

## Parent-Teacher Councils in Public Secondary Schools in Northern Pakistan: A Qualitative Case Study

Syed Munir Ahmad,<sup>1</sup> Obaid Ullah<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Assistant Professor, Institute of Education and Research, University of Peshawar, Peshawar, Pakistan

<sup>2</sup>M.Phil Scholar, Sarhad University of Science and Information Technology, Peshawar, Pakistan

*Received: September 1, 2014*

*Accepted: November 13, 2014*

---

### ABSTRACT

This paper explores the role and effectiveness of parent-teacher councils (PTCs) in public secondary schools in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Province of Pakistan. The data for this qualitative research were gathered through interviewing (thirty four) and holding focus group discussions (thirteen) with parents and teachers respectively, from four boys and girls urban and rural schools of Peshawar. The major findings indicate that PTCs became mandatory components in schools relatively recently, which is why there are structural, functional, sociological and cultural problems, due to which stakeholders in schools perceive and experience PTCs differently. The findings show that the current thinking and practices about PTCs have historical resonance within policy documents that have been critical of the role and effectiveness of public schools in children's lives. In discussing the structure of and funds for PTCs in school, the findings show that various problems beset their functionality in schools. The theoretical notions of field, capital, habitus are used to demonstrate the relative permanence of perpetuated practices that may resist change and alternate routines within schools regarding PTCs. Given the current cultural and structural practices, teacher-training institutes and policy documents need to impart training and education to teachers and schools for increasing performance and efficacy of PTCs, so that schools provide appropriate support to parents and create maximum learning opportunities for students.

**KEYWORDS:** PTC, PTA, parents, teachers, students, schools, field, capital, habitus

---

### 1 INTRODUCTION

In the West, parent-teacher, home-school, home-school-community relations, parental involvement and other related variants have had established presence and influence, since at least the research works of Plowden [1] and Coleman [2]. These areas have not only been established as important fields of research, expertise and knowledge, but they have also been of immense influence on policy and practice. The resultant scholarship has greatly enhanced awareness and understanding into children's worlds and learning, and has thoroughly enriched the lives of both parents and teachers. This has resulted in greater understanding, coherence and collaboration between sharing the responsibilities of children's education as a mutual undertaking. The role of parent-teacher association (PTA) in this regard is therefore an important one, which has implications for the academic progress and personal development of pupils. In the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Province (previously north-west frontier province, NWFP – the old acronym will be used when referring to historical context), parent-teacher organisations as mandatory components were introduced in the recent past, first as school management committees SMCs; later on, these were renamed as PTAs. Now, their name has again been change and they are called as parent-teacher councils (PTCs). In this paper, predominantly the term PTC is used, but the old acronym – PTA – is retained in quotations and when referring to historical context.

The literature on home-school relations provides a rich, diverse and eclectic range of conceptual and analytical frames for parental involvement in children's academic and personal lives as well as charts the trajectories of parent-teacher relations. These include the conceptual and empirical works of a number of scholars [3–5]. Research has consistently proved the importance and efficacy of home-school and parent-

---

\* **Corresponding Author:** Syed Munir Ahmad, Assistant Professor, Institute of Education and Research, University of Peshawar, Peshawar, Pakistan (email: [munir\\_ahmad@upesh.edu.pk](mailto:munir_ahmad@upesh.edu.pk))

teacher relations on various aspects of student outcomes, performance and related determinants. These include student achievement and outcomes [6, 7]. The interplay of parental involvement and student achievement have also been looked into with the lenses of class, gender, race and related perspectives [8, 9].

The significance of parental involvement on the measures of student literacy and learning [10, 11], student motivation [12, 13] and patterns of student adjustment in the school [14, 15] have also been of help to practitioners and interest to researchers. Student attendance [16, 17], student behaviour and discipline [14, 18] and student homework [19, 20] are the areas that have benefited from parental involvement and close working relations of teachers with parents.

In addition to the above, research into the interplay of social class and home-school relations has produced significant literature that has greatly contributed to the discourse of equality and equal opportunities for all concerned. The interplay of class with the central themes of race, culture and gender, and social and cultural capital has greatly contributed to our understanding [21, 22].

It is important to note that much research focus of most researchers has been into primary school research that has explored parent-teacher relations and related social class discourses and dynamics [23, 24]. However, at the secondary school level, few researchers have ventured into these uncharted waters to explore its tides and currents from a number of perspectives, including social class discourse and PTA dynamics [25, 26]. This paper therefore aims to fill gaps in knowledge concerning parent-teacher relations generally, and PTCs particularly.

Whilst there is abundant literature regarding parent-teacher relations in the international literature that has a broad scope, covering a number of overlapping themes, in the Pakistani context there is paucity of literature and research. However, this does not mean that researchers have not looked into other areas of the system of education in Pakistan. Researchers have shown interest in a number of issues concerning the system of education in Pakistan, which include, for instance, student achievement studies with a particular focus on primary education [27, 28] and comparative institutional research [29, 30]. Increasingly in educational research in Pakistan, researchers have found stark disparities for girls and women, in the school environments and more generally concerning the various aspects of their lives, in home and social contexts [31, 29, 32–35]. Other research in the primary school context has explored various learning and achievement related aspects of both boys and girls in both urban and rural contexts [36, 37], and have interrogated school quality, student achievement and progression [38]. Still others have documented inequality, stratification, child labour and corporal punishment research and have shown their implications for children's schooling and wellbeing [39–42].

However, in educational research there seems to be a significant gap in knowledge concerning exploring and documenting the various dimensions of parent-teacher relations, with a specific focus on secondary education. Exception to this has been the work of Gill Crozier whose empirical research on Pakistani parents in the UK has some relevance to that of the context in Pakistan. This is not only because of the focus but also because of its relevance and impact on secondary education [43, 26]. There has also been some international literature that has some relevance to the context of Pakistan education system, which includes language and literacy research [44] culture, identity and diversity [45], social class disparities research [46], and educational attainment comparisons [47].

Some research that has relevance to the focus of this research has considered school based governance issues and that which has explored the role of PTAs and SMCs concerning their structure, functioning, and related comparative dynamics of private and public school performances [48–53]. However, of particular significance to our research has surprisingly been one dated conference report in Peshawar that had considered in considerable detail Parent-Teacher-Community programme [49]. The recommendations of this Conference and the problems it has identified concerning secondary education may appear to resonate strongly with the current school practices in Pakistan.

