UNDERSTANDING THE WORK OF FEMALE TEACHERS IN LOW FEE PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN PUNJAB, PAKISTAN

by

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While Low Fee Private Schools (LFPSs) and Public Private Partnership (PPPs) initiatives have been widely promoted in various contexts including Pakistan, they have seldom been viewed through the lens of the teacher’s life and work. To understand the work of female teachers in LFPSs, I apply a conceptual framework that demonstrates the interconnectedness of teachers’ career and working conditions, gender and teacher labour markets in looking at the work of teachers. Specifically I ask, how female teachers perceive and experience their careers, working conditions and gendered labour in LFPSs with regards to the occupational labour market for teachers in Punjab, Pakistan. My qualitative study is based on interviews and focus group discussions with teachers and principals in LFPSs located in Punjab. In addition, NGO fieldworkers and civil society members who work on education were also interviewed to gain a better understanding of the context.

Findings from my study point to how haphazard recruitment, lack of career paths and the diminishing social image and status of teachers negatively affect the work
and motivation of female teachers in LFPSs in Punjab. A crucial argument that emerges from my study is that while teachers in LFPS themselves are willing to learn and improve their performance, they do not have enough opportunities for in-service training in challenging areas such as multi-grade teaching, subject specialisation, changing syllabus and dealing with students who have very poor learning levels.

While for young, single and female teachers a major reason for leaving employment in LFPSs was their inability to work after getting married, many teachers argued that a low salary and tough working conditions, often caused women to move to other jobs. The study affirms the observation that female teachers in LFPS are paid lower wages and are increasingly being hired in private schools due to their gender. Women in LFPSs face much different working conditions, management attitudes and salary as compared to male teachers. Findings show that women’s work in LFPSs teaching in Pakistan takes place in a social, economic and political environment that constrains women’s labour force participation.
Acknowledgement

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Dedication

To my grandparents, Inam-ul-Haq and Salima Begum, who were the first ones to light the flame of learning, and writing in me.

To Musab, Mohammed, Hania, Manal and Afra, for keeping the flame burning.
**List of Acronyms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASER</td>
<td>The Annual Status of Education Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUNYAD</td>
<td>Bunyad Literacy Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFA</td>
<td>Education For All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVS</td>
<td>Education Voucher Scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GMR</td>
<td>Global Monitoring Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOP</td>
<td>Government of Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-SAPS</td>
<td>Institute of Social and Policy Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITA</td>
<td>Idara-e-Taleem-o-Agahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LFPSs</td>
<td>Low-Fee Private Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOE</td>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPPs</td>
<td>Public Private Partnerships</td>
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<td>PEF</td>
<td>Punjab Education Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSLM</td>
<td>Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey</td>
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<td>TCF</td>
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Currently the field of education is undertaking discussions and debates around the post 2015 development targets and Sustainable Development Goals. The latest reports by international organizations and actors highlight the issue of the lack of quality education in developing countries. While the drive in earlier years was to get more students in school, the present concern is to ensure that they learn and have access to a better quality of education as well. Data gathered through learning assessments, including information on teacher qualifications and absence, present a gloomy picture in terms of the learning levels of students in some South Asian and African countries (ASER, 2015; UWEZO, 2013). Pakistan is one such country that is experiencing an education crisis. Not only does Pakistan have around 25 million out-of-school children, the children in both public and low cost private schools have very low learning levels and outcomes (ASER, 2015).

In recent years the growth of the private sector has been lauded by international organizations such as the World Bank and other donors, who see low fee private schools as an effective investment to increase both access and quality of education in Pakistan (Marcus, 2013; Mundy and Menashy, 2012). Yet few studies have looked at the factors that help or hinder the provision of quality education in low fee private schools in Pakistan. The donor-promoted and government-supported discourse promoting public private partnerships and Low Fee Private Schools
(LFPSs), fails to engage in and capture the debate on the quality of education and the teaching and learning conditions in LFPSs. The lack of regulation and unchecked growth of private schools in the country raises important questions about equity, quality and access in and through education (Bano, 2008). Given that teachers are considered to be the single most influential and powerful force for equity, access and quality in education (UNESCO, 2014), there is an acute need to study their working conditions, career-paths, labour markets and opportunities for growth in the LFPS sector.

1.1 Problem Statement: Why study the female Low fee private school teacher?

According to UNESCO, an estimated 15 million to 35 million teachers are needed for meeting the Education for All goals. Pakistani private schools have shown one way around this constraint by mobilizing local women as teachers in low-income and rural areas (Andrabi, Das and Khawaja, 2008). The larger literature points to the benefits of hiring female teachers, especially in terms of attracting more girls to attend and stay in school (Haugen, Klees, Stromquist, Lin, Choti and Corneilse, 2011). In Pakistan, women are expected to work close to their homes and in a very limited set of occupations—of which teaching is one. Private schools take advantage of this environment and mostly employ as teachers young, single, moderately educated, and untrained women from the local labour market, who are paid considerably less than male private school teachers (Andrabi et al, 2008, 330). Teachers in low fee private schools are also far less likely to have received any pre-
service or in-service teacher training (Andrabi et al., 2008, 344). Low fee private schools overtly rely on the cheap labour of these locally based female teachers. It is the low cost of female teachers that enables private schools to spring up in villages where such a teacher supply exists, and the private school provision increases the density of schooling in rural areas, thus reducing the distance to school for students (Andrabi et al., 2008, 331).

While studies have looked at teacher recruitment and retention strategies in various areas of Pakistan (Bari, Aslam, Maqsood, Raza, and Khan, 2013), the issue of teacher absenteeism in government schools (Ghuman and Lloyd, 2010; Habib, 2010), and contract teachers in public schools (Mahmood, 2011), there is a serious lack of an in-depth study looking at the occupation and working conditions of female teachers in low fee private schools (LFPSs). My research attempts to fill this gap by exploring the work of teachers in these low fee private schools in Punjab, the most populated province of Pakistan. Punjab PPPs are often cited as a success story in education through its increasing number of low cost private schools (Barber, 2013; World Bank, 2013). While most research looks at how PPPs and LFPSs are able to increase girls’ enrolment through their hiring of female teachers (Andrabi et al., 2008; Marcus, 2013), we don’t know much about the work of the female teachers and the impact of this work on gender equity and the teaching profession in the country. These teachers lack training and are paid very low wages. Such factors may negatively affect teacher morale and also the quality of education provision in a country that is struggling with high drop out rates, poor quality of education and
low levels of learning (ASER, 2014). However, before looking at teachers, it is important to briefly look at the system of education they are a part of in the Pakistani context.

1.1.1 Pakistani education system, LFPSs and its teachers: a brief introduction

Geographically Pakistan lies in South Asia, neighbouring India and Afghanistan. In terms of its development indicators, Pakistan is a country that is struggling to provide the basic necessities of health, education and a sustainable environment to its growing population, largely comprised of youth. While the country has developed a nuclear arsenal to defend its borders from hostile neighbours, it has been unable to provide its population with a well-functioning system of education. The lack of political will to invest in education by the political leadership is evident in low spending of the budget on education, around 2.6% of the GDP (UNESCO, 2015).

With a Human Development Index (HDI) value of 0.538, Pakistan ranks 147th out of 188 countries and territories (UNDP, 2016). The HDI of South Asia as a region increased from 0.356 in 1980 to 0.607 today, placing Pakistan below the regional average (UNDP, 2016). Pakistan is the world’s sixth largest country, after China, India, the United States, Indonesia, and Brazil. Its population is estimated at 187 million; of this, one half is below the age of 18 years (World Bank, 2012). Pakistan, in other words, has one of the youngest populations in the world. Pakistan ranks 121st out of 155 countries in terms of its Gender Inequality Index: only 19.3 percent of women reach secondary education compared to 46.1 percent of men, while
female participation in the labour market is 24.6 percent compared to 82.9 percent for men.

Pakistan’s education indicators have remained among the worst in the Asia region and there has been no sign of progress. The national literacy rate (53 percent) is lower than that of India or Nepal. The primary net enrolment has stagnated around 42 percent for a decade. Substantial gaps persist between boys and girls, urban and rural areas, and between provinces. Quality of education is poor, with only 10 percent of children of a given cohort able to complete a 10-year cycle (Riboud, 2005). Literacy trends show that about two thirds of the country’s population are unable to read, write or comprehend a simple letter comprised of 2–3 paragraphs. Dropout rates are high. Less than 50% of enrolled students complete their primary level education. The average teacher-student ratio is 3 to 1,000 (Khalid and Khan, 2006).

Given that Pakistan has the world’s second highest out-of-school population (7 million), two-thirds of them girls (UNESCO, 2012), and a growing LFPS system to increase enrolment, very few studies have been done on the LFPS sector to examine the claim of such schools providing access to quality education while meeting the goals of gender equity.

At present the system of education is in disarray, with institutions and curricula serving different economic and social classes of the country. A public system of
education consisting of schools, colleges and universities has been set up since the independence of Pakistan in 1947 and the state had several national education policies up until the past few years. However, due to a crumbling infrastructure, shortage and absence of teachers, high drop out rates, and corruption, the public system of education has been deemed inefficient and unable to meet the educational demands of a rising population (Khalid and Khan, 2006).

The private sector has an interesting history in Pakistan that is presented in more detail in chapter 2. With a largely inadequate public system of education, the private sector has gained a strong footing in Pakistan. There are different kinds of institutions from primary to college level and a plethora of education providers ranging from private entrepreneurs running small slum schools to large elite private school chains. Khalid and Khan (2006) have divided the Pakistani system of education into six major groups: government-run institutions, Christian missionary institutions, institutions run by community members or local organizations, English-medium private schools, community schools and colleges, and religious educational institutions. These can further be divided into schools where Urdu is the medium of instruction and others where English is the medium of instruction. It is important to note that different schools follow different curricula. While the public system has a uniform curriculum for its schools, the private and LFPSs use a range of curricula and textbooks. The division of the education system becomes even more chaotic as we note that within the LFPSs, there are variations in terms of funding, management
and ownership of schools. A more detailed discussion on the categories within LFPS can be found in Chapter 4.

The mushrooming of LFPSs has clearly impacted the educational landscape of Pakistan. The number of private schools has multiplied almost three fold – at a much faster rate than the number of public sector schools. The number of private schools increased by 69%, as compared to mere 8% increase of government schools between 1999-2000 and 2007-08 (I-SAPS, 2010), most within low fee private schools, which are mostly concentrated in urban and peri-urban areas and now account for 30% of total enrolment (PSLM, 2012). A number of trends such as the increase in private tutoring (teaching students outside regular school hours for a fee) and the rise in the number of mostly single, young, under qualified and untrained female teachers, have been associated with LFPSs in Pakistan (Aslam and Atherton, 2014; Macpherson, 2014). However, the working conditions, development and careers of female teachers have largely been ignored in the existing studies done on LFPSs in the country. The work and occupation of teachers is very significant in the context of the Pakistani education system and warrants the attention of researchers, educationists, policy makers and donors.

While internationally, organizations such as UNESCO, World Bank, OECD and others argue that teachers are an important factor in every education system for achieving global education targets, in Pakistan teachers have largely been ignored and are at most considered inefficient and a drain on the system. This is apparent through the
lack of a systematic teacher policy on a national and provincial level. Reforms in teacher education and professional standards have recently garnered some attention through the support of USAID and UNESCO (Ministry of Education, 2009). In the context of Punjab, Bari, Aslam, Maqsood, Raza and Khan (2013) look at the recruitment and retention of public sector teachers. However, much needs to be done to study the working conditions, career paths, training, qualifications, labour market and rights of teachers in the Pakistani context. Often what is missing in policy documents, briefs and many research projects is the perspective of teachers and the explication of their views on their work, careers and lives as teachers and women.

As noted earlier, the rise of LFPSs is associated with an increased number of female teachers. These teachers work in tough conditions, with little or no training, and are paid abysmally low salaries. These factors have caused some to call it a human and labour rights violation (Carhill and Murtaza, 2013). Moreover, employment in LFPSs is insecure, with no contracts and benefits. This makes one question why women flock to LFPSs in order to work as teachers in Pakistan. In order to answer this question and others, one needs to explore the career and working conditions of female teachers in LFPSs. In addition to that, the experiences of female teachers need to be contextualised by understanding local cultural environments, gender-segregation and inequality that have a bearing on women’s participation in the general labour market.
1.1.2 Human rights as an overarching perspective to look at teachers work in LFPSs

The increasing feminization of teaching and the lack of decent work in teaching labour markets raise the interconnected issues of women’s rights and labour rights. The fact that female teachers should have equality of opportunity in accessing jobs, paid a decent wage and have good working conditions, similar to men, covers their rights both as women and workers. Therefore, in a study looking at female teachers’ work in LFPSs, it is useful to reflect on how teacher’s working conditions within the larger labour market intersect with and have a bearing on their rights as teachers, workers and women.

Internationally, since the end of the 1990s, various multilateral agencies as well as human rights academics, experts, and non-governmental organizations have been increasingly involved in the development of rights-based frameworks. In 1997, the United Nations began a reform process and the Secretary-General called on all entities of the UN system to:

Bring human rights into the mainstream of their activities and programs. [For] the rights-based approach focuses on the inalienable human rights of each individual, as expressed in UN instruments, and on governments’ obligation to fulfill, respect and protect those internationally defined human rights. In so doing, it aims to support and empower individuals and communities to claim their rights. In addition, a distinctive feature of this approach is that it requires an equal commitment to both process and outcomes (UNICEF/UNESCO, 2007, p. 3).

This approach has also been taken by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the UN Rapporteur on the Right to Education. The right to
education constitutes an important part of human rights and is emphasised in the following statement by the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Twenty-first session, 1999, para. 48):

Education is both a human right in itself and an indispensable means of realizing other human rights. As an empowerment right, education is the primary vehicle by which economically and socially marginalized adults and children can lift themselves out of poverty and obtain the means to participate fully in their communities... Education has a vital role in empowering women.

Compared to other human rights, there have been few collective efforts to develop frameworks around education rights, particularly the rights of teachers. An exception is the London-based Right to Education (RTE) project, which draws heavily on international human rights law and employs several rights-based indicators to examine the right to education. The RTE uses a framework that encompasses the three fundamental human rights principles of non-discrimination, participation and accountability (RTE, 2010). According to Tomsevski (2003), education rights are not related to only accessing schools but also to rights in and through education. Education quality is integral to rights (UNESCO, 2004; Watkins, 2011). The main barriers to ensuring education rights have been poverty, school-related financial and cost issues, teacher quality, cultural relevance, school management, and government non-implementation of policies and legislation.

A rights-based approach ensures that the labour rights of teachers (especially women) are balanced against students’ rights to an education. Without teachers,
education is unavailable, and where teachers are untrained or where their rights are unrecognised, education will not be of sufficient quality (Wilson, 2004). As highlighted by UNESCO, “It is neither possible nor acceptable to demand that teachers respect children’s rights when their own rights are violated and ignored. Ultimately, unless the rights of teachers are respected, a quality education for children cannot be achieved” (UNESCO, 2007, p.72). However, the issue of gendered labour in education, especially the work of female teachers in low cost private schools in developing countries, is not really delved into by UNESCO studies and reports.

The Dakar Declaration argues for achieving gender equity in education by placing “a rights-based empowerment framework that will give poor and vulnerable girls a voice and ensure that their right to quality education is sustained” (UNGEI, 2010). I would like to extend this from girls as learners to include girls and women as teachers whose right to quality employment and working conditions as educators need to be sustained. In other words, a rights-based framework should not only measure the right to education in terms of access to schools and achievement rates, but also consider contextual issues including rights in and through education (Spreen and Vally, 2012). This is very important in the context of PPPs and LFPSs, as the existing literature and arguments supporting private provision of education deal with gender equity in education in a very superficial manner (see chapter 2 for more detail).
Gender equity in education is primarily seen as achieved by some through the rise in the enrolment of girls in LFPS. The literature tends to mostly ignore concerns around the gender of the teacher and her differential treatment by virtue of her gender. This is a paradox in the literature supporting LFPSs, which are said to serve the goal of gender equity in education. On one hand, it is argued that LFPSs will and should encourage more enrolment of girls, but on the other hand, LFPSs are hiring untrained and poorly paid female teachers and thus exploiting the rights of young women. Through my study of female teachers in LFPSs, I bring forth the issue of gender in PPPs and LFPSs by focusing on the work of teachers. While it is beyond the scope of this study to employ a rights-based framework to look at the work of teachers in LFPSs, I do highlight some important connections between teacher’s work, gender and their rights as teachers, workers and women. After presenting the findings, I revisit human rights as an overarching perspective in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

1.2 Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of my dissertation is to interrogate the career trajectory and working conditions of female teachers in LFPS in the current teacher labour market conditions in Pakistan. Such a framework has not been used extensively to look at the work of female teachers in LFPSs and has much to offer in terms of understanding the precarious employment conditions of teachers that can have long-term consequences for female teachers and students in developing contexts.
This dissertation attempts to bring the work of female teachers into the larger discussion of LFPSs in Punjab. By highlighting the experiences of female teachers, my dissertation demonstrates the complexity of factors and constraints that have a bearing on women’s choice to teach in LFPSs. By looking at the occupational labour market for female teachers, my study contextualizes the lack of decent work and the segregation of women in vulnerable employment in LFPSs as a reflection of the larger socio-economic system. By considering these conditions that affect female teachers, my study focuses on the question of gender equity in and through education by looking at women’s employment in LFPSs.

My dissertation emphasises the importance of including female teachers in goals and discussions of gender equity in education. The work and treatment of female teachers in LFPSs is significant when looking at how privatization of education can perpetuate and deepen gender inequality, violating the rights of girls and women. Therefore, a key purpose of this dissertation is to bring teachers into the discussion of gender in education by questioning the issue of gender equity in LFPSs through analysing the work of female teachers. My doctoral dissertation explores the work of female teachers in LFPSs in Punjab, Pakistan by asking the following questions:

1. How do female teachers perceive their career trajectory in Low Fee Private Schools (LFPSs) in Punjab?
   Why are women attracted to work in LFPSs?
   How does it affect their long-term career paths?
2. What are the critical working conditions for female teachers in LFPSs?

   How do the working conditions of teachers in LFPSs affect their job satisfaction and long-term careers?

3. How can the work of female teachers in LFPSs be understood with regards to the occupational labour market for teachers in Punjab?

   What are the teachers’ views about gender and how does that affect their work and long-term career paths?

Utilizing a qualitative research approach, this dissertation is informed by fieldwork carried out in areas surrounding Lahore, Punjab over three months from January to March 2016. I undertook approximately 115 individual and group interviews with teachers, principals, and NGO officials scattered in and around different peri-urban and rural areas of Lahore and Punjab. In addition, I consulted various secondary sources, surveys and articles. Through a combination of qualitative research methods, I have sought to address the above research questions by employing a conceptual framework that demonstrates the interconnectedness of teacher’s working conditions, career, gender and teaching labour markets, especially when looking at the work and career of female teachers in LFPSs. This analysis has helped me to focus primarily on the working lives of female teachers in LFPSs in a context of increasing feminization of teaching.
1.3 Significance of research

By looking at the largely unexplored area of teacher’s work in LFPSs, my study aims to fill a gap in the research on teachers in LFPSs in general and Pakistan specifically. This is crucial as teachers play a very important role in the provision of education and constitute a major factor affecting the quality of education in LFPSs. While many of the debates on LFPSs refer to the Pakistani case where young women are providing cheap labour and the possibility of running schools in urban and rural areas, there is no in-depth study documenting their working conditions, career trajectories and their view on this form of employment.

The exponential rise in LFPSs in many developing contexts, including Pakistan, makes it imperative for us to look at the teaching and learning conditions in these schools and whether they are fulfilling the goals of access, equity and quality in education, for both the teachers and learners. Recently it has been announced that the provincial government will not be creating new public schools in Punjab but will invest in low fee private schools and privatise many of the existing government schools (The News, 2nd May, 2016). Such a drastic move can have damaging consequences for public education provision and the right to education. The Punjab Teacher’s Union has been protesting this move towards privatization and argues that the government and society continue to treat its teachers as second-class citizens. It maintains, moreover, that if such a policy is being promoted without an understanding of the challenges to quality teaching and learning in LFPSs, it will indeed fail to achieve any of the education goals of access, equity and quality (The
In the context of such policy reforms, it is hoped that my study, highlighting the issue of female teachers, their working conditions, qualifications, training, remuneration and career within LFPSs, will provide policymakers and donors with a detailed view of the gender inequalities, rights violations and the questionable quality of education in these schools. This study illustrates that the growing private sector cannot be left unregulated as it continues to violate the rights of female teachers.

While this study focuses primarily on LFPS teachers, it can make a contribution to the literature highlighting challenges in recruiting, training and retaining women teachers in Pakistan in general and LFPSs in particular. Moreover, this study, along with others, underscores the need to have a sound teacher policy at national and provincial levels, designed with the participation of teachers and other stakeholders. Given that LFPSs sector in Pakistan presents a case of feminization of teaching, the treatment and the quality of teachers in these schools have deeper consequences for gender equity in and through education. This study illuminates an often-ignored aspect of gender equity within LFPSs and the larger PPPs in education debate through looking at the work of female teachers.

My study attempts to give a voice to female teachers in LFPSs. Much of the research on LFPSs, especially in the context of Pakistan, has ignored teachers and their
working conditions. My study is part of what Goodson (2014, p.34) terms “a counter culture which will resist the tendency common in research studies to leave teachers ‘in the shadows.’” Rooted in this counter culture, my dissertation places the study of teachers and the sponsorship of ‘teachers’ voices’ at the centre of the research action and in the larger debate on LFPSs and PPPs in education. While LFPSs and PPP initiatives have been widely promoted in various contexts including Pakistan, they have seldom been viewed through the lens of the teacher’s life and work.

1.4 Limitations

The goal of my study was to gather some rich accounts of critical working conditions affecting the work of teachers in LFPSs and hence I focused on getting in-depth interviews with only 48 participant teachers from a sample of 27 schools in Punjab. While the number is suitable for a descriptive study, it cannot be used to generalize the experience of all teachers in LFPSs. In addition, my study is limited to capturing the experiences of teachers in LFPSs and not those in the public system. A future research project would be to interview teachers in public schools in the same province to compare the differences and similarities between the conditions and experiences of teachers in both sectors.

The study also limits itself to interviewing teachers in LFPSs within the province of Punjab. Other provinces such as Khyber Pakhtunkhawa, Sindh and other areas where LFPSs have mushroomed, might offer richer insights and/or potential
comparisons when looking at teachers working conditions. Moreover, my study focuses on understanding the experiences, working lives and career of female teachers in LFPSs. Due to the lack of time and resources and the scope of the study, male teachers in LFPSs were not included. Perhaps the testimonies of male teachers would provide data for comparison and a broader look at gender within teaching in LFPSs. In addition, it would be worthwhile to gather the views of parents regarding teachers in LFPSs in order to understand how other stakeholders view teachers, their preparedness and their work in these schools. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the significance and anticipated benefits of this study outweigh the mentioned limitations.

1.5 Dissertation structure

This thesis is organized into seven chapters. In chapter 1, I have provided an introduction to the study context and explained the purpose of my study along with the research questions posed. I illustrated the significance of the study and its relevance for the literature on LFPSs in general and Pakistan in particular. By looking briefly at the Pakistani system of education marked by the recent growth of LFPSs and the increasing feminization of teaching, I explained why it makes an interesting site to study. I also reflect on the significance of human rights as an overarching perspective in this study on teacher’s work in LFPSs. I also presented some limitations of the study and inform the reader about the organization of the thesis.
In chapter 2, I delve deeper into the study context. I start by situating the study within the existing literature on LFPSs in various developing contexts. I proceed to present the rise of LFPSs in Pakistan and national policy context in education that has played a role in nurturing the emerging market of low-fee private schools in the country. I note the increase in the number of female teachers that have paralleled the mushrooming of LFPSs in the country. I end the chapter with brief descriptions of two LFPSs that were a part of this study in order to better orient the reader to understand the contexts, infrastructure and surroundings of the schools before assessing the work of teachers.

In chapter 3, I draw on literature in three key areas: teachers’ careers, working conditions and teacher labour markets that help formulate a conceptual framework for the study.

After orienting the reader about LFPSs and the study context in chapter 2 and providing a literature review in chapter 3, Chapter 4 presents the conceptual framework utilized in my study on teachers in LFPSs and the methodology used to operationalize this framework. I draw on literature and concepts from three broad areas: teachers’ career and working conditions, gender and feminization in teaching, and teacher labour markets in education to formulate a framework. In addition, I explain my rationale for using a qualitative methods approach in this study and describe how data are collected and analyzed. In this chapter I also provide information on ethical considerations of the study, how I negotiated access to research participants, and a review of my main data sources, and sampling
procedures. I also address issues of validity, reliability and transferability.

Chapter 5, which is the first findings chapter, draws on the interviews and focus group discussions with teachers and principals to understand the career trajectory and working conditions of female teachers in LFPSs in Punjab. Information gathered on the educational background of the teachers, their choice of entering teaching, recruitment in LFPSs, their interest to stay or leave the profession, and the overall social image of the teacher, which constitutes an important part of the data set gathered for this study, are presented in the first section of the chapter. In the second section of this chapter, I look at some factors that constitute LFPSs teachers’ working conditions, including school infrastructure, teacher’s workload, salary, training, the practice of private tutoring after school hours, student demographics and parental support and the role of the principal. By profiling the LFPS teacher and outlining her broader career prospects and working conditions, the chapter shows how teachers’ working lives are affected by both personal and social factors.

In light of the findings presented on teachers’ career and working conditions in chapters 5, chapter 6 focuses on the gendered labour market conditions for teachers and the various factors that affect their choice to become teachers. This chapter demonstrates the use of the conceptual framework (delineated in Chapter 4) in the study of female teachers in LFPSs in Punjab. By piecing together the data from chapters 5 and this chapter, I highlight the interconnectedness of career, working conditions, gender and labour market within teaching in LFPSs.

And finally in chapter 7, I revisit the research questions, summarize the findings of
my study and align them to the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 4. I reflect on some of the implications of the study for teaching and policy in Punjab, Pakistan. I also draw on the analysis to reflect on the overarching perspective of human rights in education, particularly the right to decent work for female teachers in LFPSs. The chapter looks at the contribution of the study in the Pakistani context and the larger literature on teachers in LFPSs and PPPs in education. The chapter concludes the thesis with some directions for future research.
Chapter 2: The phenomenon of Low Fee Private Schooling in Pakistan

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the literature on low fee private schooling and the debates surrounding it. In the first section, I present some of the definitional debates around what is termed low-fee or low-cost schools or what has now also come to be known as “private schools for the poor.” I capture the rise of the low fee private schooling sector in developing contexts. I examine the reasons for the unprecedented growth in this sector, along with the rise in the number of non-state providers in the provision of education in developing countries.

In the second section, I look at the context of my study, Pakistan, and present its social and education indicators to orient the reader. I briefly present the national policy context in education that has played a role in nurturing the emerging market of Low-Fee Private Schools (LFPSs) in Pakistan. I also reflect on the role of donors in the promotion and financing of low fee private schools in the country.

In the third section, I focus briefly on the teachers in private and low fee private schools in Pakistan. The growth in the size of the teaching labour force, especially female labour force, has been exponential and in parallel to the mushrooming of low cost private schools. While different aspects of LFPS education have been researched on such as access, learning, quality, facilities, teachers have been largely
ignored. This section provides a background to the area of teachers in LFPSs and orients the reader for the findings and discussions on teacher’s work, career and labour market that are presented in the remaining chapters of my study. In section four, I provide a portrait of two low fee private schools in my study. The intent is to give the reader the contextual understanding necessary to understand and to assess the work of teachers in LFPSs, the physical infrastructure of these school and the surroundings of the school. This data is based on my school observation, field notes and informal conversations with school staff and community members.

2.2 Non-state providers in education and Low fee private schools

The global educational landscape has experienced many changes over the past few decades. The all-encompassing liberalization agenda has supported the rise of private actors in areas that were previously considered to be domains of state responsibility and provision. Despite the ongoing debates on education as a public vs. private good in various spheres, the increasing role of the private sector has been seen as being inevitable. In many developing contexts, failing public education systems have created a gap that has been filled by non-state providers in education. Global institutions such as UN, World Bank, NGOs, researchers and policymakers, have therefore acknowledged and in some cases promoted many of these non-state providers in education. For instance, a Department for International Development (DFID) report on the role of non-state provision in meeting the needs of the poor in Nigeria states that private unregistered schools are “filling an important gap in
provision” (Adelabu & Rose, 2004, p. 48). Similarly, Watkins (2000) in the Oxfam Education Report suggests that “...a lower cost private sector has emerged to meet the demands of poor households” (p. 230). However, there is less agreement about whether these schools can potentially help meet the Education For All goals due to issues of sustainability, financing, scaling up and human rights.

Much has been written about the role of non-state providers (NSPs) in education, especially in developing contexts (UNICEF, 2011; Rose, 2007; DeStefano and Moore, 2010). These non-state providers “may include NGOs, faith-based organizations, communities and commercially- oriented private entrepreneurs (‘edupreneurs’), each with different motives for their involvement in education” (Rose, 2007, p. 2). Although the provision of education in low-fee schools is largely undertaken by private for-profit NSPs, there are also not-for-profit low-fee schools run by faith- based organizations and NGOs. However, the complexity of delineating these non- state providers as in the case of low-fee private schools in Pakistan makes Rose’s typology (2007) a little problematic and demonstrates the opaque dynamics of the sector.

Diversity of private education in Pakistan is a characteristic feature and has tremendous implications for policy research, but this aspect remains largely under explored in the literature (I-SAPS, 2010). Private sector providers of education have
generally been treated as a homogenous category in the Pakistani context. Usually differentiation is made between low- and high-fee schools, Urdu- and English-medium schools with different syllabi, and between boys, girls and mixed schools. In reality the private educational institutions can be classified along a much broader range of categories and characteristics that differentiate one from the other type (I-SAPS, 2010). There are, for example, faith-based schools that are established along ideological lines to promote certain kind of religious or secular education. Then, within the religious institutions, there are some that are believed to be conservative while others are considered to be in sync with requirements of the modern age. In addition, there are not-for-profit private educational institutions set up by non-governmental organizations or charities for welfare of the poor, which co-exist with purely profit-oriented commercial institutions (I-SAPS, 2010). In this study, I focus on those schools that can be classified as “low-fee private schools”. This is not simple as there is heterogeneity within the category of low fee private schools.

While the term “low-fee” private schools was originally coined by Srivastava (2006), referring to unregulated, unregistered and unrecognized private schools in India, the term has gained much currency and is widely used interchangeably with “low-cost” private schools to loosely describe these schools which charge minimal fees, cater to the poorer households in society, and are not managed by the government (Sivasubramaniam, 2014, p.13). However, Srivastava (2013) also points out that low-fee schools are problematic to analyze because they are heterogeneous. The
complexity of the management, financing, ownership and regulatory arrangements of low fee schools makes it challenging to present the phenomenon in a single definition that captures the heterogeneity. Kitaev (1999, p. 43) offers a broad definition:

Private education is...all formal schools that are not public, and may be founded, owned, managed, and financed by actors other than the state, even in cases where the state provides most of the funding and has considerable control over these schools.

This definition illustrates the complexity of distinguishing between private/public spheres in education, with different arrangements possible in relation to provision/financing/regulation (Rose, 2007). While this definition maybe broad, it can be problematic in the context of Pakistan, because while the state, through semi-autonomous provincial education foundations, does provide funding for students and textbooks to low-fee schools, it is only a small number of schools that have qualified based on specific criteria established for funding. Further, the state does not have full control over these schools, which are primarily located in peri-urban and rural settlements. Phillipson (2008), on the other hand contends that LFPSs are, “All fee-paying schools/educational establishments offering basic/primary education independent of the government educational system” (p. 7). A more apt definition of LFPSs is by Wildish (2011) who describes them as, “...poorly resourced, fee-charging, para-formal schools established and run by non-state providers (NSPs) and with limited engagement with the government” (p. 97).
In the case of Pakistan, low fee private schools have various funding, management, ownership and regulatory arrangements. LFPSs are often established by individual “edupreneurs,” educational entrepreneurs, or community members who live in the community themselves and see a need for educational opportunity for children in rural and slum localities. But LFPSs can also be set up by faith-based groups, NGOs and charitable trusts. Many LFPSs escape regulation and remain unregistered especially in rural and slum settlements. There are a number of regulatory laws for private education sector in place in Pakistan but little information is available about the status of their implementation (I-SAPS, 2010).

Research shows that low fee private schools are a growing phenomenon throughout the developing world and that these schools are increasingly catering to the educational needs of poor, primary school children in marginalized areas (Kingdon, 1996; Muralidharan & Kremer, 2006; Rose, 2002; Tooley & Dixon, 2003, 2005; Watkins, 2000). Some of the reasons that have led to the flourishing of the low fee private sector include the low quality of government schools, including problems with teacher absenteeism and a lack of teacher commitment (Tooley, Dixon, & Olaniyan, 2005; Watkins, 2000). Phillipson (2008, p. 16) points to the following factors as driving the market demand for low-fee schools: an oversupply of teachers, high hidden costs of government schooling, private tuition costs, language of instruction; and poor performance of the public sector.

However, others argue that LFPSs are controversial on a number of fronts: first, because to some observers, they exploit the aspirations of the poor to do well for
their child; second, because they are relatively expensive for the poor, the result is that households on meager incomes will be faced with choosing which child the family invests in, making it particularly divisive; and third, these schools may not be better than the government school—but the promise of a (not particularly good) private education and in some cases as English-medium private education, is regarded as highly desirable by families (Macpherson, 2014, p.15). Some such as Alif Ailaan (2014) and Nambissan (2012) see low fee private ‘schools’ as mere teaching shops that profess to offer private ‘English medium’ education which low-income parents aspire to for their children.

In addition, Nambissan (2012) argues that low-cost school advocates such as Tooley, who had initially waxed eloquent about budget schools, have admitted to shoddy teaching and the rapid turnover of teachers—who leave these schools for a raise of Rupees. 100/200 (Chandrasekaran, 2010). Garg asserts “in some low cost schools, teachers are so under-qualified, that they cannot speak in English let alone teach in English, one of the biggest attractions for parents in the lower income segment” (2011,p.31). This shows that the larger literature is far from conclusive about the issues of access, equity and quality in LFPS.

There is also a lack of consensus on whether LFPSs help to further the EFA goals and the sustainable development goal of education. When discussing the dynamics of the
LFPS sector, it is important to have an understanding of the country and educational context. Therefore, before looking at the LFPS sector in Pakistan, I present the existing state of education in the country, along with the factors and policies that have helped the emergence of private schools over the past few decades. Understanding the context and the education landscape helps the reader to better analyze the rise and sustainability of the LFPS sector in Pakistan.

### 2.3 Education system of Pakistan

Pakistan presents a bleak picture in terms of the indicators that provide a composite measure of three basic dimensions of human development: health, education and income. With a Human Development Index (HDI) value of 0.538, Pakistan ranks 147th out of 188 countries and territories (UNDP, 2016). The literacy indicators show that the education system of Pakistan if facing a serious crisis. The national literacy rate (53 percent) is lower than that of India or Nepal. The primary net enrolment has stagnated around 42 percent for a decade. Substantial gaps persisted between boys and girls, between urban and rural areas, and between provinces. Quality of education is poor, with only 10 percent of children of a given cohort able to complete a 10-year cycle, and governance issues impeded an adequate functioning of the sector (Riboud, 2005). Literacy trends show that about two thirds of the country’s population are unable to read, write or comprehend a simple letter comprised of 2–3 paragraphs. Dropout rates are alarming. Less than 50% of enrolled students complete their primary level education.
It is important to note that the National Education Policy (NEP) 2009, though recognized the importance of Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) and private sector provision, shifted the main responsibility back to the state, committing that the “governments shall... allocate... 7 percent of GDP to education by 2015” rather than the current 2.7 percent (Ministry of Education, 2009, p.20). Article 25 A of the 18th constitutional amendment of Pakistan (2010) further establishes that it is solely the state’s responsibility to provide free and compulsory education to all children aged 5-16. Despite the declaration, state spending on education remains dismally low in the country. The pupil-teacher ratio at the primary level is 40 and the educational budget has been around 2.4% of GDP (UNESCO, 2011). Pakistan ranks 113 of 120 countries in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization’s Education for All Education Development Index1. It has the world’s second highest out-of-school population (7 million), two-thirds of them girls (UNESCO, 2012).

Given the present trend, it’s not surprising that Pakistan fell short of meeting the United Nations’ Millennium Development Goal of universal primary education by 2015. Government or public schools suffer from crumbling infrastructure, inadequate resources, lack of teachers, poor quality of education and learning outcomes, illiteracy and high dropout rate.

It is important to note that at the time of its independence in 1947, the founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the early leadership of Pakistan understood and

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1 This is a composite index that provides an assessment of a country’s education system on four Education for All goals: universal primary education, adult literacy, quality, and gender.
emphasized the importance of high quality education in nation-building (Government of Pakistan, 1971). But despite the clear vision and comprehensive nature of the plans for education reforms expressed in the Commission of National Education in 1959, these plans were never fully implemented. From 1947 to 2008 many governments came to power and each had a new agenda for educational reform and policy- “a list of ill conceived and infantile wish list of half-baked, unimplementable ideas” (Hoodbhoy, 1999). Of course when each government makes its exit from power, that government’s policy ends up in the garbage and the subsequent policy makes no reference to the previous one (Hoodbhoy, 1999). There have been eight five-year plans to date, in addition to sometimes overlapping national policy directives. There have been four national education policy documents (1970, 19972-80, 1992 and 1998-2010).

A brief historical look at the policy targets and outcomes reveals disconnected targets and expenditures, inconsistencies in policy evolution, failure of monitoring and accountability, and lack of management information systems to inform the policy debate and development (Malik, 2007,p.12). Despite the churning out of educational plans and reports by various regimes, the ground realities remained relatively unchanged both quantitatively and qualitatively, owing to bad governance, red tape, apathy, corruption, short lived governments, conflicting policies, confusion and lack of direction (Khalid and Khan, 2006).

In the absence of proper representation of teachers from universities, colleges or schools in the Education commissions during various regimes, donor agencies
pressed for their own priorities while bureaucrats and foreign consultants tried to impose their views with the help of government authority (Khalid and Khan, 2006). This explains why policies kept frequently changing, to the detriment of the nation. All efforts seemed flawed, hasty and short-sighted as they failed to address the ground realities of the education system pertaining to the crumbling infrastructure and inadequate resources, lack of teachers, illiteracy, high dropout rate and inequality.

2.3.1 Education reforms and the rise of Private schooling in Pakistan

Historically, private sector involvement in education is not a new phenomenon in Pakistan. In fact, the private sector had a share of almost 70% of service provision at post primary levels prior to nationalization (1972) and has regained popularity progressively, in recent years, as a complementary mode of education provision in the country (ILM IDEAS, 2014). Privatization of education in Pakistan accelerated following the policy titled “National Education Policy 1979,” when the government acknowledged its inability to make universal education a reality due to lack of resources and capability. Not only did the government reverse the 1972 policy on nationalization of education but also viewed privatization of education as a viable policy prescription for changing the direction of education in Pakistan. Subsequent to the educational policy in 1979, all polices have acknowledged the private sector and encouraged it to play an important role in education.

The private sector has officially been ushered into the arena for “financing,
management and delivery of education services” (Government of Pakistan, 2005). In their report, Heyneman, Stern and Smith (2011) argue that both the government and donor organizations have been providing assistance to private schools throughout the country for nearly two decades. However, many of these programs have not been very successful. For example, shortly after the education nationalization plans were abolished, the government attempted to support private schools through public-private partnerships (PPPs) but as Heyneman et.al (2011) state, few of these projects survived. Despite that the private sector in education continued to grow in the ninety nineties and also witnessed an “incentives program” for the private sector inclusive of: tax-exemptions, concessional land, domestic tariff rates, Educational Foundations and concessional financing (Government of Pakistan, 2005; Aly, 2007, p. 28). The establishment of provincial foundations has been an important step in promoting and supporting private sector providers in education in the country.

Since the late 1970s, there has been a growth in private educational institutions in the country at all levels. Pakistan’s education system at present is a “colossal mumble jumble of concepts and approaches” and is a cause of creating a class-based society (Khalid and Khan, 2006, p.311). There are different kinds of institutions from primary to college level. These can be divided into six major groups: government-run institutions, Christian missionary institutions, institutions run by community members or local organizations, English-medium private schools, community schools and colleges, and religious educational institutions (Khalid and Khan, 2006). These can further be divided into schools where Urdu is the medium of
instruction (government schools, religious institutions) and others where English is the medium of instruction (private schools, Christian missionary schools, some community schools). In this context of multiple educational systems, there is a strong emerging argument that given the government’s lack of commitment toward discharging its responsibility to create an enabling environment for equal educational opportunities, it is likely that this “diversity generated by commercialism will turn into disarray with the passage of time” (Khalid and Khan, 2006, p. 311).

A substantial expansion of the private sector was justified to shoulder the efforts towards achieving Education For All and Millennium Development Goals targets; growth in enrolment in non-government institutions between 1990 and 1996/7 was 61 percent for boys and 131 percent for girls (Government of Pakistan, 1998, p. 23). This boom in private schools during the 1990s was different from that in the previous decades; while previously the private sector was monopolized by metropolitan elite schools and missionary institutions (Aly, 2006, p. 28), this time the increase was dominated by private provision in both the rural and urban areas (Andrabi, Das and Khawaja, 2008). Andrabi and colleagues (2008) use a number of data sources, including the population census, the Punjab Educational Management Information Systems (EMIS), the census of private educational institutions in Pakistan (PEIP), and the Pakistan Integrated Household Survey (PIHS) from years 1991 and 2001 to examine the growth of private schooling across provinces, the rural/urban divide, and income groups and enrolment differences.
Looking at the data, Andrabi and colleagues (2008, p. 335) argue that there has been a tenfold increase in private schools in the country in less than two decades. This increase in the creation of private schools has translated into an increase in enrolment rates in the private sector in the four main provinces between 1991 and 2001, although their specific experiences varied (Andrabi et al, 2008). Punjab and Khyber Pukhtoonkhawa experienced the largest growth (from 15 to 30 percent and from 4 to 17 percent, respectively), while in Sindh (from 16 to 21 percent) and Balochistan (from 4 to 6 percent) the percentage growth was smaller (Andrabi et al, 2008, p. 336).

However, as Jamil, Javaid and Rangaraju (2012) argue, the final thrust to the privatization in Pakistan was provided by the Musharraf government (1999-2008), seeking to implement the existing National Education Policy 1998-2010, operationalized through the Education Sector Reform (ESR) Action Plan 2001-2005/6. The ESR Action Plan formally relegated the government’s role from provider to facilitator and financier of the delivery of educational services with multiple partners (Ministry of Education, 2004). One of the most promising aspects of the National Education Policy 1998-2010 for the private sector was to provide concessions to private schools (including free land, subsidized gas and electricity rates, and tax-exempt status).

2.3.2 Low fee private schools in Punjab

The expansion in private schooling in Pakistan is in part a response to an increasing
demand for provision of education from a rapidly expanding school-age population, as well as the public sector’s inability to attract and provide education to all of these potential students (ILM IDEAS, 2014). The number of private schools has multiplied almost three fold – at a much faster rate than the number of public sector schools.

The number of private schools increased by 69%, as compared to mere 8% increase of government schools between 1999-2000 and 2007-08 (I-SAPS, 2010). Most of this growth has been within low fee private schools (LFPS), which now account for 30% of total enrolment (PSLM, 2012).

Private schools operate at different levels and offer services to all layers of socio-economic segments and areas in Pakistan. The sector features a highly varied range of fee structures and diverse operating models, ranging from single elite schools and large networks of schools catering to the upper and middle-income segments of the population to LFPSs that cater to lower-middle and low-income households (ILM IDEAS, 2014). LFPSs are those privately owned and operated schools charging low fees, often ranging between PKR 10 and PKR 2500 (ILM IDEAS, 2014). For the past decade, the private education sector - especially at the primary level - has been recognized as one of the fastest growing sub-sectors of the education industry in Pakistan. With an estimated 70,000 low fee private schools operating in Pakistan, this is a sector that is catering to the educational needs of a significant percentage of the population (ILM IDEAS, 2014).

Low fee private schools are particularly prevalent in the wealthier Punjab province, where the government has recently announced that all new schools will be
established through public funding to support the establishment or subsidization of low fee private schools (Malik and Rose, 2015, p.8). The province has been particularly proactive in promoting these schools through public-private partnership (PPP) modalities that are managed and financed through the Punjab Education Foundation (PEF). The PEF was established in 1991 and restructured in 2004 into an autonomous and independent institution with the aim of promoting high quality education for the poor through partnerships with the private sector (Patrinos Barrera-Osorio, & Guaqueta, 2009). The foundation channels public financing to private sector schools through a number of initiatives ranging from vouchers to the Foundation Assisted Schools model.

