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Annual Status of Education Report
ASER **2022**
PAKISTAN
Facilitated by Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi

REPORT ON
CONSTITUENCY BASED
EDUCATION MAPPING
2022

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Contents

Executive Summary

There has been a discernible rise in provincial public funding and spending for education since the 18th Constitutional Amendment devolved power and transferred responsibility for education to the provinces (Kakar, Saleem and Sarwar, 2022). Additionally, there have been some changes made to the planning, organization and monitoring of education. To understand these developments on a political level, it is crucial to zoom in and examine indicators at the constituency level to gauge how the education needs are being approached by each political representative. The ASER Political Constituency Survey 2022 focuses on 4 constituencies as a pilot study to gauge where immediate action is required and in which area. Similarly, it also deconstructs the aspirations of the voters and the various communities residing in these constituencies regarding education and development.

Study Coverage	
Constituencies	**4**
Children (3 to 16)	**7293**
Children (5 to 16)	**6442**
Children Assessed (5 to 16)	**5661**
Mothers	**2478**
Households	**2366**

Constituency-wise Highlights

Data on enrollment and learning levels clearly shows how despite higher rates of school enrollment across all constituencies, learning levels remain a challenge for all areas. With only half of the students across the constituencies surveyed capable of grade-2 competencies, urgent action needs to be taken to diagnose and counter the reason for such stark learning gaps. Below is a constituency-wise analysis of the action items for enrolment, learning levels, and facilities from each political manifesto along with results on these two indicators from the ASER survey:

Bahawalpur

The constituency of NA 171 in district Bahawalpur is a rural area with 404,823 registered voters. During the 2018 elections, only 59% of the registered voters cast their votes and Mian Riaz Hussain Pirzada of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) won by securing 42% of the votes. According to the party manifesto, PML-N aims to achieve universal primary enrolment by 2023 and introduce a curriculum that promotes critical and analytical thinking. The party also mentions improving assessment to test higher-order skills in addition to basic competency reveal that by the latter half of 2022,

o Access

Bahawalpur has 65% enrolment, meaning that the party will have to raise enrolment by more than 20% if it is to ensure complete and/or universal enrolment in the constituency by 2023.

o Learning Outcomes

Learning levels in Bahawalpur show significant challenges across the three basic competencies of Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto, English, and arithmetic up to grade 2 level. Less than half of the students 6-16 surveyed could either:

- read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto (45.4%)
- read sentences in English (49.4%)
- perform two-digit division in arithmetic (46.5%)

This alarming evidence indicates that more than 50% of children are lagging behind in foundational skills; in order to develop assessments to test higher-order skills and critical thinking, significant and consistent effort needs to be made to promote basic literacy and numeracy skills amongst students.

o Facilities

While PML-N's manifesto on education stresses on the importance and introduction of modern technology in classrooms, our survey found that only 3.4% of the schools in NA 171 were equipped with computer labs while only 27% had a working library for students.

WASH facilities in the constituency's schools lack separate washrooms based on gender needs and the use of disinfectant to ensure safety and hygiene. Following a major pandemic, it is

imperative that WASH facilities are up to par to ensure the safety and hygiene of students, teachers, and administrators.

- o Key Asks

While NA 171 shows some clear struggle with achieving the educational goals set in PML-N's manifesto, it is important to mention that of the surveyed constituencies, it reported the highest learning levels of the four constituencies surveyed and provision of education along access and facilities indicators; however even one child denied their fundamental right to education as given in Article 25 A is a major default by the system and the political representatives. The key asks for this constituency include:

- ▪ Improving learning outcomes across basic competencies for foundational literacy and numeracy with annual targets as an imperative urgent action with public accountability.
- ▪ Improving access with equity so that no child, girl or boy is denied their right to quality education facilities with an enabling environment
- ▪ Provision of basic educational facilities, including WASH, health/hygiene sensitive to gender needs and Information and Communications Technology (ICT) are made available in all schools progressively.

Mohmand

The constituency of NA 42 in district Mohmand, a newly merged district (NMD) is a rural area with 257,652 registered voters. During the 2018 elections, only 36% of the registered voters cast their votes and Mr. Sajid Khan of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) won by securing 28% of the votes. According to the party's manifesto on education, special attention is to be paid to increasing girls' enrolment at secondary level. PTI's manifesto on education also promises to establish minimum standards for learning environments and school facilities to ensure support for students. For learning, the party aims to form steering committees to improve curriculum and pedagogy along with a special focus on STEM.

- o Access

Access to education, particularly for girls, is quite low in Mohmand. In NA 42, an alarming 66% girls are out of school at secondary level. Even at its highest, enrolment of girls is only 40% at elementary level. While overall enrolment rates are over 70%, the situation for girls is quite dire when it comes to access to education.

- o Learning Outcomes

Despite PTI's commitment to promoting standardized learning objectives and assessment, ASER found no major reforms in assessment mechanisms in schools in Mohmand. Learning levels in Mohmand NA 42 were low for all three competencies (Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto, English, and Arithmetic) mapped to only grade 2 level. Less than 35% of the assessed students 5-16 years were capable of:

- ▪ reading a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto (29%)

- reading sentences in English (32%)
- performing two-digit division (22.9%)

PTI is committed to promoting STEM education in terms of access and quality. However, results from Mohmand NA 42 show that its students fare the worst in arithmetic reasoning whilst skills in basic literacy and reading ability are also very poor; the gender disaggregated data reveals major challenges for girls not only in access but also quality and learning.

  o <u>Facilities</u>

School facilities in constituency NA 42 in NMD Mohmand highlight a stark contrast to the manifesto's action items on educational facilities. While the manifesto aims to upgrade existing schools with learning equipment and material, particularly for STEM, it was found that only <u>30% of schools</u> have teaching and learning material, <u>none of the schools </u>in the sample have a computer lab, and only <u>36% schools</u> have a working library. The provision of basic facilities conducive to learning is an area in need of urgent attention and improvement for Mohmand and NA 42.

WASH facilities in NA 42 are quite limited, with <u>less than 35%</u> of schools having running water and usable toilet facilities for students. Overall, <u>less than 50% </u>schools had adequate WASH facilities for students, posing a risk to learners' and teachers' safety and hygiene-girls remain most at risk of dropping out when WASH facilities are not available and/or functional.

  o <u>Key Asks</u>

NA 42 struggles significantly with access, equity, facilities, and learning in education. The key asks for this constituency include:

- Improving access to education, particularly for girls
- Improving learning outcomes across basic competencies for foundational literacy and numeracy as a first step to lifelong learning
- Provision of basic educational facilities including teaching and learning material, ICT, and WASH facilities.

Kohistan

The constituency of NA 11 in district Kohistan is a rural area with 154,620 registered voters. During the 2018 elections, only 41% of the registered voters cast their votes and Mr. Afreen Khan of Mutahidda Majlis e Amal Pakistan (MMAP) won by securing 28% of the votes. Information on MMAP's action items for education is scarce, with the provision of free and compulsory education until matriculation being the only education-related item on the manifesto.

  o <u>Access</u>

NA 11 shows 62% enrolment, with more boys enrolled than girls. <u>40% of girls</u> and <u>36% of boys </u>in the constituency are out of school.

o <u>Learning Outcomes</u>

Learning levels for NA 11 present a serious challenge for ensuring quality education in the constituency. <u>Less than 30%</u> of assessed students 5-16 years on grade 2 level competencies were capable of:

- reading a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto (28.3%)
- reading sentences in English (29.2%)
- performing two-digit division (22.7%)

In order to ensure that the promise to complete matriculation (as mentioned in the manifesto) is met, Kohistan will need to improve its learning outcomes drastically.

o <u>Facilities</u>

School facilities in NA 11 are severely limited. Only <u>9% of schools</u> in the entire constituency are equipped with teaching and learning materials, a cause of major concern for sustainable access and learning outcomes. <u>No schools</u> in NA 11 have a computer lab, and <u>only 3% of schools</u> have a working library.

Only <u>32% of schools</u> have running water available for washing hands, and a meager <u>3% of schools</u> have soap or handwash for hygiene. <u>Less than 15%</u> of schools have separate toilet facilities for boys and girls and only <u>23%</u> have disinfectant for cleaning toilets.

Learning and WASH facilities for NA 11 are available for less than 30% of the schools, calling for immediate attention from the elected representatives.

o <u>Key Asks</u>

NA 11 faces significant challenges across educational access, learning outcomes, and school facilities. The key asks for this constituency include:

- Improving access to education for ALL girls and boys as a fundamental right
- Improving learning outcomes across basic competencies for foundational literacy and numeracy on an emergency basis for ALL students
- Provision of basic educational facilities including teaching and learning material, ICT, and WASH facilities in all schools especially for girls on a priority basis.

Thatta

The constituency of NA 232 in district Thatta is a rural area with 440,329 registered voters. During the 2018 elections, only 43% of the registered voters cast their votes and Ms. Shams Un Nisa of Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) won by securing 28% of the votes. PPP has an ambitious manifesto for educational reform, including designing cost-effective education packages such as distance and remedial learning programs to sustain enrolment and improve learning outcomes. The manifesto also mentions establishing indicators to measure access and quality of education to ensure the provision of quality education. The manifesto includes girls' education as a key area of focus, aspiring to provide stipends to girls and upgrading existing primary schools to lower secondary level for increasing enrolment.

o <u>Access</u>

Over <u>30%</u> of surveyed children in constituency NA 232 Thatta were out of school, with high rates of out-of-school children at the secondary level, especially for girls. Out-of-school girls show a sharp increase from <u>28% to 42%</u> from elementary to secondary level of schooling, in contrast to PPP's commitment to increasing schooling access for girls.

o <u>Learning Outcomes</u>

Amongst all constituencies surveyed, learning outcomes mapped to grade 2 level competencies for children aged 5-16 years in the constituency NA 232 in Thatta district were the lowest. <u>Less than 22%</u> of assessed students were capable of:

- reading a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto (21.4%)
- reading sentences in English (17%)
- performing two-digit division (14.2%)

Learning outcomes in NA 232 in Thatta are alarmingly low, and the promised remedial and distance learning programs should be put into immediate effect to improve educational quality in the NA 232 constituency. The establishment of access and quality indicators with targets to be achieved should also be made public using the current learning outcomes as baseline for improvement.

o <u>Facilities</u>

School facilities in NA 232 in Thatta present a dismal state. Only <u>21% of schools</u> in NA 232 possess teaching and learning material, while <u>less than half of the schools</u> surveyed have usable furniture or a boundary wall. Only <u>3% of schools</u> have a computer lab and <u>7%</u> are equipped with a working library.

WASH facilities are severely lacking in schools across NA 232. Less than 30<u>% of schools</u> have usable toilets, and only 10% schools have running water in toilets, or running water/soap for handwashing- a major concern for the health and hygiene of students and teachers especially girls and women in the area. <u>Only 25% of schools</u> have clean drinking water available for students, a figure especially alarming given the high prevalence of water-borne diseases in the region.

School facilities in Thatta were the most limited across all constituencies surveyed, despite the PPP manifesto's focus on school upgradation.

o <u>Key Asks</u>

Given the highly concerning challenges to access, learning outcomes, and facilities, NA 232 needs immediate support to ensure basic provision of education to its constituents. The key asks for NA 232 include:

- Improving learning outcomes across basic competencies for foundational literacy and numeracy for ALL children girls and boys on an emergency footing
- Improving access to education for girls and boys

- Provision of basic educational facilities including teaching and learning material, infrastructure, ICT, and WASH facilities especially for girls on a priority basis.

Key Highlights: Overall

The highlights of the survey are shared below as an open data public good for progressive planning and a call to political action

Enrolment Trends & By School Type

Enrolment levels varied in each constituency, with Bahawalpur, NA-171 showing the highest enrolment rate at 65% for children between 5-16 years of age, followed by Mohmand NA-42 at 64%, Kohistan NA-11 at 62%, and Thatta at 53%.

Enrolment by School Type: Of the enrolled children, over 60% of surveyed school-going children are enrolled in government schools, less than 30% attend private institutes, and less than 1% children are attending non-formal learning institutions. Enrolment in madrassahs is 0.5% on average, lower when compared to trends observed in the regular ASER national surveys (0.7%).

Enrolment by Gender: Data reveals that girls lag behind boys across all levels in each constituency, with the largest gaps existing at elementary and secondary levels. Over 30% girls across all constituencies are out-of-school at secondary level, with Kohistan showing an alarming percentage of 60% girls out of school at secondary level. The proportion of girls is also higher when never enrolled and drop out trends are observed, especially in Mohmand where 37% girls are out-of-school.

Learning in Constituencies: Overall, by Gender, and School Type:

Overall Learning Outcomes: In assessing learning outcomes, Bahawalpur NA-171 has the highest proportion of children who have consistently higher learning levels when compared to other constituencies. The percentage of students who can read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto for Bahawalpur is 45.4%, 49.4% of children can read a story in English, and 46.5% of children can do division. However, the percentage of children achieving these levels is still less than 50%. Learning levels have been the lowest in Thatta, with less than 20% students being above beginner level(s) in each competency.

Learning by Gender: Except for Bahawalpur NA-171, girls lagged behind boys in all constituencies. Bahawalpur, for grade 3, 30% of boys can read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto while only 11% of girls can do the same; 26% of boys can read sentences in English while only 17% of girls can do the same; 26% of boys can perform 2-digit division while only 13% of girls can do the same. Other constituencies reported greater gender parity in learning levels, however, the learning levels were considerably lower than that of Bahawalpur.

Learning by School Type: In all constituencies except Kohistan NA-11, students from private schools exhibited higher learning levels than those enrolled in public schools. For grade 5, public schools in Bahawalpur NA 171 displayed the highest levels of learning with 72% of public school students being able to read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto, 61% of students can read sentences in English, and 66% of students can perform 2-digit division. Students enrolled in public schools

in Thatta NA 232 exhibited lowest levels of learning for grade 5. Only 33% of students enrolled in public school in Thatta can read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto.

Access & Learning by Wealth, Parental Education & Access to Technology & Social Protection:

Learning by Household Wealth: Household-wealth index is generated using a mix of HH assets[1]. Access to Early Childhood Education (ECE) for households in the lowest wealth quartile was significantly low across all constituencies, especially for girls. Less than 40% of children aged 3-5 years are enrolled in school. Thatta and Mohmand show the highest incidence of out-of-school children (OOSC) in the lowest wealth quartile across all levels (ECE, primary, and secondary) with more than 10% children at each level being OOS.

Comparison of learning levels for all three subjects against wealth levels shows that households that fall in the higher quartiles perform better in learning. Bahawalpur NA-171 has the highest levels of learning across all three competencies in the lowest wealth quartiles while Mohmand NA-42 reveals the lowest learning levels for children from the lowest wealth quartile households. For Urdu//Sindhi/Pashto learning in Mohmand NA-42, only 31% of grade 5 girls and 44% of grade 5 boys in poorest households can read a story while 44% of girls in grade 5 and 50% of boys in grade 5 from richest households can read sentences in English. For arithmetic, only 6% of girls in grade 5 and 28% of boys in grade 5 from poorest households can attempt two-digit division.

