explained that the area has a history of ethnic and religious harmony established through the Talpurs³⁰ who continue to have a powerful presence through their descendent, the biggest local landlord and MNA (Member of the National Assembly), Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, after whom the nearest town is named. Parental respondents affirmed that this family has brought Hindu farmers to the area and at various times, different tribal groups have arrived living alongside Punjabi Muslims, purchasing land and establishing villages. The community leader arrived as a child to Aman village and his father as a small landowner lived within the established norms of peaceful cooperation, where he asserted, consultative relationships (Arnstein 1986) with

³⁰ Ruling dynasty in Sindh from 1783 - 1843

the farmers enabled the development of a prosperous agrarian society. Parity of participation amongst its different tribal groups has been encouraged, reflected in the community leader's description of the process by which the decision was taken to open a village LEAP school.

I called all the tribal leaders together and asked them "are we going to build this school together?" I gave them one week to discuss this issue with their baradari. At the end of the week they came to my house and said "we all are brothers...you take the lead for building the school, we are with you"(community leader, Aman village).

The community leader also reported that when they formed the SMC, the members agreed that the village LEAP school would be for the benefit of everyone living in the area and that they should make a policy to this effect to enable them to deal with any incident of discrimination against any caste or religious group.

This description reveals not only opportunity for participation across the tribal divides, but also the effective working of the traditional and emerging frameworks and consultative processes (Rose 2005). The village comprises a number of small holdings with the majority of members being educated. These factors, as in Tabdeeli village, provide greater resources for participation, facilitating a broad-based SMC for decision making, representing the range of tribal groups. The community leader sought to extend these resources through using his social capital to assist our PEP Area Coordinator to purchase land in his village. This provided educational expertise for the development of the school and allowed other participatory processes to emerge: the Area Coordinator's daughter who grew up in Aman village has completed her education to matriculation level. She was appointed by the SMC as a teacher in Aman village, supported by the community leader, whose own married daughters have been educated and whose younger daughters attend the school. Parents, observing her achievement in reaching this position and her willingness to use her education to serve her community, were more willing to enrol their daughters in the school. When the school opened in 2007, 15 girls enrolled and were taught in a mixed gender class by a male teacher. This female teacher is now teaching 35 girls but in a separate class, a negotiated arrangement preferred by parents.

Reminiscent of Hofstede's insights, the Aman village community leader articulated a benevolent, paternalistic and feudal leadership. Desiring a school in his village since childhood, he explained that he wished to establish a school that would be the "best in the area" so that "I along with my forefathers may be known for what we have done for the people". This reflects Hofstede's prioritization of social needs in Pakistan's hierarchy of needs, whereby a person's status in the community and the relationships and loyalties are very important. Believing that education will change the village as it has his own family, he has communicated to his people the vision of a good school that will increase the *izzat*³¹ of the whole village as a minority community. This is already seen to be emerging, due to the respect that school graduates in the local middle school are receiving and supports the unity of the village identified earlier as a critical quality for the strength of a community (Jerrard 2011).

By contrast, in Rehmat village where SMC members also do not own land, but are in a bonded relationship with the landlord and living far from a town, different dynamics were reported. While Fraser (2008) privileges the dimension of democracy in quality education, Aikman and Unterhalter (2013) critique this position since they argue powerful hierarchies can undermine movement for change. The findings from Rehmat village seem to provide evidence for this concern. The school appears to be an instrument for maintaining the status quo rather than contributing to addressing issues of social injustice which the community faces. The SMC chairperson is the *kamdar*³² who benefits from the status quo: he earns a salary from the landlord and sends out his oldest sons to work for him. His daughters and children of his close relatives are attending the village LEAP school where fees are easily affordable for him and pupil / teacher ratio is low. He accepts the school's low enrolment as inevitable because in his view some parents cannot afford the fees and others do not understand the value of education. The school is a potential threat to the *kamdar*'s authority if it becomes a vehicle for community empowerment. When interviewed his reaction to the formation of Tabdeeli village indicates that he has rejected this educational aim:-

Q: *Do you think it was a good decision that they (villagers who left their baradari to create Tabdeeli village) moved from here?*

A. *No,... by running away from home the children's education is disturbed*

³¹ Core Pakistani value of honour and respect

³² Landlord's representative

Q. What about those girls..... Do you think it has helped them at all that they have gone to Mirpurkhas (nearby town to Tabdeeli village)...would they be in the same situation, if they had been here?

A. I don't see any difference in their situation

The *kamdar* could not recognize the emerged benefits which were poignantly apparent to the women:-

They left in order to help their girls...they knew they could improve their lives by getting them educated. There (in Mirpurkhas) they have improved in education...their husbands are also educated (female parent 1).

The most important consideration for the *kamdar* is that the solidarity of the *baradari* should be maintained, which preserves his status within it. The families who left - and formed Tabdeeli village - were demonstrating that alternative power-saturated knowledge can emerge and a new community - a new field - be created around a different habitus: their new discourse constructed social action to bring change (Somekh 2006).

Rehmat village women expressed their feelings of frustration and powerlessness:-

Q. Why did some families decide to stay here? What was their thinking?

A. They (men) are just sitting here because of the landlord...they don't understand the value of education. They have no vision for the future. Those who left this village, they knew the importance of education...and they are having a good life there (female parent 2)

Q. If you had the chance to go to Mirpur Khas with your families, would you like to go or would you prefer to stay here?

A. We very much want to go there.....but we have loans to pay...and there are many barriers...therefore we are helpless. These men (living in this village) have no skills, no business ...they are just doing labour and spoiling the lives of everyone. We want to go there and get our children educated and help them grow (female parent 3).

This data reveals the perceived barriers to their participation and opportunity to achieve valued outcomes for their children's well-being. It also reveals the women's awareness of their lack of influence on decision making and that the families who left had a

different habitus that had an intrinsic power to facilitate the achievement of valued outcomes.

In both Rehmat and Noor villages where villagers do not own land, SMC members, including the chairperson, are uneducated. In this scenario, the teacher becomes the “*driver of the SMC*” (sustainability coordinator). In Noor village as will be described below, this has led to a community being developed around the school through the leadership of the teachers. However it seems that this has not happened to any significant level in Rehmat village. One important difference has been the lack of other leadership support in Rehmat village which Noor village teachers have received through the landlord, a social activist, with whom the villagers have no bonded relationship. A further difference is the higher level of education achieved by the Noor village teachers, their greater confidence and their proximity to the city, government offices, other NGOs, which provide opportunity for wider exposure and awareness of rights, development of participatory skills and accessing of further benefits. The Rehmat village teacher in his individual interview as reported in chapter 6 clearly perceived his own development to have been substantial and which has earned him respect in the community for his professional competence. However, given his background of disability and its attendant barriers, it seems that while achieving personal benefits through his training and experience as a teacher, without leadership support he has not had sufficient confidence or skills to mobilize the community to greater democratic participation, especially given the structural barrier of the feudal bonded relationships within the village. The male villagers in Rehmat village are those who chose not to leave their baradari in the isolated location in contrast to the Tabdeeli village members and have continued to maintain a habitus that is not “power-saturated” and not led to transformative change. From a Foucauldian perspective, Rehmat village members have not yet engaged in a process of deconstruction of their “regimes of truth” that construct social action and reconstruction of knowledge that would release more democratic participation. It seems that the participation of the villagers in the school has been largely extractive (Rose 2005) with the community members collecting wood and providing labour for the construction of the school hut and its annual maintenance.

7.3 Teacher Leadership: evidence of traditional norms and emerging processes of negotiation

Noor village community members, as compared to those in Rehmat village have close proximity to the town. Since the majority of the SMC members including the chairperson are uneducated, a community is being built around the school through the motivated leadership of the teachers (Pryor 2005). One teacher expressed his ambition that “his school would be....the best school... famous in the whole district...going up like a bullet fired from a rifle”. This leadership is willingly offered by the teachers, since their appointment as teachers has enabled them to have a sustainable livelihood, opening up further life opportunities (Barrs 2005). When asked about their salary, all teachers said that although they did not receive a high salary, they regarded the other benefits which they had received, especially the respect and status gained, social skills and increased knowledge and understanding, as compensation for that. Depending on the size of their family and the number of dependents, some took additional part-time work, such as working for an insurance company, running a shop, selling milk from their buffalo or cow. For one male teacher, his salary enabled him to pay for his continuing studies at college level. For female teachers, their salary contributed to their books for further study, or enabled their mother to buy more groceries and their father to save money for their dowry.

This leadership of the teachers is also both being accepted and appreciated by the parents due to the underlying factors that led to the opening of the school: through *baradari* contacts in another village, community members were aware that a village LEAP teacher, through running a successful school, had been able to develop good relations with government officials and obtain other benefits for his community. This convinced parents of the importance of choosing motivated people to be teachers, who could through a similar process, improve the status of their village and thereby enable them to access further community facilities. In alignment with cultural norms discussed earlier (Jerrard 2011), these uneducated community members in Noor village were willing to acknowledge and trust the leadership of their teachers.

Nevertheless, participatory processes of negotiation also appear to have emerged as the teachers and parents seek to achieve valued outcomes for their school. Parents are committed to the payment of monthly fees, but the teacher reported that parents were

unhappy about the *process* of fees collection. This led to their introduction of fees cards to aid transparency. The teachers said that initially they wanted to secure government registration for their school and with the support of a landlord who is also a social mobilizer, they met representatives from the Sindh Watch Forum, a local NGO, the principal of a local college and a local advocate. They explained that later they decided not to pursue these openings for two reasons: they knew that a bribe would be required and they realized that under government registration the SMC would be disbanded and there would be less community involvement which would be to the detriment of the school.

At the moment...if we call the community members, they come easily...but once it is a government school, the people will lose their attachment with the school. (teacher, Noor village).

This “attachment” was borne out in 2012 when the community provided labour for the construction of a new school building and from their own resources painted the completed building.

Teachers were also engaged with parents in a partnership level of participation (Arnstein 1986) for the school functioning of staff appointments. As school enrolment increased, the SMC appointed a second teacher in 2010. In addition, the first teacher was motivated to upgrade the school to elementary level and was willing to teach the middle section in an evening shift but for additional salary. However, since the parents were unwilling to pay further fees, it was decided that the school would remain a primary school. Following the departure of the second teacher to Karachi in 2012, it was agreed that a grade 8 student would be hired as an assistant teacher on a lower salary. The Area Coordinator later explained that this was satisfactory to all parties: the student achieved an income to finance her continuing studies; the parents gained an arrangement that did not entail increased monthly fees; and the teacher gained good pedagogical support in the school since this student, as a village LEAP graduate, was familiar with the curriculum and PEP methodology and could teach the lower classes with confidence and competence.

7.4 Indicators of emerging democracy

The teachers' focus group, formed from all four villages, and graduates' focus groups from Tabdeeli and Rehmat villages, discussed the changing power relationships that are occurring in their communities. The *patail* has been traditionally regarded as the leader of the community. As more people become educated, the communities see the influence of the *patail* and the decision-making powers of community members changing. Both focus groups expressed their opinion that graduates would be the future leaders of their communities and be recognised according to different criteria: their knowledge, social skills and facility in English would enable them to inform people of their rights and facilitate communities to access benefits from government authorities, including in times of crisis. They would become the new “agents” to mobilize the community's social capital (Krishna 2012). The Tabdeeli village SMC chairperson supported this understanding

...they can enter (join) social welfare activities...they can get relief (social aid) for their community. If a person is well educated, well-mannered he/she can... get relief (social support) for the community from different social organizations. (Tabdeeli village SMC chairperson)

The Tabdeeli village SMC chairperson further explained how he saw this process of greater mobilization of social capital working in the future:-

The patail system is not there with the same power or authority...now because of education, there is more awareness... if they have to seek justice, either they will go to the press clubs to stage their protests or they have to go to the courts of law or police station or people go and meet an educated person like a lawyer or professor to help sort out issues.

These changing cultural norms exist in some state of tension. In Tabdeeli village the *patail* expressed his view:-

now in the world things have changed...people are breaking away from old systems...it is the same thing here...we poor have no value...I am a leader but only for the Hindu community...but sometimes the young men are not even ready to acknowledge (patail, Tabdeeli village).