While these initiatives appear to have supported the provision of education at lower cost, they give rise to equity concerns (Malik and Rose, 2015). Across the country, there are great discrepancies in who is able to access to private schooling amongst those surveyed by ASER; only around 10% of those in school from the poorest households in rural areas are in private schools, compared with 40% of those from the richest households (Malik and Rose, 2015, p.8). In addition, there is a clear gender divide amongst the poorest; after controlling for other factors, in rural Pakistan the poorest girls are 31% less likely to attend private schools than are the poorest boys (Alcott and Rose, 2015).

In addition to equity, there are also concerns about the quality of education in LFPSs. Although private schools may be of better quality than government schools, on average many children are not learning regardless of the type of school they are
attending, suggesting that problems of quality are endemic in the education system (Malik and Rose, 2015, p.8): amongst 10-12 year olds in rural government schools who should have reached Grade 5, one-third cannot read sentences, with more than one-fifth in rural private schools unable to achieve this task, which they are expected to have reached by Grade 2 (Malik and Rose, 2015, p.8).

2.3.3 The role of donors in promoting Public Private Partnerships and Low Fee Private Schools

International organizations and donors have also played an important role in the formulation of education policy, particularly that relating to PPPs and private sector provision. The Education For All (EFA) Forum at Dakar in 2000 strengthened Pakistan’s commitment towards universal education provision and public-private partnerships (PPPs). Under the umbrella of Public Private Partnerships in education, low fee private schools have been promoted, mostly by donors through their policy and projects, as a way to solve Pakistan’s education woes and achieve EFA targets. As mentioned earlier, low fee private schooling under the Punjab Education Foundation has been promoted as a success story by the World Bank and other actors (Marcus, 2013; Barber, 2013). The community of experts and researchers at the Bank and agencies like Department For International Development (DFID) and Asian Development Bank (ADB) have in recent years published studies on the province of Punjab in Pakistan that has seen a rise in enrolment in private sector, especially low fee private schools. Invoked as “good
news from Pakistan\(^2\), the case of Punjab is worth studying to understand the role of
the public, private and international institutions and agencies in the provision,
management and governance of education. Owing to the success in Punjab, Pakistan
as a whole has witnessed a rise in the number of Public Private partnerships (PPPs)
in education projects that are being launched by donor agencies in coordination
with the government

Influenced by donor discourse, PPPs have become the primary strategy of the
Government of Pakistan to address issues of access, quality and equity in education,
as a Government document states: “the Education Sector Reform is anchored in
development of partnerships between the private sector, civil society organizations,
and the public sector. Public-private partnerships are critical to reaching the goals of
access and quality at all levels of education creating possibilities for both voice and
choice and improved service delivery” (GoP, 2003, p.70). The influence of the
international development institutions such as World Bank, USAID, Asian
Development Bank, in promoting the idea of PPPs is very obvious in government
and donor documents as many of these strategy documents frame PPPs within the
Millennium Development Goal No. 8 (Forming Partnerships in Development) (GoP,
2003).

Since 2001, a number of PPP models have gained visibility within Pakistan. Bano

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\(^2\) Refers to the title of the report by Michael Barber (2013) see
http://www.reform.co.uk/content/20419/research/education/the_good_news_from_pakistan
(2008) documents four key PPP models promoted with the Pakistan Education Action Plan 2001-2005: Adopt a School Programme, concessions to private schools, Up- Gradation of Schools through Community Participation Project (CPP), and School Management Committees and Citizen Community Boards. Donors such as Department for International Development (DFID), Asian Development Bank, USAID and the World Bank are currently propelling PPPs through their projects in the country and have specifically targeted programs in the province of Punjab. DFID is funding access to finance initiatives for low fee private schools on a large scale in Pakistan (Malik and Rose, 2015).

There is a strong focus on developing entrepreneurship models of education service delivery (‘edupreneurs’), with support being provided by setting up a large innovation fund. Under the umbrella of public private partnerships (PPPs), World Bank funded projects in Punjab and elsewhere have aimed at increasing low cost private schools for the poor, provision of free textbooks, vouchers and stipends to girls. The Bank presents its rationale for private schooling based on its internal reports and research. In the appraisal report of the recent Second Punjab Education Sector Project (2012), it is stated that:

responding to the broad demand for greater access and better quality, a sizeable and rapidly expanding low-cost private schooling system has emerged in Punjab which serves as an alternative to the government school system for low-income and rural households (the main clientele for government schools) (p.2).

Despite the support of donors, there are concerns about the push for low fee private provision within and outside the donor community, particularly in the absence of a
strong state-led and state-implemented regulatory framework for private schools (Malik and Rose, 2015). For example, there are concerns amongst policy researchers about a conflict with the official mandate that donors, such as DFID, have, which is to work to strengthen governments’ capacity. An aggressive push for private sector providers may be seen as a violation of this mandate, and of the Right to Education clause added to the constitution (Article 25-A). Promotion of fee-charging schools as a matter of policy is interpreted to be a violation of the right to education.

While there is recognition that the private sector has helped absorb a considerable demand for schooling, there is considerable skepticism amongst local policy researchers about the sustainability of these initiatives in Pakistan (Malik and Rose, 2015). While some (Malik, 2010; Riboud, 2005) have seen PPPs as producing positive outcomes, especially in Punjab, others such as Bano (2008) reflect on the limitations of PPPs to become the primary vehicle for addressing fundamental challenges to provision of education to all in Pakistan. Bano argues that most PPP programmes remain ad hoc, have little systemic impact in addressing the fundamental challenges of access, quality or equity, and because of often being reliant on NGOs or donor funds rather than the state resources face problems of financial sustainability (Bano, 2008). In her study on various PPPs in Pakistan, Bano notes that PPPs and low cost private schools are severely limited in terms of addressing equity and quality issues in education. As a reviewer of the LEAPS report sums it:

The only reason the private schools look so good is that the poorly performing public schools are so disastrous: if at some future date, children actually
started demanding something more than the most rudimentary education, the semi-educated teachers in the private schools would actually find it hard to cope (Andrabi et al., 2008)

– a concern also noted by others (e.g., Khan, 2004). Bano argues that an overemphasis on private provision is likely to lead to access to very low quality schooling among the poor. It is argued that governmental support for private schools, however, detracts attention and resources from reforming the public school system, which, ultimately lies at heart of Pakistan’s education challenge (ICG, 2014, p.23). According to a former educator and politician,

    private schools are growing by default. Unless the public school system improves, they and madrasas will keep growing. In essence, it’s an abdication of state responsibility, although it might not be conscious policy” (as cited in ICG, 2014, p.23).

Many civil society activists, however, believe it is conscious policy, to avoid the obligation of providing quality education to all children, which requires both money and meaningful reform.

    The system is cannibalising itself. Increases in private sector enrolment may not always in reality be increases in overall enrolment. These are children who are almost certainly leaving government schools, (Alif Ailaan’s Mosharraf Zaidi, as cited in ICG, 2014, p.23).

It is important to note that despite the significance of the growing private sector in education, there is a dearth of research on it. A report on the private schooling sector rightly argues that the existing documentation is too little to develop a national level picture about the quality of education in private schools, as the quote below shows.

    A major issue that emerges from the review of the private education is the lack
of data and research even about some basic characteristics of the sector. For example, policymakers do not have access to reliable knowledge about characteristics of different types of private schools. No systematic knowledge exists about the range of curricula being taught in the private and denominational schools in Pakistan. This is one area where useful regulation is needed. No independent and rigorous evaluations exist of the effects of existing PPPs or regulatory regimes. (I-SAPS, 2010,p.48)

There have been very few studies done on low fee private schooling in the context of Pakistan. Looking specifically at the quality of education in low cost private schools, some interesting studies have appeared, focusing mostly on Punjab, but a few deal with other parts of Pakistan. More importantly within the ambit of quality lies the significant factor of teachers who work in these low cost private schools that has been ignored by researchers and practitioners in Pakistan.

2.4 LFPS and the rise of “low-pay Teachers”

The growth of the LFPS sector in Pakistan cannot be fully understood without looking at the exponential rise in the number of female teachers, who constitute the majority of the teaching staff in these schools. The number of teachers employed in private educational institutions is considerably large due to sheer size of the sector. In 1999-2000, the total number of teachers in private educational institutions was 0.3 million. By 2007-08, the workforce of teachers was doubled (I-SAPS, 2010). Out of total 1.4 million teachers in Pakistan, 44% were working in private educational institutions in 2007-08. In private educational institutions, the number of female teachers is twice the number of male teachers. The growth in their number between 1999-2000 and 2007-08 is commensurate with this pattern in primary, middle and high schools (I-SAPS, 2010,p.5). Due to the absence of statistics and data on
teachers, it is impossible to show the number or percentage of teachers in the low fee private school sector specifically.

Andrabi and colleagues (2006) found that low fee private schools in Pakistan were more likely to be located in villages with sufficient populations of younger, unmarried women who had a secondary-school education and hence provided a low-paid teacher labour force for employment in LFPSs. This educated female labour force was available in areas where the government had invested in girls’ secondary education for the past couple of decades. Macpherson (2014, p.288) argues that LFPSs are not systematically cost-effective as their operation relies not only on fee collection but also on pre-existing public infrastructure, including poorly performing government schools and the presence of a pool of future teachers in LFPSs, which, in the case of Pakistan, tend to be graduates of government secondary schools. Therefore, in the absence of government schools, public infrastructure and the young female secondary school graduates, who are paid a low salary, LFPS would not exist because set-up and running costs would not make profit viable. The fact that LFPSs are financially viable and cost effective due to the exploitation of female teachers “as cheapest source of labour” (Andrabi et. al , 2008, p.331) is disturbing, to say the least.

The importance of focusing on teachers in LFPSs can also be discerned from the fact that many arguments that explain the rise of LFPSs in developing contexts refer to teacher absenteeism, lack of teacher commitment and an oversupply of teachers
(Tooley, Dixon, & Olaniyan, 2005; Watkins, 2000; Phillips 2008). Arguably, if the level of teachers in public schools is so low, affecting the overall quality of education and pushing parents to choose LFPSs, how different are the teachers in LFPSs? Existing literature on teachers in LFPS (Andrabi et al 2008; Carhill and Murtaza 2013; Rolleston and Adefeso-Olateju, 2014) establishes that teachers in such schools tend to be young, have a secondary school education, lack teacher training and are paid a very low salary compared to public school teachers. De and colleagues’ (2002) study in Haryana, Rajasthan and Utter Pradesh, India, concluded that low levels of school income in LFPSs led to poorly qualified and poorly paid teaching staff, with high turnover (as cited in Srivastava 2013). In her study on low fee private schools in Utter Pradesh, India, Harma (2009) found that none of the teachers were trained, that only 34% had secondary schooling, and that they received a salary that was up to one-tenth of that in government schools.

Nambissan (2015) argues that built into low fee school advocacy are concerted attempts to de-professionalise, de-skill and underpay (and thereby exploit) teachers of the poor. The increasing deskilling and control of teachers’ work in LFPSs are seen to have detrimental implications for the education of students who have suffered multiple deprivations because of poverty and social disadvantage (Connell, 2009). These studies in the Indian context touch upon the issue of quality in LFPSs by looking at some aspects of the teacher’s work. However, there is a lack of in-depth studies on the work, career, training,
gender, labour market and rights of teachers in LFPSs, especially in the context of Pakistan. The often-quoted study on LFPSs in the context of Pakistan is by Andrabi and colleagues (2008). However, their controversial claim, that at the primary level the use of under qualified, untrained, poorly paid, local and predominantly female teachers in LFPSs may not compromise quality, needs to be tested and verified through research. Given that teachers play the key role in ensuring the provision of quality education in any context, information about their work, capability, motivation and careers needs to be part of the knowledgebase required by researchers and policymakers to make informed decisions.

2.5 Description of two Low Fee Private Schools

In this section, I present portraits of two LFPSs, one in a rural area, supported by an NGO and another in a slum locality, owned by a private entrepreneur and supported by Punjab Education Foundation (PEF). These divergent cases point to the heterogeneity within LFPSs in Pakistan in terms of funding, management and regulation. The descriptions also highlight some issues in LFPSs such as poor school infrastructure and physical space, learning environment, high teacher turnover rates, low salaries of female teachers, and the hiring of untrained and under qualified teachers. These data are compiled from my school observations, field notes, and informal conversations with teachers and other staff, as well as interviews with school proprietors/principals.
2.5.1 Portrait 1: Bunyad School, Khara Village

After travelling for about 45 minutes, from the city we arrive at a rural area in the vicinity of Jallo More, in the outskirts of Lahore. Green fields of crops surround us. Since it’s not the harvest season, we do not see a lot of people working in the fields. At a distance I can spot some brick kiln structures, where they manufacture and bake bricks that are used in construction. Passing through these fields we come to a small area with brick houses. The streets are narrow, muddy and are lined with garbage on the sides. There is a stench in the air from both the scattered garbage and cow dung. Some small children stand at the doors of the houses, peering out at our vehicle. I wonder why they aren’t in school as it’s around 10 a.m. Within minutes we arrive at a small building, more aptly described as a village dwelling. I cannot immediately spot any signs for a school. But on getting off the vehicle I see a small board that says Bunyad School on the small metal gate. On knocking the door, we are ushered in by a student.

We are led to a small dark room as we wait for the principal Mr. Nemat. He comes within a minute of us settling in the room that has a desk, an old cupboard, chairs and a worn out sofa. Dressed in jeans and sneakers, he welcomes us to the school and asks the reason for my visit. I introduce myself and explain that I am looking at LFPS in Punjab and interviewing both principals and teachers. He immediately says that he’s happy to be a part of this as he has worked very hard with the NGO Bunyad’s support to set up this school in this village. He asserts that the government school is at a distance and many parents prefer to send their kids to his school. At present he has 141
students in his school covering grades from playgroup to matric (grade 10). 20
students are studying for free as they are from Brick kiln communities close by. This is
part of a campaign to end child labour and educate the children who work along with
their parents in brick kilns. For the rest of the children, the fee ranges from Rs.200 to
Rs.400, for higher classes. The total number of teachers in the school is 9, out of which
6 are female. The principal argues that he doesn’t prefer to hire females but because
male teachers demand more salary, it is more feasible for him to hire females. He also
asserts that male teachers are more qualified and better at teaching Maths and
Science and in controlling students. Men he thinks are also able to better judge the
mind and level of the student and are therefore better teachers.

Discussing his female teaching staff, the principal stresses that he has to train them.
However, in general he finds it very hard to find good teachers for his school. In the
village areas, such as this one, people are still not very willing to send their daughters
to work. They don’t appreciate their daughters going out to earn and often I have to go
to their homes to convince the parents that this is your school and you need to run it,
as your daughters studied as well. So he has to motivate the parents and make them
agree. But the rise in the number of female teachers in LFPSs has not been without
problems according to Nemat. He argues, “A high turnover rate of teachers has
affected us badly. The problem is that often a teachers starts teaching and she is
offered a job at another school. For a few hundred rupees she leaves us. We taught and
trained her and now that she is better she is going to leave us. We face this problem a
lot especially with female teachers, as the salary is low.” The principal states that he currently pays his teachers Rs. 6000 but that all complain that it’s too low.

After our chat with the principal, he takes us around the school. I realize that there’s hardly any space for children to play in this dwelling turned school. The building in general is need of repair. The walls in the verandah no longer have paint on them and show signs of water seeping into them. Almost next to the principal’s office are three tiny rooms cramped with young children. I am ushered into the first class room that is dark, has no lights or fan. The teacher looks like a grade 10 student herself and stands on the side shyly. I am told that three classes are sitting in this space, play group, grade 1 and 2. The children stand and say good morning to me in English in unison, something they have practiced well. The little ones who are in play group stare at me and some smile as I inquire how they are doing this morning. The children are sitting on metal chairs whose paint is coming off. There are no desks in any of the classes. The children have their books on their laps. The teacher is repeating a few words of English for the grade 2 students, while those in grade 1 and play group sit restlessly.

We move to the next room. The rooms in this building don’t have doors and so the noise travels around. The next room again has 2 classes sitting in, grade 4 and 5. The teacher is teaching grade 5, while grade 4 is doing a test. I wonder how the class giving the test can focus while the teacher is teaching and asking grade 5 to repeat the lesson. The environment in the class is suffocating with almost 45 students crammed in a very tiny space and sitting very close, often sharing chairs. This class seems ever darker as
the only natural light coming in is through the open door space. When I ask the principal about the lack of lights and fans, he says this is what we can afford to provide, we don’t have the money for these facilities. He asks me to move out so we can visit the other classes.

We climb some very narrow brick stairs without any holding bars, which take us to the first floor. The first floor has a lot of open space, with natural sunlight and air, and it feels better up here. In the open space another class is seated, this is grade 7 and I notice both boys and girl in their uniforms, with books on their laps, sitting on similar metal chairs as other classes. The teacher has asked them to learn and memorize the lesson and has gone to the next class to take their test. In the corner of this open space, I see four girls with a male teacher. This is grade 9 and 10, who have to appear for their board exams. Right now they are studying English. The system is based on rote memorization and like other schools, they are teaching that too. The first floor has another room that is divided into two, where the other classes sit. The teacher in the class seems quite frustrated and yells twice asking the students to stop talking and sit on their chairs. The boys seem rowdy. However, as soon as the principal enters there is silence. They stand up to wish us a good morning in the same manner as the grade 1 and 2. The principal asks the teacher what they are studying and why are they so noisy. The teacher like the teacher in the other classes, looks very young and speaks to the principal in a girlish voice explaining that they are too many and that she wants one class to sit in the open space, but because there’s another class sitting there now
she has to keep them inside. The principal asks the kids to keep quite and that if he hears noise coming from their class, they will be punished.

The principal comes out to the open space and tells me that he tries to send his teachers for training when its held by Bunyad and other NGOS, like ITA, SAHI and The Citizens Foundation. He thinks that training helps a lot. He himself learnt through trainings. He also acts as a community health worker in this village. He says proudly, “Today whatever I am doing, where I am sitting its all due to training. I am from the health sector but the community mobilizers from Bunyad convinced me to teach and to manage this school. So I believe in training.” However, training of female teachers is no easy task. He argues that he does his best but that external opportunities are few and irregular.

As we leave the school and the village, we pass through the lush fields. I spot three young girls with school bags and in uniforms, crossing the fields and laughing. Its time to go home and they seem to be returning home after a day at school. In a distance I see dark smoke rising from a brick kiln, and wonder if for some children working there a day at work has ended.
2.5.2 Portrait 2: Al-Khalid School, Mehmood Booti

The driver tells us that there is no road access to the school, as the streets are too narrow and the path in front of the school is all muddy. We set on foot in the narrow streets of the slum of Mehmood Booti to look for Khalid school. Luckily the driver has dropped us off quite close to the school. From a distance I can spot painted in bold letters in Urdu, Khalid school on a small brick building that is painted white and has the orange sign. The area surrounding the school is littered with garbage and the path is now wet and muddy. Some bricks are laid there in an attempt to make a path for those who want to get to the school. I cross the slushy road by hopping on the stones.

When we reach the entrance of the school we are greeted by the principal, Mr Khalid, who is overseeing some work. He complains to me that there is no pukka (paved) road to get to the school and that this is the job of the government and the local MPs to oversee this but in this country no one cares. He is standing next to the Union Council (UC) representative of the area, who raises his hands and says “I am useless because I have no powers or resources. This government is a total failure. Look what they are doing to our kids and their future.” When they find out that I am studying LFPS in the area, the UC representative eagerly tells me that he owns a school too and after I finish at Al-Khalid I should visit his school as well. They look welcoming but I sense an expectation that I am somehow perhaps able to help alleviate some of their challenges as a low-fee private schools in the slum of Mehmood Booti.

I am then taken inside the school building through a very narrow metal door. Right inside the door the female vice principal, who is the principal’s wife, is sitting with files
and registers and 4 women who are mothers of students are sitting there. They are here for the new books as the session has already started and the kids have no textbooks. The vice-principal tells them that as soon as the books arrive she will give them to the students. I explain why I am visiting the school and ask her if she has a few minutes. She agrees and informs me that the school was established in 1998 and currently they have 600 students and 23 teachers, all of who are female. She states that female teachers are readily available and accept the low salary paid to them, unlike male teachers. Teachers have different qualifications with most having F.A (grade 12) and some who have B.A and a few have matric (grade 10). The salary of teachers is from Rs.2000 to Rs.4000; the ones who have an M.A are paid Rs.4000. Being shocked, I ask if this is acceptable. She responds, “It’s not bad as some schools pay Rs.1200 to 1500. So if you look at other LFPSs in this area, we are paying an average salary to our teachers.” But salary is a problem as they experience a very high turnover rate due to teachers leaving for better salaries in other schools.

The vice-principal tells me that this area has a lot of LFPSs now in addition to a government school, which is at a distance and not close by. When I ask her about the fee, she mentions that the Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) funds 385 students in their school through the Education Voucher scheme (EVS). I ask her about their experience with PEF and how it is affecting education. The vice-principal reflects on some of the problems that they have with PEF, the poor learning level of students, the lack of cooperation from parents and the frequent changing of schools by parents who have PEF vouchers. She argues that these are some real challenges that prevent the children from doing well in PEF exams and evaluations. However, the PEF officials do
not take these into account and blame the school principals and constantly criticize them. Our conversation was interrupted by another mother, who had come from another PEF funded school to admit her child in this school. The vice-principal asked another teacher to take me around so that I could speak to the teachers and see the school. The other door of the office took me to a very small veranda that was surrounded by multiple classrooms. A cacophony of children’s voices surrounded me as I saw some children peer out of the doors and windows of some classes.

I was taken into a small dark room with 30 students and a young teacher. This was grade 4 and 5. The teacher was listening to reading form grade 4, while grade 5 was supposed to be memorizing their lesson. Multiple children were crammed on each desk, sharing books. The environment in the class could be best described as dark and stifling. The teacher told me that her lesson was almost done and that she could join me in the next classroom for a chat. As we move to the next room the teacher asks me about my study and my reasons for doing it. She agrees to answer my questions. I ask her about the work of teachers in this school. The views of the teacher illustrate some of the complex factors that are affecting the working conditions of female teachers in LFPSs. These views along with the responses of teachers in other LFPSs in the study provide me with rich data that I analyse in my dissertation.
2.5.3 Some themes emerging from LFPSs descriptions

The themes that emerge from the descriptions of these two LFPSs will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters. The descriptions reflect the physical infrastructure that is part of the teaching and learning environment in LFPSs that has implications for both teachers’ work and students’ education. In the remaining chapters, how the physical environment affects the work and experiences of teachers in LFPSs will be further explored. The descriptions show that many LFPSs are situated in poor working class neighbourhoods and refer to some of the challenges teachers face in managing multi-grade classrooms. The issues of lack of trained, qualified and motivated teachers in LFPSs raised here reappear in many of the participants’ responses and are elaborated and analysed in the following chapters. A high turnover rate of teachers, the problems with PEF programs, support for LFPSs, and some of the statements made on gender, are also significant areas that are presented in depth in the remaining chapters of this thesis. These descriptions provide a glimpse of some of the areas of teacher’s work and experiences that will be probed in this thesis.

2.6 Conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to familiarise the reader with the context of my study on LFPSs in Punjab, Pakistan. After presenting some definitions and conceptions of what constitutes a low fee private school within the existing literature, I look at the education system in Pakistan. As in many other developing countries, it is the crumbling public system of education that has led to an education crisis in Pakistan.
The demand for schooling has grown exponentially matching the population explosion but the lack of government schools have left a huge gap especially in many rural and slum areas. This gap has been filled by LFPSs in the past few decades.

Pakistan’s educational landscape is now marked by a diverse set of private providers catering to the elite, middle class and the working class. Within the private sector, the key area of growth has been in LFPSs. LFPSs enrol a significant number of students and employ a large number of teachers. Despite the mushrooming of LFPSs in the country, little in-depth research has been carried out, especially in the area of teacher’s work in these schools. This study aims to fill some of this void by focusing on teachers in LFPSs. Before moving to the following chapters that look at teachers’ careers, working conditions, gender and rights, I presented brief portraits of two LFPSs, one in a rural area and the other in a slum of Lahore, to give the reader a sense of the surroundings and the environment of a LFPS. This is important, as with these images of LFPSs the reader might better understand the testimonies and working conditions of teachers and the learning conditions of students.
Chapter 3: Literature Review of Teachers’ Career, Working Conditions and Labour markets

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents literature review of three key areas that inform the conceptual framework for this study on teachers work in Low Fee Private Schools (LFPSs). The chapter is organized as follows. The first section presents a brief literature review on teachers’ career paths and recruitment and perceptions on teaching. The intent is to inform the reader about how these areas are dealt with in the existing literature worldwide and more specifically in the case of Pakistan. The second section presents literature on teacher’s working conditions and also focuses on teachers’ work in the context of feminization of teaching due to the fact that the majority of teachers in LFPSs are females. Literature on teacher remuneration and support through training is also presented, as these factors also affect teacher’s working lives. The third section then proceeds to look at literature on teacher labour markets and feminization of teaching through LFPSs in the context of Pakistan. This chapter is significant as it orients the reader to the areas of literature and concepts, which help organize the analysis of data in the following chapters.
3.2 Literature on Teacher career, career paths and recruitment

3.2.1 Defining and Conceptualizing Career

An ILO document *Teachers in Developing Countries: A Survey of Employment Conditions* (1991, p.25) states that:

‘The teacher’s career obeys definite rules, which usually go beyond the confines of the establishment in which they teach and have important implications for the entire country.’

This statement constitutes a normative understanding of what a teacher’s career might mean to those who are entering it and those who are a part of it. The statement also implies that the “career path” of a teacher is generally flat or narrowly linear. It supports the fact that the main opportunity for career advancement for teachers has been—and remains today—leaving the classroom to become a school administrator. This flat career path without advancement opportunities in teaching, might be a major cause for “mid-career” teachers to often experience burnout, stress, and dissatisfaction. It is argued that maintaining a generic, static career structure holds little promise of attracting or retaining enough good teachers (Peske, Liu, Johnson, Kauffman, & Kardos, 2001; Hess, 2009). The statement presents a general observation regarding a teacher’s career and emphasises the wider social implications it may have.

There are many definitions of the term “career” by various researchers in different fields of study. An extensively used one is Wilensky’s (1961, p. 523) definition of career as “a succession of related jobs, arranged in a hierarchy of prestige through
which persons move in an ordered sequence.” McLean (1992) contributed the idea of a long-term commitment to promotion to help define teachers’ careers. These definitions offer a view of career investment tied to the promotion process and the ascent of a career ladder determined by the organization (Rippon, 2005). Employees adhere to organizational determinants of career in exchange for the rewards of pay, promotion and assured pensions (McLean, 1992; Watts, Super and Kidd, 1981). These definitions are relevant for teachers’ careers, which are depicted using some form of career ladder (Rippon, 2005) and where teachers follow the routes laid down for them by organizational opportunities (McLean, 1992). Evetts (1987) argues that such studies of teacher’s careers assume a continuous and progressive trajectory. This model is based on a concept of an objective occupational career, which is an ordered sequence of development extending over a period of years (Troman and Woods, 2000). In teaching there are fewer and fewer opportunities for promotion as teachers ascend the scale and the model is like a ‘flattened pyramid’ (Woods, Jeffrey, Troman, and Boyle, 1997).

However, a vertical approach to a teacher’s career has been seen as limiting by Ball and Goodson (1985), who tend to push the concept away from its vertical imagery towards “teaching as a path in life” (Connell 1985, p.157), a series of experiences in coming to terms with situations and making choices subject to constraints. Ball and Goodson (1985, p.8) review important literature from the 1980s where greater attention has been directed to teachers as human beings as rounded social actors with their own problems and perspectives, making careers, struggling to achieve their ideals or just struggling to “survive.” Ball and Goodson’s own research was
shaped by the assumption that “the teacher's previous career and life experience shapes their view of teaching and the way he or she sets about it” (1985, p.13). This exploration of teachers “subjective experiences of career” by Ball and Goodson (1985) is further made richer by the work of feminist inspired work of Acker and others.

Acker's work on teacher's careers along with Evetts (1987) and Biklen (1986) challenge the male-centred concept of objective careers by showing how the careers of women teachers studied are discontinuous, broken or interrupted due to their domestic lives and responsibilities. Acker (1992) shows in her analysis of women teachers that female careers in teaching are influenced by “daily experiences in a workplace context.” In addition to the individual experiences, Acker (1989, p.6) argues, “career has a structural side too and the political and economic features of a given era provide the context within which careers occur.” As a “variety of social situations” may shape and structure teachers careers (Acker, 1989, p.8), when studying teachers’ work and lived realities, both their individual experiences and the wider political and economic contexts that shape their careers need to be taken into account for a more holistic view. For the purpose of this study, I will be using this broader concept of careers and employ it to study the work of teachers in LFPSs. It is important to note that the concept of a career as presented here is a western concept but it's useful for its clarity. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore what a Pakistani women's career trajectory looks like or if there is a local definition or a sense of a career.
It is important to note that while research on teacher’s career and lives has grown in the past 50 years, in most research studies, teachers have “been present in aggregate through imprecise statistics or viewed as individuals and only as formal role incumbents, mechanistically and unproblematically responding to the powerful expectations of their set role” (Goodson, 2014, p.135-6). There has been a hesitation to look at the powerful life experiences of female teachers that shape their career decisions and work. Casey (1992, p.188) argues that “by systematically failing to record the voices of ordinary teachers, the literature on educators’ careers actually silences them.” It would be fair to argue that within educational research on teachers careers and work contexts, it is simply taken for granted or not of interest that almost all teacher participants are female, and the related historical and sociopolitical effects that might be involved are unexplored (Galman and Mallozzi, 2012). Therefore, when examining teacher’s career especially in the context of LFPSs, gender is important and thus, a key part of the conceptual framework for this study.

3.2.2 Significance of career paths for teachers

The presence or absence of a career structure may have profound implications for teachers’ recruitment, retention and motivation in a system. It is argued that one of the ways of motivating teachers to improve educational quality is to offer an attractive career path (UNESCO, GMR, 2014, p.264). While some OECD countries use promotion and career progress as incentives, in many developing countries
teachers’ career structures are not sufficiently linked to prospects of teacher promotion that recognize and reward teacher effectiveness (p.264). Analyses of teaching in developing countries reveal that teachers often work in an environment where there is a lack of professional support and an absence of incentives and career path development (Johnson, 2008, p.140). Some researchers maintain that countries can strengthen the teaching profession by better defining what teachers can expect as professionals throughout their careers, and providing adequate conditions that allow and motivate teachers to improve (Bari, Aslam, Maqsood, Raza, and Khan, 2013). Some literature stresses the importance of having a clear career path. The promise of a progressive career track for teachers is intended to encourage them to improve their attendance and performance and to fulfill their in-service training requirements. A well-defined career path may also act as a strong incentive for teachers if their performance is linked with the promotion structure.

Unlike some other countries where teaching is a closely regulated profession, and recruitment and training are subject to some rigorous conditions, Pakistan has in the past waived these under the pressure of overcoming shortages. When it comes to career paths in teaching, in Pakistan, government school teachers are usually recruited on the basis of competitive tests; once inducted, they follow a predictable career path (Bari et.al, 2013). Promotion is based on government defined pay-grades and experience associated with the particular individual rather than with the performance. This model is said to have certain drawbacks: once teachers are inducted, they do not have any incentive to continue developing – the selection
criterion does not emphasize teaching competencies effective for student performance and teacher education is not aligned with school needs (Bari et.al 2013, p.4). In a recent study government teachers reported that it normally takes at least 7 years for them to receive their first promotion (Alif Ailaan, 2014, p.65). On average government teachers in Punjab wait for 12 years before their first promotion while in other provinces the average is between 7 and 11 years (Alif Ailaan, 2014). It must be noted that these statistics are for permanent government employees and not those who are hired on contracts.

While we do know about the recruitment criteria and career path of a government school teacher, there is very little on what the career of a teacher in a LFPS may look like. The reality of teaching as a career for women in many developing countries is complex. In the face of teacher shortages, dwindling education budgets and foreign aid, and the rise of the low cost/fee private sector, the stringent requirements of qualifications, training and preparation of teachers are not heeded to. The question arises is that given the lack of such requirements and a clear career path with possibility of promotions, how do teachers in LFPSs see their career as teachers?

While government teachers still have to meet certain entrance requirements such as qualifications, entrance examinations and interviews, in the low fee private sector it appears that getting a teaching job in LFPSs is not based on such criteria. Many developing countries such as Pakistan have witnessed a mushrooming of the private
educational sector in which all teachers are employed on a contractual basis and with terms that are very different from government teaching positions. This rise in private schooling has resulted in many questions being asked about the nature of the contracts and governance environment surrounding teachers in government versus private schools (Kingdon, Aslam, Rawal & Das, 2013).

The effectiveness of private schools in terms of student achievement has been studied in numerous settings and while the evidence is mixed, the balance is relatively tilted towards suggesting that private school students have better learning outcomes than their government school counterparts (Aslam, 2009; Kingdon and French, 2010). This has led to discussions about the nature of existing systems for teacher recruitment, transfer, postings and promotions. One of the key issues raised in the literature on teachers in developing countries is that once recruited, government school teachers are virtually unsackable. This, however, is not true for private school teachers and certain other types of teachers (para-/contract and community teachers in Bangladesh for instance, and temporary teachers in Nepal) (Kingdon et.al, 2013). Thus, teachers’ attitudes and effectiveness can vary depending on the incentives and possible career paths that they are offered. Having “jobs for life” crucially alters incentives and hence teacher effectiveness (Kingdon et.al, 2013, p.7).

However, existing literature by researchers and international organizations raise concerns about excessive ongoing privatization practices in many
countries and their negative effects to a recent decline in teacher status. Competitive attitudes, precarious employment, and high-stakes evaluation demotivate teachers and create unstable working conditions (Symeonidis, 2015). It is further added that it may be necessary to integrate contract teachers into the teaching force to avoid attrition (UNESCO, 2007a). Qualified candidates will not always work for less than regular teachers and some teachers only accept contracts with the expectation that they will later gain tenure (Bruns, Filmer & Patrinos, 2011). It is often argued that contract teachers demoralize the teaching force and that teacher conditions should be improved instead (UNESCO, 2007).

It would therefore be interesting to compare not just the effectiveness and career paths of contract teachers in government schools with their regular counterparts, but also the effectiveness and careers of teachers employed on a contractual basis in private and public sectors. Such a review might help to provide an insight into the impact on teachers not only of being employed on a contractual basis but also whether differing contractual obligations and the surrounding wider contextual factors affecting the educational setting also effect the work and career choices of female teachers. There is a serious dearth of such a review especially when it comes to teachers in LFPSs. While it is beyond the scope of this study to do a comparison of the career paths of a government school teacher and a LFPS teacher, it aims to present a snapshot of the career of an average LFPS teacher in Punjab.
3.2.3 Literature on recruitment of teachers

Well-functioning and high quality systems of education have a strong and well-defined teacher recruitment policy that ensures that “effective” and capable teachers are recruited. High quality systems recruit their teachers from the top of each graduate cohort. Finland, Singapore, and South Korea attract 100 percent of their teacher corps from the top third of their academic cohort, compared to just 23 percent in the U.S. (Auguste, Kihn, & Miller, 2010). These systems have rigorous selection systems that control entry into the teaching profession, often pay for teacher training tuition and fees, provide rigorous training and evaluation systems for prospective and new teachers, and provide the teaching profession with high status (Natale, Gaddis, Bassett, & McKnight, 2013, p.16).

Literature on recruitment shows that policymakers have tended to base recruitment decisions on the most measurable indicators of what is believed to encompass “teacher quality” – usually academic qualifications, experience and training (Bari et.al, 2013, p.1). Research indicates that a teacher’s level of training matters. Higher quality teachers are most often linked to better student performance on standardized tests (Rivkin, Hanushek & Kain, 2005). In fact, according to Nilsson (2003), “[T]he single most influential factor for...students’ results is the teachers’ qualifications” and that teachers are a school’s “most valuable resource” (p.10).

However, there is also literature that quite strongly indicates that formal qualifications and measurable résumé characteristics seldom predict teacher
effectiveness in improving student learning (Bari et.al, 2013, p.1). For instance, a longitudinal study using US data by Goldhaber (1999) finds that only 3% of teachers’ contributions to student outcomes are related to factors such as experience and educational degree, leaving 97% of the differences in student achievement unexplained. A study from the UK (Burgess, Davies and Slater, 2009) reports considerable variability in teacher effectiveness in improving student test scores and concludes that observable teacher characteristics explain very few of these differences.

Some research studies from South Asia have also found that that the standard observable résumé characteristics of teachers do not matter significantly to pupil achievement, even though they are the very factors on which teacher recruitment is based (Kingdon and Teal, 2010; Aslam and Kingdon, 2011). Studies have shown that teacher “experience” improves teacher effectiveness but only in the first few years of teaching. The teacher’s degree of specialization appears to matter only for some subjects (e.g., mathematics) and research shows that teacher verbal and numerical aptitude tests can have some positive effects. It is almost impossible to predict who is likely to be a “good teacher” a priori, especially by focusing on measurable characteristics such as qualifications, training and experience alone (Bari et.al, 2013). Aslam and Kingdon (2011) use stringent econometric techniques and data from Pakistan to identify the key factors that “make a good teacher.” They find that standard résumé characteristics are not significant determinants of student learning and it is how a teacher actually teaches while in the classroom that determines this.
Despite the existence of a debate within the literature with regards to teacher qualifications and training, researchers argue that they are not implying that observable résumé characteristics are not important from an educational policy-making perspective. Academic qualifications, for instance, are thought to be a proxy for teacher ability. Trained teachers are believed to behave differently from untrained teachers in a classroom setting. Thus, while résumé characteristics alone do not make an effective teacher, it is also evident that someone with six years of schooling or less or with no formal training at all may not be equipped to teach primary school students (Bari et.al, 2013, p.3). Highly acclaimed education systems of the world, such as South Korea have been credited with attracting the best graduates into the profession; while high academic records are not necessarily indicative of effective teaching, there is evidence that the persistent entry of less academically able people into the teaching force is likely to compromise the quality of teaching, with resultant negative implications for student outcomes. Setting minimum national qualifications and training requirements is, therefore, one way of differentiating between those who are certified to teach and those who are not (Bari et.al, 2013).

Evidence from developing countries also shows that teacher quality affects student performance and enrollment. In Botswana, students of more highly trained teachers showed higher levels of achievement (Botswana Ministry of Education, 2000) and, in Bangladesh, students (both boys and girls) of teachers who had both college degrees and education training had higher educational attainment (Khandker, 1996). Teacher quality also influences enrolment levels. Enrolment of both boys
and girls increased in Swaziland with the increased levels of teacher training (Herz & Sperling, 2004).

Ensuring high standards in the profession necessitates drawing a reasonable share of competent individuals into the profession to improve not only the prestige of the occupation but also to ensure students’ academic success (World Bank, 2009a). To be able to do so, the recruitment process must be simplified and streamlined so that potential hires are not discouraged from the daunting process of selection (UNESCO, 2006a). A coherent infrastructure of recruitment, preparation and support programmes is also needed to support the broader national and local education goals (UNESCO and USAID, 2006b). This is reiterated in UNESCO’s (2008) report that emphasizes the need for Continuous Professional Development, mentoring, the provision of sound career paths and the use of new technology for teacher education and training. Against the backdrop of such arguments in the existing literature on teacher recruitment and effectiveness, chapter 5 presents the demographic and academic information of female teachers who work in LFPSs in Punjab, Pakistan. Shedding light on the recruitment and possible career path of the often-neglected teacher in LFPS we also get a sense of the conditions in which they enter teaching in LFPSs and their career aspirations for the future.

### 3.2.4 Literature on perceptions of teaching

Along with recruitment policies and career paths, social perception of teachers in a
country may affect the work of teachers and the attractiveness of the profession for other women. Much has been written about how teaching and teachers are viewed in societies worldwide. Research has shown that the attractiveness of teaching and its status as a profession is low (Johnson, 2008; Saeed and Mahmood, 2002; Coombe, 1997; Dyer, 1996). The negative perception of teaching as a profession is a challenge faced by education ministries in many countries (Bennell, 2004). Often viewed as a career of “last resort,” teaching lacks the professional exclusivity shared by higher esteemed professions (such as law or medicine) (Haugen, Klees, Stromquist, Lin, Choti and Corneilse, 2011, p.21). Among some of the factors that concern teachers and affect their status include: “(a) initial and continuing training, (b) recruitment, (c) advancement and promotion, (d) security of tenure” (UNESCO and ILO, 2008, p. 8-9). One factor is the sheer size of the teaching force – teachers often comprise one-half to two-thirds of the public sector in developing countries. As a function of low pay, difficult working conditions, and low public esteem of their profession, teachers lack a long-term commitment to teaching and it is difficult for governments to find individuals willing to enter the profession (Haugen et.al, 2011, p.21).

Besides salary structure, teachers’ motivation is also affected by non-pecuniary factors such as lack of respect and privileges, leading to high turnover (Falch and Strom, 2005; Zafeirakou, 2007). Teachers are also said to experience slow pay progression, public perception of low status, few promotion opportunities, and few additional benefits (Mulkeen, 2010). During interviews and focus groups in Tanzania, teachers reported discouraging their own children from pursuing their profession due, in part, to public perceptions (Sinyolo, 2007).
Similarly, many studies on teachers in Pakistan lament the quality of candidates attracted to the profession, suggesting that only those with no other options elect to become teachers (Warwick and Reimers, 1995; Alif Ailaan, 2014). Others call teaching “the employment of last resort” (Aly, 2007, p.22). A recent report on the Status of Teachers states, “the teaching profession is generally regarded as a low paying and a “semi-profession” in Pakistan” (ITA, 2013). The dwindling levels of teacher motivation in the country are linked to the low social status of the profession, lack of a structured promotions mechanism and poor working conditions (Rawal et al., 2013, p.2). In such an environment that negatively views teaching and teachers, it becomes vital to explicate the conditions in which teachers join LFPS, a sector that is heavily dependent on the work of young female teachers.

3.3 Literature review of Teacher’s working conditions

While the literature on teachers in various countries refers to teacher quality, focusing on teachers’ educational backgrounds and credentials or their recruitment, induction and retention (Richardson and Roosevelt, 2004; Wilson, Gaddis, Bassett, & McKnight, 2004) little attention has been paid to teacher’s work, daily experiences and teaching conditions. Researchers who have largely focused on the US and Canada have made a contribution to the study of teacher’s working conditions and their perceptions of their environment.
Bascia and Rottmann (2011, p.789), focusing on the Canadian context, refer to “teaching conditions” as factors that have been identified by “teachers as critical to the quality of their work: class size and workload; time for professional non-teaching work; resource advocacy; collegiality and stimulating professional interactions; opportunities to learn and improve; support for professional risk-taking and experimentation; ability to influence school decisions and congruence between individual and professional goals”. Referring to the work of some educational researchers in the US in 1908s, Bascia and Rottmann (2011) look at the possible relationship between teaching conditions and student learning. Through their review of literature, they explain that the relationship between teachers and learning centers on teacher’s motivations to teach (Bascia and Rottmann, 2011, p.793). It is key to pay attention to teachers’ working conditions as they “affect the degree to which teachers are actively committed to and engaged with teaching and these conditions thereby affect the likelihood that teachers will work hard to create exciting learning environments in their classrooms” (Louis and Smith, 1991, p.26).

Leithwood (2006, p.8), who also focuses on Canada, notes that “what teachers actually do in their schools and classrooms depends on how teachers perceive and respond to their working conditions.” Teacher’s internal states as identified by Leithwood (2006, p.14) include their “sense of individual professional efficacy, collective professional efficacy, job satisfaction, organizational commitment; level of stress and burnout morale, engagement in school or profession, and pedagogical content knowledge.” Leithwood (p.7) notes that evidence from many sources
suggests that perceptions and emotions, triggered by working conditions, shape how teachers interact with children. In a much different vein, policy researchers have drawn attention to teaching conditions in the light of evidence that shows that teaching conditions influence teacher job satisfaction, which has a strong direct effect on teacher retention (Bascia and Rottmann, 2011). Studies on the US and Canadian context investigating why teachers leave teaching (Ingersoll, 2007; McLaughlin and Yee, 1988; Quartz, Lyons and Thomas, 2005) clearly identify the quality of teaching conditions as the difference between teachers’ willingness to stay or leave (Bascia and Rottmann, 2011, p.793).