Technology Availability and Usage: Access to technology has a positive correlation with household income across all constituencies. Households in the lowest wealth quartile showed very limited access to smartphones and WhatsApp. Less than 40% households in the lowest wealth quartile had access to a smartphone, and in Thatta it is as low as only 2.5% households. For WhatsApp, the figures are even lower. Less than 20% of households in the lowest wealth quartile have access to WhatsApp, with only 1% households using it in Thatta NA-232. For the richest wealth quartile, almost 50% of households across all constituencies have access to a smartphone, with Mohmand NA-42 having the highest percentage of households in this quartile with smartphones (86%). For the same quartile, more than 30% of households have access to WhatsApp across all constituencies with Mohmand 232 having the highest percentage of households in this quartile with WhatsApp (57%). This high percentage of smartphones and WhatsApp usage in Mohmand NA-42 may be due to a lack of telecommunication network signals in the area of the NMD or due to years of low development that made its population more resilient and progressive to meet its survival needs.

Political Economy of Education: Political Perception Across Constituencies

Low political awareness: Across all constituencies, knowledge of elected representatives (or their party's) stance on education was significantly low. For awareness of political leadership's planned improvements for education, 66.2% of surveyed households from Mohmand NA-42, 42% from Bahawalpur NA-171, 35% from Kohistan NA-11, and 29% from Thatta NA-232 responded that they did not know about planned improvements at all. When asked about their level of

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[1] [1] House tenure status, House type, Electricity availability, TV availability, Computer/laptop, Smartphone availability, Car and Motorbike ownership.
http://aserpakistan.org/document/aser/2021/bookslets_other_stuff/Survey_Booklet_Katchi_Abadi.pdf

satisfaction with the current representatives' handling of education, 55% of the respondent households from Mohmand NA said they were somewhat satisfied, 40% of those from Kohistan NA-11 and 32% from Bahawalpur NA-171 said that they were not satisfied at all, and 35% of those from Thatta NA-232 said they did not know.

Areas of improvement in education: For Bahawalpur and Thatta, the target constituencies, school facilities were the most important area for improvement in education. 55% of households in Bahawalpur and 58% of those in Thatta cited school facilities as an urgent area of improvement. For Kohistan NA-11, 67% of households believe that access to education is the most important area of improvement in the education system of their area. 62% of households in Mohmand NA-42 stated retention of students as the core area for improvement.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

Education is seen as a corollary for sustainable development, which is one of the many fundamental human rights. In addition to the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), numerous additional international declarations and decisions promote the right to education (RTE). Recognizing this, governments from all over the world have worked to further the cause of offering high-quality education. As a signatory to these international declarations and agreements, Pakistan has also undertaken a number of steps to advance education in the nation.

There has been a discernible rise in public funding and spending for education since the 18th Constitutional Amendment devolved power and transferred responsibility for education to the provinces (Kakar, Saleem and Sarwar, 2022). Additionally, there have been some changes made to the planning, organisation, and monitoring of education. With the help of these initiatives, schools now have better access to physical infrastructure, reading and writing materials, and better monitoring of student progress. However, despite such efforts learning levels remain significantly low in most regions of the country.

This research, therefore, aims to direct attention towards political manifestos, their position on education and ultimately how that reflects in terms of student learning outcomes. The expectations and aspirations of the voters in particular are imperative to understand where the narrative for education stands and what is being rallied as the most crucial determinant to measure a government's success in Pakistan. At the same time, this pilot has been designed to be used as a public good, once its findings are published for citizens to access such crucial data points.

According to Article 26 (i) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[2] and Article 25-A of the Constitution of Pakistan[3], free quality education is the right of every child and responsibility of the state. However, Pakistan has the second-highest number of out-of-school children (OOSC) in the world[4]- indicating a significant gap in public provision of education. This gap points towards a need to investigate what Little (2011) calls political will, 'a sustained commitment of politicians and administrators to invest the necessary resources to achieve specific objectives and a willingness to make and implement policy despite opposition.', in the context of Pakistan.

Public investment in education remains low in Pakistan. With only 1.77% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) averaging around PKR 988 billion allotted to educate over 100 million children under the age of 18[5]. Households contribute to around 57% of the total educational expenditure in Pakistan.[6] This, coupled with the current net enrolment rate of a meager

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[2] http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/

[3] https://rtepakistan.org/legislation/relevant-articles-of-the-constitution/

[4] https://www.unicef.org/pakistan/education

[5] https://data.unicef.org/resources/data_explorer/unicef_f/?ag=UNICEF&df=DM&ver=1.0&dq=PAK.DM_POP_U18...&startPeriod=2022&endPeriod=2022

[6] https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000383550

0.92%[7]Pakistan won't reach complete enrolment of all children of school-going age until 2076– a Millennium Development Goal (MDG) Pakistan signed to achieve by 2015. With the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) being more targeted and rigorous in terms of educational achievement (goal number 4 dedicated to education with 10 targets), Pakistan will have to not only ensure enrolment but also education quality, early childhood learning, technical and vocational skills development, and equal access to marginalized groups including people with disabilities and women.[8]

The educational landscape is even more bleak when accounting for learning levels of children of school-going age. According to the National Annual Status of Education Report (ASER National) 2021, only 48% boys and 45% girls can read sentences in national or regional languages, 38% boys and 36% girls can do subtraction, and 51% boys and 49% girls can read sentences in English[9]. Despite the increase in enrolment rates over the years, learning levels remain low and learning losses are exacerbated. The learning crisis is compounded by political instability, natural disasters, and poverty to name a few factors.

The political landscape in relation to education, which is the focal area of this report, has also been fraught with uncertainty. Few illustrative examples include: nationalization in the '70s; ideologically and politically motivated schemes such as the mosque schools; madrassah mushrooming and shelter-less schools in the '80s; complex government-donor led low performing programs such as the Social Action Plan I & II in the '90s, the standardization and nationalization of curriculum and subsequent reversal of said standardization, and the burgeoning private and tutoring industry for education over the past three decades etc.

In light of this, the need for public investment in education and educational issues is greater than ever before. The Pakistani political structure allows for considerable devolution of power and resources to provincial and constituency representatives. This allows for what Mitchell et al. (2005) call a demand-led model for reforms where elected officials can tailor educational management and spending according to area-specific needs. The shift from access to quality-oriented targets and indicators for educational development in light of SDGs and funding requirements from international donors requires strengthening this demand-led model to identify and address issues at a localized, grass-roots level. This need for localized demand-led models requires an efficient 'street-level bureaucracy' (Lipsky, 1980).

Over time, it is clear that the country's policy-making model has not effectively served the education needs of Pakistan's children, with the deterioration of Pakistan's public schooling system over time, both in terms of its reach and quality (ASER Results till date).

Bureaucrats, with their institutionalized and hierarchical social distance from the voting population, have been unable to stay connected and receptive to the evolving needs and demands of a changing society, while the majority of politicians, largely unapprised of any

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[7] https://hdr.undp.org/content/unleashing-potential-young-pakistan
[8] https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/envision2030-goal4.html
[9] http://aserpakistan.org/document/aser/2021/reports/national/ASER_report_National_2021.pdf

substantive knowledge or evidence on the state of education in their areas, have been unable to match their clientelist priorities with objective needs on the ground. This has resulted in policy equilibrium where there is no established link between education service delivery and processes of electoral accountability (Ansari and Islam, 2017).

It is, therefore, important that the dynamics of education decision-making are also democratized in this process - politicians need to assume responsibility for the state of education in the places they are elected from. If education outcomes are to be substantially improved, there is an urgent need to move toward a model of political competition whereby politicians are ranked and assessed according to evidence about the outcomes they produce for their constituent populations rather than the mere satisfaction of the short-term requirements of their immediate political clients. In order for this to happen, it is necessary that data and evidence is collected, organized and assessed at the unit of relevance to political organization and competition – that of the constituency. This is important in order to benchmark and compare performance of elected representatives, and further the push for enhanced electoral accountability in education. In 2013, I-SAPs in collaboration with Alif Ailaan conducted a similar study in various constituencies such as Lahore, Rajanpur, Peshawar, Quetta, Rahim Yar Khan and many other cities.

A survey of selected political constituencies, through ASER citizen led household based methodology, is an effort to further probe nuances around electoral accountability and its relationship with education in Pakistan. It is an attempt to collate and assess the state of education within Pakistan at the level of national and provincial constituencies. ASER survey (at household and school level) has been conducted in selected constituencies to assess the performance of elected representatives and further disseminate the information for possible actions.

Chapter 2: Constituency-based mapping through ASER

In 2013 election campaigns, education was a priority area highlighted in the manifestos of all political parties. The pressure to make education a priority was generated through various campaigns including "Politicians Knocking on the Doors" (PKD) mobilizing politicians during their political campaigns prior to the General Elections. This was conducted by Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi (ITA) and the ASER team in collaboration with Alif Ailaan. The PKD campaign was a 90 second video clip of 15 politicians in rural and urban Pakistan. They were filmed going to their constituents' households, knocking on the doors to ask about the education temperature/status of that household in terms of whether all eligible children were at school; if they were learning well, and if not in school the politician would take the child to the neighborhood school for enrolment. This campaign's footage along with a banner was then delivered to the politician vying for votes to help in the political campaign. Subsequently, during the ASER 2014 report launch, ASER Pakistan revealed the assessment findings conducted in 17 constituencies and shared various aspects of the political economy of education and learning in Pakistan that required urgent public policy attention.

Given the current situation and within a heated political space, a survey in selected political constituencies, will yet again generate evidence to unpack political accountability and political will for education and learning in Pakistan. This initiative seeks to conduct ASER survey in 4 selected constituencies i.e., one from each ruling party: PML-N, PTI, PPP, MMAP (1 in Punjab, 2 in KP, 1 in Sindh) to identify access and learning challenges in light of Article 25-A, right to education and highlight various aspects of the political economy of education and learning in Pakistan that need urgent public policy attention. The tools and methodology have been adopted from ASER in order to undertake a household survey and assessment of children of age (5-16) Language, English and Arithmetic competencies.

The discourse of the political economy of learning is a critical one – district wise constituency mapping will make it imperative for elected political leadership to deliver on their election promises during their term. The twin goals of access and learning for ALL cannot be met unless the challenge of public sector attention, political stability, public policy and action are not addressed through the political will. The data generated through constituency mapping will equip them to make informed and evidence based decisions for improvement of education, become accountable to their vote banks and in turn, make the educational bureaucracy effective and accountable to the key stakeholder – the children of Pakistan.

Party Manifestos on Education

For the ASER Political Constituencies pilot, representatives from the following political parties were selected:

Province	District	Constituency	Member of National Assembly	Party
KP - NMD	Mohmand	NA 42	Mr. Sajid Khan	Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)
KP	Kohistan	NA 11	Mr. Afreen Khan	Mutahidda Majlis e Amal (MMAP)
Sindh	Thatta	NA 232	Ms. Shams Un Nisa	Pakistan People's Party (PPPP)
Punjab	Bahawalpur	NA 171	Mr. Mian Riaz Hussain Pirzada	Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N)

To map the educational landscape for each constituency, party manifestos of each elected party (most recently available on official websites) were reviewed and analyzed. The analysis consisted of distilling education-related action items from each manifesto to serve as indicators for the representative's performance in their respective constituencies. The following tables/infographics show each party's agenda on education:

Khyber Pakhtunkwa and Newly Merged Districts (NMD): Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI)

https://pmo.gov.pk/documents/manifesto-pti.pdf

Area of Improvement	Plans
Budgeting	N/A
Facility	Will create an Education Fund for young entrepreneurs to develop technology and communication-enabled solutions to provide access to education in remote areas. Will increase schools at secondary level for girls by upgrading schools every year in high-enrolment areas and launching nation-wide radio, television and online self-learning programs for secondary students.
Enrolment	Will prioritize establishment and upgradation of girls' schools and provide stipends to girls and women for continuing their education.
Disability and Inclusion	N/A
Uniformity/Standardization	Will establish a National Commission for Education Standards that will issue a revised "Minimum Standards" list within 6 months of its constitution and initiate a National Dialogue and technical consultation to approve a policy on the teaching of languages at each level of education. Will establish minimum standards for all public schools to ensure provision of facilities and a child-friendly learning environment.
Community and Private Sector	Aims to build the largest public-private partnership for education access in the developing world through vouchers for low-fee private schools & access to credit for educated youth to teach students in their communities.

Madrassas	Will map out and register all seminaries across Pakistan including information on finances, and introduce literacy and mathematics teaching as formal subjects within the Madrassah curriculum.
Gender Equality	Will provide stipends to secondary school-going girls to reduce barriers to access.

Will effectively implement initiatives to increase women's access to education, healthcare, economic opportunity and legal protection. |
| Quality | Will launch a strategy to provide equipment, teacher training and competitions and co-curricular activities for students to improve instruction and learning of STEM subjects. |
| Curriculum Reform | Will establish a National Steering Committee to enact examination board overhaul and move towards instituting a standardized central examination scheme and participate in the PISA-D. |
| HRD and Training | Will launch a nationwide literacy program to engage 50,000 youth volunteers to teach literacy in exchange for university credits.

Will launch a Teach for Pakistan effort to bring high quality talent into the public system as teachers or coaches.

Will launch a large-scale teacher certification program. |

Vocational and Technical Education	Will implement a technical and vocational education reform program for upskilling our labor force in demand-driven trades.
	Upgrade existing and build new technical education universities by engaging world-class institutions as partners.
	Will transform the National Vocational and Technical Training Council (NAVTTC) to a best-in-class organization to plan, monitor and support provincial bodies in implementation.
	Will streamline the role of provincial institutions such as TEVTA, Skills Development Funds, Boards of Technical Education and eliminate obsolete institutions.
	Will engage foreign technical universities and providers under public-private partnership agreements to offer specialized, high-quality training.
	Will expand vocational training programs to provide relevant, high-quality skills to post-secondary students each year and will create partnerships with local industries and foreign governments to employ vocational and technical graduates.
Higher Education	Will establish at least 10 technical universities in Pakistan to provide skills to our youth.
	Will provide public scholarships and set up a National Endowment Fund for international universities, and provide international distance-learning opportunities for tertiary education.
	Will attract foreign university graduates from Pakistan to teach and supervise research in local universities.
	Will create partnerships with international universities to improve teaching and research quality and will incentivize research quality (as judged by international benchmarks) as opposed to research volume.
	Will create an independent, transparent mechanism to select Vice Chancellors and senior administrators.
	Will regulate university curriculum to include compulsory courses on communication, reasoning, IT literacy as well as instruction in social sciences.

Khyber Pakhtunkwa: Muttahida Majlis e Amal (MMA)

https://kurzman.unc.edu/files/2011/06/mma-manifesto-2002.doc

Area of Improvement	Plans
Budgeting	N/A
Facility	N/A
Enrolment	Will ensure compulsory and free of charge education till matriculation.
Disability and Inclusion	N/A
Uniformity/Standardization	N/A
Community and Private Sector	N/A
Madrassas	N/A
Gender Equality	N/A
Quality	N/A
Curriculum Reform	N/A
HRD and Training	N/A
Vocational and Technical Education	N/A
Higher Education	Will provide opportunities to meritorious students and scholars for advanced research.