The female graduates' focus group however observed that during the floods crisis, the patail was relieved that many other people within his community were able to take action and influence media and government personnel. He was also content that he did not have to spend so much time sorting out people's problems and that within families issues were decided. The teachers' focus group were also convinced that the graduates are the new "mediating agents" (Krishna 2012).

Yes in the past the community would request some elders to come and sort out issues for the community but now the young boys are educated...they can do it (teacher from focus group).

The female graduates group argued for greater community participation in village affairs. When asked what was their most important contribution for change in their community, one graduate said:-

We should be sincere, our behaviour should be good with everyone and we should do things with consultation and participation of all the people...when there are more minds involved, things work positively. If I do things on my own, I can go wrong. Therefore it is important to seek everyone's opinion (female graduate from focus group).

This emerging environment of greater democratic participation can impact the future contextualized nature of schooling and participation of communities in school "functionings".

7.5 Conclusion

Tabdeeli and Aman respondents who own land and live near a town reported their "genuine" (Rose 2005) participation in a range of school functionings determining the valued outcomes of their community school. Time since the opening of the school is serving to nurture and sustain the factors and processes that are encouraging democratic participation in these two communities. Two critical factors are the intrinsic motivations of the community leaders and teachers and the prevailing socio-economic structures. In Rehmat village where the leadership is feudal with community members in bonded relationship with the landlord, participation is "pseudo" with the SMC being

a vehicle for maintaining the status quo and not facilitating the implementation of valued outcomes for the majority of its members. In Noor village where, although members do not own land and have few educated SMC members, *teachers* are exercising leadership in the creation of a new “field”, there is evidence of a partnership relationship with parents in some school decisions. In Tabdeeli and Aman villages the social capital of the leaders is being utilized to mobilize genuine participation, but the radical process of deconstruction and reconstruction of Tabdeeli village is releasing indicators of wider community participation. Graduates reflect a changed habitus that recognizes the benefit of greater consultation and participation to more effectively achieve valued outcomes. The findings seem to suggest that Rose’s (2005) call to both support existing frameworks of traditional leadership and nurture consultative frameworks of participation is gradually being worked out, being most evident in Tabdeeli village. Here, a community owning land, having an increasing number of educated people, managing a school that has been operating for sufficient time to generate graduates who are the potential future leaders with new cultural norms, is providing a role model of emerging democracy.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Reflections

8.1 Introduction

In chapters 5 – 7, I explored the communities’ perceptions of school benefits within the three dimensions of inclusion, relevance and democracy and the factors and processes shaping them. In this chapter I first draw together the key findings of the preceding three chapters. This is followed by the contribution of the thesis to knowledge. I then interrogate the relevance of the findings for “quality” debates in the post-2015 provision of sustainable quality education in low-income countries. After making suggestions for future research, I conclude with reflections on the personal and methodological challenges of this research.

8.2 Key findings

This study explores perceptions of school benefits as a lens through which to engage with marginalized rural communities’ conceptualization of “quality” education. It emerges from the observable reality that communities who are the most economically and socially disadvantaged are the least likely to benefit from a good education as indicated by low literacy and numeracy skills among primary school children in such communities across the global South (GMR 2013 – 2014). Engaging with stakeholders’ perceptions of “quality” is vital for educational sustainability in these communities since international funding or government policies to attract enrolment will have short-term impact if the benefits of the education being offered are not clearly identified and acknowledged by the stakeholders. In poor and marginalized communities there are always opportunity and other costs to sending children to school even if there are no tuition fees and parents will not utilize their few precious resources for their children’s education unless the benefits of doing so are obvious to them. Furthermore, previous research indicates that teacher morale is often low in global South communities. This reality brings additional challenges to the delivery of sustainable quality education. .

My study was guided by four main questions:-

- How do community stakeholders perceive inclusion in their community school?
- How do community stakeholders perceive their school’s relevance for addressing social justice concerns?

- How do community members perceive their participation in determining the valued outcomes of their school?
- How are perceptions of inclusion, relevance and democracy being shaped by the key variables of time, landownership and proximity to a town?

I addressed the first three questions respectively in chapters 5, 6 and 7. The fourth question was addressed in each chapter. I shall now summarize the findings from these three chapters.

Recognising that quality education is intertwined with issues of social justice, this study has utilized Tikly and Barrett's (2011) framework for analysing quality education which incorporates insights from the human capital, human rights and social justice approaches, as well as the capabilities approach. Within this framework a good quality education emerges from a synergy of interaction between "three enabling environments" (Tikly 2013 p.7): policy-making, the school and the home/community. The varying perceptions of inclusion, relevance and democracy held by the four case-study villages are being shaped by factors and processes within these three environments which are the key findings from this study.

In these three environments, the findings indicate that the key factors are the Primary Education Project's mission and values expressed in its policies as the supporting organization for the village schools; the teacher training, pedagogy and curriculum implemented in the school; and the community leadership. Benefits and therefore quality education was recognized by the communities when these were in a mutually reinforcing relationship.

PEP has played a significant role in shaping perceptions of benefits since its mission is to provide sustainable quality education especially for girls without discrimination in un-reached marginalized communities. It pursued a policy of enabling communities to open a school in their own village, using initially a community-constructed hut for the school building and low cost materials. This policy shaped perceptions that the school is inclusive since with low fees, but adequate to cover running costs and no additional transport costs they regard it as affordable and in a safe and secure location. PEP policy included employing a local teacher whom the community chose and who required minimum formal qualifications, usually government education to matriculation level

with no prior teacher training. Female graduates who were interviewed for this study have been working as teachers while still studying. They have already been educated in the school and therefore trained in the methodology and content of the curriculum. This policy not only provides teachers who have knowledge and a basic experience that can be utilized for the benefit of children in that school, but also demonstrates to parents that the precious resources that they invested to provide education for their children have not been wasted, since they have achieved the status of teacher and can earn an income to provide additional resources for their parents and contribute to their dowry. New parents observe the confidence and skills acquired which they are using to benefit their community and so are encouraged to enrol their girls in school to promote inclusion. My findings support those of Huisman & Smits (2009) who report that increasing the percentage of female teachers in a district improved access to and achievement in school in 30 low-income countries, especially in rural areas.

While I have argued that the findings indicate the many benefits of employing community teachers, there may still be challenges to gendered inclusion. The findings show that local teachers encourage female enrolment and adopt practices that nurture girls' full participation in classroom activities. They suggest that the parental habitus regarding female "capability" and expectation of "functionings" is changing. Nevertheless, traditional expectations of female "capabilities" and "functionings" that militate against the achievement of an inclusive education may need to be challenged. While the policy site can provide an enabling environment to create a synergy with school and community sites through engaging with the gendered discourses of teachers and SMC members (DeJaeghere & Pellowski Wiger 2014), this could not be extensively explored in my study.

My research found that teachers recognized personal benefits in addition to salary that were critical to their motivation. They all reported that their salary was less than a government teacher would receive and many as a result generated additional accompanying sources of income. However, they asserted that becoming a teacher had given them both intrinsic and positional benefits which compensated for the reduced salary. They had experienced a transformational process through the training received that had increased their confidence and self-esteem, given them respect in their own and the wider community which facilitated them to provide wider benefits for their village. It also motivated them to recommence their own academic learning and thus increase

their formal qualifications. This process of change convinced them of the importance of education and its inherent power to release “capabilities” and “functionings” that motivated them to facilitate this process for the children who are from their own extended family. They therefore perceived themselves as change agents for their whole marginalized community. They have played a key role in shaping perceptions of “quality” since their training has enabled them to run a successful school, perceived in three villages as having raised the status of the village and facilitated good relations with government officials to obtain other benefits for the community. In addition during times of crisis, especially during the floods of 2006 and 2011 the teachers further demonstrated that education provides positional benefits since they advocated for the communities to obtain relief and rehabilitation that was being denied marginalized rural communities. The teachers also voiced commitment to community involvement in the school and have enhanced the participation of its members in a range of “functionings”.

My findings suggest that enabling the teacher to deliver education that provides positive learning outcomes that are valued by the community necessitates engagement with a contextualized teacher education curriculum, school curriculum and pedagogy. PEP has shown commitment in its policy-making to developing a contextualized teacher education, curriculum and pedagogy. It understands that quality is iterative and must keep responding to local needs so that quality is sustainable. It has therefore developed a supplementary curriculum to respond to the global and local environments addressing a range of important issues: coping with crises, especially higher incidence of flooding and a seemingly growing problem of violent conflict; transforming a dependency culture; providing awareness for improved health and sanitation and the need for new sources of creative income generation. The findings show that communities recognize the value of the education being provided not only for its intrinsic benefits but also for its relevance to their social, political and economic needs. PEP also recognizes that quality education is community as well as individually-based in low-income countries, an important understanding since in the study respondents reported school benefits in terms of the whole community as well as for individuals.

A key finding has been the dual relationship between pedagogy and benefits. Pedagogy has both shaped benefits and been constructed by benefits. In this study, pedagogy has shaped benefits since the child-centred pedagogy implemented in the school has been observed by some parents to be in contrast to the rote-learning methodology observed in

government schools. This pedagogy has been perceived as creating many benefits: confidence, self-esteem, joyful and effective learning, presentation and social skills amongst the children and been a key factor in the respect given them by visitors to the school. Community members regard these qualities as foundational to positional benefits which are vital for addressing their marginalized and minority status. Since instrumental benefits are still largely intended benefits, these positional benefits have been crucial in the communities' awareness of long-term school benefits. Although the implementation of this pedagogy may be epistemologically resisted by teachers in low-income countries (Le Fanu 2013), my study has shown that if pedagogy is integral to valued outcomes, the habitus of teachers can be changed and effective learning promoted. In addition, benefits have constructed pedagogy since over the 10 years PEP has emphasized even more those aspects of pedagogy that have proved effective for children's learning and recognized as important by teachers, parents and community leaders and which reflect the teachers' cultural values. My study has found social skills key to the development of social capital and to communities' perceptions of quality. Although the 2005 and 2013-2014 Global Monitoring Reports highlight the importance of *quality* in education and how it can be enhanced, they are primarily concerned with achievement in *academic* subjects which has resulted in for example proposals for international benchmarking to determine learning outcomes. While learning attainments are important to my respondents, positional benefits are highly valued by them. The GMR 2013-2014 defines quality as equitable learning to transform the long-term prospects of people and societies, but my findings show that for these marginalized rural communities, social skills learnt in school which are foundational to building social capital are key to overcoming the economic, social and cultural barriers communities face in achieving valued outcomes. My findings indicate that their recognized critical change agents, namely the project "champion", the teachers and graduates, have been equipped through their developed social skills to generate social capital. Utilizing their social capital they have enhanced their agency to tackle social injustices and been role models for building a better future for their communities. Male graduates are perceived as being the future leaders of their community since their acquired social skills are regarded as an important component of meeting the criteria for leadership. The teachers reflected that the traditional Sindhi culture of land and power

being held by a few people³³ had created injustices where people's rights are not respected and the poor denied their basic needs. However, male graduates who can draw on social skills to express knowledgeable opinions with confidence, are able to challenge traditional discourses, reconstruct them and mobilize agency to bring positive change. These skills are further regarded as providing space for additional advocacy on behalf of the poor and marginalized through media, the law courts and a range of other institutions. The social skills of female graduates have not only built confidence and self-esteem facilitating them to become teachers with minimal formal qualifications but provide space for negotiated gender relations within marriage in the extended family network: in-laws respect them recognizing their public speaking and advocacy skills, considered better than those of their husbands, that can generate benefits for other women and the community as a whole. My findings therefore indicate that social capital should be included in the discourse of "quality" education.