### 3.3.1 Working conditions of female teachers

When discussing teachers’ working conditions, the gender of the teacher is also important to consider as literature highlights that poor working conditions adversely affect female teachers more than they do male teachers. Acker (1995-1996) finds in her review of studies of work, that gender is often ignored and “it is still relatively rare to find mainstream work, especially by men, that thoroughly integrates gender into the analysis of some feature of teachers’ work” (p. 143). As Noddings (1990) observed, “The dominant critiques of school-teaching as a profession almost ignore the concerns of women” (p. 412) despite being a profession populated almost entirely by female workers.
In their analysis, Bascia and Rottmann (2011) show that during the last 40 years or so as mass schooling grew in North American countries, it came to affect the profession and working conditions of teachers. An interesting development during the expansion of mass education noted by Canadian researchers was the employment of female teachers (especially in lower grades) at about half the salary of males, the expectation being that males would need to support families while unmarried women could be employed as teachers (Prentice, Laskin and Light, 1982). Teaching conditions in large urban school systems in the Canadian context included low pay; one year contracts without tenure or pensions; assumption of new curricula, pedagogical strategies, assessment techniques and approaches to student discipline without sufficient training; and increased responsibility for maintaining crowded, poorly ventilated schools with substandard heating (Danylewycz and Prentice, 1984; Murphy, 1990; Smaller, 1991, cited in Bascia and Rottmann, 2011). This feminization of the teaching profession was based on prevailing social norms that viewed women's natural sphere of activity as caring for small children. Interestingly, similar views exist in the hiring of female teachers today, especially in developing countries such as Pakistan, particularly in private and low cost private schools.

Moreover, research in some African countries shows that deeply ingrained gender biases leads to labour divisions and behaviours at the school level that favour men (Haugen et.al, 2011). Female secondary teachers in a study in Uganda reported that they were expected to teach more classes per week, were expected to take on more
tasks outside the classroom, and earned less because they had fewer opportunities to earn extra money outside the classroom than their male counterparts at the same school (Molyneaux, 2011). Female teachers are often assigned to lower primary grades. The lowest grades often have extremely large class sizes so the burden of teaching large numbers of young students falls almost exclusively to women (Bennell, 2004; Shriberg, 2007).

Bascia and Rottmann (2011) argue that it is important to understand this historical context of the organizing of school systems, as many of the working conditions that troubled teachers over 100 years ago remain or recur as concerns (p.791). They also note that research on how many and which of the conditions as identified by teachers ‘depend on decisions and factors that arise from a range of locations: on broad social values, provincial/state and local district policy frameworks as well as school-level administrative actions and community and school ethos—in other words, that teachers working conditions are contingent on their location within a “nested’ context” (Bascia and Rottmann, 2011, p.794; Bascia, 1994; Talbert and McLaughlin, 1994). While Bascia and Rottmann focus on the Canadian context and Talbert and McLaughlin study American phenomena, their observations about looking at the “nested context” of teachers are applicable to the study of teacher’s work in other regions of Africa and South Asia.

Some researchers who have looked at teachers work and identity in Africa, namely Tanzania and Benin, believe that when trying to address the issue of poor teacher
quality, often international organizations and their local counterparts try to implement technocratic fixes, such as increase training in learner-centered pedagogies (Tao, 2012; Welmond, 2002). However, such fixes in the case of developing countries rarely work since they fail to take into account the very difficult working and living conditions that teachers have to endure (Bennell and Mukyanuzi, 2005). Teacher’s social environment, attitudes and working conditions are inter-related in a complex way that needs to be understood better if efforts to improve education in the country are to succeed (Sumra, 2005). These studies and more further emphasize the importance of looking at contextual factors when looking at teachers’ working conditions. The rise of contract teachers in developing countries has led to specific working conditions for teachers in both public and private schools. The emergence and expansion of contract teachers in different education systems cannot be seen in isolation, but rather must be understood in the context of overall national policy choices regarding education, resource levels, educational challenges and teacher policy frameworks (Fyfe, 2007, p. 2). Therefore, in my study on LFPS teachers, a key goal has been to present the working conditions of female teachers in such schools in Punjab, Pakistan.

3.3.2 Teacher remuneration

Reference is also made to teachers’ working conditions in the literature on teacher recruitment and retention. The literature indicates that the main reasons for high attrition rates within teaching are low salaries and poor working environments. A
recent study emphasizes that pay, benefits, and working conditions proved to be some of the most critical factors affecting teachers’ occupational status and self-esteem (Symeonidis, 2015, p.12). Teachers are generally poorly paid and face difficult working conditions (Haugen et al., 2011). The teaching profession requires fairly high levels of education, but educators are not compensated accordingly – especially when compared to similarly educated professionals. On surveys from six countries in Africa (The Gambia, Kenya, Lesotho, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia), survey data from teachers’ unions suggested that teachers are paid much lower when compared to other professionals with comparable numbers of years of education (Sinyolo, 2007). In many low-income countries, teachers are not paid enough to meet even their basic needs – such as buying food for their families (Bennell, 2004; Shriberg, 2007; Tekleselassie, 2005).

Furthermore, studies in various developing contexts have shown that teacher’s salaries have declined over time relative to other professional groups (Johnson, 2008, p.142). It is argued that when teachers cannot meet their needs through their salaries, their focus on teaching declines and their quality of instruction suffers (Daun, 1997). Low salaries also compel teachers to supplement their work with tutoring or second jobs (Gaynor, 1994). Studies have indicated that contract teachers in particular may be de-motivated by meagre salaries, which effectively reduce them to cheap labour (see Kingdon et al., 2013 for a discussion on this literature). Similarly, the few studies on LFPS in the context of Pakistan highlight
that teachers in small private schools are paid abysmally low salaries (Murtaza and Carhil, 2013; Andrabi et.al, 2008)

Teachers are economic actors who make rational choices about their career and may take up a better job when presented with the opportunity to do so. The literature suggests that in addition to salary, teachers’ motivation to work in this field is undermined by multiple factors such as students’ lack of commitment, discipline problems, limited teacher input and influence over school policies and lack of support (UNESCO, 2006a). With better outside opportunities increasingly available over time, the quality of the teacher workforce has deteriorated over the years and is now composed of a very small proportion of high achievers (OECD, 2005). Turnover is especially a challenge in the earlier years where lack of support is the main cause for professional distress, which can force them to consider outside options (Anhorn, 2008).

3.3.3 In-service training and development

An often ignored but relevant factor in teacher motivation is the presence of training and professional development opportunities for teachers. The existence of in-service training affects teacher’s working lives and conditions. Teachers can become agents of change if they are supported in their work with children in the classroom. Bascia and Rottman’s (2011, p.794) description of the relationship between
working conditions and teacher engagement considers the possibility that teachers’ concerns about working conditions arise out of an awareness that organizational arrangements, resource availability and their own competence have a strong influence on students’ opportunities to learn. This model treats teachers as active agents who are aware of and concerned about how well they are able to work, academically and otherwise, with students (Bascia and Rottman, 2011).

Training in an environment that supports teacher’s continuous development is a key part of teacher’s working conditions. A teacher’s ability to teach and deliver depends on the quality and frequency of professional support as well as avenues for professional development such as in-service training, mentoring, evaluation and peer learning (Alif Ailaan, 2014). Teachers’ motivation is also affected by their familiarity with the curriculum and their confidence in their teaching skills. Having a coherent training system for teachers is a key step to developing their skills and helping them deliver good-quality teaching (Bari et.al, 2013).

Looking at studies in the context of Pakistan, it is evident that teachers receive very little in-service training throughout their careers. Teachers participating in a recent survey demonstrate a strong desire for training and complain that opportunities for training are scarce (Alif Ailaan, 2014 ,p.27). It is important to note that in the case of Pakistan, there appear to be fewer training opportunities for teachers in the low-fee
private sector (Alif Ailaan, 2014; Andrabi et.al, 2008). Given that many of the teachers in LFPS lack pre-service training and usually have low qualifications, it becomes crucial to explore if they have any in-service training opportunities and how they view training as a part of their working conditions. This dissertation takes an in-depth view of teacher’s working conditions in LFPS based on the interviews and focus group discussions with the teacher participants.

3.4 Teachers labour markets

When looking at the occupation of teaching in recent decades in various contexts and education systems, one becomes aware of its paradoxical nature. On one hand, teachers are in high demand and are in charge of delivering content that makes students and countries globally competitive. The opening of education to masses on a global scale means more teachers are needed to fulfill the rights of compulsory education. On the other hand, many developing and developed countries are finding attracting, educating, deploying and retaining effective teachers very challenging. Teacher remuneration is also a very major issue in a number of contexts as showed in the last section. Moreover, the quality of the teacher labour force is also linked to the opportunities outside of teaching that are available to both prospective and current teachers (Eide, Goldhaber and Brewer, 2004). Therefore, the supply of teachers in developing countries depends on working conditions and teachers’ salaries, as well as on how salaries and entry requirements in the teacher labour
Research has also linked “teachers’ motivation and performance and education quality,” while noting that ‘teachers’ motivation is not uniformly prioritized as a major concern of national and international policy-makers’ (Voluntary Service Overseas, 2002, p. 2). From the Structural Adjustment policies of the 1980s and 1990s till the current era of continued austerity measures, teachers’ salaries are gravely affected by dwindling education spending. Organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank have continued to play a role. For example, the World Bank’s criteria for Fast Track Initiative countries state that teachers’ salaries cannot exceed three and a half times GDP per capita (UNESCO, 2009). This is a completely arbitrary imposition since there is no evidence that salaries should bear some uniform relation to GDP per capita, and they certainly do not in developed countries (Haugen et.al, 2011). Moreover, salary caps also destroy educators’ bargaining power and create pay ceilings that may render teaching unattractive to younger generations (Haugen et.al, 2011). The recent example of Kenya, where the introduction of free education was hampered by teachers’ strikes demanding payment of outstanding wages, shows the urgency of linking free education with the realization of the right of teachers (Haugen et.al, 2011). When teachers are busy fighting for their own rights, they cannot be teaching.

The spread of the Global Educational Reform Movement (GERM) (Salberg, 2012) raises difficult challenges and questions for teachers and their unions. These
reforms affect teachers’ work, as teachers are more policed and blamed for low quality as their pay depends on student test scores and performance. Teachers increasingly report that this increased narrow version of accountability comes with decreased autonomy to use their professional discretion to be able to teach anything but the test (Verger & Kosar Altinyelken, 2012). Not surprisingly, the present conditions for teaching and learning are such that half of teaching professionals in US choose to leave the profession after five years (Ingersoll, 2008).

It must be noted that the training, remuneration and work conditions of teachers vary in different contexts. Teachers in developed countries who are often part of unions fare much better than teachers in developing country education systems. While in some countries public teaching jobs are better paid, private schools pay more in other countries. In Tanzania, for example, private school teachers’ salaries are twice that of public school salaries. The few qualified teachers available are lured away from public schools in the interest of pay (Nilsson, 2003). The same is the case in Pakistan. However, the teachers in probably the worst situation are teachers in unregulated low cost private schools, who receive low salary, are on short contracts, and are not in a union. This is true for contract and para teachers in both Africa and South Asia. In many systems male teachers are paid more than female teachers, a factor that is again true for Pakistan. In addition, female teachers may face other challenges in accessing the labour market and decent work due to their gender. Cultural factors and customs that restrict women’s mobility, access to paid employment and discourage mixing of the sexes, all affect women’s choices.
3.4.1 Literature on Gender and the feminization of the teaching profession

In many developed countries, teaching is identified as a “gendered occupation” with great theoretical and policy implications (Welmond, 1999, p.55). The centrality of teachers to education means that gender equality should be highlighted in their training, selection and composition (Wilson, 2004, p.8). Increasing the balance between male and female teachers at all levels can serve as an indicator of gender equality. While in a number of developing countries in Africa, Middle East and Asia males may constitute the majority of the teaching and education positions, women are now numerically dominant in the teaching workforce of the majority of countries across the globe (UNESCO, 2010). The term ‘feminisation’ refers to the process of women coming to numerically dominate an occupation (Bank, 2007; Wylie, 2000), and in so doing having a potential impact on the status of an occupation, its attractiveness to new entrants and the roles of those employed in it (Sperandio, 2014,p.55).

The debate on the feminization of teaching on a global scale has acquired much importance over the past few decades especially in the context of mass education, Education for All targets and education Millennium Development Goals. In the context of countries that have achieved the goals of Universal Primary Education (UPE) and gender parity in education, historical analysis indicates that an influx of women into the teaching profession has been central to these successes (Cortina and San Roman, 2006). There has been a push for greater female participation in teaching as female labour has been instrumental at fulfilling capacity needs, while
from the perspective of educating women and girls, the presence of women teachers has been a major contributory factor (UNESCO, 2011, p.5). These linkages have made the recruitment of women into the teaching profession an expected outcome within national education sector plans and donor education strategies alike (UNESCO, 2011).

It is argued that teaching has been instrumental in providing many women in feminized education systems with access to their first formal, waged employment opportunities, and has been a step towards meeting the broader goals surrounding economic empowerment as mandated by the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995–2015 and the Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender Equality 2005–2015 (UNESCO, 2011, p.5).

However, there have been many complex consequences of the feminization of teaching. The Second World Congress of Education International in 1998 noted some trends that indicated a discrepancy in equity within feminized teaching workforces, such as a) wide variances in numbers within education sectors, with women found overwhelmingly in the early stages of education; b) an under-distribution of women across the teaching career hierarchy, disproportionate to their overall numbers, indicating direct or indirect discriminations against them within the profession; and c) concerns regarding an undervaluing of work that becomes traditionally associated with women (UNESCO, 2011, p.6).

In the context of developing countries, the trends through the feminization of
teaching present a challenging and paradoxical situation, where women in teaching are seen as instrumental in education provision generally (and female education in particular) on the one hand, versus an entrenching of gender inequalities through the feminization of the profession on the other (UNESCO, 2011). However, despite the feminization of teaching women's experiences as teachers remain unexplored except for, as Acker (1995–1996) wrote, “occasional paragraphs and sentences that make reference to some issue of gender” (pp. 142–143).

Feminization of the teaching profession is an area that needs to be studied, especially in light of the nature of employment for teachers in LFPSs in developing contexts. A further contextualization of teacher feminization and the concern of broader gender inequality can be explored more generally in terms of women’s position in the wider workforce (UNESCO, 2011b, p.23). Some of the factors that need to be studied include the labour participation rate of women, the opportunities and occupations available to women, customs and cultural norms that dictate the suitability of occupations for women, and the choices and constraints female teachers face within the wider labour market.

Analyses of the position of female teachers in schools routinely show that they, as with most girl pupils, remain confined to primary school (Wilson, 2004, p.8). Empirical evidence suggested quite clearly that there is a strong association between primary teaching as a profession and traditional gender roles that align themselves with women's long-held responsibilities in the domestic sphere, suggesting that while women may no longer be confined exclusively to this sphere,
their role in the public one is very much influenced by it (Kelleher, 2013, p.76). In all regions of the world, the proportion of female teachers at secondary and higher education levels is lower than that at the primary level (Gaynor, 1997, p. 11). This can provide another reason for lower enrolment of girls in education, where parents refuse to allow their female children to be taught by male teachers, as Egypt has reported (Haugen et.al, 2011).

While on one hand, there are ample studies in different countries that support hiring more female teachers to increase access and quality, on the other hand, there is also the risk of over-feminizing the profession, which might affect teachers negatively (Haugen et.al, 2011). UIS (2010) maintains:

In general, as the prestige of an occupation declines, the proportion of female workers tends to increase. This in turn often corresponds to lower levels of remuneration. Primary teachers’ salaries in Central and West African countries, where the teaching profession often carries status – and is thus predominantly male – are substantially higher than the salaries paid in Southern and Eastern African countries where women dominate (p.62).

This document further notes that in countries where teachers earn more, the proportion of female teachers is lower. As student enrolment has gone up (especially with Universal Primary Education), teacher salaries have gone down. Research on sex-segregation in the workplace emphasizes that when a profession is feminized, women replace men as the majority, and the jobs in that profession pay less and are perceived as less desirable (Padavic and Reskin, 2002).

Apple (1986) explores the consequences of feminization of the teaching profession
through looking at the cases of England and United States. He argues that many jobs start as male, but are transformed to female jobs as men transition out of certain lines of work. As jobs are feminized, the state attempts to control how those jobs are done, or they become “de-skilled” and “de-powered.” Once a job is feminized and becomes “women’s work,” it is no longer the same job, and it is considered inferior because women are over-represented in the profession. In jobs that are perceived as women’s work, females experience two kinds of discrimination: vertical and horizontal. Vertical discrimination means that women are disadvantaged relative to men in pay and working conditions, while horizontal discrimination leads to women being concentrated in particular types of work.

Women, Apple argues, are over-represented in less-skilled, lower status, lower paid jobs while men are over-represented in high skills managerial jobs.

Teaching has been transformed to women’s work in many parts of the world. Looking at the case of Africa, Haugen and colleagues (2011) argue that over-feminization is particularly challenging in Africa and different countries have different needs. In some countries women are far over-represented in primary schools, are poorly paid, and the profession is viewed as a last resort (Lesotho and Zanzibar, for example) (Haugen et.al, 2011). In others, males dominate teaching (Liberia is one example). The variety of challenges adds another layer of complexity regarding the recruitment and retention of female teachers in Africa (Mulkeen, 2010). Similar studies need to be carried out in South Asia and Pakistan to understand how the rise in the number of female teachers are affecting the work of teachers, their status and the profession in the country.
In the context of South Asia, Maldives and Sri Lanka are known for having a high number of female teachers nationally (UNESCO, 2010). In India, the state of Kerala has experienced the feminisation of teaching. Moving further to the east, Fu (2000) asserts that the feminization of teaching is one of the underlying causes of low teacher status in China. Fu is candid in his arguments, admitting that the patriarchal culture prevalent in Chinese society leads to an equation of high social status with male-dominated occupations (UNESCO, 2011, p.17). In China and other countries, including Pakistan, social opinion – deeply influenced by prevailing concepts of male superiority and female inferiority – leads competitive males to shun the teaching profession.

Among some of the effects of the increasing feminization of teaching in developing contexts include impacts of feminization on the status of teaching as a profession, on educational outcomes, on teaching staff themselves and school processes; and finally, on broader gender equality issues within employment and society at large. Literature shows that in each context it is important to look at the relationships between gender roles and gender bias that have characterized the debate around the feminization of the teaching profession (UNESCO, 2011). It is particularly vital in analysis of teaching as “women’s work” to explore how this has impacted gender equality in terms of access to decent wages, stable work and other career opportunities within the profession.

Trends of feminization of teaching also show that there has been a growth in the number of untrained and para teachers in many developing countries, such as
Dominica and Lesotho, in pursuit of Education For All (EFA) goals (Kelleher, 2013). The mushrooming and promotion of LFPSs in many developing countries has also led to the hiring of more women who are untrained, have low qualifications and are poorly paid. Some of the literature states that in order to achieve EFA targets, LFPSs, which rely on cheap labour of females, have an important role to play in the provision of education in developing countries. It would be fair to observe that LFPS are also having an impact on the feminization of teaching in many developing contexts.

3.4.2 The teaching labour market for women in Pakistan and LFPSs

Sperandio (2014, p.56) argues that “the history of the movement of women into teaching in the United States illustrates ‘the interface between gender, labor and economics, and a dialogue between issues of masculinity and femininity within societies’ (Kelleher, 2011, p. 8), and the cumulative historical and social process involving subtle patterns of socialisation (Drudy, 2008) replicated in the industrializing countries of Europe, and later in other countries ranging from Latin America to Australia developing public education systems in the late 19th century.” A similar process, albeit with different dynamics, seems to be operating in some countries of the world. The Pakistani labour market for women and for teachers has been undergoing some important changes over the past few decades.

It is important to keep in mind the concept of feminization of teaching in the context of my research on female teachers in Pakistan. While the public system of education
still has a higher percentage of males than females in teaching, the low fee private school sector employs a larger number of female teachers. In stark contradiction to the public sector, where females are only 36% of the teaching staff, women staff the majority of private schools in Pakistan and in some regions (Punjab for instance), they represent more than 70% of the instructional staff (Andrabi et al, 2002, p.27). Both Andrabi (2006) and the study by Carhill and Murtaza (2013) note that LFPS in Punjab rely on the work of female teachers and are thought to increase the productive efficiency of these schools. Andrabi (2006, p.19) seems to welcome the hiring of female teachers in low cost private schools as “this stage presents a fascinating glimpse of an environment that many higher income countries witnessed 50 years ago.” Pakistan is a context where women have limited employment opportunities and geographical mobility. Even though things are changing in cities, women in rural areas are expected to work close to their homes and in a very limited set of occupations—of which teaching is one—they command far lower salaries than men (Andrabi et al, 2008).

Private schools take advantage of this environment. They mostly employ as teachers young, single, moderately educated, and untrained women from the local labour market, who are paid low salaries. Using the LEAPS survey, Andrabi and colleagues (2008) show that teacher characteristics in the public and private sector are clearly very different. Private schools hire teachers who are predominantly female, younger, and unmarried (Alif Ailaan, 2014). Private school teachers are also twice as likely to come from the village in which they are employed, are less educated, and are far less likely to have received any pre-service or in-service teacher training
(Andrabi et al., 2008, p.344). The difference in pay between a teacher in a private and a government school is staggering. An average female teacher in a government school earns Rupees 5,897 per month, which is not very different from the earnings for an average male (Rupees 6,408). Among private schools, though, male teachers earn merely Rupees 1,789 per month, while females earn just Rupees 1,069. Andrabi and colleagues (2008) argue that the teacher’s gender matters because females are the cheapest source of labour. It is the low cost of female teachers that allows private schools to spring up in villages where such a teacher supply exists, and the private school provision increases the density of schooling in rural areas, thus reducing the distance to school for students (Andrabi et al., 2008, p.331).

However, Carhill and Murtaza (2013) do not see the employment of female teachers in LFPSs as favourably and argue against promoting LFPSs at the cost of exploiting large numbers of women at less than a dollar a day. Half of teacher salaries in their sample – most of them women – are less than a dollar a day; and given the urban bias in their sample, the authors argue that it is likely to be an underestimate of the proportion of very low paid teachers. Teachers as workers have the right to adequate and fair wages in a quality work environment. The ILO refers to it as “Decent Work,” explaining, “Decent work involves opportunities for work that is productive and delivers a fair income” (ILO, 2017). The exploitation of labour is never efficient because total welfare (consumer + producer surplus) decreases. With regards to female teachers, LFPSs schools are a monopsony (a market situation in which there is only one buyer) purchaser of labour because there is no other job
choice. Essentially this is an exploitative exercise of non-competitive (monopsony) market power (Carhill and Murtaza, 2013).

In their study on para teachers in India, Toppo and Manjhi (2011) argue that the government creates different layers of teachers by treating two kinds of teachers differently. The salary of the para-teachers, recruitment procedure and service conditions are entirely different from regular government teachers and they don’t have any pension provisions and promotional opportunities. It is like a ‘caste system within the teaching profession’ (italics in original) (Toppo and Manjhi, 2011, p.5). This system has put a question mark on the quality of education, the professional identity of teacher and the self-esteem of teaching cadre (Ramachandran, et. al., 2008). The para-teachers are not selected through proper competitive exams and interviews.

Further, the inadequate pre-service and in-service teaching training of para-teachers adds to their inability in managing challenging behaviours and making curriculum modifications and adaptations (Toppo and Manjhi, 2011). All these factors not only leave para-teachers physically exhausted but also result in feeling of incompetence, dissatisfaction with the nature of their work and disappointments (Toppo and Manjhi, 2011,p.7). As the following chapters will show a key goal of this study is to understand the nature of teachers’ work, their motivations, and level of satisfaction in their current roles in LFPSs.
3.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented literature reviews of key areas and concepts that inform the conceptual framework of this study. Drawing on the literature and concepts presented in this chapter the next chapter presents the conceptual framework and methodology employed in the study.
Chapter 4: Conceptual framework and methodology for study on teachers in Low Fee Private Schools

4.1 Introduction

A study looking at the work of teachers must discern in a useful manner the factors that the reader needs to take into account. The objective of this chapter is two pronged. Firstly, the chapter develops a framework for examining the work of female teachers that can guide the subsequent analysis of teachers in Low Fee Private Schools (LFPSs) in Punjab, Pakistan. Secondly, the chapter delineates the research methodology employed to attain the data needed to answer the research questions of this study on teachers in LFPSs. The first section of this chapter focuses on presenting the conceptual framework that draws on three areas of research: gender and feminization of teaching, teacher labour markets and working conditions. Following the literature review of each of these areas in Chapter 3, the first section demonstrates the interconnectedness of teacher’s career and working conditions, gender and teacher labour markets in looking at the work of female teachers in LFPSs. The section highlights the importance of using such a framework to analyse teaching in LFPSs in the context of Pakistan.

In light of the conceptual framework, the second section of this chapter looks at the corresponding methodology used to answer the research questions of this study. I
explain the rationale for employing a qualitative research design utilizing semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, field notes and secondary data sources to gather an in-depth view of teachers' work in LFPSs. The section discusses the methodological approach and processes and issues central to the integrity of a qualitative research project: data collection, research instruments, data analysis, validity, reliability and transferability.

4.2 Career, working conditions, gender and labour market of Teachers: Devising a Conceptual framework for studying the work of teachers in LFPSs

My research exploring the work of female teachers in low fee private schools in Pakistan utilizes a conceptual framework that includes an analysis of the teaching profession in the larger labour market, looking at the career and working conditions of teachers in LFPSs shaped by their gender. To develop the framework for my study on teachers in LFPSs, I draw upon existing literature on teacher’s career and working conditions, gender and feminization of teaching, and labour markets for teachers, each of which has been presented in chapter 3. To understand the working lives and experiences of teachers in LFPSs, I demonstrate the complex interaction and overlap between teachers’ careers and working conditions, their gender and the feminization of teaching and the larger labour market for teachers and women in Pakistan. I show that teachers’ work lies at the nexus of these three broader areas.
To understand LFPS female teachers’ working conditions and choices, the conceptual framework helps to show the complex interaction between teacher’s career and working conditions, the gender dynamics of working at LFPSs and the larger labour market conditions for women teachers, that include cultural and contextual factors.

**Figure 1. Conceptual framework for analysing the work of a LFPS teacher.**

The conceptual framework for this study was informed by Bascia and Rottman (2011) who look at ‘teaching conditions’, Apple’s (1986) and Acker’s (1989) work on gender and feminization of teaching, Kabeer’s (2012) concept of ‘choice’ in women’s decision-making and Robinson’s (1982) model of dual labour markets that
can applied to teacher labour markets. These concepts aid the understanding of teacher labour markets in developing contexts, especially Pakistan, and may help to explain the career decisions and employment conditions of female teachers in LFPSs in the following chapters of this dissertation. Several of the concepts used have not been utilized to study the career and working conditions of teachers in LFPS, particularly that of choice and dual labour market for teachers. Kabeer's (2012) analysis of women's choice and decision-making has looked at women working in waged labour in both formal and informal industries. I apply her analysis to look specifically at the choices and work of women teachers in LFPSs. In the section below I focus on elucidating some of the key concepts that I use as part of the conceptual framework to study the work of teachers in LFPSs.

4.2.1 Career and working conditions

The review in chapter 3 presented a definition of “career” and literature dealing with teacher’s sense of career and job satisfaction. Utilizing the conception of career by Ball and Goodson (1985) and Acker (1989) that are based on teachers’ subjective experiences which occur in particular political, social and economic contexts, I focus on conditions of teachers’ recruitment in LFPSs. I also present the perceptions of teachers and teaching for the participants in the study. It is important to note here that in the presentation of findings and analysis I use the terms of career, occupation, job and profession interchangeably. While there are differences in the definitions and conceptions of these terms, I present them as the participants of my
study have used them to describe their perceptions and experiences of teaching and teacher’s work. However, for the purpose of conceptual clarity, the reader must note that this research study relies on the concept of career as defined above and the findings and analysis are aligned with it.

Relying on the work of Bascia and Rottmann (2011) whose definition of “teaching conditions” was presented in Chapter 3, I focus on the working conditions of female teachers in LFPSs by looking at areas that include: physical environment of schools, remuneration, in-service training and development and factors that affect their daily working lives. Together teacher’s career and working conditions constitute one circle that overlaps with the other two circles of gender and labour market to situate and understand the work of female teachers in LFPSs in Punjab.

4.2.2 Gender and feminization of teaching in LFPSs

The literature review presented in Chapter 3 strongly depicts the significance of gender in this study of teachers’ work in LFPSs and therefore is an important part of the conceptual framework. I borrow from Apple’s (1986, p.184) seminal work on teachers, primarily his arguments on teachers being “classed and gendered” actors whose position is affected by its relationship to the gendered division of labour. The restructuring and “deskilling” of teacher’s work cannot be understood without placing it in a framework that integrates gender and class (Apple, 1986,p.193). Others such as Acker (1989) and Middleton (1992) provide insightful analysis of
teaching as a gendered profession. Acker further (1995-1996, p.100) argues that serious study of teachers’ work needs to take serious account of gender without trying to professionalize teaching or to reverse trends toward feminization. Both Apple and Acker’s work shows the vitality and value of studies specifically on women teachers’ gendered experience because, in the LFPSs teaching context, women are the mainstream. Gender is a useful lens to look at the work of teachers in LFPSs and cannot be ignored when analysing the careers, working conditions, and labour markets for teachers in all contexts, particularly that of Pakistan.

4.2.3 Gender analysis of work relations in LFPSs

While gender is present in each of the findings chapters as it shapes the teacher’s work and experiences, a more detailed gender analysis is presented in chapter 6. As Galman and Mallozzi (2012, p.244) argue, “despite multiple plausible explanations and principled exploration, feminization and women at work in the school as a gendered workplace remain largely unexamined.” This has definitely been the case in the research on LFPS, which has ignored the gendered dynamics of work in schools and how that may affect teacher’s work. Therefore, in my study I do a gender analysis of LFPS. Gender analysis refers to “the variety of methods used to understand the relationships between men and women, their access to resources, their activities, and the constraints they face relative to each other.” (CIDA, 2014). A gender analysis of teaching in LFPS can tell us who is in positions of leadership, how male and female teachers are treated, how different their working conditions and
salaries are, and how these relations in schools challenge or maintain the existing
division of labour. This is important before proceeding to the larger discussion of
labour market trends for women in Pakistan, which are shaped by cultural factors
and the gendered division of labour.

4.2.4 Teacher labour markets

The gender division of labour in the Pakistani context is a key determinant of the
broader trends in the labour market for women and has a profound effect on the
work of teachers. Apple (1986, p.193) argues that women teachers often work in
two sites, the school and then the home, and it is worth thinking about the effects
that working in one site will have on the other. This means that women's work is
conditioned by their domestic lives and broader social and cultural environments in
which they exist. By looking at the socio-economic context and the larger labour
market for women in Pakistan, we can get a sense of the factors that impact female
teachers choice and decision to work in LFPSs.

4.2.5 Understanding women’s choice to teach in LFPSs: Kabeer’s
concept of ‘choice’

I utilize the concept of ‘choice’ that is significant to problematize women's decision
to work and has been dealt well in the works of Kabeer (2012). I draw from
Kabeer’s insights on women in waged employment that show the complexity of
access to paid work may give them a greater sense of self-reliance and greater purchasing power, but if it is undertaken in conditions that erode their health and exploit their labour, its costs may outweigh its benefits. Women’s decisions about work are likely to reflect different degrees of choice and constraint, depending not only on individual and household characteristics, such as age, education, wealth, husband’s education and so on, but also according to the acceptability of work within the local culture as well as the amount and kinds of work available (Kabeer, 2012, p.23). It is important to keep in mind these contextual factors when discussing teacher labour markets and the working conditions of teachers in general. Through teachers’ testimonies I present the social environment in which female teachers have to make a choice to work in LFPSs and that affects their decision to continue working or to leave teaching.

4.2.6 Dual Labour Markets

I also employ the model of dual labour markets used in the sociology of labour markets literature (Robinson, 1982) as it presents a useful way to look at how the teaching labour market is organized in Pakistan, especially with regards to public and private school teaching. The model holds that in any market there is a primary and secondary sector, or what Robinson (1982) terms as the first and second sector. The first sector is labour, which is central to the firm; the second sector is that which is relatively unskilled, quickly hired and fired according to the demands of the business cycle (Robinson, 1982, p.181). The second sector of the labour market has
tended to be filled by low-status employees, migrant labour, women, the young and the inexperienced. Like other labour markets, within teaching there are two sectors, a first sector of permanent, trained staff employed in public and private schools, and a second sector of less trained and qualified staff on temporary short-term contracts in some public and low cost private schools. As this becomes more evident in teaching labour markets worldwide, any analysis of teaching that ignores the segmentation of the profession massively distorts reality (Robinson, 1982).

4.2.7 Teachers working in LFPS in Pakistan
As the diagram depicting the conceptual framework (see p.99) shows, teachers working in LFPSs lie at the nexus of the three circles to highlight the interaction and overlap of teacher’s working conditions, gender and labour market conditions. The three circles present these major areas and factors that interact and in conjunction shape the work of women teachers in LFPSs. Analytically, using this conceptual frame in the context of teachers’ work in LFPSs in Punjab, Pakistan offers the potential to deepen our understanding of the complexity of female teachers working lives.

4.3 Methodology
My study relies on qualitative data sources of: interviews, focus group discussions, field observations and secondary data sources, to answer the main research
questions. This information was collected during a three-month trip to Pakistan from January to March 2016.

4.3.1 Research Setting and ‘gatekeepers’

The research was conducted over a period of three months, primarily in urban and slum areas and in rural areas in and surrounding Lahore, but also in other parts of Punjab. My reason for choosing Lahore is because it is the most populated city in the Punjab province with a large number of low cost private schools. The province of Punjab has the highest literacy rate in the country and is often cited as a success story in LFPSs and PPPs literature (Barber, 2013; World Bank, 2013). My interaction with the staff of an NGO called Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aghahi (ITA), based in Lahore, was helpful in providing me access to my research sites and information on LFPS schools. ITA has been a leading organization in the area of education development in Pakistan and is well connected to international donor organizations, the semi-government Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) and other NGOs working in education. ITA participates in the compilation of the Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) survey that presents literacy rates, statistics on public and private schools and learning outcomes in the country. ITA staff provided me a list of low fee private schools in and surrounding Lahore that they had contacted and worked with for their studies and training sessions. I used this list as a starting point.

I contacted Bunyad Foundation, whom I had worked with during my Master's fieldwork. Bunyad works in different parts of Punjab on literacy, women's
empowerment and other developmental programs, and are very supportive of researchers and students. Bunyad provided me with the necessary transport facilities to my schools sites, and also gave me access to its schools that were part of my sample of LFPSs in various rural areas. Bunyad’s fieldworkers and trainers accompanied me to some schools and helped in gaining entry in some schools.

Ely (1991) introduces the idea of a “gatekeeper:” a person who facilitates entry into the field. In this research, both ITA and Bunyad served as my “gatekeepers”. ITA facilitated my entry into the community by providing me a list of LFPS and contact information of school head teachers/principals, whom they had worked with in the past for their surveys. I did not use the whole list provided by ITA, as some contacts were old and no longer existed. Some of the school owners declined to participate in the study. So it would be accurate to say that about 50 percent of the list of schools provided was used and included in the study. I also informed the owners and principals that while I got their contact information from ITA records, my work was not affiliated with them at all and that none of the material could be accessed by them due to confidentiality.

Similarly, Bunyad’s community mobilizer used his contacts in the education department and LFPSs in various rural localities that made it possible to access those schools and include them in my study. Bunyad’s staff accompanied me on my visits to schools in many of the rural areas. They also assisted in facilitating some meetings with officials in other NGOs including the All Pakistan Private School Association chair and the Punjab Education Foundation. Bunyad also provided me a
workspace in their office, where I collected secondary sources related to my area of study. Throughout my study I engaged with Bunyad’s chairperson, fieldworkers, trainers and staff in stimulating discussions on the cultural context, education system, teachers and gender. These discussions helped to challenge some of my ideas, and plan and implement my study in a more systematic manner.

It is important to stress here that decisions about which schools to include in my study were all made by me and were not influenced by Bunyad or ITA. These organizations were facilitators in my accessing schools, and from their suggestions I had to find out if the schools fit the criteria for my study, which I explain in the following sections. I took it upon myself to contact the schools and inquire if they were willing to participate in a study that was not supported by any organization. Bunyad, except for its own schools, did not have existing contacts in schools or any prior interaction with them. The fieldworkers used their contacts to find about the schools and their location. Bunyad provided transport that I used to get to the locations of the schools. The locations in rural and urban areas of Punjab were chosen by me and in many areas I set out on foot accompanied by a Bunyad staff member and inquired from principals of schools nearby to see if they would participate and determine if they fit the criteria of schools I was looking at.

4.3.2 Research design

Qualitative research is based on recognizing patterns among words and concepts in order to construct a meaningful picture that captures the richness and
dimensionality of experiences. While quantitative research uses larger samples and numbers to explain certain phenomena or test hypothesis, qualitative research aims to present an in-depth view through detailed and rich testimonies gathered from a relatively smaller sample of participants. Qualitative research draws on multiple methodologies and sources to “describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individual lives” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p.3). Given that the purpose of my study was to comb deeper in the working experiences and career of female teachers in LFPSs, I employed a qualitative research design that explores the work of teachers.

I used the qualitative methods of semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, field observations and secondary data sources that provided rich description and an in-depth view of teacher participants in LFPSs. Interviews provide a means to access unobservable information such as perceptions, prior experiences and the ways in which people interpret the world around them (Merriam, 1998). The use of qualitative methods might bring to fore many factors and explanations that are often missed in surveys of teachers and principals. Existing studies on LFPS involving teachers in Pakistan (Andrabi et al, 2012; Carhill and Murtaza, 2013) have largely used survey, census data and questionnaires with larger sample sizes. While they have made some interesting observations, these studies lack depth when it comes to the work of female teachers in LFPSs. In my dissertation I go beyond presenting information about numbers, salaries and
demographics to look at deeper issues that affect teacher's choices, careers, working conditions, and how factors including gender and labour market shape their work.

The decision to use more than one qualitative method (i.e., interviews, focus groups) is also based on the goal to elicit descriptions, arguments and discussions that may occur in larger groups of participants. Discussions have the potential to be more dynamic than individual interviews as participants have a chance to react and respond to each other's comments. Therefore, the overall research design of my study, consisting of methods, scope and the nature of the data required, corresponds to the research questions being explored and aligns with the conceptual framework presented.

4.3.3 Sampling design

4.3.3.1 Selecting schools

The schools were selected through a mix of both purposive and convenience sampling. Some of the schools were chosen from the list provided by ITA to include the different categories of LFPSs (described below) and different urban and rural areas in and surrounding Lahore. However, not all schools listed could be studied due to limitations of time, access and resources. Some schools were included through convenience sampling, as visiting a school in the locality, I walked around to the other schools in close proximity and inquired if they would participate in my study.
Some of the schools in rural areas of Karbaat, Thitar and Hair were accessed through the help of Bunyad’s community mobilizer who knew about the location of a few schools as he had worked and lived in these communities. As mentioned earlier, the decision to include a school in my study was my own and was based on whether the school could be classified as a LFPS, its location and the willingness of principals/owners to participate in the study. Neither Bunyad nor ITA had a reason to influence the sampling or skew the data by selecting schools they thought would give a certain kind of view of LFPSs.

4.3.3.2 Selecting rural and urban localities

LFPSs are mushrooming in both the urban/peri-urban and rural areas in Punjab. In an attempt to capture the experiences of teachers in rural and urban localities, I included schools from both. A list provided by ITA on some LFPS surrounding Lahore served as a starting point and about half of the schools in my sample were from that list. Some of the schools were accessed through Bunyad’s fieldworker who knew about the locations of some LFPSs. The selection of each school was based on the criteria of a LFPS that has been laid out in the section below. I as a researcher ensured that each school that was included in the sample, regardless of the suggestions made by ITA and Bunyad staff, fit the criteria I had for inclusion in the study.
The inclusion of schools in both rural and urban areas was based on the assumption that female teachers might be facing different conditions and opportunities for teaching work in each. Also, the supply of teachers (especially female) might also differ in urban and rural localities. The aim was to explore whether these differences existed and how that affected teachers’ work in LFPSs in rural and urban areas. Out of the 27 LFPS included in my study, 15 schools were in rural areas and 12 were in urban areas.

4.3.3.3 The three categories of LFPSs

During my discussions with ITA staff and those who had studied some LFPSs in Pakistan, I came to understand that within LFPSs there are different categories in terms of organization, funding, and management. LFPSs range from one-room schools in villages and slums to proper schools run by non-profits such as The Citizens Foundations (TCF), Bunyad and Al-Ghazali Trust. Some LFPSs set up by private entrepreneurs are also funded by the semi-government Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) and a foreign Christian donor foundation called STARFISH. Therefore, in order to capture the diversity, I divided LFPSs into three broad categories and ensured that schools studied included them all (see Table 1). The first category of private entrepreneurs are owned and managed by private individuals and funded through fee from students.
The second category represents schools that are set up by local charities and NGOs, namely Bunyad, TCF, and Al-Ghazali trust. These schools are owned by the NGOs and rely on funds from them and the fee that is taken from some of the students. These schools are managed by principals who are hired by the NGO. The schools differ in terms of building and standards due to the varying levels of funding provided by each NGO. For instance, while the Bunyad schools are very basic and poorly resourced, TCF schools have proper, well-built buildings and trained teaching staff.

The third category of LFPSs used in this study consists of schools that are owned by private individuals but are funded by PEF and STARFISH foundations. These schools also charge some students but are given funding for the fee of a certain number of students, which is determined by the foundations. In the schools funded by PEF, there is a voucher system for students in those localities and PEF funds these schools based on the number of vouchers they are granted. These schools have to follow the curriculum set by the foundation and rules for testing. These foundations conduct regular evaluations in these schools to monitor the progress. They also test the students and based on the performance on those tests decide whether to continue funding the school or not.
Table 1. Categories and number of LFPS in the study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of LFPSs</th>
<th>Private entrepreneurs</th>
<th>NGOs</th>
<th>Foundations funded (PEF and STARFISH)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number included in the study</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.3.4 LFPSs fee bands

In addition to the three categories of LFPSs, another criterion was used to select schools for the study was the fees charged in the schools. For the purpose of this research those schools that charged a fee within the range of Rupees. 150 to Rupees.1500 were included in the study. This criterion was decided after my discussions with ITA staff, based on their study of the LFPS sector and the current economic situation of the country. The fee was certainly a factor that distinguished the low fee private schools from elite private schools and those that were in between.

4.3.3.5 Selecting teachers

All the teachers interviewed were female, as the study is primarily looking at the work and experiences of female teachers in LFPSs. In many schools, teacher interviewees were primarily selected by principals based on their availability at the time. For interviews that took place during school hours, the teachers who were free at that time and were willing to volunteer were interviewed. In some schools,
teachers were free as it was exam period and since few students were in school, no regular classes were being held.

In order to minimise ethical issues, teachers were first asked if they agreed to participate in the study with the principal not being present. I ensured the participants that all that they said was confidential and not accessible by the principal or the school management. In some instances where participants were unsure at the beginning of the interview, I communicated with them and assured them that they had the right to withdraw at any point if they wanted. In a few cases where due to lack of space the principal asked the teacher to give the interview in his office, I had to ask the principal to be in a separate room so that the participants were not under any kind of pressure. 4 teachers did not want the interview to be recorded so I wrote their responses by hand and later checked their responses with them to ensure the accuracy of the data. In the case of principals, many did not want the interview to be audio-taped and so I transcribed them by hand and checked their responses with them later. As a reflexive researcher, I ensured that none of my participants were put in a difficult position due to their participation in the study by providing enough detail about the study and its purpose, the voluntary nature of their participation and the anonymity of their responses and information. In order to counter the doubt expressed by some principals I provided the detail of my work and my contact information to all the participants.
For focus groups there was no such selection, as they took place after school hours and those teachers who were willing to participate voluntarily stayed after school to be a part of the focus group. In each of the focus groups, between 4-11 teachers participated. Some teachers who were a part of the focus groups voluntarily agreed to be interviewed individually later.