Sindh: Pakistan People's Party (PPP)

https://www.pppp.org.pk/manifestos/PPP%20MANIFESTO%202018%20-%20ENGLISH.pdf

Area of Improvement	Plans
Budgeting	Will increase public expenditure on education to 5% of the GDP by 2025. The education budget allocated in 2015/16 was 2.3 per cent of the GDP (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2016/17), which is short of the required commitment of 4 per cent of the GDP.
Facility	Will focus on improving financial management systems to improve the efficiency, utilization and targeting of resources to remote, marginalized and under-served areas. Will also ensure that the government's current commitments of providing free school supplies to students are met in a timely fashion. Will target education service delivery in districts with the lowest indicators of educational quality.
Enrolment	Will provide opportunities for cost-effective education such as distance learning programs and study centers to act as remedial centers before board examinations (a period which sees high drop-out) and for enrolment in higher education programs.

Disability and Inclusion	In order to ensure access to quality education for differently abled people, PPP pledges to do the following: ▪ Review quota allocation for differently abled people in public sector colleges and universities and update it as per prevailing circumstances. ▪ Provide full fee exemptions to differently abled people studying in public sector educational institutions. ▪ Introduce legislation/laws to ensure significant fee discounts for differently abled people studying in private sector educational institutions. ▪ Significantly improve the literacy rate among differently abled people in the country. For children impacted by natural or man-made disasters, war/conflict, family violence and other adverse childhood experiences and trauma which may hinder their performance at school, PPP will encourage special in school and afterschool programs.
Uniformity/Standardization	Will develop clear indicators to calculate the quality and access of education at the school level, measured both on average, and also separately for marginalized groups. Both public and private schools will have to perform against set benchmarks to attain incentives like performance grants, to ensure they are providing quality education.
Community and Private Sector	N/A
Madrassas	N/A
Gender Equality	In order to increase retention of students beyond primary level, particularly that of girls, primary schools will be upgraded to at least lower secondary level. In addition, more resources will be allocated for girls' education, and stipends will be awarded to girls to complete secondary school and HSSC.

Quality	Textbook boards will be given autonomy to produce quality books, the development and review processes for which will be standardized and institutionalized.
	Will incentivize the use of innovative methods in education especially in the areas of Early Childhood Education, encouraging the use of technology, and socioemotional learning.
Curriculum Reform	Will ensure that principles of excellence, equity, empowerment and accountability; and values of compassion, empathy, civic engagement and critical thinking are promoted through the curriculum.
	Will engage all the provinces to actively deracialize the curriculum in order to inculcate and promote religious harmony and tolerance. The history, culture and heritage of each province will be taught.
HRD and Training	Ongoing focus on teacher absenteeism and hiring on merit.
	Will promote linkages and formal collaborations between Pakistani and foreign institutions to ensure greater development of the student body, and diffusion of the best pedagogical practices and research culture.
	Will implement a comprehensive teacher training program. This will include pre-service and in service training which will draw from the best global practices in education and will be standardized.
	Teacher education, curricula, training arrangements, accreditation, and certification procedures will be institutionalized.
	There will be special training to build school leadership and innovation for school principals and head teachers.
	Additional resources will also be allocated for capacity building of all schoolteachers in the English language so that any challenges in understanding and implementing the English curriculum can be actively addressed.
	Will create a separate Management and Teaching Cadre in Education Departments.

Vocational and Technical Education	N/A
Higher Education	Will focus on developing well-functioning and modern universities with high quality teachers in each district. Will build formal collaborations between Pakistani and foreign universities to ensure greater educational progress of the student body, and the diffusion of quality instructional practices and research culture between the institutions. Will also have multiple sources of funding, scholarships, interest free student loans at the district, divisional, provincial and federal level.

Punjab: Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N)

https://pmln.org/delivery/manifesto/

Area of Improvement	Plans
Budgeting	Will increase education spending to 4% of GDP. Will increase higher education spending to 0.5% of the GDP.
Facility	
Enrolment	Will achieve universal primary enrolment by 2023. Will introduce comprehensive education reform in Newly Merged Districts (NMD) to bolster literacy. Will increase higher education enrollment growth to 10% per year.

Disability and Inclusion	Will extend education to quality education for children with special needs and marginalized groups.
Uniformity/Standardization	Will ensure compliance with National Education Standards (NES) so that no school in the country is left.
Community and Private Sector	Regulate private sector to ensure quality. Encourage private investment in education.
Madrassas	N/A
Gender Equality	Will ensure equitable access to education for girls.
Quality	Will provide universal early childhood education. Introduce modern classroom technology and enhance digital connectivity to improve pedagogy. Reform assessment models to test higher order skills, encouraging better classroom instruction. Will extend education monitoring towards standardized measurement of quality in schools.
Curriculum Reform	Introduce a broad-based curriculum for fostering critical thought, analytical ability, and cultural values.
HRD and Training	Will introduce performance/learning outcomes-based initiatives for teachers' career development. Establish teacher training academies at national scale augmenting classroom instruction.

Vocational and Technical Education	N/A
Higher Education	Will increase the share of female faculty members.
	Will ensure a public university campus or sub-campus in every district.
	Will actively pursue China-Pakistan universities twinning program.
	Will establish and implement KPIs for all key positions.
	Will establish National Academy for Higher Education (NAHE) to support academic leaders and faculty.
	Will pursue US-Pakistan knowledge corridor, UK-Pakistan Education Gateway, and Russia-Pakistan Knowledge Platform projects.
	Will extend PERN to an additional 59 universities.
	Will develop a comprehensive performance assessment framework for universities and the Higher Education Commission (HEC).
	Will mobilize international collaboration to support innovative programs and university-industry linkages.
	Will review tertiary education curriculum to focus on existing gaps in research and development, especially in fields of agriculture and industrial growth.
	Will ensure access to scholarships and research grants for capable scientists and researchers.

Chapter 3: Objectives and Methodology

Key objectives of the study

1. Generate constituency wise analysis (for learning and access) in order to hold politicians accountable for their relevant constituencies.

2. To highlight the challenges and progress of each constituency pertaining to Article 25-A in light of the ASER findings for each constituency.

3. To engage with politicians for improvement of quality education by sharing results with them and engaging them in the survey process. This will make them better understand the nature of the problem and experience a first-hand encounter with their constituencies or clients, invoking empathy for how gaps in children's learning affect families and communities.

4. Identify areas where MPAs and MNAs could focus to affect improvement in the state of education in their constituencies, including in the spheres of resource allocation, infrastructure improvement, teacher recruitment, private school regulation and education data, among others.

5. Building linkages for more effective accountability and providing a forum to the public where they can demand performance, lodge grievances and make suggestions.

Methodology

Total Population

The total population of this survey consists of 4 selected constituencies

i.e. from the provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (2), Punjab (1) and Sindh (1). Least performing districts in terms of having lowest learning levels along with enrollment as per ASER 2022 Findings were selected from each province.

Province	District	Constituency	Party
KP – NMD	Mohmand	NA 42	Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI)
KP	Kohistan	NA 11	Mutahidda Majlis e Amal (MMAP)
Sindh	Thatta	NA 232	Pakistan People's Party (PPPP)
Punjab	Bahawalpur	NA 171	Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N)

Sample Design

Two 2-stage probability sampling scheme has been used for the selection of electoral areas within each constituency (Primary Sampling Units: PSU) and for the selection of households (Secondary sampling units: SSU).

STAGE-1

PSU Selection

One Political Constituency has been selected as a National Assembly candidate as a Primary Sampling Unit (PSU). These constituencies are mapped on the 2017 National Census Frame through Political Constituency MAPS[10]. Stepwise Procedure is as under:

- All the electoral areas of the selected MNAs are chosen to determine a reliable sample size.
- The electoral areas of each MNA are mapped with the electoral areas of all MPAs of that constituency to investigate which MPA's / constituencies lie within the boundaries of that MNA.
- The electoral areas / blocks (from the mapped constituencies of MPAs) are selected randomly using the Probability Proportional to Size Sampling Technique (PPS) (see footnote).

Samples

First stage: 30 rural villages are selected randomly from the block wise list of 6th Population and Housing Census 2017. These villages constitute Primary Sampling Units (PSUs)

PSUs are selected using probability proportional to size (PPS) method. This technique is adopted as it is the most appropriate one to use when the sampling units are of different sizes. PPS allows villages with larger populations to have a higher chance of being selected in the sample

SSU Selection

Households within each selected PSU constitute our Secondary Sampling Unit (SSU)

- Second stage: 20 households were selected in each of the 30 selected electoral areas rural villages.

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[10] MAPS are taken from "Delimitation of Constituencies 2022" by the Election Commission of Pakistan. These are available at
(https://www.ecp.gov.pk/admin/ImgHandler.ashx?PressId=67941&type=PDF)

Sample size and its Allocation:

- Keeping in view the variability of the key variables, population distribution and field resources, a total sample of 600 households pertaining to 20 households from each electoral area rural village is used.

Sample primary sampling units (PSUs) have been considered sufficient to produce reliable estimates with 5% margin of errors at 95% confidence level.

The detailed allocation plan is shown below:

Number of Constituencies	Number of Electoral area (per District)	Number of Households for 30 Electoral area / blocks
4	20	600

Selection of Schools

- 1 government school from each selected electoral area / block (Mandatory)
- 1 private school from each selected electoral area / block (If one exists)

Chapter 4: Findings and Results

4.1 Overall Results

This section discusses in detail the findings extracted from the survey conducted. Various education related indicators are discussed constituency-wise while some categories are expanded upon using the key metrics and the varied responses from different constituencies.

4.1.1 Access and Retention
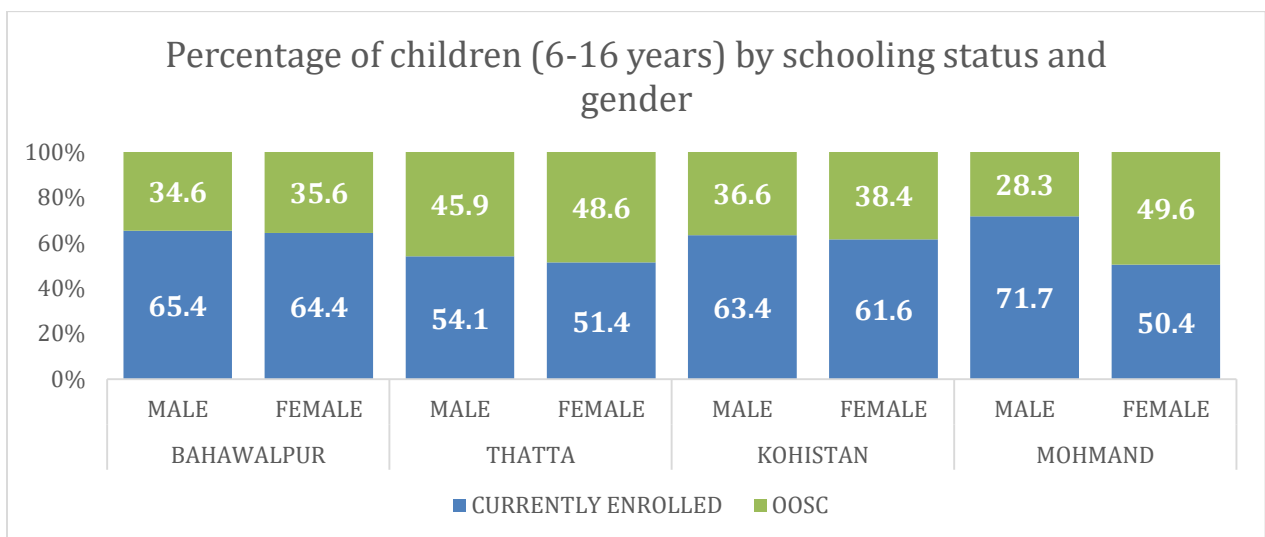
Figure 4.1.1.2 Percentage of children (6-16 years) by schooling status and gender
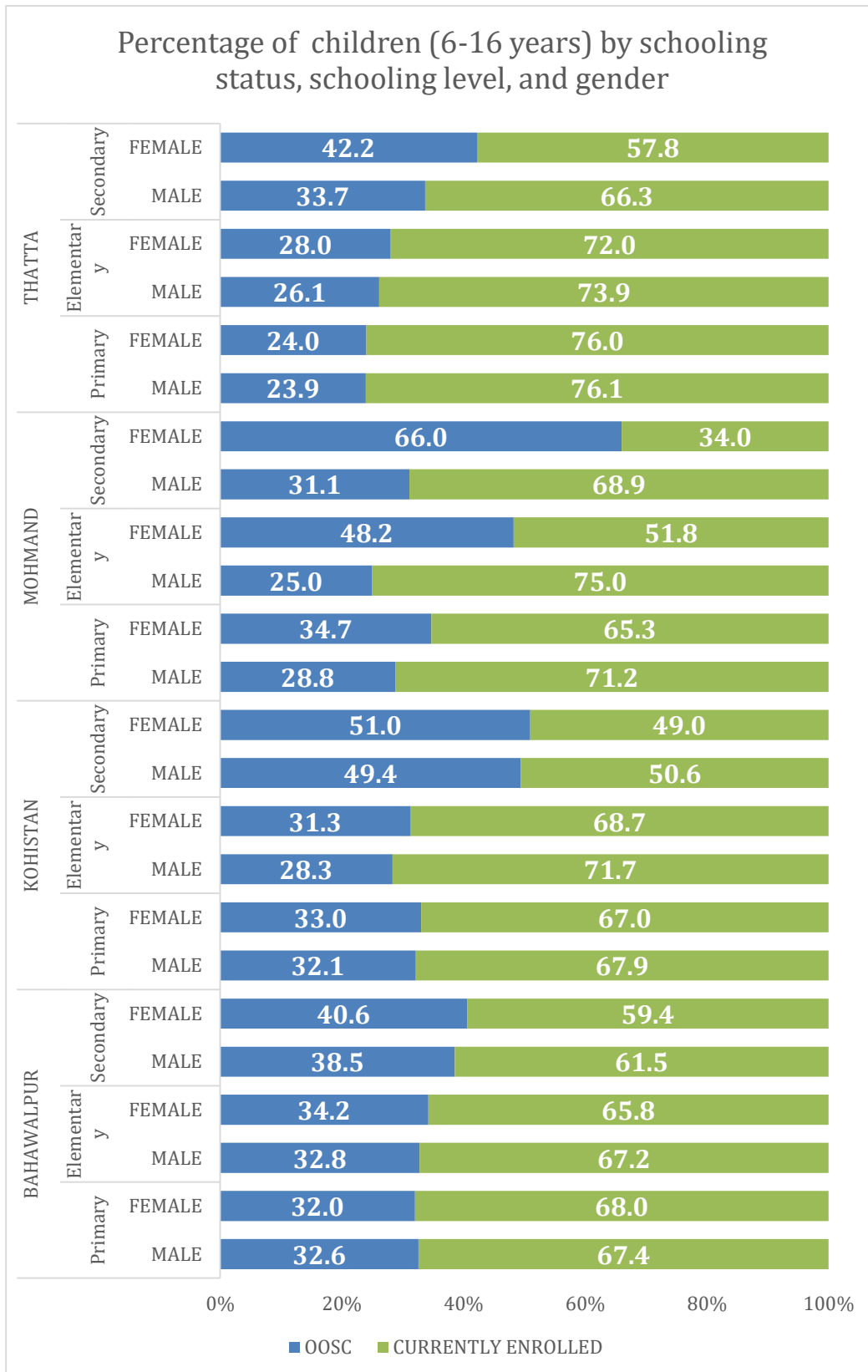
Figure 4.1.1.3 Percentage of children (6-16 years) by schooling status, schooling level, and gender

The graph above gives a spectrum of access across the different constituencies covered under the survey. Our numbers indicate that both constituencies from KP (Mohmand and Kohistan) are facing a critical issue with regards to access and retention, especially girl's education. The female population, in particular, are bearing the brunt with Mohmand in the lead. Data suggest that as girls move to higher grades, they tend to dropout in greater numbers. By secondary level, 60% girls were reported to be out of school which is in stark contrast to their male counterparts (18.9%). This glaring problem was also reflected when households were asked about a priority area in education that demands utmost attention. In Kohistan, both male and female population is suffering the same set of issues as the numbers are almost similar. 39.3% girls and 39.5% boys, who would have ideally been in secondary school, were reported to be out of school. In Thatta (22%) and Bahawalpur (29.4%), while the percentages might be slightly lower, still, more girls are out of school as they approach their secondary education. However, the sample constituency in Thatta reported the least number of out of school children, which is an encouraging prospect.