The aims of this study were to explore and document parent-teacher relations in two contrasting but mutually reciprocating urban and rural contexts with a specific focus on secondary schools. The study was conducted in four schools, in two boys' and two girls', with one each from urban and rural areas of Peshawar. The research context mainly underpins Pashtun culture, which proved of immense help to the researchers as 'insiders' as well as because of having 'a feel for the game' [54]. This meant that the research needed to be

conducted by the rules, not only given the cultural intricacies, but also and more importantly by maintaining the researcher integrity as ethical, objective and reflexive as possible. This brings us to discussing methodology and methods.

## 2 METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

The research required an in-depth understanding of the relations between parents and teachers. A qualitative case study methodology was used for exploring parent-teacher relations and teachers' and parents' views on PTC. For gathering data for the research, a number of tools were used which involved the use of semi-structured interviews, focus group discussion, documentary analysis and use of field notes and photographs documentation. Data were analysed and interpreted through an analytical framework adapted from Creswell and Plano-Clarke [55]. The research followed appropriate ethical guidelines.

### 2.1 Research Questions

The overarching aims of the research study, from which this paper is drawn, were to explore how parents and teachers interacted and communicated in public secondary schools in Peshawar, Pakistan and how their relations became structured and influenced in the home and school contexts. One subsidiary research question, on which the present paper is based, sought to explore the role and effectiveness of PTC in secondary schools.

### 2.2 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework consisted of Bourdieu's conceptual tools of capital, *habitus* and *field*, to help us understand the underlying dynamics of the practices and interactions of parents and teachers in the contexts of home and school. Because social and cultural practices determine much of what teachers enact in various practices concerning PTC in school, these tools were specifically important and helpful to decode the attitudes and behaviours of the stakeholders concerned.

### 2.3 Participants and Setting

The fieldwork was conducted in four public secondary schools, two each (one boys and one girls) from urban and rural areas of Peshawar, based on a purposive sampling approach [56, 57]. The decision to select schools from different contexts and gender was to recruit a diverse set of participants for the study sample, to have *maximum (heterogeneous) variation sampling* [57]. To achieve this, as an 'insider' the first author used his knowledge and experience of working with people and context, and of the culture in making decisions to recruit participants from a diverse set of potential participants. Our primary aim was capturing the "core experiences and central, shared dimensions" [57] of the people and their settings.

Due to the social, cultural and religious reasons, most public education is segregated in Pakistan, with female teachers teaching girls and male teachers teaching boys. Therefore, to avoid gender bias and to maintain a comparative approach, we aimed to explore both male and female perspectives, of both parents and teachers. Thus, in boys' schools, the research participants included male teachers and fathers, whereas in girls' schools, the research participants were to include female teachers and mothers. Since the study employed a qualitative methodology and used qualitative methods, we therefore aimed to purposively select participants from varying backgrounds to produce a "thick description" [58, 59] of the context under investigation. However, we knew that since our interest was also in exploring the perspectives of female teachers and mothers, access to the research sites and selection of participants was believed to be difficult, contentious and politically grounded in the social and cultural mindset and practices of the concerned people in the study area. However, access to any of boys' school was not considered a problem by anyone in the field whether it was the principals, teachers or Education Department officials.

A total of thirty four participants were interviewed for the study; eighteen were teachers (nine male and nine females), twelve were parents (nine fathers and three mothers) and the four principals of the schools. Focus group discussion (FGD) could only be done with eight fathers – three in urban and five in rural

schools. However, nine female teachers of the urban girls' school participated in FGD. Seven and six male teachers from urban and rural schools participated in FGD, respectively.

In the fieldwork, problems of doing research with females were contemplated, especially with mothers in the rural context. Focus group discussions could not be arranged with mothers in either of the urban and rural contexts. There were many issues involved. Although a female volunteer researcher was recruited to conduct focus group sessions with mothers, all the female students who were asked to seek consent of their mothers for their participation declined for participation in the research activity. The reasons could have been that they were not allowed by their husbands, or that they did not feel that were confident enough to talk about such issues or that they were preoccupied in their household chores or because of their perceived lack of education levels. Similarly, in the rural girls' school, despite best efforts and the principal's positive attitude, focus group sessions with teachers could not arranged and when asked about it the principal politely declined. Similarly, due to cultural sensitivities the principal was of the view that mothers would not participate in focus group sessions.

### 3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Our data suggest various overlapping influences, structures and practices that seemed to have implications for the PTC in the schools. In addition to gleaning policy provisions from the available Pakistani literature about PTC, both current and dated, we found that research participants held and shared varying perspectives about the structure and funds of the PTC, its functionality in schools and the problems in the way of its effective functioning.

#### 3.1 The Role of PTC in School: Policy Provisions

Our analysis of the data reveals that parental involvement or visit to schools did not feature as a dominant or important aspect of the relations between teachers and parents. For most teachers the responsibility of non-involvement of the parents in school lay with the parents themselves, as most teachers perceived parents as uninterested and less involved in the school affairs of their children's education both at home and at school. Many teachers described parents as less aware about their children's education and related issues because of their social class and working-class background and lack of education. These experiences of the teachers could be traced back to, and were also spelt out very clearly, decades ago in a Conference in Peshawar [60]. The experiences of the teachers, also mirrored in the findings of the Conference, highlighted and identified the reasons for the gulf that existed between the teachers and parents:

- Teachers are poorly paid. Hence their spare time is spent in supplementing their income through extra work. [This was widely agreed by the teachers, both male and female]
- Heads of schools tend to discourage teachers from freely contacting parents.
- Teachers are not generally treated well by the parents.
- The Department of Education was said to be suspicious about such [parental involvement] activities.
- There is no organisation of the teaching profession, which was a pre-requisite to parent-teacher cooperation.
- The present heavy curriculum leaves no time for the teacher to devote himself to activities other than teaching. [49]

Given this backdrop, it may not come as a surprise that for most teachers there were issues around the role and effectiveness of the PTA in schools and of parental involvement in it. In Pakistan, parental involvement in schools through PTA as a mandatory component is a relatively new idea, introduced in the early 1990s. Yet, for a long time, various government policies, plans and other relevant educational documents have acknowledged and emphasised the importance of the role parents play in the education of children, albeit differently [61–70].