Turning to the third site, namely the community, the findings reveal that the community provides an enabling environment for quality education when certain factors are present. If community stakeholders have bought plots of land and therefore have a long-term commitment to the development of their village, they are better equipped for school ownership through increased decision-making opportunities. This land ownership is often accompanied by a level of education that generates recognition of the gendered intrinsic benefits of education. Proximity to a town facilitates the continuation of educational access beyond primary level, which is important to increase the relevance of the educational process. A further critical factor is community leadership. Since this research employs a critical theory stance it assumes that what is taken for undeniable truth is determined by those in power. The research respondents viewed school benefits through different lenses under different leadership. This was particularly important for female enrolment and achievement of capabilities, continuation of schooling beyond primary level and later marriage, in order to achieve valued outcomes, especially marriage to an educated man, regarded as the "passport" to a life that brings a sense of well-being. Issues for male enrolment centre around access to employment opportunities beyond farming to raise the status and well-being of the individual and his future family and through the impact of even just a few educated graduates to transform the whole community. The community site is disabling when socio-economic

³³ Average land ownership of Sindh landlords is 29 acres as compared to 7 acres for Punjab landlords

constraints, especially a bonded relationship with the landlord co-exists with a male habitus of perceived limited agency. The findings show that these constraints can be mitigated if community or school leadership is able to deconstruct the prevailing discourses and nurture a new “regime of truth”. Time is an important variable. It impacts positively when the longer duration gives opportunity to demonstrate emerged and emerging intended benefits and negatively when schools that have been functioning for a considerable duration show few signs of achieving these intended outcomes. This may lead to community members disengaging with the school community, concluding that it is not worthwhile to make the sacrifices required to invest in education. When the four factors of land ownership, close proximity to a town, effective community leadership and longer duration since school opening co-exist, communities acknowledge a greater realization of valued outcomes.

Within a social justice framework, participation is considered central to quality and suggests that improving quality must include giving “voice” to all, especially the marginalized in determining the valued outcomes of their community school. The findings show that perceptions of democratic participation are evident when PEP policy, school and community leadership are in alignment. PEP adopted the policy of “convergence” (Govinda & Bandyopadhyay 2010) of top-down and bottom-up synergies when considering school management and a range of school decisions, including curriculum development. This enabled communities to receive the technical support they needed, while ensuring that school decision-making was in accordance with outcomes the communities desired. In the site of home/community, a key finding is the critical influence of the community leadership on the perceived extent and nature of participation. If the community leader is not providing an enabling environment, then interventions may be needed in the other two sites to promote quality. This has occurred in one of the case-study villages where the teacher is providing leadership and entering into a negotiated partnership with parents in school decision-making. In another village this is more challenging and may require policy intervention to release more opportunities for democratic participation, for example through initiatives with female parents and graduates.

8.3 Contribution of the Research

All researchers present their work before a community of people who themselves have submitted their research to peer review. In this way they are democratic and collegial in their theory-building. Within this framework it is important that researchers draw on previously established theories, thus showing “faith” in the body of knowledge that has informed them, but also conflating it and using it in different contexts and in innovative ways. In my study I utilized existing theories on “quality” in education, working with them and building on them in a specific context to bring new knowledge through my original and robust research.

Researchers, particularly Tikly and Barrett, have in recent years developed theoretical frameworks for conceptualizing “quality” in education. They have argued that education policies and international donor priorities in the global South have been directed by the too narrow a lens of the human capital and human rights approaches. They have asserted that educational outcomes depend much more on contextual factors for poor and marginalized communities than hitherto previous models have acknowledged. I have created a theoretical framework that brings together in a dynamic way the various theoretical components that a range of researchers have developed. Hence the key dimensions of inclusion, relevance and democracy, the related concepts of capabilities and functionings and a typology of benefits have been integrated to create a sophisticated model for the further exploration of “quality” in education.

An important feature of my research is that it is a longitudinal study, covering a period of ten years. This enabled me to incorporate into my theoretical framework and thereby enhance it, the well-established seminal theories of Bourdieu and to a lesser extent Foucault which assist our understanding of the social world and the dynamics of social change. Previous researchers within the social justice approach have emphasized the iterative nature of “quality” and this enhanced theoretical framework facilitates the investigation of adaptive processes that promote the sustainability of quality. It also assists the interrogation of socio-cultural barriers that are integral to a study of quality education within a context of poverty and marginalization. The model has the potential to be used in a broad range of contexts for in-depth investigations into this widely recognized critical area of educational research in low income countries.

There has been very little empirical research undertaken that demonstrates how the frameworks are being “fleshed out” in specific contexts. While some research has investigated aspects of “quality” education from a social justice and capabilities approach, this study seems to be one of the first to provide a holistic view of how the contexts of school, community/home and policy interact to influence perceptions of education quality in a particular location. Through this framework I have explored how “quality” education is constructed for marginalized communities whom governments find both hard to reach and difficult to achieve learning outcomes for that are relevant to these communities’ social justice concerns. My study has demonstrated what an inclusive, relevant and democratic education looks like that such communities value and which in turn has enabled them to accumulate social capital to tackle the injustices they confront and bring about social change.

The study addresses current concerns about “quality” in education that are highlighted in the recently published Global Monitoring Report 2013-2014 (UNESCO 2014): the critical role of the teacher, the necessary recruitment of more teachers especially female teachers through innovative initiatives and the requirement of relevant teacher training to impact disadvantaged groups and improve educational outcomes. My research contributes to the implementation of solutions that engage with these concerns. It shows the effectiveness of recruiting local teachers from marginalized rural communities accompanied by contextualized teacher education, school curriculum and pedagogy for achieving sustainable “quality” education to achieve valued outcomes. A particularly significant contribution is the finding that poor and marginalized communities highly value the development of social skills. These skills and their successful development have hitherto been given little importance as compared to the measurement of academic achievement through standardized tests. However, the acquisition of these skills increases the social capital of marginalized communities releasing their potential for social change. In addition this study has shown that such skills for women give them confidence to start to forge a new gendered identity and open up agential pathways for a better future. My findings contribute to the discussion around life skills in curricula identified in the GMR 2013 – 2014 as important: skills such as communication, problem solving, conflict resolution and advocacy are considered vital particularly for those in disadvantaged contexts. All these skills are undergirded by social skills.

Although this study has been confined to engaging with four communities in the rural Sindh, Pakistan, the findings have application not only elsewhere in Pakistan but more widely in the global South. The findings will resonate with the widespread struggle in low-income countries to recruit sufficient, trained teachers to achieve EFA and provide schooling that becomes a vehicle for achieving outcomes that are the catalyst for social change. Returning to my original focus on sustainability of community schools, the findings contribute to the promotion of educational sustainability by demonstrating the important iterative nature of “quality” and the impact of keeping contextual factors in view so that educational provision remains relevant and transformative.

8.4 Implications for Policy and Quality Debates

8.4.1 Employing local teachers

The findings have demonstrated the benefits of employing local teachers. Given the chronic shortage of teachers, especially female teachers and in rural areas and the huge future demand in order for low-income countries to achieve EFA, this is important. The GMR 2013-2014 records that waiving entry requirements in remote rural areas has increased the available supply of teachers especially for ethnic minorities. Benveniste et al's (2008) research concludes that this policy has been implemented in Cambodia with positive results. Fehrler et al (2009) found that in Sub-Saharan Africa there was no relationship between teachers' academic qualifications and levels of student achievement. This view is supported by Bari et al (2013) for teachers in Pakistan. The GMR 2013-2014 admits that flexibility of entry requirements may be needed to ensure teachers come from a diversity of backgrounds which are appropriate for providing an inclusive education: teachers can teach in the local language and they understand the culture. This flexibility is particularly important for releasing more female teachers in rural areas.

8.4.2 Addressing teacher motivation

Critical to increasing teacher numbers is teacher motivation. Previous research (Barrs 2005; Bennell & Akyeampong 2007) indicates that frequently teacher morale is low in the Global South. Given the complexity of the subject due to diverse socio-cultural contexts and the heterogeneity of the teaching force, researchers have undertaken in-

depth investigations of teacher motivation. The VSO research (2002) found that teacher motivation stems from a complex interplay of factors and that non-remuneration issues especially teachers' sense of their own value as educators are as important as salary. Tanaka (2010) supports this conclusion and reports the critical importance of providing teachers with opportunities for personal and professional development thus giving them a sense of value to others. My findings have highlighted the significance of teachers' intrinsic and positional benefits and their specific relationship to pedagogy. These benefits can compensate for limited salary, providing resources for meeting basic needs can be accessed, if necessary through additional sources of income. In the existing and likely post-2015 environment of declining international donor funding (GMR 2013-2014) local non-pecuniary solutions that engage with teachers' self-worth, status within the community and opportunity to benefit the community are needed to enhance teacher motivation.

8.4.3 Adopting contextualized teacher training and pedagogy

Although increasing teacher supply and motivation are important, on their own they will not ensure quality education in the sense of achieving "capabilities" that can generate "functionings". The GMR 2013-2014 recognizes huge urban/rural inequalities and specific reports from low-income countries indicate that for example standards in rural areas are "tumbling" across rural Pakistan (ASER survey 2013) and have declined since 2009 in India (Agrawal 2014). In the GMR 2013-2014 foreword, the Director-General reminds us that "an education system is as good as its teachers" and we are informed that in 21 out of 85 countries with available data half the children are not learning the "basics". Citing evidence from 45 countries it concludes "the better the teacher the less the incidence of low achievement" (p.233).

Alexander (2008) argues that pedagogy has been the "missing ingredient" (p.22) in debates about quality education which is a vital omission since it is critically linked to learning outcomes. He asserts that pedagogy is a "cultural artefact which manifests the sedimented values and habits of a nation's history" (p.22). My findings build on these insights and indicate the importance of teacher education in low-income countries being contextualized to equip teachers to adopt pedagogic practices that promote children's learning.

A specific aspect of contextualizing the teacher training, curriculum and pedagogy is the development of social skills since these are highly valued by the communities and therefore should be intentionally addressed as part of the educational process in community schools. Colclough (2012) argues that job prospects are closely related to social networks. Therefore social skills are important for both instrumental and, as my findings show, for positional benefits. Chattopadhyay's recent research (2014) suggests some possible ways forward. He develops the concept of "readiness", namely those capabilities that enable pupils "to identify, nurture and mobilize relational resources" (p. 69), which is informed by critical pedagogy. It therefore facilitates the poor and marginalized to "negotiate with and navigate through the structures of power and domination" (p. 69). Chattopadhyay suggests that it is akin to Bourdieu's concept of "sociability" where a distinction is made between the social networks themselves and the capability to sustain and make use of them over time. My findings support Chattopadhyay's advocacy for curricular and pedagogical interventions in schools that create learning contexts for the poor and marginalized to develop these capabilities.

8.4.4 Integrating non-government schools into EFA strategy

The GMR 2013-2014 recommends a four-part strategy to solve the quality crisis: (a) attract the best teachers. (b) improve teacher education. (c) get teachers where they are most needed and (d) provide incentives to retain the best teachers. While these strategies make sense, their achievement is problematic. There are many contextual constraints to attracting teachers into hard to reach areas and the costs involved in providing incentives are considerable in a financially constrained global environment, despite the recommended government and donor 20% budget allocation for education. Sending teachers to marginalized communities if they are unfamiliar with the local language and culture may also fail to achieve the learning outcomes desired. However, the findings indicate that inclusive and relevant and democratic education can be provided in hard to reach areas if contextual factors are placed at the core of policy decisions. Heyneman & Stern (2014) argue that non-government schools for the poor in low-income countries should be integrated into the government's strategy for achieving EFA, since already 20% world's children are enrolled in them due to insufficient government supply, perceived higher quality and greater ability to meet differentiated needs. They assert that they should be recognized as playing an important complementary role through provision of free government registration and maximum flexibility to introduce

innovative models within a framework of basic curriculum objectives and health and safety standards. If these recommendations are implemented non-government organizations should:-

- Know what the valued outcomes are for communities
- Appoint teachers from the local community and be flexible about formal qualifications for both male and female teachers
- Provide contextualized teacher education and school curriculum to promote achievement of valued outcomes
- Create a key relationship between pedagogy and valued outcomes in order to promote effective learning
- Aim for a mutually reinforcing relationship between policy, school and home/community to achieve valued outcomes
- Prioritize inclusion when there is constrained agency to promote educational provision that is equitable and transformative
- Prioritize democracy when communities are more educated and opportunities for decision-making exist to encourage maximum ownership and achievement of benefits which will promote sustainability of equitable provision

8.5 Further Research

More research is needed on quality education for marginalized communities in hard to reach areas, both in other areas of Pakistan and other countries in the global South. It would be useful to explore in other contexts how the three enabling environments of policy, school and community can be mutually reinforcing to achieve valued outcomes for addressing social justice concerns.