4.3.3.6 Sample and profiling of teachers

While the profile of teachers in this study is dealt with in Chapter 5, it is important to mention here that for the sample of teachers interviewed, as well as those who participated in focus groups, the data may seem skewed in favour of younger teachers with fewer years of experience. The majority of the teacher participants fall within the range of teaching for the past 2 to 5 years in LFPSs (See Table 4, in chapter 5 for more detail). This was not part of the criteria when selecting teachers to interview. In fact it was noticed during data collection that the majority of teachers in many of the LFPSs included in the study had little experience and many were teaching for the first time. This is something that is discussed further in Chapter 5 when profiling the teachers in LFPSs that were a part of this study. In addition to their experience, other information about their level of education, training and marital status is presented and discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. It must be noted that none of this information was used as part of the criteria to select teachers for this study.
4.3.4 Data collection

The most substantive data used for the findings presented in my study come from face to face interviews with individuals and small groups. For the purpose of this study, 27 principals and 48 female teachers were interviewed individually. Each interview with the principal lasted between 50-60 minutes. Each interview with the teachers lasted between 45-60 minutes. 6 focus group discussions with teachers were carried out and each group session lasted between 45 minutes to 130 minutes. As mentioned earlier, participation in all interviews and discussions was voluntary. In addition, I also recorded my observations of the school infrastructure, classrooms, teacher’s discussions and principal’s interactions during each school visit, interviews and focus group discussions in a field diary.

Interviews were also conducted with fieldworkers and staff from Bunyad and ITA. I was also introduced to the director of an NGO called SAHE and interviewed him for an hour and 45 minutes on issues surrounding teaching, language, curriculum, education policies and LFPSs. Through Bunyad’s contact, I was able to meet and interview the president of All Pakistan Private school federation for over an hour, discussing LFPS sector, issues of quality, teacher training, Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) and private schools. Bunyad’s chairperson helped me to contact the managing director of PEF, who invited me for an orientation session to the PEF office in Lahore. The session lasted for 40 minutes and mainly dealt with the projects of various departments of PEF. I was told to get official permission to interview the officials or access any of the schools through PEF. Due to the shortage
of time and resources, it was not possible to do so. Moreover, the goal was to look at the work of teachers in LFPS, not only those funded by PEF. Therefore, the overall sample that included different categories of LFPSs and the number of schools studied in the given time was deemed sufficient for the purpose of this study. Table 2 below presents the relevant attributes of the interviewees.

Table 2. Characteristics of Interviewees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual interviews</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principals</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Society</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO field workers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trainers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAHE Director</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President all Pakistan private school federation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEF officials</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Individual interviews</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Group Interviews                               |        |      |       |
| Focus group with teachers                      | 27     | 27   | 54    |

| TOTAL INTERVIEWS                               | 115    |      |       |

4.3.5 Research instruments

In order to collect data needed to answer the research questions, I used multiple research instruments. These were semi-structured interview guides, focus group discussion guides, field note guide and observation protocols.
4.3.5.1 Interview guides

I used semi-structured interviews to collect data from school head teachers/principals and proprietors, teachers, and civil society actors. All interviews with teachers and principals were in Urdu, except with a few principals who were comfortable with English. These interviews were translated into English. Most of the interviews were audiotaped with the permission of the participant and later transcribed. Some interviews with principals were hand-written, as they did not want their interviews to be audiotaped. In all cases, extensive notes were taken during each of the interviews and later rewritten to include my perspective on what was shared. The interview guide consisted of semi-structured open-ended questions, and participant responses which were also used as probes for further follow-up questions. Interview questions and guides used for teachers and principals can be found in Appendix A and B. The interview guide was designed to elicit responses that described the nature of teachers’ work, their qualifications, work environment and conditions, their choice of career, training, gender dynamics of labour in LFPSs, challenges they faced and their future goals. The interview guide for principals was designed to acquire responses on the hiring of female teachers, recruitment and retention, training, issues they face with teachers, students and parents, quality of education in LFPS.

4.3.5.2 Focus group discussion guides

At six schools I conducted focus group discussions with teachers. These were carried out primarily in Urdu and lasted about 60-minutes each. Interviews were
audiotaped with the permission of the respondents and were later translated into English and transcribed. The focus group discussion guide explored issues of cultural context, the significance of gender and how it shapes teachers’ work in LFPSs, labour markets for women, teaching, working conditions, teachers’ participation in decision-making, training, status, career and LFPSs.

4.3.5.3 Field notes and observations

Field notes constituted an important part of my study. I maintained my field notes in a dairy during the entire course of my fieldwork. My field notes included school descriptions, class descriptions, direct quotations, my feelings, observations, interpretations and insights into what was happening and also some preliminary analysis of the data. Descriptions in my field notes also provided me with rich images that captured some dimensions that further enhanced the data from participants.

4.3.6 Ethics

This study followed the ethical protocol and procedures outlined by the University of Toronto Ethical Review Process. As part of the ethical consideration process, participants were informed of the purpose of the study, how the research would proceed, the feedback process and how results would be used. Special care was taken to explain the purpose of my research and differentiate it from the NGOs, PEF and other donors who sometimes visited these schools. Participation in the study
was voluntary and all participants signed letters of informed consent prior to their participation. There were some instances in which participants requested that they not be audio recorded; in other instances audio recording was impractical because of the nature of the location of the interview or my desire to not make research participants uncomfortable. In such instances it was a judgment call on my part. In some cases where participants were not willing to give written consent, verbal consent was obtained. Participants were also made aware that they could withdraw from the study at any time without any consequence and that all their responses would remain confidential and anonymous. Data were stored in a safe, confidential location, not accessible to others.

4.3.7 Data analysis

While a large portion of analysis takes place once data collection is completed, data collection and analysis should remain simultaneous processes (Merriam, 1998). Therefore, in some ways analysis was an ongoing process throughout this research project. Reflections on interviews and weekly summaries on my research helped me to note observations, refine questions for individual and group interviews and refine my assumptions. This ongoing analysis was followed by an in-depth analysis once I completed data collection. I chose not to utilise any data analysis software and all analysis was instead done by hand.

I collated a list of all the Low Fee Private schools included in the study in an excel spread sheet, which included information about the category of LFPSs, rural and
urban location, fee, gender of principal, number of teachers interviewed, schools where focus groups took place, the kind of building the school had and year school was established. This list helped me organize the data and helped me calculate the number of interviews and focus groups and also had gender identifiers for principals.

4.3.7.1 Steps in the analysis of teachers and principals interview and focus group data

The qualitative data obtained through interviews, focus group discussions, policy documents and field notes were first transcribed and then I read through the data several times for familiarity and understanding. I analyzed the data by hand using Microsoft Word to type up responses that I could search and group and also cut and paste. While reading through the transcripts, I made margin notes and wrote analytical memos (Miles & Huberman, 1994) noting points of interest, codes and significant themes that were informed by my conceptual framework.

To go through the data in a systematic manner coding was used. Codes were derived from the research questions and conceptual framework looking at career, working conditions, gender, social context, and labour market for women. Codes were based on concepts, such as working conditions, career, labour market, and related themes such as turnover rate, training, salary, mobility and perception of teaching. I was also attentive to emergent codes, which were different from the pre-set codes, and noted any contradictory responses. I created files and documents based on themes and sub-themes based on my conceptual framework and research questions. As new
themes emerged, I created new documents for them. I created an initial coding sheet that guided the organization of codes and sub-themes. The codes and themes gathered from teacher's interviews and focus group discussions are presented in a table in Appendix C to give the reader a sense of how the data from teachers' interviews was organized and analyzed.

After coding the data and then using a thematic analysis approach to identify themes and relationships between coded chunks of data, I labeled the themes on the transcript and copied and pasted them into the appropriate documents. Within the broad categories, I created sub-themes that emerged from the interviews, and I copied and pasted the material into the appropriate sub-themes. When three or more sub-themes emerged, I created a table of contents that was hyper-linked to the sub-theme headings to facilitate quick access to the headings.

After organizing all the data from both interviews and focus group discussions into themes and sub-themes I combined, all the analysis documents with the headings 1) Participant Demographic Information, 2) Teacher Career based themes, 3) Working Conditions and remuneration themes 4) Challenges highlighted 5) Gender related themes 6) Social factors and context 7) Labour market and teaching as an occupation for women. I then counted the number of comments (c) in each section, and the number of participants (p) and marked them on the section headings. I also marked the number of references from documents (d) and from my observations (o).
After this, I created a document of all the prominent themes and subthemes, and I organized them according to my research questions and sub-questions. Based on the conceptual framework and the emergent themes from the data, I created two chapters that reported the findings and presented the analysis: Chapter 5) Career and Working Conditions of teachers in LFPSs in Punjab and Chapter 6) Analysing gender and labour market dynamics for teachers in LFPSs.

It is important to state here that in presenting my findings in Chapter 5 and 6, I use percentages to show the number of teachers who experienced and expressed certain views on a theme and a subtheme. While it is not common to use percentages in presenting qualitative data, I did so primarily to give the reader a sense of the number of teachers who held a particular view on questions that were asked as well as issues that they raised themselves. While my sample was not large as quantitative studies, it was still sizable for a study that uses qualitative methods of interviews and focus groups. During the data analysis and writing process, I found that it was possible to come up with percentages and felt that for some readers it is more logical to know a percentage rather than terms such as ‘few’ and ‘many’ when interpreting data.

4.3.7.2 Steps in analysis of interviews of NGO officials.

It must be noted that very little data from interviews with other actors was used in the dissertation due to its narrow scope. While interviews with other officials contained interesting information about the education system, privatization, Punjab
Education Foundation, etc., only the information that was related to answering the research questions of the study was included. I used selected quotes from these interviews that related to teacher’s work, teaching in LFPSs, and quality of education in LFPSs. I used these along with the testimonies of teachers to present the views of a different actor.

4.3.7.3 Data Sources used in this dissertation

It is important to mention that I use multiple secondary sources in my dissertation including 1) empirical research studies from peer-reviewed journals, book chapters, books; 2) advocacy documents and reports by organizations such as UN, UNESCO, World Bank, ILO, DFID; 3) news articles published in Pakistani newspapers; 4) NGO reports, surveys and assessments namely ASER, ITA, I-SAPS, Alif Ailaan, etc.; 5) national planning documents from Ministry of Education. The use of these diverse sources helps me to frame my argument, elucidate concepts, present definitions, use complimentary sources to fill the gap in information in areas with few research studies, understand the study context and analyse the findings in light of existing literature on the topic.

4.3.8 Validity, Reliability and Transferability

Questions of validity, reliability and transferability are raised when discussing the issue of rigor in research. The goal is to check the quality of data and results. Validity is “the ability of the researcher to draw meaningful and accurate conclusions from
all of the data in the study” (Creswell & Clark, 2006, p. 146). In order to minimize threats to validity in this study, I was attentive to the following. In order to gather rich and detailed data on teacher’s working conditions and career in the Pakistani context, qualitative methods were appropriately used to answer the research questions. In my sample I tried to include a sizable number of sample schools, principals and teachers in both urban and rural areas. Using a sizable qualitative sample, any contradictory results were reexamined and I tried to reduce potential bias through data collection by using multiple data collection procedures (semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and observation). Both the interview and focus group guides were tested and then edited before actual interviews. The responses from the interviews were further enhanced by some focus group discussion quotes from teacher participants. Using multiple qualitative data sources enabled the detection of rich responses from participants and enhanced the validity of the study.

Both Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Miles and Huberman (1994) recommend keeping an “audit trail” so that all the steps in the research process are documented, ensuring transparency. I did this through field notes that were organized in a field diary. Field notes are one of the mainstays of fieldwork. Patton (1987, p. 95) recommends that they be (a) descriptive, (b) include direct quotations, (c) contain my own feelings, reactions to the experience and reflections about the meaning and significance of what has occurred, and (d) record my insights, interpretations and beginning analyses about what is happening. Thus field notes are built into the process of researcher reflexivity.
Qualitative studies often have limited generalizability, although Punch (2005) suggests that some qualitative studies can produce something that is generalizable. A more apt term is of transferability, which refers to whether or not particular findings can be transferred to another similar context or situation, while still preserving the meanings and inferences from a study done in a particular context (Leininger, 1994; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). To determine the transferability, the original context of the research must adequately be described so that the reader can make informed decisions about the transferability of the findings to their specific contexts (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Firestone, 1993; Stake, 1995; Bogdan and Biklen, 2003; McKee, 2004). As I provide thick description about the context of my research it may be more applicable to discern the emerging patterns from this study on teachers in LFPSs for other urban slum and rural communities in Pakistan and other developing country contexts. I also focus on providing rich and vigorous presentation of the findings, with appropriate quotations, which also enhances transferability (Graneheim and Lundman, 2004).

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I presented the conceptual framework for my study on LFPSs teachers and the methodology to operationalize the framework. The conceptual framework draws on literature on teachers career and working conditions, gender and feminization of teaching, and teacher labour markets, to look at the work of
female teachers in LFPSs. I illustrate that we cannot fully understand and analyse the work of teachers in LFPSs without placing it in a framework that looks at the intersecting and intertwined areas of teacher's career prospects and working conditions, gender and labour market conditions.

I have presented the research design for the study including how I selected the schools in the study as well as participants for interviews and focus group discussions. I have provided my rationale for using a qualitative methods design in this study as well as how I analyzed the qualitative data. In the next chapter, I present the profile of an average LFPS teacher and data pertaining to teachers’ views about their career trajectory and working conditions.
Chapter 5: Career and Working conditions of Teachers in Low Fee Private Schools in Punjab

5.1 Introduction

The goal of the chapter is to identify the multiple social, demographic, academic and professional factors that affect a young woman’s decision to become a teacher and the working conditions that might subsequently affect their choice to remain in teaching or leave it. As Beynon (1985, p.13) points out “more needs to be known about how teachers lives outside classes influence their teaching and the crucial episodes and watersheds that mark shifts in attitudes in their career.”

I employ the concepts of career presented by Ball and Goodson (1985) and Acker (1989) to map out the career trajectory of teachers in Low Fee Private Schools (LFPSs). What makes the work of Ball and Goodson (1985) particularly useful in conceptualizing a career in teaching is their focus on both the subjective and objective dimensions to a career. They assert:

“By definition individual careers are socially constructed and individually experienced over time. They are subjective trajectories through historical periods and at the same time contain their own organizing principles and distinct phases. However there are important ways in which individual careers can be tied to wider political and economic events. (Ball and Goodson, 1985, p.11)
They further assert that teachers’ lives outside school and their identities and culture also impact their work as teachers. By focusing on LFPSs teachers, I seek to understand how teaching for women is constructed in these schools in the Pakistani context and how these teachers experience their careers.

Similarly, Acker (1989; 1992; 1995) provides a conception of teachers’ careers that are shaped by individual circumstances as well as structural contexts, with a particular focus on gender and the gendered experiences of female teachers. Acker (1989, p.9) regards careers as “a series of experiences in coming to terms with situations and making choices subject to constraints.” For teachers, especially female, individual career choices may be influenced by internal labour markets for teachers, personal choices and family responsibilities (Spencer, 1997). In addition, Acker emphasises the structural dimension of a career by arguing “Historical, demographic, economic and political structures are part of the context in which teaching careers are constructed” (1990, p.3). Acker (1992, p.148) finds in her work that the career structure of women teachers is more complicated and their careers are influenced by family stage and work needs of teachers’ spouses, as well as by unexpected life events, such as having a baby. In addition to Ball and Goodson (1985), Acker’s (1989; 1995) work is relevant in this study as she illuminates the complexities of gender as a factor in teachers’ work and women’s experiences as teachers. From their decision to come to a local low fee private school to teach to the reasons for leaving teaching or continuing it, in the first section of this chapter, I present how young women in teaching view it as career choice.
In the second section of this chapter, utilizing Bascia and Rottman’s concept of “teaching conditions”, I look at the workload of teachers and catch a glimpse of the lives of teachers in LFPS classrooms by looking at factors such as school infrastructure, support and training, student demographics and parental involvement. Bascia and Rottman (2011, p.) identify factors that are “critical to the quality of teachers work including: class size and workload; time for professional non-teaching work; resource advocacy; collegiality and stimulating professional interactions; opportunities to learn and improve; support for professional risk-taking and experimentation; ability to influence school decisions and congruence between individual and professional goals”.

By studying teachers working conditions, the aim is to get LFPS teachers’ views about some of the factors that affect their ability to perform their duties as teachers, such as resources, syllabus, multi-grade teaching, and the ease or difficulty of dealing with students, parents and the principal.

This chapter helps to give a sense of the typical teacher in a LFPS, why she is teaching in this occupation, where she sees herself in the future, what her career in teaching looks like and the larger question of how she perceives other people’s views on teaching. Moreover, the chapter further looks at the working conditions of teachers in LFPSs. This is crucial as there is a serious lack of documentation of teachers working experience in LFPSs in Pakistan. Without an understanding of the working conditions of teachers in LFPSs, one cannot fully comprehend the reasons that may cause them to feel dissatisfied with their careers, feel discouraged and end up leaving their jobs.
This chapter helps to answer two of the main research questions of this study:

1) How do female teachers perceive their career trajectory in LFPSs in Punjab?
And the sub questions of: why are women attracted to work in LFPSs? And how does it affect their long-term career path?

2) What are some of the critical working conditions for female teachers in LFPSs?
And a sub-question of: How do the working conditions of teachers in LFPSs affect their job satisfaction and long-term career?

This chapter delves into some of the conditions required for the practice of teaching in LFPSs and proceeds as follows. The first section focuses on the responses of teachers and head teachers/principals looking at the recruitment process, age, qualifications, and the conditions of appointment of female teachers in LFPSs. By presenting these, I sketch a rough profile of the average LFPS teacher, which will orient the reader better in terms of analysing the career and work of teachers in the study. This profile is followed by a look at factors or conditions that made the participants choose teaching. It then presents teachers’ responses about their future plans with regards to their teaching career. Teachers’ reflection on the image and value of a teacher in the larger society are also presented.

The second section highlights the working conditions of teachers in LFPSs. Drawing largely on the interview responses of teachers, I look at school infrastructure, teachers’ workload, salary, training, the practice of giving tuitions, student demographics and parental support and the role of the principal. I then analyse the
responses of teachers with regards to their working conditions and comment on the larger significance of the findings for LFPS teachers. The last section of the chapter weighs in on the responses of the teachers on career paths, recruitment and working conditions in LFPSs, in light of the existing literature on the subject and the conceptual framework of the study.

5.2 Career trajectory of LFPS Teachers

As argued in chapters 2 and 3, in Punjab and Pakistan’s environment of acute teacher shortage accompanied by a high turnover rate of teachers, it becomes imperative to reflect on teaching as a career for young women in LFPSs. This section shows that the information gathered on the educational background of the teachers, their choice of entering teaching, recruitment in LFPSs, their interest to stay or leave the profession, and the overall social image of the teacher constitute important foci for data analysis in this study.

5.2.1 Sketching the profile of an average female LFPS teacher

5.2.1.1 Qualification

Existing literature on LFPSs shows that a key characteristic of a LFPS teacher is her lower level of qualification as compared to her counterparts in the government sector (Alif Ailaan 2014; Andrabi et.al, 2008). In order to gather data to construct the profile of LFPSs teachers in my study, participants were asked about their qualifications, pre-service training and experience. Table 3 below gives details about
the qualifications of the teachers who were interviewed for this study. Most of the teachers in the study had done F.A (grade 12). Next were those who had a Bachelors (B.A) degree. Those with matric (grade 10) and Masters (M.A) degree were comparatively fewer.

**Table 3. Qualification breakdown of participants.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>No. of teachers with qualification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matric (grade 10)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.A/F.Sc. (grade 12)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.A/B.Sc. (Bachelors)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Ed. (Bachelors in Education)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.A (Masters in Arts)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.Ed. (Masters in Education)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of teachers in study</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interviews with principals/school owners’ showed that the majority of the LFPSs did not have a recruitment strategy or a set criterion with regards to teacher qualification, and mostly tended to hire whoever was available to fill a teaching position.

*We have a very serious problem of finding qualified teachers in this area. Few girls are educated after matric and since they don’t continue studying they have that qualification. We have to hire them. So when we need a teacher badly we just hire whoever is available because otherwise the parents might complain. Finding female teachers who can teach Science is extremely hard. (Interview Principal no.24)*

*We have to hire teachers with only a matric qualification for junior classes because the pay is considered too low by those who have an F.A and B.A. The more qualified teachers ask for higher salaries and we are a small school and we cannot pay them. (Interview Principal no. 17)*
These quotes show a paradox from the principal/owners’ point of view with regards to hiring qualified teachers. On one hand, principals complain that it’s hard to find qualified teachers in their area. On the other hand, they hire matric-level or F.A level teachers intentionally so that they can accept the low salary given by these LFPSs. However, 15% of school owners and principals in the study spoke about some requirements about teacher qualifications they had when they were recruiting teachers.

The principal in a school run by The Citizen Foundation (TCF) stated:

*We cannot just hire any matric or F.A pass teacher like other private schools. They are required to have a B.A or B.Ed. most of our teachers have a B.A or an M.A.*

Similarly in a school supported by Bunyad in Kolon Tarar, the principal said:

*We don’t hire matric level teachers. Parents object if they find out that the teacher has only done matric. So we have teachers who are doing F.A privately and many who have done F.A. In many village localities, like ours, its hard to find those with a B.A. Our school is at the far end of the village and so the more qualified teachers will not come.*

The principal of Dean school stated:

*I don’t hire matric level teachers because they cannot be expected to teach at that age. I mean at that age they are very young and you need to be constantly checking, guiding and training them and I don’t have that sort of time, neither do any of the other teachers.*

The principal at ACME school elaborated further by explaining her decision to hire graduates only:

*Our requirement is that the teacher should at least have a B.A. Anything lower than that we cannot accept. Because this affects the quality of education in this school. When it comes to learning, it’s the job of a skilled and qualified teacher, a matric level teacher cannot do the same. If the teacher herself has no knowledge
then how can she impart it to the children, how can she teach them what they need to learn?

What these responses of teachers and principals suggest is that within these LFPSs there were differences. TCF, a foundation/NGO run school, required its teachers to have a B.A. The other schools only objected to hiring matric level (grade 10) teachers and had all hired F.A level (grade 12) teachers. This emphasizes the point that there are no set requirements for teacher education level for hiring in LFPSs and that these are marked by variations in practice.

While there is a strong recognition that the qualification of the teacher matters in theory and is demanded by some parents, a significant number of LFPSs resort to hiring matric qualified and F.A level teachers for smaller grades to fill vacancies. Principals stated that while they would like to hire more qualified teachers and teachers who had a B.A, due to their inability to pay a higher salary, they couldn’t do so. Some also lamented that in their areas it was hard to find females who had earned a B.A and so they resorted to hiring those with a matric and F.A qualification. In two schools in rural areas, they had hired students who were still doing their matric to teach the lower grades.

5.2.1.2 Teaching experience

The interview data revealed that a significant number of teachers who participated in the study were first time teachers and had recently started working as teachers. An earlier survey on teachers in Pakistan supports this as it highlights that private
schools tend to hire fresh graduates (Alif Ailaan, 2014, p.14) with little or no experience of teaching before. Most of the teachers fell in the range of working between 2 to 5 years as teachers in LFPS. Fewer teachers had been teaching longer than 5 years and even fewer were those who were teaching for more than a decade. Table 4 below shows the experience of teachers who participated in this study.

**Table 4. Teaching experience of participants.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time spent in teaching</th>
<th>Less than a year</th>
<th>Less than 5 years (between 2 and 5 years)</th>
<th>5 years to 10 years</th>
<th>More than 10 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of teacher participants</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Principals and school owners were well aware of the fact that most teachers had no experience and again referred to the necessity of filling in positions. The quote below illustrates a common argument presented by principals when they were asked about teacher qualifications, experience and preparedness.

*Many teachers are unprepared and untrained to teach when they first come to us. We don’t have much choice when it comes to hiring, as we have to fill vacancies. Many teachers leave when they get married and a lot of our staff is young and single. The funding agency, Punjab Education Foundation (PEF), also wants to see a teacher in each class regardless of their qualification and preparedness to teach. (Interview principal no.14)*

This quote shows a number of observations with regards to the hiring of teachers in LFPSs. The practice of hiring untrained teachers with fewer qualifications is quite common in the Pakistani context and something this is indirectly tolerated by semi-
government PEF that funds many LFPSs in Punjab. This raises questions about the level of accountability PEF ensures with LFPSs owners and principals with regards to the hiring and training of teachers in their funded schools.

In addition, while principals are quick to argue that there is a lack of trained and qualified teachers in the larger market for teacher, it is important to question their role in this regard. Principals need to ensure a certain level of educational quality and are responsible for hiring a qualified teaching force in their schools. Just by putting the blame on labour market conditions and funding institutions, principals cannot be completely absolved of their role in maintaining and hiring a trained teaching workforce in LFPSs.

5.2.1.3 Pre-service training

The large majority, 89% of the teacher participants in the study, reported that they had not received training of any sort before they started teaching. Four elder teachers reported that they had done Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC) for teachers in grades one to five and the Certificate of Teaching (CT) for teachers in grades six to eight. The only exception was teachers in a TCF school who had received pre-service training after recruitment and before they were deployed to schools. This was a requirement of TCF that the teachers had to go through training before they started teaching. The finding that most of the teachers in LFPSs in Punjab and Pakistan don’t have any pre-service training (Alif Ailaan, 2014; Andrabi, Das and Khawaja, 2008) is corroborated further by looking at the participants in my
study. Table 5 below shows the pre-service training of teachers who participated in this research.

Table 5. Pre-service training of participants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutional/external training (The Citizen Foundation (TCF) etc.)</th>
<th>Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC)/Certificate of Teaching (CT)</th>
<th>No training of any sort</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These numbers show that only a small number of teachers who join and work in LFPS have pre-service training. It is important here to note that the teachers who had pre-service training were those in The Citizen Foundation (TCF) school, which is an NGO-run system of schools and is known to place emphasis on teacher training. Compared to other LFPSs in all three categories, TCF is distinct in its system of teacher recruitment, pre-service training and training of its teachers during the course of their employment. This point shows that there are some differences in how LFPSs are run and their treatment of teachers, especially in terms of training.

5.2.1.4 Demographics

When trying to sketch a profile of a LFPS teacher, a look at some demographic features such as age and marital status might reveal some interesting points with regards to the hiring of teachers and the attributes of the teaching workforce in LFPSs.
5.2.1.4.1 Age

More than 70 per cent of the teacher participants in this study were less than 30 years of age. This appears to affirm earlier observations that private schools tend to hire younger teachers and that the proportion of teachers under the age of 30 years is greater in private and LFPSs (Alif Ailaan, 2014).

5.2.1.4.2 Marital status

In terms of marital status of the participants in the study, about 50 teachers were unmarried, 2 were divorcees and 12 were married. This concurs with earlier reports that the majority (70%) of private school teachers are unmarried (Alif Ailaan, 2014; Andrab et.al, 2008). These results may show that private schools prefer hiring teachers with relatively few domestic responsibilities. Some principals and school owners who were interviewed for this study echoed this as the statements below show.

We don’t want to hire married female teachers as they have a lot of absences and domestic issues. So unless we are desperate we prefer single and young female teachers. (Interview, principal Sidra public school)

The married teachers have their own problems. Every other day its that my child is sick or something is happening with the in-laws or in one case a teacher stopped coming because the mother-in-law said you have to stop working and do the domestic chores. (Interview, principal Attaullah School)

These quotes demonstrate that a women’s work as teachers is affected by factors outside the school. Their marital status is taken into account when they are hired for
work as teachers in LFPSs. It also shows that some LFPS owners and principals prefer single females whose domestic responsibilities are less compared to those who are married. Their argument here is that female teachers' domestic work and responsibilities shouldn't interfere with their work as teachers in LFPSs. This is consistent with Ball and Goodson's (1985) point that teachers' careers and work is affected by their lives and identities outside the classroom.

5.2.1.5 Distance between home and school

In Pakistan, the distance a teacher must travel from home to school, especially in the case of women, is a key concern (Vazir and Retallick, 2007; Alif Ailaan, 2014). The vast majority of the teachers (around 90%), interviewed reported that they came from the same locality and often lived in walking distance from the school. Only in the case of teachers at a TCF school, where the school provided transport, did teachers commute from a distance. This affirms the findings from other studies (Alif Ailaan, 2014; Andrabi et.al, 2008) that low-fee private schools tend to hire teachers from within the same neighborhood. The factor of mobility is very important for teachers in LFPS. The quotes below from interviews with teachers and a principal show that the location of the school was an important factor in their choice to work at a LFPS.

*The only way I convinced my parents was to tell them that the school where I wanted to work was literally next door. The owner being our neighbor also came to speak to them and so they said fine, since it’s close by you can go. That’s also a problem now that if I want to teach at another school which is at a distance I might not get the permission to do so.* (Interview teacher no.7)
The reason why I came to teach in this school is that it was close to my house. I just walk a short distance. When we moved to this area, this was the most convenient option. (Interview teacher no. 25)

Many families are hesitant to let their girls work in areas where they have to commute long distances. So then teaching at a school in your neighborhood or around the corner of your street is the most acceptable thing girls can do. This lack of mobility restricts the options for girls when it comes to jobs and professions. (Interview teacher no. 46)

Mobility and distance are very important for female teachers in these rural areas. Because the place where our school is constructed is totally outside the village and there is no transport facility for women, female teachers do not prefer to come here as there a big issue of commute. Females want to work closer to their homes and in their own village. Major problem is transportation as single women especially are afraid to travel alone outside the village. (Principal interview no. 1)

The quotes show that restricted mobility is still a key factor that affects women’s choices to work in the Pakistani context, especially rural and slum localities. This is the reason why many teachers resort to working as teachers in a LFPS in the area where they live. Restricted mobility affecting teachers’ choices and work is also part of the social context and is shaped by their gender as will be discussed further in chapter 6.

5.2.2 Entering the career and recruitment conditions

In order to understand the work and career path of female teachers in LFPSs, it is vital to have a sense of the conditions in which they enter teaching. The data presented above show that in many LFPSs, there are no set recruitment criteria with regards to qualifications, experience and pre-service training when teachers are hired. In many cases it’s the need to fill in the vacancies and the inability to pay
higher salaries to more qualified teachers that often forces owners to hire without any such considerations. In addition, it is also important to know how teachers are hired for positions in LFPSs by principals and school owners. As the study emphasizes on capturing teachers’ voices and experience, I probed them about how they entered teaching and what pushed them to take a job at the LFPSs where they are working. Their responses shed light on some interesting social and academic factors that led them to become teachers in LFPSs. This also gives us a sense of the choices that are available to young girls in both rural and urban settings and how that might affect their decision to become teachers in LFPSs.

5.2.2.1 Teachers recruitment in LFPSs

Recruitment marks the beginning of ones teaching career and may affect motivation and effectiveness (Guarino, Santibanez and Daley, 2006). The criteria of recruitment or the lack of it does play a role in the ease of entering the teaching career. The conditions or terms of employment further affect teacher motivation and retention. Keeping this in mind, both teachers and principals/ owners were asked about recruitment in LFPSs teaching positions. The majority of the principals reported that rather than advertising for the job, they often used their social networks to fill vacant positions and to recruit teachers. Many teachers referred their friends and relatives, so it was common to find friends and relatives working together in many small LFPSs. In fact, it was primarily through their contacts and social networks that teachers were hired in LFPSs, something that is emphasised below by teachers themselves.
A key concern that many LFPSs principals had was that there was a high turnover rate of teachers in their school. This prompted some principals to make teachers sign a yearlong contract of employment, so that teachers would be discouraged from leaving in the middle of the school year. While it helped some schools, many principals noted that despite having signed contracts, teachers leave within the year as soon as they are offered a better salary at another school. In some schools, employment was based on an oral understanding between the principal and teacher and they had signed no contract.

While in a few schools, teachers were interviewed and asked for their CV, in many schools such requirements didn’t exist and teachers were inducted based on word of mouth, since they were friends or family. The only exception to this was the TCF school, which required teacher applicants to take a mandatory test, interview and once selected, pre-service training. What became blatantly apparent through the interviews was that majority of LFPSs did not have set entrance requirements for teachers and no set procedure of recruitment.

It became evident from interviews that principals and other teachers used their social networks of friends, family and students to fill in teaching vacancies in these LFPSs. This represented a convenient supply of a temporary workforce of teachers who had at least a grade 10 education. Similarly, this ease of entering teaching in LFPSs with an absence of a set recruitment criteria and a career path often impacted
the attitude of the teachers who treated it as a temporary job and not a long-term career.

5.2.2.2 How did you come into teaching?

During interviews with teachers and other participants, it was noted that those who taught in LFPSs had a myriad of social, academic and personal reasons that made them take up teaching. For some it was often a mix of factors and a limited choice in terms of choosing an occupation that drove them to start teaching in LFPSs. It was also the ease with which they could become a teacher as opposed to other professions that had more stringent requirements in terms of qualifications. Mobility and travelling longer distances was also a big hurdle for young women in seeking employment outside their localities. The quotes of teachers below illustrate some of the factors that made them choose teaching in LFPSs.

5.2.2.3 “I was a student at this school or studied here at the academy from Sir”

An interesting pattern that was observed in many LFPSs was that the principal/owner taught girls of the locality private tuitions in the evenings and often hired teachers from his pool of students. The principals and teachers both reported that when the principals needed a teacher for their school in the morning, they would ask their own students who had done matric and were doing F.A or B.A to come teach the kids in the morning.
The sir (principal) teaches me tuition for my M.A, so he offered me to come and teach in this school. I didn’t want to do it myself, I live close by and there are many schools in this area. But he was the one who asked me and so I came. (Teacher interview 53).

I didn’t want to do a job. Sir offered me the job himself; I was his student at the academy. My younger brother also studies in this school and he didn’t want to come here without me. So I came here with him. (Teacher Interview 51)

It was not in my mind, I hadn’t thought of teaching. I wanted to go into medical and to become a nurse. So I said ill start teaching for a bit and then go back to school. So after I finished my matric Sir called me and said come to teach at our school. I was also facing some problems at home and I stopped studying for medical. I then took different subjects, as it was easier to continue in teaching. I thought by contributing at home I would make sure that my brothers and sisters went into medical. (Teacher Interview no. 20).

Many of the teaching staff members are the students of this school. So when girls pass their matric, F.A and B.A or while they are doing it privately with Sir in the evenings, they come to work for the school as teachers. The families trust the school and know the principal, and it’s in the locality, so there are no objections from the family side to working here. (Teacher Interview no.17)

These quotes indicate that a large number of teachers in LFPSs had themselves been educated at these schools or those that function as private academies in the evenings. Many were hired when they were still studying privately from the principal. This is an interesting finding as it contrasts with an earlier study by Andrabi and colleagues (2008) that reported that teachers in LFPSs had been educated in government schools and that LFPSs tended to open in areas, which had government schooling for girls. My study done in both rural and urban slums shows that things have changed in some areas and the growth of LFPSs and more importantly private tuition academies have resulted in creating a teaching force that is in turn teaching in these LFPSs. In my sample, 70% of the teachers, especially in urban areas, had studied at private academies, often run by the owners of these
schools where they were teaching. Around 60 percent of the teachers claimed to use the same methods and syllabus that they themselves had studied. In some ways the quality of education that they received as students was being transmitted to their students.

5.2.2.4 “The principal is my relative so when they asked me I came to work.”

In many of the schools in my sample, it was noted that in addition to their students, many schools owners and principals tended to hire their own family members to work as teachers and head teachers in their schools. Girls within the family who had done matric and F.A (and in some cases a B.A or an M.A) and were not employed were seen as easy candidates for teaching in their school.

The principal is my relative and I studied in this school as well. She said you are wasting time sitting at home so come and teach in the morning. I did not have any interest in teaching. I just came as she asked me. (Teacher interview no.4)

The principal is my aunty (mother’s sister) and so she asked me to join as a teacher. Before that I had no interest in teaching and I’m not even sure if I will continue to teach in the long-term. (Teacher interview no 16)

My brother owns this school and he is the one who started it. So when they needed teachers I had to come since its family. Its been a struggle since we started it with very few resources. (Teacher interview no 28)

Since I am related to the principal, my father agreed when she came to speak to my parents. And so I don’t think they will allow if I want to teach in another school. Since they know her and trust her I can come here to teach. (Teacher interview no.5)

Many LFPSs function like family businesses where relatives and siblings are involved in managing the school. This was observed among all three categories of LFPSs in this study.
5.2.2.5 Need for employment

For 25% of teachers, it was the need for employment and their aim of supporting themselves and their family that drove them to apply for work in nearby LFPSs. The quotes below show that need for paid work to contribute at home were a key factor for some teachers to apply for work in LFPSs.

After matric the situation at home was such that I had to come to work and teach. Before that I didn’t really want to be a teacher. I didn’t really want to work in a school environment (Interview no 25)

I had some problems and needs at home. My parents are no longer alive and I have to be a contributing member. Work was a necessity. I took up teaching so that I could continue my studies and then get into the medical profession. But that didn’t happen due to my economic conditions. Then I gave up on my ambitions and had to teach in order to survive. I came to study from Sir (principal). So I asked him if he had a vacancy, he said yes and so I came the next day to work. (Interview no 23)

I had just moved to this area and I was looking for a job since my husband was also jobless. Because I am needy I am forced to come and work for this pay. My husband still doesn’t have a permanent job and I have two daughters to support. (Interview 28).

No, I never liked teaching. Our cast is involved in tailoring as an occupation and so I always wanted to design dresses. I wanted to do dress designing after my B.A but things didn’t go as planned and my mother died and I stopped everything. So Sir who is my father’s friend convinced me to start working at this school for a short while as I needed to do something to keep occupied. (Interview 55).

These quotes demonstrate that economic needs and family conditions can push some women to acquire employment in LFPSs as teachers. Even though LFPSs don’t pay much in terms of salary, for some teachers the need and circumstances push them towards employment and they agree to work at these terms.
5.2.2.6 “I was free at home so I came to spend my time here.”

For 50% of teacher participants in my study, the decision to work as a teacher was the result of having free time that they could utilise by working in a school. Both teachers and principals stressed that young women who no longer continued their studies came to work in order to spend some time outside the house. Many of these girls were single and their families were waiting to get them married.

I didn’t want to be a teacher. I just came for a bit to pass my time, as I was free after I finished my B.A. I am engaged so I will leave teaching when I get married. (Interview 39)

I never thought I would ever have to work. My neighbour taught at this school. After my father died I had to stop studying. I was upset that my studies had been affected. So she brought me to this school and said why don’t you teach here. I didn’t know anything then. (Interview no. 3)

Well I had nothing else to do at home so I came to teach. My dad didn’t let me study further so I was sitting free at home for a year. Then I thought I could teach. My family didn’t agree initially but I told them I’m really bored at home. (Interview no 40)

I didn’t want to become a teacher. I did it to utilise my time and continue studying. My elder sister taught here in this school so I replaced her as she left after getting married. (Interview no.4)

The quotes show that many teachers in LFPSs did not take up teaching with a view to making it their occupation in the long-term. For many it was a choice to stay busy and to get out of the house for work. For some, teaching in LFPSs was more of a transitory role until they got married. These quotes show that the seriousness required to become a teacher and to continue in it to make it an occupation is somewhat missing from these accounts and one gets a very haphazard view of teachers reasons for joining LFPSs.
### 5.2.2.7 “I wanted to be a teacher and I like it”

For 30% of the teachers, becoming a teacher was based on an interest to teach. Many saw their own teachers as role models and wanted to follow them. The fact that teaching was socially acceptable as an occupation for women in the conservative environment of both rural and urban areas was also a key consideration for participants. The quotes below highlight the views of some teachers who were interested in this occupation due to positive teacher role models in their family, the suitability and social acceptability of the profession for women and it being convenient for women.

> I chose teaching because I belong to a family of teachers, my parents, siblings and uncles are all teachers. As a child I use to observe my parents and uncles dress up in the mornings and going to teach, so I would fascinated by that and imitate them when we played. I think these things sometimes influence your decisions in the future. So as a teacher’s child I ended up being a teacher. (Interview teacher no.29)

> I really like teaching and that was always my interest so after my F.A I came here to apply for a job. (Interview teacher no.7)

> I like guiding children and a teacher also gets to learn. It’s a safe profession for females and still socially acceptable. There are also a lot of teachers in my family so I knew that I would have the support. (Interview teacher no. 15)

> Teaching was my passion as I wanted to follow my teachers. I think it’s a convenient job for women, since they only interact with children and very few male. In our society such a work environment is preferred. (Interview teacher no 23)

These quotes highlight that while some have been inspired by their own teachers and family members to follow them into teaching, the socially acceptability of it as a profession for many women in Pakistan was also important. This will be further discussed in chapter 6.
5.2.2.8 “Easy to get into LFPSs teaching with low qualification”

For 50% teachers in the study, working in a LFPS was related to their qualifications as well. The fact that you can work as a teacher with little qualification, no experience and a few years of schooling made it an easy job to get into. This is something that principals and school owners also took advantage of when hiring young teachers who are often just graduates of grade 12 (F.A). The following quotes from teachers echo this argument.

*I am at this school because of my qualification. I could not study after matric, as my family didn’t allow me. When I asked the principal she said we would hire you. Other schools that pay more want more qualifications too.* (Teacher interview 18)

*It’s a big trend now in LFPS that as soon as girls finish matric or F.A they start teaching. Without proper qualifications and training, those small schools in village and slum localities are the only ones that will hire them. For the school owners it’s about the money they save by hiring these teachers. No one cares what this does to teaching or the bad quality of education they are providing.* (Teacher interview 25)

*In teaching we are able to get in with less qualifications, in other professions you have to be more qualified. In other professions there is a merit and some criteria. It is easy to get into these LCPS as they hire you even with a matric qualification. So by coming into teaching in these small private schools we can utilise both time and our education.* (Focus group no.3)

*In our society we don’t really think about professions so much. I didn’t really choose to be a teacher. I was free so I did it. There are other professions and jobs but our parents still hesitate. So teaching is still acceptable and this school is close by. My sister is a nurse because she got high marks and got in. I couldn’t get into nursing because I had low marks.* (Interview teacher 48)

These quotes show an important observation about LFPSs and their hiring of teachers who have relatively lower qualifications. The common practice of many LFPSs in slums and villages to hire matric level teachers plays a role in encouraging
girls who have only completed high school or grade 12 to seek employment in LFPSs. The last quote in particular highlights that teaching usually attracts those who are not able to get into other occupations that require high marks. In addition to Table 5 that presents the qualification of participants in the study, these quotes also depict an absence of requirement criteria in LFPSs with regards to a minimum level of education of teachers, and the main goal seems to be to fill vacancies without much attention to teacher qualifications.

Based on the responses regarding the qualifications and pre-service training of teachers in the study, the average LFPS teacher may have a grade 12 (F.A) qualification without any training. However, it must be noted that a significant number of teachers had a B.A qualification or were working towards getting it. So with the advancements in girls’ education in some areas, especially urban localities, girls who come to teach have higher qualifications as compared to before but teachers’ training is still missing. The literature review in chapter 3 showed that existing research on teacher qualification and training is contested among researchers, divided by those who accord importance to it and those who argue that teaching techniques and classroom practices are equally as important as how teachers are trained or how long they have taught, and call for broader evaluations of how teacher quality effects achievement. However, in the context of developing countries, teachers – specifically high quality teachers – appear to affect students’ performance and enrolment (Haugen Klees, Stromquist, Lin, Choti and Corneilse, 2011, p.12). Keeping this in mind when looking at the teachers in my study, it would
be reasonable to infer that with basic qualifications, no training and a high turnover of teachers, teacher quality is low in LFPSs. This is something that will be revisited in the following sections of this chapter in more detail with regards to in-service training and working conditions of teachers in LFPSs. Interviews of teachers and principals presented in this chapter show that teacher quality may be a cause of concern in LFPSs, given the credentials, low career aspirations and perceptions of teachers reported by participants.

5.2.3 Teacher’s sense of career progression and future plans with regards to teaching in LFPSs

While there may be different social reasons for joining teaching, a major factor in teacher retention is the existence of a clear career path and promotional structure. Since the existing literature on teacher career paths does not focus on teachers in LFPSs, a key goal of this study was to understand how teachers in LFPSs viewed their career and progress in their job. While we do know a bit about the career prospects and promotional tracks of teachers in government schools in Pakistan (Bari et.al, 2013), we know very little about the teachers in LFPSs, where generally there are few incentives for teachers. The responses of teachers presented below also provide insight into how their work in LFPSs affects their long-term career goals and plans.
5.2.3.1 Lack of a clear Career-path

When asked about their sense of career progression, almost all the participants who had been teaching for 2 years or more reported that there was no progress or path to follow. For many teachers, things had remained the same since their entrance in the profession years ago. Except a couple of teachers who were made coordinators and two who had become vice-principals, 85% of teachers in the study did not experience any kind of promotion during their teaching careers in LFPSs. Generally teachers lacked a sense of progression when it came to their careers and work as teachers.