At the time, during and around the 1960s, when Western Europe was working “towards formal parental involvement in the management and control of schools” [71], a Conference on the objectives of secondary education in Pakistan had also worked out in considerable detail issues around parent-teacher relations and

the importance and establishment of PTA in schools [60]. In addition to considering the various constraints and issues that were hindering parental involvement in school, the Conference suggested some practical activities for schools for ensuring parental participation. The proposed suggestions were not only argued to benefit all the stakeholders and as a means of developing close home and school ties but the Conference also argued that the effective functioning of the PTAs would also help accomplish the “educational objectives” [49]. Yet, the findings of this document are relatively unknown and do not appear to have been taken up by the subsequent educational policies and documents. Consequently, the language and tone of the text used for parents in some of the later policy documents appears to be harsh, and the thrust seems to be mainly on considering parents solely responsible for the education of children:

... The people must accept the fact that since it is they and their children who benefit most from educational [sic], the sacrifices required must be borne primarily by them. Acceptance of this principle would create an identification of the community with the schools that does not now exist. Such an identification finds expression in a deepening concern for the nature and scope of the educational programme; a spirit of co-operation between parent and teacher; and a genuine recognition of the contribution of the school to the life of the community. [62]

It is widely agreed that, it is the responsibility of the schools and teachers to contact parents, to involve them in the education of their children, and to develop strategies to connect home with school [72]. Yet, in the quotation above, the manner in which parents are cautioned, for the role they have to play in the education of their children and the ‘sacrifices’ they needed to make in this regard, depict a structure of thought deeply entrenched in autocratic and bureaucratic structures/fields that seems to disregard the importance and value of parents. Moreover, at another place in the Report, such aspects and issues overshadow the role of PTA and parents that otherwise should stem or develop from the effective working of the PTA itself:

No hierarchy of officials can itself give the schools the spirit and quality needed. The attainment of such aims requires the combined efforts of administrations, headquarters, teachers and the community. All efforts should be made to awaken the pride of the local communities in their schools by participation in school activities, attendance at school ceremonies, and the development of parent-teacher associations on a wide scale. [62]

However, as we pointed out earlier in this section, it was only in the early 1990s that the Government of Pakistan made it mandatory for every public school to have a PTA. In 1993, the Government of KP was the first to introduce PTAs in public primary schools by forming around 17,000 PTAs until 2003 [73]. In KP, figures for the number of PTAs in the public primary schools for the year 2006-2007 were 22281, with 1150 regarded as non-functional; the number of PTAs in the public middle and secondary schools for the same period was 4217, with 354 as non-functional [74].

The above figures regarding the functional PTAs might give an impression that all of these were active in involving parents in school and in arranging and executing various programmes and activities. However, the research data reveals that most teachers were critical of the existence and functionality of the PTA in school. Nevertheless, in some schools, there would have been a number of successful PTAs amongst the number mentioned above. Yet, in the context of our study, when asked about the functionality of the PTA in school, most teachers described it as ‘non-existent,’ regarded it only as a ‘label’ or at the most saw it as a spending body, disbursing a modest amount of funds on school maintenance. The experiences of the teachers seem to reflect the ‘reality’ on the ground and signify the role of the *habitus* and *field* as structuring forces of the behaviours and practices of the stakeholders. Similarly, in doing so, it also seems that most teachers were “disposed to turning their gaze on other people [i.e. parents]” [75] and on the conditions and situations that lay outside the schools. However, it seemed that most teachers were “much more reluctant to turn this gaze upon themselves” [75] and upon the school practices and on their own practices. We discuss these issues and aspects in the sections that follow.

### 3.2 Structure and funds for PTC

As indicated above, a majority of the teachers described the school practices and their professional obligations as constraining factors, which they argued did not leave them any time to have contact with parents. There was some weight in the teachers’ argument that in many ways the oversubscribed schools and

overcrowded classrooms not only affected the ‘school culture’ but also had implications for maintaining a ‘good relationship’ and contact with parents [27]. Yet, some teachers demonstrated that despite many of these constraints, they claimed to manage successfully and hold various activities for the students in school that also ensured parental participation. Given this context, it is therefore necessary to reemphasise that the interplay between the teachers’ dispositions and school ethos determined much of what most teachers discussed around the role of PTC and its structure and related aspects.

Given this backdrop, it may not come as a surprise that many respondents held and shared conflicting perspectives about the structure and composition of the PTC in school:

We have a PTA here, but no one gives time to us. PTA means that parents must be a part of this association and willing members to do various things. The structure of the association is such that out of eight members, six must be parents whose children are studying in the school and the principal acts as a secretary of the association whereas the *Nazim* [administrator] of the local area acts as its chairperson. A few teachers at the discretion of the principal could also be included in the association. (Teacher rural boys’ school – RBS)

... [The composition of PTA is such that] there is a chairperson and a secretary who is the principal of the school; one member is a retired government employee and four parents are its members, selected by the chairperson. (Principal, RBS)

The difference in the accounts and perspectives of the respondents shows that PTC as a body, having clearly defined contours and remits, was “yet to get foot-hold in the rigid socio-cultural environment” [51], indicating the permanence and constancy of teachers’ dispositions and practices within the public schools and broadly within social spheres. Moreover, there is some evidence here that by “turning their gaze” [75] upon parents, it seemed that the majority of teachers wanted to protect their (field) positions and the associated stakes, and therefore to remain “in a state of equilibrium” [76]. They wanted to justify the structured and structuring role of the school practices “as a natural fact or a given state of affairs ... [legitimated] by common tacit agreement” [77]. In the words of one principal, this was because “they [did not] want to expose themselves.” It was probably because of this that the majority of “teachers [tacitly] viewed parental involvement via the PTA as a threat and an interference in their affairs” [50]. However, apart from this, one other issue regarding the composition of PTC was that some participants were amazed to express that officially teachers did not become members of the PTC:

Surprisingly, there are no teachers as its members. As the name indicates, teachers should also have been part of the association. (Principal, RBS)

