

Optimist about Education, Pessimist about Schools: People's Perception Regarding the Schooling System

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Abstract



The article elaborates on people's perception regarding the importance of education. In doing so, it explores the role of schools and teachers, opinions about schooling system and the comparison between private and public schools. A total of 28 indepth interviews were conducted with key stakeholders students, parents and teachers. While in general parents and students value education but they showed little hope in the system. A comparison between private and public schools seemed inevitable and formed a major part of all the discussions. Blame attribution emerged as a prominent dimension; the children and parents blame schools and teachers over low quality of education while teachers view parents' lack of interest as a hindrance to effective education. To conclude, education is realized as a collective benefit for which collective effort is required.

Keywords: Government Schools; Private Schools; Education; Out of School Children

Introduction

Owing to the benefits of education it has been internationally recognized as a right for all, the provision of which is to be ensured by the respective governments. After independence from British India in 1947, Pakistan became a new state. Within a year of independence Pakistan joined United Nations and ensured to follow basic human rights, such as, right to free speech, freedom of religious practice, right to protection, right to justice, right to education, health. After 18th amendment in constitution, it has become mandatory for government to provide education to all children in between the age 6 to 15 years. Education of every single child in the country is a right recognized and ratified by law. In addition to it, after this amendment education fall under jurisdiction of provinces.

Despite the recognition as fundamental right, education related statistics in Pakistan show a bleak picture. Currently, Pakistan has the world's second-highest number of out-of-school children (OOSC) with an estimated 22.8 million children aged 5-16 not attending school. This represents 44 per cent of the total population in this age group. In the age group 5-9 years, 5 million children are not enrolled in schools. After primary-school age, the number of OOSC doubles, with 11.4 million adolescents between the ages of 10-14 not receiving formal education. Disparities based on gender, socio-economic status, and geography are significant; in Sindh, 52 percent of the poorest children (58 percent girls) are out of school, and in Balochistan, 78% of girls are out of school (UNICEF, 2021). At the pre-primary stage of education, an increase of about 8.0% and 7.0% has been observed against 2015-16 in enrolment of boys and girls respectively. (Dawood, Nasim, Kaki, Farooq, & Adeel, 2018)

There is no denying of the importance of education in the growth, development and progress of individual as well society as collective. Also it would not be incorrect to say that human's quest for knowledge acquisition is primordial. The idea of learning and gaining knowledge in groups is a tradition of antiquity albeit existing in different forms and with varying emphasis (Bentley, et al. 2015). In the context of state's responsibility to ensure education, Aristotle's famous quote, "The citizens of a state should always be educated to suit the constitution of a state", holds particular significance (Aristotle, 1948, p. 133). However, only with the emergence of the nation-state and rather late in human history, was an effort made to provide learning for all (Schieffelbeing & McGinn, 2017, p. 187). Important to note here is that the right to education is not just a citizen's right but a 'human' and 'universal' right. A human right is justified on the basis of its ability to protect those aspects that are "most fundamental to humanity" (McCowen, 2013: p12). Furthermore, education is seen to be an entitlement for all human beings, irrespective of the outcomes, that is, whether or not it leads to subsequent contribution to economy or society (ibid). An educational right as a human right must be

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free from any form of discrimination. This means that all individuals have a natural right to share, on an equal footing and without any discrimination, the educational resources, services, and benefits available in their respective societies” (Ghosh & Attieh, 2014: p.37) With the recognition of education as a basic human right, several conventions, treaties and charters are signed on national and international level were signed to ensure this fundamental right. The Article 26 of UNDHR 1948, the Declaration of the Rights of the Child 1959¹; Article 28 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989²; at the national level the article 25a of the Right To Education³; are all commitments on international and national level to the purpose of education. The latter states: “The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law.” Corollary to this is Article 37-b emphasizing removal of illiteracy and provision of “free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period.” Regardless of all the efforts, the conventions and treaties, Pakistan is lagging far behind the SDG 4 which is to “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all”⁴. Pakistan Education Statistics 2016–2017 shows that since 2012 the adjusted net enrolment rate has increased by 4 percentage points, from 68 per cent to 77 per cent, and the number of OOSC has fallen by 1.7 million at primary level, with improving enrolment and retention in spite of slow progress. While the number of OOSC has fallen by 1.7 million over the last five years, Pakistan still has the world’s second-highest number of such children at the primary level (UNICEF, 2019).