I have been teaching in private schools for almost a decade. You start as a class teacher and usually you remain in it. The only change would be that they would give you a different class and might increment your salary. Its not like government teaching jobs where you might be promoted to an administrator or experience a raise with benefits. (teacher interview 42)

I have been teaching in this school for over a decade. When I came I knew nothing. I worked hard with a class they gave me and when the students passed, the principal said you could do this job. Now after a few years they made me the coordinator and increased my salary a bit, so I guide new teachers and oversee things along with teaching. But this progress I have made is only in this school, in other schools you don’t see this. (teacher interview 34)

As a teacher in these small private schools you don’t progress really. You stay in that position forever. This is what really demotivates me about this job is that while I learn things and I try to use different methods; it seems to make no difference to my career as there is hardly any recognition. Its like a dead-end job, you stay in the same position. (teacher interview no.26)

These quotes identify a number of issues about teachers and their careers in LFPSs. Firstly, we see that teachers don’t see themselves progressing within their careers. The only possible change is that their salary might increase a bit with time.
Secondly, this lack of progress in their teaching careers demotivates them about their work. Thirdly, some teachers see that compared to government schools, LFPSs provide no room for progress or growth.

5.2.3.2 Leaving teaching

Around 60% of the participants who were young and single reported that they did not plan to continue working as teachers. A major reason for leaving was that once they would get married, they might not have time, and also they were not sure if they would be permitted to work by their in-laws and husband.

*I don’t know. Teaching is a tough job and I am not sure about the future. After marriage its tough to do teaching and manage a house as well, so I might just leave it then.* (Teacher interview, no. 13)

*No, once I get married I won’t teach. This is short-term so I am doing it for as long as I can.* (Teacher interview, no. 5)

These quotes demonstrate that social conditions and lack of permission to work after marriage have a bearing on women’s decision to work in LFPSs. These quotes affirm the conceptualization of careers of women teachers by Acker (1989) and others (Biklen, 1983; Evetts, 1987), whose studies show that female teachers’ careers are discontinuous, broken or interrupted due to their domestic lives and responsibilities. Given that an astounding 60% of young teachers expressed their intention to leave working as teachers in LFPSs shows that a high-turnover rate in these schools is a reality and is likely to remain like this, unless efforts are made to retain teachers. For many teachers, the reasons for leaving teaching lie in their domestic lives and change in marital status.
The interview data show that the lack of a career path and incentives has also been a cause of concern and frustration for teachers in LFPSs. Many young women who have been in the profession for less than 5 years have expressed their dissatisfaction with their job as teacher and plan to leave teaching in the near future. The literature review on teacher career paths and recruitment presented in chapter 3 highlighted the significance of clear career paths and a promotional structure in order to motivate and retain teachers in the profession. For teachers in LFPSs where there were no visible opportunities for advancement, teachers suffered from a low morale and were not too perturbed by the thought of leaving it in the near future. For many teachers and principals, the LFPS sector had become associated with a high turnover rate of teachers, that was a cause of concern for some school owners.

5.2.3.3 Attraction of government school teaching

For those who wanted to continue teaching and had a B.A or more, the logical thing was to apply for government teaching positions. Interestingly, those participants who had lower qualifications also expressed a desire to acquire a B.A in order to get into the government sector. A reason for this was possibly that government teaching jobs tended to be more secure and had some sense of a career path that the teachers could follow, something missing in the LFPSs.

*Within teaching, government teachers have the value of a professional as they get a much better salary and employment terms. If someone comes for a marriage proposal, they want a girl who is either in nursing or is a government schoolteacher. People want as active contributor, not a teacher in a small private school. So those girls who have a Masters and want to go into teaching they apply for government jobs.* (teacher interview 12)
I am waiting for the entrance test for the government school teaching to apply. My family has been in government teaching. My brother was recently appointed as a teacher and really praises it and says it’s a good job with a future. In private school that doesn’t happen. In private school I teach and take the pay. There is no pension and salaries are very low. In some ways I don’t see any progress while working in a LFPS. If anyone wants to be a professional teacher they have to join the government system where there is a good salary, pension and some form of promotions. (teacher interview 25)

“After I do my B.A I will apply to teach in the government school and leave private sector. Salary is good there and your job is secure. I also want to learn more. In government they make you do courses, they send you to Lahore for a few months. (Teacher interview 38)

These quotes illustrate that teachers saw jobs in government schools as much better than those in LFPSs. For many, the goal was to end up in the government system where the job is secure, well-paid and has other benefits. The quotes also show that a government school teacher was valued more by family members and in marriage proposals. A higher salary paid in government schools as compared to LFPSs was also a key reason and appears in the quotes above.

However, it is important to note that while teachers praised government school teaching conditions, 40% of teachers spoke of barriers to get into government teaching that often prevented them from applying or for attaining a government job.

Yes I applied for government school teaching but I couldn’t get it. There is a lot of nepotism and bribery in the system. Its hard to get in. teachers in government schools are qualified and get a lot of training opportunities too. In private there is no training at all and therefore, you cannot see yourself growing as a teacher in these LFPS. (teacher interview no.15).

I tried for a government teaching position but wasn’t successful because of the high merit. Now I am giving the entry test again. It depends on luck too and its
not easy to get a government job. After 9 years in the LFPS I am still trying to get into government because everything is better there for a teacher. (teacher interview no.17)

Government teaching is good, they have more facilities and opportunities for teachers and definitely worth getting into. But I don't have the qualification to teach in the government as they need a B.A. That’s a reason why I am stuck in the LFPS sector. (teacher interview no.9)

Looking at the numerous interview responses of teachers, it is interesting to observe that those who were serious about staying within teaching were trying to get into the government school system. This is despite the fact that the public education system in Pakistan is highly criticised as a failure and often the teachers in that system are blamed for the poor quality of education. The responses of participants show how they view teaching in government schools. For them, the terms of recruitment and possible career prospects of teachers were much more favourable in the public sector. Government school teaching jobs signified permanence and security in terms of salary, pension and other benefits. Participants also mentioned the possibility of career development through training and advancement in government teaching jobs, something that they consider was lacking in the private sector.

While many teachers in the study acknowledged that it's difficult to get into the government system due to various barriers and corruption, for them it still was the only possibility for advancement towards a proper teaching career. Even though the system of promotions for teachers in the government sector has been noted in the literature as ineffective in motivating teachers (Alif Ailaan, 2014), it still exists, while
in the LFPSs there is none. This raises a very important question for policy makers, donors and those who promote LFPSs: Have teachers in LFPSs become a parallel workforce with less pay and value as compared to government school teachers, who are well paid professionals?

Teachers’ quotes show that the lack of career paths and a low occupational status usually causes women to leave the teaching career in a short while or, if they have the qualifications and are lucky, to switch to government school teaching. This raises the question of the sort of teachers who are left to teach the rising number of students in LFPSs. It also makes LFPSs a “revolving door” workplace for young women and teaching in LFPSs as a revolving door career. Rather than investing in and ensuring the creation of a capable, motivated teaching workforce for Pakistan, the treatment of teachers in LFPSs is damaging the profession and can have long lasting effects on education quality in the country.

5.2.3.4 Moving to other professions

About 15% of the teachers reported that they were going to leave teaching and switch to another profession. For them, teaching was a transition occupation and it is a common pattern in LFPSs that while doing their degree or right after finishing it, girls teach for a while before entering another field. The quotes below highlight this.

I didn’t want to become a teacher and did it to utilise my time and to continue studying. After I finish me B.A I will go into civil service and get a government job. I also had to start working in private because of domestic issues and needs but now I want to switch to a government position that is secure and has a future. (Teacher no.6)
No, I will not continue in teaching in LFPS, as soon as I finish my MA I will go into another profession. I want to go into the administration side in the Army. If not that, then a lectureship at the university. I am only doing teaching right now to pass my time. Usually before going into other professions girls teach for a while, its like something you do in transition. (Teacher no 8)

I want to study further and change my profession as I want to do a lot more with my life. Right now I feel like I am just stuck in one position with no visible progress. I want to work as a newscaster. But it’s about my family situation as well, I don’t know if I can make this big transition to another career. As women we cannot continue to stay in a dead-end job like teaching in LFPS. Our women will not progress socially if they just stick to teaching after matric for a couple of years and then stop once you get married. (Teacher no 26).

These quotes point out that for some teachers working in LFPSs was not an end, but rather a means to move into another occupation. They also possibly highlight that these teachers, though a very small percentage of the sample, were serious about changing their occupation and working conditions. The last quote in particular shows that women are not just passive in the face of social conditions and the declining image of teachers. It showed that women who wanted to do something with their lives didn’t find teaching in LFPSs as rewarding and were willing to get into an occupation that gave them opportunities for progress. Those who wanted to stay in teaching were acting and strategizing to get a teaching job in the government school system that is secure and has benefits. This resonates with the interactionist approaches to career mentioned by Acker (1989, p.8) primarily by Becker (1970), who focused on how teachers develop, change their perspectives, interpretation and strategies in response to circumstances. It affirms Acker’s (1989, p.8) argument that a “variety of social situations” may shape and structure teachers careers.
5.2.3.5 Lack of options/choice

About 50% of teacher participants in the interview spoke about the lack of options for young women in both rural and urban/peri-urban areas. While many spoke about the opening up of more professions for women in the country compared to before, they were quick to add that many families only allowed their daughters to teach in the schools in their localities. Most families are still very conservative and the mobility and safety of young women was also a major concern that prevented people from sending their daughters into other professions that required transport and longer hours of work.

I want to apply for government school teaching positions. They offer a good salary. But for that I would have to travel further to where I am appointed and my family would object to that. So I guess I don't have other options at this moment. (Teacher interview no. 23)

You have to understand the social context and the opportunities for girls before you comment on their choices. For girls and young women teaching is still considered safe and possibly the only job they can do in the restricted environment of villages and slums. With private schools girls have more opportunities to teach closer to home. (Teacher interview no. 10)

The only reason I can come to this school is that its close by and my family is ok with it. I cannot go to a better paying school as my family wont allow it. I cannot think about going into government school teaching because my father is not allowing me to study further than an F.A. He can’t pay the fee. So for me there is no choice at the moment other than coming to this LFPS. (Teacher interview no.17)

You have to look at cultural factors and that in villages especially people don’t like the mixing and interaction of men and women at work. Both belong to different domains. I do not personally like it myself that I go outside and talk to the males and work with them. I like teaching because here our contact with men is limited. (Teacher interview no.2)

It’s hard to find other jobs. Parents in areas like ours prefer it for their daughters. Schools with children are considered more secure with less mixing of the sexes. You can check that the number of affairs in schools is a lot less than other
These quotes show that female teachers faced a complex social and cultural environment that shaped their decisions about work and their choice of schools to apply to. While teaching is more acceptable socially, factors such as distance to work were important for their family members to consider when allowing them to work. LFPSs, due to their close proximity and location within villages and slums, made it possible for young girls who live there to work as teachers. In such cases and communities, where women faced a very limited choice, LFPSs were probably among the few places where they could work. This issue of choice will be revisited in Chapter 6, and will be dealt with in regards to the larger labour market for women and female teachers in Pakistan.

5.2.4 Perceptions of a teacher’s image and teaching as a career

Along with the presence of clear career path and an effective recruitment and retention policy, the social image and perceptions of teachers also affect teachers’ status and their own motivation to remain in the profession. Teachers were asked about how teaching in LFPSs and in general was viewed by others. Their responses revealed how teaching was viewed by the society and how this affected the teachers themselves. Many teachers compared how the profession was seen decades ago with how it is seen now.

Teacher 1: before teachers were quite respected. It’s not like that anymore. Kids are very bold and the media has a negative influence. They don’t know how to
respect their teachers anymore. We respected our teachers. But they don’t. And the parents also come to argue and fight with the teacher on small issues and then they forget the aspect of respect.

Teacher 2: as a society we have treated teachers badly with regards to devaluing their work and blaming them. This has had an effect. Less girls are now coming into the profession. Most girls in this area are going into the beautician business and those who are bright go into nursing. The salaries are high and they are more valued as active contributors to the household and society. (Dean School, Focus group number 2)

Unlike before now girls are going into different fields where they get recognition and a good salary package. With expenditures rising, people wonder that since we educated our daughters and they are going to work, why not go in a field that pays them well so that they can be independent. So things have really changed now with regards to how teaching is looked at compared to other professions. (Interview Teacher no. 61)

These quotes show that teachers believed that with the passage of time the value placed on teaching as a career and the image of teaching as a respected profession had suffered in Pakistani society. Teachers reported a loss in respect from both students and parents. The second quote shows that the trend of blaming teachers is also on the rise. These quotes also mention that due to this devaluing of teachers’ work and loss of respect, women were now moving to other occupations with better salaries and prospects. 60% of the teachers pointed out that the rise of LFPSs and how the teachers were treated there were factors that had an overall negative impact on the perception of teachers.

There isn’t the same kind of respect. With low fee private schools and low paid teachers things have changed. So teachers are not appreciated and are valued a lot less. (Interview Teacher no. 34)

Well it’s still a respected profession for females but the truth is that very few teachers see it as a profession and work for it. The teachers who are here in LFPS are not here to make it a profession for themselves. They are here to spend time before marriage. And if you look at school owners and teachers themselves, they don’t treat is as a profession. The owners get cheap teachers to run their school.
There is a lot of insecurity for teachers because of no promotions, no benefits, no contracts and a very low salary. You have to be either very dedicated or very bored at home to come to work as a teacher in a LFPS. (Interview teacher no. 50)

These quotes show teachers elaborating on what they perceived as some of the reasons for the loss of respect and damage to the image of teachers in Pakistan. A primary reason presented in these quotes was the sort of employment conditions and recruitment that took place in LFPSs. The salary paid by LFPSs and the lack of an effective recruitment strategy that ensured that qualified and serious teachers were inducted into teaching, were leading to a decline in the quality of teachers and further damaging the profession. Moreover, the way teachers were treated in some LFPSs, as cheap labour rather than dignified professionals, had lowered their social status and image. So the terms of employment, their working conditions and the attitudes of LFPSs principals/owners can also be seen as having a negative effect on teachers image and careers. Interestingly, some principals also reflected on the current trend of LFPS teaching and how it could possibly affect the perception of teachers and the wider teaching profession.

The problem is that untrained teachers have a negative effect on the quality of education. With bad teachers we cannot provide good role models. The image of the capable teacher is tarnished with such teachers making up the majority in the schools especially the small low fee private ones. This should be a concern for the school management, (Interview, principal Habib Girls 2)

In my view girls are interested in teaching but in the current environment they are turning away from teaching. With a Masters teaching is not attractive for them, so obviously they switch over to other jobs. This also tends to happen in the government setting where they send a Masters level candidate to teach and they think it’s a low-level job and switch to something else. These small private schools have made this issue worse where with no qualification and no training
you can just become a teacher. I think it damages the profession. (Interview principal Bunyad Kolon)

The quotes suggest a few interesting observations about teachers’ image. Principals also echoed the concern of teachers that it was untrained teachers, in many LFPSs, who had resulted in tarnishing the image of teachers in general. In both the quotes we can see that the principals blamed private schools for playing their role in hiring unqualified, untrained teachers who are not good role models. Secondly, principals also felt that teaching was no longer a desired occupation for those with a Masters qualification as teaching is perceived as a low-level job. However, it is important to note that principals were silent about the treatment of teachers and the sort of employment conditions offered to them in LFPSs that negatively affected their status and morale. Principals did not reflect on the role LFPSs play in terms of the lack of a recruitment criteria for teachers, the lack of training for teachers with different qualifications and their inability to pay them a decent wage.

Teachers in another group added other factors. They mentioned the socio-economic situation of teachers that affects their overall social image in front of their students, parents and the larger society. The participants’ responses also affirm the results of other studies in developing contexts where teachers are no longer seen as role models, and teachers reflect on not wanting their own children to join the profession.

Teacher 1: you know the children who come to low fee private schools know that our teachers are paid nominally and then they realize that its not really worth it to go into the profession in the future. We at LF private schools are no longer the
desired role models for our children. We are actually pushing them away from becoming teachers and for taking it up as a profession. My 10 year old daughter when she was younger said I want to be a teacher but now she wants to be a pilot. I have noted that this stays in the mind of the child that my mother gets paid less and has so much to deal with in her job. It does have a negative affect.

Teacher 2: that’s true. Children observe our dress and dressing. I have noticed that they don’t respect or look up to teachers who are not dressed well. So we don’t really fit the image of a teacher. You can sense a similar attitude of the parents when they come to the school. (Kingdom of Heaven, Focus group 3)

Teacher 1: if you ask me if I want my daughters to become teachers, I would straightaway say No. With the options out there I want them to go into something else that is more rewarding for them.

Teacher 2: I have two daughters and I made sure they got into nursing. I paid more for them to become nurses but it’s worth it. They are in a much better and more respected profession.

Teacher 3: that’s true. If you go around in our community you will hear similar sentiments from other people both educated and uneducated. And the fact that we as teachers are saying this tells you how teaching is seen as a job. (Dean School, Focus group 2).

Evidenced in these quotes is the voice of teachers who want their own kids to go into a better, more valued and respected profession than teaching. This view is crucial for understanding the existing image and value of teachers in Pakistan compared to other professions for women such as nursing and beautician. The image of a teacher is part of how a teacher’s career is socially constructed, something stressed by Ball and Goodson (1985) and Acker (1989) in their conceptualizations of careers. The quotes also show that women’s decisions about career choice are shaped by the situations they face and the underlying constraints. In addition, the quotes also show that teachers do have the power to shape their destinies (Acker, 1992) and are not merely helpless in the face of circumstances. It
shows that when women can they may move towards other occupations and professions that are well paid and valued more socially.

For 80% of the participants in my study, the teaching profession suffered from a negative perception. In both the focus group discussions and interviews, teachers were very vocal about this. This supports the observations made earlier about the current status and image of teachers in Pakistan as perceived by teachers, particularly those in LFPs. The literature on teacher motivation and perceptions of teaching in the developing world, presented in Chapter 3, stresses that in order to ensure that teachers stay within the teaching profession, teaching must be made attractive with varied career opportunities and a high occupational status. The interview data presented in this chapter affirm existing studies in other contexts and Pakistan where teachers lack a long-term commitment to teaching due to low pay, difficult working conditions, and the low public esteem of their profession (Haugen, Klees, Stromquist, Lin, Choti, and Corneilse, 2011; Rawal, Aslam & Jamil 2013). In an earlier study by Biklen (1983) focusing on teachers in US, female teachers were concerned about how people perceived teaching as an occupation. Teachers in the study resented teachings low status and wanted recognition for their hard work. The quotes above illustrate that the participants in my study on LFPs in Punjab have voiced similar concerns regarding the perception of teachers in the society and how that demotivates them and other women from joining the occupation.
Additionally, some teachers and principals argued that the average profile of an untrained, low paid LFPSs teacher has further tarnished the perception of teachers in the society. Echoing earlier studies in Africa (Sinyolo, 2007) teachers in my study in Punjab, Pakistan also discouraged their own daughters from becoming teachers because of a low perception of teachers in the society. This makes it even more difficult to attract well-qualified women to join teaching in an environment of acute shortage of capable teachers. The observation that teachers in LFPSs don't feel valued as teachers compared to other professions should concern principals and those involved in promoting and supporting low fee private schooling.

Griffin (1997), looking at the case of female teachers in US, argued that limited economic resources, spontaneous career decisions and inadequate educational backgrounds are major female issues, especially looking at studies conducted in the late 1980s. Interestingly that observation is very much applicable to the condition of female teachers in LFPSs in Punjab, Pakistan decades later. Interview quotes presented in this chapter highlight that it is the social conditions and lack of opportunities due to mobility issues that are largely pushing women to come to LFPSs to work. LFPSs have come to characterise haphazard and unsystematic recruitment and the inability to retain good teachers in a larger social setting that doesn't value teachers.

5.3 Working conditions of Teachers in LFPSs in Punjab

A number of factors make up teachers’ working conditions. These range from physical infrastructure and school environment to the availability of training and
monetary resources, which affect both their professional and personal lives as a teacher. Existing literature shows that the working conditions of teachers in Pakistani government schools and those in private and LFPSs differ in certain areas but might be similar in others (Alif Ailaan, 2014). While the teachers in LFPSs often compared their work and conditions to that of a government schoolteacher, the data presented in this section deals primarily with the experiences and views of LFPS teachers. Some of the working conditions that teachers in LFPSs highlighted during interviews and focus group discussions are presented in the sub-sections below.

5.3.1 Physical infrastructure and school environment in LFPSs
The majority of the schools in the study did not have a proper school building and sufficient space in classrooms. Out of the 27 LFPSs that were a part of this study, only 7 schools had proper school buildings with individual classes and a playground space. The rest of the schools were built in small spaces consisting of 4 rooms and a veranda. All schools had a toilet and a boundary wall. Students had shared desks and benches in the classes. In many schools, the classes were very dark, with little natural light to aid the students in seeing the blackboard. Many classes were also stuffy and cramped and poor ventilation was a common problem. Physical infrastructure and facilities in the school are a part of teachers’ working environment and can affect their work and the learning of students. More than 65% of the teachers brought up the issue of inadequate space in schools during the
interviews and considered it an impediment to creating a learning environment in their classes. Some of teachers’ quotes below show their views with regards to this.

I feel bad for my students. We have to put 2 classes in one tiny room. The classes are dark and when there is no electricity it’s hard to breathe. The atmosphere is very stifled and sometimes suffocating. It's hard to expect them to learn like this. (Teacher interview no.35)

The work environment is tough. Imagine working with two classes in a tiny room. At noon it’s hard for me to teach them in that closed space. So I bring them out sometimes if the veranda is empty and teach them there. But mostly there is another class sitting in the veranda because of the lack of space in this school. Just think about it, if it's hard for me to teach in this setting, how hard would it be for students to learn something. I think we all struggle (Teacher interview no. 7)

Big private schools have more physical space and facilities for their students. They have proper buildings and classrooms. We don’t even have a playground for our children. They are little kids and they have this energy and they should have space to play. This is not the ideal school atmosphere for children. (Focus group no. 2)

Most of these LFPSs are businesses. Hiring matric and F.A qualified teachers, paying them peanuts and then running a school in a two-room house. You see down the road from our school a new LFPS has opened just 10 days ago. You should go and see it. There is no proper space for sitting. They have a class sitting in a kitchen space. What is this? How are children going to learn in that environment, where all students and classes are cramped in two rooms? There is no playground for children to play. I think this is affecting the education of the children in such schools. (Teacher interview no.40).

You see the problem with many LFPS is that they have space issues. In a poorly lighted one room school what is the teacher going to teach? They don’t have a good result. They are not able to learn anything. Our teachers also tell us, there was a school in the village, they had prep class students sitting in their kitchen with no light, and they carried an emergency light. In hot weather both teacher and students were in a bad state. In such a small space they had made a school. The condition of teachers was so bad, how can you imagine a child learning something there. In such an environment how can teachers teach? (Interview Principal Bunyad Kolon tarrar)

In a recent survey of Pakistani teachers, it was reported that in terms of physical infrastructure and basic facilities private schools are comparatively better than
government schools (Alif Ailaan, 2014). However, the responses of the teachers in my study show that the environment in LFPSs is not very conducive to teaching and learning. A major issue is the lack of space in classrooms and play areas for children. Many of the schools in the study are situated in small, makeshift buildings. Literature shows that inadequate facilities and resources affect teachers’ working conditions and are also likely to reduce a teacher’s willingness to stay in a school. When facilities are unsafe or are badly configured for teaching and learning, or when teachers lack access to sufficient supplies, teachers are likely to feel unsupported and to be less successful than they otherwise would be (Ladd, 2011). Teachers in my study expressed this by saying that the suffocating atmosphere of classes makes their job tough and it affects the learning of their students.

5.3.2 Teachers’ workload, multi-grade teaching and turnover rates

In an effort to learn about the work of teachers, they were asked about the classes they taught and their overall workload. 80% of the teachers reported that they had to teach multiple subjects. Multi-grade teaching was also common and was observed in 24 out of the 27 schools that were in the sample. In these schools, it was common to see two classes sitting in a very cramped classroom with one teacher to deal with both.

Around 70% of the teachers interviewed spoke of multi-grade teaching and the
burden of a heavy workload. These teachers found multi-grade teaching a challenging aspect of their job, despite being used to it. Some teachers argued that in the absence of training, it is unfair to expect young and inexperienced teachers to teach multiple grades properly. This corroborates with a recent survey of teachers in Pakistan in which most teachers complained of multi-grade environments and overcrowded classrooms and that they are not trained to deal with these situations (Alif Ailaan, 2014, p.35). The teachers in my study explained that this was the case in LFPSs and added that frequent syllabus changes compounded the problem. The quotes below reveal some of the concerns of teachers.

In the beginning when I first joined this school I had a very hard time with teaching two classes at the same time. I also had a lot of students in the class. I went crazy and I couldn’t handle the kids. Then I spoke to the principal and he guided me a bit. Now I have become better but I don’t enjoy multi-grade teaching to be honest. (Teacher interview no.5)

Small LFPS don’t have separate periods and separate classrooms for classes. There is multi-grade teaching and a young under qualified and untrained teacher needs to manage not one but two or more classes in the same room. How will they effectively divide the time and attention that they need to give each class let alone each student? In those small rooms children cannot relax and concentrate. This is a huge problem for the teacher herself. How will she teach maths to three different classes in one hour? And on the top of that they have an oxford syllabus, which is not an easy one. For that you need proper training and planning. What can a teacher do in all this? She is not trained to manage so much. (Teacher interview no.12)

Another issue raised by 20% teachers in the study was that in LFPSs the syllabus is changed quite often and this is something that affects the work of the teachers.

Without training, many teachers complained that it’s hard for them to teach what they themselves haven’t learnt through training. The quote from a teacher’s interview below explains the issue in detail.
Our students are weaker and the course changes affect their performance. We start them with something then it changes. This is an issue of the whole education system. The government needs to have one syllabus for all if you want uniformity. For teachers this is also a big problem as we are dealing with different courses. Every year we have to decide which course to follow. And then we have to study the course ourselves before we teach. Even the Punjab course they have added new things and that’s why we need refresher courses and training. Now schools change syllabus and publishers every year. Publishers have a big business. Even the government is now changing syllabus frequently. They are also following the private in this. (Teacher interview no.29)

5.3.2.1 Lack of subject specialists

About 40% of the teachers in the study spoke about the lack of subject specialist teachers in LFPSs. For some teachers, it was a challenge to teach different subjects to different grades. The quotes below show their views on this.

I am not a Maths teacher and so I struggle with certain areas in Maths that I have forgotten or some that I didn’t do as a child. So for that I go to the principal to explain those to me. That’s a problem you see, I can manage but I can’t do a good job of teaching the kids. (Teacher interview no.25)

Government schools may be better because they have subject teachers. You see from grade 6 onwards we should have subject specialist teachers, which we don’t have in LFPSs. Teachers in LFPSs make more mistakes and hesitate because they are not subject specialists. (Teacher interview no.31)

I find teaching quite challenging even after 3 years of being here. I don’t think I am doing very well. Teaching multiple classes and different subjects is very hard to do. I am not able to keep up with the syllabus changes of different grades. There is a shortage of teachers in this area so we have multi-grade teaching. (Teacher interview no.28)

Teachers in LFPS are unqualified and inexperienced. It’s a big weakness of LFPSs. These teachers have poor subject knowledge. They can’t control students and often beat students. They are not trained to teach in these tough localities and conditions. (Focus group no.4)
These quotes point to the difficulty faced by teachers in teaching certain subjects such as Maths and Science. Due to the lack of teachers and high turnover, teachers in LFPSs were given different classes and different subjects without proper training. These quotes show that teachers struggled with these conditions and complained that the training to improve their working lives was not provided in LFPSs. They argued that teachers in LFPSs were generally unqualified when it came to difficult subjects and higher grades and also lacked the experience. The last quote points out that due to the difficulty of teaching content without being trained on it, teachers often lost control when students misbehaved, and they ended up beating them. This shows that teachers in LFPSs were struggling with their teaching commitments and workload in an environment that did not support their development.

5.3.2.1.1 Comparison with the work of Government schoolteachers

Around 40% of the teachers interviewed argued that teachers in LFPSs have a heavy workload as compared to teachers in the government schools, a factor that often attracted them to apply for government teaching positions. This validates an earlier study in which it was found that private school teachers were assigned more classes or sections compared to their counterparts in government schools (Alif Ailaan, 2014, p.33). Teachers in my study spoke of the overall relaxed attitude and the low-pressure environment of government schoolteachers compared to their working reality. The quotes from interviews highlight this point.
There is a preference for a government school position because the salary is a lot more. In private schools there is a lot of burden on teachers but in public schools that is not the case. (Teacher interview no.9)

Teachers in government schools are relaxed. There is no pressure on them to deliver results, no one really checks them or questions them. They cannot just be fired like that. The salary is good and so why wouldn’t you want to go in that system if you are a teacher? (Teacher interview no. 43)

Interestingly, around 65% of the teachers argued that teachers in government schools were not teaching properly despite being qualified.

Government school teachers are known for giving students free time and don’t teach properly like we do here. And so when girls come from government schools to our school we see a big difference, our students are more serious about their studies as compared to the students from public schools. (Teacher interview no.10)

You see the teachers in government schools don’t care about the education of the children; they only care about earning money. They know that at the end of the month we will receive our salary so there is no motivation there. There are no checks and balances there. (Teacher interview no 21).

In some government schools things are quite bad. Teachers sit and eat, while a student monitor teaches the students. Teachers in government schools are very qualified but they don’t have a concept of teaching children. Sometimes they get a good principal, like 4 years ago in the government school in our area and she did good work. But then they got her transferred because no one wanted to work. (Teacher interview no. 17)

These quotes show a number of observations about how the work of government school teachers is perceived by teachers in LFPSs. While teachers acknowledged that government school teachers are more qualified, many of them pointed out that they still were not working properly mainly because they were not checked. Unlike private school teachers who face penalties, are subject to monitoring and the threat of being fired, teachers in government schools have secure jobs and cannot be easily fired. Government school teachers work in a very different environment than these
LFPSs teachers. These quotes also echo the general view of government school teachers that is held by many in the education system. These testimonies also show a paradox, where on one hand LFPSs teachers want to go into government school teaching due to less workload, but on the other hand they are quick to criticize government school teachers saying they don’t work properly and are too relaxed.

However, 20% of teachers differed from others in their views about the work of government teachers. They said that government school teachers had a lot of non-teaching duties that increased their overall workload and reduced the time for teaching.

But the problem is that people don’t realize that government school teachers have a lot on their plate. They have to teach 65 students or more in each class. They also have to participate in the polio vaccination drive and during elections. They have many different kind of duties. Those teachers are not bad but its many factors that make them like this. Also the role of the principal is important. If the principal is late or is relaxed then it affects the teachers work as well. If they know that they will not be checked then many will not work properly. I think it’s not about government or private. It’s about the teachers who are teaching in these schools. If each does his/her job then your education system will not suffer. Why is it that we have some good government and some good private schools? We have both kinds. I think teachers are a common factor that needs to be good in any school for it to do good and raise good children. (Teacher interview no. 23)

In government schools the number of students in each class is close to a hundred. How can a teacher pay attention to each child then? Their teachers are very qualified but they are not able to teach as well. I think class sizes are huge. They have a set syllabus and curriculum. We in the private struggle because we try to teach the whole book. So in some ways their (government school) curriculum is more uniform and organized. In terms of teaching I think government is not so different from the LFPS. (Teacher interview no.28)
These quotes bring to light some important issues about class sizes, curriculum and role of principal that affect the work of teachers in both government and private sector schools in the study context. Teachers pointed out that government school teachers have larger classes that made their work challenging, but they had a set syllabus to follow that gave them more consistency as compared to the LFPSs teacher. Government school teachers also had to perform duties outside classrooms during elections and other events, that disrupted their work. It is important to note here that LFPSs teachers’ responses show that teachers themselves were aware of the working conditions of teachers in the government system and could make meaningful comparisons when asked about their own experiences.

5.3.2.1.2 High turnover rate of teachers

A significant number of teachers, 50% of the sample, spoke about a high turnover rate of teachers in their LFPSs. For teachers this frequent changing of teachers was damaging for the child and also made a teacher’s job more difficult.

*Turnover rate is very high. Every 3-4 months teachers change. We have a big issue with teachers in this school. They have big class sizes and the teachers who come are not experienced, moreover they come to spend free time and then leave due to salary issues.*

(Teacher interview no.31)

*In the neighbouring LFPS School called PAKFORCE, where I went to work for a few days, I saw that teachers leave every 3 months and that badly affects the studies of children. For 2 months they don’t understand the teacher and it’s a big mess. The new teacher doesn’t know where to start them from and then there is the pressure to finish the syllabus from the principal without them realizing that the last teacher didn’t teach much. So basically you burden the new teacher and usually she leaves after a few months because she cannot cope with it as well.* (Focus group 1)
*In the LFPS sector most teachers are teaching after matric and F.A. They come to teach because they have some time between getting their result and going to college. So for a few months it’s a way for them to pass their time. This means that teachers change frequently and it is the child who is being ignored and the one who loses out. You know it takes a while to understand the psyche of each child. By the time the teacher starts to understand the child and the child grows use to her, the teacher changes. I think this is a very serious issue that is affecting the quality of education, the learning of children and also the work of teachers. (Teacher interview no.13)*

These quotes show that in a work environment characterized by a high turnover rate and frequent change of teachers, teachers found their working conditions challenging. Teachers reported that such a situation made it difficult for them to understand and teach children and that this impacted the learning of students, who couldn’t deal with many new teachers in their school year. A high turnover rate is a part of the teaching and working conditions in schools, and may affect student learning and achievement (Ladd, 2011; Johnson, Kraft, and Papay, 2011). These statements also support Bascia and Rottman’s (2011) work that connect teachers’ perceptions with student learning and their argument that: “Teaching conditions do seem to affect teachers’ emotions, their perceptions of self-efficacy and their commitment to remaining in their teaching assignments” (p.797).

In addition to teachers, around 65% principals and school owners of LFPSs in the study spoke about the high turnover rate of teachers as a major issue. Many believe that a low salary is what causes most teachers to leave for other schools that offer more.

*Teachers in this school change a lot. Its like they spend 4 or 6 months in this system. Maybe because it’s a rural area and we have less teachers here. Secondly,
teachers don’t want to commute here to work for this salary. Obviously it affects the studies of children. (Interview Principal 1)

Turnover rate of teachers is very high and it is a big problem for us. It is difficult to hire new teachers throughout the year. It’s already quite hard to find qualified teachers in this area. Most have only done matric. (Interview principal 24)

The main problem is that often a teacher starts teaching and is doing her work properly she is offered a job at another place and even though she has signed the contract with us, for a better salary she leaves us. We taught and trained her and now that she has become better, she is going to leave us. We have to face this problem a lot especially with females. They leave very soon. Initially we did not have an agreement policy for 2 years. But now we make sure they sign a contract before they start. (Interview principal 2)

Turnover rate is high as teachers are always looking for other schools. They complain about salaries. For women they have fewer options so they compromise till they can. Males usually disagree and leave. Teachers often move to schools that offer a little more pay. Teachers are not qualified and they don’t obey the rules/contracts for a year. We are unable to enforce those. (Interview principal 14)

These quotes present the principals’ perspectives and understandings of a high turnover rate as a big problem in LFPSs. While the issue of low salaries was raised by all, other factors such as lack of teachers in rural areas, the inability of teachers to travel to their communities, and competition between schools in seeking teachers, also explained the high turnover rate in LFPSs.

5.3.3 Salary

In the last section, principals acknowledged that a reason for high turnover rate of teachers was the low salary that prompted them to look for positions in schools that offer more pay. Recognizing the significance of salary as a factor that affects teachers working lives and present and future career goals, I probed teachers in both
interviews and focus groups to inform me about what affects their work and whether salary was a concern for LFPSs teachers. One of the main issues raised by teachers in most of the interviews and focus group discussions was that the salary of teachers in LFPSs was very low and this was the major reason why a lot of teachers leave. All the teachers who were interviewed reported that they thought that their salary was quite low. More than 80% of the teachers interviewed brought up the issue of low salaries. The quotes below show the views of teachers regarding the issue of salaries.

*My low salary affects me and my work. If a teacher’s needs are not met and taken care of how can she work properly and be motivated? With such low salaries they do the bare minimum and are not happy in their work. So its not surprising that teachers leave as soon as they are offered a better pay at another school even if they have signed a contract. This is the reality of work in LFPS.* (Teacher interview no.4)

*The main problem of the teacher in a LFPS is the low salary. It is the reason that causes teachers to ‘hop from school to school’ in search of a few hundred rupees more. The schools are similar in standard and none of them train you, so there is no incentive to stay. These owners and principals are really exploiting women who have no options.* (Teacher interview no.23)

*The salary is like our pocket money. We cannot support our families with this salary. Mostly those teachers come to work who are doing it to pass their time. As a teacher with a masters my salary is 6000. If it was another profession I would be getting 25000. It’s a big problem for those who want to earn. Its next to nothing this salary we get. It’s a problem for some teachers who are leaving their house to come teach to make a living. For them survival is hard. Then their families also pressurize them to leave for a better-paid position. Then such teachers don’t spend long at TCF. Such teachers cannot do their work with a fresh mind. Their work is affected by the expenditures they have to bear.* (Teacher interview no.11)

*Ladies who have some education think that instead of working in someone’s house as a domestic worker or maid, why don’t we teach to make a living. Now the reality is that while we make 6000, maids and cooks get 13000 with travel expenditure and lunch. So maids have better lives and salaries than teachers in LFPSs. This makes us very upset. I mean you would think that education would be
worth something. It’s a very big issue for a teacher. We train and teach children, the future of the country. Teachers work hard but they are the least paid of all professions. (Focus group no.2)

It is because of the low salary that very few girls are coming into teaching now. Those come into teaching who don’t get a job elsewhere and are needy. Those who have a Masters apply into government jobs. Most girls are going into nursing and beautician. Even midwives have a lot of salary. People have left teaching and gone into other professions because of salaries. This is happening a lot in small private schools. Teachers are quick to leave teaching altogether because this is not where the money is. Beauty parlours are very popular and you can earn more there. Before people came into teaching after matric, now you see girls with B.A going into the beautician business. In my house my eldest sister is illiterate. Now she is making 45000 Rs. Per month doing work as a beautician and we who are educated have done a B.A are getting 11000. The family also values her more as she contributes more. (Teacher interview no. 30)

These quotes highlight the reasons that pertain to teachers’ work and the low salary that is paid to them in LFPSs. Firstly, they argued that low salaries were a demotivating factor for teachers, who were often looking for opportunities that pay more. The burden of expenses is a key reason why many of the teachers in LFPSs were not able to work well, as they were often consumed with worry about making ends meet. Salary was often a reason why teachers were pressurised by their families to leave their jobs for something that pays better. Secondly, teachers argued that other occupations that women go into such as domestic work, cleaning and even as beauticians pay a lot more than teaching in LFPSs. This was another factor that demoralized teachers, who saw that their occupation was not valued despite the importance of their task of educating children. This relates to the testimonies of teachers with regards to their careers and the declining image of teachers in the Pakistani society that was presented in the sections above. This shows the overlap
between teachers’ perceptions of teaching as a career and the working conditions that affect the teachers in LFPSs.

Many teachers argued that government schools offer a higher salary to their teachers, a factor that was key in teachers’ preference of working in the public school system.

_“I am married and when I leave the house in the morning and my family I do it to earn. When the salary is low it becomes difficult to work and it seems useless if we can’t earn a decent wage. I find the salary very low and will look for a better position that pays more. It is because of salary that I am interested to apply for government school teaching positions, they offer a much better pay to the teachers.”_ (Teacher interview no.9)

_Salaries of government teachers are a lot. Private can hire 5 or more teachers for the salary that government gives to one teacher. I’m going to try for a government position. Salary is the major motivation because it affects my standard of living and I can do much better with a government school salary. I can support my family better._ (Teacher interview no.28)

Some teachers spoke about salary affecting their careers and pushing them to pursue jobs in other fields and professions.

_“My work as a teacher doesn’t give me complete satisfaction. I want to do more with my life. I don’t want to spend my life working for 6000 Rs. I don’t see myself making any progress with what I’m doing. I want to change my profession.”_ (Teacher interview no 27)

_T2: The issue of salary is in every private school. Because of this teachers leave shortly after they join. Girls now do matric, come to work in schools for 3 months and see that the salary is only 3000, and then they leave to go work in beauty parlours. Now they spend those couple of months training as a beautician and then they start making a lot more. So they think that if I can make more money why waste time in teaching.

_T1: They are even ready to pay for beautician training because they can make a lot more money as soon as they start. So why would they come into teaching or stay in teaching?”_ (Focus group no.1)
Girls are going into other professions because salary here is very low. But still those positions in other jobs are not that many so those who don’t get it come to teach. Teaching is now a low paid profession. The people who allow their girls to teach are now saying that if you have to work, work where you get a decent salary at least. In my family I often hear this that if you have to go out for the whole day find something better that pays you more. My own family members said to me leave TCF, you have done a Masters, look what they are paying you, if you have to spend 8 to 9 hours outside the house then earn something. You hardly cover your own expenses. They end up paying me for my clothes and shoes etc. so then they say that if you have to spend time outside do something that covers your expenditures. That’s why many teachers end up leaving the profession. (Teacher interview no.12)

These quotes show that the low salary paid to teachers in LFPSs is an important factor and a cause of concern for many teachers. While some such as Andrabi and colleagues (2008) state that it is the low salaries of female teachers who make LFPSs cost-effective, other such as Carhill and Murtaza (2013) consider the low pay an exploitative practice. The majority of teachers raised the issue of low salary as affecting their work and future decisions about staying in teaching. The low salary was one of the major factors that led to job dissatisfaction for the teachers in LFPSs. The literature on teacher remuneration presented in chapter 3 shows that when teachers cannot meet their needs through their salaries, their focus on teaching declines and their quality of instruction suffers (Daun, 1997). Spencer (1986) describes several teachers whose low salaries constantly influence their daily lives and career decisions. The quotes by teachers in LFPSs affirm these earlier observations albeit in a different context. For many teachers, one of the main reasons for leaving their jobs in LFPSs is the low salary. As soon as a teacher finds a position where they are paid more, they quit their existing job. This has a negative effect on children’s learning as they deal with multiple teachers in a single year. This
also makes the job of a new teacher more difficult and worsens their working conditions.

5.3.4 Training

90% of the teachers in the study reported that they had not received any sort of in-service training. This was an appalling figure, given that a significant number of teachers didn’t have any pre-service training and had on average, a grade 12 education. About 70% of teachers spoke about the importance of training. Teachers in LFPSs felt the need to acquire training and argued that it was missing in their work environment. For many teachers, the lack of teacher training and development programs was what prevented them from improving their work. This endorses the findings from a recent survey that states that in Pakistan teachers lack in-service training even though teachers demonstrate a strong desire for it and complain that opportunities for training are scarce (Alif Ailaan, 2014, p.27). Another observation made in the survey was that government schoolteachers appear to receive training more frequently than their counterparts in private schools (Alif Ailaan, 2014). The quotes below illustrate teachers’ views on training and how they see it affecting their work in LFPSs.

“I don’t think I am able to do very well as a teacher. I have the potential to do much better as a teacher and I can see I have shortcomings. I need training. When you see education today and the syllabus you have to keep up with the advancements and I lack that because of no guidance and training. It is very hard for me to teach what I have not studied and am not familiar with. That is a challenge I face.” (Interview teacher no. 28)
I think training will improve my teaching and I would feel better about my work. But the problem is getting training. I don’t see any opportunities for it in my school or even other LFPS. These school owners and principals don’t focus on training that much and when you ask them they say we don’t have the money. (Teacher interview no.8)

We are not generating any interest in teaching by not training young teachers. How can we guide these new teachers? If we don’t guide them they will be lost like they are now. How can they teach children when they don’t learn themselves? The kids in this school are sharp but what is the teacher able to give them. Teachers in LFPS lack confidence and so that comes out in the children as well. Again it comes down to training. If she is trained then she can teach and manage a child better. These small schools implement multi-grade teaching to save money on teacher’s salaries. With an untrained teacher you are being unfair to the child. They ignore the weak and problematic students. In big private schools they hire coordinators who spend time on training. In small LCPS they save on that, again they don’t want to build their teachers and their institutions as long as their business of running the school is going well. (Teacher interview no.47)

See I didn’t take any training as I started teaching right after doing matric (grade 10). I think it’s better if you get some training especially when you start teaching. When one is new to teaching it is quite hard. In government schools teachers get proper training but in private schools that doesn’t happen. If I get an opportunity I will definitely do some sessions on my own because one can always learn something new through training. (Teacher interview no.19)

When I started teaching at this school, they gave me a 3 day workshop on teaching various subjects. But that was not enough. Even after all this time I find it hard to teach multiple grades at the same time. I don’t know how to give them more attention. Then I feel guilty that I’m not able to do my job properly. And I also fear that they will insult me or fire me when they come to monitor my class. What I need is training and then I can cope. (Teacher interview no. 22)

Training is very important and it affects our work. With a refresher course we get new ideas that we can use in our teaching. We come to know about different teaching methods that help us in class. We can also exchange good ideas and strategies. Training and refresher courses are very important as every year books have new things added to them and for that teachers need to keep up. We should have training every year. Currently we don’t have regular training and we suffer because of that. Both new and old teachers struggle and it makes our job more challenging and frustrating. (Teacher interview no.29)

These quotes demonstrate that the lack of teacher training in LFPSs cannot be emphasised enough. While literature states that an untrained or poorly trained
teacher affects the quality of a student’s educational experience (Lloyd, Tawila, Clark & Mensch, 2003), it needs to be equally stressed that the lack of training affects teachers’ confidence and their ability to teach and do their job well. This relates to a teacher’s satisfaction with her job and her motivation to perform well. The interviews and focus group discussions demonstrated that teachers themselves are willing to learn and improve their performance, and report that they do not have enough opportunities for in-service training.