The evidence gleaned from the GoNWFP’s website reaffirmed the above assertion that teachers did not figure as members of the PTC. The official composition of PTC is such that out of the total eight members, five are parents (of whom one acts as its Chairperson) and the remaining three are the head of school (as Secretary), a retired government official and an elder of the community [53]. However, whilst teachers officially were not represented on PTAs on paper, a number of empirical studies in the context of Pakistan and KP found that in many cases it was the teachers and their relations that dominated PTCs in schools:

... these organisations have never worked effectively on a large scale. Rural ... PTAs, in particular, are dominated by teachers rather than parents. [78]

In many cases, the committees were stacked with the head-teachers’ relatives, friends, and retired teachers, and they had no parents on them. [50]

It also noteworthy to mention that whilst on the one hand many PTCs in boys’ schools were dominated by teachers, researchers also argue that the participation of women and mothers on PTCs in girls’ schools was also an issue, since it was the men who operated these associations:

In NWFP the PTAs ... for girls’ schools, included the husbands of female teachers and other male notables. [50]

The underlying reason for this could be that the conservative culture and the dominant patriarchal traditions, especially in the rural areas, rarely had any space for the women to engage in activities and programmes that would involve interaction and communication outside the home in the school context and in the broader social spheres. Many teachers, especially female teachers, were of the view that this conservative culture (in many ways in the urban context and specifically in the rural areas) restricted women to actively

participate and integrate in the various social spheres and to have a 'voice' of their own. Our research also establishes this up to an extent as the chairperson of the PTC in the urban girls' school (RGS) was a male notable of the area. The principal argued that the chairperson of the PTC was better placed to address the issues and problems of the students and teachers that required interaction and communication with people and offices outside the school, which in most cases were dominated by men.

Related to the structure and composition of the PTC was the theme of funds and their spending. Many respondents did not know much about the related aspects of PTC funds and the very few who did have some knowledge, held varying perspectives:

PTAs are only constituted for disbursing funds. (Teacher, urban boys' school – UBS)

This has recently been constituted a year ago. The thing is that, [regarding the PTA and its allied funds] no difference has been made between a school having two classrooms and another one having 30 or 40 classrooms. Naturally, in terms of the expenditure on daily consumables, the requirements of these schools vary tremendously. The total funds allocated to a PTA is Rs. 15000, out of which Rs. 3000 goes in paying [illegal] commissions and the rest of the amount (Rs. 12000) is not sufficient enough to do the needful. (Teacher RBS)

Whilst the secretary and chairperson jointly maintained the bank account of PTC [53], one head of school said that the performance of PTCs was far from ideal:

The secretary and the chairperson are joint signatories of the PTC bank account, and the remit of the PTC is to monitor and supervise school-based development projects as well as to have a check on teachers' performance. However, the functioning of the PTC in schools is far from ideal. (Principal RBS)

A relatively recent research undertaken jointly by the ADB and DfID on 'improving devolved social service delivery in NWFP and Punjab' also provides empirical evidence to many of the aspects that constrain the functioning of PTCs and the issues of funds:

Very small funds are allocated to purchase resource materials for teachers ... this is exacerbated by low maintenance budgets, making it very difficult for schools ... to operate. Funds intended for ... parent teacher associations (PTAs) under the ... NWFP Education Sector Reform Programmes often fail to reach their targets. For example, although PTAs in NWFP were supposedly provided with PRs. 1,750 per classroom per year, few of the teachers interviewed were aware of this provision. [78]

In addition to the lack of proper coordination in sending funds to schools and their spending by PTCs, research has also established that misuse and pilfering of funds was an issue as well:

The provincial department in NWFP reports that for the last 2 years, the bulk of these funds remained unused. In Abbottabad, there were complaints that the funds arrived so late in the fiscal year, and without any prior notice, that they had to be returned unspent. The district education office in Dera Ismail Khan indicated that each classroom was provided with PRs. 1,750 per annum for repair and maintenance, but that the teachers themselves appeared unaware of this funding. [78]

... Moreover, allocated non-salary budget funds, including PTA funds on instructional material, often do not reach the intended local school owing to leakages... [79]

In some remote districts, the *chowkidars* [caretakers/guards] and their relatives are misusing the PTA funds. [51]

It is clear from the above quotations that the lack of liaison between the various segments of the government machinery not only hampered the delivery and monitoring mechanisms of the PTC funds but also pilfering of funds at the various levels, especially at the end-user level, meant that a majority of the PTCs had no functional significance. However, whilst the role of funding was important for effective functioning of the PTC, some participants were of the view that more important was willingness of the parents, teachers and community members to cooperate and work together for a common good, that signified a shared habitus as a generative basis for "orientating social practice" [77]:

The PTA is allocated around Rs. 12,000 per year, but if that amount is spent appropriately it can be a good thing. It is also one of the responsibilities of the PTA to generate more funds from various other means, but no one spares time for such things. However, there are some exceptions to this, especially outside the Peshawar region, which have generated funds of around Rs. 200,000 to Rs.

300,000 that were used in constructing classrooms etc. Here, I have also said to my teachers, that we need to look for some such people [parents/community members] who could help us in the school matters, and that people can donate some material things for effective school functioning. (Principal, RBS)

There has been enough empirical research evidence to support the above statement of the respondent. A number of studies, specially focusing on the primary level of education, have shown and documented the potential and success of PTCs and schools through community engagement and involvement even in the most under-developed, backward and culturally conservative areas in various parts of Pakistan [80, 81, 50, 78, 82, 83]. However, on a large scale, at local and national level, research is critical of the role of PTCs and questions their effectiveness and functionality in school [50, 41, 84, 78, 79].