An in-depth study of the PEP training methodology would be useful since LICs are facing a shortage of effective teachers in rural areas, especially female teachers, with no solution yet identified of how best to train those who are from the local community but have low qualifications and skills.

The findings reveal the critical relationship between pedagogy and benefits which needs further interrogation in other contexts and as an important aspect of teacher motivation. Ethnographic studies to explore “pedagogy in action” would offer complementary insights.

The findings highlighted the socio-economic constraints to achieving valued outcomes. It would be useful to interrogate these further in particular through action research to deconstruct habitus and create new knowledge in a localized context as a basis for improved agency to bring transformation in such contexts. In such a short time it was impossible for me to engage with community habitus to effect much change, but specifically framed action research can be a methodological tool for changing habitus because it can unmask taken for granted assumptions, analyse them and reinterpret reality to become a powerful basis for social action (Somekh 2006).

Previous research has demonstrated that gender parity does not necessarily mean gender equity. Teachers may welcome girls and provide equal participation opportunities but further research is needed to explore gender discourses amongst school stakeholders. Where local teachers are employed in hard to reach areas, they will begin with their own cultural norms and attitudes which need interrogating to promote the achievement of desired outcomes for both boys and girls. Stromquist and Fischman (2009) have explored how schooling can “do” and “undo” gender, but further research to continue that of DeJaeghere and Pellowski Wiger (2014) in Bangladesh from a poststructuralist stance would be useful. Further action research in all low-income countries to disrupt dominant conceptualizations of gender can promote the positive participation of marginalized girls in their communities and assist them to fulfil their potential and have a sense of well-being. This research can then inform teacher education curriculum.

8.6 Final Methodological Reflections

This research study has taken me on a journey as an insider-outsider from two perspectives. First of all I am an “outsider” since I am a western educationalist with particular values and experiences and an “insider” since the research is situated in an arena where I have functioned as the project director for ten years and who inevitably has particular deeply-held motivations and expectations for these communities. Secondly in terms of professional role I have been an outsider as a researcher and an insider as the manager of the project that supports the communities whose members have been the research respondents. This has required a dual interrogation. From the first perspective I took the view of Usher (1996) that instead of considering my assumptions as biases that I should try to “suspend”, to regard them rather as the “essential starting point for acquiring knowledge” (p.21) and I have tried to maximize

the advantages of my positionality: my experience as a teacher and primary school head teacher in the UK gave me professional insights and my experience as the project director gave me prior knowledge of the communities and enabled me to have a trusting relationship with them. This was particularly helpful for the dialectic and dialogic aims of the research process, which are at the core of critical research. I was aware that my position as the project director would mean that I started with some assumptions about school benefits and it might be difficult for communities to say if they perceived there to be no benefits, but I was relieved that I was presented with some “ugly facts” though it was painful to witness the depression of some of my research participants. I learnt a great deal from them for the future planning of project interventions. When considering my role as both manager and researcher, as the founder, initially teacher trainer and subsequent manager who has worked with particular teachers and community leaders for several years, it was a moving experience for me to interview them and learn of their personal journey. As a critical researcher I started with a clear vision of the aim of the research and for its need to be forward-looking, practical and reflective with participants as *subjects* of the research. Using photographs facilitated a more participatory environment giving them opportunity to express their own view of reality with confidence. It also enabled me to change direction away from a specific focus on school sustainability to a wider view of quality, which opened up new theoretical understandings and provided a new lens through which to view the project. I had to be willing to change the focus as I recognized what the respondents were interested in talking about so that they could have valued outcomes from the research that would be transformative for them. Several new project initiatives were taken in consultation with the communities as a result of the findings to address factors that are inhibiting agency and to promote further agency. Since conducting the research, a women’s empowerment group has been established in Rehmat village, to respond to the frustrations expressed by the women during their group interview. This has included a range of trainings from project staff to generate new opportunities for agency. The group decided at the beginning of 2014 to begin regular savings which they have utilized to enable ten new girls to be enrolled in the school for this academic year which began in April 2014. For the teachers, verbalizing their personal “story” and interacting together to consider school benefits, clarified the process that they have been part of and strengthened their commitment to build new “shared habitus” within their communities.

Writing the thesis is the culminating engagement with my dual positionality and I have found my tutors helpful and necessary in challenging my dual functioning within the writing process.

Thus the thesis marks the end of a long journey which began with the first assignment. It has not only changed my perceptions of the schools and communities but also brought personal change. Beyond the movement up and down the insider-outsider continuum I have also had to examine the constraining aspects of my own habitus in the “field” of the academic community and generate those transformative aspects to complete this doctorate.

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Appendix A 1: Interview Schedules

1. Community Leaders

Topic areas and guiding questions:

- Biographical information
- Information about village
- Perceptions of school benefits (emerged, emerging, intended)

Preliminary background discussion

1. How long have you lived in the village?
2. What is your role in the village?
3. Have there been any significant changes in the village over the last 10 years?

Discussion of school benefits:

1. How has the school benefited you and your family?
2. What do you think are the most important school benefits for the community?
3. Have any other organizations / NGOs / individuals contributed to these benefits?
4. Who have been the most successful graduates so far? What have they achieved?
How will this benefit them and their families?
5. What other benefits does the community hope to receive in the future from the children's education?

2. Landlord/ Social Activist (village 3)

Topics to cover and guiding questions

- Background biographical information
- Perceptions of school benefits (emerged, emerging, intended)

Background questions

1. What is your role as a social activist? What do you do? What media / political contacts do you have?
2. How long have you owned land here? How many villagers are working for you?

3. Do they work for you every day? Men ? Women? Do you need children to work for you at harvest time?
4. Do any of the farmers have loans? How long does it take them to pay back?
How do they achieve it?
5. Do you worry if all the children are educated, that there will be no more farmers?
6. Can you explain the family employment structure to me? Eg. if a man has several sons, are they all working as farmers? Or some doing other jobs and if so what? Do they manage to earn as a family daily wages as well as harvest income?

School benefits

1. What do you think are the most important school benefits for the community?
2. What changes have you seen in a) children and b) teachers?
3. Is this different to a government school or other private school? In what way?
How does this benefit the children? What skills do they have?
4. Will the fact that these children are educated affect how people perceive the minority population?
5. Have any other organizations / NGOs / individuals contributed to these benefits?
6. Are children continuing their education after primary? Where? How? What is your vision for them in the future? What can they achieve? (boys and girls)

3. SMC Members / Parents

Topic areas and guiding questions

In what ways will your children's lives be different from yours? (men / sons; women / daughters)

Explore from this overarching question the following aspects:-

- Jobs
- Homes
- Health
- Minority status
- Family Life (marriage, family size, health)

- Gendered differences
 - Equity issues (will all siblings be the same?)
- Contribution of the school to these changes
- Other contributing factors
- Inhibiting factors

- Other benefits of the school (child, family, community/ emerged, emerging, intended)
- Extent of education

4. Teachers

- a) What were you doing before you became a teacher?
- b) How were you chosen?
- c) What difference has having a school in your village made to your life and the lives of your family members?
- d) What future benefits do you hope for?

Appendix A 2: Excerpts from Interviews

Excerpt 1

I: I have talked to many people. Almost all of them did not want their sons to become farmers. Will we reach a situation where we will have no agriculture in the country?

R: Community Leader Village 1 No. 70% people of Sindh are engaged in agriculture. Agriculture is bad because of the bad attitudes of the landlords. Actually landlords mistreat people and therefore agriculture is regarded negatively. I think the money a man can earn in agriculture, he cannot earn in any other job. If the behaviour of the landlord changes and he takes the farmer as his partner, no farmer will opt for another job. People, men and women are against agriculture because they spend their whole lives working in the fields but still they cannot achieve anything for themselves or for their children. We have such a bad system that one farmer takes a loan from the landlord and the whole family works and suffers all the year round. They don't get any wage from the landlord and when the accounts are done at the end of the year, the farmer is informed that his loan has doubled. They ask if it is their destiny to continue that labour. Suppose, we are partners in a business, you buy a land cruiser (an expensive vehicle) every year and I cannot buy even a bicycle, will that partnership continue? I believe that if that mistreatment of the landlord stops and the farmer is paid his due portion of the profit, there won't be any problem.

Excerpt 2

I: In 2005 about half of the families from this baradari went to Mirpurkhas. I have met Padma's family, Parsa, Seeta all of these girls. What was the reason some people went to Mirpur Khas and some stayed here?

R: Community Leader Village 2 Those who had some capacity (money or work) stayed but those who did not, left.

I: How did they survive before, if they did not have any work or job here?

R: They were earning something but perhaps they were not happy with it so they went.

I: Do you think it was a good decision that they moved from here?

R: No, I don't consider it a good decision when God is providing you with a livelihood and you are living peacefully in your home and your children are getting an education. By running away from home the children's education is disturbed. The children are disturbed. Running away is not good.

I: What about those girls? Padma, Seeta and Parsa. Do you think it has helped them at all that they have gone to Mirpur Khas? Would they be in the same situation, if they had been here?

R: I don't see any difference in their situation. The only difference that I see is that they are gone from here. They haven't achieved anything. What they had here, they have there, may be even less.

I: What have they lost?

R: During the process of migration even pots are broken...and when you go to a new place, you don't know how it will turn out for you. In your native place, your children get education easily. You can get help from your relatives but if you are in a new place, you can't get help from anyone. You become handicapped.

Excerpt 3

I: At what age are girls getting engaged?

R: SMC Chairperson Village 3: Engagement is possible at 5 or 10 and the girls are normally married off at 14 or 15.

I: Do you think it is a good age? In many places the girls are getting married later. Do you think it is possible in this village?

R: No, this is not possible in our community. When the girl is 14 or 15 or at most 16 she has to be married off.

I: But culture changes and it has reasons behind it. Can you tell me why you think it is the right age. What is it about this age that makes it the right age?

R: We think that a girl is mature enough at 14 or 15 and in-laws also demand the wedding. Sometimes we facilitate one another. If we are arranging the wedding of a son we marry off the daughter on the same occasion.

I: Is it not possible that in-laws and parents can decide to delay the marriage so that children can stay in the school longer and have more education?

R: It is possible only when the school is near or there are many girls traveling together. But if the school is far then it is not possible for one girl to go alone.

Excerpt 4

I: Is there any difference between the schools that are free and this school where they are paying? Are there any advantages from being in this school? As the SMC Chairperson it is your responsibility along with the teacher to persuade parents to contribute to their children's education, so what arguments can you present to convince them. What can you show are the benefits of the PEP school as opposed to the free school?

R: I would tell them that there is a difference in the quality of education between a government and a private school. We have better education here. A student who has studied two classes in our school is better than the student who has studied five classes in a government school. But some people don't have money to send their children to school and some have doubts about the benefits of the education. They say that children will do the same jobs even after getting education.

Excerpt 5

I: It was very good that you continued your son's education as far as you could. What benefits did it give him?

R: There has not been any benefit. He has not been able to get any job. He is just doing labouring.

I: If I was to bring your son here and bring another boy who has had no education and is also a farmer...would I be able to tell the difference if I speak to them?

R: Yes from their knowledge you can tell the difference. The educated will have awareness.

I: Do those differences give any benefits?

R: Yes he can benefit. He can open a shop.

I: Can educated people do things that the uneducated can't?

R: Yes there are many things that educated people can do, like reading and writing. They can teach their children.

I: If they can read and write, does this make any difference? Does the fact that your son can read and write help at all in his relationship with the landlord?

R: Yes the relationship can be good as he can write the accounts.

I: I have heard that there are landlords who cheat the farmers. if your son can keep the accounts, will this will stop the landlord cheating him?

R: Yes this is true. The landlord can't cheat an educated person.

Excerpt 6

I: In 2005 some families from this village went to Mirpur Khas and some stayed, can you say why some families left?

R: Women's Group Village 2 They left in order to help their girls and children improve and grow. They knew they could improve their lives by getting them educated. There (in Mirpur Khas) they have improved themselves through education. Their husbands are also educated.