Teachers expressed an acute need for training in challenging areas such as multi-grade teaching, subject specialisation, changing syllabus and dealing with students who have very poor learning levels. Teachers emphasised their struggle with these conditions that directly related to their teaching in LFPSs. A study looking at some African countries showed that, due to teacher shortages, educators taught subjects for which they were not qualified, and student performance suffered (Mulkeen, 2010). Interviews and focus group discussions with teachers in the LFPS affirmed this. Teachers explained that, due to these issues of multi-grade and multi-subject teaching, they did not feel that they were doing their jobs well.

5.3.4.1 Logistical barriers for teachers to attend trainings

While a majority of teachers reiterated the importance of training, some teachers, around 40% of those interviewed, spoke about some logistical issues related to training that make it difficult for female teachers to attend the few training opportunities that come up sometimes.
Last year we had a training session with ITA for 2 days. There was another one for a week in Youhanabad. For that they gave us transport so we could go. Otherwise without transport we cannot manage to go to these trainings ourselves. And the school cannot afford to pay trainers to come to the school to train us. (Teacher interview no. 30)

Trainings are conducted by some NGOs but often getting to those locations is not possible for the female teachers. In this school the males get more training as compared to the females because they can get to the locations where the training is held. We raised this issue with the management that females are not getting training but they said we cannot afford to have trainings in each school for female teachers. It’s a lot of problem for female teachers as their families don’t give them permission to travel far distances for such sessions. (Teacher interview no. 23).

But there are some issues we face with trainings. Usually training is done in a different location. TCF offered it last time close to a village in Kasur. Now that is far and it’s a problem because we need to send our female teachers. We need the permission of their parents. So security of these teachers is a concern, as they have to commute to places to receive training. Teachers are also reluctant to go because they have to travel to the sites. Recently there was a case where a teacher who use to work here before, but doesn’t anymore, went for training but was kidnapped. So incidents like these scare people. (Interview Principal, Jallo Khara).

Evidenced in these quotes is the argument that teachers’ work is affected by the larger social context of their lives. Training that is essential for their work and careers as teachers can be inaccessible to female teachers due to their limited mobility and concern for security when travelling to training sites. The lack of training sessions and workshops held at the school present real challenges to women especially in rural communities. By virtue of their gender and an environment that limits their mobility, women teachers are unable to avail the few training opportunities provided by some organizations.
## 5.3.4.2 Usefulness of trainings attended

40% of teachers who had attended a couple of training sessions organized by NGOs like ITA, Bunyad and TCF spoke of the benefits of getting that training.

> Here at TCF we have training in July for 15 days. In the beginning they give 1 month training before you start working and after that it’s for 12-15 days every year in the summer after students go for holidays. It helps a lot. They teach us different strategies and how do deal with children. They also show us different methods of explaining to the child, How to deal with difficult and problematic children. Without training I wouldn’t have grown as a teacher. I’d have to put in individual effort to learn about these things. Before this school, I was in another school where there was no training. That was a tough experience for me and I struggled a lot. Here we get regular training so I have learnt a lot and I look forward to it every year. (Teacher interview no.13)

> I attended trainings from Bunyad and TCF (total 3 to 4 times). They trained us on how to guide kids, teaching methodology, how to deal with kids who are weak, practically improving them, using objects to teach them. We also got some syllabus training. How to teach the syllabus, classroom observation, lesson planning, and scheme of study etc. it’s easier now for me to teach. Training helped me to get better and more confident. They gave us assignments; to make charts, give presentations, decorating the class. This increased teacher’s knowledge and confidence. It really helped me and it encouraged me to continue in teaching. (Teacher interview no.3)

> Training is quite helpful. Once there was a group of trainers who came and focused on teaching very young children in play group, how to do poems with them and for us it was very different. For me it was like I was teaching play group. Teachers are now also learning phonics etc. so we can also apply it in teaching our classes such as my grade 4. I think trainings should be held regularly. Because whatever I have studied that’s old, now things are new and different. You always hear about new ways and methods and the syllabus changes a lot as well. And learning never stops. Whatever you learn is always less. I think I have a lot to learn about teaching and I can do it only through training. (Teacher interview no.25)

These quotes show that teachers themselves recognize the importance of training for their work and their decision to continue in the teaching occupation. Training and opportunities for professional development are also part of the working conditions for teachers in LFPSs. Scholars examining teachers’ working conditions
have emphasized among other features the opportunities for professional growth and development (Johnson, 2006; Cucchiara et al., 2015). The quotes by teachers above on training and development affirm that these constitute part of what it means to teach in a particular school and research that has shown it having significant consequences for teacher satisfaction and effectiveness.

It is also interesting to note that, when asked about the training that some teachers had received, around 10% of teachers in interviews stated that usually trainings were ad-hoc, not planned and did not benefit the teachers.

*Well we don’t really get any training. Once the principal took me to another school where they told us how to teach and guide students. It wasn’t that useful. It was very basic. They need to design trainings in areas that we feel need improvement e.g. multi-grade teaching strategies, dealing with weak and out of school children. Firstly there are no trainings and secondly the ones that they do are not very relevant for teachers in LFPS.* (Teacher interview no.7)

*There was an external training once. It was a week long. But we didn’t understand much of it, it wasn’t too helpful. I think we were young ourselves so we didn’t benefit too much or understand well. But after that I figured I have to learn by doing, training like that makes no difference.* (Teacher interview no.16)

*Whether the training is useful depends on both the teacher and the management. If the teacher applied some of it, it might be useful. If we don’t see any application of it, it’s useless. If there is no check or evaluation to see if the teachers are applying or using newer methods they have learnt from training, then it won’t have an impact on their work. Both teachers and principals in LFPS sometimes do this exercise to go for training but no one takes it seriously and questions whether it’s useful. They just do it for the sake of it, it’s a mere lip service.* (Teacher interview no.10)

These quotes indicate that for some teachers in LFPSs training has been irregular and ineffective. It shows that it is not enough to just hold training workshops and sessions, but that these need to serve the teachers and their work in LFPSs. Teachers
have pointed out that, for them, multi-grade teaching, a common feature in LFPSs, is a challenge and an area where they need training. Further they point out that they have to deal with children with poor learning levels and some who have been out-of-school. These challenges are peculiar to the LFPSs in Punjab and so training will only be effective if it addresses these areas that have been pointed by teachers. These quotes illustrate the importance of designing effective training sessions for LFPS teachers, based on their needs and on a regular basis.

5.3.5 Tuitions

An interesting trend that was noted during the study and also came up in teachers and principals interviews was the pervasiveness of private tuitions in the LFPSs sector. Private tuitions and tutoring refers to “lessons and related support in academic subjects that are also taught in mainstream schools and that are delivered on a fee-paying basis outside regular school hours” (Zhang and Bray, 2015, p.84). An earlier study by Alif Ailaan (2014) concluded that in Pakistan more private school teachers offered tuition compared to their counterparts in government schools. Almost all teachers working in low-fee private schools say their salary is less than the minimum wage, leading them to seek additional income (Alif Ailaan, 2014, p.41). Low salaries compel teachers to supplement their work with tutoring or second jobs (Gaynor, 1994). This has certainly been the case for LFPSs teachers in the study, many of whom agreed to give tuitions primarily to supplement their earnings.
Teachers in my study noted that a large number of students in LFPSs take private tuitions. Some students take tuitions after-school in their own LFPSs while others go to private tutors in the locality. As noted in the previous section and an earlier study (Alif Ailaan, 2014), many female teachers in LFPSs supplement their incomes through giving tuitions to their own students after school and to other kids from the locality. Some LFPSs function as private tuition centres after school, and when teachers are hired, they are offered a package where they can supplement their salaries by teaching after school. Among the teachers interviewed, 65% stated that they were giving tuitions after school, as quotes from the teachers below attest.

*I teach kids (from this school) tuition after school. They do their homework here and don’t wander the streets so parents happily send them for tuition. I have 40 students whom I tutor from this school. They start from playgroup. I come in the morning and then continue to teach after school and leave around 6 in the evening. I get 2000Rs for tuitions in addition to my salary. This is the norm in every school now and those LFPSs that didn’t offer tuition after school are now doing it. They are asking parents to send their kids to the school for tuitions as well instead of them going to other private tutors.* (Teacher interview no. 20)

*Even before I taught in this school I use to tutor kids from my area. There is a big demand for tuitions. This is very common in LFPSs. Few people in government schools send their kids to tuitions. But in private it’s almost like a rule that send your kids for tuition to the school afterwards. Instead of going to other tutors they come to the same teachers after school.* (Teacher interview no.21)

*I have to supplement my income with private tuitions in the evening. My salary is low and my family members often complain. Rent is quite high and expenditures are so high. Everyone has to work in the house.* (Teacher interview no.28)

*Even in rural areas tuitions are very popular. Now I don’t want to take names but some LFPSs have this as a condition that you have to take tuitions. That’s another way of making money. That’s how they also attract some teachers by saying that you can make more money by giving tuitions after school. So a child’s education includes both school and tuition fees. Then they pretend that they pay teachers more than they actually do.* (Interview Principal no.20)
These quotes point to some reasons why teachers in LFPSs resort to giving private tuitions and also the prevalence of this trend in general. Teachers report that private tuitions in some LFPSs are deliberately connected to the salary of teachers, who are offered a bit more by giving tuitions after school hours. Many teachers provide after-school tuitions to primarily supplement their meagre income from LFPSs. This is an interesting observation that shows that in many LFPSs, tuitions are now included in teacher’s work and connected to their day job as teachers in the same school. By doing so employers and LFPSs owners are able to extract more work out of teachers for a low salary. LFPSs, which often run as private tuition academies after school, attract teachers arguing they pay more, when in fact they pay them for giving after school tuitions beyond their day jobs as teachers in the school.

In addition to teachers, 70% of principals also acknowledged that a large number of their students took tuitions and that the teachers of their school gave tuitions after school to supplement their income.

_Tuitions have become the norm now in every school. For female teachers especially it is attractive because they can supplement their income. Schools pay less and so they also teach children in the evenings after school. Many of the teachers in our school do it._ (Interview principal no.18)

_Most of our students (80-90%) take tuitions. Teachers in our school do after hours tuition and teach both the children of this school and other schools. That’s another way they supplement their income._ (Interview principal no.23)
A few respondents (20% of the teachers and 40% of principals) were critical of the whole trend of tuitions and argued that it was having a negative affect on learning and education quality.

_All of them take tuitions as their parents can’t give them any time. They end up doing nothing. They do neither the schoolwork nor the work given by their tutors. It’s a big mess of their education if you ask me._  (Teachers Focus group no. 2)

_Tuitions are very popular. We have our own students who study in the academy or with other women who teach tuitions. I call it the ‘Baji System’. Where you have these women who have privately passed F.A or B.A and start teaching kids in their houses. For us it’s a problem sometimes because they don’t teach properly._  (Interview Principal no.17)

_And now there is this trend of tuitions. It is getting very hard for us to fight it. This tuition mafia is a disease in our society. You have private academies who teach from nursery to F.A run by women who are not trained themselves. They end up ruining the student. Parents themselves are not investing in their children. They don’t ask the child what he studies in class each day. Mothers do have time. They are just not making the effort. Even if they are barely educated through their child and looking at his work they can also learn and educate themselves. How will you encourage learning in such an environment? .... Even the elite private schools are a fraud. After charging hefty fees, all their students are taking tuitions. Schools need to do their part. What use is it to pay fee when they have to go to private tutors in the evening. And those who are poor and needy, how will their children compete in such a system? (Interview principal no.27)

_Often private tutors blame the school for children’s poor performance. Some also try to intervene and advise the parents not to send the child to his school. Now many of such private tutors have no standard themselves. So the parents are already confused about what to do and which private school to send their kids to. This tuition system is further ruining the education system of this country._  (Interview principal no.2)

These quotes highlight an interesting feature of the private system of education in Pakistan and one that is connected to LFPSs. While it is beyond the scope of this study to look at the relation of LFPSs education to private tuitions and their impact.
on the quality of education in these schools, it is a point that has been raised by many teachers and principals. For many LFPSs teachers, providing tuitions after school is a way to supplement their low salaries paid by the schools. This is also a way for some LFPSs to make more money by providing after school tuitions to their own students. From a teachers’ point of view, it shows an increase in their workload and working hours daily. However, many teachers and some principals have also been critical of the rising trend of tuitions in Punjab as a whole and in LFPSs in particular. While the quotes above present some reasons for a significant LFPSs student population taking tuitions, this phenomenon needs to be studied in detail.

5.3.6 Demographic characteristics of students

All the teachers, in both interviews and focus group discussions, spoke about the difficulty of teaching children from poor backgrounds and with weak educational foundations in primary level grades. This was the case in both the rural areas as well as the urban, peri-urban slum localities in which the schools were located. This supports observations in other studies where teachers, in both government and private schools, report that the poor motivation of students makes their job more difficult and less rewarding (Alif Ailaan, 2014, p.37). Teachers in my study further elaborate on this by stating that they believed student’s poor performance in LFPSs is due to their belonging to poor, working class families that offer little or no support in terms of monitoring their education. Some of the quotes below illustrate teachers’ concerns about their students’ social and educational backgrounds that they think
affect their performance.

This school is at the backside of the village and very poor and uneducated children come to this school. Their fathers are labourers and the mothers work in people’s houses. So it is very tough for us to deal with these children because of their upbringing. They are very wild and rowdy. It’s a very tough population to educate and discipline. 50% of my students don’t give me a good response in terms of their work. Their parents don’t look at what the child is doing. Their homework is incomplete. Some don’t even open their bags when they get home. When we complain to the parents they say it’s the teachers responsibility. We feel very bad when they don’t learn despite our hard work. Most teachers are not trained to handle such students and this makes our work very difficult. (Teacher interview no. 38)

Many students are not studying. Many take tuitions after school and are confused as to which teacher should be followed. They are absent and careless in class and teachers have to force them to study. The level of students is really low and the teachers are struggling with them. They come from uneducated working class families who live in this slum. (Focus group no.3)

T1: I think our students lag far behind other schools in this area.

T2: Schools in the city have a much higher level and their students in nursery and prep class are very sharp and intelligent. The way they speak and the activities they have. Their parents are also more involved. In this locality this is missing. It has to do with the background of parents. Here in our locality parents are not even ensuring that the kids are coming to school regularly. Many run off with friends and loiter in streets instead of coming to school. It has to do with how much value you ascribe to your child’s education and in this community we are struggling with this. (Focus group no.2)

I find it very hard to deal with students since many are weak in studies and their parents don’t pay any attention. So it puts the entire burden on the teacher, who is struggling with large classes and less resources. The management and principal also end up pressurizing the teacher if the parent complains. (Teacher interview no.32)

Teachers were very vocal about the added pressure and responsibility they felt dealing with weak students, whose parents were not concerned about their education and were not willing to work with the teachers to improve them. Existing
literature shows that the demographic characteristics of a school's students may affect a teacher's work. Studies have shown that if a large proportion of the students come from economically and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds, and the teacher does not have the skills or training needed to meet their needs or feels she has inadequate support to do so, she is likely to become discouraged and to consider leaving the school and/or the teaching profession (Johnson & Birkeland, 2003; Johnson et al., 2005). This relates to her sense of efficacy as a teacher (Ladd, 2011). This was the case of many teachers in LFPSs who participated in this study. Many teachers in LFPS expressed their frustration and inability to teach students from poor and working class families and cited it as reason for their dissatisfaction with their job.

5.3.7 Lack of parental participation

Connected to the larger area of LFPSs students’ demographic characteristics is the level of parental participation in these schools. An overwhelming majority of teachers and principals in the interviews and focus group discussions spoke about the lack of parental participation in LFPSs. Around 80% of teachers and 70% of principals interviewed complained of low parental participation in their schools. This substantiates earlier studies in Pakistan in which teachers point out that the poor motivation of students is affected by low parental interest (Alif Ailaan, 2014, p.37). Most teachers in my study argued that it was a big challenge in their jobs to ensure that the child learned in the absence of parental participation. This affected
their work as the parents often deemed them responsible for the progress and performance of the child in the school. Some of the quotes below highlight the concerns of the teachers in this regard.

*Parental participation in the school is very low. 8 or 9 parents out of 30 would show up for the Parent Teacher Meeting. Those who come say we have sent the child to you now you figure it out how to deal with them. It’s because it's a rural area. The parents don’t take any pains. It’s an additional burden on the teacher because they come and say it’s your responsibility to ensure they are learning. And children of this area are weak as compared to where I live. They go home and waste 7 to 8 hours there. The children here are not doing any homework etc. and parents make them do other chores at home. A lot of these backward areas are suffering.*  
(Teacher interview no.11)

*When students don’t do well, parents complain and say we don’t have time to look at how a child is doing. Parents think that when we send kids to private schools then its all the responsibility of the teacher and the school that the child does well. I have seen kids who are bright in other schools and it’s because of the effort their parents put in. In this area the mothers are not educated or aware about this. And a teacher cannot do everything. They can only do 25%. If they don’t do any homework, how will they progress and learn. Sometimes I want to quit, because when the students don’t do well it means somehow I have failed too.*  
(Teacher interview no.39)

These responses show that a teacher’s working environment is also shaped by her relationship, or lack of it, with the parents of her students. Without the support and regular interaction with parents, teachers often feel like they have to bear all the burden of ensuring that the child learns something. They also point to the attitude of parents who put their kids in LFPSs and who feel that they have absolved their responsibility and that the teacher and the school are now fully accountable.

Teachers argue that parents have an important role to play and they at least need to ensure that the child does homework and work with the teacher on improving their performance.
5.3.8 The role of Principals: LFPSs are “one-man shows”

Existing literature on teachers working conditions documents the importance of principal leadership and role as an important feature of teachers work environment (Grissom, 2011; Ladd, 2011). Something I observed during my study and that came up frequently in the interview and focus group discussions was the role of the principal in managing teachers and LFPSs. Teachers spoke of the principals, who also happened to have been their teachers in many cases, as being in charge of everything. Many young teachers who were the students of the principals were quick to hold the principal responsible for everything from their joining the career as a teacher to their training and problem solving in their work. It would be fair to say that a few principals provided some elements of instructional leadership in LFPSs and this can be a factor that affects the performance of teachers in the school. However, the style of many such principals was autocratic and teachers merely followed orders as opposed to participating in decision-making at school level. The quotes of teachers below highlight their views on the role of the principals in LFPSs.

*You see there are many LFPSs that are like one-man shows. The owner is a male and basically he makes all the decisions. There is no teamwork in these schools. Running a school has to be teamwork and you should discuss with your teachers, what their abilities are and what their interest is before you assign classes and subjects to them. Then teachers will be even more focused and teach better.* (Teacher interview no.30)

*Sir Nemat oversees everything from setting syllabus to tests, to guiding teachers and to dealing with parents. The parents go to him whenever there is any issue, instead of speaking to the teacher. So the teacher is in the background.* (Teacher interview no.3)

*The principal/owner is in charge of everything. Since many teachers were and are his students, the relationship is quite similar where he is the teacher and the main guide for them in how they work here. He doesn’t ask for their opinion but*
rather just tells them what to do. And they cannot question or give their point of view. (Teacher interview no. 13)

These quotes make a number of important observations about teacher's working environment and relates to their “teaching conditions” (Bascia and Rotmann, 2011). They emphasise the lack of input that teachers have in the running of their classes, dealing with parents and the school as a whole. This echoes other studies (Griffin, 1997; Walsh, 1995) in the US, which showed that female teachers have no influence in either the classroom or the school and principals neither ask for nor want their input. These quotes also show that teachers don’t have much say in what they teach as the course is set by the principal and they merely follow instructions. This has parallels with earlier studies in the context of US, especially in late 1980s (Grumet, 1988; Griffin, 1997; Apple, 1987) that show that female teachers normally have no say in the curriculum and are required to follow what others have given them. As Griffin, (1997, p.9) states: “Female teachers put into practice techniques others have decided are most useful in meeting goals they had no part in defining.” Teachers’ quotes in my study of LFPSs in Punjab demonstrate that female teachers are in a very similar position when it comes to their lack of input and autonomy in their work as teachers.

Some teachers (30% of the sample) in LFPSs reported that the principal didn’t check the teachers enough and were critical of the administration’s monitoring and hiring of teachers.

I feel teachers lack motivation. They just want to take salary. They come chitchat and then leave. They don’t check them either. I know there are other schools
where they have rules and regulations but in this school that seems to be missing. Teachers need to check students and teach them properly. They have to be tested regularly to see how they are learning and doing in class. In our school again that's lacking. Sir (the principal) comes and checks teachers once in a while. But its not regular and I think they need to change this and he needs to become more involved. I don't think they are giving it much importance. The administration needs to hire proper qualified teachers. Now whoever does matric and comes they hire them without judging their level. This is not how you keep good teachers and ensure good quality of teaching. And on the top of that you don’t train them or check them regularly about what they are doing in class. Some teachers also lie about their qualifications. They are not even trained to teach the nursery class. (Teacher interview no.42)

This shows that some teachers feel that principals are unable to provide effective leadership to run LFPSs and in managing and dealing with their teachers. They argue that principals have not been paying attention to their work and resort to hiring unqualified and inexperienced teachers, whom they don’t train. Teachers allege that owners and principals knowingly hire teachers just to ensure that a teacher is present in the class and are not concerned about their work and the learning of children.

Interestingly, 65% of the school principals stressed that it really was the owner/principal who made a difference in the education of children in a LFPS and that teachers were generally the same in all the schools. The principals were also quick to draw comparisons with other LFPSs and government schools. The quotes below show their point of view on their role as principals.

Almost all such schools (LFPSs) have teachers with the same level. I think it depends on the principal and head teacher who makes teachers work. I check my teachers through student’s results and also ask students what the teacher is doing in class etc. so I as a head ensure that work is being done. I think our teachers are better than the government in terms of work because there is a check and balance here. (Interview Principal no.25)
I monitor my teachers along with other head teachers. We teach them lesson planning and how to write a teachers diary. Then we check them regularly. When they start we give them 7 days of training on this and other things. Once in a year sometimes we can try to get some external training from an NGO, but rare. I have to constantly keep a check on my teachers. When they sit together they form into groups and gossip. They bring their phones and take selfies etc. talking about media and getting involved with boys etc. as a head I have to check that this is not happening during their time in school. I have to check attendance. I know the parents of my teachers and I am in contact with them. In LFPS people want to run their business and not worry about quality. I think it depends on the owner too. I train them on very basic things such as how to write date/day on the blackboard. So I work with them. Others don’t bother. You look at government schools, they are well equipped and have well-qualified staff but they are not teaching. (Interview principal no.17)

Here in my school, we grab teachers by the ears and make them work. In government there is no one to ask them or check them. Neither the headmaster nor anyone else bothers with the teachers. They demand their teachers to be more qualified, it’s a requirement and then they pay them accordingly a good salary. But the question is whether any work in being done in class. Is it according to the expectations? But internally they have issues, they don’t work and group against the principal etc. they don’t fear God and don’t feel accountable to the nation. They just come for salary. They have no standard in terms of education. (Interview principal no.12)

These quotes show that the mostly male principals play a key role in “controlling” teachers in these LFPSs and they feel that it’s important to “make the teachers work”. This affirms the argument by Apple (1986) that teachers’ work is increasingly subject to controls placed by the authorities, in this case, mostly a male principal, who ensures that curriculum is followed and that teachers are testing and marking students properly.

Comparing the views of teachers and principals regarding the role of principals in LFPSs gives us a sense of an uneasy relationship between them. While teachers have blamed principals, principals in turn have praised their own role and
generalized that teachers in all LFPSs are the same and have to be made to work by the principal. Gender is also important to mention here, as most of the principals/owners in LFPSs have been male, dealing with a mostly female teaching workforce. This patriarchal organization of authority in LFPSs has consequences for the labour of female teachers. This will be revisited in detail in Chapter 6.

5.3.9 Monitoring of teachers/strict check

During interviews, 50% of the teachers spoke about the strict environment that they worked in. They felt that the pressure and strict attitude of the principal didn’t have a positive effect on the work of the teacher.

For me it’s a big challenge when they come to monitor and check our work. I get confused when another person comes from the head office and points out our mistakes to us. There is a fear before they come to evaluate the teachers, teachers wonder if we will be insulted or fired. This is not the case in all LFPSs but in this school every few months 2 or 3 people come to observe and the judge the work of the teacher, so it’s overwhelming. (Teacher interview no.22)

In our school there is a lot of strictness. The principal keeps an eye on each and every teacher. You cannot talk to each other. The other day I was asking another teacher about the syllabus and the principal got mad. He said don’t gossip, if its work related ask me. We are not allowed to take our cell phones out. It’s a very rigid atmosphere and teachers who are all young girls, are like students who are policed over their every move. (Teacher interview no.34)

In some LFPSs there is a lot of strictness in how they deal with the teachers. Some teachers want to teach children well and it’s their passion but I think its not right for teachers to work under so much pressure. Teachers can perform much better without such strictness from heads and principals and without a sword hanging over their neck. The sword of you will be fired or disrespected over the errors you make. (Teacher interview no.2)

In some LFPSs they insult the teacher badly. In the last LFPS I taught in, it was like that. They were very strict and in that environment our brain didn’t work
properly. How could we teach like that? I just aimed to deliver the lessons and do the checking without being creative and making sure the child understood. In such conditions you don’t feel like teaching and you want to leave the profession altogether. They kill the passion of the teacher. So there are other important things in addition to the salary. How are you being treated, recognized, trained and taught. Also the workload and the space you have to learn to improve your teaching. All this matters a lot for a teacher. (Teacher interview no. 12)

These quotes demonstrate that female teachers in LFPSs feel negatively about the “controls” and checks placed on their work lives. This can be contrasted with studies that showed that female teachers thought that male administrators had too much control over their lives and a low image of them and their work (Griffin, 1997; Grument, 1988; Spencer, 1986).

It is useful to employ the concept of ‘intensification’ by Apple (1986), who looks at teachers work. Apple explains intensification as representing

“one of the most tangible ways in which the work privileges of educational workers have eroded. It has many symptoms from the trivial to the more complex-ranging from being allowed no time at all even to go to the bathroom, have a cup of coffee or relax.... we see intensification most visibly in mental labour in the chronic sense of work overload that has escalated over time (1986, p.188).”

The concept of intensification can be applied to teachers in LFPSs in this study, who have expressed that they are under a lot of stress due to multi-grade teaching in an environment of control and policing by principals in LFPSs. We see the symptoms of intensification in teachers work as it ranges from not being able to interact with fellow teachers during break to not having a say in how they organize their classes and deal with the load of multi-grade teaching. Apple (1986, p.189) argues that intensification acts to destroy the sociability of non-manual workers and may lead
to isolation. Such a condition seems to be present in LFPSs where teachers seem to be struggling with a heavy workload that constrains them and their interaction with fellow teachers. The last quote in particular illustrates teachers’ experience of intensification by pointing out that they aim to deliver the lessons without being creative and that the mental stress of working in such an environment and increasing workload is killing their passion to teach.

Another interesting finding was with regards to the role of the principal in LFPSs. The teachers spoke of the important role of the principal in running the school and dealing with issues. While some praised the principal, they highlighted the autocratic leadership style that many adopted in LFPSs. Much of the early research on school leadership highlighted the role of instructional leadership (Elmore, 2000; Hallinger & Heck, 1998) and the ability of the principal to develop a clear school mission (Hallinger, Bickman, & Davis, 1996). Starting in the early 1990s, researchers shifted their attention to transformational leadership, and in particular the ability of leaders to build organizational capacity for change and innovation (Jantzi & Leithwood, 1993; Leithwood, 1994). Included under this rubric are terms such as teacher empowerment and shared or distributed leadership (Spillane, Halverson, & Diamond, 2001). Within such models, principals operate by helping the school community itself to develop a shared vision and a commitment to that vision. In this latter approach, leaders do not merely impose goals on others; instead, they work through and with others to establish the conditions to help them to be effective (Ladd, 2011,p. 238).
In the last section, teachers’ testimonies showed that many principals in LFPSs did not include teachers in decision-making and so there was a serious lack of transformational leadership in LFPSs. Principals mostly imposed their decisions and vision on the teachers. Moreover, some teachers complained of the strictness with which teachers were dealt with. The pressure from principals to deliver results and the fear of being insulted or fired for mistakes affected the ability of many teachers, who felt that they could not work properly in such an environment.

5.3.10 **Similarities and differences in teachers’ ‘career-related areas and working conditions in the three categories of LFPS**

It is important to note that there were similar responses from teacher participants across the three categories of LFPSs for many of the above-mentioned career related themes. With regards to a general lack of career-path teachers in all the LFPSs had similar viewpoints and experiences. When it came to teacher's views on their status and image in society, teacher participants from all the three categories of LFPSs pointed to the declining perception of teachers. Moreover, teachers in all the three categories of LFPSs were critical of the hiring process, lack of training, salary paid to them and other career-related factors in their schools.

A difference was noticed with regards to teacher recruitment and training in a TCF school, an NGO-funded LFPS that unlike the other schools in all three categories, had a systematic approach towards hiring graduate level teachers and trained them before they started working.
In terms of working conditions, especially the physical infrastructure of schools and classrooms differences were noted between teachers in the three categories of LFPSs. Teachers employed in TCF schools and a few others that had proper school buildings argued that they had a much different and a proper working space as compared to the other schools in the different categories, where teachers complained of multi-grade classrooms held in small, unlit and poorly ventilated spaces, usually made in makeshift residential buildings. This shows that such differences between LFPSs do affect the work and attitude of teachers and might account for the variation in the responses of teachers on different factors related to their work and careers.

5.4 Career and Teachers working conditions as part of the conceptual framework

This chapter section deals with the career and working conditions of teachers in LFPSs, which is a key part of the framework for this study. The data gathered to profile the average LFPS teacher and mapping the career trajectory of the female teachers show that decisions regarding teachers’ careers are made in complex social conditions. The testimonies of teachers in LFPSs lend support to Ball and Goodson’s (1985) and Acker’s (1989) conceptions of career being shaped by individual experiences and structural factors, including their social, political and economic contexts. LFPSs teachers’ choice of career is constructed by their individual experiences and social realities, along with the socio-political and economic contexts that shape their career as teachers.
Aided by Bascia and Rottman’s (2011) conceptualization of “teaching conditions” that are critical to the working lives of teachers, I show some aspects of LFPSs teachers’ work. Many of the components of teachers’ working conditions and career are overlapping; they interact with each other and at times can be difficult to specify with precision (Ladd, 2011; Cucchiara et al., 2015). Discontinuity in careers due to changing marital status and family commitments, low salary, and a lack of options is also reflected in the working environment of LFPSs, where a high turnover rate, untrained and inexperienced teachers and lack of development opportunities negatively affect the morale and work of teachers.

The chapter shows that the working environment in many LFPSs in my study was marked by challenges for teachers and instability due to the frequent change of teachers and in some cases the curriculum. For many young teachers, the challenge to teach and manage children was doubled with multi-grade classrooms. Changing classes every year with a new curriculum and a new set of students significantly undermined morale and efficacy in the classroom, as teachers needed an orderly predictable environment. This was compounded by the lack of training and professional development for many teachers in LFPSs, who complained of little or no training opportunities. The working environment of LFPSs was also shaped by the often male principals, whose leadership style, as expressed by most teachers, was very autocratic, with little input from teachers. LFPSs principals themselves focused on their ability to control and get work out of teachers as being key in the running of their schools. Teachers experienced the control and checks on their work
as a source of added workload pressure. While gender was important in looking at the working conditions of female teachers, especially their interactions with the principal, their salaries and opportunities for development, it will be dealt with in more detail in the next Chapter 6.

In discussing about their career and working conditions, LFPSs teachers often made comparisons with the work and careers of government school teachers to highlight that they had a more challenging environment, insecure jobs, added pressure through controls and checks on their work. Salary was also raised as a major issue that affects the working lives of teachers in LFPSs and needs to be understood in the context of the larger labour market for women and teachers in Pakistan. Issues of limited mobility that are major obstacles to attend the few training opportunities also points to the social context and structural factors that impact teachers working conditions. This shows the overlap of career and working conditions with gender and the labour market in understanding the work of LFPSs teachers, as illustrated in the conceptual framework in Chapter 4. Gender and their work as female teachers in a larger social context that restricts women also appears to be present in views about career, teacher image and working conditions. Acker (1995) states that:

“Teachers’ careers can be seen as positioned in a local or national labour market characterized by particular salaries and benefits; training opportunities; certification requirements; hiring, deployment, re-entry, and promotion procedures; and segmentation according to gender, ethnicity, and race. The teacher labour market is interconnected with other labour markets, so that alternative available occupations for people with certain characteristics and qualifications who might otherwise become teachers can also influence the shape of the teaching occupation.” (p.118).
The testimonies of teachers in my study with regards to factors that shape their careers, the perception of teachers in the society and working conditions, touch on the observations of Acker. A sound understanding of teacher’s working conditions complements the analysis of the capability, capacity and career aspirations of female teachers in the larger labour market. As we move to the next chapter, the overlap between the three circles will become more pronounced. In the following Chapter, 6, after the analysis of gender and labour market factors, I discuss the complete framework, showing how these interconnected areas are useful in the study of LFPSs teachers’ work.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have answered two main research question of this dissertation. Firstly, I explore how teachers in LFPSs perceive their career trajectory in light of their social and academic conditions, the recruitment criteria in LFPSs and the prevalent image of a teacher in the Pakistani society. Secondly, I explore the often ignored and under emphasized working conditions of teachers, especially in LFPSs. Not only do these conditions affect the daily lives of teachers in classrooms but they also have long-term consequences for their teaching careers.

The chapter gives a snapshot of a LFPS teacher by highlighting the demographic and academic profiles of the teachers interviewed in the study. In tracing the career of teachers in LFPSs, I delve into their reasons for choosing to teach, their future goals and their plans of leaving or staying in their current jobs. The responses of teacher
participants show the complexity of LFPSs teachers’ decisions about their careers, which are made in tough working and social environments. Several important findings with regards to teachers in LFPSs emerge from the analysis of the data in this chapter. Demographically the responses of participants revealed that owners/principals of many LFPSs preferred to hire women who were young and single. In terms of qualifications, many of the teachers were fresh graduates with a F.A (grade 12) level qualification. These teachers lacked both experience and pre-service training. Principals and school owners recognized this, but due to low salaries, low resources and a shortage of qualified teachers, they resorted to hiring such candidates.

Data on the factors prompting teachers to enter teaching in LFPSs provided some interesting responses that add to the current understanding of teachers in small private schools. The responses show that recruitment of teacher in LFPSs is primarily through social networks and existing relationships between principals and other teachers related to the candidates. In order to fill vacancies, principals and school owners ask young female relatives and students to join as teachers. While some are genuinely interested to become teachers, other girls are in it to pass their time before getting married. Teaching in these LFPSs is also a transitory occupation for some who are studying further and want to go into other occupations. Many of the teachers interviewed did not see themselves teaching in the long-term and therefore were not enough invested in their work to make it a career. Teachers complained of the lack of a career path and felt that they were in a dead-end job.
Those who were serious about teaching wanted to pursue teaching in the
government sector, where they are paid a lot more and have a secure, permanent job.

The data show that while girls are still restricted by the social environment and
limited mobility often causing them to end up in teaching, they are gradually moving
to other professions as the perceptions of teaching and the image of the teacher is
diminishing. Parents who give their daughters an education and allow them to work
outside are now more open to let their daughters join well-paying professions
rather than teaching. Teachers and principals have both voiced their concern that
with the rise of LFPSs, the image of a teacher is now that of a low salaried
unprofessional. Teachers in LFPSs do not feel like role models for their students and
report that the attraction of being a teacher is no longer there for young girls.

Given the lack of attention paid to teachers working conditions, this chapter also
uses the opinions and perceptions of teachers to gain insight into issues that have a
critical bearing on the quality of teacher’s work. Qualitative data gathered from
interview and focus group discussions presented a number of findings about
teachers’ work in LFPSs in the context of Punjab.

Firstly, despite the existing culture of blaming teachers for the poor quality of
education in Pakistan, the majority of teachers in LFPSs work hard in a very
challenging work environment. In cramped spaces and multi-grade classrooms,
these teachers are tasked to teach children from poor, working class families. These teachers struggle with teaching a syllabus they are not familiar with and have received no training on. Many are required to teach subjects that are not their speciality due to the shortage of teachers. Principals are often their only supports and guides to navigate through their teaching tasks. Some of these teachers also report that they work under a lot of pressure to deliver results and often feel policed by the principal. With principals making all the decisions and dealing with the parents, the teacher’s input in the running of LFPSs is often lacking. On the top of all this, teachers in LFPSs feel that their salaries are very low and they often end up supplementing through teaching private tuitions. With a declining image of teachers, abysmally low salaries and a low quality work environment, it is not surprising that many of these teachers in LFPSs want to leave the profession altogether.

This chapter offers insights into some key areas of teacher recruitment, retention, career paths, perceptions of teaching and working conditions within LFPSs. In light of the findings in this chapter, it would be fair to say that teachers in LFPSs suffer from the lack of a career path, an insecure job without benefits and a social environment that doesn’t value their work as teachers. This can have serious repercussions for teachers’ work and education quality in LFPSs. The current recruitment strategy and working conditions of teachers in LFPSs can have damaging consequences for the teaching profession. With a clearer picture of teachers career and working conditions in LFPSs provided in this chapter, the next
chapter looks at the work of female teachers in the larger labour market for women and teachers in the Pakistani context that also affect their work.
Chapter 6: Analysing gender and labour market dynamics for teachers in Low Fee Private Schools

6.1 Introduction
This chapter connects the micro reality of teachers’ working lives in LFPSs (explored in chapter 5) to the macro level of labour market conditions for women in Pakistan. Women’s work and participation in the larger labour market cannot be understood in isolation from the social and cultural norms that determine the choice and constraints they face in choosing and practicing an occupation. The fact that in many countries the teaching profession is considered feminine and is being feminized needs to be analysed by looking at the larger labour market trends, the gendered division of labour, and the kind of economic opportunities women have. This chapter follows Apple (1986) and Acker (1995), who look at teachers’ work “through a lens of gender” (Tyack 1987, p.174). The chapter presents the view of teachers in LFPSs on how gender shapes their work and their interactions within the gendered school space.

Connell (1985, p.69) states: “Teachers are workers, teaching is work, and the school is a workplace.” This chapter looks at how gender and the labour market for women in Pakistan condition women's work in LFPSs. To analyse the testimonies of teachers, the chapter utilises Kabeer’s concept of “choice” and the existence of
Robinson’s “dual labour markets” to understand teachers’ decisions about work and career in LFPSs. This chapter zooms in on the gendered labour market conditions for teachers to answer the research question: How can the work of female teachers in LFPSs be understood with regards to the occupational labour market for teachers in Punjab?

And the sub-question: What are teachers’ views about their gender and how does that affect their work and long-term career paths?

The chapter proceeds as follows. The first section presents a gender analysis of teaching in LFPSs by focusing on the views of teachers with regards to their gender and how that affects their work and career. The preference to hire female teachers by mostly male principals is explored. The second section deals with the labour market for women in Pakistan and for teachers in LFPSs. It is noted that the work of female teachers is increasingly shaped by LFPSs that rely on the “dual labour market” of teachers. The third section pieces together the data from Chapter 5 and this chapter in an analytical framework that illustrates the interaction between teachers’ careers, working conditions, gender, and labour market in shaping the work of female teachers in LFPSs.

### 6.2 Gender analysis of teaching

LFPSs can be seen as furthering the feminization of teaching in Pakistan. This makes it important to study the gender dynamics within the LFPS sector. The fact that the proponents and supporters of LFPSs argue that LFPSs lead to gender equality and
empowerment in education makes it all the more vital to study the conditions of recruitment and work for women in such schools. From the hiring of female teachers in schools with male principals and management, to the differences in work, salary and skills of female and male teachers, this section presents a gender analysis of teaching in LFPSs.

6.2.1 Preference to hire female teachers

A key reason for studying the work of female teachers in LFPSs was that this sector predominantly employs females in teaching positions. I sought to understand how participants in my study saw this increasing feminization of teaching in LFPSs and what the main reasons for this were. Most (about 85%) of the principals in the study stated that the main reason for them to prefer hiring female teachers was due to the low salary that they accepted. Some principals also noted a social preference to have a predominantly female staff so that there is less mixing of the sexes at work.

A main reason for hiring females as teachers is that you can give low salaries to females. So we can afford them. Males demand a higher salary. These are young single girls who are sitting at home with not much to do, so for them its fine to come and work at this pay. Also female staff is better for us because they compromise more on things. (Principal interview no.3)

Females are readily available on lower salaries. With males salary is an issue as they demand more. Since females, mostly single and young, are sitting free at home its convenient for them to come teach. (Principal no.12)

Since male teachers demand a higher salary package and are more qualified it is very hard to find them for our school. Female teachers in comparison are readily available, work cheap and less fussy in terms of work. They (females) have fewer options too in terms of work. (Principal no.13)
Many young girls who are working in our school see the salary as pocket money. They are sitting free at home so by working they can spend their time in a better way and also earn a bit. It is attractive for young girls in such rural areas. So we don’t really seek to hire men or highly qualified teachers who would demand a lot more. This is a small school and this is the workforce that suits us in terms of running this school. (Principal interview no.7)

It’s for social reasons too when men are around there are affairs and the atmosphere is not very good, I know from other schools. Since young girls are coming here to teach I cannot keep men as teachers. Another main reason is the difference in salary between male and female. Females can take less salary and cope with it. Males need to be paid more. Even if the men work in a factory level job they make a lot more than they can in teaching. So why would men want to work in such a job. We cannot afford to pay them 20,000. (Principal interview no.9)

Male teachers are less in LFPS because they have many better job opportunities and the teaching job is not attractive to them. There are pay issues, because we don’t pay as much as other jobs. Females on the other hand have limited opportunities within the walled city, we have educated women who are available to teacher so we capitalise on that. (Principal interview no.16)

These quotes present a number of important observations about gender and the reasons for feminization of teaching in Pakistan through LFPSs. Firstly, they show that women are hired as they are the cheapest source of labour that is available to LFPSs. Secondly, we can see that a key argument presented is that females have fewer options for employment in other sectors, unlike men, and so they are ready to accept the terms and conditions of work in LFPSs. Thirdly, the quotes also note that females are easier to control and manage as compared to men and that they are also willing to compromise on things. And finally, the quotes also report that young girls who are single and have nothing better to do at home can accept work at this pay and utilise their time. These observations made by principals are significant and I will address them in the sections below when discussing the social context and cultural factors that affect women’s work in LFPSs as teachers. Here, these quotes
highlight some of the major reasons, with regards to gender, that explain the views of principals on the feminization of teaching in LFPSs in Punjab.

6.2.2 Predominance of males as principals and owners

Encountering a predominantly female teaching staff, I wanted to know if more principals were also female in LFPSs. However, a key observation made in my study was that most LFPSs had male principals and owners. Out of 27 schools in the sample, only 7 schools had female principals. This supports the finding on a global scale that even within the sectors where women dominate, it is rarely women who would hold the upper managerial jobs (ILO, 2010, p.5). While Andrabi and colleagues (2008) have welcomed the large number of women being employed as teachers in LFPS, one needs to note that leadership positions within schools and the education system at large are held by men. This gender division of labour in LFPSs replicates societal attitudes regarding gender, power and capability. This leads to the question of whether the hiring of more female teachers actually translates to more women being in positions of leadership in schools and the education system. Within the current system of education that promotes LFPSs, this doesn’t seem to be the case. The quotes below from participants show this trend in LFPSs.