4.1.2 Access to education by poverty status and household indicators

4.1.2.1 Early Childhood Education (ECE)
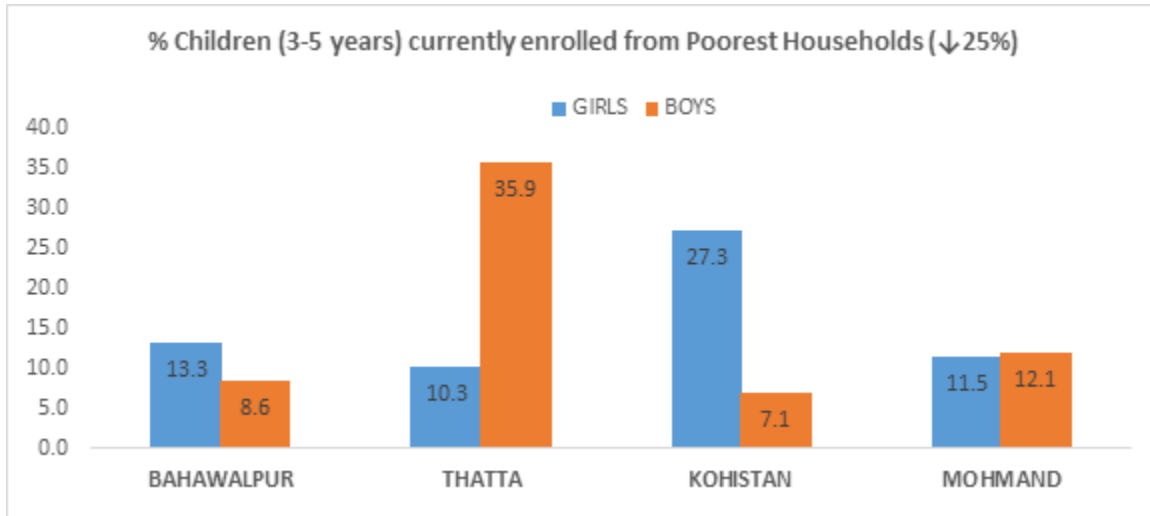
Fig 4.1.2.1 Percentage of children (3-5 years) currently enrolled from poorest households (lowest wealth quartile)

Low enrolment rates within ECE grades are another area that requires a tremendous amount of work on the state level. Data suggests that early childhood education specifically in low income households is not a priority. Especially in Bahawalpur and Mohmand. Contrastingly, Thatta and Kohistan show a massive variation in enrollment rates between the two genders. 35.9% boys and 10.3% girls (aged 3-5) in Thatta were reported as enrolled in schools. In Kohistan, surprisingly the girl enrolment rate is higher, 27.3% for girls and 7.1% for boys (aged 3-5) were reported as enrolled in schools. Furthermore, Mohmand reported 11.5% girls and 12.1% boys within ECE classrooms belonging to low-income households.

4.1.2.2 Primary (6-10 years)
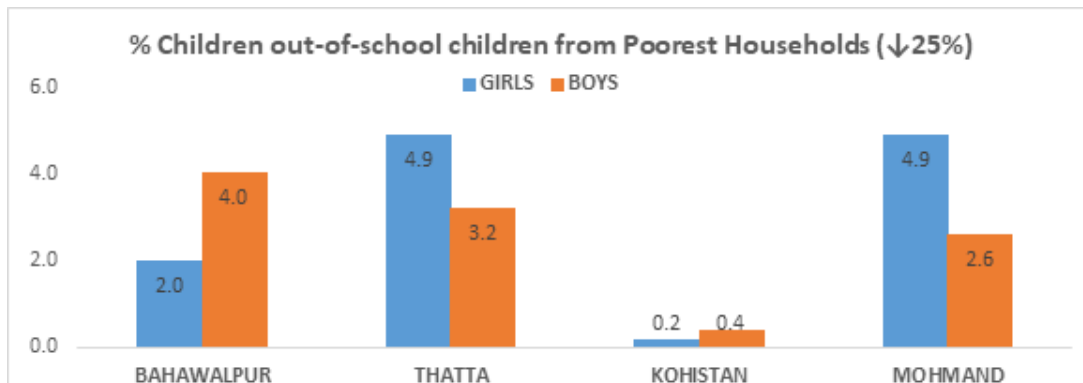
Figure 4.1.2.2 Constituency-wise percentage of children out of school from poorest households (lowest wealth quartile)

From the lowest wealth quartile, 2% girls and 4% boys are out of school in Bahawalpur, 4.9% girls and 3.2% boys in Thatta, 0.2% girls and 0.4% boys and lastly in Mohmand 4.9% girls and 2.6% boys were not attending schools.

4.1.2.3 Elementary (11-13 years)
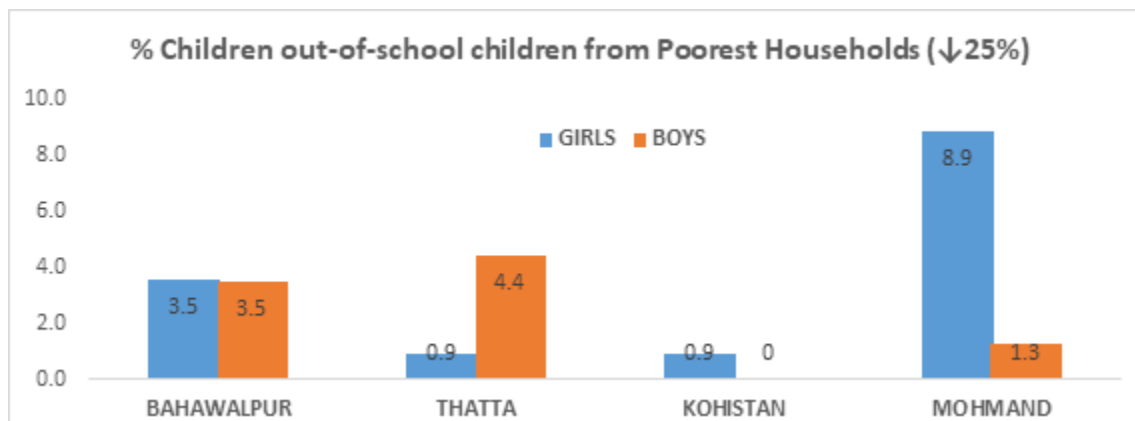
Figure 4.1.2.3 Percentage of children out of school from poorest households (lowest wealth quartile) at primary level

For ages 11-13, 3.5% boys and girls in Bahawalpur, 0.9% girls and 4.4% boys in Thatta, 0.9% girls and 0% boys in Kohistan and 8.9% girls and 1.3% boys in Mohmand were reported as out of school.

4.1.2.4 Secondary (14-16 years)
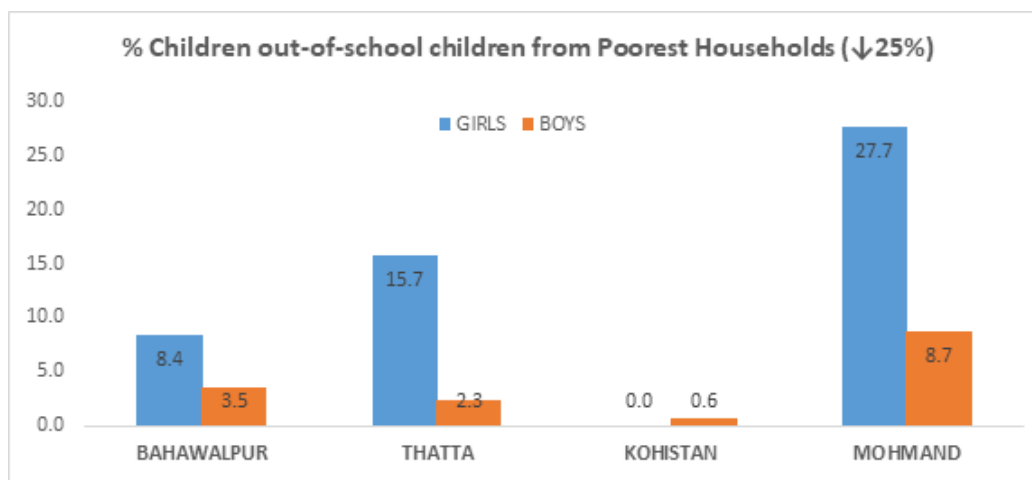
Figure 4.1.2.4 Percentage of children out of school from poorest households (lowest wealth quartile) at secondary level

Percentages increase in the lowest wealth quartile for out of school children with increasing ages. 8.4% girls and 3.5% boys in Bahawalpur, 15.7% girls and 2.3% boys in Thatta, 0% girls and 0.6% boys in Kohistan and 27.7% girls and 8.7% boys in Mohmand were reported to be out of school. However, for girls the percentages are significantly higher. It can be inferred

that after a certain age (in this case 14-16 and onwards), girl's education is not considered a priority and they are subsequently wed-off or made to stay at home.

4.2 Learning Levels
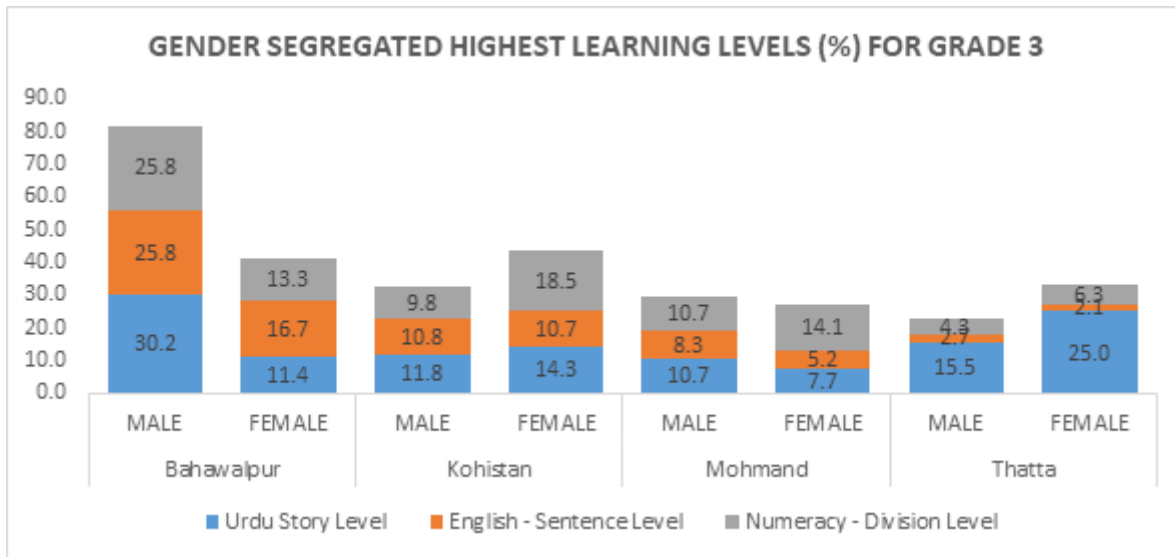
Figure 4. Gender segregated highest learning levels for grade 3

In Bahawalpur NA-171, learning levels are slightly higher than the rest of the constituencies with 30.2% boys reaching the story level in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto, 25.8% boys on (English) sentence level and 25.8% on division level in numeracy. However, in the same constituency, the learning levels for girls are almost half, which shows a lapse in the system. Another interesting observation came from Thatta NA-232 whereby girls outperformed their male counterparts in numeracy (6.3%) and Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto literacy (25%). Similar data came from Kohistan NA-11 where girls outperformed boys in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto literacy (14.3%) and numeracy (18.5%). This disparity in learning levels is in tandem with the results of ASER Constituency Mapping 2014[11], where girls displayed higher levels of learning than boys in some constituencies.

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[11] http://aserpakistan.org/document/aser/2015/innovation/Consittuency_wise_mapping_v1.pdf

4.2.1 Learning within low-income households
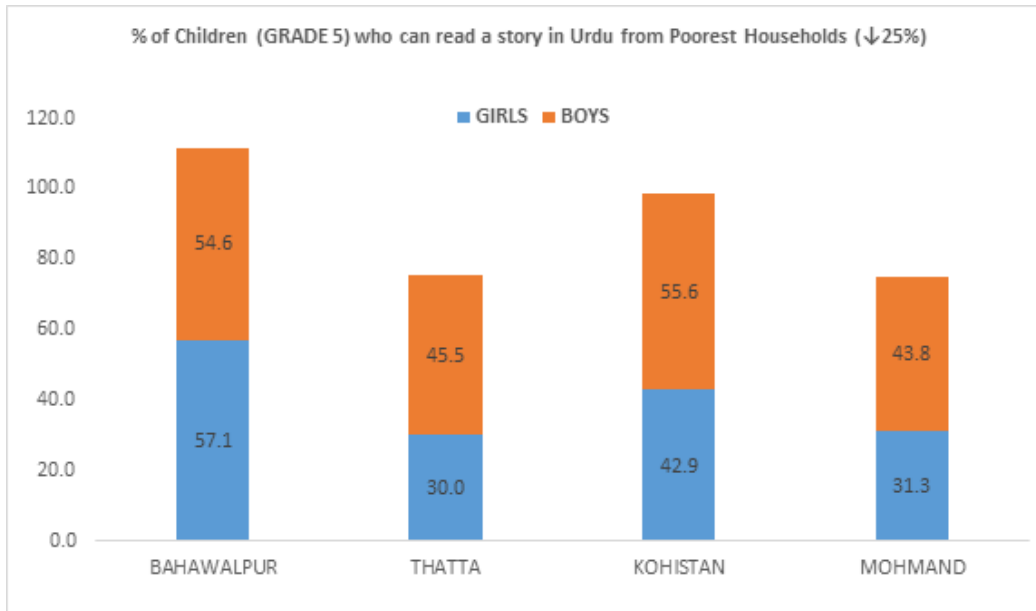
Figure 4.2.1.1 Percentage of children who can read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto from poorest households (lowest wealth quartile)