I: If those girls visited this village and talked to the women here, would it help change the future of the girls here? Can the women help convince the men that it's a good idea that their girls get more education and continue their studies? Do you think it is a good idea or will the men not listen?

R: Yes it will have impact because those girls have really improved their lives and have done a wonderful job.

I: Why did some families decide to stay here? What was their thinking?

R: They (men) are just sitting here because of the landlord. They don't understand. They don't want to improve the lives of their children. They don't understand the value of education. They have no vision for the future. Those who left this village, they knew the importance of education and they are having a good life there.

I: If you had chance to go to Mirpur Khas with your families, would you like to go or you would prefer to stay?

R: We very much want to go there. It will really please our hearts, but we have loans to pay and we are under a lot of pressure. Therefore we are helpless. These men (living

in this village) have no skills, no business or job. They are just doing labouring and spoiling the lives of everyone. We want to go there and get our children educated and help them develop.

I: Is there anything you can do as a group? Can you persuade all the women in the village to send their girls to school at least to start their education?

R: Yes we can. The only problem is fees. People are poor. They can't afford them. We also think about whether our daughters will have educated husbands or their education will just be wasted.

I: What would persuade these women to think there can be a future for the girls? Is there any way that you can change their thinking?

R: Yes, but some people will understand and some won't. They are uneducated. This is false when they say, we are poor and we can't get our girls educated. They say what is the benefit of getting the girls educated. What will they do? They won't get any job.

Appendix B: Focus Groups

1. Teachers Focus Group

Explore the perceived benefits that have emerged, are emerging and they would like to see emerging in the future from the school for the students (male and female), and the community as a whole.

Explore their perceptions of any differences in school benefits between the four communities and the reasons given for them.

Explore differences due to TIME and LAND OWNERSHIP. Have parents changed their thinking over the years about the benefits of education. In what way? Why?

Procedures

Work initially in pairs, then fours, then plenary of eight

- Cat. A1 3 female teachers (in villages where SMC members own land)
- Cat.A2 2 male teachers (in village where SMC members own land)
- Cat.B1 1 male teacher (in village where parents are in bonded relationship with landlord)
- Cat.B2 2 male teachers (in village where SMC members do not own land)

Each pair / group to make card for each benefit

Each pair / group to work with another pair/group and compare (A1+A2; B1+B2)

Plenary to present their cards of benefits (A groups compare with B groups)

Explore the data that teachers have provided about their school graduates

- How far they continued their education beyond primary level
- What job they are doing, if any
- Where they are living
- Marital status
- Position in the community

Has the school changed over time? Subjects? Teaching methods?

2. Graduates Focus Group

Find out what they are all doing now (triangulate with data provided by teachers)

Through the medium of the photographs taken, explore the perceived differences in their lives as compared to their parents and grandparents (already evident, anticipated in future).

From the overarching theme suggested areas for interrogation:-

- Gendered differences
- Differences between graduates and perceived reasons
- Equity issues (differences between siblings)
- Life issues (marriage, family size, health)
- Contribution of the school to the differences
- Other contributing factors
- Inhibiting factors
- “Costs” to their parents and grandparents

Appendix C: Guidance notes for seeking consent of communities

Procedures

1. Provide orientation for the community leader using the information sheet.
2. Emphasize that participation is voluntary and refusal to participate will not disadvantage his community in any way.
3. Emphasize that my research is intended to be helpful for the development of the schools.
4. Give time for the community leader to ask any questions.
5. If he has any queries which you are not able to answer, tell him that you will talk to me and report back to him.
6. Explain that I would like to have his agreement first for the participation of his village in the research project, but that every participant would need to give his/her consent and sign a consent form.
7. Explain that I will need 10 male and 10 female participants who will separately participate in different group activities. The groups will include SMC members and parents. I will need to interview him individually and the teachers both individually and in a focus group as well as talk to graduates from the school that are over 18 years old (separately men and women).
8. Explain that I will also ask the graduates to take photos of community members during their normal daily activities in the village. These photos will be used in their focus group, but will only be used for the purpose of this research and consent will be requested from all those being photographed.
9. If the community leader wishes his village to participate, give him the consent form to read and ask him to sign or if he is illiterate, read it out and ask him to give his thumb print. Inform him that he may request a copy of the form.

Jane Jerrard

EdD Researcher

Appendix D1: Photos Selected by Male Graduates Tabdeeli Village



Collecting sticks for cooking



**Looking after their cow and
collecting sticks**



Collecting dung



Feeding the donkey



Collecting cotton



Shepherding



Daily labouring in the field



Ploughing the field



Labouring



Making nadis



Making a charpai



Watering the young trees

Appendix D 2: Photos Selected by Female Graduates Tabdeeli Village



Collecting sticks for cooking



Mixing mud and dung for repairing boundary wall



Bringing home grass for the animals



Cutting grass in the fields



Carrying her grandchildren



Giving water to her son



Preparing a fire for cooking food



Collecting clean water from the hand pump



Collecting water from the canal



Sewing a traditional rilli (bedcover)



Washing the cooking utensils



Storage water in a nadi (water pot)

Appendix D 3: Photos Selected by Male Graduates Rehmat village

Shoes for field work



Axe for cutting the trees



Preparing to spray the crops



Cutting grass



**Cleaning the area where animals
are kept**



Collecting cotton



Picking cotton



Collecting milk from goat



Learning tailoring



Milking the goat



Repairing his hut



Bringing rations from bazaar

Appendix D 4: Photos Selected by Female Graduates Rehmat village



Collecting water and mud



**Collecting clean water
from hand pump**



Collecting clean water



Cleaning mugs and making



Collecting grass for the animals



**Collecting branches for
roof construction**



Taking out the seeds



Picking cotton



Grinding the wheat



**Sewing a traditional rilli
(bedcover)**



**Mixing mud and dung for
repairing the house**



Washing the crockery

Appendix E
Tabdeeli Village: Male Graduates 2012¹

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S#	Students Name	M/F	Age	Father	Family Location		Age of Marriage	Children	Edu. Level	Occupation
					Moved from original village	Arrived since 2005				
01	Nagji	M	18	Farmer	-	✓	-	-	1 st year Inter continuing	Student
02	Gianchand	M	19	Labour	✓	16	-	-	1 st year Inter continuing	Teacher
03	Bhagchand	M	20	Labour	-	✓	20	-	1 st year Inter continuing	Teacher
04	Partab	M	19	Farmer	✓	-	-	-	Matric continuing (St, John High School)	Student(part-time labour)
05	Tanweer Abbas	M	18	Died	-	✓	-	-	7 th class pass (Govt; High School)	Student (part-time labour)
06	Jugdesb	M	18	Died	-	✓	-	-	1 st year Inter continuing	Student
07	Balim	M	18	Farmer	✓	-	-	-	5 th class pass	Working on land. Father has taxi rickshaw
08	Sawan	M	13	Farmer	✓	-	-	-	8 th continuing (Govt, High School)	Student
09	Nareb (Kanjib's son)	M	15	Lawyer	✓	-	-	-	7 th class continuing (St, Johns high school)	Student
10	Ramesb	M	19	Shopkeeper	-	✓	-	-	5 th class pass	Daily labouring (Constructed)
11	Ramesb	M	16	Tailor	-	✓	-	-	Matric pass	Shopkeeper
12	Dbalchand	M	14	Died	✓	-	-	-	7 th class continuing	Student

¹ As provided by community. No official documentation is available

13	Shivlal	M	19	Farmer	✓	-	-	-	10 th class continuing (Government High School)	Living in Thar with family. They own land
14	Wishano	M	19	Farmer	✓	-	-	-	5 th class pass	Fieldwork. shifted to Umarkot
15	Harchand	M	14	Tailor	-	✓	-	-	9 th class continuing (Govt; High School)	Students
16	Shakoor	M	15	Farmer	-	✓	-	-	10 th class continuing (Government High School)	Student, (After 5 th class migrated to Thar.
17	Naresh	M	17	Labour	-	✓	-	-	7 th class continuing	Student
18	Kewal	M	13	Farmer	✓	-	-	-	7 th class continuing	Student
19	Bharu	M	13	Fruit seller	-	✓	-	-	7 th class continuing	Student
20	Moolchand	M	11	Fruit seller	-	✓	-	-	7 th class continuing	Student
21	Chhagan	M	12	Farmer	-	✓	-	-	6 th class continuing	Student
22	Bhagwan	M	12	Labour	-	✓	-	-	7 th class continuing	Student
23	KeshuLal	M	12	Bangles maker	-	✓	-	-	6 th class continuing	Student

Tabdeeli Village : Male Graduate Occupations	
Teacher	2
Shopkeeper	1
Labouring	1
Taxi rickshaw business	1
Family migrated and son working on land	3
Students (Intermediate / College level)	2
Students (Post – Primary)	13
Total	23

Tabdeeli Village: Female Graduates 2012²

S#	Students Name	M/F	Age	Father	Family Location		Age of Marriage	Children	Educ. Level	Occupation
					Original Village	Arrival since 2005				
1	Parsan	F	18	Died	✓	-	-	-	Inter mediate in process	Student and teacher
2	Padman	F	19	Died	✓	-	19	-	Inter mediate completed	Part-time trainer after marriage
3	Seeta	F	19	Died	✓	-	-	-	Intermediatein process	Student and teacher
4	Khiyan	F	18	Labour	✓	-	-	-	Intermediatein process	Student and teacher
5	Nenu	F	19	Labour	✓	-	19	-	Intermediatein process	Student and teacher
6	Patu	F	19	Labour	✓		17	1	Intermediate in process	Married educated man and housewife
7	Ghazala	F	15	-	-	✓	-	-	5 th class pass continuing education	Student
8	Shanti	F	13	Farmer	-	✓	-	-	5 th class pass	Migrated Thar where family own land
9	Sangeeta	F	12	Area Co-ordinator	-	✓	-	-	7 th class pass continuing education	Student
10	Rekha	F	13	Advocate	✓	-			7 th class pass continuing education	Student

Tabdeeli Village: Female Graduate Occupations (10)	
Teachers and studying at college	04
Completed Intermediate / college education, married and part-time trainer	01
Married and housewife and studying	01
Student (Post primary)	03
Migrated and living with family	01
Total	10

² As provided by community. No official documentation is available.

Rehmat Village: Male Graduates 2012³

S#	Students Name	M/F	Age	Age of Marriage	Children	Edu. Level	Occupation
01	Pritam	M	21	18	2	8 th pass	Farmer
02	Allahno	M	20	18	-	8 th pass	Farmer
03	Narain	M	19	-	-	8 th pass	Farmer
04	Dongro	M	20	16	1	Studying in Matric (Govt. school)	Farmer
05	Dhanraj	M	19	16	-	5 th class pass	Farmer
06	Gordhan	M	19	16	1	8 th class pass	Farmer
07	Mohan	M	17	-	-	7 th class pass	Farmer
08	Bhagchand	M	17	-	-	8 th class pass	Farmer
09	Moti	M	16	-	-	5 th class pass	Farmer
10	Pirkash	M	16	-	-	7 th class pass	Farmer
11	Bhagwan	M	15	-	-	7 th class pass	Student
12	Chander	M	18	-	-	8 th class pass	Farmer
13	Satram	M	14	-	-	6 th class pass (Govt. High School)	Student
14	Javid	M	16	-	-	8 th class pass	Student
15	Asab	M	14	-	-	8 th class pass	Student
16	Naresh	M	14	-	-	5 th class pass	Labour
17	Satram	M	15	-	-	5 th class pass	Agri. Labour(migrated to Dhoronaro)
18	Wahid Bux	M	15	-	-	5 th class pass	Agri. Labour
19	Dildar	M	18	17	-	5 th class pass	Labour

³ As provided by community. No official documentation is available.