*Males are more strict and authoritative. They are usually at the position of principals and head teachers in schools.* (Teacher interview no. 46)

*You usually need a male at the top to manage things and to get things done in a school. A female’s authority can be challenged, so you will notice that most LFPS have male principals and school owners.* (Principal interview no. 9)
These quotes show that gender intersects with the working conditions and labour of teachers in LFPSs. The phenomenon of males in leadership positions and controlling the work of a largely female workforce in LFPSs in Punjab was also raised in the quotes presented in chapter 5. This is important as Apple (1986) highlights “that schools have tended to be largely organize around male leadership and female teachers is simply that-a social fact-unless one realizes that this means that educational authority relations have been formally patriarchal” (p.185).

As was shown in Chapter 5 with regards to teachers working conditions, the patriarchal relations of power inside the school “organized around male principals’ relations to a largely female teaching staff” (Apple, 1986, p.185) largely shape labour and the working conditions of teachers within the school itself.

### 6.2.3 Gender at work: male vs. female teachers

Teachers were asked during interviews and focus group discussions to reflect on the work of male and female teachers. Around 70% of the teachers in the study reported that there were differences between the two genders in terms of working style, attitude, qualifications, exposure, salary, respect and other factors.

#### 6.2.3.1 Difference in working conditions

In terms of working conditions and career, 65% of teachers highlighted the difficulties females face as compared to males. Teachers also spoke about the different attitude of the principal towards males and the element of respect. Some of the quotes below illustrate this.
Both teach students. But females have to struggle more as compared to males because males don’t take small classes, whereas females take those classes, which are tough and require more from the teacher. And if you look at the society in everything its tougher for the female. For males they only have their job to do. For females they have to do their domestic chores in addition to the job they are doing. So for them they need to figure out how to do it all. So it is tougher for females. And this is also why a lot of female teachers cannot continue teaching in the long-term. (Teacher interview no.10)

Female teachers work hard in order to earn. When we leave the house we are making a big sacrifice so we take our work very seriously. Male teachers have their egos and their own way of doing things. Come and go as they please. If we criticise them for something, they mind it. Men have less patience. We women have to bear quite a lot. Men are their own masters. Women are under pressure and work like that. But females work harder. Males get more respect and a much better salary package regardless of their qualification. They are always pushed higher up. And males always support males. I don’t understand why females get less respect. You see I think female teachers leave because they are burdened more and kept under pressure by the principal and head teachers. Some bear it some cannot. Those in need and those who are determined stick around. (Teacher interview no.3)

Male teachers also tend to focus on other things. People come to meet them or they are busy on their phones. So now schools also prefer females that they can control more easily and who are more focused on their work with less distractions. Their attitude towards work is very different from females. Males are either too strict or too relaxed with the students. In higher classes there are more male teachers. Male teachers have more ego and are less compromising. With females you can be stricter and if you scold them the maximum they will do is cry in their class. The reaction is different. (Teacher interview no.24)

There are differences between male and female teachers. Primarily there are differences in the way they are treated even by the head or principal. With men they are more tactful and less strict in dealing. Men have more options and so can leave the job if they disagree on something whereas the principals know that women have limited opportunities. Males get more pay for the same or less amount of work. I don’t agree that males are better in Maths. I think if females are qualified they have a good command over the subject. Social attitudes tend to favour males in this regard. (Teacher interview no.31)

These quotes present a number of points with regards to the difference in the work of male and female teachers. Teachers argue that female teachers usually teach lower grades, which have more students and are more demanding in terms of work.
Another argument made here is that there is a difference in the attitude of male and female teachers. Male teachers are not easily pushed around and not bothered about their work, whereas female teachers work under a lot of pressure, trying to manage their work lives at school and home. Female teachers believe that socially men are valued more and thus treated much better as workers and teachers, even though they don’t work as hard as some dedicated female teachers. The point about males having more options and thus demanding a higher salary is also mentioned here.

60% of the teachers argued that the domestic responsibilities of females make their work harder as compared to males.

*Now I am a young girl who’s teaching, tomorrow I might stop working. But males would continue such as Sir and they treat it as a profession then. Its a way of earning income for males so they invest more time in that. Girls mostly get married and then stop working. After marriage their in-laws don’t allow, so they are not able to make it a career for themselves. The domestic situation for women makes it very uncertain and hard for female teachers. (Teacher interview no.18)*

*Workwise female teachers have more responsibilities both at home and school. In the morning females have to make breakfast, get everyone ready and then come to school. Males don’t have those responsibilities. Its usually female teachers who come late because of these reasons too. And then when we females go home and take work with us, its very hard for us to do it at home with all our responsibilities. When we get home there are so many chores and there’s a lot of psychological and physical pressure. (Teacher interview no.30)*

These quotes reiterate some of the reasons that shape women’s careers and working conditions as teachers mentioned earlier in chapter 5. They emphasise the argument that the gender of a teacher affects their career and work. Women’s teaching careers evolve around their domestic lives and family responsibilities.

Their double roles make their work in teaching harder and more challenging. The
first quote also affirms the observation that due to their domestic lives, women's
careers may be marked by breaks and discontinuity unlike men, who can continue.

6.2.3.2 Females have maternal traits and males have more experience,
exposure and subject expertise

An astounding 80% of teachers argued that males were more suitable to teach the
higher grades whereas females were better for the primary level grades. The
teachers mentioned females’ maternal instincts to explain their better dealing with
younger students. They added that male teachers had more authority and also more
exposure that made them better for the higher grades. The quotes below reflect
these arguments.

*Men are authoritative and students are afraid of them. With female they take it
lightly and think she’s like their sister. Females are better for smaller children.
Because a women can understand them better. She’s a mother and is at home
more, she’s more patient in dealing with them and communicates well with
them. She understands the minds of children better. But for higher classes males
are better because they deal with them strictly and can make them listen.*
(Teacher interview no.6)

*I think a female teaches properly. Men don’t have the patience and the stamina
to handle students. I think males do handle boys much better but that’s not the
case for girls. I am a primary school teacher so I will speak for my level. Women
are much better. In another section of my class a male teacher is teaching and I
have seen such a big difference. They do a superficial job, they don’t check if the
child has understood or not. They just finish the lesson and think it’s over. Their
handwriting is horrible. Males are careless in everything.* (Teacher interview
no.9)

*It’s a God given thing, females are soft and understanding. Males are stricter.
Male teachers are very good because of their experience and exposure. I have
studied from male teachers myself. I couldn’t study well from female teachers
and I didn’t have any fear from them. Males are authoritative and so I studied
well with them. For higher classes you need to have males.* (Teacher interview
no.38)
**Males are strict so students study better with them, they are more afraid of them. They respect male teachers more. Females less respected. Males are free. Females are constrained. Also after marriage the in-laws object to working so many have to leave teaching and work because of that. Females face security issues and sometimes don’t get support or permission from their families.** (Teacher interview no.4)

*Men have more exposure and they are free, so obviously that shows in their work. They also have more experience as they teach in different schools. Girls who are now in teaching have a very limited exposure.* (Teacher interview no.28)

**Male teachers are able to teach better. They handle boys properly since males have more authority. Sir teaches here as well and when he teaches them it’s different. He has more exposure and experience and his teaching method is very good.** (Teacher interview no.43)

*Female teachers who come here to our school are untrained and they come from the village. They do not have enough exposure and do not how to teach a child. If we get a male teacher its different, they have studied in schools, colleges and some have even studied in the universities and they have seen the educational atmosphere and they try to bring that atmosphere over here. So males because of their exposure can run this system in a better manner.*

(Principal no.1)

These quotes highlight some different views on the work of male and female teachers. The quotes also reflect some stereotypical views and social perceptions about male and female teachers in the Pakistani context. Existing literature shows that teaching has been often associated with women’s maternal traits (Drudy, Martin, Woods, and O’ Flynn, 2005); it is argued that there is a natural link between mothering and teaching (Pinnegar, Dulude, Bigham, and Dulude, 2005), that there are certain characteristics common to mothers and teachers and that these traits are helpful in handling children (Stokes, 1997)

*Around 45% of teachers and 65% of principals stated that Male teachers were preferred in certain subjects such as Maths.*
There is a difference. I think male teachers are more confident in certain subjects such as Math and I think they handle 9th and 10th much better. At that level boys and girls are mature and they are afraid of the male teacher and listen to him unlike female teachers whom they take lightly. I mean if females are qualified then they can handle higher classes too. But that’s less. (Teacher interview no.29)

There are certain subjects that are taught well by males such as Maths. Its considered hard for females to teach those I guess. Male teachers are working in better conditions and are more confident than female teachers. Females hesitate when dealing with heads and other teachers. (Teacher interview no 45)

Male teachers are more qualified and better at teaching certain subjects such as Maths and Science. They are also better at controlling kids because they are strict and authoritative. (Principal interview no.2)

Around 30% of teachers thought that female teachers were better in terms of their work and their rapport with children.

Female teachers teach young students like they would teach their own child with love and understanding. Male teachers are like the father strict and a bit short-tempered. So male teachers have a very limited interaction with the student as compared to the female teachers, who manages them very well and are familiar with the child. So females are better as teachers. In higher classes males control students well. Some female teachers can do so at the higher level too if they understand the psychology of the child. (Teacher interview no. 27)

Interestingly, in two interviews, teachers spoke about male teachers having more opportunities to receive training, due to the increased mobility by virtue of their gender.

In this school males get more training as compared to females. Now there is a practical issue with that. We raised this issue with the management because females need training as well. They said it’s a logistical issue because when we hold training sessions at other locations males can get there but females cannot. Males don’t need permission from their families unlike females (Teacher interview no.23)
These quotes suggest that male teachers seem to enjoy a better work environment in LFPSs, as few of them want to work in this field. Teaching is not very attractive for men and in order to retain them, especially for higher classes and subjects like Maths, LFPSs pay them a higher salary than females. The position of men in the society as whole reflects how they are treated in LFPSs as workers. Men do not face issues of mobility and are therefore able to attend training sessions when they are offered in remote locations and don’t always have to rely on their families for such decisions, unlike females.

6.2.3.3 Differences in Salary

A key difference highlighted by the participants between the two genders was in terms of the salary they received. 65% of teachers and 60% of principals interviewed reported that male teachers get and demand more salary for doing the same job.

Female teachers are more responsible as compared to males. Male teachers take things lightly and not very focused. But they end up taking more salary. Maybe they are better in some subjects such as Maths. (Teacher Interview no.32)

Male teachers demand more salary compared to females and so maybe that’s why in our school and other LFPS there are very few male teachers, because these schools pay them less. (Teacher interview no.38)

Yes males are paid more and females are paid less. It is very hard to find male teachers because of the low salaries we can afford to give them. (Principal interview no.2)

A lot of males don’t want to come into teaching because of salaries. For the same job that a female is doing they demand a much higher salary, and principals and owners don’t want to pay that. (Teacher interview no.16)
These quotes along with the others presented earlier give us a sense of the gender dynamics in LFPSs. Literature shows that gender inequalities in education are multidimensional (Unterhalter, 2012). While gender is mostly invoked when discussing enrollment rates and learner characteristics, it is equally important to bring it up with regards to teachers, without whom education goals cannot be met. Much gender inequality is associated with informal and formal school spaces, private relations within families and public inequalities in the labour market or particular institutions (Unterhalter, 2012). The sexual division of labour and gendered production and reproduction leads to the sex-typing and gendering of work; “making things and making things happen, is masculine; caring for people, especially reproducing the next generation, is feminine” (Brush, 1999,p. 161). The cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity play an important part in gender-based occupational segregation (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990). The association of masculine and feminine traits with particular occupations label them as women's or men's work, with occupations associated with masculine traits accorded higher value compared to occupations associated with feminine traits (Khan, 2014).

Treiman and Hartmann (1981) were among the first to demonstrate that the percentage of an occupation that was female was negatively associated with wages earned in that occupation. Phillips and Taylor (1980) drew on empirical evidence to suggest that definitions of skill in the workplace were often based on the identity of
the person carrying out the jobs rather than on the technical demands of the job: women’s work was typically designated as “inferior”, not because their labour was regarded as inferior but because they were regarded as inferior bearers of labour (Kabeer, 2012, p.13). Apple (1987), in his work on teachers in the US, has strongly stressed that teacher’s salaries have little to do with supposed easiness of the job, but are closely related to gender. He notes that historically in the US as providing compulsory education to all children became an increasingly expensive endeavor to school districts, due to population growth, hiring women for teaching positions was seen as one way to control those costs, as women were employed for one half or one third of the salaries that men were paid for the same work (Apple, 1987, as cited in Viruru, 2015). That situation has interesting parallels with the conditions for teachers in the Pakistani context, where the private and low fee private schools, are increasingly hiring women to control the costs.

The findings from my study show that female teachers in LFPSs are paid lower wages and are increasingly being hired in private schools due to their gender. Teaching, especially at the primary level, is considered a woman’s job, as it is associated with maternal and feminine traits. This correlates with Apple’s (1987) argument that the field of teaching as we know it today is based on deeply rooted stereotypes of what women are like. Along with being closely tied to domesticity as well as good preparation for motherhood, the idea of teaching as some kind of transient occupation was also a way of keeping wages low (Apple, 1987). In later
years, and now applicable to the context of LFPSs in Pakistan, the stereotype of women as naturally suited for domestic life has expanded to include the idea that women are good at obeying rules, especially when enforced by male administrators (Viruru, 2015). Women in LFPSs face much different working conditions, management attitudes and salary as compared to male teachers. While male teachers seem to be in a position of strength due to their experience, exposure and bargaining positions, female teachers are weak and can be suppressed due to the lack of opportunities they face in the larger labour market.

The hierarchy of power and leadership in LFPSs is also bended in favor of males, who predominantly occupy positions of principals and school owners. As Kabeer (2012, p.13) notes, gender-related constraints, both intrinsic and imposed, thus underpin many of the gender inequalities we observe in relation to labour market processes and outcomes, including persistence in the gender segregation of jobs. When looking at the case of LFPSs teachers in Punjab, Pakistan, gender is an important factor that determines the status, working conditions and career of female teachers.

6.3 Labour market conditions for female teachers in LFPSs

In this section, I connect the broader labour market conditions and trends for women’s labour participation in Pakistan to the working reality of female teachers in LFPSs. A look at some of the social, cultural, economic and political variables that affect women’s work and labour force participation in Pakistan precedes a thorough
analysis of the choices and constraints that are available to female teachers in LFPSs. This section, along with evidence presented in Chapter 5, show that the exploitative conditions of work for female teachers in LFPSs can be well understood in a larger environment that restricts, devalues and undermines women's paid and unpaid labour.

6.3.1 Teachers’ work, the labour market and job opportunities for women in Pakistan

In order to fully understand the choices and opportunities for work available to female teachers in LFPSs, it is important to briefly look at the labour market for women in Pakistan. Some of the key determinants of female labour participation include religious, cultural and social norms, access to education, income level and institutions (ILO, 2010, p.16). A society's treatment of its women has a significant effect on the kind of resources they have access to and the employment opportunities that are available for women. In Pakistan there are marked differences between men and women in terms of literacy rates, school enrolment ratios and other indicators of education. There is a 30 percent gap in male-female primary school enrolment (Mumtaz, 2005, p.66). While there is a very high dropout rate, the majority of those who dropout of schools are girls.

Women in Pakistan are half of the population, yet they constitute only one-fourth of the total labour-force (Sarwar and Abbasi, 2013). Pakistani women lack social value and status because of the invisibility of their roles as producers and household
providers and this becomes apparent in statistics such as those relating to female participation in the formal labour force and in electoral politics. Women’s participation in the labour force in Pakistan is one of the lowest in the world and their labour within the economy is characterized by being largely unseen and unaccounted for in national statistics and indicators (Haider, The News, 4th March 2007). Pakistan still has the lowest Female Labour Force Participation rate compared to developed countries and other South Asian economies (World Bank, 2012). According to the data provided by the Population Association of Pakistan, in 2000 there were 6.22 million women in the labour force as against 33.2 million men (Haider, The News, 4th March 2007).

The Pakistani National report for Beijing+10, (which was a follow up to The Beijing Platform of Action for Equality, Development and Peace adopted in 1995 at the Fourth UN World Conference on Women), prepared by the Ministry of Women’s Development in 2005, stated that Pakistani women are deprived in terms of their income generation capacity, ownership of land and productive assets, access to labour market, economic options, social services and security (Inderyas Dawn, 22nd May 2007). Even though more women are opting for higher education, this does not guarantee their entry into the mainstream labour market, and their participation at all levels of education remains low (Sarwar and Abbasi, 2013). Apple’s (1986, p. 184) argument that

“ in every occupational category, women are more apt to be proletarianized than men due to sexist practices of recruitment and promotion, the general tendency to care less about the working conditions of women’s labour, and the way capital has historically colonized patriarchal relations”,
all hold true for the Pakistani context, especially in education. It is also interesting to note that the increase in women's participation has mostly been in the precarious informal sector. The plethora of problems faced by working women is a strong barrier towards women’s employment. They have to face daunting challenges such as limited job options, discrimination in wages, bonded labour, lack of social security, medical insurance, old age benefits along with a hostile working environment and a double burden of labour at work and at home (Sarwar and Abbasi, 2013).

6.3.2 Culture, social environment and women’s work

A large number of testimonies by teachers and principals focused on the presence of cultural and social factors that affect a woman's decision to work, choice of occupation and career trajectory. Despite the rise in the number of female teachers who work in LFPSs, women in general still have to face a tough social environment that restricts their participation in the labour market. Some of these concerns are also due to security issues that women face when travelling alone. The quotes from both principals and teachers illustrate some of these concerns.

This has to do with the society if our society is educated and aware they promote the females equally as males but over here the thinking is that why do we need to educate the girl she does not have to work or support a household. Lets say from my house someone comes lets say my sister who is teaching and then people in the village talk all around that why is the girl going to work? Why are you eating from the money earned by the girl? So this sort of backward thinking is still prevalent in the villages and larger society. This is the main reason behind this.
Many females come to teach and some give up because of these personal reasons. (Principal interview no.1)

There is a demand for teachers especially female teachers. But parents in rural areas are still not very willing to send their daughters to work and earn. In urban areas it's all open and easy and allowed. Here in the village I have to go to their houses to convince them to let their daughters teach at our school. Hiring female teachers is still a big issue here. (Principal interview no.2)

In our society we don’t really think about professions so much. I didn’t really choose teaching. There are other professions but our parents still hesitate. So teaching is still one of the acceptable professions for women. Girls depend on family for such decisions. We are not completely free. (Teacher interview no.28)

I have to uphold my parents honour when I come to work. As a female I and my parents have to trust the management to come here to school. There was a teacher who use to teach in our school before. The she moved and use to teach in this school that was constructed and managed by foreigners. She didn’t reach home one day, someone shot her. There is a security issue for us, for women to travel. So incidents like these scare our families in rural and far flung areas. (Teacher interview no.3)

After marriage I have to see if my in-laws allow me to teach. Other people don’t really see teachers as being that great. Many people still hesitate to allow their daughters to go out and work, they think that the environment is not that good. (Teacher interview no.21)

Along with the findings from chapter 5, these quotes affirm the argument that in Pakistan, culture and tradition play an important role in the choice of profession, particularly for women (Ali, 2000). The sexual division of public and private space has a significant impact on women’s lives. Gazdar (2003) argues that the social division of spaces is gendered, the place for males is in the public domain and females belong to the private sphere. This division of spaces in society has a contradictory impact (Khan, 2014). On the one hand, this discourages women’s work outside the home and their productive role in society. On the other hand, there is always a demand of women in particular occupations like teaching and medicine
to maintain the segregation in the society (Ali, 2000). To participate in the labour market, women have to venture out into the non-familial or public domain and they have to seek permission of their family (Khan, 2014).

The quotes, especially the second one, show that in many cases women are not the ones who make decisions about their employment, as in a typical Pakistani household; males (fathers, brothers, husbands) are the decision makers (Sarwar and Abbasi, 2013). In the case of unmarried women, it is mainly the father who grants permission, but for the married women the husband or his family give approval (Gazdar, 2003). Women’s employment or career has not been a primary concern; rather marriage, family, and motherhood have more power in determining women’s lives (Ali, 2000). The choice of career for women is a family decision and women have to seek social acceptance (Khan, 2014).

In Pakistan the factors affecting Female Labour Force Participation are related to women’s socio-economic status, their husbands’ level of education and the observance of purdah (segregation) (Janjua, *Daily Times*, 14th July 2014). These are indicative traits of a patriarchal society and significantly influence women’s participation in the labour force. This was also reflected in chapter 5 in the interview responses of teachers and principals, who revealed that cultural norms, restricted mobility, unpaid domestic labour and the conditions of the larger labour market have a strong bearing on women’s decision to teach in LFPSs.
6.3.3 Acceptability of teaching due to limited interaction with males

Existing studies and research show that the cultural and religious implication of purdah (veil), segregation of sexes and restricted outdoor activities confine women to limited job options (Sarwar and Abbasi, 2013). Due to this, it is common to find women employed in gender-segregated workplaces (such as female schools, female colleges and certain female banks) and women oriented jobs (such as midwives, nurses, domestic workers, beauticians). The association of teaching with feminine characteristics makes it a suitable occupation for women in Pakistan and it is easier for women to get permission to work from families if they choose to work in segregated occupations (Khan, 2014). The participants in my study, both principals and teachers, corroborated this by arguing that it is due to the social acceptability of teaching as a segregated profession that makes women take up teaching in LFPSs.

6.3.4 Preference for teaching as can be managed with unpaid domestic work and studies

The fact that women’s choices of employment are limited due to their existing burden of domestic work was also brought up by the female teachers during interviews and focus group discussions. The quotes below show some of the views of teachers on how their domestic lives affect their work and choice of occupation.

*Teaching suits me in my case because if I was a beautician I would have to spend longer at work. I’d get more pay and transport and other perks but the problem is I have kids. So I want to finish work by 2 pm so I can go home and look after*
them and do my domestic chores. Due to my domestic responsibilities I have to stick to teaching for now. (Teacher interview no. 25)

I used to teach before marriage. Then I had to stop because I had young kids. Now my children go to school so I have time in the mornings to come and work here. So it’s a job that I can manage with family responsibilities. (Teacher interview no.24)

Teaching is ok for the time being because I am privately studying for my B.A. With my studies I cannot do an office job that can be very demanding as they have longer working hours. (Teacher interview no.14)

These quotes explain that family commitments and the domestic lives of Pakistani women often affect their work outside their homes and teaching is sometimes considered more acceptable due to its shorter working hours compared to other office jobs. This has parallels with studies done in US that show that

“teaching is supposedly a good career for a mother because it allows her to: 1) be home after-school with her children, 2) be off work during her children’s school vacations, 3) and move in and out of the profession with minimal negative consequences to income, status and skill (Lortie, 1975)” (as cited in Bartlett, 2002, p.2). As Bartlett (2002, p.2) argues, teaching in this scenario permits women to balance work and family.

In Pakistan, men do not participate in domestic activities, whereas women, even if they are doing a job have dual responsibility (Sarwar and Abbasi, 2013). Such a social trend limits women’s choices in terms of jobs and occupations. Teaching in Pakistan provides an opportunity for women to maintain a balance between work and domestic responsibilities and is the main factor pulling women towards teaching (Khan, 2014). For about 45% of teachers in my study, a reason for choosing to teach was their ability to do it with their domestic work and family responsibilities. This affirms an earlier study of teachers in Pakistan, which highlighted the compatibility of teaching with their household responsibilities as
one of the important factors influencing their entry into the profession (Khan, 2014). Professions that required them to spend longer hours at work premises were not deemed suitable, as they had to look after their own children and do chores. In addition to their domestic responsibilities, the last quote shows that for some younger teachers who are still studying for grade 12 and their Bachelors privately, teaching is also suited to their schedule.

6.3.5 Labour market for female teachers

Despite the slow increase in women’s participation in the labour market, as noted in the last section, women’s activity in the education sector has increased dramatically in Pakistan since 2001. In 1999, 38% of schoolteachers were women, whereas in 2002 the ratio increased to 50% and since then it has been increasing each year (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2010). The change goes hand-in-hand with the introduction of Education Sector Reforms by the government of Pakistan in 2001 and subsequent expansion of the public and private education sectors (Khan, 2014). These reforms promoted public-private partnerships and private investment in the education sector. Consequently, there was an increase in the number of schools, colleges and universities, which raised the demand for teachers. Participants (60% of teachers) in my study also noted an increase in girls acquiring education, especially grade 12 and Bachelors (B.As), which resulted them in seeking employment as teachers in LFPSs. The quotes below show them commenting on this.
Compared to before things have changed and more people are sending their daughters to work. With the mushrooming of private schools more female teachers are in demand. So teaching is a profession that many women are adopting. (Teacher interview 22)

When I first started teaching more than a decade ago female teachers were less. At that time there were many male teachers with us and a couple of female teachers. Before it was also hard to get permission from your family to go teach in schools. Now things are very different and more open and there are more facilities for women. (Teacher interview no.24)

These quotes affirm the observation that the increased supply of female teachers in LFPSs has been through the rise in the number of girls who are attending secondary schools in villages and urban areas. Andrabi and colleagues (2011) argue that it is because of the availability of females who have studied in government secondary schools, that private schools are able to spring up in villages where they provide cheap labour.

In addition, rising inflation levels and the deteriorating economic situation in Pakistan means it has been difficult to uphold the traditional gendered public and private divide, and as a result women’s participation in the labour market has increased (Khan, 2014). In the Pakistani labour market, occupations are classified as either “women’s work” or “men’s work” based on traditional cultural beliefs around masculinity and femininity. As the last section shows, perception prevails in society that not all jobs are appropriate for women because of physical strength and cultural norms; there are limited occupational options for women due to inherent gender bias and social constraints (Sadaquat and Sheikh, 2011). As Bolton and Mozio (2008, p. 291) have argued:
“Teaching has historically been numerically dominated by women and its ethos of vocationalism, dedication and nurturance delineates it as ‘women’s work’, drawing on the stereotypical notion of the ‘caring’ female”.

Similarly, in Pakistan, teaching is increasingly being perceived as a woman’s job (Khan, 2014).

6.3.5.1 Private, government and low-fee private schools

While it is noted that women’s employment related activity has increased in the education sector in Pakistan over the past few decades, it is important to note the differences between female employment in government and private sector schools. In stark contradiction to the public sector, where females are only 36% of the teaching staff, women staff the majority of private schools in Pakistan, and in some regions (Punjab for instance), they represent more than 70% of the instructional staff (Andrabi, Das and Khawaja, 2002, p.27). Studies have noted that the private and low fee private school teaching force is dominated by women (Alif Ailaan, 2014; Andrabi et.al, 2008).

There may be multiple reasons for more women flocking into LFPSs teaching. Chapter 5 highlighted the ambition of many teachers in LFPSs to enter government schools in order to make a career out of their teaching job. However, participants argued that for female participants, getting a government teaching position was difficult due to the entrance requirements, higher qualifications and large number of applicants. Many also stated that one needed connections and bribery to get into the government sector. Given the testimonies of teachers in the last chapter, it is fair to
say that for girls with fewer qualifications and restricted mobility, teaching in LFPSs is most viable. The quotes from principals below reflect on the labour market for female teachers in LFPSs and the availability of female teachers.

*We have to tolerate weak teachers who don’t work much. There is always a shortage when it comes to teachers. Teachers in general are not available if you look at the labour market of teachers. The good ones will go to the elite private, the qualified ones who have some resources get into the government. Those who don’t fit in those two sectors come to us (LFPS).* (Principal interview no.27)

*I can easily hire teachers as a lot of females are ready to teach. In villages there is nothing else that you can do with your education except teaching. It is hard to get into government schools so their best option is LFPS.* (Principal no.21)

*I think it’s a trend in this area to have female teachers and I think they are readily available too. Another main reason is that a lower salary is given to females and because of this, males are not willing to work in schools. Those men who come to work are often jobless and/or do it to supplement their income temporarily.* (Principal no.23)

These quotes highlight a paradoxical situation with regards to the availability of teachers according to the principals of LFPSs. On one hand, they argue that female teachers are easily available to teach. But on the other hand, there is a shortage of qualified, trained teachers who normally go to teach in government schools or elite private schools. This shows that there is segmentation within the teaching labour market, something this is discussed in more detail in the sections below.
6.3.5.2 Is teaching in LFPSs considered as part-time work or a semi-profession?

While the working hours of a teacher were one of the factors that made them choose teaching, some school owners and principals (45% of them) termed it as constituting part-time work. They used this argument to justify the low salary that is given to female teachers in LFPSs. The quotes from principals below illustrate this argument.

*We mostly hire young girls as teachers because they accept to take this salary. You need to understand that it’s a convenient job for them where they spend less hours as compared to other jobs such as banks and sales. Teaching is something they can manage with their housework.* (Principal interview no.6)

*You can’t fuss too much about salary of teachers in LFPSs because the timings are suitable for women, unlike other jobs where they need to spend more hours working for higher salaries.* (Principal interview no.25)

These quotes show attempts by principals to minimize the role that teachers play as workers in an important field. These quotes try to justify paying a low salary to female teachers by arguing that the timing of work are shorter in school compared to other professions and occupations, that are then considered real, full time jobs. This echoes other studies (Biklen, 1983; Walsh, 1995; Griffin, 1997) in the context of US, where it was argued that some social scientists classify teaching, a largely female occupation, as a semi-profession. The semi-professions are occupations which sociologists have chosen to define as meeting some of the criteria of professions, but not others. Etzioni (1969, p.5) notes that: “Their training is shorter, their status is less legitimated, their right to privileged communication less established, ‘there is less of a specialized body of knowledge, and they have less autonomy, from
supervision or societal control than "the" professions." Bolton and Muzio (2008) argue that gender may be an important factor behind teaching's failure to accomplish full professionalization; thus contributing to the lesser material rewards and social standing enjoyed by this occupational group.

Similarly as mentioned in Chapter 2, the survey done by the Pakistani NGO, ITA (2013) also showed that teaching in general was considered a semi-profession. However, teachers themselves, in interviews and focus groups, opposed this thinking. A significant 60% of teachers argued that they had a heavy workload, often more than other professions.

> People think that the work of the teacher ends when she leaves school. That is not true and far from reality. I take home a lot of checking assignments. The course changes are another headache. So I have to use my time to study for the things I don’t know. In a bank job you don’t bring work that you have to do at home, outside the working hours. (Teacher interview no.29)

> A lot of teachers make extra effort to get better. In these schools there is no training, no professional development. So it depends also on what initiatives a teacher takes herself. For instance I was having trouble with Geometry and Maths. I studied from my husband at home and also another male teacher here to learn it so I could teach it properly. A lot of the work we teachers do spans outside the work hours we are paid for. (Teacher interview no.26)

These quotes emphasise that women teachers work hard to teach and that work usually extends after class ends and official school timing. The argument by teachers that they often have to take work home for checking assignments and preparing for class, is completely ignored by the statements of principals presented above. Contrary to the argument of principals, a teacher’s work is not done within the shorter school hours but extend much longer into their daily lives, often at home. These quotes also demonstrate the commitment of teachers in some LFPSs. Despite
their domestic burdens and lack of training, teachers are devoting time and effort to prepare for teaching at home and in school.

This has parallels with teachers lives studied in the US, as Biklen (1983) reported that many teachers in her study believed that sacrificing personal time was the only way they could fulfil their ideals of teaching. Similarly, Bartlett (2002) found in her study that teachers frequently take work home with them but that the longer work hours do not result in higher pay or promotion. Griffin (1997) presents data from various studies done on teachers in US to show that, despite various accusations, the majority of female teachers contribute to the job and are committed to their occupations.

A similar argument was presented in an interview with an NGO official and researcher focusing on the Pakistani context. A quote that captures the argument well, from the interview, is presented below to show the larger thinking about a teacher’s work, specifically in LFPSs.

*In Lahore a maid or a driver earns around 10,000 Rupees. The teachers in LFPSs are paid a lot less than this. And I think the argument there is that it’s a part time job. If you are considering teaching a part-time job, saying that teacher will not do any checking, no reading up etc. after school then you are wrong. Then you are locking the whole system into this very low trajectory. Because this is what you are going to get when you are paying this salary. So why should you expect more from the teacher? Why do you ask for lesson plans, this and that. Then don’t expect any of that. They will come in at 7:30 and leave at 1:30 and they are done for the day. So you settle for that kind of input. But obviously that’s not what good teaching is about. This is particularly important in the case of PEF, because you are using public money to support LFP schools that pay their teachers less than the minimum wage. It’s your government that has a minimum wage of...*
In many cases Low Fee Private schools are not even paying a third of that. (Interview NGO official)

The quote illustrates a number of key issues surrounding the work, pay, and the perception of teachers’ work in the Pakistani context. The quote affirms a number of observations made in Chapter 5 about the teaching occupation for women in LFPSs. It shows that teachers are not paid a decent salary, which is less than what maids and servants demand these days. Teachers in LFPSs are paid a third of the minimum wage set for workers in waged employment in Pakistan. Often a reason given for this is that teaching is part-time work for women, which the respondent thinks is absurd since teachers devote time to their school tasks after school. The respondent further argues that when you set such low expectations on teachers work, you cannot ask for quality work and motivation.

6.3.6 Understanding Teachers’ choices in the Pakistani labour market for women

When it comes to the employment of women, there is often a discussion about the choices that exist for them in the labour market. Teachers’ quotes show that the choice to teach in a LFPS is conditioned by a number of factors, and in this section I revisit the issue of choice in light of the larger social context and the labour market for women in Pakistan.

As explained in the conceptual framework in Chapter 4, I utilize Kabeer’s work on choice to analyze the decision of teachers in LFPSs. Women’s decisions about work
are likely to reflect different degrees of choice and constraint, depending not only on individual and household characteristics, such as age, education, wealth, husband’s education and so on, but also according to the acceptability of work within the local culture as well as the amount and kinds of work available (Kabeer, 2012, p.23). In both interviews and focus group discussions it became apparent that women in LFPSs faced a number of constraints that often made teaching the only viable job that they could do. Poverty is a major factor driving women’s labour force participation rates in many contexts and Pakistan is no different.

In the larger Pakistani labour market, there is a segment of economically active women who are working to meet the daily survival needs of their families. The evidence in Chapter 5 shows that LFPSs teachers are usually single, but may be married women with children, with low levels of education, but above all, they are women from poorer households. The supply of labour by these women is not only least likely to reflect an active choice on their part, it is also least likely to be into forms of work that could be considered empowering (Kabeer, 2012, p.21). While household distress may have forced many women into paid work, there are also factors at play that prevent other women from working or restrict the kinds of work they do (Kabeer, 2012, p.21).

In the case of Pakistan, as the last section showed, women’s domestic unpaid responsibilities and the gender segregation in society play a role in explaining their lower rates of education and labour force participation relative to men. They may
also explain women’s concentration in LFPSs teaching that is socially acceptable, has easier entrance requirements, is compatible with discharging domestic responsibilities but carries poorer remuneration. Therefore, stress on choice and preferences as the sole explanation for women’s labour market choices needs to be problematized (Kabeer, 2012,p.21) This section shows that a choice-theoretic explanation does not fully capture the various factors that give rise to gendered patterns of labour force participation, especially in the case of LFPSs teaching.

6.3.7 LFPSs teachers and the existence of a ‘dual labour market’ in teaching

In chapter 5, a main finding has been teachers’ desire to go into the government system of teaching, despite the reputation of government teachers as being careless and lazy and not delivering results. Participants in my study have repeatedly argued that a government teaching job is attractive because of better salary benefits, training opportunities and career development. This demonstrates that the current system of education in Pakistan has different layers or tiers of teachers. It is as Toppo and Manjhi (2011, p.5) argue, like a “caste system within the teaching profession” (italics in original). In addition to gender, teachers have differences in their working conditions, salary and career due to the sector in which they are employed. Those in elite private schools are highly qualified and paid a hefty salary. Then it’s the government schoolteachers who are paid a salary and benefits. The ones who occupy the lowest tier in teaching are those in the LFPSs. The salary of the
LFPS teachers, recruitment procedure and service conditions are entirely different from regular government teachers and those who are in elite private schools.

Following the conceptual framework laid out in Chapter 4, teaching in Pakistan can be explained well through the dual labour market model used in the sociology of labour markets literature (Robinson, 1982, p.181). Within the teaching labour market in Pakistan, there are two sectors, a first sector of permanent, trained staff employed in public and elite private schools, and second sector of less trained and qualified staff on temporary short-term contracts in some public and low cost private schools. This study shows that it is predominantly young, single, untrained and inexperienced women who constitute the second sector of the labour market in teaching in Pakistan.

*Teacher 1: Very few girls are coming into teaching now. Those come into teaching who don't get a job elsewhere and are needy. Those who have a Masters apply for government jobs or big expensive private schools. People have left teaching and gone into other professions because of salaries. This is happening a lot in small private schools. Teachers are quick to leave teaching altogether because this is not where the money is.*

*Teacher 2: The only teachers who are making it a profession are government schoolteachers who are paid properly and those in private schools for elite. Government is also serious about the qualification and training of teachers. So within teaching that is the place where serious teachers who want to stay within the profession will go, those in small LFP schools are considered to be those who have nothing to do and come for a pocket money.* (Focus group no.5)

*LFPSs teachers do have a lot to deal with and given such a low salary. A lot of them have domestic issues that they can't solve and so they come to school to work and earn a living. They don't really know how to teach and so they can't guide students properly. For highly qualified teachers it's not an issue but they will not come to work in LFPSs. Salary is a big issue in LFPSs. Government was also not paying teachers too much before but it's much better now for teachers in the public sector.* (Teacher interview no.4)
These quotes from teachers, along with testimonies presented in Chapter 5, show that those who want to make teaching a career want to get out of the second sector of LFPS teaching and into the first sector of permanent employment in public schools. The quotes here and also in chapter 5, show that teachers in the second sector of LFPSs, face an unfavourable working environment due to lack of training, a challenging work environment and low salary. The existence this dual labour market in teaching has implications for the teaching occupation in the Pakistani context as a whole. Through this system and differential treatment, the teachers in LFPSs will continue to struggle with their careers and working lives. It is such a treatment and perception of teachers work in LFPSs that play a role in reducing the image of teachers in this sector to that of a low salaried, untrained and under qualified teacher, who is not serious about teaching as a long-term occupation.

6.3.8 Question of “decent work”
Research shows that in many countries there is a clear segregation of women to sectors that are generally characterized by low pay, long hours and oftentimes informal working arrangements (ILO, 2010). As the previous section shows, in Pakistan this segregation is pronounced and has resulted in women flocking to the LFPSs sector. Beyond looking at trends in labour force participation rates, there are different indicators of the quality of employment in Pakistan, which all reveal the persistence of major decent work deficits, notably for women (ILO, 2013). In Pakistan, the share of women in vulnerable employment (self-employed workers
plus unpaid family workers) increased from 66.7 per cent in 1999-00 to 78.3 per cent in 2010-11, while the comparable rate for men declined from 62.5 per cent to 57.0 per cent during the same period (ILO, 2013, p.3). Many of these vulnerable workers are informally employed with low earnings and no protection.

A premise of this study on female teachers in LFPS in Pakistan can be summarized in the following quote from the ILO (2008, p.2):

“While one should not assume that all women want to work, it is safe to say that women want to be given the same freedom as men to choose work if they want to; and if they choose to work, they should have the same chance of finding decent jobs as men.”

In other words, all women should have the freedom to work if they want to and their choice of work should not be determined by their gender. As the previous sections of this chapter show, women’s employment as teachers in LFPSs is determined by their gender and the gendered division of labour in the Pakistani society.

In many industries and jobs, where female workers are allowed to work, they are systematically denied their rights of regular pay and regular working hours, pay at par with work effort across genders, permanent contracts, occupational safety and non-hazardous work environments, and freedom of association. Moreover, for women who are able to secure a salaried job, monthly earnings on average are three-fifths that for men (ILO, 2013, p.3). All these observations can be applied to the LFPSs sector, where women who work as teachers lack a good working environment, a minimum wage salary and social benefits and security.
Looking at the working conditions of teachers, their low remuneration and the lack of career paths, it would be fair to assert that employment as a teacher in LFPS does not come into the ambit of “decent work”. This study of teachers in LFPSs supports the earlier argument made by Carhill and Murtaza (2013) that LFPSs in Punjab exploit the labour of female teachers by paying them abysmally low salaries and that this is contrary to ILO ’s stipulation of decent work that is based on delivering fair income.

6.4 Career, working conditions, gender and labour markets:

Understanding the work of female teachers in LFPSs through the conceptual framework

Chapter 5, looking at career and working conditions of female teachers in LFPSs, supports the argument that the choice of teaching as a career, low status and salary, a lack of autonomy and control, lack of training, an environment of strict monitoring, and other problems are all part of teachers’ gendered experience (Griffin 1997). This section briefly shows the interrelation of teachers’ careers and working conditions to the gendered labour market conditions for women in Pakistan, as illustrated in the conceptual framework in chapter 4.

This chapter highlights the importance of carrying a gender analysis of teaching in LFPSs within the context of labour market and social conditions. It demonstrates that LFPSs in Punjab reflect the patriarchal structure in decision-making positions and positions of power in schools, giving female teachers little voice. Gender
inequalities in the larger Pakistani labour market are reflected into the segregation of women in teaching and can often result in violation of female teacher's rights as workers. Their treatment as semi-professional and part timers is used to justify the abysmally low salaries paid to them and points to the larger discourse that downplays their work due to their gender and the connections between female teaching and domesticity.

This chapter stresses the importance of disentangling choice and constraint in attempting to explain gendered patterns of labour force participation in teaching in LFPSs. Evidence suggests that while there may be a gendered pattern to labour market behaviour, we cannot make generalizations about why women work and the factors determining the kind of work they do (Kabeer, 2012, p.23). The findings from interviews with teachers and principals in chapter 5 are supplemented by the argument of this chapter, that shows that women's work in LFPSs teaching takes place in a social, economic and political environment that constrains women’s labour force participation. Social and cultural norms dictating segregation of women in certain professions, along with the burden of unpaid domestic labour, act as push factors for women to choose LFPSs teaching.

As more girls and women acquire education and start working as teachers in schools, there is an understanding that a shift is taking place in terms of women’s labour market participation. The change in the Pakistani labour market with regards to women's labour can be summarized well in the following quote:

    Liberalizing reforms... and changes in the labour market may have created
new opportunities for women, but have often done so through diminishing existing social rights and marginalising the institutions that might otherwise seek to protect workers’ rights, creating ever more fragile and precarious working conditions for working women (Cornwall, 2015, p.8).

While the creation of LFPSs has increased the employment of young women in rural and urban areas (something applauded by Andrabi, Das and Khawaja, 2008), it has made jobs more insecure, with poor working conditions and with damaging consequences for the status of teachers in the country. LFPSs owners and principals have capitalised on the constraints and limitations that educated women face, especially in rural areas, by paying them very low salaries. In the absence of job contracts, a minimum wage and benefits, employment in LFPSs constitutes as informal labour for women. Its informal nature is also evident in the lack of entrance requirements for teachers in LFPSs in terms of qualifications and experience. Hiring mostly takes place through social networks and contacts. While this makes it easier to get a job in LFPSs compared to the formal system of government teaching, it also means that women are in a vulnerable position. As Cornwall (2015, p.8) argues, “the informalization of labour may have permitted more women to enter the labour market, but it also leaves them vulnerable to the vagaries of the market - and to exploitation”.

The work of female teachers in LFPSs has parallels to some other jobs where the preference was for female labor because they made less trouble (Kabeer, 2000) or because they could be paid less on the grounds that they were secondary earners or merely earning pin money (“working for lipstick”) (Joekes, 1985, as cited in Kabeer, 2012). The quotes from interviews with both principals and teachers show that
these factors are very much present in the preference to hire females in LFPSs. The salary of female teachers is termed as “pocket money” for single girls, who have no other employment options due to the restrictions on their mobility.

The precarious nature and dismal conditions of employment in LFPSs for female teachers, provoke us to ask important questions about gender and women’s empowerment. This becomes even more pressing as those funding LFPSs in Punjab often have women’s empowerment as a goal of their programs. The Department for International Development (DFID) that funded LFPSs in Punjab includes in its policies: “We want to see girls and women, who so often hold the key to development, becoming empowered members of their communities. We will work to strengthen women’s voice and engagement in decision-making” (DFID Business Plan 2011-15 Vision Statement). DFID has also signed up to ILO’s Decent Work programme. ILO’s website states that:

“ILO’s website states that:

“Decent work involves opportunities for work that is productive and delivers a fair income, security in the workplace and social protection for families, better prospects for personal development and social integration, freedom for people to express their concerns, organize and participate in the decisions that affect their lives and equality of opportunity and treatment for all.” (ILO, 2017).”