### 3.3 Functionality of PTC: ‘Limited to its name,’ ‘is just a label’

In the preceding two sections, we discussed the background and structural aspects of the PTC in schools, which established that generally PTC’s role in school was far from ideal. Therefore, apart from some successful cases where active school and community involvement resulted in enhanced learning opportunities for children and better quality of education, a majority of the teachers were of the view that PTCs were not functional in schools. Since the PTCs were generally not regarded as active and functional bodies in schools, the data reveals that many teachers did not have enough knowledge about them and some teachers were not even aware of their existence and their role within the school. It therefore may not come as a surprise when some teachers made comments like:

I remember sometime back a PTA’s meeting was held in the school where I was working before. However, since then there has not been any interest towards this. No PTA meeting has ever happened here [in this school]. (Teacher, urban girls’ school – UGS)

PTA ... in my understanding, it is just limited to its name and it has not played any of its roles in the affairs of the school, until now. A PTA’s role is restricted to the maintenance and physical aspects of school, and there is no concern towards the other functional aspects of school such as teaching quality, curriculum issues or parental involvement. (Teacher RBS)

A Parent-Teacher Association has been constituted but it is just a label and is not functional in any real sense. Until now, I have not seen any activity [meetings etc.] regarding this [PTA]. (Teacher RBS)

These statements, depicting the role and place of PTCs in schools, signify the interplay between teachers’ attitudes towards school practices and parental involvement in it. There is also enough empirical research evidence that resonates with, supports and shares the perceptions and experiences of the respondents cited above. Moreover, these studies have thrown more light on some of the dimensions and aspects of PTCs and the related teacher and school processes that the majority of teachers as ‘stakeholders’ did not dwell upon in the interviews and discussions:

Also it was found that most Parent Teacher Associations were non-functional or were inactive. [41]

In most of the schools the SMCs [PTAs] have no functional role except for some involvement in school finance. Majority of the SMCs [PTAs] are not clear about their roles and responsibilities. Participation of SMCs [PTAs] in school management has been declined because of discouragement, lack of flexibility in utilization of funds, and lack of training. [84]

Teacher recalcitrance was a major reason for the non-functioning of PTAs. However, other important factors included parental illiteracy ... poverty ... suspicion (that teachers were misappropriating ... funds), and lack of time (parents felt they had limited time and that education was the school’s responsibility). [50]

It is apparently common to find head teachers appointing parents to the committees themselves. This, combined with the lack of awareness among parents, the lack of direct funding for schools ... means that ... PTAs have little influence. [78]

The excerpts above have identified a number of important factors and processes which seemed to have worked both individually and reciprocally to render PTCs as ineffective, ‘non-functional’ and of ‘little



influence' in most schools. It is therefore important to understand the contextual and theoretical dimensions of these practices.

A theme that ran through the teachers' data, and the literature regarding the functionality of PTCs, underpinned the significant roles of parents' and teachers' dispositions and school influence. Therefore, for the teachers and parents who had different 'stakes' and 'capital' to 'play the game' [85], teachers and parents were stuck to their routine practices, which had "the effect of making the social world seem natural, and its practices 'taken for granted,' familiar, and common-sense" [86]. It was also due to the tacit understanding of protecting their 'stakes' and 'positions' that led most teachers to point the finger at the parents and on the conditions that lay outside the schools for the non-functioning or ineffectiveness of the PTCs. There was some truth in this; the social structures outside the school had considerable influence on teachers and school ethos. Yet, the empirical evidence referred to above argues that predominantly it was the teachers and the conditions that lay inside the schools which resulted in PTCs having 'little influence' and being rendered inactive and non-functional.

### **3.4 PTC functionality: Where does the problem lie?**

The evidence we gathered seem to suggest that solution to the problem of effective functioning of PTCs lay with the teachers and schools. However, it was somewhat natural and expected that, given the way 'reality' operated for the teachers, and viewed and practiced individually and collectively in the powerful and structuring environment of schools, for the majority of teachers it was a matter of naming and blaming individuals (parents) and factors/processes for the failure of PTCs in schools. However, there is some evidence that suggests that some parents may not have enough awareness about the importance of participation in their children's school and complain of "lack of time" [50]. Moreover, research also suggests that "stakeholder groups at the local level may not understand or be able to articulate what they want from their schools" [87]. Yet, for the majority of teachers, it was a collective understanding that they visualised and presented parents as a homogenised entity, suggesting that it was due to the parents that the PTCs were not functioning:

Well, the thing is that parents always complain that they do not have time for such meetings, while teachers, principal and *nazim* [administrator] may able to spare time for this. Very few parents, whose children are studying with us, would be able to say that they have some spare time for such things. (Teacher RBS)

... Once every year for the PTA's meeting we send letters to some selected people, but they don't come except those people who are the members of the PTA. Other people are not bothered. As I said earlier, our surrounding environment is such that people are not bothered about any school issues and they do not even give it a serious thought. (Teacher, FGD, RBS)

The above excerpts give an impression of the parents as uninterested in the affairs of school and the PTC. However, the following comments from the principal of the RBS provide a contrasting dimension to what most teachers described as 'reality' in practice:

The reason for this is that teachers complain that generally no one comes [to take part in the PTA].

But the reason for this is that teachers do not want themselves answerable to anyone. They don't want to expose themselves. They want themselves cloaked, so these teachers pretend that as if parents are not interested in the PTA. (Principal, RBS)

As also discussed earlier, it seems apparent from the excerpt above that it was the teachers' stakes and their positions that they wanted to protect, which were instrumental in forming their opinion about parents and parental lack of interest in children's education. It also suggests that the teachers were adapted and conditioned to the game in school, due to which they had developed an "absolutely extraordinary feel for the game" [88], evidently communicated in the following quotation:

Staff employed in the health and education systems is [sic] also reputed to be difficult and uncooperative. [78]

On the one hand, teachers seen as difficult and uncooperative had underlying implications for the quality of education and effective functioning of PTCs. On the other hand, many non-school elements that had a political bearing on the structure and functioning of schools had a disabling influence on the quality of school practices generally and specifically on the PTCs, which are captured effectively in the following extracts:

...I intend to reconstitute the PTA. I had met the chairperson of the [existing] PTA so that we worked for school improvement. Instead, he started meddling in school admission, for which I informed him in a telephonic conversation that admission of students will only be done through [academic] tests ... (Principal, RBS)

Political interference in the functioning of PTAs was quite common. [50]

Given the above discussion, it seems evident that a number of both external and internal school factors contributed to the PTCs being regarded as non-functional and inactive in most schools in KP. This implied that superficially various actors, factors, processes and practices were seen and considered to be contributing to the failure of an association that was envisioned not only to enhance the teaching quality and learning opportunities for pupils, but also to bring parents, communities and schools closer together. However, in fact teachers attitudes and school environment worked together to create and perpetuate a system of practices and conditions that were seen and criticised as being lacking and deficient in which PTCs had only symbolic significance. One may therefore argue here that the implementation of PTCs required “not only the formation of a structure but also the development of a culture of community participation” [48].