20	Gotam	M	16	-	-	7 th class pass	Labour(also in school)
21	Manroop	M	17	-	-	7 th class pass	Labour
22	Ramesh	M	16	-	-	7 th class pass	Labour
23	Weeram	M	18	-	-	7 th class pass	Farmer
24	Chanesar	M	17	-	-	8 th class pass	Farmer (migrated)
25	Mehandro	M	18	-	-	5 th class pass	Labour(migrated)
26	Mohan	M	15	-	-	5 th class pass	Labour
27	Pritam	M	14	-	-	5 th class pass	Farmer
28	Misree	M	22	-	-	8 th class pass	Married (migrate)
29	Chettan	M	20	-	-	8 th class pass	White Bangles maker
30	Raimal	M	12	-	-	5 th class pass	Farmer
31	Khanchand	M	13	-	-	5 th class pass	Farmer
32	Arab	M	16	-	-	5 th class pass	Farmer (migrated)
33	Gulab	M	19	15	2	5 th class pass	Farmer(migrated)
34	Jairam	M	16	-	-	5 th class pass	Farmer (migrated)
35	Chatro	M	16	-	-	5 th class pass	Donkey cart
36	Bhamarlal	M	13	-	-	5 th class pass	Student

Rehmat Village: Male Graduate Occupations	
Labouring	8
Farmer	14
Family migrated and son working on land	7
White bangles maker	1
Donkey cart driver	1
Students (Post-Primary Level)	5
Total	36

Rehmat Village: Female Graduates2012⁴

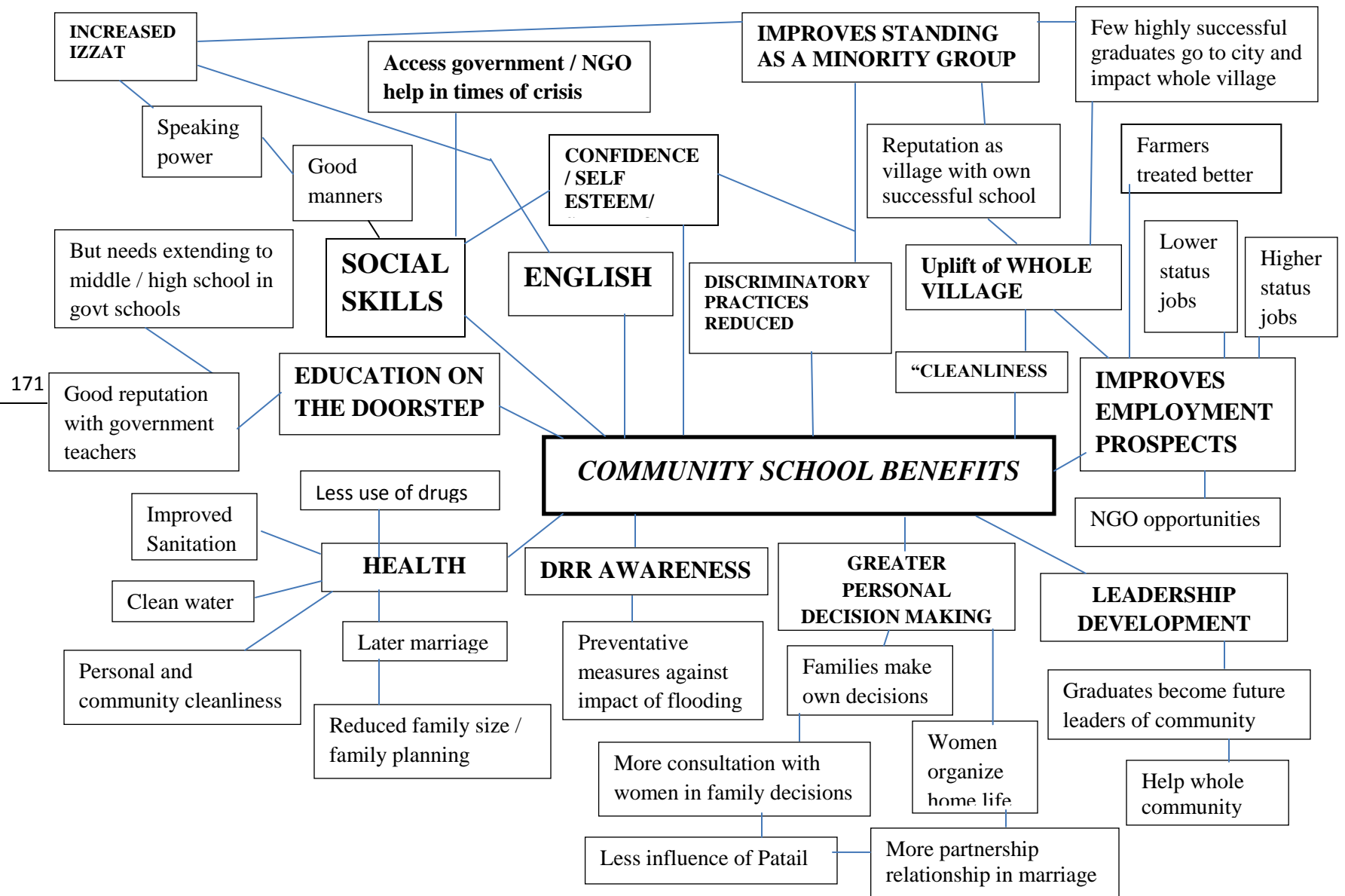
S#	Students Name	M/F	Age	Age of Marriage	Children	Edu. Level	Occupation
1	Parsan	F	19	14	2	7 th class pass	Married and housewife (migrated to TA village)
2	Dahi	F	18	-	-	5 th class pass	Fieldwork
3	Sehjan	F	19	15	1	5 th class pass	Married and housewife (migrated)
4	Jatna	F	19	15	1	5 th class pass	Died in childbirth
5	Surman	F	18	-	-	5 th class pass	Unmarried and house worker

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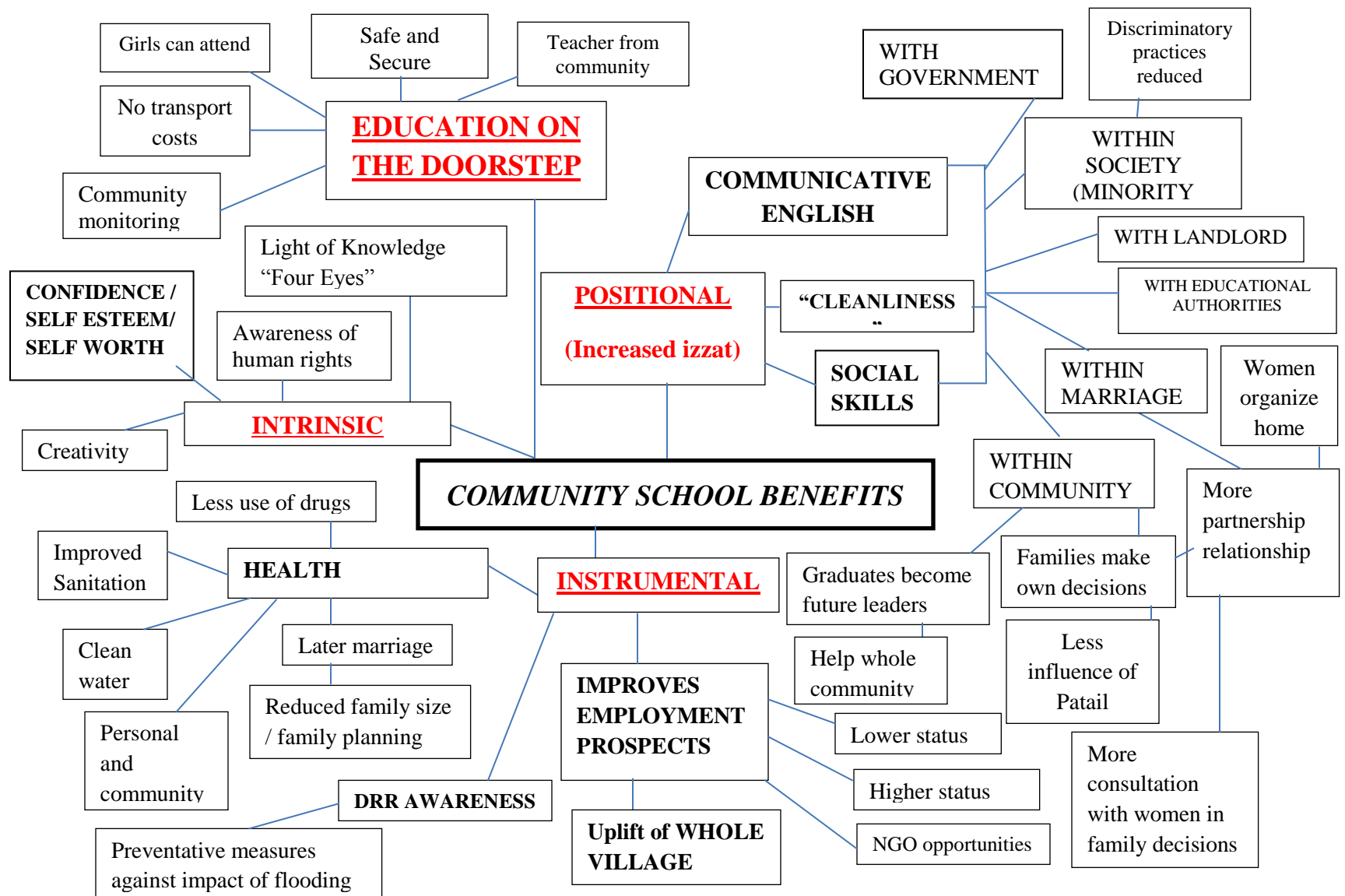
Rehmat Village: Female Graduate Occupations (5)	
Unmarried and house work	1
Deceased	1
Field work	1
Students (Post Primary)	0
Students (College Level)	0
Married and housewife	2

⁴ As provided by community. No official documentation is available

Appendix F1: Mind Map 3 of School Benefits



Appendix F 2: Mind Map 5 School Benefits



Appendix F 3: Summary Table of Perceived School Benefits

<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Intrinsic</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • darkness to light • eye sight / four eyes • freedom of personality • self-worth/ self esteem • development of the mind • purposeful life 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Positional</u></p> <table border="1" data-bbox="751 578 1503 691"> <tr> <td>cleanliness</td><td>social skills</td><td>communicative English</td></tr> </table> <div data-bbox="751 734 1503 1325"> <p style="text-align: center;">Changing societal relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • with landlord • within community • within marriage • with government • with government educational authorities • within society (minority status) </div>	cleanliness	social skills	communicative English	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Instrumental</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • employment prospects • home environment prospects • health prospects
cleanliness	social skills	communicative English			

Appendix G 1: Primary Education Project

Enrolment Data of Badin District October 2012

S#	Name of School	Teachers Name	Year Opened	Total Students	Total Boys	Total Girls	Girls Percentage
1	Jugsi Bheel Elementary School	Mr. Shankar Mr. Mohan	2004	61	43	18	30%
2	Teekam Das Primary School	Mr. Jetho	2008	47	35	12	26%
3	Phoula Ram Primary School	Mr. Jairam	2012	40	28	12	30%
4	Haji Ibrahim Primary School	Mr. Mukesh	2007	46	32	14	30%
5	M. Yousif Ariser Village Primary School	Mr. Waroo	2008	43	31	12	28%
6	Aman Village School	Mr. Ramesh Mr. Jhaman Miss. Anita	2004	102	62	40	39%
7	Purkho Patel Primary School	Mr. Gain	2008	43	31	12	28%
8	Bhagwano Primary School	Mr. Ero	2005	40	25	15	37%
9	Bharoo Thakar Primary School	Mr. Baboo	2005	45	27	18	40%
10	Wasto Bheel Primary School	Mr. Mansingh Mr. Bhuralal	2006	75	50	25	33%
11	Dino Koleh Primary School	Mr. Thanji Mr. Eshwer	2010	75	54	21	28%
Total				617	418	199	33%