When income and learning levels are cross-tabulated across different constituencies, Bahawalpur is ahead of the rest. Learning across the two genders is also similar. 54.6% boys and 57.1% girls from the lowest income quartile can read a story in Urdu. In Thatta, 30% girls and 45.5% boys were able to reach the story level. Kohistan and Mohmand, on the other hand, reported 55.6% boys and 42.9%, 43.8% boys and 31.3% girls in the poorest households in the same category respectively.
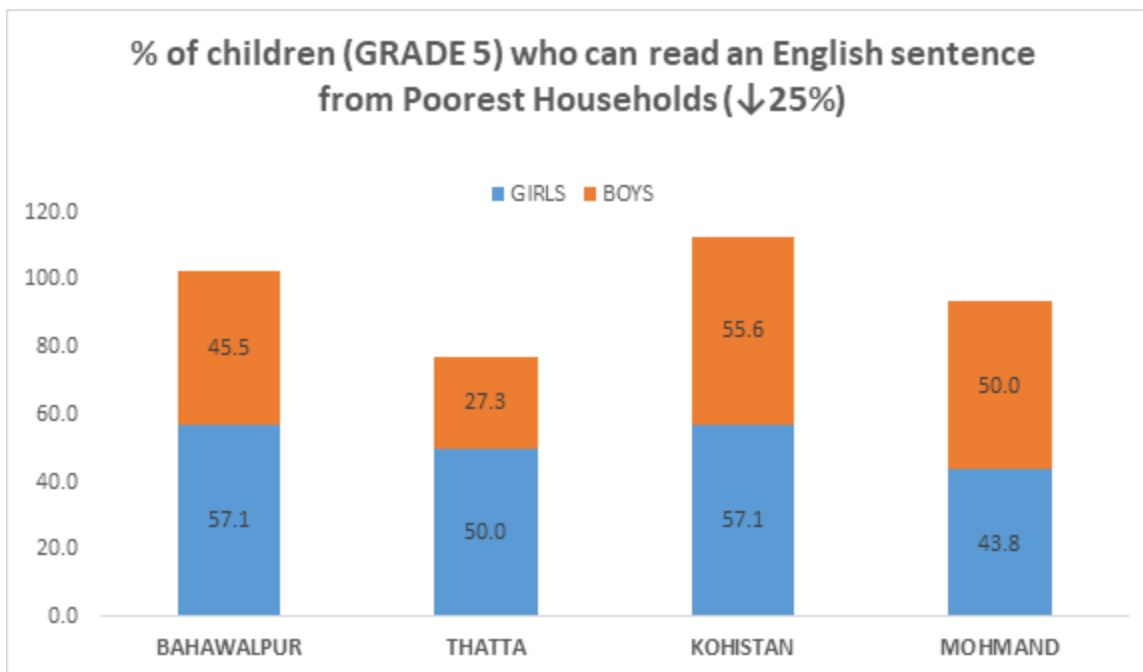
Figure 4.2.1.2 Percentage of children who can read an English sentence from poorest households (lowest wealth quartile)

Kohistan fared the best amongst our sample constituencies in English literacy when cross tabulated with the lowest income bracket. 55.6% boys and 57.1% girls were able to read a grade 2 level sentence in English. For the same category, Thatta reported 27.3% boys and 50% girls, Kohistan 55.6% boys and 57.1% girls and Mohmand reported 50% boys and 43.8% girls who reached sentence level literacy in ASER tests.
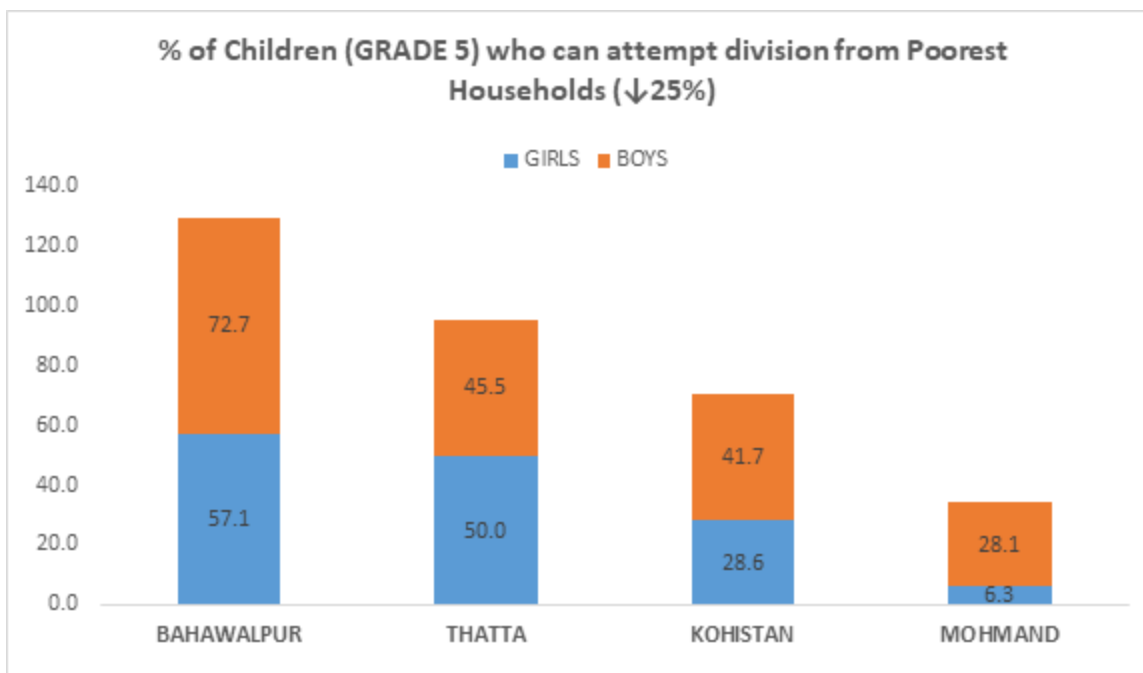
Figure 4.2.1.3 Percentage of children who can attempt division from poorest households (lowest wealth quartile)

Upon measuring numeracy levels, 72.7% boys and 57.1% girls from the Bahawalpur constituency belonging from the lowest income quartile managed to attempt division questions correctly. 45.5% boys and 50% girls in Thatta could do the same, while Kohistan and Mohmand reported 41.7% boys and 28.6% girls and 28.1% boys and 6.3% girls respectively. Gender divide in numeracy learning levels for Kohistan and Mohmand should be a target area for their political representatives and in fact requires much more probing to understand the factors that keep girls behind in this particular category. It is imperative to note that in all constituencies except Thatta, boys outperformed girls in arithmetic skills.

4.3 Means of communication across wealth quartiles
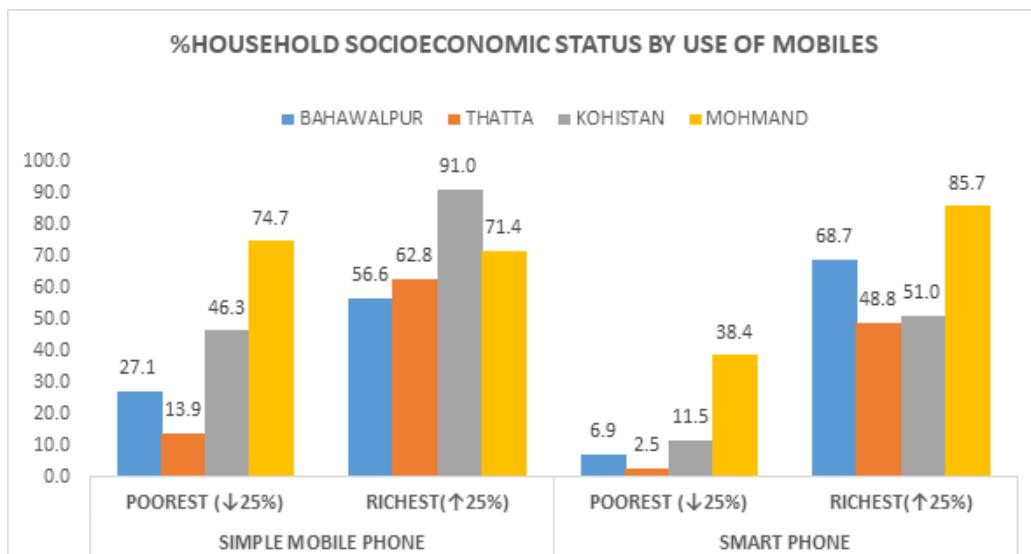
Figure 4.3 Household socioeconomic status and type of phones used

Mobile penetration in KPK such as in constituencies of Mohmand and Kohistan across different income brackets is quite significant. Despite the difference in incomes, 74.7% and 46.3% of the poorest quartile owns a simple mobile phone in Mohmand and Kohistan respectively. With smartphones, numbers are low within the poorest quartile, with 6.9%, 2.5%, 11.5% and 38.4% households in Bahawalpur, Thatta, Kohistan and Mohmand respectively.

Chapter 5: Constituency-wise Findings

5.1 Bahawalpur: Access and Learning

Bahawalpur: Enrolment across different age groups
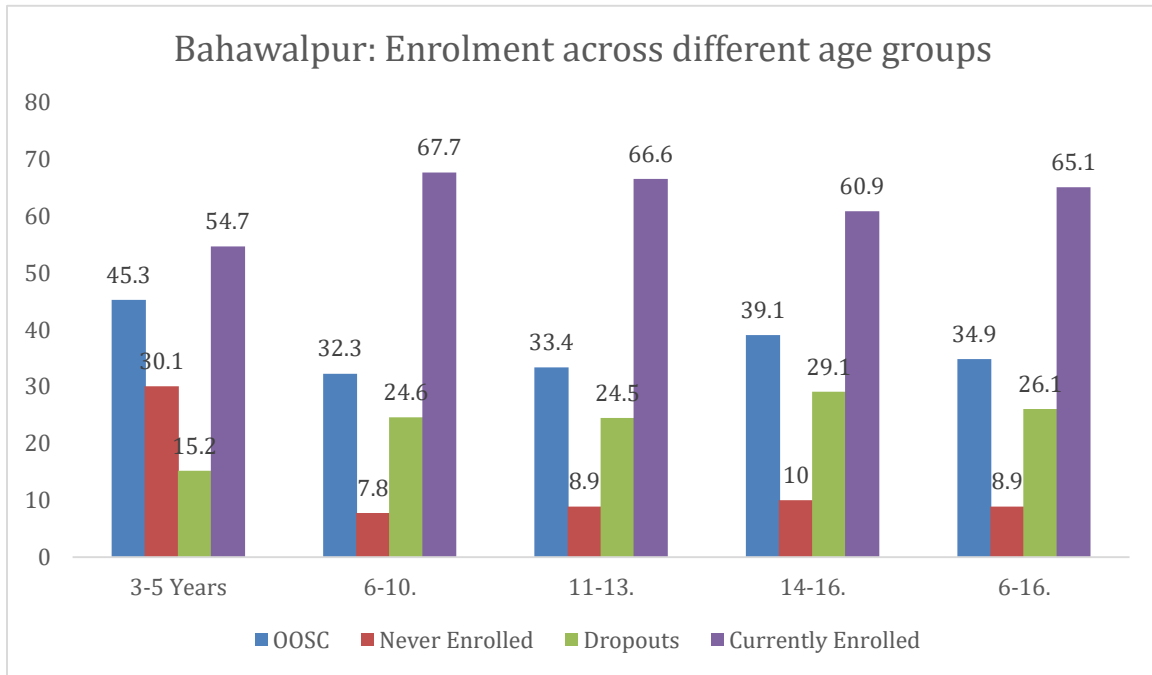
Figure 5.1.1 Enrolment across different age groups

From ages 3-5, 45.3% children are out of school, with 15.2% dropouts, 30.1% have never been enrolled in schools, while 54.7% children are currently enrolled. This shows a major gap for ECE studies in the constituency. With age increasing, OOSC begin to reduce which could signal two issues - lack of ECE classrooms/infrastructure in current schools or parents choosing to enroll their children at a later age.
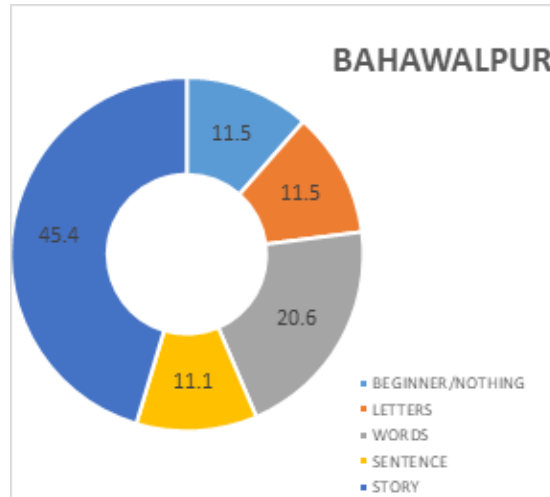
Fig 5.1.2 Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto learning levels (ages 5-16) for Bahawalpur

In terms of Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto learning levels, from ages 5-16, only 45.4% of the children were able to read a story, while a significant population (11.5%) could not exhibit any literacy skills in Urdu.
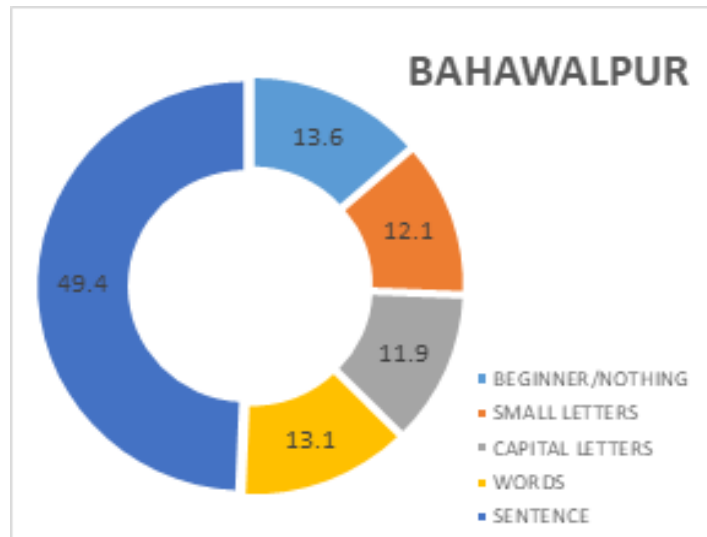
Figure 5.1.3 English learning Levels (ages 5-16) for Bahawalpur

Only 49.4% of the children from Bahawalpur were able to read based on second-grade level sentences in English and a sizable chunk of 13.6% percent could not read anything in English.
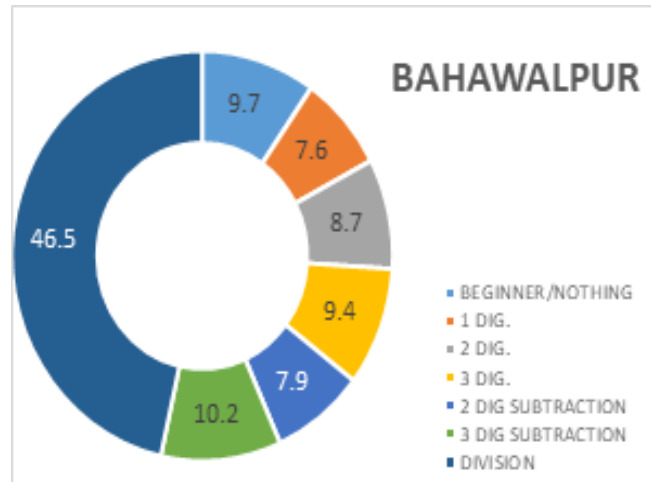
Figure 5.1.4 Numeracy levels (ages 5-16) for Bahawalpur

Upon conducting Arithmetic tests, only 46.5% children from the sampled population were able to attempt two-digit division questions, while 9.7% were unable to exhibit any skills in arithmetics. Learning levels in Bahawalpur across the board reflects a major learning crisis.