#### 4. Conclusion

PTCs in Pakistan can potentially play a crucial part in school effectiveness and support schools and teachers to enhance pupils learning experiences. Yet for this to happen, concerted efforts on the part of a number of stakeholders is required to create an environment based on community spirit, and sense of cooperation and trust, which may lead to creating a ‘caring’ environment for the children, for which both parents and teachers are responsible.

However, in our study, for most teachers there were issues around the role and effectiveness of the PTC in the schools and of parental involvement in it. Whilst in 1991, the Government of Pakistan made it mandatory for every school to have a PTC, it was in 1956 that a conference on the objectives of secondary education in Pakistan had worked out in considerable detail issues around parent-teacher relations and the importance of the PTCs in schools. In the context of our study, however, for most teachers PTCs in schools were either non-existent, were seen as a ‘label’ or at the most regarded as a spending body that spent a modest amount of funds on school maintenance.

The paper has documented that many teachers held conflicting perspectives about the structure and composition of the PTC. Our evidence suggests that some participants were amazed to express that officially teachers did not form members of the PTC. However, surprisingly, whilst on the official documents teachers were not represented on the PTC, a number of empirical studies found that in many cases it was the teachers and their relations that dominated PTCs in school in Pakistan. In addition, researchers have also noted that the participation of women and mothers on PTCs in girls’ schools was also an issue, since men and the husbands of female teachers operated these associations.

Concerning the issue of funds, many respondents did not have much knowledge about the PTC funds, and the very few that had some knowledge, held varying perspectives. In this regard, research studies suggest that the lack of liaison between the various segments of the government machinery not only hampered the delivery and monitoring mechanisms of the PTC funds but also the pilferage of funds at the various levels, especially at the end-user level, meant that a majority of the PTCs had no functional significance. In the context of our study, a majority of the teachers were also of the view that PTCs were not functional in schools. The findings also suggest that many teachers did not have knowledge about the role and significance of the PTC in schools and some teachers were not even aware of their existence in their schools.

The empirical evidence we reviewed and discussed clarifies that predominantly it was the teachers and the conditions that lay inside the schools due to which the PTCs had little influence and were rendered ineffective and non-functional. The findings suggest that since the majority of teachers had a collective understanding of the parents as a homogenised entity, most of them therefore were of the view that it was because of the parents that the PTCs were not functioning. It is concluded that teachers’ attitudes and school environment created and perpetuated a system of practices and conditions in which PTCs had only symbolic significance.

## REFERENCES

- [1] Plowden Report, "Children and their Primary Schools," Report of the Central Advisory Council on Education, London: HMSO, 1967.
- [2] Coleman, J.S. et al., "Equality of Educational Opportunity," Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.
- [3] Bastiani, J., "Listening to Parents: Philosophy, Critique and Method," unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 1983.
- [4] Hoover-Dempsey, K.V., and Sandler, H.M., "Why Do Parents Become Involved in their Children's Education?" *Review of Educational Research* 1997; 67(1), 3–42.
- [5] Vincent, C., "Parents and Teachers: Power and Participation," London: Falmer Press, 1996.
- [6] Bogenschneider, K., "Parental Involvement in Adolescent Schooling: A Proximal Process with Transcontextual Validity," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 1997; 59(3), 718–733.
- [7] Henderson, A.T., "The Evidence Continues to Grow: Parent Involvement Improves Student Achievement," Columbia, MD: National Committee for Citizens in Education, 1987.
- [8] Lee, S.M., Kushner, J., and Cho, S.H., "Effects of Parent's Gender, Child's Gender, and Parental Involvement on the Academic Achievement of Adolescents in Single Parent Families," *Sex Roles* 2007; 56, 149–157.
- [9] Shumow, L., "Parents' Educational Beliefs: Implications for Parent Participation in School Reforms," *School Community Journal* 1997; 7(1), 205–217.
- [10] Dearing, E., Kreider, H., Simpkins, S., and Weiss, H.B., "Family Involvement in School and Low-Income Children's Literacy: Longitudinal Associations Between and Within Families," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 2006; 98 (4), 653–664.
- [11] Zafar, F., and Khan, S.R., "School Management Committees as Community Participation Mechanisms in Schooling," in A. Rashid (Ed.), *Engaging with Basic Education in Pakistan: SAHE Education Watch Report 2000* (pp. 35–51), Lahore: Society for the Advancement of Education, 2001.
- [12] Anguiano, R.P.V., "Families and Schools: The Effect of Parental Involvement on High School Completion," *Journal of Family Issues* 2004; 25(1), 61–85.
- [13] Pomerantz, E.M. Moorman, E.A., and Litwack, S.D., "The How, Whom, and Why of Parents' Involvement in Children's Academic Lives: More Is Not Always Better," *Review of Educational Research* 2007; 77(3): 373–410.
- [14] Brown, L.H., and Beckett, K.S., "Parent Involvement in an Alternative School for Students at Risk of Educational Failure," *Education and Urban Society* 2007; 39(4), 498–523.
- [15] McNeal Jr., R.B., "Parental Involvement as Social Capital: Differential Effectiveness on Science Achievement, Truancy, and Dropping Out," *Social Forces* 1999; 78(1), 117–144.
- [16] Sheldon, S.B., "Improving Student Attendance with School, Family, and Community Partnerships," *Journal of Educational Research* 2007; 100(5), 267–275.
- [17] Sheppard, A., "School Attendance and Attainment: Poor Attenders' Perceptions of Schoolwork and Parental Involvement in their Education," *British Journal of Special Education* 2009; 36(2), 105–111.
- [18] Sheldon, S.B., and Epstein, J.L., "Getting Students to School: Using Family and Community Involvement to Reduce Chronic Absenteeism," *School Community Journal* 2004; 14(2), 39–56.
- [19] Grolnick, W.S. Benjet, C., Kurowski, C.O., and Apostoleris, N.H., "Predictors of Parent Involvement in Children's Schooling," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 1997; 89(3), 538–548.
- [20] Walker, J.M.T., Hoover-Dempsey, K.V., Whetsel, D.R., and Green, C.L., "Parental Involvement in Homework: A Review of Current Research and its Implications for Teachers, After School Program Staff, and Parent Leaders," Cambridge, MA: Harvard Family Research Project, 2004.
- [21] Crozier, G., Davies, J., Khatun, S., and Booth, D., "Parental Involvement in Education Amongst Pakistani and Bangladeshi Families in North East England," *End of Award Report: Parents, Children and the School Experience: Asian Families' Perspectives* (R000239671), <http://www.sunderland.ac.uk/images/reportrevised-7-1-05.pdf>, 2005.

- [22] Mirza, H.S., "Race, Gender and Educational Desire: Why Black Women Succeed and Fail," Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009.
- [23] Bakker, J., Denessen, E., and Brus-Laeven, M., "Socio-Economic Background, Parental Involvement and Teacher Perceptions of these in Relation to Pupil Achievement," *Educational Studies* 2007; 33(2), 177–192.
- [24] Weininger, E.B., and Lareau, A., "Translating Bourdieu into the American Context: The Question of Social Class and Family–School Relations," *Poetics* 2003; 31, 375–402.
- [25] Connell, R.W., Ashenden, D.J., Kessler, S., and Dowsett, G.W., "Making the Difference: Schools, Families and Social Division," Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1982.
- [26] Crozier, G., and Davies, J., "Hard to Reach Parents or Hard to Reach Schools? A Discussion of Home–School Relations, with Particular Reference to Bangladeshi and Pakistani Parents," *British Educational Research Journal* 2007; 33(3), 295–313.
- [27] Salfi, N.A., and Saeed, M., "Relationship among School Size, School Culture and Students' Achievement at Secondary Level in Pakistan," *International Journal of Educational Management* 2007; 21(7), 606–620.
- [28] Stewart, S.M., Bond, M.H., Ho, L.M., Zaman, R.M., Dar, R., and Anwar, M., "Perceptions of Parents and Adolescent Outcomes in Pakistan," *British Journal of Developmental Psychology* 2000; 18, 335–352.
- [29] Aslam, M., "The Relative Effectiveness of Government and Private Schools in Pakistan: Are Girls Worse Off?," *Education Economics* 2009; 17(3), 329–354.
- [30] Khan, S.R., and Kiefer, D., "Educational Production Functions for Rural Pakistan: A Comparative Institutional Analysis," *Education Economics* 2007; 15(3), 327–342.
- [31] Aslam, M., "Gender and Education in Pakistan," unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2006.
- [32] Shami, P.A., and Hussain K.S., "Access and Equity in Basic Education (Research study No. 188)," Islamabad: AEPM, Ministry of Education, GoP, 2005a.
- [33] Shami, P.A., and Hussain, K.S., "Basic Education in Pakistan (Research Study No. 181)," Islamabad: AEPM, Ministry of Education, GoP, 2005b.
- [34] Winkvist, A., and Akhtar, H.Z., "God Should Give Daughters to Rich Families Only: Attitudes towards Childbearing among Low–Income Women in Punjab, Pakistan," *Social Science and Medicine* 2000; 51, 73–81.
- [35] Lloyd, C., Mete, C., and Grant, M., "Rural Girls in Pakistan: Constraints of Policy and Culture," in M. Lewis and M. Lockheed (Eds.), *Exclusion, Gender and Education: Case Studies from the Developing World* (pp. 99–118), Washington, DC, Center for Global Development, 2007.
- [36] Das, J., Pandey, P., and Zajonc, T., "Learning Levels and Gaps in Pakistan," Policy Research Working Paper 4067, Washington, DC: World Bank, 2006.
- [37] Glewwe, P. and Kremer, M., "Schools, Teachers, and Education Outcomes in Developing Countries," in E.A. Hanushek and F. Welch (Eds.), *Handbook of the Economics of Education*, Volume 2 (pp. 945–1017), New York, NY: Elsevier, 2006.
- [38] Behrman, J.R., Ross, D., and Sabot, R., "Improving Quality versus Increasing the Quantity of Schooling: Estimates of Rates of Return from Rural Pakistan," *Journal of Development Economics* 2008; 85(1–2), 94–104.
- [39] Gautam, H., and Arjun, B., "Schooling Costs and Child Work in Rural Pakistan," *Journal of Development Studies* 2003; 39(5), 29–64.
- [40] Khan, R.E.A., "Children in Different Activities: Child Schooling and Child Labour," *Pakistan Development Review* 2003; 42(2), 137–160.
- [41] Robson, M., "Pakistan: Investigating Corporal Punishment," *Education Update* 2004; 7(1), 6–7.
- [42] Rahman, T., "Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan," Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- [43] Crozier, G., "South Asian Parents' Aspirations versus Teachers' Expectations in the United Kingdom," *Theory Into Practice* 2009; 48(4), 290–296.