This definition of decent work promotes the creation of high quality jobs, fair income, stable positions, benefits and structures, regulations and practices that are in place to support individuals in pursuing them. In addition, this vision of decent work also requires thinking about the opportunities for training, learning and advancement that are available to workers. All aspects of decent work involve the

creation of work environment and cultures where people are able to express their concerns, participate equally and feel included in the workplace. From this perspective decent work can only thrive in a context of equity, freedom, and human dignity.

My study of teachers in LFPSs shows that their employment is far from empowering and curtails women from being active decision-makers in schools. Most schools are run by male principals in a very autocratic manner. From setting the syllabus to dealing with parents, principals dictate everything in LFPSs and teachers have no input. This has interesting parallels with Apple’s (1986) argument on the controlling and intensification of female teachers’ work. In some instances, it can be seen that the teachers are not much different from the students, something reported by Walsh (1995) in his study of teachers in a US school district. By paying teachers a salary below minimum wage, LFPSs are exploiting women’s labour. In many schools, the lack of academic resources and training, and the psychological stress to deliver and teach multiple grades in a small space, combine to make the work of a teacher difficult. The lack of permanent job contracts and social benefits make women vulnerable and violate their rights for “decent work.”

The treatment and working conditions of female teachers have long-term consequences as they can possibly affect the future of educational opportunities and profession for young girls and women. Where education does not, or is not seen to, increase opportunities for girls, the rationale for sending girls to school is significantly undermined (Wilson, 2004, p.16). In Egypt, a study has shown that, in
at least 50% of cases reviewed, the decision not to send girls to school was heavily influenced by the view that education does not guarantee employment. This perception seems to coincide with economic studies showing that the employment market can actually *punish* the education of girls. UNIFEM has concluded that women’s average wages are less than those of men in all countries where data is available (UNIFEM, 2000, p. 92). There is nothing in custom or law that requires girls to be given less education than boys, but if women face poorer job prospects in the labor market relative to men, it is understandable that parents will invest more resources in their sons’ health and education than their daughters’ particularly among poorer households with severe resource constraints (Kabeer, 2012, p.14).

Feedback mechanisms thus reinforce and perpetuate gender inequality over time (Kabeer, 2012, p.14). These attitudes could impact on children in terms of opportunities and aspirations through an adverse socialization, particularly as once having transitioned to secondary school, children see fewer women in what are perceived to be masculine subjects such as the natural sciences and maths, and in managerial positions (Cortina and San Roman, 2006). The prevalence of a male dominated managerial structure would only compound the view that men are better suited to upper levels within employment and authority (Page and Jha, 2009). Such patterns of socialization place the school under review as part of the wider quest to understand persisting gender inequalities that disfavour women in employment and later life (UNESCO, 2011b, p.23). Low paid women teachers provide a negative role
model for girl students and their parents. This is ironic in the case of LFPSs and PPPs that have women’s empowerment as one of their goals and outcomes. If the kind of insecure employment provided to female teachers in LFPSs continues, it might negatively affect the decision to send more girls to school and their possibility of joining the teaching profession in a country like Pakistan.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have answered a main research question of this study: How can the work of female teachers in LFPSs be understood with regards to the occupational labour market for teachers in Punjab? By using the findings from chapter 5 on teachers’ career trajectory and working conditions in LFPSs, I have looked at gender and labour market conditions that affect teachers’ working lives. Through using existing literature and the testimonies of teachers in LFPSs, I have shown that Pakistani women face a myriad of constraints that have a bearing on their decision to work and their working lives as teachers.

Some key findings emerge from the analysis of data in this chapter and aid in understanding and elaborating on some of the arguments made in chapter 5 regarding the work of female teachers in LFPSs. While LFPSs have a workforce largely composed of female teachers, the working environments and treatment of teachers are far from promoting gender equality. A gender analysis of LFPSs shows that a patriarchal relationship of power around male principals in their relation to
female teachers affects the work and careers of women. Working under mostly male principals and school owners, female teachers hardly have any participation in decision-making both at the class and school level. By virtue of their gender, female teachers are paid lower salaries, face a different attitude from management, tend to be more pressurized, and are mostly restricted to teaching primary level grades, as compared to males in LFPSs. These differences reflect the gender division of labour in the larger Pakistani society.

Looking at the labour market conditions, teacher and principals’ testimonies show that LFPSs capitalise on the low labour force participation of women and the increasing segregation of women into teaching in Pakistan. The lack of choice and presence of constraints, such as domestic labour and cultural norms restricting women’s mobility and work that often push women into teaching in LFPSs seems to work as an advantage for school owners and private entrepreneurs in education. Moreover, the chapter highlights the existence of a dual labour market in teaching, which functions to maintain more young women with little qualifications and training in the lower tier of teaching in LFPSs. Through this dual labour market, teachers who are serious about having some sort of a career and are able to get into the government are able to leave LFPSs for government school teaching, whereas those who are unable to acquire a B.A and get into government jobs due to other barriers, struggle with the working conditions and continue teaching without any support for training and development.
The next chapter considers the broader implications of findings regarding female teachers' work in LFPSs and presents some recommendations, before concluding the thesis.
Chapter 7: Teachers’ work in Low Fee Private Schools and its implications for teaching and policy in Punjab, Pakistan

*Education must be seen within the wider social context in which gender inequality is too often a pervasive reality permeating not only the educational sphere, but also manifesting itself as gender based violence, inequality in the workplace and within labour markets, denial of political and civil rights, and marginalization in terms of productive resources. This broader reality underscores why it is imperative to champion the transformative nature of the right to education, because without this basic orientation educational systems can perpetuate and deepen, rather than ameliorate, patterns of gender inequality.* (CEDAW, 2014, p.4)

The quotation above deals with the broader contextual factors and social realities that need to be taken into account when looking at educational systems and projects. Targeting gender within education, the statement highlights recognizing and promoting the transformative potential of education with regards to various rights. It also reflects on some of the issues of gender inequality in workplace and labour markets raised in this dissertation. In some ways, this statement echoes one of the broader arguments of this dissertation that seeks to demonstrate the gender inequality in education perpetuated by Pakistani LFPSs in their treatment of female teachers. In this final chapter I conclude the dissertation by looking at the study from a broader angle that encompasses the crux of the findings and the implications of those for teachers’ work in LFPSs and beyond. The study moves beyond the school level to the national level and perhaps a regional level where policies on
teachers are shaped, especially under the goals of Public Private Partnerships (PPPs), eagerly embraced and endorsed by governments, donors, think tanks and policy makers.

This chapter begins by revisiting the research questions of this study and presenting a summary of the findings discussed in the previous chapters. It also reflects on the overarching perspective of human rights that was mentioned in the first chapter in looking at the work of teachers in LFPSs in Punjab. The second section reconsiders the conceptual framework used in this study and reflects on its usefulness. The third section proceeds to look at the policy implications of this study and offers some recommendations based on the findings on the work and career of female teachers in Pakistan. The fourth section looks at how this research contributes to various fields including the larger literature on LFPSs and PPPs in education. The fifth section presents some directions for future research.

7.1 Revisiting research questions and findings of Study

The purpose of this dissertation was to present insight into the work and career of female teachers in LFPSs, in Punjab, Pakistan. In a context of rapid growth in the LFPSs sector, the study seeks to understand the parallel increase in the number of female teachers hired to teach in these schools, largely from the perspective of teachers themselves and principals. In order to systematically analyse the work and experiences of female teachers in LFPSs, the study poses a few questions focusing on different factors of teachers’ career trajectory, critical working conditions, gender,
and occupational labour markets. After explicating the context, conceptual framework, and methodology of the study in chapters 2, 3 and 4, the questions are addressed in chapters 5 and 6. The findings and analyses are discussed in light of the existing literature relating to the questions and issues raised in response in each of the chapters.

In chapter 5, I answered the question “How do female teachers perceive their career trajectory in LFPSs in Punjab?” and the sub questions of: “Why are women attracted to work in LFPSs? And how does it affect their long-term career path?” by examining the recruitment process, age, qualifications, and the conditions of appointment of female teachers in LFPSs. In addition, I present the testimonies of teachers about their decision to do teaching in LFPSs, their current and future plans with regards to their teaching career and how they think teaching is perceived as a profession.

Findings from my study point to how haphazard recruitment, lack of a career path and the diminishing social image and status of teachers negatively affect the work and motivation of female teachers in LFPSs in Punjab, Pakistan. The chapter profiles an average LFPS teacher as young, single, with an F.A level (grade 12) qualification and no training, usually recruited from the neighbourhood through contacts and family relations. The ease of entering teaching in LFPSs without specific recruitment criteria or qualification often impacts the attitude of the teachers who are treat it as a temporary job and not a long-term career.

Teaching in LFPSs is increasingly composed of a cheap temporary workforce of teachers that may negatively affect the quality of education provided in such
schools. The study highlights that teacher quality may be a cause of concern in LFPSs, given the credentials, low career aspirations and perceptions of teachers reported by participants. The lack of a career path and incentives have been a cause of concern and frustration for teachers in LFPSs. Many young women who have been in the profession for less than 5 years have expressed their dissatisfaction with their job as teacher and plan to leave teaching in the near future. Those who wanted to continue as teachers state that they are trying to get into the government schools due to better salary, secure employment, career development and benefits such as pensions. The majority of teachers who participated in my study, believe that the terms of recruitment and possible career prospects of teachers are much more favourable in the public sector as compared to the LFPSs.

Another key finding that emerged from my study and affirms studies in other developing contexts is that of the declining social image of teachers in society. Through the participants' responses in my study, I discovered that LFPSs negatively affect the diminishing status of teachers in Pakistan by their unfair and unequal treatment of female teachers. Teachers and principals interviewed for the study voiced their concern that, with the rise of LFPSs, the image of the teacher is now that of a low salaried unprofessional. Teachers in LFPSs do not feel like role models for their students.

In addition to the first question, chapter 5 also addressed the question: “What are some of the critical working conditions for female teachers in LFPSs?” And a sub-question of: “How do the working conditions of teachers in LFPSs affect their job
satisfaction and long-term career?” I probed deeper to get a better understanding of
the working conditions of female teachers in LFPSs that have a bearing on their
morale and affect the quality of education in these schools.

A number of important findings with regards to teacher’s work in LFPSs emerged
from the data presented in this dissertation. With regards to the physical
environment of work, teachers in this study pointed out that both teaching and
learning suffers in LFPSs due to the lack of space in poorly lit and ventilated, multi-
grade classrooms. A crucial argument that emerges from my study is that while
teachers in LFPSs themselves are willing to learn and improve their performance,
they do not have enough opportunities for in-service training in challenging areas
such as multi-grade teaching, subject specialisation, changing syllabus and dealing
with students who have very poor learning levels. In addition, teachers complained
that their lack of participation in decision-making, pressure from principals to
deliver results and the fear of being insulted or fired for mistakes all affected their
ability to work properly in such an environment. For many teachers, these
challenging conditions of teaching in LFPSs along with low parental involvement
and lack of support from school management are major causes of job dissatisfaction.

The study also shows that in addition to the working conditions, one of the
important factors affecting the work of many teachers was the low salaries that are
paid to them in LFPSs. While it was reported that for young, single and female
teachers a major reason for leaving employment in LFPSs was their inability to work
after getting married, many teachers argued that a low salary, along with the tough working conditions, often caused young educated women to move to another profession in which they are offered more salary. Low salaries in LFPSs also compelled many of the teachers to supplement their income through private, after-school tuitions. Interestingly, in all the LFPSs studied, the teachers and principals reported that a large number of students took tuitions after school. The study has made evident some factors including low salaries and a low quality work environment that are gravely affecting the work and careers of LFPSs teachers in Punjab, Pakistan.

In Chapter 6, I analyse the work and career of female teachers in LFPSs by looking at gendered labour market conditions for teachers in the Pakistani context. This study attempts to bring the work of female teachers into the larger discussion of labour market conditions and opportunities in education using the case of teachers in LFPSs in Punjab. The chapter answered the following questions: “How can the work of female teachers in LFPSs be understood with regards to the occupational labour market for teachers in Punjab? And the sub-question: “What are the teachers view about their gender and how does that affect their work and long-term career path?”

Findings show that the gender inequalities in the larger Pakistani labour market are reflected in the segregation of women in teaching and can often result in violations of female teacher’s rights as workers. The study brings to light the fact that female teachers in LFPSs are paid lower wages and are increasingly being hired in private schools due to their gender. Teaching, especially at the primary level, is considered a
women’s job, as it is associated with maternal and feminine traits. Women in LFPSs face much different working conditions, management attitudes and salary as compared to male teachers. While male teachers seem to be in a position of strength due to their experience, exposure and bargaining position, female teachers are seen as weak due to the lack of opportunities they face in the larger labour market. The hierarchy of power and leadership in LFPSs is bent in favor of males, who predominantly occupy positions of principals and school owners.

In addition, interviews with teachers and principals show that women's work in LFPSs teaching takes place in a social, economic and political environment that constrains women's labour force participation. Pakistani social and cultural norms that dictate the segregation of women in certain professions, along with the burden of unpaid domestic labour, act as push factors for women to choose LFPS teaching. LFPSs owners and principals have capitalised on the constraints and limitations that educated women face, especially in rural areas, by paying them very low salaries. In the absence of job contracts, a minimum wage and benefits, it can be observed that employment in LFPSs constitutes as informal labour for women. The precarious nature and dismal conditions of employment in LFPSs for female teachers raises some important question of labour and human rights.
7.2 Human rights as an overarching perspective in analysing work of teachers in LFPSs

In the introductory chapter of this dissertation, I acknowledged the presence of an overarching human rights perspective that is informed by some of the findings of this research on teachers in LFPSs. Due to the focus of the major research questions and the limited scope of the study, human rights was not used as an analytical framework for this study. However, human rights cannot be completely ignored in the discussion of teachers work in LFPSs and the findings of this study show the interconnectedness of gender, working conditions, labour markets and also human rights. While teachers were not directly asked about their sense of human rights in education, the issue of their rights as teachers and females surfaced in about 30% of the interviews.

As mentioned in the first chapter of this dissertation, the issue of human rights in education have tended to focus more on learners and less on the rights of teachers especially in LFPSs. Teachers’ rights can be infringed upon when they suffer harsh working conditions, are subject to physical and verbal abuse and are excluded for organizing unions (McCowan, 2012, p.6). The rights of teachers are important as they directly affect the provision of quality education. In chapter 5, teachers in LFPSs reflected on the unfavourable working conditions and the various challenges they had to endure in their work. Some also noted the stressful nature of their work environment and the fear of being insulted or fired on making mistakes. As shown in chapters 5 and 6, teachers noted a general deficit of respect in the environment of
LFPs. The lack of respect for the teaching profession in the society also translated in the attitude of head teachers and principals in LFPs. Further, teachers argued that their diminishing status impacted their relationship with their students who no longer gave them the respect that they deserve. The quotes below show that teachers are not just passive workers but have a sense of their rights and are vocal about the violation of their rights as teacher workers in these LFPs.

Both men and women are required to acquire education according to the Prophet. We have same rights but in our society it is not understood and practiced like this. For both males and females teaching is a noble profession, both need to be treated is a similar and respectful way. But in LFPS that’s not happening, they are trampling the rights of female teachers like other institutions in our society. (Teacher interview no.47)

Interestingly, while the issue of organizing and teachers’ unions didn’t come up in interviews, one teacher spoke about it in the context of government teachers’ work and employment in the public system. The quote below shows her view on the subject.

Government school teachers have a more secure employment. In the government system they also have a union for teachers who demand their rights and protest on salary related matters etc. In private there is nothing like that. It's you and the employer who can ignore your demands for more salary, because what can you do, this is what they are offering, take it or leave it. (Teacher interview, no.44)

If the rights of a LFPS teacher are violated and ignored, it can have consequences for children’s rights to a quality education. The study demonstrates that teachers’ work in LFPs is an example of a sector that suffers from a deficit of decent work and maintains the marginalized position of women in the labour market and society. LFPs, through this treatment of female teachers, are exposing more women to
precarious employment and exploiting their already vulnerable position in the economy.

As the testimonies of teachers show, employment and treatment of teachers in LFPSs have a damaging effect on the respect, status and profession of teachers in Pakistan. In a context where women tend to have less education and training, poorer access to education, and a burden of unpaid domestic labour, the employment conditions offered at LFPSs can have long-term consequences for maintaining and exacerbating gender inequality in and through teaching. The study illustrates that in order to understand the feminization of teaching in LFPSs in Pakistan, one cannot ignore the connectedness of gender, labour markets and declining working conditions, which in conjunction affect teacher's work and career.

7.3 Refining the conceptual framework

Chapter 4 of this dissertation helped to define the phenomenon of teachers' work in LFPSs in Punjab through the elaboration of the concepts of career, working conditions, feminization and gender analysis of teaching, choice, and dual labour markets in teaching. These concepts helped explicate teachers' experiences in LFPSs and pointed to the issues, which are thought to be most relevant to explaining teachers' work and careers shaped by gender and labour market conditions in Pakistan. I elected to present these interrelated areas as three circles in a Venn diagram (see Figure. 1, chapter 4). This dissertation examined how these different circles worked in conjunction to shape the work of female teachers in LFPSs.
Ball and Goodson (1985) and Acker’s (1989) work, where attention is paid to teachers’ subjective, daily experiences along with the political, economic and social features of the context in which their careers are shaped, was useful in understanding the career of LFPSs teachers in Punjab, Pakistan. The responses of teachers and principals show that LFPSs female teachers careers are not only shaped by individual factors and personal lives, but also extend to the socio-cultural context and structural factors of the labour market conditions for women in Pakistan.

Bascia and Rottman’s (2011) treatment of teaching conditions helped to refine some of the factors that female teachers in LFPSs consider as being critical to their working lives. It helped to illuminate the work of teachers in the space of LFPSs situated in both urban and rural localities in Punjab.

The gender analysis of teaching in LFPSs, aided by the works of Apple (1986) and Acker (1989), helped to explain and present the patriarchal set of relations in LFPSs. Using gender as a lens to understand the work of female teachers, mostly under the direction and control of male principals, helps to shed light on an often-ignored and vital aspect of how labour and work is organized in LFPSs.

Applying Kabeer’s (2012) concept of “choice” in the decision-making of women in waged employment to the reality of female teachers in LFPSs is very useful. Affirming Kabeer’s (2012) argument, my dissertation shows that women’s decision about work in LFPSs reflected different degrees of choice and constraint, depending not only on individual and household characteristics, such as age, education, wealth,
marital status and so on, but also according to the acceptability of work within the local culture as well as the amount and kinds of work available.

Robinson’s (1982) concept of dual labour markets is useful in developing a deeper understanding of the teacher labour market in the Pakistani context. By conceptualizing the teacher labour market as having a primary sector, filled by teachers in government and elite private schools and a secondary sector, of teachers in LFPSs, it becomes imperative to consider the segmentation of the teaching occupation that stems from this dual nature and that has important implications for teachers work. The creation of these different tiers in teaching highlights the differential treatment of teachers based on factors of gender, school type, class, social inequality and a fragmented education system. Any analysis of teachers’ work in Pakistan would be incomplete without an understanding of the dual labour market in teaching and how that affects the career and work of female teachers.

The conceptual framework for this study as a whole is useful in showing an overlap of different areas that define and shape the work of a female teacher in LFPSs in Pakistan. It helps to illustrate the complexity and the conjunction of career and working conditions, gender and feminization of teaching and teacher labour market as factors that affect women teachers’ career and work in LFPSs.

### 7.4 Implications for policy and equity

*If the government is allowing these LFPSs to operate then they need to train these teachers and give them strategies so that the children can develop a strong base. At present they end up learning nothing and school is just a place to pass*
their time. This is unfair to the child. This is a huge problem for the teacher herself. How will she teach Maths to 4 classes in one hour? The spaces and classrooms are cramped, with multi-grade students in them struggling to concentrate on their lessons. What can a teacher do in all this? She is not trained to manage so much. She would have some need that she has to come daily and earn a living. And the salaries are just abominable. No wonder teachers keep changing frequently in these LFPS. (Teacher interview, no.13)

This quote from an interview with a teacher is significant as it connects the school level issues of teachers to the national level of policy makers and regulating bodies in the education system of Pakistan. It also raises the issue of creating support for teachers and overseeing education quality in LFPSs. It affirms the argument that the lack of teachers’ training is not just a problem for the learners but for the teachers as well, who have to struggle to do their job in the unsupportive and harsh environment of LFPSs.

This dissertation, through its analysis of teachers’ work in LFPSs, underscores some crucial implications for educational policy, specifically teacher’s policy, and reform in the context of Pakistan.

7.4.1 Implications for female teachers

An implication of this study on the work and career of female teachers in LFPSs is that it raises the very important question about the preparation, training and the building of the teaching profession in the Pakistani system of education. While the study is limited in its scope, it is fair to say that the issue of underinvesting in developing a strong teaching workforce is reflective of the country’s education
system as a whole. The Pakistani education system that includes a plethora of public and private institutions is essentially failing its teachers by ignoring their role, development, training and their current plight of working in unsupportive environments and conditions.

The country lacks a uniform and well-developed teaching policy with regards to recruitment, retention, remuneration and professional development of its teachers. Usually teachers are included within larger documents dealing with education reforms and are mostly pointed out as a problem within the system that needs to be tackled through very general vague solutions. Teachers don’t have a seat at the table of policymakers and without their input the piecemeal reforms usually don’t get translated into practice. The few directives that are issued by provincial education ministries are not applied to teachers in LFPSs. The Punjab government, through Punjab Education Foundation (PEF), supported by donors to fund many of the LFPSs under PPPs, has turned a blind eye to the working conditions of teachers in these schools.

The study showed through the testimonies of principals and teachers, that there are no guidelines for hiring, training and monitoring the work of teachers in LFPSs. Moreover, many of the principals who were part of the LFPSs funded by Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) said that they faced a shortage of qualified teachers and desperately needed training programs for the teachers that they had hired. For all
the principals in this study, the lack of training and qualifications of teachers was a major reason for the poor quality of education in these LFPSs.

While gender in education is important in all contexts, in the Pakistani society it is even more so as opportunities in accessing education, labour markets and leadership roles are all determined by gender. The patriarchal mindset is reflected in many social norms that extend to education. Women are disadvantaged in terms of accessing education and have less exposure than their male counterparts due to issues of mobility and segregation of spaces. Teaching is one of those select professions that women are encouraged to adopt and, therefore, the past few decades have seen a large influx of female teachers in mostly private schools. However, the rise of women as teachers in many of the country’s public and private institutions have not necessarily translated into decent work opportunities for women.

LFPSs have become synonymous with businesses that work due to a steady supply of cheap female labour in urban and rural areas. Very few men teach in LFPSs due to the exploitative salary, tough working conditions and lack of a career path. Men in the LFPSs sector are mostly found in the positions of owners and principals. These observations point to the gender inequity within LFPSs and the larger education system. While on one hand there is a push towards getting more girls into school, on the other hand the insecure and exploitative employment opportunities in teaching
in LFPSs discourage women who want to get something meaningful from their education.

Gender equity concerns need to be extended to the teachers and not just focus on learners in the Pakistani context. The feminization of teaching should not be seen merely in terms of cost-effectiveness (see Andrabi et al., 2008) but should rather be analysed for its potential of empowering young women and expanding their professional horizons. As this study shows, if teaching is not made a decent, well-paid and valued profession for women, young educated girls will switch to other professions, exacerbating the teaching and learning crisis of Pakistan. The treatment and working conditions of female teachers have long-term consequences as they can possibly affect the future of educational opportunities and profession for young girls and women.

7.4.2 Teaching and education quality in LFPSs

While the existing literature on private actors in education, Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) and LFPSs continues to debate the effects and merits of this mode and provision of education, it is evident that the private sector in education in Pakistan will continue to flourish. The Punjab government has recently acquired donor approval for the continued funding of the Punjab Education Sector Reform Program, a central tenet of which is PPPs and supporting private actors in education. Despite the lack of evidence and research on the progress of such
programs, especially their impact on access, equity and quality of education, both
government and donors are promoting and investing in them.

My study emphasises that while donor and PEF reports mention teachers, teaching
and education quality in LFPSs are often ignored completely and raise important
questions for these stakeholders supporting them. A valid question for donors,
government and policymakers is, how can teachers be expected to impart quality
education in LFPSs when they are working in such tough conditions without
training or support? How can teachers in LFPSs be motivated to work and remain in
the profession with such a low salary? Several questions with regards to quality of
education arise; for instance, how does a high turnover rate of teachers in LFPSs
affect the quality of education of children? Without training and subject specialists,
how can young inexperienced teachers cope with multi-grade teaching? By looking
at some of the data presented in this dissertation, the readers can get an idea about
the work of teachers in LFPSs and raise some of these questions, which need to be
contemplated by those championing the growth of LFPSs in developing contexts and
those who are in charge of formulating policy on teachers and education.

With unmotivated, underpaid and devalued teachers, the quality of learning and
education will suffer in these LFPSs. Key questions with regard to teaching in LFPSs
need to be asked: What sort of teaching career are LFPS offering to young women in
rural and urban areas? How does the lack of recruitment strategy for teachers in
LFPSs affect the quality of teachers and education in such schools? What career path
and incentives exist for teachers in LFPSs? Without a career path and structure how do they plan to retain teachers in LFPSs? The plight of a largely female population of teachers that has been presented in this dissertation has both short-term consequences for the quality and continuity of education in LFPSs and long-term consequences for the teaching profession for young educated women in the country.

7.5 Recommendations

Following the implications of this study for policy and equity, a number of broad recommendations can be made with regards to teaching in Pakistan in general and LFPSs in particular.

-**Improve teaching and learning conditions in Pakistani schools, especially LFPSs**

The state and donors need to invest in teachers’ education and training in order to raise the quality of education provided in both public and LFPSs. At present, LFPSs are not regulated and monitored properly, even those under Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) do not pay attention to the level of teachers and their training. Funding bodies and the government education department at the provincial level need to check the violations of teachers’ and citizens’ rights with respect to salaries that are below the minimum wage. The Education department should not work only to safeguard the rights of teachers in the public sector but should have a policy that extends to protect female teachers in LFPSs that work in precarious conditions. Through regulation and monitoring, LFPSs need to be inspected for their physical infrastructure and the working and studying environment being provided to
teachers and students. The responsibility of educating out-of-school children and those from poor backgrounds cannot be just dumped to the private sector that is unchecked and engages in questionable employment practices.

Uniform policy and regulation on salaries for teachers in public and private

Looking at the challenging working conditions, low qualifications, lack of training and support available to teachers in this study, a key suggestion is to include teachers in LFPSs within a clear and targeted teacher policy in Punjab and Pakistan. As mentioned earlier, the few and often poorly applied teacher policy directives are geared towards teachers in government schools and completely ignore teachers in private and LFPSs. This exclusion of LFPSs teachers from government oversight and policy is further segmenting the teaching profession in the country and exacerbating the differences between public, private and LFPSs education providers in Pakistan's fragmented system. Given that public resources and donor funding, especially in Punjab, are now being directed towards LFPSs under the ambit of PPPs in education, LFPSs teachers and their exploitative working conditions must not be ignored by stakeholders.

Make teaching an attractive profession for women and provide them decent work, as this has broader consequences for gender equity in education and indirectly affects girls’ enrollment rates.
Develop gender-sensitive strategies to attract the best and most motivated candidates to teaching, and ensure that they are deployed where they are needed most. This includes policy and legislative measures to make the teaching profession attractive to current and potential staff by improving working conditions, guaranteeing social security benefits and ensuring that the salaries of teachers and other education personnel are at least comparable to those paid in other professions requiring similar or equivalent qualifications. (UNESCO, 2015, p.24)

This quote summarizes a key recommendation of this study that seeks to illuminate the current gender inequity in teaching in LFPSs in Punjab. This study shows that teachers are no longer held in high esteem and the profession is increasingly losing its attraction for the youth in Pakistan. Many of the female teachers expressed their desire to go into other professions. This is concerning from a policy perspective and requires the government and other stakeholders to work toward raising the status of teachers in the wider social context. The kind of exploitative employment conditions being offered to teachers in LFPSs make it unattractive and a last-resort employment for many young educated people, especially women. The government, donors, teachers’ unions and school administrators all need to create a supportive environment for teachers at all levels in the education system. The increasing feminization of teaching in LFPSs, which is often considered helpful for getting more girls into school, requires the stakeholders to pay attention to gender equity and human rights concerns of female teachers working in these schools. Any system that increasingly relies on private provision to fulfill the right to education, by reinforcing gender inequalities creates a cycle wherein women and girls have diminishing access to quality education and employment through education (CEDAW, 2014, p.11).
This study affirms the strategies highlighted in the Education 2030 Framework for Action, especially the one that focuses on developing and implementing inclusive, equitable and gender-sensitive teacher management policies that cover recruitment, training, deployment, remuneration, career development and working conditions, and improve the status of teachers and educators and the quality of teaching (UNESCO, 2015, p.24). The state must fulfill its obligation to protect the rights of its teachers and female citizens by ensuring that private educational institutions and actors are not permitted to discriminate in any way against women and girls and are held accountable for their actions.

### 7.6 Contributions of study

By documenting the voices of teachers in LFPSs, this dissertation has provided a rich, contextualised understanding of their working lives and experiences in various rural and urban localities of Punjab, Pakistan. This dissertation is offered as a contribution to research in the area of low fee private schooling and PPPs in education in developing contexts. Through its focus on the work and careers of female teachers, it exemplifies the importance of studying the often-ignored area of teaching in LFPSs, which has an impact on education quality in these schools. It shows that teaching as a profession suffers when teachers are unmotivated, stressed and underpaid in tough working conditions. The study aims to persuade policy makers, donors and comparative education researchers to take into consideration the current treatment and conditions of female teachers when they are designing
projects that support and promote LFPSs and PPPs, particularly in the context of Pakistan.

This dissertation also contributes to the literature on gender and labour markets for female teachers in the Pakistani context. The rise in the number of female teachers is a key characteristic of LFPSs in Punjab, Pakistan but has not been studied in more depth. This study illustrates the complexity of choice and constraints for women that have a bearing on their decision to enter, remain and leave teaching in Pakistani LFPSs. In addition to this, the study is also an effort to extend the discourse on human rights in education beyond learners to include teachers and their work. By questioning the availability of decent work for female teachers in LFPSs, the study highlights the violation of teacher’s rights, under the larger ambit of gender, labour and human rights.

7.7 Suggestions for Future Research

There are several areas for future research that can build upon the findings presented in this dissertation. Specifically, the findings of this study can inform the literature on teaching and education quality in low fee private schools, the work of female teachers and the teaching profession and the debate on the present and future of PPPs and education reform in Pakistan.
Teaching and education quality in Low Fee Private Schools

This study is a small effort to contribute to the larger issue of teachers and teaching in LFPSs. While we know that teachers in LFPSs tend to be female, young, untrained and poorly paid, we have a lot to learn with regards to their working conditions, training, experiences with multi-grade and multi-subject teaching, and their work in poor slum and rural communities, with out-of-school children. Many of the studies on LFPSs have looked at enrolment conditions, student’s testing, and teacher attendance. However, in-depth studies on teachers in LFPSs have been few and far between. The goal of this study, as mentioned earlier, has been to bring teachers into the discussion on LFPSs in developing contexts by presenting their views and experiences. Future research can build on this study by focusing on the work, identity, image and careers of teachers in LFPSs. In addition to teachers themselves, future studies can look at teachers’ work through the views of other stakeholders such as parents, students, community members and donors. It would be useful to see how parents view teachers’ work and qualifications when choosing LFPSs and whether, for other stakeholders, any importance is attached to the quality of teachers in LFPSs.

An interesting observation made in this study was that a large number of teachers in LFPSs provide tuitions to children after school to supplement their income. While due to the limited scope of this study the rise in this trend of giving and taking tuitions in LFPSs could not be studied further, it is important to problematize the tuition culture in LFPSs. Future research can build on this observation by studying
the role of LFPSs teachers in promoting and sustaining this tuition culture in Pakistan. It is also important to ask how tuitions after school affect the work of teachers during school hours. It is hoped that studies examining the tuition industry and its connections to the LFPSs and their teachers would be conducted in the future.

The work of female teachers and the teaching profession

This study encourages researchers to continue exploring the working conditions and lives of female teachers in contexts such as Pakistan. Using this study as a starting point, future studies can possibly look at a larger sample of teachers within Punjab and in the other provinces of Khyber Pukhtoonkhawa, Sindh, Gilgit Baltistan and Balochistan. Punjab performs better in terms of its literacy rate and number of its educational institutions. It would be worthwhile to study the work of teachers in the backward and rural areas of Sindh and Balochistan, where there are more challenges in education provision and finding qualified teachers. A study that compares the work and conditions of teachers, especially female teachers, would provide insight that is useful for policymakers and donors at the national level. In addition to looking at teachers in LFPSs, future research should do a comparison between the work and conditions of teachers in public and private schools to see the similarities and differences. This would help to design a teacher policy that takes into account the different systems and institutions in education in the Pakistani context. As mentioned above, a recommendation of this study is to have a larger policy for teachers in Pakistan that addresses all sectors and for this to be
formulated we need to know about teaching in both public and private institutions. Therefore, comparative studies on teachers in all the systems and various institutions are necessary to conduct for researchers and policy makers. Moreover, regional studies looking at the work of teachers in neighbouring countries of South Asia that also have growing LFPSs sectors would be very significant for comparative analysis on teachers in LFPSs.

In addition, future studies need to be conducted on women’s labour market participation and teacher labour markets in the context of Pakistan. While some national surveys have noted that women’s participation has grown in certain sectors of the labour market, there is a need for detailed studies documenting the sectors where there has been a surge in female workers and the reasons for this. This study is an attempt to look at some factors that have contributed to the rise in the number of females in teaching, especially LFPSs teaching. Future research can build on this by having a larger sample size of teachers, including both genders, and including other professions in which women are increasingly entering. This will also contribute to the area of employment opportunities and options for a sizeable youth population of Pakistan.

**PPPs, LFPSs and Education Reform in Pakistan**

In addition to looking at teachers in LFPSs, studies also need to look at other factors that affect education quality in these schools. An observation made by teachers in this study was that many of the LFPSs lack space for students and the classrooms
are often poorly lit and ventilated and have multiple classes seated in them.
Research needs to be conducted to look at the physical infrastructure in LFPSs in many rural and slum localities and to understand how these affect the learning of students. In the Pakistani context, school infrastructure is a major problem in the education system. One needs to analyse how LFPSs are providing an alternative to government schools in this regard and how the facilities can be made better for students in both public and private schools.

My research on teachers in LFPSs in Punjab looks at female teachers. As LFPSs and PPPs in education in Pakistan is an under researched area, more studies need to be conducted on LFPSs. The claim that LFPSs and PPPs are providing a solution to Pakistan’s education crisis needs to be analysed by studying the private sector. The private school promise of access, equity and quality in education needs to be followed on by studying LFPSs and evaluating them in all three criteria. With regards to the work of teachers, future research needs to ask how the education reform promoted through LFPSs and PPPs in education has made things better for teaching and teachers in Pakistan. Through the ignorance of certain key quality factors in LFPSs schools such as teachers, curriculum, training and leadership, is it fair to assume that LFPSs and PPPs are like other piecemeal and ad-hoc educational reforms in Pakistan and will fail to achieve the goal of providing Education to All? Future studies in this area need to ask and answer these questions that are critical and often avoided by policymakers in Pakistan.
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Appendix A  Teacher Interview guide questions

1. Demographics: gender, level of education, grades that you teach,
2. How long have you been teaching? How long have you taught in this school?
3. How did you choose to be a teacher? What attracted you about teaching?
  -How did you come to apply to this LFPS?
  -Have you considered being a teacher in the public school system? Why/why not?

-What are some of the pros and cons of being a female teacher?
-Do you think the gender of the teacher is important? How so?
-Does the gender of the teacher have any effect on your career, both in the short and long-term?
-What are some of the challenges you face as a teacher?
-What do you think about training for teachers?
-How do you assess the level of preparedness of teachers in LFPS? Do you feel prepared to teach?
-Tell me about your teaching. Skills development? Teaching strategies? Changes over the years? -Have you undergone any formal or informal training for teaching?
-Did you participate in any workshops and/or training sessions during your career?

-Often teachers in LFPS complain of low salaries, what are your views on that?
-What are your views on the labour market for teachers, especially female teachers?

-What are your views on the curriculum you are required to follow? How does the curriculum affect your work? How are children assessed? How do you measure the performance of a child?
Do you receive any training on this curriculum? Do you think the training is sufficient? Is the curriculum easy to deliver and assess students?
-Tell me about your students
-Tell me about parental participation and input and if that affects your work.
Appendix B  Principal Interview guide questions

1. Can you tell me about your school? (When was it established, Demographics, number of children, teachers etc.)
2. Tell me about your teachers.
   - Demographics: number of male and female teachers in school? Is there a preference to hire female teachers and why?
   - Do you think that the gender of the teacher is important or plays a role in education quality?
   - How are they recruited?
   - What is their general level of education and preparedness?
   - What is the turnover rate?
   - What do you think about the performance of teachers in your school? How do you assess/measure this?
   - Are teachers required to undergo some form of training pre-service and/or during service?
     If no, what are the reasons for it?
     If yes, can you tell me more about the training? (What is the purpose of the training, how frequent is it, how do you assess the effect of training, do you think the training has been effective or some of the goals have been met?)
3. Can you tell me about parental participation and their views on teachers?
4. What are some of the challenges you face in hiring and retaining teachers in your school?
5. How do you view teachers’ performance and the quality of education in your school compared to other LFPS in the vicinity? To other public schools in the vicinity?
6. What can be done to better train and quip teachers to deliver quality education in LFPS?
## Appendix C Themes and coding table

### Coding sheet for Teacher’s interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Codes and sub-themes</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Grand themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- I have done F.A and doing B.A privately I studied privately in an academy I studied in this school Studied from this principal who gave tuitions I went to govt school in this area for a while</td>
<td>Level of Education and Qualification</td>
<td>Profile of participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- I have never received any training - I have attended it a couple of times - training is important and teachers really need in LFPS - there are logistical issues for female teachers - yes I received training but it was very short and not very useful - training needs to be done on a regular basis so that its effective and teachers can learn to deal with students - we need subject training esp in Maths - we need training on the new syllabus</td>
<td>Training and Development - views on training - importance of training - feedback on training received before - logistical issues for females</td>
<td>- Career - Working Conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Less exposure - Limited mobility - Girls get married and have families - male teachers have a more relaxed style and way of teaching - Male teachers are more authoritative and better for boys and higher grades - males have more exposure and experience. - males are usually more qualified - males are not better teachers - males have bad handwriting - females are good for smaller grades - Males are usually heads in schools</td>
<td>- Teaching for females - work of female and male teachers - Male vs. Female teachers</td>
<td>Gender</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

303
| -the classrooms lack light and ventilation  
  -there is no playground  
  -how can children learn and teachers work well in a suffocating physical space  
  -problem with multi-grade classrooms  
  -LFPS are run in homes with classes sitting in kitchen spaces and alleys | Working environment of school  
  -Physical infrastructure | Working conditions |
|---|---|---|
| I was a student in this school  
  -the principal is my relative and asked me to come work  
  -I didn't have an option and did it to use my time and education  
  -I live close by and this is convenient  
  -I needed to contribute at home so needed work  
  -I like teaching and came to ask myself  
  -for teaching in LFPS you can get in with a matric or F.A, not for other jobs  
  --good profession as little interaction with males  
  -my kids/brother study in the school | Career  
  -entering and recruitment  
  -social and academic factors | career |
| principal is a guide  
  principal was my own teacher and I understand him  
  -principal keeps a strict check on teachers, we are not allowed to speak on cell phones  
  -principal is well-known in community and knows my parents  
  -principal is looking at other issues and deals with parents  
  -principal is the one who solves problems and help if I get stuck in teaching something  
  -the principal runs everything, it’s a one-man show  
  -most principal are men | Role of Principal/Leadership | |
| only progress is if they increase salary  
  -I have been teaching for 10 years, there hasn’t been any progress  
  -you stay in the same position and that demotivates me as it's a dead-end job | View about career and possible career path | Career |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenges faced by LFPS teachers</th>
<th>Working conditions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-weak students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lack of parental participation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-syllabus is difficult</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllabus changes frequently</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hard to teach some subjects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>without training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-suffocating working environment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and classrooms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-quality of students and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education is very bad in LFPS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leaving teaching</th>
<th>Career</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-it’s a tough job</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-I don’t know what happens after marriage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-I will not do it after marriage because of housework</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-my in-laws don’t give permission to work</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I want to leave this job and change profession</th>
<th>Career</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-lack of options for women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LFPS vs. government teaching</th>
<th>Career and working conditions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-govt school teachers are more qualified and better paid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-government jobs are secure and permanent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>govt school teachers get training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>govt school teachers have a good job with benefits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you need a Bachelors to apply for a government teaching job</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Career</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-I want to go in a different profession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-this job was a transition and I have utilised my time before starting my degree in commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-I want to become a newscaster and do something with my life, achieve something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-I want to go into Civil service and will do so once I am eligible for the exam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-I want to go into banking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-I want to do something else but options are limited, I can’t travel far and work for longer hours. Single girls are not really allowed to work far away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-for village areas teaching is considered the safest for women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Career</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-I want to go into government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-barriers to get into government teaching</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Govt teachers don’t work properly and their standard is not good
Govt teachers have guaranteed jobs
-I think govt system has improved now and teachers are checked so its better
-any qualified teacher will go to government schools as it’s a better job than working in LFPS
-I want to still work as a government school teacher
-in government you have to give bribes to get into teaching, it’s a corrupt system

-I will try to get a teaching job in a government school
- I am working to get a B.A and some experience to sit for the government entry exam
- I am not happy in this school and will try to get into a better private school that is not Low Fee, there the standard and pay are higher

--inspired by my teachers
-it’s a service and teachers raise all other professions

-Not the same as before
-Teaching no longer seen as an attractive profession
-Teaching is best for women but kids don’t respect teachers anymore
-girls come into teaching as they have limited choices and its still more acceptable socially esp in rural areas
-Because of low salary people don’t want to come into teaching
-it’s a hard job
-family thinks its waste of time and energy, such low pay
-teaching left for those who cant do anything else in our society

Perception of teachers and their work (Image of teacher)
-untrained teachers affect the image of teachers negatively
-beauticians and maid servants earn more
-teaching is not a preference, last choice

-Almost all students take tuitions after school
-teachers supplement income from tuitions
-the same LFPS teachers provide tuitions in school after regular hours
-parents don’t teach their kids
-parents are not educated enough
-there is a strong tuition culture in the country now
-this tuition culture is damaging and negatively affects quality of education

-more females hired in LFPS because male demand more salaries
-the pay is nothing
-I can't even buy a dress from my salary
-I cannot contribute to the household
-it's treated as pocket money

-teaching is a lot of work, we end up taking a lot of it home with us
-people think it's a part time job but it's not, work doesn't end when classes end.
-it's a big struggle when there is a syllabus change, we have to learn those things before we teach
-without any training we have to find ways to educate and train ourselves
-I have to handle various subjects for various grades, it becomes very hard for me and I have complained to the principal a few times
-teaching one grade takes a lot of effort, imagine teaching two and a difficult subject like maths. How can teacher be expected to do a good job?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tuition culture in LFPS</th>
<th>Working conditions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low Salary</td>
<td>-Working conditions -Labour market</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers workload</th>
<th>Working conditions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-multi-grade teaching</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-no in-service training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- Teachers change a lot in this school
  - this class has had three teachers in one year
  - the new teacher finds it hard since the kids haven’t learnt anything and their level is very low.
- Quality of education is badly affected by frequent change of teachers
- In many LFPS, the turnover rate is high
- Teachers leave for better salary and some leave when they get married and others have personal issues that stop them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High turnover rate of teachers in LFPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| - principal keeps a strict check       |
| - we cannot even speak to a fellow teacher during class hours |
| - principals deal with parents and want to control the interaction teachers have with parents |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monitoring and strict check on teachers work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working conditions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| - girls uphold parents’ honour |
| - interaction with males still not accepted in rural areas |
| - mobility, safety, an issue so people don’t feel like sending their daughters out to work |
| - girls don’t think much about their profession, depend on family for such decisions |
| - hard to go into other professions, teaching is the one that’s most acceptable |
| - teaching can be managed with domestic chores and studies |
| - teaching is used by some as a transition profession |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social factors, Cultural context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labour market</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| - more girls educated and available to teach |
| - parents are more open to sending their daughters to teach as compared to a few years back. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supply of female teachers has increased</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labour market</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>