Enrolment Data of Mirpurkhas District October 2012

S#	Name of Schools	Teachers Name	Year Opened	Total Students	Total Boys	Total Girls	Girls Percentage
1	Tabdeeli Village School	Miss. Seeta	2002	66	43	23	35%
2	Bheelabad Primary School	Miss. Padma	2007	40	28	12	30%
3	Dhani Bux Mari Primary School	Mr. Sarang	2011	40	30	10	25%
4	Kanji Bheel Primary School	Mr. Indersingh	2010	40	25	15	38%
5	Ismail Narejo Primary School	Mr. Pritam	2008	50	30	20	40%
6	Allah Rakhio Jarwar Parimary School	Mr. Kheero	2008	44	30	14	32%
7	Abdul Kareem Sher Primary School	Miss. Khiyan	2008	40	21	19	48%
8	Bhomon Mal Primary School	Mr. Bhanji	2007	65	40	25	38%
9	Khair Muhammad Sher Primary School	Mr. Chaman	2008	75	59	16	21%
10	Salambad Primary School	Mr. Qamersingh	2008	40	32	8	20%
11	Kavo Mal Kolhi Primary School	Mr. Pancho	2009	50	29	21	42%
12	Syed Hajan Shah Primary School	Mr. Kewal Kumar	2010	50	33	17	34%
13	Mool Chand kolhi Primary School	Mr. Amershi	2010	45	25	20	44%
14	Jam Laghri Primary School	Mr. Manohar Lal	2011	40	23	17	43%
15	Sikandarabad Primary School	Mr. Chander	2010	45	33	12	27%
16	Hans Raj Bheel Primary School	Mr. Sobho	2008	45	32	13	29%
17	Veho Kohli Primary School	Mr. Nanak Mal	2012	40	28	12	30%
18	Abass Mangrio Primary School	Mr. Oukio	2012	40	25	15	38%
Total				855	566	289	34%

Enrolment Data of Sanghar District October 2012

S#	Name of Schools	Teachers Name	Year Opened	Total Students	Total Boys	Total Girls	Girls Percentage
1	Bahram Bheel Elementary School	Mr. Mangho Mr. Haleem	2007	96	63	33	34%
2	Rehmat Village School	Mr. Aqil	2002	40	21	19	48%
3	Jamal-u- Din Hingorjo Primary School	Mr. Narain Dass	2003	40	25	15	38%
4	Allah Bux Mari Primary School	Mr. Satram Das	2006	42	28	14	33%
5	Ibrahim Thebo Primary School	Mr. Kanji Ram	2006	45	24	21	47%
6	Mohib Hingorjo Primary School	Mr. Raisingh Mr. Lakhmar	2006	70	42	28	40%
7	Jai Ram Primary School	Mr. Doulat Mr. Dewan	2007	70	43	27	39%
8	Allah Bachayo Palli Primary School	Mr. Noor Mohd	2007	40	24	16	40%
9	Haji Ghulam Qadir Mari Primary School	Mr. Ramji	2012	40	30	10	25%
10	Haji Ali Ghulam Mari Primary School	Miss. Shamim	2007	50	5	45	90%
11	Ishaque Bheel Primary School	Mr. Chanesar	2007	40	23	17	43%
12	Haji Anwar Punhwar Primary School	Mr. Ramesh Mr. Wakeel	2007	70	43	27	39%
13	Photo Mal Meneghwar Primary School	Mr. Nehal Das	2007	40	20	20	50%
14	Abdul Rehman Manghnehar Primary School	Mr. Hemchand	2008	42	24	18	43%
15	Samad Hingorojo Primary School	Mr. Khadim Hussain	2008	50	29	21	42%

16	Fateh Muhammad Mari Primary School	Mr. Imdad Ali	2008	42	28	14	33%
17	Mahar Ali Mari Primary School	Miss. Malkan Pari	2008	42	15	27	64%
18	Yar Muhammad Mari Primary School	Mr. Fazal Ahmed	2008	42	29	13	31%
19	Bhai Khan Mari Primary School	Miss. Mehtab	2008	50	13	37	74%
20	Yousaf K.K Primary School	Mr. Kirshan	2008	45	28	17	38%
21	Kosar Mari Primary School	Miss. Jadul Pari	2008	42	0	42	100%
22	Saleem Shakir Primary School	Mr. Raja Mr. Jawarlal	2010	72	42	30	42%
23	Samano Gaju Parimary School	Mr. Shahid Hussain	2008	42	26	16	38%
24	Talib Gaju Primary School	Mr. Shoukat Ali	2012	40	27	13	33%
25	Mohram Gaju Primary School	Mr. Mohd. Qasim	2012	40	30	10	25%
26	Rano Mal Primary School	Mr. Mukesh	2012	45	30	15	33%
27	Pubo Kohli Primary School	Mr. Darampar Mr. Amardass	2012	70	50	20	29%
Total				1347	762	585	44%

Enrolment Data of Tando Allahyar District October 2012

S#	Name of Schools	Teachers Name	Year Opened	Total Students	Total Boys	Total Girls	Girls Percentage
1	Shalimabad Primary School	Mr.Dayo Mr. Shankar	2005	114	87	27	24%
2	Kheto patel Primary School	Mr. Jagsi	2005	50	41	9	18%
3	Mehamood Shah Primary School	Mr. M. Fiaz Mr. Gulab	2007	110	81	29	26%
4	Rehmat Allah Khaskhali Primary School	Mr. Khemon Mr. Khamiso	2006	50	35	15	30%
5	Hari Sad Mehgwar Primary School	Mr. Khemchand	2006	50	42	8	16%
6	Dewan Farm Primary School	Mr. Lachman	2006	50	32	18	36%
7	Abdul Khaskhali Primary School	Mr. M. Sharif	2009	50	35	15	30%
8	Nazeer Ahmed Babar Primary School	Mr. Khadim Hussian	2012	50	35	15	30%
9	Sobo Khan Mastoi Primary School	Mr. Fiaz Ali	2006	50	31	19	38%
10	Jabar Brohi Primary School	Mr. Mukhtiar	2009	49	42	7	14%
11	Mohobat Shah Primary School	Mr. Kanji	2007	50	41	9	18%
12	Achar Khaskhali Primary School	Mr. Amir	2007	50	30	20	40%
13	Baba Heer Das Primary School	Mr. Mithoo	2009	50	42	8	16%
14	Bhadur Khanzada Primary School	Mr. Baboo	2009	50	30	20	40%

15	Haji Ghulam Hussian Patafee Primary School	Mr. Mukesh	2011	50	38	12	24%
16	Dad Mohammad Primary School	Mr. Nasir	2012	50	29	21	42%
17	Umed Ali Shah Primary School	Mr. Ramchand	2010	50	25	25	50%
18	Shanti Nagar Primary School	Mr. Bhagwan Mr. Jugdesh	2004	60	36	24	40%
19	Menghwar Primary School	Mr. Devji Mr. Terath	2005	70	47	23	33%
20	Ditto Kalru Primary School	Mr. G. Hyder Mr. Mukesh	2005	100	60	40	40%
21	Ismail Dill Primary School	Mr. Tarachand	2006	45	27	18	40%
22	Chana Primary School	Miss. Neelam Miss. Ambreen	2007	100	68	32	32%
23	Noor Village School	Mr. Mohan Mr. Ghanwar	2007	100	85	15	15%
24	Nawab Sikandar Primary School	Mr. Chatoon	2006	50	46	4	8%
25	Tiloka Ram Primary School	Mr. Ramesh	2008	50	37	13	26%
26	Mir Ghulam Muhammad Primary School	Mr. Kirshan	2010	50	30	20	40%
27	Rikhesar Primary School	Miss. Meena	2010	45	20	25	56%
28	Shiv Colony Primary School	Mr. Rattan Mr. Heralal	2010	60	47	13	22%
Total				1703	1199	504	30%

Appendix G 2: Primary Education Project
Annual Examination Results Academic Year 2011 - 2012

Badin District																	
S#	Name of School	Total enrollment		Enrolled students who registered for exam		Registered students who sat exams		Students not sat in exams		Registered students who sat and passed exams		Failed students		Absent students		Student not enrolled for govt. exams	
		B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
1	Teekam Das Primary School	33	14	33	10	33	6	0	4	33	6	0	0	0	4	0	4
2	Haji Jani Primary School	23	17	23	17	23	17	0	0	23	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Haji Ibrahim Primary School	36	10	36	8	36	6	0	2	36	6	0	0	0	2	0	2
4	M. Yousif Ariser Village Primary School	25	18	25	14	24	9	1	5	24	9	0	0	1	5	0	4
5	Aman Village School	62	40	53	25	48	22	5	3	48	22	0	0	5	3	9	15
6	JagsiBheel Primary School	34	16	33	14	33	11	0	3	33	11	0	0	0	3	1	2
7	Purkho Patel Primary School	31	12	31	9	31	8	0	1	31	8	0	0	0	1	0	3
8	Bhagwano Primary School	24	16	23	12	19	8	4	4	19	8	0	0	4	4	1	4
10	BharooThakar Primary School	29	16	29	16	29	16	0	0	29	16	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	WastoBheel Primary School	48	27	48	22	48	18	0	4	48	18	0	0	0	4	0	5
12	Dino Koleh Primary School	55	20	55	19	55	16	0	3	55	16	0	0	0	3	0	1
TOTAL		400	206	389	166	379	137	10	29	379	137	0	0	10	29	11	40

Percentages	Boys	Girls
Enrolled students who registered for exam	97%	81%
Registered students who sat exams	97%	83%
Registered students who sat and passed exams	100%	100%

Mirpurkhas District																	
S#	Name of School	Total enrollment		Enrolled students who registered for exam		Registered students who sat exams		Students not sat in exams		Registered students who sat and passed exams		Failed students		Absent students		Student not enrolled for govt. exams	
		B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
1	Tabdeelil ⁵ Village School	29	21	27	13	27	13	0	0	27	13	0	0	0	0	2	8
2	Bheel Abad Community Primary School	29	11	20	10	20	10	0	0	20	10	0	0	0	0	9	1
3	DhaniBux Mari Primary School	29	11	22	6	22	6	0	0	22	6	0	0	0	0	7	5
4	Kanji Bheel Primary School	24	16	16	9	16	9	0	0	16	9	0	0	0	0	8	7
5	Ismail Narejo Primary School	27	23	20	12	20	12	0	0	10	12	10	0	0	0	7	11
6	Allah RakhioJarwar Primary School	30	14	30	6	30	6	0	0	30	4	0	0	0	2	0	8
7	Abdul Kareem Sher Primary School	20	20	17	12	17	12	0	0	17	12	0	0	0	0	3	8
8	Bhomon Mal Primary School	40	25	40	20	40	20	0	0	40	20	0	0	0	0	0	5
9	KhairMohdSher Primary School	59	16	56	9	56	9	0	0	56	9	0	0	0	0	3	7
10	Salambad Primary School	32	8	32	5	32	5	0	0	32	5	0	0	0	0	0	3

⁵pseudonym

11	Kavo Mal Kolhi Primary School	30	20	30	14	30	14	0	0	30	14	0	0	0	0	0	6
12	Seetal Das Primary School	0	44	0	44	0	44	0	0	0	44	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	Syed Hajan Shah Primary School	30	20	30	17	30	17	0	0	30	17	0	0	0	0	0	3
14	Mool Chand Kolhi Primary School	27	18	27	18	27	18	0	0	27	18	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	Jam Laghri Primary School	23	17	20	12	20	12	0	0	20	12	0	0	0	0	3	5
16	Sikandarabad Primary School	29	16	29	10	29	10	0	0	29	10	0	0	0	0	0	6
17	Hans Raj Bheel Primary School	33	12	33	12	33	12	0	0	33	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		491	312	449	229	449	229	0	0	439	227	10	0	0	2	42	83

Percentages	Boys	Girls
Enrolled students who registered for exam	91%	73%
Registered students who sat exams	100%	100%
Registered students who sat and passed exams	100%	100%

Sanghar District																	
S#	Name of School	Total enrollment		Enrolled students who registered for exam		Registered students who sat exams		Students not sat in exams		Registered students who sat and passed exams		Absent students		Failed students		Student not enrolled for govt. exams	
		B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
1	Rehmat ⁶ Village School	23	19	23	19	21	17	2	2	21	17	2	2	0	0	0	0
2	Jamal-u- Din Hingorjo Primary School	25	21	25	21	25	18	0	3	25	18	0	3	0	0	0	0
3	Allah Bux Mari Primary School	29	17	29	17	24	12	5	5	24	12	5	5	0	0	0	0
4	Ibrahim Thebo Primary School	25	20	25	20	22	20	3	0	22	20	3	0	0	0	0	0
5	MohibHingorjo Primary School	46	29	46	29	41	29	5	0	41	29	5	0	0	0	0	0
6	Jai Ram Primary School	40	30	40	30	40	25	0	5	40	25	0	5	0	0	0	0
7	Allah BachayoPalli Primary School	27	18	27	18	25	18	2	0	25	18	2	0	0	0	0	0
8	Haji GhulamQadir Mari Primary School	33	14	33	14	31	9	2	5	31	9	2	5	0	0	0	0
9	Haji Ali Ghulam Mari Primary School	0	45	0	45	0	42	0	3	0	42	0	3	0	0	0	0