This article is part of a larger study on causes of school drop outs against the backdrop of people’s perception about education and the system. The general optimist perception about education does not necessarily and always imply the same perception about schooling system. The interview guide covers two broad topics: firstly, it concerns people’s understanding of the significance of education. Secondly, it explores their views on the available system. Such a study, we argue, would enable a better comprehension of the intricacies and nuances of the system on the whole. Through an understanding of people’s perceptions, causes of low literacy and school drop outs, can also be deduced.

The study is based on qualitative research conducted in the town area of Nasirabad in the district Kamber at Shahdadkot, Sindh. Data was collected primarily through indepth interviews and case studies. Using purposive sampling 28 indepth interviews were conducted with key stakeholder including students, teachers, and parents in order to understand the issue at multiple levels. In all cases, informed consent was obtained prior to interviews. All names are pseudonymised to ensure confidentiality. The data was closely examined to identify common and recurrent themes. The following section presents discussion and analysis of key thematic areas.

The essentiality of education

One of the primary aims of this research is better delineation of people’s perception about education. This section concerns the purpose of education and presents responses to the question: Why seek education? In laying out reasons for education we are informed primarily about its benefits. Essentiality and necessity of education could easily be deduced from an analysis of interviews conducted. A few general statements resonating across the various interviews include: *Education is the third eye of human; if we get education, we’ll have better life; Education teaches us respect, the proper way to speak to elders and seniors; Education helps us read sign boards and addresses in urban centres; and an educated person can take better decisions.* The metaphorical reference to education being *the third eye* is particularly illuminating. Eyes, a conscious and basic sense organ makes vision possible. An additional eye would mean enhanced vision; lack thereof would then be a handicap. All these generic statements highlight the significance of education on individual as well as collective level.

For parents the most important role of education lies in its potential to ensure a secure future for their children. According to our respondents *education is necessary for children’s future, because if a child is well educated, he will be able to get a good job.* The functional perspective on education is also extended to the moral growth of the children. The respondents viewed that education helps

¹ <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

² <https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention/convention-text>

³ <https://rtepakistan.org/>

⁴ <https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal4>

children in every stage and each aspect of life. An educated child is better able to differentiate good from bad and right from wrong; this being a common opinion held by the respondents.

Education is also connected with identity representation. It plays key role in formation of self-image and has a continued influence on life of an educated person. The identity is an achieved one in its nature, often conferring a title on people, which is added on to their existing multifaceted identity, such as doctor, engineer, teacher etc. The association of the title with the individual is acknowledged within as well as outside of his/her professional life.

Corollary to this is the notion of upward social mobility facilitated by education. Respondents in research locale mainly belonged to the middle and lower socio-economic class. Often they showed a profound desire for a bright future for their children for which education is inevitable. Parents stated that it is *the dream and biggest wish* of every parent to see their child enjoying a high and respectable social status after getting higher education. It is widely believed that education helps to acquire *rutbo* (status) and power in the society and aids individual to live their life comfortably. Thus, establishing education as an agent of change and a constituent element in career building.

Similarly the development of society is also dependent on education, a respondent explained: *if we do not have a sound education system our society would not develop, it is impossible for the society to progress without it. A country can never Muqabilo (competition) with other countries if it does not invest in education and if there are no quality institutions providing education. If peoples are educated they can opt out of several professions, business as well as other occupational positions.*

While it is generally perceived that education enhances knowledge, learning and capability⁵, it is also believed that if education does not lead to collective benefit it lacks utility in its truest sense. This is evident from the statement by one of the respondents: *If an educated person does not help his quom (tribe) after being successful then his education is of no use. We are better off without this type of education.* Education of an individual, thus, should not only profit his self rather it should be advantageous for the entire society. This also reveals the potential of an educated person to be successful and to be in a position to help others.

It is important to note here that when asked about education respondents referred to the formal education system. These institutions include both: those which are operated and regulated by the state as well as non-governmental, private schools, colleges, and universities. However, the curriculum of both is regulated by the government bodies. Informal education exists simultaneously, this primarily includes teaching of the Holy Quran and Islamic text either without any tuition fee and miscellaneous charges or on a nominal remuneration paid to the teacher/ instructor, commonly known as *hadiya* (gift).