5.2 Kohistan: Access and Learning
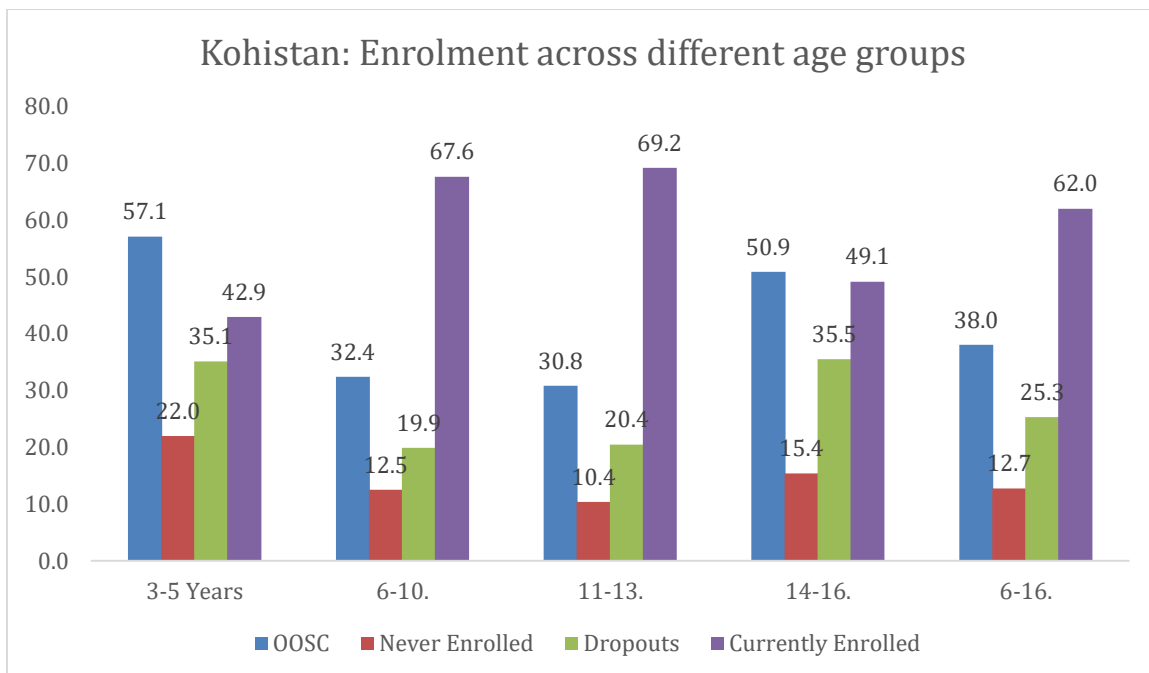
Figure 5.2.1 Kohistan: Enrolment across different age groups

With increasing age (up till 13), out of school children keep reducing in the Kohistan constituency. From ages 14-16, out of school children begin to increase (50.9%) which could indicate that students begin dropping out as they reach senior classes to support their families by starting work. From ages 11-13, never enrolled children are the lowest (10.4%), while drop-out rate also begins to increase after the age of 13.
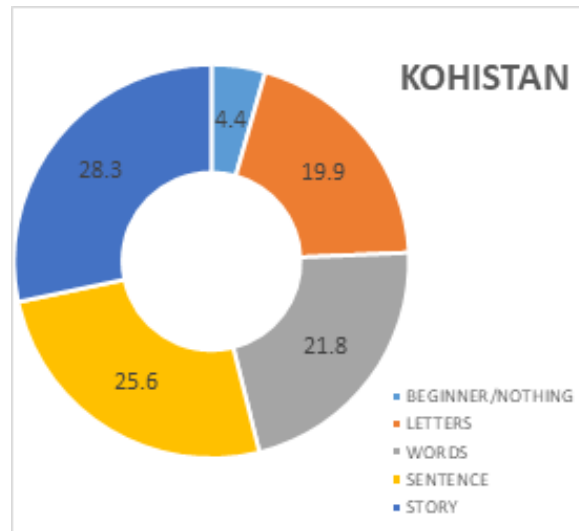
Figure 5.2.2 Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto learning levels (ages 5-16) for Kohistan

28.3% of the sampled children from ages 5-16 were successful in reading a story, 25.6% were able to read till the sentence level, 21.8% could only read words, 19.9% only letters while 4.4% were unable to read anything in Urdu.
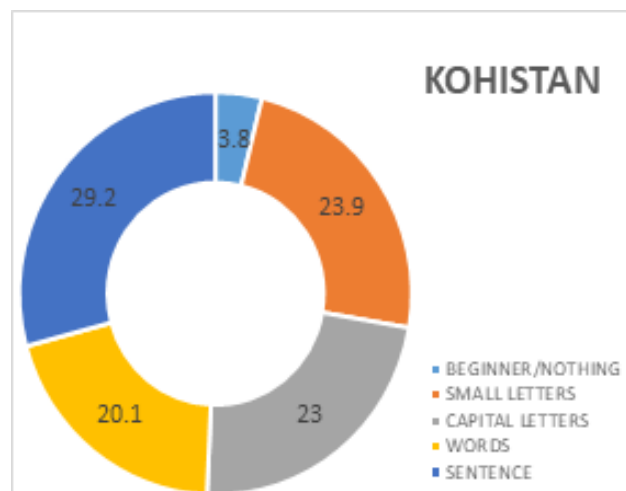
**Figure 5.2.3 English learning levels (ages 5-16) for Kohistan**

Only 3.8% children from ages 6 to 16 were at the 'nothing' level upon conducting English Assessment in schools. While 29.2% managed to reach the sentence level.
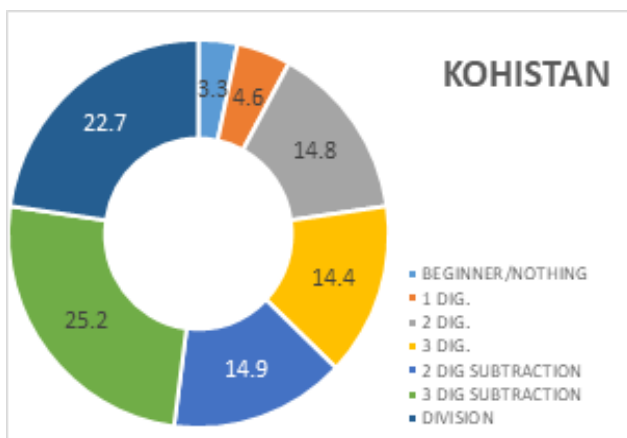
Figu.re 5.2.4 Numeracy learning levels (ages 5-16) for Kohistan

3.3% children could not attempt any numeracy questions, 22.7% on the other hand, could attempt division questions while 25.2% children successfully attempted two-digit subtraction questions.

5.3 Mohmand: Access and Learning
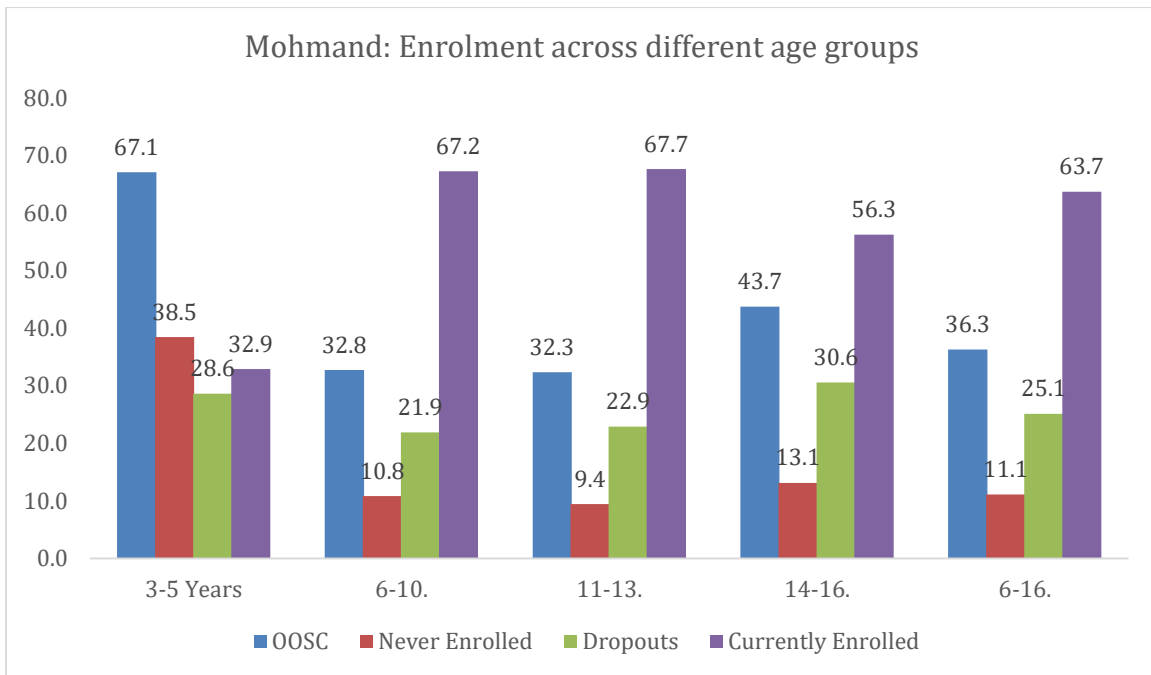
Figure 5.3.1 Kohistan: Enrolment across different age groups

With Mohmand as well, early childhood education does not seem to be a priority for many households and 67.1% children were reported as out of school. This trend has emerged repeatedly with other constituencies as well. However, upon reaching the age 6 onwards, enrolments increase at an exponential level (from 32.9% to 67.2%). The retention rates remain somewhat stable until ages 14-16 when it reduces to 56.3%. Overall, enrolment percentage among children in Mohmand is 63.7%, while 36.3% children remain out of school.
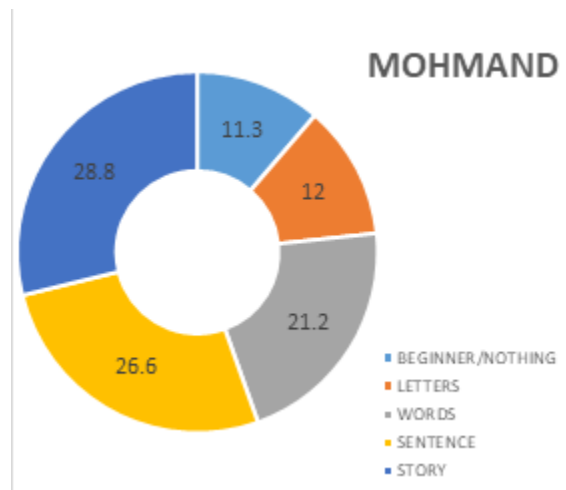
Fig 5.3.2 Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto learning levels (ages 5-16) for Mohmand

28.8% children in Mohmand were able to read a grade 2 level story, while 26.6% children could successfully complete sentence level questions, 21.2% managed to read words and 11.3%

children were unable to read anything and therefore would be categorized under the 'nothing' category.
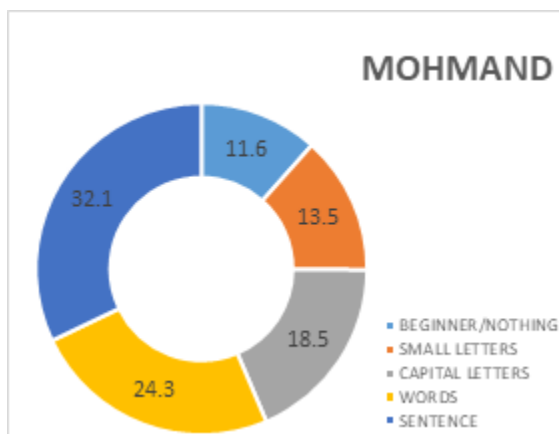
**Figure 5.3.3 English learning levels (ages 5-16) for Mohmand**

32.1% children fared at the sentence level upon conducting English assessments, 24.3% could read words, 18.5% and 13.5% could identify capital and small letters respectively while 11.6% children were at the beginner level.
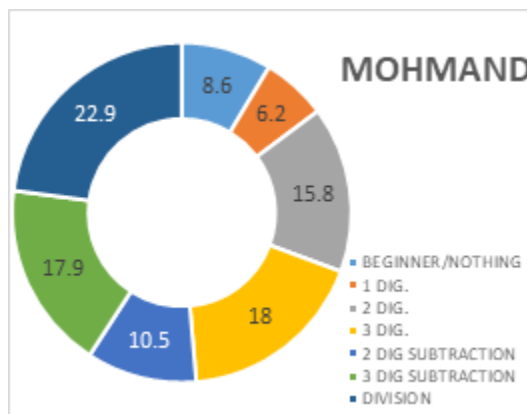
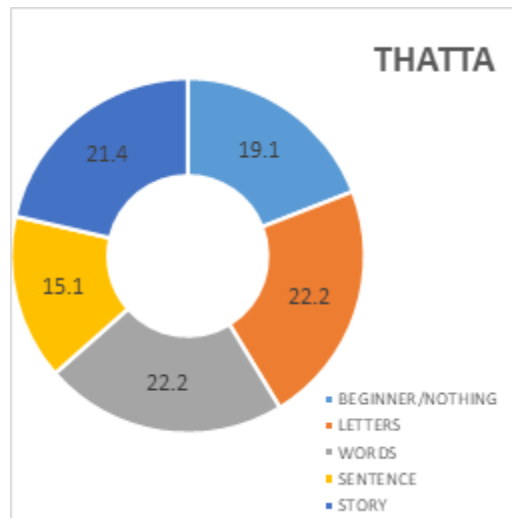**Figure 5.3.4 Numeracy learning levels (ages 5-16) for Mohmand**

22.9% children of the total sampled population were successful in attempting division questions, while 8.6% children stood at the beginner/nothing level.