- [44] Huss-keeler, R.L., "Teacher Perception of Ethnic and Linguistic Minority Parental Involvement and its Relationships to Children's Language and Literacy Learning: A Case Study," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 1997; 13(2), 171–182.
- [45] Conteh, J., and Kawashima, Y., "Diversity in Family Involvement in Children's Learning in English Primary Schools: Culture, Language and Identity," *English Teaching: Practice and Critique* 2008; 7(2), 113–125.
- [46] Siraj-Blatchford, I., "Learning in the Home and at School: How Working-Class Children 'Succeed against the Odds,'" *British Educational Research Journal* 2010; 36(3), 463–482.
- [47] Sunder, D., and Uddin, L., "A Comparative Analysis of Bangladeshi and Pakistani Educational Attainment in London Secondary Schools," *InterActions: UCLA Journal of Education and Information Studies* 2007; 3(2), 1–43.
- [48] Fullan, M., and Watson, N., "School-Based Management: Reconceptualizing to Improve Learning Outcomes," *School Effectiveness and School Improvement* 2000; 11(4), 453–473.
- [49] Khan, A.M., Burns, C., Mallick, G.Y and others, "Parent-Teacher-Community Programme to Meet the Objectives of Secondary Education," in M.Y. Khan (Ed.), *Objectives of Secondary Education in Pakistan*, (Conference on Education held at Peshawar on the 20<sup>th</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> December, 1956) (pp. 76–93), 1956.
- [50] Khan, S.R., "Participation via Collective Action in Government and NGO Schools in Pakistan," *Development in Practice* 2003; 13(4), 361–376.
- [51] Usmani, S.R., "School Based Governance-Management: Financial, Budgetary and Administrative Reforms (NWFP's Perspective)," Finance Department, GoNWFP, from [http://www.nwfpfinance.gov.pk/School\\_base\\_Managment.php](http://www.nwfpfinance.gov.pk/School_base_Managment.php) [accessed: 4/28/2009], 2003.
- [52] Zafar, F., and Khan, S.R., "School Management Committees as Community Participation Mechanisms in Schooling," in A. Rashid (Ed.), *Engaging with Basic Education in Pakistan: SAHE Education Watch Report 2000* (pp. 35–51), Lahore, Society for the Advancement of Education, 2001.
- [53] GoNWFP, "Parent Teacher Association, Chapter-IV," from [http://www.enwfp.com/documents/files/P%20-%20T%20-%20A%20%20\(OFFICE%20MANAGEMENT\).doc](http://www.enwfp.com/documents/files/P%20-%20T%20-%20A%20%20(OFFICE%20MANAGEMENT).doc) [accessed: 5/12/2007], 2001.
- [54] Bourdieu, P., "Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action," Cambridge: Polity, 1998.
- [55] Creswell, J.W., and Plano-Clark, V.L., "Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research," Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2007.
- [56] Miles, M.B., and Huberman A.M., "Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)," Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994.
- [57] Patton, M.Q., "Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)," Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002.
- [58] Geertz, C. [1973]. "The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays," New York: Basic Books, 2000.
- [59] Lincoln, Y.S., and Guba, E.G., "Naturalistic Inquiry," California: Sage, 1985.
- [60] Khan, M.Y., "Objectives of Secondary Education in Pakistan, (Conference on Education held at Peshawar on the 20<sup>th</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> December, 1956)," sponsored by the Directorate of Education Peshawar and the United States Educational Foundation in Pakistan, 1956.
- [61] GoP, "Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational Conference" (held at Karachi from 27<sup>th</sup> November to 1<sup>st</sup> December 1947), Karachi: Government of Pakistan, 1947.
- [62] GoP, "Report of the Commission on National Education," Karachi: Ministry of Education, 1959.
- [63] GoP, "Fourth Five-Year Plan 1970–75," Islamabad: Ministry of Education, 1971.
- [64] GoP, "The Education Policy 1972–80," Islamabad: Ministry of Education, 1972.
- [65] GoP, "National Education Policy 1978," Islamabad: Ministry of Education, 1978.
- [66] GoP, "National Education Policy 1998–2010," Islamabad: Ministry of Education, 1998.
- [67] GoP, "Education Sector Reforms: Action Plan 2001–2005," Islamabad: Ministry of Education, 2003a.
- [68] GoP, "National Plan of Action on Education For All (2001–2015)," Islamabad: Ministry of Education, <http://www.moe.gov.pk/npadocs.htm> [Accessed: February 12, 2006], 2003b.

- [69] GoP, "The State of Education in Pakistan—2003–04," Islamabad: Policy and Planning Wing, Ministry of Education, 2005.
- [70] GoP, "Education in Pakistan: A White Paper," Islamabad: National Education Policy Review Team, 2006.
- [71] Beattie, N., "Formalized Parent Participation in Education: A Comparative Perspective (France, German Federal Republic, England and Wales)," *Comparative Education* 1978; 14(1), 41–48.
- [72] Chavkin, N.F., "Introduction: Families and Schools," in N.F. Chavkin (Ed.), *Families and Schools in a Pluralistic Society* (pp. 1–17), Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1993.
- [73] GoP, "Quality of Primary Education in Pakistan," Islamabad: Ministry of Education in collaboration with UNESCO Office, 2003c.
- [74] GoNWFP, "Schools Information," Directorate of Schools and Literacy website, available from: [http://www.enwfp.com/docs/Schools\\_Information.pdf](http://www.enwfp.com/docs/Schools_Information.pdf) [Accessed: 11 December 2007], 2008.
- [75] Webb, J., Schirato, T., and Danaher, G., "Understanding Bourdieu," London: Sage, 2002.
- [76] Watts, R.J., "Politeness," Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- [77] Grenfell, J., and James, D., "Bourdieu and Education: Acts of Practical Theory," London: Falmer Press, 1998.
- [78] Tim, W., Masroor, A., and Samantha, S., "Improving Devolved Social Service Delivery in NWFP and Punjab," Islamabad: Asian Development Bank, 2005.
- [79] World Bank and GoNWFP, "Pakistan NWFP Economic Report: Accelerating Growth and Improving Public Service Delivery in the NWFP: The Way Forward," Report No. 32764–PK, Peshawar: World Bank and GoNWFP, 2005.
- [80] Farah, I., "Roads to Success: Self Sustaining Primary School Change in Rural Pakistan," Karachi: Institute for Educational Development, 1996.
- [81] Jamil, B.R., "Transforming Education through Community based Governance: Experiences from Pakistan," Lahore: Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi, paper presented at Porto Alegre (Brazil) in the Second World Social Forum, Available from: [www.unesco.org/most/wsf/jamil.pdf](http://www.unesco.org/most/wsf/jamil.pdf), [accessed November 10, 2005], 2002.
- [82] Kim, J., Alderman, H., and Orazem, P., "Can Cultural Barriers Be Overcome in Girls' Schooling? The Community Support Program in Rural Balochistan," Working Paper Series on Impact Evaluation of Education Reforms (Paper No. 10), The World Bank, Development Research Group, 1998.
- [83] Tahira, B., and Braathe, H.J., "Review of Basic Education Improvement Programme (BEIP) NWFP," Pakistan, LINS/Review 2007–2, 2007.
- [84] Shah, D., "Country Report on Decentralization in the Education System of Pakistan: Policies and Strategies," Islamabad: Academy of Educational Planning and Management, 2003.
- [85] Bourdieu, P., and Wacquant, L.J.D., "An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology," Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992.
- [86] Lingard, B., Hayes, D., Mills, M., and Christie, P., "Leading Learning: Making Hope Practical in Schools," Buckingham: Open University Press, 2003.
- [87] Komatsu, T., "Qualitative Inquiry into Local Education Administration in Pakistan," *International Journal of Educational Development*, 29, 219–226, 2009.
- [88] Bourdieu, P., "In Other Words: Essays towards a Reflexive Sociology" (Trans. by Matthew Adamson), Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990.