Poverty and illiteracy emerged as an important factor leading to a specific understanding of education. The area of research is poverty ridden in general. Having seen people educated people flourishing, parents are keen to send their children to school. It is found that parents usually reckon the significance of education in terms of a cost benefit analysis. The same analysis proves a barrier to or a low interest in girls' education. Investment on daughter's education is perceived as a negative investment because of norm of patrilocality whereby a daughter once married leaves her natal home to live with her husband and/or his family.

Also interesting to note is the striking contrast in opinions vis-à-vis this cost and benefit analysis. On one hand, are parents who believe in the essentiality of education for a better future. These are the ones who themselves were either illiterate or could not complete their education but want their children to acquire higher education. The following statement by one of the parents is a case in point: *I could not complete my school but I am striving to provide quality education to my children. My son does not seem to have any interest. I even tried being harsh with him, grounded him, corporally punished him but nothing worked. One day he locked himself up in the room and attempted suicide. I gave up!* said an exasperated parent. On the other hand, are those parents who complained about unemployment of the educated. They think that investing on education is actually a loss as there are no jobs for their children in the market. They believed without any support or a good

⁵ We follow Sen's Capabilities approach to human welfare that focuses on people's actual capability to achieve well-being and not mere freedom and right (Sen, 2005). We further borrow from Terzi who has extended Sen's capabilities approach to the field of education. Given the potential of education in improving the quality of life of an individual, social justice is possible only when each individual's "capability to be educated" is ensured. (Terzi, 2007)

contact/reference, children of *Ghareeb maanhoon* (poor people) remain jobless even if they are highly educated. Despite the grievances and bleak hope, these parents show a commitment to their children's education.

Only a few disapproved this monetized calculation. These are the respondents who argued for an urgent need of awareness among the general population regarding education and literacy. According to them *the importance of education is not truly known in our society. Learning is viewed in utilitarian terms and as an investment. There is this greed oriented perspective towards education. Parents perceive education in economic terms, that is, if we will send our children to school and college they will become engineer or doctor. They will be able to earn a handsome salary. Only if people can see impact of education in holistic terms and not just economic, the situation might improve.*

Deliberating on the cost-benefit analysis a teacher explained: *Parents calculate the cost and benefit entailed in education before sending their children to schools. The cost includes the expenses of books, uniform and other stationary stuff which is not provided by government. They analyse benefit in terms of potential income generation once the degree is obtained. The opportunities are rare for children here. Some parents believe that instead of investing in girls education it would be more reasonable to invest in her dowry which is a social tradition of the society; marriage is considered more important for girls than education. Parent's willingness/unwillingness is a fundamental variable that affects the attitude of children towards education.*

Whether solely economic or multi-beneficial, this section establishes, the significance attributed to education by the respondents.

The role of schools

Having arrived at a comprehensive understanding of education as perceived by the respondents, the research further investigates their view regarding service providing institutes, primarily, schools. Research illustrates the different roles are associated with the school as is evident from the following statements by our interlocutors: *school is institution where children learn a lot of things that might be helpful to transform them into independent and creative persons; it is a place where education is greatly emphasized and the children learn to value knowledge and necessary skills; learning in schools is a cumulative process which helps pupil build a better future; It is the place where children will form networks and make memories that they will cherish in the years to come.* In addition to education, schools, it is believed play a vital role in personality formation. It contributes to a child's intellectual, psychological and physical well-being. The playground in the schools provide an opportunity for extra-curricular activities. Children learn to socialize with each other and learn to present themselves in a crowd. The *school provides children a chance to sharpen their God-endowed talents like music, arts, sports and the likes*, comments a parent. Respondents state that *the basic purpose of education is that the student should be practically as well as morally strong. The student should know how to carry and how to express him/herself in the society; the child learns appropriate behaviour.*

The school system and inevitable comparison between private and public schooling

When asked about the school system, interesting to note is the inevitable comparison respondents constantly make between public and private school system on several levels, their environment, quality of education, infrastructure etc. We have consolidated views on public and private schools separately and are respectively presented in the following.

Given their strained financial circumstances majority of the parents send their children to low cost public schools. These schools do not charge any tuition fee from the students as they are funded by the state. It is obligatory for the state run schools to register any child who applies there. The 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan, passed on 19th April 2010, led to major shifts in entitlements, decision making, and responsibilities across the federation. As part of the 18th amendment, a new article 25-A declaring **“the State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of age 5-16 years in such a manner as may be determined by law”** was also finally made a part of the constitution. Right of Child to Free Education (1) says [E]very child, regardless of sex, nationality or race, shall have a fundamental right to free and compulsory education in a neighbourhood school. Moreover, free education is defined as education free of any education related costs including expenditure on stationery, schoolbags, and transport (2g). This has been ratified by all the provinces and federal capital except Gilgit Baltistan where it is still pending for

approval. To enrol in the public school a person simply registers his child by filling out necessary paperwork. Government schools must follow provincial, state and local laws in educating children.

This ensures inclusivity and entails no charges on a theoretical level. However, practically, parents do have to invest a certain amount of money to afford books, stationery items and transport in case the child lives at a distance from school. There is diversity of students in government schools because children come different backgrounds. Furthermore, due to education laws, public schools must educate all children, and make necessary arrangements to meet the educational needs.

One of the respondents, a teacher at a government school explains: The government must facilitate people in all matters and in every possible way. The teachers appointed in a public school must have proper training of pedagogy; only a capable and competent teacher can be productive and contribute positively.

Simultaneously informs about the common issues faced by public schools

Overcrowded classrooms act as a deterrent to effective learning. To be honest the infrastructure severely lacks, it is not upto the standard and a few teachers are underqualified, hence, the system is unable to meet the needs of poor students enrolled here. We see students of varying ages enrolled in the same class which ofcourse has an impact on them and subsequently on the entire education system. Well, we can say in government school's quality of education is low but the process of learning is quite fine. Finding the last comment unclear, on probing, it was clarified that students are acquainted with school as a system and education as a process, and this learning in public schools is found satisfactory by our respondent.

The key subjects taught include math, English, reading, writing, Urdu, Sindhi, science, history, and physical education. In addition to these a few public schools offer programs in music and art. In a public school, the curriculum is mandated by the state and learning is measured through state standardized tests. Government schools teachers are usually state certified or, at a minimum, working towards certification. Certification ensures that a teacher has gone through the pedagogical training required by the state, which includes student teaching methods, understanding and effective transmission of curriculum.

Despite the low and cost education, the research shows that government schooling system is generally not appreciated compared to the private schools. Most common issues quoted are overcrowdedness, average students, lack of proper sanitation system and non-availability of pure drinking water, lack of proper infrastructure, even the basic furniture. *There are no proper benches for students to sit and learn* complains a father.

Respondents also criticized what they called “the robotic” pattern of attending school. Children go to school, attend the class and are told to memorize their lessons. Children must complete their homework, but they are unable to do it in the absence of supervision. The way education is being imparted in public schools children fail to realize its significance.

Other interviewees point to the ineffective, inefficient governments schooling system that they believe is producing *Gadahu* (donkey, generally considered as a symbol of foolishness). *After the passage of time these same gadahu will be employed in the government schools through the sufارش (nepotism) of local political leaders. These sufارش (individuals hired because of nepotism) do not attend the classes regularly.* The respondents seem to find the entire system caught in a vicious circle whereby chances for a bright and secure future for children enrolled in government schools are bleak.

Some indicated lack of awareness as an important issue, *What actually is education? How does it help having a secure future? What is importance of education? Effective awareness is not created and children have little knowledge about the scope of education.* It is further believed that due to poor quality of service provision, children show poor achievements in the school. In some cases they are unable to cope and meet the criteria, hence, drop out.

Moreover, corrupt practices and internal school politics emerged as reasons for low performance. One of our respondent held corruption as a major cause of low popularity of public schools. According to him the budget is not spent efficiently. Respondents also pointed to the issue of *ghosro master*, teachers who are always physically absent but shown as present on papers and continue to receive salary throughout their term. They are called *muftpaghar*, who are receiving salary for no work. *I go to school, but teacher remain absent. I don't like to study. What I will do after studying if such practices continue at school* says a concerned student.

Pros and Cons of Private School

A key finding is the preference for private schools owing to the better quality of education provided there. Even the school smallest in scale, in terms of enrolment and space, is regarded better than public school. Several reasons are provided for this preference. Better infrastructure being a significant one. *Private school has better building, furniture and class rooms. The class rooms have illustrations and quotes painted on the wall which the children find attractive. This helps develop a yearning for school in children and therefore learning,* believes a mother. Another frequently quoted advantage of private schools and disadvantage of public ones is availability of clean water and functional sanitation system in the former which is lacking in the latter. *Private schools have effective and efficient administration. The teacher children ratio in class room is such that each child receives due attention* are some other statements echoing across the interviews. In addition, the native believe that private schools can be academically more rigorous than public schools. Last but not the least, private schools often have honor codes and a stricter behavioural standards that help students develop into mature responsible adults.

In terms of autonomy private schools are to a great extent self-regulating and self-governing and are not subject to many state and provincial government regulations as public schools. These schools do not receive tax revenues instead are funded through tuition, fundraising, donations and private grants. Since private schools are funded independently, they are not subject to the limitations of state education budgets and have more freedom in designing curriculum and instruction.

As against inclusivity of public schools private schools can be selective. Such schools are not obligated to accept every child; admissions in these schools are competitive. Private schools have flexibility to create a specialized program for students and can create their own curriculum and assessment systems, although many also choose to use standardized tests. The school teachers here may not be required to have certification instead often have subject area expertise and a graduate degree in the subject they teach. Although students in these schools may be from different neighbourhoods, they often have similar socio-economic background, social class, hence similar worldview, similar goals and interests. Given this, some of the parents, although struggling to meet both ends, have shifted to private schools for better education.

While a comparison between private and public schools such that the former are preferred over the latter was a general find, a few exceptions showed a disgruntlement for both the systems. The main reason given in this lieu is that both systems are vested in interests other than provision of better knowledge and learning which is and should be the actually aim of educational institutions. Some of the respondents alleged that both institutions are two sides of the same coin with no real difference. Private schooling system has commoditized education and are money-making institutions. One of the respondents criticized both private and government schools for not *showing seriousness required of education providing institutes. Government schools are inefficient, while private ones are just concerned about profit accumulation, there is no concern for better education for better future.*

Others see private schools as extension of public schools. As to why, a respondent explained that many of the private schools are ventures of public school teachers now retired. Previously teachers, now they are the administrators. Some retired teachers work in private schools out of their financial requirements. *How do we expect a better system when the same ustad (teacher) is there to teach?* Questions another respondent.

Some opined private as pseudo schools providing superficial quality service. A parent stated *private schools are like temporary pills. The system and administration are good in the private schools. They present themselves as developed systems, but students do not learn much in the private schools.*

Perception about Teachers as Service Providers

The role of teachers as service providers for knowledge dissemination and learning is formative. One of the key areas of this research investigates perception of the service seekers about service providers. Here too, a distinction is made between private and public school teachers. Research illustrates that poor quality of teaching in public schools is regarded as one of the reasons for the dropouts in the school. Some of the teachers believe in harsh attitude for better education. These teachers use corporal punishment in the class room. “Kukar banana” (literally meaning: making a rooster) is the most common corporal punishment whereby the student is told to hold ears through legs. This being a severe stress position is reported to have an adverse effect on the dignity and confidence of the child.

The research reveals that this type of punishment is perceived as worst and “unbearable” form by the students to an extent that being hit with a stick is viewed as better.

Parents complained that the teachers are not well trained. They do not know how to treat children. Since the jobs are not given on merit, competence is compromised. *If teacher is not well Parhyal (educated) and has no experience of teaching, how will he/she be able to teach to his/her students? As long as such kind of teachers will continue working as government employees in schools the quality of education will remain low in government schools,* a father explains despondently.

In addition to merit being compromised, lack of performance based scrutiny in the public sector is identified as a reason behind inefficiency of public school teachers. Parents suggest that similar to student’s evaluation for promotion to next class, teacher’s evaluation for professional progress is the solution. If student’s failure is regarded not just an individual’s failure but a failure of both, the teacher and the student, more efforts will be exerted for better services. A respondent who is a parent suggests *When government or concerned authorities will start asking the teacher how in a class of 20 only 5 children pass the exam? Are they the only intelligent ones? What is your role in the performance of students? Only then a teachers will perform their duty responsibly and effectively. The results will be different then. A teacher’s success is closely linked to his/her student’s success.* The respondents also believe that there is a lack of sincerity and commitment.

The situation in villages is even worse. The wide prevalence of ghost schools and teachers’ absenteeism are the primary reason for children’s inability to cope up with studies and/or develop and interest in it. Respondents further were of the view that teachers took their salaries without teaching children. On the other hand, the same teachers would just issue “pass certificates” to the children to hide their absenteeism, inability and inefficiency. Their students are unable to read even their mother tongue. For pupils coming from rural areas for high school, education attainment poses a tough challenge. Without sound basic education children from rural areas often drop out from high school.

Contrary to this, respondents appreciated private schooling system as efficient and keeping a check on teachers. *The teachers from private schools are regular and punctual because their administration does not allow undue holidays,* informs a respondent whose child is enrolled in a private school. Interesting to note is the perception regarding gender dimension. Respondents said that most of the teachers hired are female, who show a seriousness towards their job. Age emerges as another interesting factor. Young teachers it is believed are “energetic” and teach with “passion”.

Apart from this comparison between private and public schools, one of the concern transcending this and other distinctions is lack of professional training provided to teachers. During the process of teaching, the instructors learn pedagogical methods and techniques, mostly out of their own individual experiences.

Teachers’ Grievances: The other side

We found a common perception of government school teachers that middle class or elite class people do not prefer to enrol their child in the government schools and rather send them to high cost private schools. One of the criteria while choosing a school is an institute where a child learns fluent English. In addition to English, students from private school often are able to score better. According to these teachers, most of the parents who can afford do not care about high end fee, their first priority is to see a well-educated child from a well reputed institution. Most of the children enrolled in public schools are from lower socio-economic background. Their parents have less of an interest in their child’s education due to several reasons, lack of finances or poverty being an important one. Teachers further reported that only a few children from a better economic background study in public schools. They are often kids of government employees. Along with it, their children are also studying in private tuition centres to compete with private schools’ students. The teachers are aware that generally the parents consider private system is more efficient and competent in present times.

A few teachers actually believed that public schools are for poor strata while private schools are for elite. Since affluent families can afford high fee of private schools so they should not burden the public schools. Unlike parents, these teachers opined that children from public schools are equally competitive. And that there is no difference in the quality of education being provided in both types of schools. They claimed that teachers everywhere make an effort to teach the children effectively. Also the teachers believed that parents must take responsibility of education of their child and do more than just paying the fee, that is, they must co-operate with teachers and ensure that their children do all the assignments given by their teachers. Also a few teachers attributed students’ absenteeism to their

parents' negligence. A teacher narrated his experience of calling a parent out of concern and being told that the child will no more come to school. He was disappointed given that despite the counselling and motivational sessions with the child, the parents preferred dropping him out altogether. (The reason for drop out in this case is unknown)

Some indicated bad company as the reason for a child's poor academic performance. Such students bring a bad name to the institution for two reasons; poor academic performance and delinquent behaviour.

Apart from parental negligence and students' lack of interest, the teachers confessed that sometimes the behaviour of some teachers is also a reason for a dull image of public schools in the society. A few *Ghosro* (ghost) teachers are often simultaneously employed in both public and private schools and draw salary from both. Due to lack of surveillance and in the absence of a check and balance in public schools, these teachers remain absent from there but regularly serve in the private school. These ghost teachers are double dealers. After signing their attendance in public schools they will leave for their other job.

Teachers stated that both teachers and parents need to play their role properly in children education. When child returns home from school, parents must check his/her homework and inquire about academic activities on a daily basis. Once parents start taking more interest and keep a check, the child would also be conscious and make an effort to study better.

Education in Schools: The Way Forward

Our research illustrates that the actors and stakeholders both have certain expectations and assumptions regarding the attitude of each other towards education. Interesting to note is the dominant tone of negativity, irresponsibility, and negligence associated with the other. For not investing enough in terms of time and for not paying enough attention. Teachers have grievances against students' attitude and parents' interest while parents and students complained against teachers' attitude. While documenting their narratives both parents and teachers hinted at educating a child as a collective responsibility albeit rarely treated as such. And that while the both are connected to the student there's a realization that it is important that both should be connected to each other too for better education of a child.

Implicit in all the interviews is a realization that ensuring children's education for better future is a collective responsibility on micro as well as macro level; on the level of school, parents as well as the state and society.

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