5.4 Thatta: Access and Learning

Thatta: Enrolment across different age groups
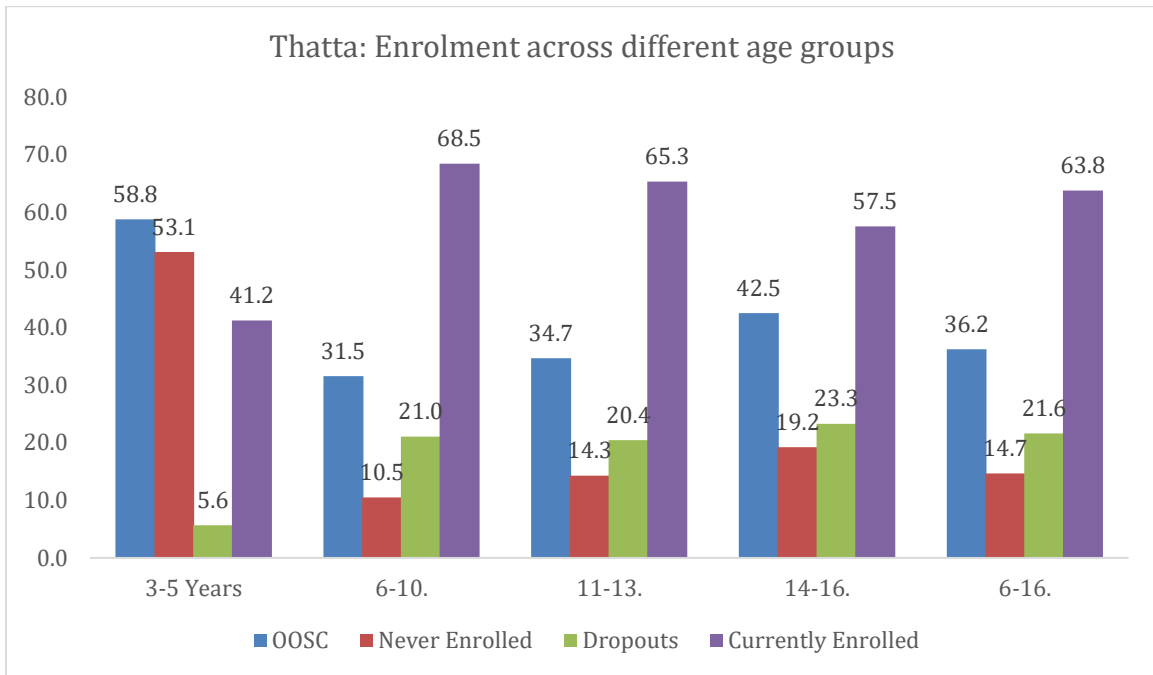
**Figure 5.4.1 Thatta: Enrolment across different age groups**

58.8% children from ages 3-5 were out of school, with 41.2% were currently enrolled. From ages 6-10, enrollments increase on an exponential level to 68.5%, and out of school children fall to a 31.5% of the sample from ages to 6-10. From ages 14-16, dropout rates go higher and out of school children increase to 42.5%.

**Figure 5.4.2 Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto learning levels (ages 5-16) for Thatta**

21.4% children were able to read a second grade level story in Urdu, 15.1% children could read sentences, while 22.2% children managed to read letters and 19.1% children stood at the 'beginning or nothing level'.
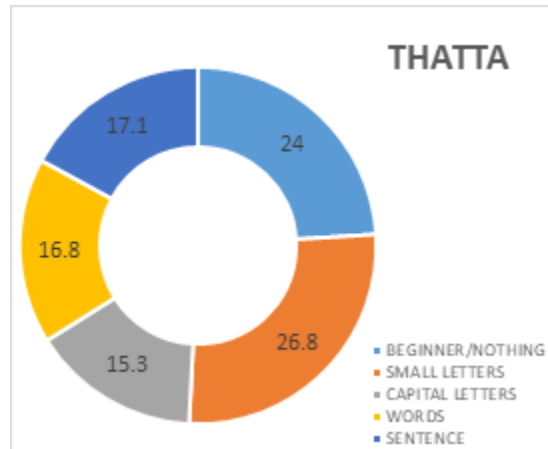
Figure 5.4.3 English learning levels (ages 5-16) for Thatta

17.1% managed to read sentences in English, 16.8% could read words while 24% could not identify letters and therefore were categorized under the 'nothing level'.
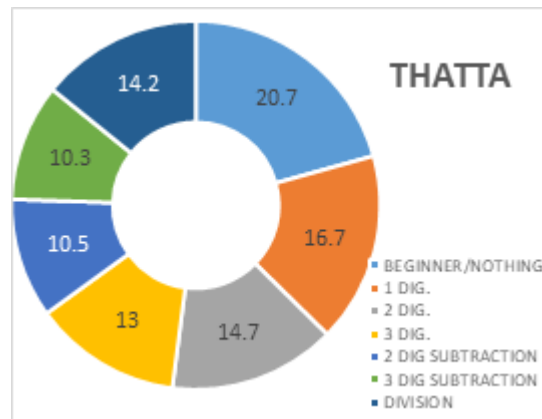
Figure 5.4.4 Numeracy learning levels (ages 5-16) for Thatta

In numeracy, Thatta's 14.2% of the sample children population from ages 5-16 was able to attempt division questions and 20.7% children were unable to even identify numbers.

5.5 School Facilities

In addition to collecting information from the household, additionally one government and one private school from the selected constituency was also surveyed to gain additional insights regarding school performance within the area. Operational definitions for each school facility observed are provided below:

- **Complete Boundary Wall/Fence**

There is a wall or fence surrounding the entire school premises, clearly demarcating the school from surrounding area(s).

- **Solar Panels**

At least one solar panel is present in the school vicinity to provide electricity for school usage.

- **Usable Furniture**

There is seating arrangement (chairs/mats) for all students, teachers, and administrative staff along with desks for teaching and administrative and teaching staff.

- **Playground**

An open field/ground is available on the school premises.

- **Working Library**

A designated space for reading with books available is present on the school premises.

- **First Aid Equipment**

A designated kit for providing emergency medical relief for minor injuries and health issues is available on the school premises.
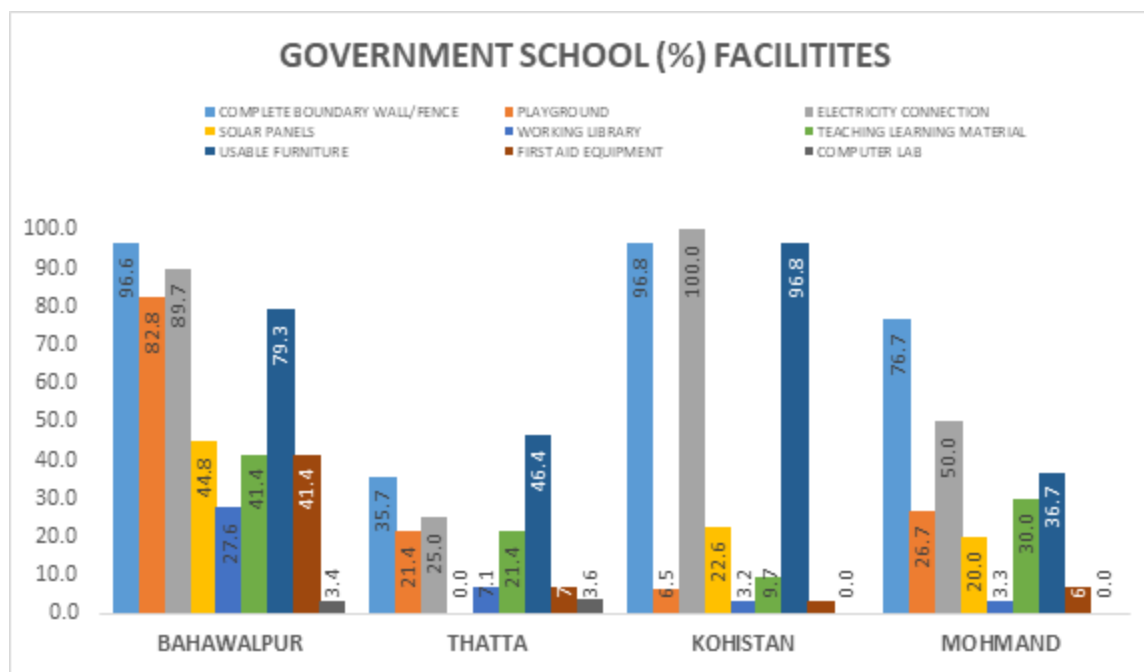
- **Electricity Connection**

The school has access to an electricity connection.

- **Teaching Learning Material**

The school is equipped with writing boards, chalk/markers, and print material to assist learning.

- **Computer Lab**

The school has a designated space equipped with a computer for student and staff use.

Figure 5.5.1 Government School Facilities across Constituencies

Government schools in Thatta reported the lowest percentage of boundary walls (35.7%), while highest was reported by Kohistan (96.8). Bahawalpur had the highest number of playgrounds (82.8%) while Kohistan had the lowest (6.5%). 100% schools in Kohistan had an electricity connection while only 25% of the sampled government schools in Thatta possessed an electricity connection with no solar panels either (0%). 41.4% government schools in Bahawalpur had teaching learning material as pedagogical support for the teaching staff, while Mohmand had 30%, Thatta 21.4% and Kohistan 9.7%.
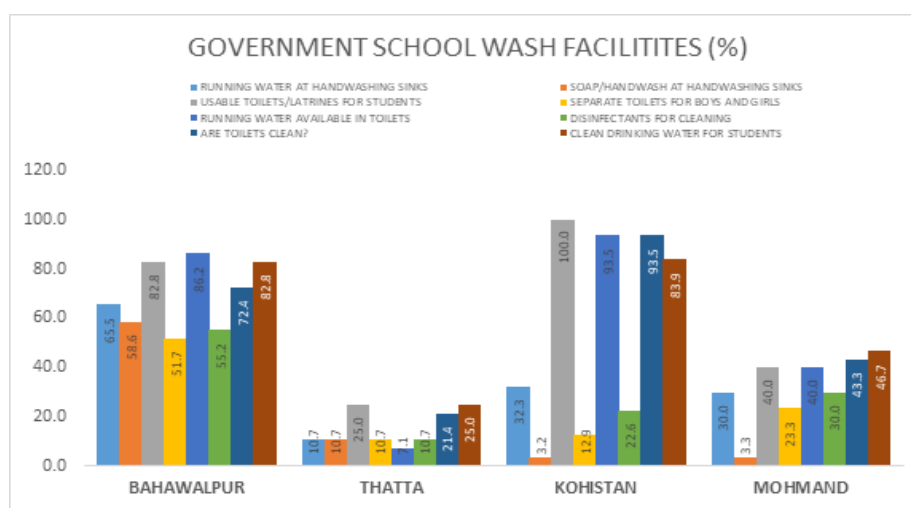

Figure 5.5.2 Government School WASH Facilities across Constituencies

Like other facilities, Bahawalpur stands out in the WASH facilities as well. However, in some categories Kohistan fared better. 100% government schools in Kohistan reported usable toilets for students, with Bahawalpur possessing 82.8% toilets. Thatta and Mohmand reported 25% and

40% respectively. It is important to note that Bahawalpur reported 51.7% schools that had gender segregated toilets while Kohistan reported only 12.9% schools.

5.6 The Political Economy of Learning - Education Trends Among Different Constituencies

After investigating learning levels among children of the various constituencies, our methodology dictated that questions related to electoral choices by the voters needed to be asked. Various thematic concerns were explored to understand the public's aspirations related to education service delivery and the performance of their existing representatives. Findings are given below:
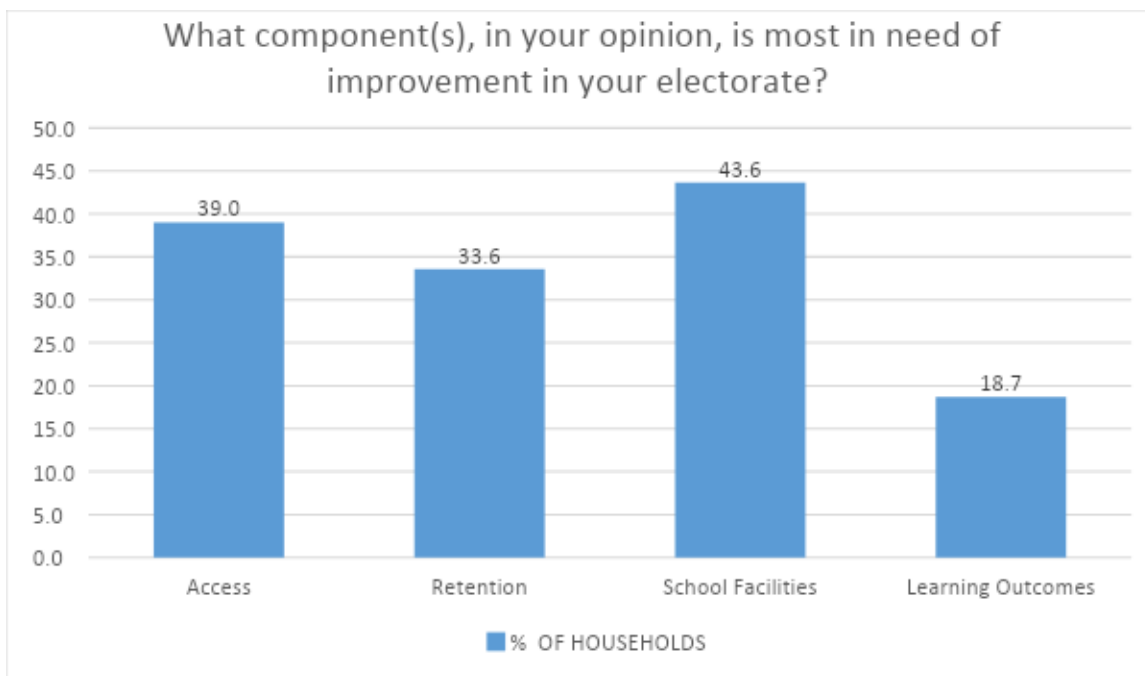

Figure 5.6.1 Consolidated Trends of Improvement Areas in Education

Results from the survey show that the public is most inclined towards good school facilities as compared to access, retention and learning outcomes. In fact, the least popular option amongst our sample was learning outcomes. 43.6% of the respondents cited school facilities as the component most in need of government attention. This reflects that, facilities such as toilets, boundary walls, electricity connection, and running water are important factors that the public values in schools. In fact one may also argue that the lack of facilities may also deter many parents from sending their children to school. Access, among respondents, was the second most popular component (39%) that is in immediate need for improvement. While retention was rated as the most important component by 33.6% of the individuals. Only 18.7% of the respondents opined that learning outcomes need improvement. As discussed earlier in the chapter, this is an

interesting finding primarily because upon conducting ASER tests upon children in the same constituencies, students did not fare well in either literacy or numeracy.

What component(s), in your opinion, is most in need of improvement in your electorate
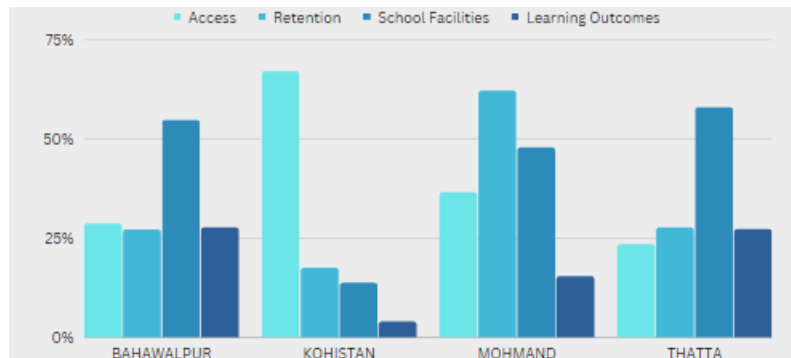
Figure 5.6.2 Trends of Improvement Areas across selected Constituencies

Upon observing constituency-wise trends, priority areas differ. For Bahawalpur, school facilities were the most important component (54.8%) - which reflected in our school survey results as well, while a majority (67.1%) of the respondents from Kohistan believed access needed the most attention and resources. For Mohmand Agency, 62.1% reported retention in this category while Thatta, like Bahawalpur, suggested school facilities as the most urgent matter in terms of education.