⁶ pseudonym

10	BahramBheel Primary School	25	25	25	25	20	25	5	0	20	25	5	0	0	0	0	0
11	LalooGaju Primary School	24	21	24	21	24	21	0	0	22	19	0	0	2	2	0	0
12	IshaqueBheel Primary School	26	20	26	20	24	20	2	0	24	20	2	0	0	0	0	0
13	Haji Anwar Punhwar Primary School	50	35	50	35	47	24	3	11	47	24	3	11	0	0	0	0
14	Photo Mal Menghwar Primary School	22	23	22	23	22	21	0	2	22	21	0	2	0	0	0	0
15	Haji Hashim Mal Primary School	25	18	24	17	24	17	0	0	22	16	0	0	2	1	1	1
16	Abdul RehmanMenghwar Primary School	23	20	23	17	23	17	0	0	23	17	0	0	0	0	0	3
17	SamadHingorojo Primary School	27	19	27	19	25	19	2	0	25	19	2	0	0	0	0	0
18	Fateh Muhammad Mari Primary School	28	15	28	15	26	14	2	1	26	14	2	1	0	0	0	0
19	Mahar Ali Mari Primary School	15	28	15	28	15	28	0	0	15	25	0	0	0	3	0	0
20	Ghazi Sukkar Din Dars Primary School	28	17	28	17	27	17	1	0	27	17	1	0	0	0	0	0
21	Yar Muhammad Mari Primary School	28	15	28	15	28	13	0	2	28	13	0	2	0	0	0	0

22	Bhai Khan Mari Primary School	11	32	11	32	11	30	0	2	11	30	0	2	0	0	0	0
23	Yousaf K.K Primary School	25	20	25	20	25	15	0	5	25	15	0	5	0	0	0	0
24	Kosar Mari Primary School	0	43	0	43	0	40	0	3	0	40	0	3	0	0	0	0
25	SaleemShakir Primary School	44	28	44	28	39	28	5	0	39	28	5	0	0	0	0	0
26	SamanoGaju Primary School	28	15	28	15	25	15	3	0	25	15	3	0	0	0	0	0
27	Muhammad BuxBhumbroo Primary School	25	17	25	17	25	17	0	0	23	15	0	0	2	2	0	0
TOTAL		702	624	701	620	659	571	42	49	653	563	42	49	6	8	1	4

Percentages	Boys	Girls
Enrolled students who registered for exam	100%	99%
Registered students who sat exams	94%	92%
Registered students who sat and passed exams	99%	99%

Tando Allahyar District																	
S#	Name of School	Total enrollment		Enrolled students who registered for exam		Registered students who sat exams		Students not sat in exams		Registered students who sat and passed exams		Failed students		Absent students		Student not enrolled for govt. exams	
		B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
1	ShalimabadElementary School	98	25	98	25	83	20	15	5	83	20	0	0	15	5	0	0
2	Kheto Patel Primary School	42	8	42	8	31	5	11	3	31	5	0	0	11	3	0	0
3	Mehamood Shah Primary School	87	23	87	23	87	23	0	0	79	22	8	1	0	0	0	0
4	Rehmat Allah Khaskhali Primary School	34	16	28	16	28	16	0	0	18	6	10	10	0	0	6	0
5	Hari Sad Mehgwar Primary School	32	20	22	10	22	10	0	0	20	10	2	0	0	0	10	10
6	Dewan Farm Primary School	34	16	24	7	24	7	0	0	24	7	0	0	0	0	10	9
7	Abdul Khaskhali Primary School	40	13	40	13	40	13	0	0	26	10	14	3	0	0	0	0
8	Hanif Babar Primary School	42	8	32	5	32	5	0	0	32	5	0	0	0	0	10	3
9	Sobo Khan Mastoi Primary School	33	17	33	17	23	10	10	7	23	10	0	0	10	7	0	0
10	JabarBrohi Primary School	48	5	48	5	48	5	0	0	48	5	0	0	0	0	0	0

11	Ali Dino Khaskhali Primary School	34	16	20	7	20	7	0	0	20	7	0	0	0	0	14	9
12	Mohobat Shah Primary School	36	14	35	14	35	14	0	0	32	14	3	0	0	0	1	0
13	AcharKhaskhali Primary School	36	14	25	14	25	14	0	0	25	14	0	0	0	0	11	0
14	Baba Heer Das Primary School	42	8	42	8	34	3	8	5	32	3	2	0	8	5	0	0
15	BhadurKhanzada Primary School	35	15	29	15	29	15	0	0	29	15	0	0	0	0	6	0
16	Haji GhulamHussainPetafi School	34	16	9	2	9	2	0	0	9	2	0	0	0	0	25	14
17	Umed Ali Shah Primary School	27	23	27	22	27	22	0	0	26	20	1	2	0	0	0	1
18	Shanti Nagar Primary School	35	25	34	22	30	22	4	0	28	22	2	0	4	0	1	3
19	Menghwar Primary School	47	23	47	23	47	23	0	0	47	23	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	Ditto Kalru Primary School	63	37	63	37	63	37	0	0	63	37	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	Ismail Dill Primary School	29	16	29	12	29	12	0	0	26	12	3	0	0	0	0	4
22	Chana Elementary School	58	42	57	33	57	33	0	0	57	33	0	0	0	0	1	9
23	Noor Village School	80	20	76	16	76	16	0	0	76	16	0	0	0	0	4	4

24	NawabSikandar Primary School	34	16	32	10	32	10	0	0	32	10	0	0	0	0	2	6
25	Tiloka Ram Primary School	40	10	40	5	40	5	0	0	40	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
26	Mir GhulamMohd Primary School	31	19	23	14	23	14	0	0	23	14	0	0	0	0	8	5
27	Rakhsar Primary School	17	28	17	24	17	24	0	0	17	24	0	0	0	0	0	4
28	Shiv Colony Primary School	46	14	39	11	39	11	0	0	39	11	0	0	0	0	7	3
Total		1214	507	1098	418	1050	398	48	20	1005	382	49	16	44	20	116	89

Percentages	Boys	Girls
Enrolled students who registered for exam	90%	82%
Registered students who sat exams	96%	95%
Registered students who sat and passed exams	96%	96%

Appendix G 3: Education Access and Attainment in Rural Sindh 2013

% Children									
S#	Province	Access		Quality					
		Age 6 - 16		Class 3			Class 5		
		Out of School (all)	Out of School (girls)	Can read sentence (Urdu/ Sindhi)	Can read word (English)	Can do subtraction	Can read story (Urdu/ Sindhi)	Can read sentence (English)	Can do division
1	Sindh	29.1	15.4	33	28.4	24.2	41.2	25.2	29.4

derived from Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) Provincial Report 2013

Learning Outcomes in Rural Sindh Districts where PEP has opened Village LEAP

Badin District						
Learning Outcomes (Urdu/Sindhi)						
Class	Nothing	Letters	Words	Sentences	Story	Total
1	41.1	39.1	17.4	1.4	1	100
2	21.7	23.3	31.7	11.7	11.7	100
3	22.6	10.8	30.1	18.3	18.3	100
4	10	3.8	27.5	20	38.8	100
5	2.7	2.7	16	18.7	60	100

Learning Outcomes (English)						
Class	Nothing	Letters		Words	Sentence	Total
		Capital	Small			
1	79.2	16.4	4.3	0	0	100
2	43.1	25.9	17.2	12.1	1.7	100
3	41.1	17.8	17.8	21.1	2.2	100
4	24.7	9.1	11.7	41.6	13	100
5	9.7	15.3	12.5	40.3	22.2	100

Learning Outcomes (Arithmetic)						
Class	Nothing	Number recognition		Subtraction (2 Digits)	Division (2 Digits)	Total
		1 – 9	10 - 99			
1	53.9	29.1	16.5	0.5	0	100
2	21.8	32.8	37	6.7	1.7	100
3	23.7	14	44.1	14	4.3	100
4	13.9	6.3	39.2	22.8	17.7	100
5	4.2	2.8	36.1	25	31.9	100

Mirpurkhas District						
Learning Outcomes (Urdu/Sindhi)						
Class	Nothing	Letters	Words	Sentences	Story	Total
1	38.3	31.9	23.4	1.4	5	100
2	13.3	31.3	38	5.3	12	100
3	10.9	17.3	48.7	9.6	13.5	100
4	6.6	4.7	47.2	17	24.5	100
5	7	6.2	38.8	22.5	25.6	100

Learning Outcomes (English)						
Class	Nothing	Letters		Words	Sentence	Total
		Capital	Small			
1	73	8.8	9.5	7.3	1.5	100
2	51.4	22.2	11.8	11.8	2.8	100
3	36.2	22.4	15.1	18.4	7.9	100
4	17.3	13.5	35.6	23.1	10.6	100
5	17.3	12.6	33.1	26.8	10.2	100

Learning Outcomes (Arithmetic)						
Class	Nothing	Number recognition		Subtraction (2 Digits)	Division (2 Digits)	Total
		1 - 9	10 - 99			
1	46	38.10	11.5	2.9	1.4	100
2	36.3	32.2	21.2	7.5	2.7	100
3	22.1	26	37	9.1	5.8	100
4	21.1	13.1	43.9	14	16.8	100
5	8.7	17.3	40.2	18.9	15	100

Sanghar District						
Learning Outcomes (Urdu/Sindhi)						
Class	Nothing	Letters	Words	Sentences	Story	Total
1	24.9	32.7	41	1.4	0	100
2	9	25.2	36.9	23.4	5.4	100
3	11	11	30	29	19	100
4	4.2	6.9	18.1	23.6	47.2	100
5	2.9	8.8	6.9	17.6	63.7	100

Learning Outcomes (English)						
Class	Nothing	Letters		Words	Sentence	Total
		Capital	Small			
1	53.2	30.3	14.2	2.3	0	100
2	26.1	36.9	16.2	18.9	1.8	100
3	18	15	20	38	9	100
4	16.7	9.7	11.1	36.1	26.4	100
5	9.8	13.7	12.7	24.5	39.2	100

Learning Outcomes (Arithmetic)						
Class	Nothing	Number recognition		Subtraction (2 Digits)	Division (2 Digits)	Total
		1 – 9	10 - 99			
1	36.7	37.2	25.2	0.9	0	100
2	12.6	25.2	46.8	11.7	3.6	100
3	8	17	36	31	8	100
4	5.6	11.1	20.8	29.2	33.3	100
5	2	7.8	23.5	26.5	40.2	100

Tando Allahyar District						
Learning Outcomes (Urdu/Sindhi)						
Class	Nothing	Letters	Words	Sentences	Story	Total
1	36	51.7	9.5	0.9	1.9	100
2	21.7	40	22.6	7.8	7.8	100
3	9.6	26.5	27.7	14.5	21.7	100
4	8	14	26	22	30	100
5	5.9	5.9	19.6	5.9	62.7	100

Learning Outcomes (English)						
Class	Nothing	Letters		Words	Sentence	Total
		Capital	Small			
1	57.3	28	9	3.8	1.9	100
2	41.7	27.8	20.9	7	2.6	100
3	22.2	45.7	19.8	9.9	2.5	100
4	16	16	28	26	14	100
5	5.9	21.6	13.7	27.5	31.4	100

Learning Outcomes (Arithmetic)						
Class	Nothing	Number recognition		Subtraction (2 Digits)	Division (2 Digits)	Total
		1 - 9	10 - 99			
1	41.9	41.4	15.7	1	0	100
2	23.7	39.5	28.1	7	1.8	100
3	13.4	35.4	37.8	11	2.4	100
4	10	18	40	20	12	100
5	7.8	7.8	37.3	19.6	27.5	100

Derived from Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) Provincial Report 2013