Would you say that you personally care a good deal which party wins the local election?
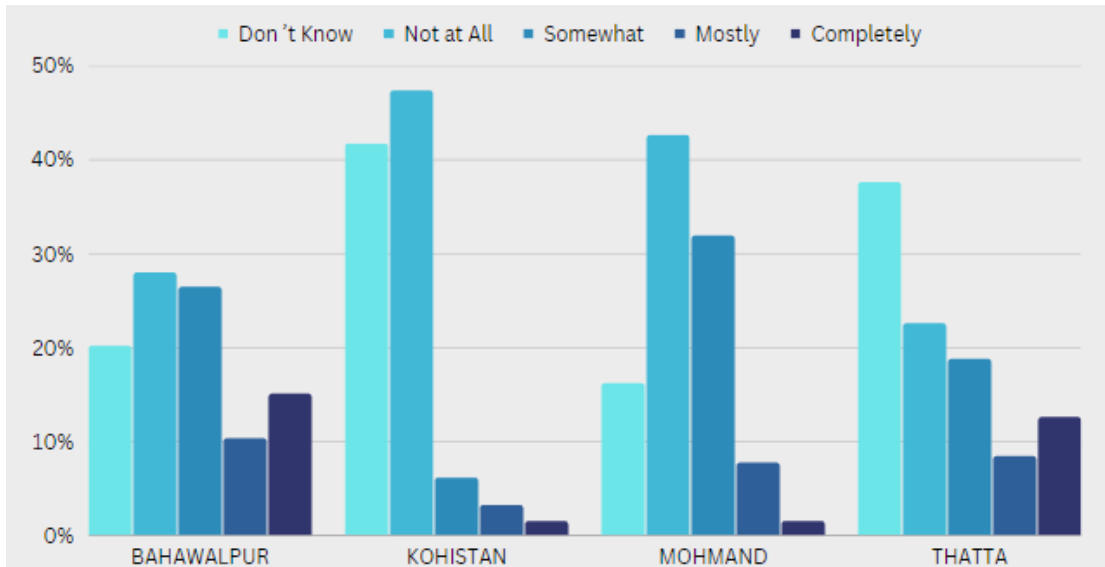
Figure 5.6.3 Trends of Improvement Areas across selected Constituencies

Responses varied slightly constituency-wise and that could depend on a plethora of reasons. However, trends show that at least 50% of respondents regardless of where they belong do not seem to be interested in their local election representatives. Respondents particularly from Mohmand and Kohistan expressed that they either do not know or they do not care at all about the local electoral process. 20.1% in Bahawalpur, 41.68% in Kohistan, 16.2% in Mohmand and 37.5% in Thatta reported that they are not aware while only 15.08% in Bahawalpur, 1.54% in Kohistan. 1.55% in Mohmand and 12.59% in Thatta responded that are invested in who wins and contests the local elections. On the other hand, 27.9% in Bahawalpur, 47.3% in Kohistan, 42.5% in Mohmand, 22.5% in Thatta of the respondents reported that they are not concerned about who comes to power when local body elections are concerned. This lukewarm interest may also signal towards the insufficient engagement of the representatives with the households at the grassroot level. Contrary to what has always been contested, the survey shows that local bodies may not be empowering individuals as was envisioned. Not only that, this dearth of community mobilization also reflects how much the public has faith in the political process.

If there is a problem in this community, the political leadership can get it solved
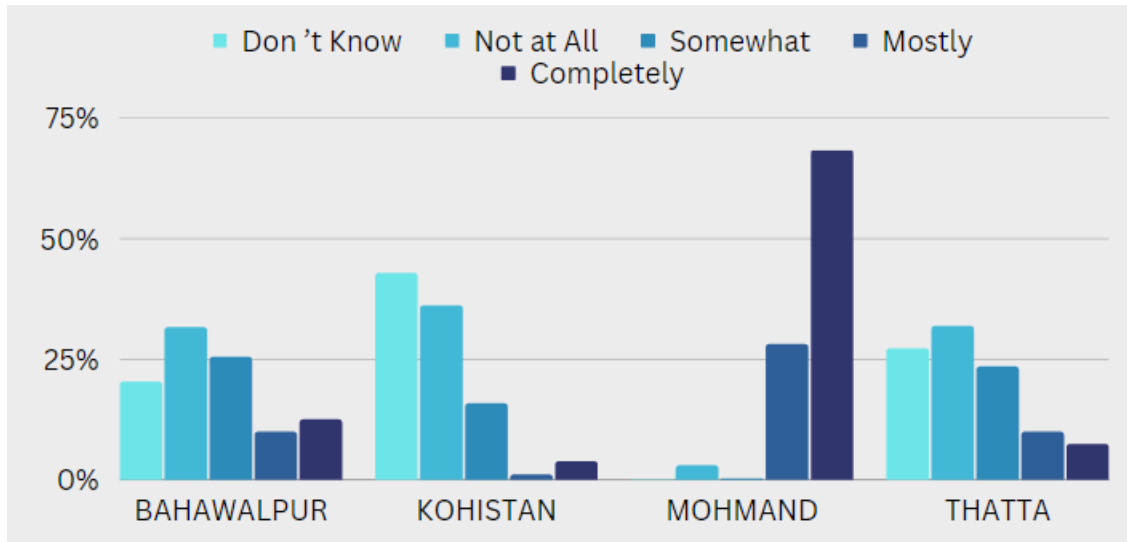
Figure 5.6.4 Trends of Improvement Areas across selected Constituencies

This question, upon being asked, helped us to deconstruct one of our primary research concerns. Mohmand, on the other hand, has been an anomaly for this category whereby a huge percentage (68.3% of the respondents) expressed faith and trust in their political leadership and categorically stated that they believe that their concerns and problems are addressed and therefore political leadership has been largely successful in delivering to the general public. Contrastingly, in the rest of the constituencies only a small percentage believe the same. 12.6% in Bahawalpur, 3.9% in Kohistan and 7.5% of the respondents in Thatta stated that they believe their political leaders would work towards addressing their issues.

Do you assess political candidates based on their stance on education?
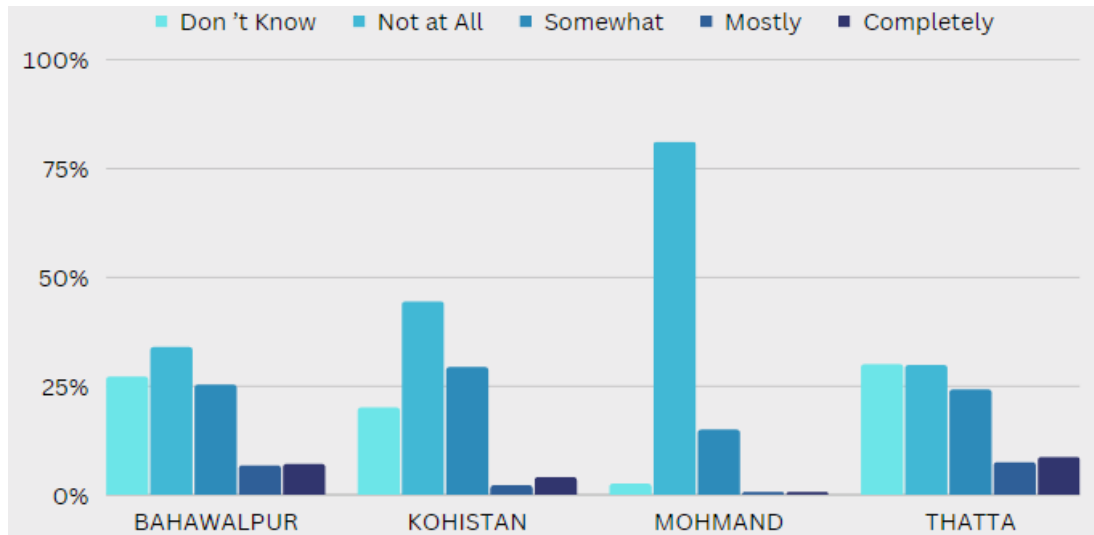
Figure 5.6.5 Trends of Improvement Areas across selected Constituencies

Data from different constituencies show similar trends when it comes to education being an important factor behind electing a certain political candidate. 33.8% of respondents in Bahawalpur, 44.3% of respondents in Kohistan, 81.1% in Mohmand Agency and 29.8% of respondents in Thatta stated that reforms and work on education is not a metric for them to measure a candidate's success in the elections.

## Are you aware of your representative's planned improvements for education?
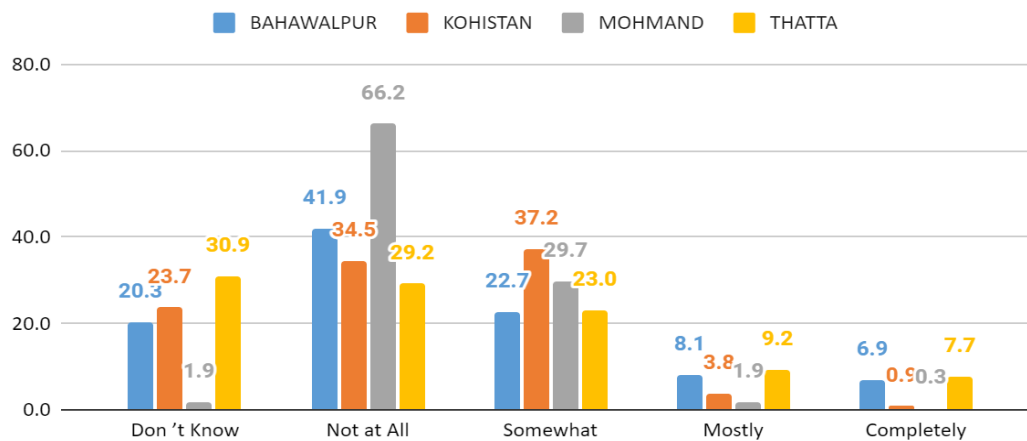
Figure 5.6.6 Trends of Improvement Areas across selected Constituencies

Upon inquiring about their interest in education as an accountability marker for their political representatives, 41.9% respondents from Bahawalpur, 34.5% respondents from Kohistan, 66.2%

from Mohmand and 29.2% from Thatta reported that they are not aware of the improvement projects related to education in their area. Even though for this question, Kohistan again comes out as an outlier, however, the rest of the constituencies (Bahawalpur, Kohistan and Thatta) also report considerable numbers for the 'Do not know' category. 6.9% respondents from Bahawalpur, 0.9% from Kohistan, 0.3% from Mohmand and 7.7% from Thatta.

Are you satisfied with your current representatives handling of issues related to education?
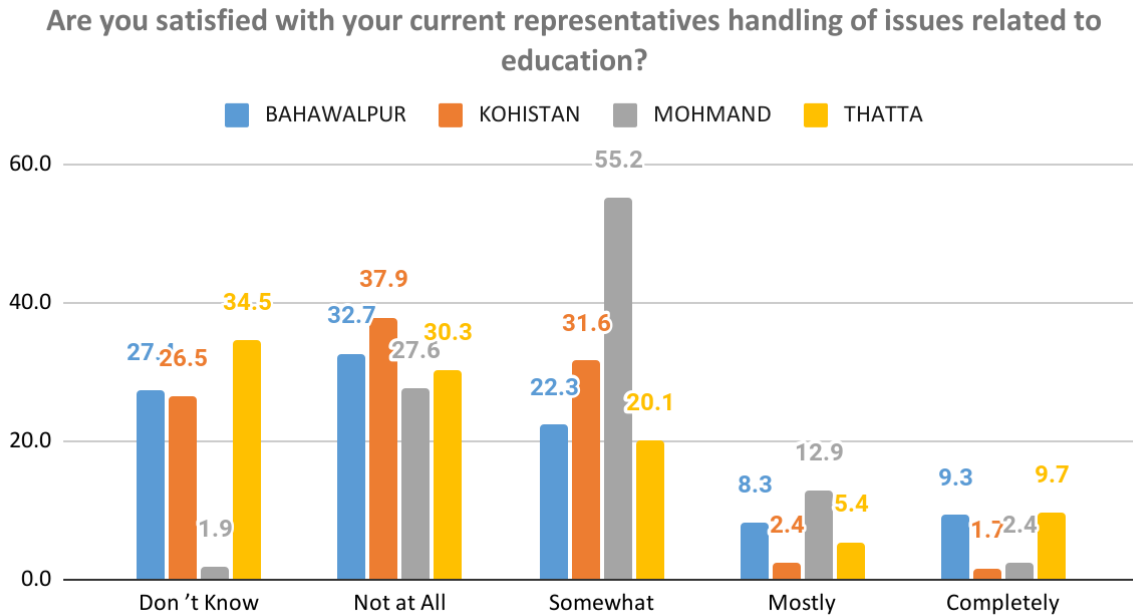
Figure 5.6.7 Trends of Improvement Areas across selected Constituencies

Similar trends emerge when it comes to satisfaction levels. 27% from Bahawalpur, 26.5% from Kohistan, 1.9% from Mohmand and 34.5% from Thatta report that they do not know of any issues related to education being handled by the current elected representative. There is also a significant number that reported dissatisfaction with 32.7% respondents in Bahawalpur, 37.9% respondents in Kohistan, 27.6% from Mohmand and 30.3% from Thatta opting for the"Not at all" option. Only 9.3% in Bahawalpur, 1.7% in Kohistan, 2.4% in Mohmand and 9.7% in Thatta expressed complete satisfaction for their political representatives and their handling of education related issues.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

As the global education systems forge ahead into the final seven years to meet the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030, the case for investing in foundational learning is a compelling one. For Foundational Learning (FL) to be sustainable it has to be seen as a critical focus from ages 3-8 years or from Early Childhood Education (ECE) to grade 2 or lower primary level covering the targets and indicators for both SDG 4.2.1 (ECE) and SDG 4.1.1 a. (lower primary) respectively.

Early Childhood Education (ECE) as a key foundational pillar is stronger than ever. Early childhood (ages 0-8) is a critical period for cognitive, social, emotional and physical development. Optimal development provides the foundation for future physical, emotional and mental health. The Sustainable Development Goals highlight pre-primary education for all as a key global target (4.2) to address learning, equity and inclusion. The economic case for support of early years education is also strong. Evidence suggests that children who experience sub-optimal development may have a 26% reduction in potential earnings as adults.[1]

Despite this evidence, recent estimates from the current study suggest that ECE is definitely not a priority area and hence needs wide range of reforms and policies for all surveyed constituencies.

Moreover, while enrollment figures specially for age group 6-16 comes out to be promising, learning levels among the selected constituencies depict an alarming situation that need urgent interventions by the state at a massive level. As the survey results show, children are not learning despite being sent to schools - and thus raises many question marks on the quality of education provided by the education system of the country. Moreover, such concerns are not translating into citizen action such as informed electoral choices by the masses and this is where efforts need to be made. With better and regular data generation, it remains critical to ensure that disadvantaged and under- served regions, provinces, constituencies and households are compensated with targeted support. Proactive and bold public policy together with multi-level partnerships across homes, schools, government, industry and development partners for education and learning in Pakistan can accelerate actions for meeting targets for 25 A and SDG4. The promise of resilience has to be translated to a hitherto unprecedented resolve for reforms in Pakistan that can be tracked by citizens and government alike.

With 2023 general elections around the corner this is a good time to share the report cards for the four constituencies - an exercise that must be taken for each one to reveal the gaps between election campaign promises and actions over 5 years tenure of each politician. This is imperative for tracking basic needs provided by the winning candidates to voters. These report cards must be in the hands of voters, both women and men, young and old from the constituencies to ensure promises that will and can be fulfilled as fundamental rights and what was promised progressively at the National Assembly, for SDGs 2030 in January 2016.

Annual Status of Education Report

اثر ASER PAKISTAN **2022**

Facilitated by Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi