

# **An Exploration of Maternal Support to Children's Academic Achievement in Low Cost Private Schools in Lahore**

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## **Abstract**

With an increased recognition of the poor quality and limited availability of schools provided by the government, low cost private schools are experiencing exponential growth across Pakistan. By drawing on qualitative, semi structured interviews with 15 low income mothers of children enrolled in primary low cost private schools in Lahore, this study explores the way mothers are responding to this development, focussing on maternal conceptualisations of the value of education, and the behaviours they adopt at home and in relation to the school in order to support their children's academic achievement. This study finds that mothers tend to prefer private schools in place of public schools. The responses indicate this is due to increased private school availability within poorer communities, English language being offered as the medium of instruction, the presence of more and qualified teachers and the availability of basic infrastructure such as running water and electricity. Qualitative inquiries regarding behaviours suggest, despite limited resources and at times, illiteracy, mothers are determined to engage with their children's academic performance in a variety of ways at home and in relation to the school. At home, they tend to involve themselves by checking their children's homework, assisting in exam preparation and encouraging siblings to provide academic guidance to one another. Importantly, they also enrol their children in after school private tutoring as a way to provide indirect academic support to their children. In relation to the school, mothers regularly attend parent teacher meetings, and if necessary, visit the school in order to discuss their child's progress, both academic and discipline related. Importantly, their interaction with the school is mostly limited to parent teacher meetings that are initiated by the teachers. The findings of this study emphasise the need for future scholarly attention on exploring low income mothers prioritisation of private tutoring as a popular form of indirect academic support to their children. Additionally, the findings call for an investigation of the limited interaction between low cost schools and parents, particularly mothers, as they appear to be the more involved parents in low income communities in Lahore and exhibit a desire to engage more actively.

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## **Abbreviations**

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|             |                                    |
|-------------|------------------------------------|
| <b>MRQ</b>  | <b>Main research question</b>      |
| <b>SQ1</b>  | <b>Sub question 1</b>              |
| <b>SQ2</b>  | <b>Sub question 2</b>              |
| <b>SQ3</b>  | <b>Sub question 3</b>              |
| <b>SES</b>  | <b>Socio economic status</b>       |
| <b>PPPs</b> | <b>Public private partnerships</b> |

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **1.1 Context: setting the scene**



*Figure 1: Map of Pakistan*  
Source: BBC News

Working with low cost private schools in the city of Lahore in Pakistan, I quickly became aware of how it was only mothers who came to pick up their children after school, eagerly sought opportunities to speak with the teachers regarding their child's progress and were passionate when discussing how valuable education was to them. In fact, they were the only parent who attended parent teacher meetings, even though invitations were regularly shared with both parents. Day after day, I witnessed mothers communicate with each other, trying relentlessly to identify ways to become more engaged in their children's academic journeys, despite their low socio economic status and limited resources. I remember being extremely surprised; although it was the mothers who demonstrated engagement on a daily basis to support their children's academic achievements, there was only minimal research available focussing on exploring their conceptualisations of the value of education and what behaviours they were adopting to support their children's academic achievement in low cost private schools. This has served as the impetus for this study, and why I decided to explore maternal engagement in low cost private schools in Lahore.

### ***The Pakistan context***

A review of recent literature on education in Pakistan makes evident that as the sixth most populous country in the world, the tremendous rise in the number of school going children has resulted in a complex challenge for the nation's education sector (Barber, 2010; Ferguson et al. 2014; Naviwala, 2016). This is coupled with distressingly small expenditures on education, accounting for less than 2.7% of the central government's budgetary allocation (World Bank, 2015). Equally distressing are the education indicators, with one third of primary school age children out of school and approximately 57% of the total adult population illiterate (UNESCO, 2014). Furthermore, since the decentralisation of educational provision in 2010, the provincial governments report wide discrepancies in education indicators resulting in stark inter provincial disparities (Naviwala, 2016). Bano (2008) reports that there are great disparities even in access to education among the provinces.

Nevertheless, of the provinces, Punjab, where Lahore is situated, is viewed as being the first to move towards education reform (Naviwala, 2016). It is reported that it has the largest number of primary schools and the highest primary student enrolment rate in the country (Malik et al. 2015). In fact, in measuring educational inputs such as infrastructure, as well as educational outputs such as student performance, Punjab is seen to dominate the education rankings in the country (Alif Ailaan, 2016). In particular, Lahore, Pakistan's second largest city has a literacy rate of 64.7 percent (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 1998)<sup>1</sup>. It has a net enrolment rate of 76 percent for girls in primary schools, and 81 percent for boys enrolled in primary schools. In comparison with other cities, it also has a higher primary completion rate for both girls and boys (Alif Ailaan, 2013a).

However, this does not mean schools are physically available in all areas, particularly in low income localities, nor does it mean the quality of education is high or consistent throughout the province. The teacher student ratio in government primary schools is approximately one teacher for every 37 students and the teacher school ratio is two

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<sup>1</sup> This is the latest published data available on Lahore, given that the consensus only took place this year in 2017 after 1998.

teachers to one school, where teachers are in charge of multiple grades, irrespective of subject or grade level expertise (Alif Ailaan, 2016, p. 1). There are not enough schools in remote areas, forcing an estimated 76% of children enrolled in government schools to commute on foot leading to drop out rates of 13 percent for girls and 5 percent for boys (Alif Ailaan, 2013b). Thus, government schools continue to be plagued by poor quality and limited availability (Malik et al. 2015).

This low quality as well as lack of available schools has contributed to a growing dissatisfaction with the government's provision of education in poor households (Andrabi, Khwaja, & Das, 2002; Barber, 2010; Farah & Rizvi, 2007; Ferguson et al. 2014; Malik et al. 2015). Significantly, this has resulted in a phenomenal growth of low cost private schools across the country, in both rural and urban areas (Monazza Aslam, 2011; Khan & Shaikh, 2013; Muzaffar, 2010; Naseer, Patnam, & Raza, 2010). In the past, private schools have been found to cater only to highincome groups (Jimenez, Emmanuel, Tan Peng, 1987). Today, elite private schools provide education to children from the richest strata of society, whereas lowcost private schools provide an alternative to government schools for the poorer segments of society (Alderman et al. 2012; Coleman, 2010).

According to Muzaffar (2010), 'private is good' is regularly repeated as a response to diverse education problems in Pakistan (p.3). Private low cost schools are seen to offer many more benefits, such as lower student teacher ratios than public schools, as well improved infrastructure (Alif Ailaan, 2013b). These schools are mostly located within low income communities (see Appendix M), provide basic necessities including clean water and running electricity, and importantly, are affordable to low income groups (Alderman, Orazem, Paterno, & Alderman, Harold, Orazem, 2001; Andrabi, Das, & Khwaja, 2008; Institute of Social and Policy Sciences, 2010). The fees range from £1 to £20 per month, and are frequently subsidised according to a family's financial capacity (Ferguson et al. 2014). Furthermore, several studies report that private schools leave the public schools far behind when it comes to demonstrating learning gains for comparable student groups (Asadullah, 2009; Malik et al. 2015; Muzaffar, 2010).

In most cases, these schools are a result of partnerships between the public and private sectors, which are seen to be growing (Ali, 2013), in order to encourage resource allocation to promote effective quality control in the schools (Jimenez & Tan, 2006). Public private partnerships (PPPs) are becoming increasingly common, and privately owned and operated schools are expanding rapidly as a result of the private sector increasing quality and accountability of the education system (Amjad & MacLeod, 2014; Malik, 2010). With approximately 35% of the population being of school going age (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2015), this private provision of schools is seen as a welcomed alternative, resulting in an enrolment rate of 4.8 million children in low cost private primary schools (Malik et al. 2015). In this way, the private sector is seen to play a significant role in negating the government's unsuccessful efforts of providing educational opportunities to the rapidly increasing population (Komatsu, 2009; Malik, 2010).

## **1.2 Rationale**

As the previous section identifies, low cost private schools are emerging at a phenomenal rate across Pakistan (Andrabi, Das, & Khwaja, 2005; Jimenez et al. 2009; Muzaffar, 2010). Despite this rapid expansion, there is minimal research available investigating how parents are responding to this development, such as Crozier et al. (2007) who find that parental involvement is limited due to the schools as they inhibit accessibility for certain parents and Muhammad et al. (2013) who report positive effects of parental involvement on secondary school academic achievement in Lahore.

Furthermore, there is a voluminous body of global literature on parental involvement and its' positive impact on student academic achievement (Barnard, 2004; Chavkin & Williams, 1989; Cotton & Wiklund, 1989; Desimone, 1999; Eccles & Harold, 1993; Edwards & Warin, 1999; Epstein, 2010; Fan & Chen, 2001; Goodall & Vorhaus, 2011; Gorard & See, 2013; Hill & Taylor, 2004; Hoover Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Peters, Seeds, & Goldstein, 2007; Zellman & Waterman, 1998). This underscores that it is indeed alarming that there is a lack of research available on parental engagement in Pakistan. What is even more concerning is despite mothers being the more involved parent and demonstrating consistent engagement often outdoing that of the fathers

(Peters et al. 2007; Reay, 1998), there is a noticeable gap in literature exploring the way mothers' conceptualise the value of education and how they engage to support their children's academic achievement in low cost schools in Pakistan. In fact, considerable research has definitively established the positive influence that mothers' involvement in their children's education has on the children's achievement (Henderson & Berla, 1994; Hoover Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Weiss et al., 2003). However, as Reay (1998) points out, mothers involvement with their children's education as well as their hard work in supporting their academics tends to remain hidden or invisible. Given the lack of scholarly focus on the topic, this dissertation aims to fill the gap by exploring maternal engagement in low cost private schools in Lahore.

### **1.3 Choosing the site for this study**

The motivation behind selecting Lahore as the site for this study is due to my understanding of the local context and numerous contacts I made working across low cost private schools in low income communities in the city. The exponential growth of such private schools has attracted much scholarly attention, albeit limited to school performance, teacher availability and additional educational indicators (Andrabi, Das, & Khwaja, 2005; Malik et al. 2015). As mentioned above, parents and indeed mothers remain under researched as active participants in children's academic achievement. Through my work in Lahore, I recognised this limitation.

Given my interaction with the local context, concerns of researcher bias are justified (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011). However, it was decided that an opportunity to access low income communities and carry out a scholarly investigation of maternal engagement could prove beneficial in adding to the research on the increasing private low cost school enrolment in Pakistan. Indeed, I accessed schools through my network, but I took steps to reduce researcher bias by seeking outside perspectives, from academics and educationists, and by piloting and recalibrating throughout the various phases of the project.

## **1.4 Research aims and research questions**

As mentioned in the previous sections, prior research has explored different dimensions of children's academic achievement and parental engagement (Edwards & Warin, 1999; Fan, 2001; Sui Chu, 1997; Walker, Hoover Dempsey, Whetsel, & Green, 2004; Weems, 2005). However, to my knowledge, there is a research deficit when it comes to examining the role mothers play in low income communities in Pakistan. This is especially alarming given the growing proportion of the school age populace in the country (Malik et al. 2015; Naviwala, 2016), and mothers being the primary caretakers of the children. Therefore, it is natural to explore why and how they value education, and in what ways they engage with their children's academic journey. With the aim of addressing this research gap, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

**The main research question: Why and how do mothers support their children's academic achievement in low cost private schools in Lahore?**

**Sub question 1: Why do mothers value education?**

**Subquestion 2: Why do mothers choose private options for formal and non formal education?**

**Sub question 3: How do mothers provide support on a day to day basis at home and in relation to the school?**

## **1.5 Organisation of the dissertation**

The next chapter critically reviews literature, mapping factors that have been shown to characterise the conceptualisation of the value of education, as well as chart parental engagement in lowincome contexts. Furthermore, it reflects on literature, which explores preferential patterns that parents exhibit in terms of school choice; opting for private schools in the place of public schools in Pakistan's developing country context. Chapter 3 provides a detailed description of the methodological design choices and ethical considerations of this study. Chapter 4 provides the findings that speak to the

**three sub questions, which collectively address this research study's main research question. Chapter 5 discusses the main findings in relation to the literature. Lastly, this dissertation concludes by reflecting on the study's findings and clearly emphasises the need for future investigation of private tutoring as a form of non formal education, as well as an exploring of English language as the desired medium of instruction. It also identifies the research gap pertaining to parent school relations, or lack thereof, across low cost private schools in Pakistan.**

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

This literature review is organised by theme in a chronological manner to reflect the multiple factors contributing to why and how mothers support their children's academic achievement in lowcost private schools in Lahore, Pakistan. The key terminology, 'value', 'private education', 'low cost schools', 'parental involvement' and 'maternal engagement' are explored as they mapped my search to contextualise this study. As aptly described by Robson (2011), prior engagement with the literature can enhance the researcher's analysis by sensitizing to features of the data that might otherwise be missed. With this in mind, I provide key empirical and conceptual research on 1) parental conceptualisations of the value of education in low cost community settings 2) parental school choice and why private formal and non formal education options are gaining traction in Pakistan and 3) global parental engagement and involvement practices, with a study specific focus on parental engagement in low income communities.

It is important to note that despite the existence of expansive findings regarding parental engagement (Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003; Fan & Chen, 2001; Goodall & Vorhaus, 2011; Gorard & See, 2013), there is limited literature available on low income mother's engagement with their children's academic achievement (Reay, 1998a, 1998b, 2002; Weiss et al., 2003). Furthermore, to my knowledge, there is no literature available on maternal engagement in low income communities in Pakistan specifically. With these imitations in mind, this review focusses on parental engagement literature as it pertains to their conceptualisation of the value of education, the choice between formal and non formal private and public educational provisions, as well as behaviours and practices demonstrated by low income parents that supports their children's academic performance.

### **2.1 Value of education in low cost community settings**

Often the way parents conceptualise the value of education directly influences their school choice and engagement with their children's education. According to Lareau (2000), even teachers and principals view parents' actions in relation to their

involvement with their children's education reflected in their *values*. With this in mind, this section explores literature focussed on 1) what factors influence parental conceptualisation and 2) the beliefs and perspectives held by low income parents on the value of education. It is important to note at this point that parents own education and socio economic status does not always establish a direct causality with the extent to which they value education and engage. Chavkin & Williams (1989) in their study of low income parents' attitudes toward parental involvement in education found that low income parents were strongly supportive of the idea of involvement, irrespective of their own levels of education, and they were as interested in being involved with their children's school decisions as parents from high income categories.

Prominent in negative stereotypes about low income adults is that they do not place a high value on education due to their own lack of education. In a study, Lott (2001) explored this stereotype by examining the experiences of parents of poor children in their schools. Lott found that low income parents are generally viewed as apathetic, and their children are said to suffer the consequences of their parents' inability or lack of desire to value education as they are themselves not aware of its' benefits having not received any schooling. Lareau (2000) finds in her research that they don't value education because they don't have much of one themselves. [Since] they don't value education as much as they could, they don't put those values and expectations on their kids' (p. 98). Jacob & Lefgren (2007) in their study examining revealed preferences of parents for their children's education also found that what makes parents value education is likely to depend on the educational context in which they find themselves. Reay (2002) argues that mothers' who had had negative experiences of schooling themselves left them undermining their own sense of expertise in relation to academic work and 'left them feeling disempowered in relation to education' (p. 26).

Furthermore, a few studies that have examined parents' beliefs regarding involvement have suggested that low income parents may resist direct involvement due to lack of time as they have to work multiple jobs and have less flexibility to meet involvement expectations (Drummond & Stipek, 2004). In particular, where there is available literature on mothers' engagement, *maternal* support is underscored by negative connotations. Their conceptualisation of the value of education is examined through their socio economic status i.e. 'welfare' or 'low income' categorisation. Lott (2001)

shares that what welfare mothers report is that they are treated with impatience, disrespect and suspicion.

However, Chavkin & Williams (1989) argue that minority, low income parents have 'positive attitudes about their involvement' in their children's education because they place value in what education can do for their futures, even if they themselves have received limited or no schooling and/or have less time to devote to being involved with their children's education. In fact, some research has found that educational involvement is more positively associated with child literacy of low income children whose mothers are *less* education compared with low income children whose mothers are *more* educated (Dearing, McCartney, Weiss, Kreider, & Simpkins, 2004). Furthermore, studies have shown that low income parents value education as a route to economic and social mobility (Delgado Gaitan, 1991). Similarly, Delgado Gaitan (1991) notes that numerous researchers conclude that Mexican American minority and low income families indeed value education for their children as well, despite notions of disinterest and varied social values attributed to them.

This conceptualisation of the value of education is made even more evident by the school choices that parents make. The following section explores this very point with a focus on parental school choice in lowcost communities to establish contextual literature support for the purpose of this study.

## **2.2 Parental school choice: private formal and non formal education**

### **2.2.1 Formal education: low cost private schools**

Under Article 25A of the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the country's constitution, education is a fundamental right of every schoolage child in Pakistan. However, Pakistan's gross enrolment rates are the lowest in South Asia, and this low ranking has persisted for over ten years (World Bank, 1996). In fact, in rural Pakistan, which is witnessing the rapid expansion of private education options, only 54% of children are enrolled in school – whether private, public, community, nongovernment organisation or trust run schools or *madrassas* (religious schools). This implies one out of every two children is

out of school in rural Pakistan (Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014). Public expenditure on education has also been declining (from 2.2% in 2005/06 to 2 percent in 2009/10) (Ministry of Finance, 2010). With the state's school system failing, the last two decades have witnessed a phenomenal growth in the non state or private sector in education. Currently the private sector caters for approximately 33% of children enrolled in schools and employs 44% of teachers in Pakistan. This rise of lowcost private schooling, particularly in Punjab (comprising of a quarter of total enrolments), reflects the significant demand for education (Habib, 2013). Indeed, Punjab has the highest proportion of private enrolments, of 23% in comparison with the rest of the country (Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014).

Low Cost private schools are increasingly seen as an alternative means of acquiring education, as a response to the inadequate supply and low standard of government schools (Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014; Asadullah, 2009; Muzaffar, 2010). Many studies repeatedly report that private schools outperform public schools in learning gains as a result of lower teacher to student ratio and increased training for teachers, amongst other factors. Asadullah (2009) found in his study of returns to private and public education, that private schools in Pakistan are more effective than public schools in raising learning standards. Also, parents are found to prefer private schools as they may be located closer to home, teachers attend class more frequently, the quality of teaching is likely to be better, English is used as a medium of instruction and they offer better physical infrastructure. Importantly, for poorer parents, perceived employment opportunities are an important determinant of investing in private schools. This means that parents will choose a private school if they perceive that their children will then be able to access higher paying jobs (Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014). Thus, this perception of private schools as better educational platforms is strengthened as they are seen to solve the problem of poor educational provision by the public sector by providing better quality education (Muzaffar, 2010).

A number of recent studies have examined the quality of education provided by private schools using primary data. The evidence suggests private schooling is in fact much more academically advantageous for students, both low income and high income. Alderman et al. (2001) find evidence that first, in terms of performance in tests, students who attend private schools (including low cost) outperform those who are

enrolled in public schools. Crozier et al. (2007) find similar evidence in that primary students' test scores in Punjab were higher among private than public school children (Crozier et al. 2007). Alderman et al. (1996) find that for individuals with higher cognitive skills tested through exams in these schools, they serve as an effective instrument for skill formation and poverty alleviation as they boost wage earnings of individuals. Additionally, these schools are seen to produce better test scores (Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014).

### **2.2.2 Non formal education: private tutoring**

#### ***The Emergence of shadow education:***

Shadow education, which is defined as extra, paid private tutoring classes given after school hours, either one to one at the student's home or in larger groups, at the teacher's own residence or at tutoring academies, has become much more visible worldwide in the past decade (Mark Bray, 2010). As a major component of the education sector in many developing countries, private tutoring provides supplementary instruction and can be found in geographically and economically diverse countries such as Vietnam, Egypt, United States, United Kingdom, Kenya, Japan, Morocco, Romania, Singapore, and Pakistan amongst others (Dang & Rogers, 2008). In Vietnam, private tutoring is viewed as a necessary good and the trend to attend private tutoring lessons is found to be stronger at higher education levels (Dang, 2007). Japan is seen to be a pioneer in the provision of this type of supplementary instruction, with annual revenues reaching an estimated \$14 billion by the mid 1990s (Dang & Rogers, 2008). In Sri Lanka, despite free state provided education, an increase in competition in qualifying for higher education has also resulted in a growing phenomenon of private tutoring classes (Pallegedara, 2011). Indeed, 'a culture of private tutoring outside and after the regular school [hours] is rapidly increasing in Pakistan as well' (Afzal, Tabassum, & Tabassum, 2014). In fact, this practice of engaging in private tutoring has substantially extended into low cost communities in rural areas across the country (Suleman, Aslam, Hussain, & Ali, 2013).

However, despite the high incidence of private tutoring and its impact on academic performance, existing scholarship appears to have largely ignored this speedily emerging sector in Pakistani education (Khan & Shaikh, 2013). The economic aspect of private tutoring is still also a minimally explored area in academic studies, even though it has emerged as a flourishing business, involving large sums of money paid by students and their families (Afzal et al. 2014). Aslam (2011) argues that it is worrisome how little attention has been paid to what some academics now recognise as the third important education sector in Pakistan (Monazza Aslam, 2011). This flourishing private tutoring phenomenon begs the question: What are the reasons behind such rapid proliferation of private tutoring provision?

*Reasons for the proliferation of private tutoring provision:*

Across Pakistan, almost 16 percent enrolled *rural* children were reported taking paid tutoring in 2010. In 2011, it was found that the incidence of private tutoring taking in *urban* localities such as Lahore is approximately 62 percent. This phenomenon of private tutoring is not limited to a particular level of education, but is found across primary and secondary education levels in the country (Monazza Aslam, 2011). It is found that students' families tend to pay approximately \$10 a month, for each subject such as Mathematics or Science, or for the whole tutoring at the primary and secondary levels. This cost incurred is not insignificant given the socio economic status (SES) of families with children enrolled in low cost private schools (Afzal et al. 2014). Students enrolled in private schools are seen to have access to better quality schooling which should reduce the likelihood of private tutoring. However, according to Aslam & Atherton (2011), private school pupils are significantly *more* likely to engage in paid tutoring. With this in mind, this section examines literature on the private tutoring industry in low cost communities across rural and urban localities in Pakistan.

Predominantly supplied by private school teachers, literature cites a variety of causes behind this rapid growth of the private tutoring industry (Khan & Shaikh, 2013). On the demand side, researchers repeatedly identify the disproportionate teacherstudent ratio, ineffective instructional delivery, and the overall poor quality of education provided by schools as significant drivers. A possible explanation of this [private tutoring] could be that poor performance in school induces parents to complement

child schooling with home tutoring' (Aslam, 2004, p. 863). On the supply side, the income generated through the provision of shadow education has encouraged school teachers, family members and others not necessarily qualified individuals to engage. In fact, 'the money these private tutors and private tutoring centres are reaping from this industry is becoming a burden on the students and their families' (Afzal et al., 2014, p. 11). Khan & Shaikh (2013) carried out an extensive study surveying the emergence of private tutoring in Punjab and found that a high proportion of private school teachers, who are often paid less than public school teachers, provide private tutoring since 'tutoring classes are a means to supplement their income from mainstream teaching' (Khan & Shaikh, 2013, p. 141).

### *Impact of private tutoring:*

There are several studies examining the impact of private tutoring on 1) family income, 2) the quality of teaching during normal school hours and 3) student academic performance. Afzal et al. (2014) find in their study that the cost of private tutoring places an extra economic burden on the already constrained incomes of families residing in low cost communities. In fact, 68% of the respondents in their study felt that private tutoring reproduced socio economic inequalities, negatively impacting families. Aslam (2011) argues that being able to provide tutoring outside of normal school hours changes the incentive structure for teachers, which has implications on the quality of instruction delivery during school hours. Evidence from a range of literature shows that tutoring may affect the dynamics of teaching and learning inside classrooms as well (Bray, 2001). This raises the question about the quality of education provided within the school. Although some literature finds no variation between teacher effort in the classroom between those who provide tutoring and those who do not (Khan & Shaikh, 2013), this relationship between teachers' who provide tutoring and their quality of teaching inside the classroom is attracting much scholarly interest (Afzal et al. 2014). In exploring the relationship between private tutoring and academic performance, literature is mostly ambiguous, providing mixed results ranging from a positive, significant effect (Ha & Harpham, 2005) to an insignificant effect (Lee, 2004). Identification of the impact of private tutoring on academic achievement is difficult because so many other factors are involved. Furthermore, students who do and do not receive tutoring cannot be compared easily as they are rarely uniform in other

characteristics (Bray, 2001). However, most studies do tend to reveal tutoring as a positive factor in improving academic performance. Some evidence also suggests that tutoring not only provides education that helps improve grades, but also assists in the 'enculturation' of the children, by focussing on skills such as communication and confidence (Chuadhry & Javed, 2012). On the other hand, some studies also suggest that private tutoring can have a negative impact on learning outcomes due to the overburdening of students, resulting in negative marginal utility from private tutoring (Khan & Shaikh, 2013).

As Aslam (2011) points out, the shadow education sector in Pakistan is rapidly spreading and is here to stay. Existing literature tends to focus on the phenomenon of private tutoring for students belonging to high income families (Monazza Aslam, 2011; Bray, 2001; Khan & Shaikh, 2013) but there is a noticeable gap in literature on low income parents' perspectives on enrolling their children in shadow education, and its' subsequent effects. As my study reveals (see Findings Chapter), parents' tend to exhibit trust in low cost private schools and choose these schools of their own volition, and believe that the teachers are committed and qualified. However, at the same time, the majority of the parents also opt for private tutoring provided by the very same teachers who teach during normal school hours. This presents a reality that requires academic attention.

## **2.3 Parental engagement in children's academic achievement**

### **2.3.1 Parental engagement as a critical factor**

Parental engagement is widely regarded as a fundamental contributor to children's school success (Reynolds & Schlafer, 2010). The literature linking parental involvement to student achievement is extensive (Desimone, 1999; Henderson & Berla, 1994). Many researchers argue that parents play a critical role in their children's academic achievement (Eccles & Harold, 1993). For example, Merttens describes parental involvement as 'the flag we salute whenever it is hoisted' (Merttens, 1993). Widely recognised to maximise student potential (Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003), parental support helps translate potential into academic achievement in children (Koblinsky, 2009). Many different types of parenting practices and behaviours have been linked to

positive student outcomes, translating student potential into achievement (Desimone, 1999). Some of the established benefits of greater parental engagement include higher grades, increased literacy and lower student dropout rates (Jimerson, Egeland, Sroufe, & Carlson, 2000). *Parental engagement* has been broadly defined as the parents' engagement in home and in school activities to enhance children's academic achievement (Fan & Chen, 2001). Similarly, *parental involvement* is seen as an integration of home and school (Lareau, 1987)<sup>2</sup>. 'In particular, parental involvement in the schools is associated with... academic performance, attitudes and behaviour, attendance, school adjustment and engagement, and graduation rates' (Velsor & Orozco, 2007, p. 17).

Although abundant literature identifies parental engagement at home and with the school as having a positive influence on children's academic achievement, it is important to note that research also finds that parental engagement is complex and inconsistent in terms of the extent of involvement, types of engagements, and practices, due to myriad of factors including socio economic status and parents' own education levels. It is therefore probably better to conceptualise this construct as being multifaceted in nature (Fan & Chen, 2001). The following section explores this complex construct of parental practices, experiences and behaviours in detail.

### 2.3.2 Parental involvement: practices and behaviours

Educators have identified numerous ways in which parents participate in children's education. These include supporting their children's schooling by attending school functions and responding to school obligations such as parentteacher meetings, helping their children with their homework (providing encouragement, arranging for study time, modelling desired behaviour) and actively tutoring their children at home (Cotton & Wikelund, 1989). Outside of the home, parents participate by volunteering to help out in school activities, maintain contact with teachers, visit the school and form parent committees or organisations. According to Cotton & Wikelund (1989), researchers have found that the most effective forms of parental engagement are those which engage parents in working directly with their children on learning activities at

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<sup>2</sup> For the purpose of this study, both terms 'parental engagement' and 'parental involvement' are used interchangeably.

home, such as helping with homework, reading together and tutoring. Similarly, research shares that the more active forms of parent engagement produce greater achievement. Active forms include not only communicating with the teachers regularly via telephone or written communications, regularly attending parent teacher meetings and maintaining a rapport with the school administration but also when parents work with their children at home, participate in school activities and even help out in classrooms and field trips. However, mounting evidence suggests that parents are not as involved as either they or the schools would like. Findings make it clear that parents want to be more involved, but lack of involvement can stem from various parent characteristics and experiences; such as lack of time, energy and/or economic resources, lack of knowledge, feelings of incompetence, failure to understand the role parents can play or a long history of negative interactions with the schools that have left parents discouraged (Eccles & Harold, 1993).

Eccles and Harold (1993) provide a theoretical framework outlining parental characteristics that they find likely to be important in examining and determining parental involvement in children's education. This framework is particularly relevant as it provides in depth context on factors that result in engagement/involvement. 1) social and psychological resources available to the parents: social demands they face, their mental state, physical health, and coping strategies 2) parents' efficacy beliefs: the confidence they have themselves and their competence in helping their children 3) parents' perceptions of their child: their confidence in their child's academic abilities and view of the options actually available for their child in the present and the future 4) parents' assumptions about their role in their children's education and the role of educational achievement for their child: that is, what role the parents would like to play in their child's education, how they think this role should change as the children get older, how important they believe in participation in school governance and what they believe are the benefits to their children of doing well in school 5) parents' attitude toward the school: what role they believe the school wants them to play, how receptive the school is to their involvement at home and at school, their previous history of negative and positive experiences at school, their belief that teachers call them in only to give them bad news about their child or to blame them for problems their children are having at school 6) parents' ethnic identity: the extent to which ethnicity is a critical aspect of the parents' identity, their beliefs that their children will be treated unfairly

because of their identity 7) parents' general socialisation practices: how parents usually handle discipline and issues of control versus autonomy, and how the children usually "manage" the experiences of their children 8) parents' history of involvement in their children's education: the impact of parents' experiences with their children's elementary schools and teachers on the parents' interest in being involved with their children in later grades.

As described above, various parent characteristics and experiences, including SES play a fundamental role in parental engagement and involvement. Engagement of parents belonging to low income communities is examined in the following section to provide context for this study.

### **2.3.3 Low income parental involvement**

Although parental involvement has been established for children from socio economically diverse backgrounds, research of *low income* parents' involvement in their children's academic achievement are not very old. Desimone (1999) argues, 'despite the sizable amount of research relating different types of parent involvement to student achievement, we do not have a clear understanding of how... parent involvement differ across... income groups' (Desimone, 1999, p. 12). The earliest efforts date back to the 1960s and the passage of the Elementary Secondary Education Act, and typically, parental involvement programs and subsequent research of them have been limited to middle and upper middle class families (Chavkin & Williams, 1989). Research on low income parental involvement demonstrates a discouraging atmosphere created by schools that hinders parents from getting involved. McLoyd (1990) argues that children of low SES are at risk for lower academic achievement, as the lack of involvement by their parents leaves them farther behind than their higher income counterparts. Weiss et al. (2003) addressing the role of low income mothers' work and educational involvement practices in their study found that the demand for mothers to engage in employment in order to meet the family's financial needs adversely affected their involvement with their children's education.

Furthermore, according to Clark's (1983) book surveying low income African American parents and their involvement with their children's education, while parents of high achievers frequently initiate contact with their children's school, parents of low achievers only visit their children's school in response to the school's request precipitated by their children's misbehaviour or poor work. This negative relationship between the schools and the parents' discourages parents' from being involved. Indeed, despite the identified positive benefits, low SES parents participate less in the schools than their higher SES counterparts (Lareau, 2013). However, this does not mean low income parents' do not want to be involved, or do not engage in their children's education, even if their engagement is inconsistent or limited in many cases. Chavkin & Williams (1989) in their study of 348 parents of low income households found,

*'There is strong evidence... that low income parents are interested in the idea of parent involvement in education... Low income parents want to be involved in a variety of school decisions, and they want to play active roles in their children's education. They [participants] were interested in both the traditional parent involvement roles of home tutor, audience, and school supporter, and the non traditional roles of co learner, advocate, and decision maker. The results clearly dispute any idea that low income parents lack interest in their children's education'. (Chavkin & Williams, 1989, pp. 23–24)*

A particularly relevant study carried out by Crozier and Davies (2007) on 'Hard to reach parents or hard to reach schools' surveyed low income parents from Bangladesh and Pakistan and found that for the Pakistani community, parental engagement with the school varied between families and between schools. Adopting typologies identified by Vincent (1996), they categorised Pakistani parents in three distinct forms: 1) parents as consumers 2) independent parents and 3) non participant parents, as a result of their extent of involvement. The three distinct forms are described in Figure 1 below (Crozier et al. 2007). This framework of parental engagement is particularly useful for my research as it exemplifies the types of involvement parents commonly demonstrated in the low income communities in Lahore.

**The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.**

***Figure 2: Framework adapted from Crozier and Davies (2007)***

## **Chapter 3: Methodology**

### **3.1 Research design and method**

In this chapter, I describe the methodological and ethical decisions made during the research process and I examine the limitations of this study. In particular, given the extent to which this study draws upon the particular context of Pakistan, I aim to provide a comprehensive picture of the site and sampling within the selected low income community setting.

#### **3.1.1 Qualitative design using semi structured interviews**

As a result of the exploratory nature of the research questions, the present study uses a qualitative research design with semi structured interviews as the research method. Qualitative research concentrates on describing and understanding social life, the meanings people bring to it, and their own behaviours within it in natural settings (Hennie, 2010). This design allowed for an in depth exploration of why mothers' value education and also, the relevant behaviours they exhibit to support their children's academic achievement within low income communities. As the most prominent data collection tool in qualitative research, the interview offers an in depth opportunity to explore perceptions, meanings and constructions of reality (Punch & Oancea, 2014b). Storey (2007) argues that qualitative methods such as interviews offer a number of advantages over quantitative methods by allowing researchers to focus on topics concerned with meaning, sense making, and the subjective experience (Storey, 2011). This flexibility of the semistructured interview design proved particularly useful because it allowed me to inquire further and go in depth with each participant (Pring, 2015). Semi structured interviews also have an in built flexibility to adapt to particular respondents and situations, allowing for the tailoring of specific questions in real time to acquire additional details from the respondents. At the same time, this research method also allows for directing participant focus on the research specific topics (Kvale, 1996).

In April 2016, I carried out 15 in depth, semi structured interviews as well as two pilot interviews (see section 3.1.3) with mothers of grade 5 students across three different primary low cost private schools in Lahore. Two of these schools belong to one private school network and the third belongs to a separate network. Both the networks operate lowcost private schools across the city of Lahore with highly similar costs, infrastructure, student capacity and teacher salaries. Each of the 15 semi structured interviews were conducted in person at the schools. The mothers themselves selected this venue, as I had emphasised the significance of their comfort and trust. The rooms were private, quiet and free from distractions (Gill, Stewart, Treasure, & Chadwick, 2008). The length of individual interviews ranged from 45 minutes to an hour and was determined by the amount of information the participants were willing to share. The interviews were conducted primarily in Urdu, the national language of Pakistan but also in Punjabi, the provincial language spoken in the city of Lahore situated in Punjab. I would ask each participant in the start which language they were most comfortable with, and carried out the interview in its' entirety in that language. With the voluntary and informed consent (a combination of oral and written) of all the participants, I was able to audio record all 15 interviews, which kept the conversations flowing. After completion, I was able to listen to the audio recordings and transcribe in detail, and I spent approximately 2 3 hours on 1 hour of audio recording to ensure quality of the transcription. I also maintained a researcher's diary in order to be able to 'reflect on the way research was being carried out to understand how the process of doing research shaped its outcomes' (Hardy, Phillips, & Clegg, 2001, p. 533).

### 3.1.2 Development of the research instrument

The development of this study's interview schedule was informed by schedules used in similar exploratory research studies. It consisted of three main sections: introductory questions seeking demographic specifics, questions regarding types and extent of involvement with the school and lastly, the types and extent of engagement at home, with the aim of eliciting detailed perspectives and behaviours held by mothers in relation to their children's academic achievement. These three sections were meant to reflect the main research question, 'why and how do mothers support their children's academic achievement in low cost private schools in Lahore' and gain data that would

assist in answering the sub questions (see Chapter 1). Once the English version of the interview schedule was complete, all the questions were translated into Urdu by myself as a native speaker of the language. I also requested a social science researcher based in Pakistan to review the translation for accuracy and clarity. Finally, this interview schedule was piloted with two mothers residing in communities where low cost schools are situated. The final interview schedule in its' original and translated forms can be found in Appendix K and L.

### **3.1.3 Piloting**

Prior to the official start of the study, the interview schedule was piloted with two mothers from two different low cost schools. The purpose was to check for question wording, sequencing, and gauge length. For this purpose, I communicated with the principals of two low cost schools, highlighting requirements for participation including parents needing to have at least one child enrolled in grade 5 in the school, speak Urdu fluently and reside within the low income communities. The participants were then purposively selected by these principals, who called several parents, out of which two mothers agreed to make themselves available. Utilising the interview schedule (Appendix K) I had translated in Urdu, I was able to ask the questions I had developed, and importantly, note ways of asking questions differently, which assisted in discovering probes that were useful and not raised by the initial interview schedule (Arthur & Nazroo, 2003). Overall, piloting resulted in changes in the structure and sequencing of the questions along with the addition of probes that were revealing.

## **3.2 Participants**

### **3.2.1 Gaining access: recruitment strategy**

A combination of purposive and snowballing strategies were adopted in the sampling design of this research study. As I had previously worked with two different networks that run low cost schools in Pakistan, I was able to approach them with the purpose of my research. By relying on these organisations, who have regular access to the low cost schools, I was able to establish personal contact with the principals of primary schools

located in Lahore. The principals then reached out to parents of grade 5 students. In this way, purposive sampling was adopted, and several mothers (only) agreed to participate. Additionally, in order to increase my sample size, I used snowballing to establish contact with more parents by relying on the participants who had already agreed to participate to share my study's purpose and y contact details with other parents they considered suitable. Since the communities I had selected for this research are small and close knitted, word travelled fast and I was quickly able to recruit a total of 15 participants. The immense interest in participating, sharing perspectives and providing insight, particularly voicing of concerns related to the low cost schools demonstrates that there is additional research needed in exploring the relationship between the school administration and the parents. It appears communication between the former and the latter is limited, encouraging mothers to opt for any available platforms to communicate their feedback, eliciting a need for focus in this field.

### **3.2.2 Participant selection criteria**

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the decision to select my site as low income communities in Pakistan was primarily motivated by the fact that although parental involvement has been established for children from high income backgrounds, there is limited research available on low income parental engagement (Desimone, 1999; Smith, 2006). In the cases that poorer parents are researched, literature appears to be limited to minorities and low SES parents residing in Western countries (Clark, 1983; McLoyd, 1990). This encouraged me to carry out research in Pakistan, a country which is witnessing the rapid mushrooming of low cost private schools, but has received limited scholarly attention in terms of the relationship between parents and their child's academic achievement in the schools. Therefore, the site of the study was purposively selected to reflect the conceptualisations held and behaviours demonstrated by lowincome parents in Pakistan's second most populous city, Lahore (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2006).

In particular, although extensive literature exists on parental engagement, there is a gap in research that focusses specifically on the role of mothers in low income communities. They are found to play a more active role in the academic lives of their children (Peters

et al. 2007), but they remain the less explored gender. In fact, even though they are found to be the more engaged parent, this does not necessarily mean that school choice is dependent on them. This decision, in fact, was found to rest primarily in the hands of fathers. This finding also elicits a need for further scholarly attention on gender specific roles that are adhered to in relation to children's school choice and academic achievement in low cost communities. Indeed, conducting interviews with mothers turned out to be crucial in developing a holistic appreciation of their child's schooling journey (Singal, 2016).

Additionally, participants had to be the parent of a student who was in grade 5. I purposefully selected this grade level as in Pakistan, it marks the end of primary school, and the transition into middle school. The significance of primary school education has increased with the United Nations recognising it as a fundamental human right today (Arif, Saqib, Zahid, & Khan, 1999). In fact, 'studies of the rates of returns to education attribute a positive value to the rate of returns to primary education' (p. 979). Furthermore, despite changes in education policies over the past several decades, students at the end of grade 5, marking the end of primary school, must still take a public examination conducted by the Department of Education in order to be assessed for promotion to middle school (Khattak, 2012).

### **3.2.3 Description of the sample**

For the purpose of this investigation, as mentioned earlier in the previous section, the recruited participants were parents of children enrolled in low cost private schools in Lahore. The three schools selected for this study are very similar: they belong to networks that constitute numerous primary low cost schools situated across the country. Importantly, their costs structure, including tuition fee(s), teacher and administrative staff salaries are very similar. They subsidize the cost of attendance according to each students' family income, and charge between £5 to £15 a month per student. Most extra costs such as textbooks and uniforms are waived.

The 15 mothers who participated in my study are described in the table below. They form a homogenous group, with similar financial capacities, and with all but two

mothers citing their occupation as housewives. Each participant in the table is given a pseudonym, identifying their occupation, age and native language. Their ages range from 37 to 64 and at the time of the study, all mothers had one child enrolled in grade 5. Their husbands mostly work in the labour market as fishermen, security guards and farmers. Even though the income is meagre, it is enough for the parents to allot a certain amount each month to their children's education costs.

***Table 1: Participant descriptors***

| #  | Name     | School | Network | Occupation | Age | Native Language |
|----|----------|--------|---------|------------|-----|-----------------|
| 1  | Ayesha   | 1      | 1       | Housewife  | 43  | Punjabi         |
| 2  | Sairah   | 1      | 1       | Housewife  | 39  | Punjabi         |
| 3  | Madeeha  | 1      | 1       | Housewife  | 49  | Urdu            |
| 4  | Anum     | 1      | 1       | Beautician | 52  | Urdu            |
| 5  | Zehra    | 1      | 1       | Housewife  | 60  | Urdu            |
| 6  | Faryal   | 2      | 1       | Housewife  | 60  | Punjabi         |
| 7  | Huma     | 2      | 1       | Housewife  | 49  | Punjabi         |
| 8  | Humaira  | 2      | 1       | Housewife  | 57  | Punjabi         |
| 9  | Amina    | 2      | 1       | Housewife  | 58  | Urdu            |
| 10 | Sahar    | 2      | 1       | Housewife  | 37  | Urdu            |
| 11 | Aneeta   | 3      | 2       | Housewife  | 44  | Urdu            |
| 12 | Aliya    | 3      | 2       | Housewife  | 49  | Urdu            |
| 13 | Mahnum   | 3      | 2       | Teacher    | 53  | Urdu            |
| 14 | Sumaira  | 3      | 2       | Housewife  | 56  | Urdu            |
| 15 | Rasheeda | 3      | 2       | Housewife  | 64  | Urdu            |

### **3.3 Analytical strategy**

My analytical phase began by transcribing the interview audio recordings verbatim to verify the quality of transcripts, before undertaking the analysis of the collected textual data (Poland, 1995). The transcriptions were collated in the form of memos with the interview notes documented in my researcher's diary. The memos, in which I theorised ideas regarding the relationship between the codes, proved particularly useful in expanding on the conceptual content in addition to the textual data (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 1994). Finally, the analysis of interview data was carried out using the framework developed by Miles and Huberman (2013) as it was particularly appropriate in identifying relevant information, assigning labels and attaching meaning to the data reflecting the broader themes in my research (Punch & Oancea, 2014a). Importantly, the final coding was decided upon after a thorough process of identifying patterns in the interview data. As Miles et al. (1994) describe, it was of fundamental significance to observe evidence of the same patterns in the collected data and subject it to conceptual and empirical testing before it thematically coding to represent useful knowledge.

### **3.4 Ethical considerations**

Educational researchers need to be alert to the various constraints around their research and to the ethical implications of any decisions they make' (Punch & Oancea, 2014a, p. 58). In order to assure the health, voluntary informed consent and privacy of humans involved in the research process, I adhered to the ethical guidelines of the British Educational Research Association (BERA) and particularly to its' commitment to 'an ethic of respect for the person, knowledge, democratic values, the quality of educational research and academic freedom' (BERA, 2011).

Following the approval of my research project by the University of Oxford Research Ethics Committee (Appendix A), I collected my data in accordance with Oxford University Ethical Guidelines (CUREC 2017). I prepared voluntary informed consent forms, which were provided to each participant prior to the commencement of the interview (Appendix H). Given the low literacy rate of the selected site for the study, I also prepared an oral description of the research purpose in Urdu, adopting plain

language, in order to seek oral consent from the participants where necessary (Appendix J). Each oral consent was documented. Before beginning the interview, I confirmed that participants were sufficiently informed of the purpose of the study, my motivation for pursuing this research and about their specific role in the research process. I used simple language so as to ensure comprehension, and provided additional verbal explanations wherever necessary.

Adhering to BERA guidelines on privacy and anonymity, all identifiers embedded in the interview data was anonymised and participants were assured that their responses would be held in the strictest confidence. Each participant was assigned a pseudonym and their responses were kept in a private folder in a locked computer. Additionally, I explicitly clarified that *only* my supervisor and myself had access to the collected interview data.

Finally, participants were made aware that their participation was in no shape or form necessary, and that they could withdraw at any time as well as not respond to every question. I also offered to remove their responses if at the end of the interview they exhibited discomfort. In this way, their privacy and confidentiality remained at the core of my ethical considerations throughout the research process.

### **3.5 Limitations of the study**

This study was carried out as part of the Master's dissertation project, predictably resulting in time constraints and a limited sample size. I was only able to interview a handful of parents with children enrolled in 3 different low cost private schools in Lahore. Due to the qualitative nature of the chosen research design and despite the richness of data collected through the semi structured interviews, my findings do not claim to be generalizable beyond the participants of this study. The representativeness of this sample, is therefore, limited. Importantly, in qualitative research, the role of the researcher as the primary instrument for data collection and analysis is widely acknowledged (Kvale, 1996; Patton, 2002). This means that the qualitative research design is susceptible to researcher biases, requiring the researcher to reflect critically

and reveal their own identity and values that may influence the research (Cassell, 2005).

As mentioned above, the motivation behind carrying out this research was my own work with networks providing education across lowincome communities across Pakistan. Noticing the rampancy of low cost private schools, I was alerted to the need to explore the ways mothers themselves conceptualise the value of education and why they are continuously opting for *private* education versus public. The deficit in literature on examining maternal behaviours that contribute to children's academic achievement, indeed, went hand in hand with exploring their perspectives on school choice. Although objectivity and value neutrality are encouraged (Gary, 1990), qualitative research can never be without bias or the influence of researcher's values. My experience with the networks exposed the minimal interaction between mothers and the school, as well as a constrained understanding of the significance of maternal engagement, which certainly served as an impetus for the present study.

## **Chapter 4: Findings**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the findings of this study. This organisation stays close to how the data emerged by describing how mothers conceptualised the value of education and their subsequent involvement and support mechanisms. Each section interrogates one central line of enquiry, however, this organisation is not meant to suggest that the themes discussed are cleanly extricable from one other. Rather, each section is written in conversation with one another in order to closely reflect how data emerged during the interviews. This thematic categorisation reflects Miles et al. (2013)'s analytical strategy of thematic coding, through which the raw qualitative data obtained is assessed in a meaningful way by coding according to thematic considerations pertaining to the research objectives (Miles, Hubermann, Saldaña, 2013).

The first section responds to SQ1 (why do mothers value education?) by exploring participants' reflections on their conceptualisations of the value of education. The second section addresses SQ2 (why do mothers choose private options for formal and non formal education?) by providing an exploration of why the mothers choose private schools over public schools, and frequently opt to enrol their children in private tutoring. I then move into responding to SQ3 (how do mothers provide support on a day to day basis at home and in relation to the school?) by describing thematically coded day to day behaviours mothers demonstrate at home and in relation to the school in order to support their children's academic achievement. Collectively, these findings address the main research question: why and how do mothers support their children's academic achievement in low cost private schools in Lahore?

### **4.2 Context**

At this stage, it is important to remind ourselves of the socio economic context of the communities in which these schools are located and where the participants reside themselves. The three schools selected are located in low income areas (rural localities) within the city of Lahore. The schools have a similar, if not identical tutoring fee

structure, charging not more than \$15.00 per student per month. All participants who were interviewed pay between \$10 and \$15 for each child enrolled in these schools. The parents of students attending these low cost private schools thus do not belong to the poorest segment of society, as they are able to afford the minimal fee to enrol their child/children into these schools. 'Clearly private schooling is a much more expensive [than government schools] options and offers a very different quality of education' (Sathar, Z., & Lloyd, 1994, p. 110). The parents are also required to pay a small sum to cover the cost of uniforms, textbooks and at times, transport which positions these families above the most impoverished populace residing in Lahore. In fact, the presence of a private school in low income communities is found to increase average parental expenditures (Sathar, Z., & Lloyd, 1994). All participants live between a minimum of 2 minutes to a maximum 20 minutes away from the school, and as mentioned earlier, all but two mothers are housewives. The anomalies are a beautician who provides basic services from inside her home to women from the same community and a school teacher. Collectively, they belong to a strata in society that constitutes the financial ability to contribute to their children's education, as the poorest sections of these communities are not able to access low fee private schools as they appear to go beyond their financial capabilities (Fennell, 2010).

### **4.3 Maternal conceptualisation of the value of education**

#### **4.3.1 Introduction**

In order to understand why the participating mothers' placed any value in education, the interview schedule included the following question: 'why do you believe education is important?'. This was followed up with relevant prompts; Why is education the solution? What do you believe are the benefits of education? And in what ways do you think education can shape your children's lives?' The responses elicited by these questions are thematically organised in the form of key findings: First, the value of education was found to be inextricably linked with financial returns in the form of better employment securing higher income than the parents themselves had. Frequently mothers cited their own lives as a comparative to the lives they wanted their children to have in terms of financial security. Second, education was seen to provide

independence to the children in having the ability to read and write and hence make decisions for themselves. Third, mothers shared that they believed education was valuable as it would enhance their children's knowledge base, resulting in them being able to give back to the community and make the country a better place for future generations. Lastly, mothers also shared that education was valuable as it would allow their children to '*illuminate*' the families' name; i.e. carry the family name forward with honour and integrity, which was associated directly with education. This tends to refer to recognising that *honour* can be detected through a family name, and actions of the children with that name, such as achievements or on the other hand, mishaps or misdealings are attributed to the family name.

#### 4.3.2 Education as a means to a monetarily secure future

As we navigate through the discussion below of why mothers value education, I call the reader's attention to how participants consistently establish a direct relationship between education and financial returns, as deduced from their responses. Ten out of the 15 participating mothers shared that they attributed their own lack of financial abilities to not completing their primary education. Conversations with 12 of the participating mothers revealed that their primary motivation to send their child to school was in recognition of its' value in providing access to higher paying employment opportunities in the future. Sairah reflected that she had not had any education herself and found that to result in her complete reliance on her husband for financial means and she could never want this for her own daughter. Another mother, Madeeha, recalled how dropping out of school before completing her primary schooling made it impossible for her to access any jobs and thus, was married off early to off set the financial burden she posed on her family. Although she wanted her daughter to be married off in her early twenties as well to meet familial cultural expectations, she was convinced that having a job would make her daughter independent and not reliant on her husband. She added that it would allow her to have mobility, and this means she could go distances into the city centre in order to find higher paying jobs. An aged mother of 64 years, Rasheeda implied that the value of education could not be separated from its' potential to allow access to acquiring income; 'I am old and will not be around for too long, but I believe if my son completes his schooling, he will be able to

find a job in an office to make enough money to support himself and his family'. Seven mothers shared that they've had troubled lives, especially after being married and that their major cause for distress is their inability to purchase even a single grocery item on their own. They explained how their lives are full of tension, frustration and problems because their husbands have complete control over the financial resources. Sumaira explained, 'a literate person has no tensions in life. I want my son to study hard so that he can find a good job and be able to pay his bills with ease.' Mahnum from the same school stated,

*'If my child studies, only then can he avoid problems by making something of himself. If he has no education, he will have no job and that means, one problem after another, which is what I have experienced myself and just can't want for my children too. Education is the only way. It has to be a way to a better life.'*

One young mother, Sahar, shared that she was married into an illiterate family, and that this made her even more convinced that education was the only way to have a better future; 'my husband never went to school, and cannot even find a job – I don't want such a problem to be faced by my children. I want them to have better futures'. Taken together, these maternal anecdotes affirm the value of education as inextricably linked to its' potential to provide financial freedom.

It is in these responses a significant finding emerged simultaneously. None of the 15 participating mothers differentiated between education being more valuable for their sons or their daughters in term of its' potential to offer employment opportunities. Even though I asked whether they thought investing in their son's education was more beneficial, they fervently responded in favour of the value of education being equal for their sons and daughters, both. This can be further deduced from the fact that they did not include any comments signifying prioritising lesser financial freedom for their daughters or in any way emphasise greater importance for their sons to acquire education in order to secure employment. This finding is especially interesting as it gives a new dimension to thinking of maternal perceptions of education in low cost communities that are usually found to be traditional and conservative in their outlook on gendered participation.

### 4.3.3 Education as a means to independence

In order to further flesh out what value the participants placed in education, they were asked to expand on what they identified as benefits of education. The responses formed a narrative of education as a means to independence. Seven participants recognised the value of education to lie in its' ability to allow their children to sign documents, including paperwork pertaining to property ownership and marriage. Amina articulated the loss of her own freedom when she signed her marriage papers that did not give her any rights to divorce. Since she could not read, she was unable to take note of this specific detail and only learnt later from her husband and his family. Sahar employed a progressive rhetoric, articulating the need to be educated in order to be able to review property documents and maintain rightful ownership of land. Her conceptualisation affirmed the association between education and independence, as she shared stories of her own sisters who had been robbed of their own lands by their husbands via the falsification of signatures. Discussion of independence' frequently emerged in the interviews, with 3 mothers fervently seeking educational opportunities for their daughters to be able to make decisions for themselves instead of being absolutely reliant on their husbands. Humaira exclaimed,

*'If she studies, she can make something of herself and stand up for her rights if her husband treats her badly. I want my daughter to have the freedom to leave if her husband beats her, so she must be able to read her marriage papers for this. She should also be able to take the children, as the mother can care better for the children. But if he makes her sign some papers that take away these rights, then what will she do? She has to learn how to read'.*

Quite contrary to common belief, this narrative emphasises maternal recognition of independence as an equal right for both sons and daughters in low income communities in Pakistan. It suggests that these mothers view education as valuable in teaching daughters to read and write so that they are able to make informed decisions, such as sign marriage documents and property ownership documents on their own terms, instead of being misinformed.

#### 4.3.4 Education as a means to 'giving back' to the community

Analysis of the responses revealed mothers established the value of education in terms of preparing and teaching their children to give back to their community. Belonging to a similar socio economic class, mothers of all three schools adopted similar terminology when sharing that they believed the benefits of education include inculcating an ability in their children to a) know that they should contribute and b) decide which ways to make such a contribution.

The extent to which mothers valued education for this specific reason was affirmed through responses provided by eight of the total 15 participants. Each of these participants mentioned education as a means to providing knowledge in terms of making the students realise that they have a responsibility to their community and also, practical ways of implementing improvement mechanisms, such as using trash cans, distributing clean water and tutoring their younger siblings, in order to be able to make their community, society or country better. In fact, the mothers attributed their own general lack of involvement in improving their communities to being illiterate. Zehra claimed,

*'We have limited options because we cannot read or write... If I could read the signs on the bins, I could throw the trash away and maybe even help people use paper and boxes again. I wish I could read, because I could then also read the newspaper and know about the current events so I would know how to help my people.'*

Faryal shared, 'how can I help when I never went to school? I would like to teach the younger children but I don't know how because I can't read'.

Residing in lowincome areas, the participating mothers demonstrated their acute awareness of the lack of cleanliness, lack of access to water, illiteracy in the youth and also the global perception of Pakistan as an 'unsafe' and 'unsteady' country. They frequently relayed these realities with a sense of despair, stating that education would help their children improve lives. Phrases such as 'if my daughter can read and write, she can tutor the younger children, helping them have better futures', 'if my son is

educated, he can teach the community members to keep our streets clean' and 'we want our children to show the world that we are literate and peaceful' were used when the researcher probed the participants to elaborate on how exactly they perceived the value of education to be relevant to giving back. Table 2 below provides an overview of terminology and brief phrases participants used to establish the value of education in this particular way.

**Table 2: Terminology establishing the value of education**

| <b>Participant</b> | <b>Terminology</b>  |
|--------------------|---|
| Ayesha             | 'better neighbourhood', 'cleaner parks', 'power to make a difference' |
| Sairah             | 'clean sewage', 'clean water', 'tutoring'                             |
| Madeeha            | 'tutor', 'help children', 'safe Pakistan'                             |
| Huma               | 'clean parks', 'peaceful Pakistan'                                    |
| Sahar              | 'cleaner community'   |
| Aneeta             | 'better Pakistan', 'safer Pakistan'                                   |
| Humaira            | 'safer Pakistan'  |
| Faryal             | 'safer Lahore'  |

#### 4.3.5 Education as a means to carrying the family name forward

This narrative of describing the value of education extends to mothers encouraging their children to acquire education in order to move towards city centres to access higher paying jobs, receive higher income and thus increase the 'prestige' of their family name. Many of the mothers shared that they wanted to be able to tell their friends in the community that their sons were working in the city centres as it would add 'light' to their family name. 'My family's name is important to me, and my son must be educated so he can show others that our family name is educated.' Madeeha articulated this relationship between education and family name prestige, 'if my son can become a doctor or an engineer, the community will view my family name with more respect'. Further analysis of the responses suggests that it was mothers who had sons that were in majority, exhibiting a conscious desire to further their family name. Huma explained,

*'My son is our hope. I want him to study very hard so that everyone will listen to him and my neighbours will admire him. He is the one who will marry and make a family from this community. If they know he is educated, he will get more proposals and have more options. He must illuminate our family name so he can bring a good wife home and then his children will carry our name forward'.*

This response indicates that Huma, as a mother, places value in education so that her son can be admired by the community, resulting in options to choose a wife from who would bear his children and hence, carry his name forward. It also suggests that some mothers from low income backgrounds encourage their sons to pursue education as a means to carry the name forward as it would help *them* gain favour in their communities. 'After all, the name my son carries is also my name now, and if he is educated then my inlaws will regard me with more favour'. In this way, the participants' responses demonstrated a conscious desire to further the family name and formed the narrative of education as a means to doing so.

#### **4.4 Maternal conceptualisation of the value of *private* education**

Despite most mothers being housewives with husbands securing a meagre income, their prioritisation of allocating resources towards tutoring costs at private schools reveals key findings. Having spoken to the value of education, I pointedly asked participants to articulate why they had chosen to enrol their children in private schools in order to reveal why they conceptualised private education's value to be higher than that of government sector education. Contemplating on the difference between private and government schools, several participants shared that in their low cost communities, government schools had poor reputations as a result of teachers not showing up, lacking subject knowledge, taking bribes to pass students and an overall deficit of resources available for children at the school premises, amongst other alarming characteristics. Some participants shared that earlier their child had, in fact, been enrolled in a government school, but they felt their child had either not learnt anything because the teacher had rarely shown up to school, or felt their child had been held back

in terms of learning due to the teachers' lack of subject knowledge. Another significant finding was revealed when mothers shared that even though most of them were satisfied with the private schools' performance, in fact, they 'couldn't be happier' as two mothers put it, they placed great value in private tutoring. Thirteen of the 15 participating mothers admitted that they send their child/children for private tutoring from 3 to 6 times a week. With these two central narratives in mind, this particular chapter analyses responses in order to unpack the second supporting question: Why do mothers choose private options for formal and nonformal education? In the first section, I provide a detailed exploration of why mothers prefer private schools as their choice of formal education, followed by a second section focussed on maternal reasoning behind enrolling their children in non formal private education i.e. private tutoring.

#### **4.4.1 Formal education: private schools**

##### **4.4.1.1 Introduction**

'If she won't learn English, she has no future' or 'if there's English, there's a future' were statements uttered in one way or another by almost every participant. Analysis of the responses demonstrate that mothers choose private schools for two major reasons. First, low cost private schools advertise English as their language of instruction, which is prioritised by parents in such communities and second, they perceive higher teacher attendance and accountability in private schools, which all fifteen of my participants viewed as integral for any learning to take place.

Before reviewing a detailed analysis of the responses that resulted in the two aforementioned narratives, it is of particular significance to provide context of the relationship between education and the English language in post colonial Pakistan, especially since English is widely recognised as the lingua franca across developing countries and regarded as a pre requisite by most employers. Coleman (2010) using examples from language and development conferences held in Asia, concludes the role of English language in developing countries such as Pakistan as 'increasing individuals'

employability' (Coleman, 2010b, p. 5). This remains at the core of my findings pertaining to why mothers conceptualise the value of private education.

Explored in detail in Chapter 2: Literature Review, there is a surge in the provision of low cost private schools across the country, partially as a response to meeting the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals, and maintaining commitment to Education for All, which Pakistan is a signatory of (Education, 2015). As a result, we cannot ignore the close link between education and international development discourse at the national (Pakistan) level, suggesting international aid for development visàvis education comes with its' stipulations on language and educational development. A former Education Minister argues, (Shamim, 2011, p. 5):

*'When we subscribe to the experts' view that the economic future of Pakistan is linked with the expansion of information technology, it means that we are recognising the need for making the comprehension and use of English as widespread as possible. This is now an urgent public requirement, and the government takes it as its duty to fulfil this requirement'.*

The declaration of Education for All reaffirms this link, encouraging schools to adopt English as a medium of instruction in order to prepare students to be able to access better employment and perhaps even have a chance in the global marketplace (Shamim, 2011). It has become increasingly evident that a) English is necessary if the low cost communities want to experience social mobility and b) parents of children enrolled in low cost private schools are acutely aware of this as exemplified by their responses.

#### 4.4.1.2 English as the only means to success

In terms of valuing private education, participants reflected that they recognised English as a major determinant of their children's future, and thus, a key factor in their choice to opt for private education. Private schools teach our children in English... barely any teacher speaks English in the public school' claimed Sairah. Using computers and being able to work in offices requires English language, some mothers explained, whilst others want their daughters to become English teachers. Fourteen out of 15 mothers shared that they were in favour of private schooling because these schools said they would teach their children English. Huma discussed how her own life could have

been different if she knew how to speak English. Faryal criticised her own public schooling as the culprit for her lack of language ability. Anum, who works as a beautician, shared that since she had a bit of private schooling herself, she knew some phrases in English. Although these were limited to greetings, she perceived this limited linguistic ability to impress her clients, as they would spread the word that she was 'modern', resulting in an increased clientele. She explained she wants the same future for her children. To her, it was clear: if you attend a private school (albeit low cost), you would learn English.

Research finds that mostly children enrolled in these low cost private 'English' medium schools are rarely able to speak, understand or write English at their grade level. This can be attributed to the fact that, according to a study carried out by The British Council, 94% of all teachers in English medium schools have only pre intermediate level English or lower (Council, 2013). However, the mothers I interviewed were either not privy to this reality, or could not make sense of it. Fennell (Fennell, 2010) in her study found that parents in low income communities have strong demands for education but little sense of the exact quality attributes. Similarly, Holloway et al.'s (1995) study of a diverse group of low income mothers found that they are more in favour of formal, didactic methods, where worksheets and other evidence of information and skills are prioritised irrespective of genuine learning outcomes (Holloway, Rambaud, Fuller, & Eggers Piérola, 1995). When asked how her son was doing in English, Amina shared 'I couldn't be happier. The teacher makes him memorise words in English, so he will soon be able to speak'. This indicates parents prefer private lowcost schools as an alternative to public schools because at least there is the idea of English language education. These findings suggest an inextricable relationship between English learning and private schools as the formal education choice.

#### 4.4.1.3 Better teacher input

'At least now, the teacher comes to school every day, and in fact, checks my son's homework regularly. The teachers in government schools never cared, they either didn't show up or let our children pay them in order to pass'. Attributing to their school choice to the lack of satisfactory performance by government schools, eleven of my participants, when interrogated regarding valuing private education, shared that

private schools had principals who were in regular attendance and held teachers accountable. When asked how the mothers knew this, it was shared by 3 mothers that 'every time we visit the school unannounced, the teacher is always there' and 'before the exams, the teachers call us in to share the exam schedule', which mothers identified as behaviours directly related to teachers' actual investment in their children's academic performance.

Aneeta shared,

*'My daughter is one year behind because before she was enrolled in this school, she was at a government school. The teachers did not care about her, and even held her back. Now she is a year behind but I am so much happier with this school. The teachers care here so I hope she [her daughter] will be able to catch up.'*

The implication here is that the performance of teachers in contrast between government and private schools serves as a valuable reason for parents to opt for low cost private schools. Most mothers who had their children enrolled in public schools before (between 2-5 years), claimed that their child's test results had improved at least one letter grade since the move. They also appreciated that the teachers were mostly accessible if there was a problem, they took the time to check homework, provide feedback and what's more, many teachers offered private tutoring after school time to review what was taught in the school and help students prepare for examinations. This prioritisation of 'private tutoring' is examined in the next section.

#### 4.4.1.4 Conclusion

As mentioned above, English language acquisition is prioritised very highly by mothers in low cost school communities. Their responses indicate they choose private school options as they advertise themselves as "English medium", even if the teachers are not qualified to teach the language. They tend to rely on memorisation tactics, which are not further explored or evaluated by parents themselves in the sample I was able to interview. They also compare private school performance with government schools and find that teachers and principals are more actively involved in the former, and mothers feel satisfied by this investment.

#### **4.4.2 Non formal education: private tutoring**

##### **4.4.2.1 Introduction**

At the same time as valuing private education, 13 of the 15 participating mothers confirmed they send their child/children for private tutoring on a regular basis, with a minimum of 3 days a week to a maximum of 6 days a week. Most of them shared that before exams, their child/children may even acquire private tutoring for 7 days a week.

In the schools that I interviewed mothers at, I found that the majority of private tutoring were offered by the very school teachers that taught at the school. This finding is complemented by research on who teaches private tutoring; 'a higher proportion of students take up private tutoring with their own teachers at private schools' (Khan & Shaikh, 2013, p. 152). The same students would spend 3 5 hours each day completing school work that the teacher was unable to finish in class, reviewing school work and completing homework with these school teachers at their residence or at a small academy located very close to the school. The cost for these sessions, according to my findings is \$5 10 per month, in addition to school fees. Sometimes the parents would cook food on a regular basis and send it in the place of tutoring fee if they were unable to pay and the tutor agreed to this arrangement. Three mothers who participated in this study paid for their child's education through food provision.

In order to further flesh out the role private tutoring plays in the lives of children attending low cost private schools, I asked mothers to articulate why they made this choice. Amongst these responses, two prominent narratives were gleaned. First, several mothers recognised their own illiteracy as a barrier to providing academic support to their children. Second, they complained of not having enough time to balance their responsibilities at home and teach their child. They prioritised revision of school work, but felt they were unable to manage on their own. Each of these narratives is explored in detail in the following two sub sections, followed by conclusive remarks.

#### 4.4.2.2 Mother's illiteracy

The most common reason cited for sending their children to private tutors during the interviews was that mothers said they were not literate, hence unable to teach (revise, assist in homework) their child. 'I am not very literate and I have problems with English, so tutoring is better', and 'I am not literate so tutoring is necessary' and 'Because I am not literate, I am unable to help her study or review her schoolwork so she must go for tutoring' were commonly heard responses when asked 'why do you value private tutoring?'. Most mothers shared that tutoring was absolutely necessary right before exams. Some did not feel they possessed adequate knowledge even if they had received primary education, as 'things have changed and our children need new and modern knowledge', resulting in the dependency on private tutors. It is clear that although mothers feel responsible for providing education to their children, they do not necessarily do so directly but find alternative options such as private tutoring.

#### 4.4.2.3 Time

The second most commonly cited reason for opting for private tutoring was 'not enough time'. Twelve of the fifteen participating mothers explained that they had 'no time', were 'short on time' or 'couldn't find time' to assist their child with revising school work, assisting in homework or helping them prepare fully for their examinations. Sahar shared,

*'I have six other children, three of which are very young. How can I help my son with his grade 5 work? I don't have time. By the time he gets home, I am preparing lunch, and after I am taking care of the younger children and a few hours later, I have to prepare dinner. I have no time to help my son with his school studies so I send him for tutoring'.*

Most often, mothers shared that they have other children who also require attention and time, and they are mostly busy running errands such as preparing meals, tending to the younger children or cleaning up the house, leaving minimal to no time. They feel relieved that they are able to send their children for tutoring so their school work is reviewed and the children are able to prepare for their examinations. However, out of

the participating mothers who do send their children to tutors, a few mothers still sat down with their children when they returned home and reviewed what they had learnt in the tutoring lessons. They either did this during dinner or after dinner. These mothers believed that it was their responsibility to check their children's homework, and that although they were limited on time and felt tutors were better with teaching, they held themselves accountable by doing a 'final check' of their children's homework by going through the copies and asking them to share any problems they had in understanding.

#### **4.4.2.4 Conclusion**

These findings are particularly interesting when we juxtapose mothers' decisions' to choose private schools with their simultaneous decision to also enrol their children in private tutoring, despite believing in the former's ability to provide 'adequate' education to their children, which we can gather from their choice of private education explored above. The questions that emerge at this point are whether they truly have faith in private schooling or if they simply regard tutoring as a necessary extension of school and these are further explored in Chapter 6: Implications for Further Research. It seems as though the trend of private tutoring is here to stay, at least in the foreseeable future, even if it means paying the same instructors at school and then again at their homes/academies.

## **4.5 Day to day maternal contributions to children's academic achievement**

### **4.5.1 Introduction**

In practice, there are various behaviours mothers shared they utilise in order to contribute to their children's academic achievement. For organisational purposes, these behaviours have been separated between home and school. During the interviews, questions were also asked in such a way so as to acquire a detailed understanding of what happens at home and what happens in relation to the school. One key finding that I would like to call the readers' attention to is that it is very seldom that the low cost private schools offer parents activities to be involved in; and no parent committees,

clubs or organisations were found active in the schools of this study. This indicates that parental contributions in relation to the school are already limited. Why parent organisations/clubs do not exist, why there is minimal to no school involvement on the parents' part and the subsequent impact on children's academic achievement is further explored in Chapter 6: Implications for Further Research.

#### 4.5.2 Home

##### *Homework*

Most mothers encourage the completion of homework on time, checking assignments against a *homework diary* provided by the school. Mothers who are unable to read, assign an older sibling to carry out checks for completion. Variance was detected in the frequency of such homework checks; almost half the mothers carry out daily checks themselves by reading assignments listed and reviewing their children's work in the copies, and the other half rely completely on after school private tutoring to assist in the completion of homework. Some of these mothers review the homework diary to check for accuracy a few times a week.

##### *Exam preparation*

Majority of the mothers shared that they actively participate in exam preparation, using the schedule set and shared by the school teachers. The behaviours resulting in participation included preparing worksheets for the children, asking them to orally respond to questions, setting a time to sit next to the child while he/she is studying before the exam and asking their children to memorise and reiterate what they have learnt. The remaining participants stated that due to their own lack of knowledge and illiteracy, they do not feel confident in helping their children prepare. Out of these participants, most also send their children for private tutoring to prepare for exams, despite their own direct engagement with preparation.

### ***Scheduling***

Mahnum was the only mother who shared that she designs a daily routine for her child, including two and a half hours of studying and completing homework, starting right after lunch. At this time, she explains, she sits next to her child whilst he/she works, as she does her own housework such as ironing or cooking that allows her to keep an eye on her child and complete her own errands. The rest of the participants stated that they do not prepare any schedule for their child as the children either a) follow a schedule set by the school when they come back or b) follow a schedule set by the private tutors.

### ***Sibling guidance***

Majority of the participants explicitly stated that they encourage their children to help each other. In each of these cases, the child in question was the younger or youngest sibling, with an older sibling assisting. In one case, it was shared that although the mother, Aliya, encourages her older daughter to help the younger one, she has too much school work, therefore she prefers that her younger child receive guidance by private tutors. Zehra claimed that she does not encourage siblings to help each other as she prefers to handle all school matters herself and hold herself accountable for her child's academic performance. Faryal said that she does not feel the need to encourage her children to help one another with academics as she sends her child for private tutoring.

## **4.5.3 School**

### ***Scale***

In order to set the tone of the interview, and introduce the parents to the purpose of the interview, in the first question of the semi structured interview, I asked the participants to rate themselves on a scale of 1 – 5, ranging from no participation (1) to very high participation (5) in terms of their own involvement in their child's academic performance. The question was as follows: How involved are you with your child's school on a scale of 1 to 5? (1 being not involved and 5 being highly involved).

Out of the 15 participants, only 5 chose '5' on the scale, followed by 2 participants selecting '4', 6 participants selecting '3' and 2 participants selecting '2'. No participant rated themselves as 0 or 1.

### ***Meetings with teachers and principals***

All participants shared that their interaction with their children's school teachers are primarily through parent teacher meetings (PTMs) organised by the school. According to the parents, these meetings take place at least once in two months, where all matters relating to academic and disciplinary performance are discussed. Only a few participants shared that they call the school to make an appointment with the teacher themselves. Mahnum, who is a teacher herself at her child's school is able to interact with the teachers (her colleagues) on a regular basis and Sahar and Huma, speak to teachers regularly as they pick up their children from school each day. It was clear that majority of the interactions between parents and teachers were restricted to PTMs; with little or no encouragement from the administration (principal and/or teachers) to maintain communication with the school otherwise.

The interviews also revealed that out of all the participants, not a single one had any interaction with the principal that was outside of administrative realms: Rasheeda, Faryal and Aliya shared that the only times they have interacted with the school principal is when they have had to pay school tutoring fees. Other than that, there is no evidence of communication between parents and principals found in their responses. Madeeha and Amina also shared that the schools their children attend explicitly ask parents to only contact the teachers if need be, rendering access to principals very restrictive. Madeeha claimed,

*'There is no point in contacting the principal... she'll only ask us to talk to the teacher. They always tell us to talk to the teacher, never the principal.'*

### ***Initiation of meetings***

Only a few mothers shared that they contact the teachers themselves in order to set up a meeting or discuss a complaint that they might have received from the school, or they have regarding the teacher themselves. Reviewing their children's notebooks, if they noted that the teacher had not checked the work or done so incorrectly, they would establish contact with the teacher. This contact is usually made by writing a note in the child's *homework diary* or by contacting the administrative staff in the office to make an appointment. Furthermore, participants directly go to the school without an

appointment as well if they feel there is an urgent need, and no one reported teacher's not obliging. In their responses, all participants claimed that they discuss both academics and discipline on an equal basis with the teachers. A majority shared that it is the teachers' who initiate the meetings, always to extend an invitation to participate in the PTMs. None of them reported the teacher making an appointment to meet the parents otherwise.

#### *Frequency of parent teacher interaction*

Humaira, aneeta, Sumaira and Anum stated they visit the school for the purpose of meeting with the teacher to inquire of their child's general academic progress at least three times a month. They shared that they would not call prior or make an appointment, but simply show up during the school hours and wait for the relevant teachers to become available. Furthermore, a few mothers shared they visit once a month only, and even fewer shared they visit twice a month. The remaining participants explained they only interact with the teachers during PTMs, and have had no other occasion to communicate with the teachers.

#### *Parental involvement in extracurricular activities at the school*

Of the participants, only some stated they are involved in activities pertaining to the school. These activities, however, are limited to assisting their child in preparing for a presentation in the form of a song, dance or poster during morning assembly that takes place on a daily basis. In particular, they added, they assist in the development of posters and short verbal presentations on special occasions, such as Mother's Day, Father's Day, Independence Day and other similar official days. There is no parental involvement outside of preparing for the morning assembly. All participants shared that the school does not host any events that require the participation of parents.

#### *Importance of parental contribution*

All participants stated that they regard their personal involvement in their child's academic performance as fundamental. Despite their own illiteracy, in a limited number of cases, they still believe that they are responsible for inculcating discipline and a love for learning in their children.

***Parent teacher interaction outside of school***

None of the participants shared any experience of interacting with teachers outside of school. Questions included meeting teachers for a coffee, or meal, or even calling them outside of school hours to discuss their child. No such interaction was reported by the participants.

**4.5.4 Conclusion**

As seen here, there is a variety of ways that mothers engage with their children's academic journey on a day to day basis. Their responses suggest that they are much more actively involved at home than with the school. Seeing that the school does not initiate much contact outside of parent teacher meetings, there is a vacuum in terms of school parent engagement in terms of setting up parent organisations, parent teacher events and activities that require parental involvement. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 6: Implications for Further Research. Furthermore, it seems feasible to claim that mothers in these low income communities engage in their children's academic achievement by assisting with homework, sending their children for tutoring, and reviewing exam preparatory material, but are limited in terms of exposure to additional ways of supporting their children's academic achievement.

## **Chapter 5: Discussion**

This chapter discusses the main findings in relation to existing literature. It is organised into three sections. Each section reflects on the findings of a sub question. Collectively, these three components address the main research question: why and how do mothers support their children's academic achievement in low cost private schools in Lahore?

### **5.1 Why do mothers value education?**

Despite some literature stating that low income parents value education less due to their own limited schooling (Lott, 2001), Chavkin & Williams (1989) argue that low income parents have positive attitudes about their involvement because they place value in what education can do for their children's futures, even if they themselves have received limited or no schooling. In fact, the participants of this study who had received no education appeared adamant to send their children to school as they attributed their lack of financial capabilities to their illiteracy. Indeed, expansive literature demonstrates that low income parents value education as a way to access economic and social mobility (Delgado Gaitan, 1991; Goldenberg, Gallimore, Reese, & Garnier, 2001). Many of the participants in this study recognised that the value of education is in its' ability to 'brighten' (Sairah) their children's futures, and give them an opportunity to earn a better living, and thus, live a better life.

However, as described in my findings, apart from economic benefits, participants in this study believe education can open more than one door. In particular, a majority of the participants said an increase in income generating capacities was only one of the various reasons why they valued education. My findings reveal that mothers believe education can enhance their child's independence and allow them to make informed decisions. This, they explained, is particularly significant given that females in their communities are rarely given decision making power. Some of my participants explained that when they were married, for example, they were unable to read their marriage agreements, which stripped them of their custody rights in the event of divorce. They perceived education as a way to allow their daughters to make well informed decisions pertaining to their lives. My participants also recognised the

significance for their children of using their education to improve their communities. Being able to identify modern ways of reducing waste, recycling and ensuring access to clean water were seen as results of an educated mind. Furthermore, adding *honour* to the family name was also seen as a direct result of attaining education. Participating mothers explained how belonging to close knit communities meant if their children were educated, distant family members would be made aware of this reality, which would be deemed as an honourable asset.

Despite these findings, to my knowledge, there is a vacuum in literature that explores education as a means for independence, giving back to the communities and adding honour to the family name. This highlights a need for further scholarly attention in order to gain an in depth understanding of the variety of reasons why mothers in low income communities' value education, that go beyond socio economic advantages.

## **5.2 Why do mothers choose private options for formal and non formal education?**

Based on Ahmed & Sheikh's (2014) and Muzaffar's (2010) reports on the proliferation of low cost private schools, as well as Asadullah's (2009) finding that low cost schools are frequently seen as a welcomed alternative to the low standard of public schools, the second part of my research aimed to explore in depth why mothers chose private schools instead of government (public) schools.

Each and every single participating mother explicitly shared that she preferred private schools as they were seen to outperform public schools in teacher quality and student performance. This relates to the study by Alderman et al. (2001), which finds evidence that students who attend low cost private schools outperform those who are enrolled in public schools. In particular, this evidence rings true in the context of Punjab, where the schools accessed for the purpose of this study are located, based on Crozier et al. (2007) and Ahmed & Sheikh, (2014), as they find that primary students' test scores in Punjab are higher among private than public school children. In fact, one participant, Madeeha, shared that she had to take her daughter out of a public school because she felt they were holding her back due to lack of teacher's subject and pedagogy knowledge. She felt

much better 'happier' now that her daughter was enrolled in a private school, where teachers were 'more accountable' and 'knowledgeable'.

Another significant finding is in terms of valuing private education, participants shared that they recognised English as a major determinant of their children's future, and thus, a key factor in their choice to opt for private education. This is affirmed by the findings of Andrabi et al. (2009) in the British Council report 'Teaching and Learning in Pakistan: The Role of Language in Education' (Coleman, 2010a), that low cost private schools are indeed perceived as 'attractive because of their claims to offer English medium education, even though in reality these claims may not be fulfilled' (p. 10). Mothers appeared to identify with English as the only language of consequence, and hence, fundamental to their school choice.

It is important to point out that although most mothers exhibited an unwavering trust in the low cost private school system, frequently citing positive factors of these schools and rarely problematizing any aspect, they simultaneously enrolled their children in private tuitions as a supplementary platform for education. Indeed, according to Afzal, Tabassum, & Tabassum (2014), a culture of private tutoring is rapidly increasing in Pakistan. Furthermore, this practice has substantially extended into low cost communities (Suleman et al. 2013). This led me to explore *why* private tutoring has become as rampant, despite mothers claiming to entrust faith in low cost private schools in providing the necessary quality of education. Thirteen out of the 15 participants in my study shared that their child was enrolled in private tutoring. This may suggest that the mothers in my study view private tutoring as a mere and *natural* extension of school hours. On the other hand, it may also suggest that the quality of education provided in the low cost private schools does not, in fact, meet the academic requirements of passing state (public) examinations at the end of primary school (grade 5). Importantly, some mothers explained that due to their own illiteracy, they did not feel prepared or qualified to provide academic guidance to their children, resulting in seeking external input vis à vis private tutors.

Some of my interviewees shared that private tutoring allowed their children to review the work that had been carried out during normal school hours, or, in some cases, allow the teacher to complete parts of the lessons she had not been able to in the day. Mostly,

mothers appeared to enrol their children in private tutoring so that the teacher could help them revise and complete homework. It is also important to point out that illiterate mothers, or mothers who had limited time (due to meeting household needs and managing other children) to help their children with their academic needs, were more eager for their child to study with the tutor than mothers who had time themselves or prioritised teaching their children directly.

Additionally, in the majority of the cases, these after school sessions were provided by the very same teachers who taught at the school during the day. A reason for this occurrence identified by Khan & Shaikh (2013) is that school teachers provide private tutoring as a means to supplement their income from mainstream teaching. Importantly, there is evidence that offering private tutoring outside of normal school hours can change incentive structures for teachers, which may influence the quality of instruction during regular school (Monazza Aslam, 2011; M Bray, 2001). However, the explicit causation between teaching during school hours and after school is yet to be found, as the impact of such provision on teachers may involve many other unseen factors. Moreover, the impact of tutored lessons on student academic achievement is yet to be established, given that thus far, only mixed results have been revealed, ranging from a positive, significant to an insignificant effect (Ha & Harpham, 2005; Lee, 2004).

### **5.3 How do mothers provide support on a day today basis at home and in relation to the school?**

A review of literature on parental engagement indicates that lower SES parents are less involved (Klimes Dougan, Lopez, Nelson, & Adelman, 1992; A Lareau, 1987). Expansive literature explores the barriers to low income parental involvement with their children's academic performance. These tend to include inflexible work hours for the parents, exhaustion due to extensive work engagement, resulting in lack of time to assist their children directly (Plunkett & BámacaGómez, 2003). In some of my interviews, mothers did indeed express that engagements such as taking care of their other children, household chores and preparing meals for the family did not permit them to commit time to work with their children. At the same time, their desire to be directly involved was also made explicit through their responses. Chavkin & William's

(2013) in their study of 348 low income households find that low income parents are eager to be involved with their children's school. Despite their low SES, the parents are interested in both traditional and non traditional roles of support.

Based on Desimone (1999), many different types of parenting practices and behaviours have been linked to positive student outcomes, translating student potential into achievement. The types and extent of parental involvement is indeed multifaceted in nature (Fan, 2001). This becomes evident in the variety of behaviours identified through my interviews. As the above section discusses, mothers try their best to afford enrolling their children in private tutoring classes because doing so makes them feel as if they were 'fulfilling their duty of being good mothers' (Aliya, Amina, Sahar and Aneeta), even though they are not directly assisting their children. This may suggest that some mothers view the act of sending their child to private classes as a behaviour that supports their children's academic needs on a daily basis.

In some cases, interviewees complemented this by checking homework themselves at the end of the night, or ensuring that an older sibling was overseeing homework completion. This behaviour supports the findings of many investigators who report that parental involvement in student homework is related to student achievement and personal attributes conducive to achievement (Walker et al. 2004).

Importantly, there appeared to be a shift in emphasis on direct involvement when it came to preparing children to take examinations. In this case, most mothers shared that despite sending their child for after school tutoring, they themselves sat down with their children and checked their preparation by formulating revision sheets, orally questioning them using school textbooks and even reaching out to school teachers for additional advice. This demonstrates direct involvement, which, based on Cotton & Wikelund (1989), is the most effective type of parental engagement and has numerous benefits. This shift may also suggest that despite believing in the benefits of private tutoring, most mothers appear to recognise that it is their responsibility to ensure her child's academic performance. This may also suggest that, in fact, mothers do not completely trust private tutors in terms of quality of academic assistance, which is why they become directly involved.

However, my findings in regards to low income maternal engagement with the school exhibit a minimal interaction that goes beyond parent teacher meetings that are initiated by school teachers. A majority of the participating mothers visit the school only on the occasion of these parent teacher meetings, and do not appear to communicate with the teachers otherwise. In a few cases, where mothers demonstrated an increased desire to be directly involved, they shared that if they have a question, they either send a note for the teacher with their child, or simply show up at the school and wait for the teacher to be free. Based on these findings, it appears teachers are more likely to communicate their concerns and encourage parents to voice theirs during parent teacher meetings, and do not necessarily encourage additional communication. This can be associated with Clark's (1983) book surveying low-income parents and their involvement, finding that a) parents only visit their children's school in response to the school's request and b) parents associate visiting the school as a result of misbehaviour or poor academic performance on their child's part, resulting in a negative relationship with the school.

However, in order to understand whether any of these factors are relevant, we would need to interview teachers to gain their perspective on teacher parent interaction. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, my findings demonstrate low income maternal engagement as limited to parent teacher meetings only, with rare occasions of additional interaction that is usually initiated by the mother.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusions**

### **6.1 Conclusions of this study**

Despite the exponential rise of enrolments in low cost private schools, there is a palpable deficit in research investigating a) low income maternal conceptualisation of the value of education and b) low income maternal engagement supporting children's academic achievement in low income environments (McLoyd, 1990; Reay, 1998a). This presented an ideal opportunity for me to formulate the following main research question: Why and how do mothers support their children's academic achievement in low cost private schools in Lahore? In order to address this question, I developed three subquestions that would allow me to explore maternal school choice and their subsequent involvement in an organised manner:

SQ1) Why do mothers value education?

SQ2) Why do mothers choose private options for formal and non formal education?

SQ3) How do mothers provide support on a day to day basis at home and in relation to the school?

Findings on the conceptualisation of the value of education confirmed mothers perceive education as a means for their children to gain independence, socio economic benefits, improve their communities by giving back through educated and informed behaviours, and raising the family honour. In particular, the interviews revealed that mothers prefer *private* schools based on their views that despite being low cost, private schools employ qualified teachers, encourage advanced student academic performance, and importantly, adopt English as the medium of instruction, offering an opportunity for their children to become fluent in the language and access higher income employment opportunities. Given the context of Pakistan, this is a significant finding since the value of English as a language to achieve social mobility remains undisputed (Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014; Coleman, 2010a, 2010b; Shamim, 2011).

Based on the recognition that each participating mother made her prioritisation of education explicit, an exploration of the way they support their children's academic achievement was carried out. This revealed that assisting with homework, appointing older siblings to provide academic guidance, formulating revision sheets during exam time, and importantly, an unequivocal interest in enrolling their children with private after school tutors, was central to the behaviours they demonstrated. Significantly, despite consistent verbal complements for the private schools, the majority of mothers' appear to invariably trust that private tutors can support their children's academic performance perhaps more than they themselves can or the school can. This is an important discovery, given the everexpanding reach of shadow education in developing countries, including Pakistan (Dang, 2007; Dang & Rogers, 2008).

In relation with the school, it quickly became clear that interaction between schools and parents is mostly limited to parent teacher meetings. In the cases where mothers were keen to be directly involved with their child's academic journey, frequent visits to the school were cited as a way to communicate with teachers and ensure their child's academic potential was being harnessed. However, these findings suggest that in supporting their children's academic achievement in relation to the school, mothers are rarely able to surpass the infrequent parent teacher interaction and regulated parent teacher meetings. Perhaps, this may suggest that they opt for private tutors since most of these after school classes are offered by the very same school teachers, hence parents seek comfort in the extended studentteacher interaction, and the possibility of communicating with the teachers outside of the school.

## **6.2 Implications for further research**

I conclude this study by considering the opportunities this research has raised for future scholarly investigations. A central contention in this study is that Pakistani mothers choosing private schools for their children's education is a manifestation of the high value they place in education. At the same time, almost all the participants shared that in addition to the school, they regularly enrol their children in private tutored classes, once day time school ends. This creates an opportunity for scholarly attention

**to investigate why despite enrolling their children in private schools, they concurrently enrol them in private tutoring as well.**

**Future research might also examine the vacuum that exists in terms of school parent engagement outside of parent teacher meetings and infrequent parental visitations to the school in low cost communities in Pakistan. Why no parent organisations or clubs, for instance, exist in low income communities in Lahore may have implications on children's academic achievement and provide an additional avenue to explore maternal engagement's impact on children's academic performance through their interaction with the schools. Furthermore, my research suggests mothers are much more actively involved in supporting their children's academic achievement. This may warrant an exploration of what parental involvement means to fathers and mothers separately, instead of focussing on parental involvement as a singular entity, as both parents appear to demonstrate varied involvement practices and frequencies.**

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## Appendices

### Appendix A: University of Oxford Research Ethics Approval Letter

**UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD**  
**DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION**

15 Norham Gardens, Oxford OX2 6PY  
Tel: +44(0)1865 274024 Fax: +44(0)1865 274027  
general.enquiries@education.ox.ac.uk www.education.ox.ac.uk

Director Professor Jo-Anne Baird



9<sup>th</sup> February 2017

Dear [REDACTED]

Application Approval

**Title: A mixed methods exploration of the associations between parental engagement and student academic achievement in low-cost primary schools: A case study of Lahore.**

The above application has been considered on behalf of the Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants.

I am pleased to inform you that, on the basis of the information provided to DREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly, approval has been granted.

If your research involves participants whose ability to give free and informed consent is in question (this includes those under 18 and vulnerable adults), then it is advisable to read the following NSPCC professional reporting requirements for cases of suspected abuse  
[http://www.nspcc.org.uk/Inform/research/questions/reporting\\_child\\_abuse\\_wda74908.html](http://www.nspcc.org.uk/Inform/research/questions/reporting_child_abuse_wda74908.html)

Should there be any subsequent changes to the project which raise ethical issues not covered in the original application you should submit details to [research.office@education.ox.ac.uk](mailto:research.office@education.ox.ac.uk) for consideration.

Good luck with your research study.

Yours sincerely,

Jenni

Dr Jenni Ingram  
Associate Professor of Mathematics Education  
Fellow of Linacre College  
Oxford University Department of Education  
15 Norham Gardens  
Oxford  
OX2 6PY

## Appendix B: University of Oxford Research Ethics Approval (Confirmation E mail)

Dear Dr. Ingram,

I hope this finds you well.

I'm writing to request your attention to the changes my research has undergone since my CUREC was approved (attached).

Previously, my topic was: A mixed methods exploration of the associations between parental engagement and student academic achievement in low-cost primary schools: A case study of Lahore.

My new/current topic is: An exploration of maternal support to children's academic achievement in low-cost private schools in Lahore.

The changes have included focusing on mothers only, instead of parents, and examining maternal engagement in terms of the way they value education and how they contribute to their child's academic performance. I no longer examined the associations between parental engagement and academic achievement. There was no addition to my sample in that, I only interviewed parents. No child was interviewed, nor were school principals. My study is only qualitative, not mixed-methods anymore.

Could you kindly advise on whether I need to re-submit a CUREC?

Thank you kindly for your time.

Best regards,

Dear [REDACTED]

You are covered by your current curec for this as long as you haven't added a new type of participant or a new type of data collection method.

Best wishes

Jenni

Dr Jenni Ingram  
Associate Professor of Mathematics Education  
Fellow of Linacre College  
Oxford University Department of Education  
15 Norham Gardens  
Oxford  
OX2 6PY

New articles:

Ingram, J, Elliott, V (2016) "A critical analysis of the role of wait time in classroom interactions and the effects on student and teacher interactional behaviours", CAMBRIDGE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0305764X.2015.1009365>

Ingram, J, Pitt, A, Baldry, F (2015) "Handling errors as they arise in whole-class interactions", Research in Mathematics Education.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14794802.2015.1098562>

## Appendix C: Participant Invitation Letter for School Principals

University of Oxford  
Department of Education  
15 Norham Gardens  
OX2 6PY Oxford  
[redacted] [education.ox.ac.uk](http://education.ox.ac.uk)



Dear [redacted]

I am writing to enquire about conducting research in your school at the end of March and beginning of April this year.

I am a Masters student at the University of Oxford, supervised by [redacted]. In my research, I intend to explore the way mothers conceptualise the value of education, the school choices they make and maternal support for children's academic achievement.

In particular, I am looking to conduct 30 to 40 minutes-long interviews with two different student's parents (mother and father or one parent). I will need your guidance in accessing the parents. Importantly, I am not looking to criticise your school or your roles within, but rather looking to explore the way mothers engage with their children's academic achievement. By participating in the research, your school will be contributing to a project that will deepen our understanding of how mothers engage in low-cost primary schools in Lahore. This research will be qualitative, with me collecting data through interviews. I think that this work will be very interesting, and is hopefully important as there is very little existing information maternal perspectives on the value of education, their school choice and their day-to-day behaviours that influence children's academic achievement. Being able to undertake this kind of research in your school will ideally allow me to identify trends in some of the perspectives that parents have on this topic. The commitment from your school will allow me to conduct interviews either during lunchtime, after-school or any other time on the school premises, that is most suitable to the school. Ideally, as mentioned above, I would like to come in for interviews towards the end of March and the beginning of April, before the new academic year begins and once final exams have been concluded and marks released. I will also need to audio-record the interviews with all participants.

Oxford University has strict ethical procedures on conducting ethical research with teachers and parents, consistent with current British Educational Research Association guidelines. Before beginning the research, I will provide you, teachers and parents with a detailed information sheets and consent forms. Throughout the research you as principal, teachers and parents will be able to refuse to participate at any time. All participants will be made anonymous in all research reports. The data collected will be kept strictly confidential, available only to my supervisor and myself, and not used other than specified without the further consent of all involved being obtained. All audio recordings will be destroyed at the end of the research period, and kept in locked conditions until then.

If you feel you would like to take part in this study, or need more information about what is involved, please feel free to contact me. I sincerely hope that you will be able to participate in this study – I really want to be able to delve into the various perspectives on maternal engagement in low-cost primary schools in Lahore.

Thank you for your time and attention. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

[redacted]

## Appendix D: Participant Information Sheet for School Principals

University of Oxford  
Department of Education  
15 Norham Gardens  
OX2 6PY Oxford  
[REDACTED]@education.ox.ac.uk



### SCHOOL PRINCIPAL INFORMATION SHEET

**1. Background and aims of the study**

My name is [REDACTED] and I am conducting this study as part of the Master of Science in Comparative and International Education Program in the Department of Education at the University of Oxford. This study explores the way parents support their child's academic achievement in low-cost private schools in Lahore.

**2. Why have I been invited to take part?**

You have been invited because you work as the principal of a primary school which has Grade 5 students and your school is located in Lahore. Importantly, you have experience in dealing with the parents of your students, along with exposure to any policy guidelines shared by your organisation on parental engagement. Your perspectives on how, why and in which ways mothers should be involved with the school are imperative for this study.

**3. Do I have to take part?**

You can ask questions about the study before deciding whether or not to participate. If you do agree to participate, you may withdraw yourself and your data from the study at any time, without giving a reason and without penalty, by advising the researcher of this decision.

**4. What will happen in the study?**

If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to take part in one-to-one interview of about 45 minutes with me. The researcher will also request to audio record our conversation. The audio file will be stored securely in a password-protected file. You may ask for me to switch off the recorder at any point of the interview. You are free to ask questions at any time of the study.

**5. Are there any benefits in taking part?**

Participation will offer insight into the process of social science research at an advanced university level and will allow for reflection and conversation about a topic that is likely to be important to you – parental involvement in primary school settings and whether this has any association with student academic performance.

**6. What happens to the data provided?**

Your responses will be pseudo-anonymised and all data collected will be stored confidentially on password protected devices. Only the researcher and the supervisor will have access to the raw research data. All research data and records will be stored for a minimum retention period of three years after publication or public release of the work of the research.<sup>1</sup>

**7. Will the research be published?**

The University of Oxford is committed to the dissemination of its research for the benefit of society and the economy and, in support of this commitment, has established an online archive of research materials. This archive includes digital copies of student theses successfully submitted as part of a University of Oxford postgraduate degree programme. Holding the archive online gives easy access for researchers to the full text of freely available theses, thereby increasing the likely impact and use of that research.

If you agree to participate in this study, the research will be written up as a thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and online in the University archives, to facilitate its use in

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<sup>1</sup> Please note that the minimum period is [three years](#).

future research. The thesis will be published open access. Importantly, no names or identifying factors, other than the schools being based in Lahore will be shared.

**8. Who has reviewed this study?**

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.

**9. Who do I contact if I have a concern about the study or I wish to complain?**

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, please speak to the researcher via telephone at [REDACTED] or her supervisor [REDACTED]@education.ox.ac.uk, who will do their best to answer your query. The researcher should acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how they intend to deal with it. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the relevant chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford who will seek to resolve the matter in a reasonably expeditious manner:

Chair, **Social Sciences & Humanities Inter-Divisional Research Ethics Committee**. Address: Research Services, University of Oxford, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD

**10. Contact Details**

If you would like to discuss the research with someone beforehand (or if you have questions afterwards), please contact:

[REDACTED]  
Department of Education, University of Oxford  
15 Norham Gardens, Oxford, OX2 6PY

## Appendix E: Participant Information Sheet for Parents (English)

University of Oxford  
Department of Education  
15 Norham Gardens  
OX2 6PY Oxford  
[redacted]@education.ox.ac.uk



### PARENT INFORMATION SHEET

#### 1. **Background and aims of the study**

My name is [redacted] and I am conducting this study as part of the Master of Science in Comparative and International Education Program in the Department of Education at the University of Oxford. This study explores the way parents support their child's academic achievement in low-cost private schools in Lahore.

#### 2. **Why have I been invited to take part?**

You have been invited because you are the parent of a Grade 5 student who is attending a private primary school in Lahore. Your perspectives on why you value education and the ways in which you contribute to your child's academic achievement are imperative for this research study.

#### 3. **Do I have to take part?**

You can ask questions about the study before deciding whether or not to participate. If you do agree to participate, you may withdraw yourself and your data from the study at any time, without giving a reason and without penalty, by advising the researcher of this decision.

#### 4. **What will happen in the study?**

If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to take part in one-to-one interview of about 45 minutes with me. The researcher will also request to audio record our conversation. The audio file will be stored securely in a password-protected file. You may ask for me to switch off the recorder at any point of the interview. You are free to ask questions at any time of the study.

#### 5. **Are there any benefits in taking part?**

Participation will offer insight into the process of social science research at an advanced university level and will allow for reflection and conversation about a topic that is likely to be important to you – parental involvement in primary school settings and whether this has any association with student academic performance.

#### 6. **What happens to the data provided?**

Your responses will be pseudo-anonymised and all data collected will be stored confidentially on password protected devices. Only the researcher and the supervisor will have access to the raw research data. All research data and records will be stored for a minimum retention period of three years after publication or public release of the work of the research.<sup>1</sup>

#### 7. **Will the research be published?**

The University of Oxford is committed to the dissemination of its research for the benefit of society and the economy and, in support of this commitment, has established an online archive of research materials. This archive includes digital copies of student theses successfully submitted as part of a University of Oxford postgraduate degree programme. Holding the archive online gives easy access for researchers to the full text of freely available theses, thereby increasing the likely impact and use of that research.

If you agree to participate in this study, the research will be written up as a thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and online in the University archives, to facilitate its use in future research. The thesis will be published open access. Importantly, no names or identifying factors, other than the schools being based in Lahore will be shared.

#### 8. **Who has reviewed this study?**

<sup>1</sup> Please note that the minimum period is [three years](#).

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee

**9. Who do I contact if I have a concern about the study or I wish to complain?**

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, please speak to the researcher via telephone at [REDACTED] or her supervisor [REDACTED] [\[REDACTED\]@education.ox.ac.uk](mailto:[REDACTED]@education.ox.ac.uk), who will do their best to answer your query. The researcher should acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how they intend to deal with it. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the relevant chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford who will seek to resolve the matter in a reasonably expeditious manner:

Chair, **Social Sciences & Humanities Inter-Divisional Research Ethics Committee**. Address: Research Services, University of Oxford, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD

**10. Contact Details**

If you would like to discuss the research with someone beforehand (or if you have questions afterwards), please contact:

[REDACTED]  
Department of Education, University of Oxford  
15 Norham Gardens, Oxford, OX2 6PY

## Appendix F: Participant Information Sheet for Parents (Urdu)

University of Oxford  
Department of Education  
15 Norham Gardens  
OX2 6PY Oxford  
@education.ox.ac.uk



### PARENT INFORMATION SHEET (URDU)

#### والدین کے لیے معلوماتی پرچہ

##### 1. مطالعہ کا پس منظر اور مقاصد:

میرا نام عاتقہ نیاز ہے اور میں اس مطالعہ کو اپنے ماسٹر آف سائنس میں بین الاقوامی تقابلی تعلیمی پروگرام کے حصے کے طور پر آکسفورڈ یونیورسٹی کے شعبہ تعلیم کے لیے انجام دے رہی ہوں۔ یہ مطالعہ لاہور کے کم خرچ پرنامری سکولوں کے حوالے سے والدین کی مصروفیت اور بچے کی تعلیمی کامیابی کے درمیان تعلق کا کھوج لگاتا ہے۔

##### 2. مجھے شریک ہونے کی دعوت کیوں دی گئی؟

آپ کو اس لیے بدعوت دی گئی کیوں کہ آپ گریڈ 5 کے بچے کے والدین ہیں جو لاہور کے پرنامری سکول میں زیر تعلیم ہے۔ یہ بات اہم ہے کہ آپ کو سکول سے معاملات طے کرنے کا تجربہ بھی ہے اس لیے کہ آپ کا بچی اسی سکول میں پڑھتا ہے۔ اس مطالعہ میں آپ کا نقطہ نظر کہ کیسے، کیوں اور کس طرح والدین کو سکول کے معاملات میں شریک ہونا چاہیے، بہت ضروری ہے۔

##### 3. کیا مجھے بھی حصہ لینا پڑے گا؟

آپ یہ فیصلہ کرنے سے پہلے کہ آپ کو حصہ لینا ہے یا نہیں، اپنی تشفی کے لیے سوالات کر سکتی ہیں۔ اگر آپ شمولیت کا فیصلہ کر بھی لیں، آپ کسی بھی وقت بغیر وجہ بتائے اور بغیر کسی جرمانے کے، اپنے ریسرچر کو اطلاع دے کر خود کو اور اپنے ڈیٹا کو اس مطالعے سے الگ کر سکتی ہیں۔

##### 4. مطالعے کے دوران میں کیا ہو گا؟

اگر آپ تحقیقی مطالعے میں شمولیت کا فیصلہ کر لیتی ہیں، آپ سے کہا جائے گا کہ میرے ساتھ 45 منٹ کے انفرادی انٹرویو میں شریک ہوں۔ ریسرچر/محقق یہ درخواست بھی کرے گی کہ گفتگو کی آڈیو ریکارڈنگ کی جائے۔ آڈیو فائل کو پاس ورڈ کے ذریعے محفوظ کیا جائے گا۔ انٹرویو کے دوران میں آپ کسی بھی وقت مجھے ریکارڈنگ روک دینے کا کہہ سکتی ہیں۔ آپ تحقیقی مطالعے کے دوران میں کسی بھی وقت سوالات پوچھ سکتی ہیں۔

##### 5. مطالعے میں شرکت کے کیا فائدے ہیں؟

شرکاء کو معاشرتی علوم کے اعلیٰ درجے کی سطح پر تحقیقی عمل کے متعلق آگاہی دی جائے گی اور آپ کو موقع دیا جائے گا کہ اس کی روشنی میں ان موضوعات پر بات کریں جو آپ کی نظر میں اہم ہوں --- یعنی والدین کی پرنامری سکول کی ترتیب و نظم میں شرکت اور کیا اس کا طالب علم کے تعلیمی نتائج پر اثر پڑتا ہے۔

##### 6. مہیا شدہ ڈیٹا کے ساتھ کیا ہوتا ہے؟

آپ کے جوابات کو گمنام رکھا جائے گا اور تمام حاصل کردہ ڈیٹا کو انتہائی حفاظت سے پاس ورڈ کے تحت محفوظ کیا جائے گا۔ صرف محقق/ریسرچر اور سپروائزر ہی کو خام تحقیقی ڈیٹا تک رسائی حاصل ہو گی۔ تمام تحقیقی مواد اور ریکارڈ کو ریسرچ/تحقیق کے چھپ جانے یا پبلک کے لیے عام کر دیے جانے کے بعد تین سال کی کم از کم مدت تک محفوظ رکھا جائے گا۔

### 7. کیا تحقیقی نتائج کو شائع کیا جائے گا؟

یونیورسٹی آف آکسفورڈ اس بات کی پابند ہے کہ تحقیق کے نتائج کو معاشرتی اور معاشی مفاد عامہ کے لیے پھیلائے، اور اس عہد کو تقویت دینے کے لیے یونیورسٹی نے آن لائن آرکائیو کا ادارہ قائم کیا ہے جہاں تحقیقی مواد کو رکھا جاتا ہے۔ اس آرکائیو میں طلباء کے تھیسز کی ڈیجیٹل کاپیاں نیز پوسٹ گریجویٹ کے ایسے تمام مقالے/تھیسز جو لامبائی کی سند حاصل کر چکے، محفوظ کیے جاتے ہیں۔ اس آرکائیو کو آن لائن لانے سے محققین/ریسرچرز کو پوسٹ گریجویٹ مقالہ جات/تھیسز تک آسان رسائی حاصل ہو گئی ہے جو ان کے تحقیقی کام کے لیے بہت مددگار ثابت ہو رہی ہے۔

اگر آپ اس تحقیقی پروگرام میں شرکت پر آمادہ ہیں، تو تمام تحقیق کو ایک تھیسز کے طور پر لکھا جائے گا۔ تھیسز جمع کروانے پر کامیابی کی صورت میں اسے یونیورسٹی آرکائیو میں طبع شدہ اور آن لائن صورتوں میں محفوظ کیا جائے گا تا کہ مستقبل کے محقق/ریسرچر اس سے فائدہ اٹھا سکیں۔ اہم بات یہ ہے کہ سوائے لائبر کے متعلقہ سکول کے نام کے، کوئی اور نام یا شناخت کسی کو مہیا نہیں کی جائے گی۔

### 8. اس تحقیق کا کس نے جائزہ لیا؟

اس تحقیقی مطالعے کا جائزہ اور اخلاقی منظوری یونیورسٹی آف آکسفورڈ کی مرکزی تحقیقی اخلاقی کمیٹی نے دی۔

### 9. اگر مجھے اس تحقیق کے کسی حصے پر اعتراض ہو یا میں شکایت کرنا چاہوں تو کس سے رابطہ کروں؟

اگر آپ کو تحقیق کے کسی حصے پر اعتراض ہو تو مہربانی فرما کر محقق/ریسرچر عانیہ نیاز سے ٹیلی فون نمبر [REDACTED] یا ای میل [\[REDACTED\]@stx.ox.ac.uk](mailto:[REDACTED]@stx.ox.ac.uk) ان کی سپروائزر ڈاکٹر ماجا چنگ سیلیائی [\[REDACTED\]@education.ox.ac.uk](mailto:[REDACTED]@education.ox.ac.uk) سے رابطہ کریں، آپ کو فوراً تسلی بخش جواب دیا جائے گا۔ ریسرچر کو آپ کی شکایت کا دس دن کے اندر جواب دینا چاہیے اور بتانا چاہیے کہ آپ کی شکایت کا ازالہ کیسے ممکن ہے۔ اگر آپ مطمئن نہ ہوں اور باقائدہ شکایات درج کرنا چاہیں تو مہربانی فرما کر آکسفورڈ یونیورسٹی کی تحقیقی اخلاقی کمیٹی کے متعلقہ شخص سے رابطہ کریں جو مناسب وقت میں منسلے کا حل تلاش کر لیں گے۔

### 10. رابطے کی تفصیل۔

اگر آپ ریسرچ/تحقیق کے متعلق کسی سے پہلے بات کرنا چاہیں، (یا بعد میں کوئی سوال پوچھنا چاہیں) تو مندرجہ ذیل پتے پر رابطہ کریں۔

[REDACTED]  
Department of Education, University of Oxford  
15 Norham Gardens, Oxford, OX2 6PY

## Appendix G: Informed Consent Sheet (English)

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Department of Education  
15 Norham Gardens  
OX2 6PY Oxford  
[redacted]@education.ox.ac.uk



### PARENT CONSENT FORM

#### An Exploration of Maternal Support to Children's Academic Achievement in Low-Cost Private Schools in Lahore

Purpose of Study: Explore parental conceptualisation of the value of education and their support for children's academic achievement in low-cost primary schools in Lahore, Pakistan

|    |  | <i>Please initial each box</i> |
|----|--|--------------------------------|
| 1  | I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.   | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| 2  | I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, and without any adverse consequences or academic penalty.   | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| 3  | I understand that research data collected during the study may be looked at by designated individuals from the University of Oxford where it is relevant to my taking part in this study. I give permission for these individuals to access my data. | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| 4  | I understand that this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.   | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| 5  | I understand who will have access to personal data provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project.   | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| 6  | I understand how this research will be written up and published.   | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| 7  | I understand how to raise a concern or make a complaint.   | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| 8  | I consent to being audio recorded.   | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| 11 | I understand how audio recordings will be used in research outputs.  | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| 12 | I give permission to be quoted directly in the research publication under a pseudonym.   | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| 13 | I agree to take part in the above study.   | <input type="checkbox"/>       |

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

[redacted]  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of person taking consent

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

[redacted]  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

## Appendix H: Informed Consent Sheet (Urdu)

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### PARENT CONSENT FORM (URDU)

#### والدین کی رضامندی کا فارم

کم خرچ پرانمری سکولوں میں ایسے ملے جلے طریقے کی تلاش جو والدین کی مصروفیت اور طالب علم کی کامیابی میں تعلق کی نشاندہی کرے۔ لاہور کا تجزیاتی جائزہ۔

تجزیے کا مقصد: لاہور کے کم خرچ پرانمری سکولوں میں والدین کی مصروفیت اور طالب علم کی کامیابی میں تعلق کا کھوج نکالنا۔

1. میں اقرار کرتی ہوں کہ میں نے تجزیاتی مطالعے کی اس معلوماتی شیٹ کو پڑھ اور سمجھ لیا ہے۔ اس سے مجھے موقع ملا کہ معلومات پر غور کروں، سوال کروں اور تشریحی بخش جوابات حاصل کروں۔
2. میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ میری شمولیت رضاکارانہ ہے اور یہ کہ میں کسی بھی وقت، بغیر کوئی وجہ بتائے اور بغیر کسی نقصان کے اندیشے کے اس پروگرام سے الگ ہو سکتی ہوں۔
3. میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ اس مطالعے کے دوران جو ریسرچ ڈیٹا اکٹھا کیا گیا ہے، اس تک آکسفورڈ یونیورسٹی کی جانب سے نامزد انفرادی اشخاص کو رسائی دی جا سکتی ہے۔ میں اپنے معاملے میں ایسے نامزد اشخاص کو اپنے ڈیٹا تک رسائی کی اجازت دیتی ہوں۔
4. میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ آکسفورڈ یونیورسٹی کی اخلاقی کمیٹی نے اس منصوبے کی منظوری دی ہے اور اسے اخلاقی قدروں کے مطابق پایا ہے۔
5. مجھے اندازہ ہے کہ کس کو اس ڈیٹا تک رسائی ہو گی، ڈیٹا کو کیسے محفوظ کیا جائے گا اور منصوبے کی تکمیل کے بعد اس ڈیٹا کے ساتھ کیا ہو گا۔
6. مجھے اندازہ ہے کہ اس تحقیق کو کس طرح رکھا اور چھاپا جائے گا۔
7. میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ شکایت کی صورت میں کس طرح سوال اٹھانا اور شکایت کو درج کرانا ہے۔
8. میں آڈیو ریکارڈنگ کے لیے بھی رضامند ہوں۔
11. مجھے اندازہ ہے کہ تحقیق کے سلسلے میں آڈیو ریکارڈنگ کا استعمال کیسے ہو گا۔
12. میں اجازت دیتی ہوں کہ تحقیق کے دوران میں میرے لیے فرضی نام کو استعمال کیا جائے۔
13. میں مندرجہ بالا تحقیق میں حصہ لینے کے لیے تیار ہوں

ان تمام سوالات کے سامنے ہاگس بنا ہے۔ اس کے اوپر سرخی لگائیں: مہربانی فرما کر خانے میں دستخطی نشان لگائیں۔ صرف "دستخطی نشان" لکھ دینا بھی غالباً کافی ہو گا۔

حصہ لینے والے کا نام \_\_\_\_\_ تاریخ \_\_\_\_\_ دستخط \_\_\_\_\_

رضامندی لینے والے کا نام \_\_\_\_\_ تاریخ \_\_\_\_\_ دستخط \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix I: Oral Description of Research for Parents (English)

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### Type 2: Full Oral Information Giving and Consent Seeking Process

*Record this consent process using a digital recorder (if participant has consented to this) or by using a Record of Consent Form.*

#### **[Oral information giving stage]**

Hello, my name is [REDACTED] I'm doing some research and I wondered if you'd be interested in being involved. I'm currently a Masters student at the University of Oxford in the Department of Education. My research is on parental support of children's academic achievement in low-cost private schools in Lahore. Can I tell you more about the study? *[Await confirmation]*

In my study, I want to investigate how parents conceptualise the value of education and how they support their children's academic achievement in primary schools. If you choose to be a part of this project, here is what will happen:

[For interviews:] I will have a 30-40 minutes-long conversation with you, where I will ask a whole range of questions about your perspectives on parental engagement and your behaviours that support your children's academic journey. The answers you give will form the basis of my Master's dissertation. The personal information you will share with me will not be passed to any third party. All information will be recorded on my personal laptop and an external hard drive and will remain password protected. Each participant (school principal, teacher and parent) will remain anonymised. I will only record identifying information for follow-up purposes, or in the case that the participants themselves want to meet again. This information will remain separate, coded in a secure computer file with limited access and all identifying details will be eliminated upon completion of follow up meetings.

I will employ BERA Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research, providing a letter of invitation, consent, written for principals and teachers, and both oral and written for parents in English and Urdu (national language of Pakistan). All distinguishing features of the school and participants will remain anonymised. The research is for the sole use of submission as a dissertation in fulfilment of my MSc Programme. This research will only be made available to school and network heads upon request. In regards with confidentiality, I will explicitly state that none of the information shared by any participant will be distributed in any shape or form. I will also share with the participants not to disclose any personal characteristics about other participants that may allow others to guess their identities. This research is anonymous, which means that in any publications, your name will not be used, unless you insist on the opposite.

The following risks are involved in taking part I have identified that the parents may assume their responses during the interviews will be shared with the teachers and/or school principal, resulting in discomfort and potential biases in their response. In order to mitigate any potential risks, I will explicitly share that the sole purpose of the interactions is for my dissertation, and that not a single piece of information will be shared with either the teachers, principals or the network heads. Similarly, I will state the afore-mentioned to teachers, so that they do not feel any pressure in participating as a result of the principal or head network's compulsion. I will clarify that they are able to withdraw from the process at any time.

Taking part is completely voluntary and we can stop any time you like without giving a reason and without any negative consequences.

With your permission, I would like to make an audio recording of our discussion to make sure I'm getting an accurate record of your thoughts. Alternatively, I can take notes in my notebook. Which would you prefer? I may want to re-contact you to clarify information you gave me in your interview. In that case, I will ask you if you have time to answer some more questions. If you agree to take part in this project, the research will be written up as a dissertation and will be published in the Oxford Research Archive. Upon successful submission of the dissertation, it will be deposited both in print and online in the University archives, to facilitate its use in future research. The research may also be published in academic journals, online or in books.

If you have any complaints or concerns, please feel free to contact me in the first instance. My e-mail is [REDACTED]@education.ox.ac.uk

This research project has been reviewed and approved by an Oxford University ethics committee. If, after contacting me with any concern, you remain unhappy and wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the ethics committee. Their email is [ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk). I will also give you their postal address and this project's ethics reference number. Do you have any questions?

***[Oral consent seeking stage, after participant has had sufficient time to think about whether s/he wants to take part]***

Do you give your permission for me to first, interview you? Second, do you give me permission to audio record you? Do you give your permission for me to re-contact you to clarify information?

Are you happy to take part?

Ok, thanks, in which case let's start.

## Appendix J: Oral Description of Research for Parents (Urdu)

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### Oral Information Giving and Consent Seeking Process (Urdu)

#### زبانی معلومات دینے اور منظوری لینے کا عمل۔

#### رضامندی کے ریکارڈ کا فارم

ہیلو، میرا نام عاتقہ نیاز ہے۔ میں ایک تحقیق/ریسرچ کر رہی ہوں اور میں سوچ رہی تھی کہ آپ بھی اس میں حصہ لینے کے خواہش مند ہوں گے۔ میں اس وقت یونیورسٹی آف آکسفورڈ کے شعبہ تعلیم میں ماسٹرز کی طالبہ ہوں۔ میری ریسرچ کا موضوع کم خرچ پر انیویٹ سکولوں میں والدین کی دلچسپی ہے۔ کیا میں اس بارے میں آپ کو مزید بتاؤں؟ (توثیق کی منتظر)

اپنے مطالعے کے لیے میں والدین کی مشغولیت اور پرائمری سکولوں کے طلباء کے تعلیمی نتائج میں باہمی تعلق پر تحقیق کرنا چاہتی ہوں۔ میں سکولوں کے پرنسپل، گریڈ 5 کے اساتذہ اور گریڈ 5 کے طلباء کے والدین کے نقطہ نظر میں دلچسپی رکھتی ہوں۔ اگر آپ اس منصوبے میں حصہ لینا پسند کریں، تو آپ کو معلوم ہونا چاہیے کیا ہو گا:

(برائے انٹرویو): میں آپ کے ساتھ 30 سے 40 منٹ تک طویل گفتگو کروں گی جس میں والدین کی مصروفیات کے حوالے سے آپ کے نقطہ نظر کے متعلق سوالات شامل ہوں گے جیسے:

آپ کے جوابات میرے ماسٹرز کے مقالے کی بنیاد بنیں گے۔ جو ذاتی معلومات آپ مجھے دیں گے، کسی تیسرے فریق کو نہیں بتائی جائیں گی۔ تمام معلومات میرے ذاتی لاپ ٹاپ اور ایکسٹرنل ہارڈ ڈرائیو پر ریکارڈ کی جائیں گی اور ان کو پاس ورڈ کے ذریعے محفوظ کیا جائے گا۔ تمام شرکاء (سکول کے پرنسپل، اساتذہ، والدین) کے اصل ناموں کو گمنام رکھا جائے گا۔ میں شناختی معلومات کو صرف مزید ملاقاتوں کے مقصد سے محفوظ کروں گی یا اس لیے کہ اگر شرکاء خود دوبارہ ملنا چاہیں۔ یہ معلومات ایک الگ کوڈڈ کمپیوٹر فائل میں محفوظ رہیں گی جن تک محدود افراد کی رسائی ہو گی اور یہ تمام شناختی تفصیلات مزید ملاقاتوں کے بعد مٹا دی جائیں گی۔

میں تعلیمی ریسرچ میں ہیرا کے رہنما اخلاقی اصولوں پر عمل کروں گی، دعوتی اور رضامندی کے خط جو پرنسپل اور اساتذہ کے لیے ہوں، اور تحریری اور زبانی برائے والدین انگریزی اور اردو، جو پاکستان کی قومی زبان ہے، دونوں زبانوں میں مہیا کروں گی۔ سکول اور شرکاء کی تمام نمایاں خصوصیات کو پوشیدہ رکھا جائے گا۔ یہ تمام تحقیق صرف تحقیقی مقالے کی صورت میں جمع کرانے کے لیے ہے تاکہ میرا MSc پروگرام تکمیل کو پہنچے۔ یہ تحقیق صرف سکول اور نیٹ ورک کے سربراہوں کی درخواست پر مہیا کی جائے گی۔

جب تک رازداری کا سوال ہے، میں واضح طور پر کہوں گی کہ شرکاء کی جانب سے مہیا کی گئی کوئی بھی معلومات کسی بھی صورت میں کسی اور تک نہیں پہنچ پائے گی۔ میں شرکاء سے بھی اپنی رائے سن کر کروں گی کہ کسی کی ذاتی خصوصیات دوسرے شرکاء کے سامنے اس طرح نہ بیان کریں کہ اس کو پہچانا جا سکے۔

یہ ایک گمنام ریسرچ ہے، جس کا مطلب ہے کہ کسی بھی مطبوعات میں آپ کا نام ظاہر نہ کیا جائے گا جب تک آپ خود نام کی اشاعت کے لیے اصرار نہ کریں۔

اس تحقیق میں شمولیت سے مندرجہ ذیل خطرات کا سامنا کرنا پڑ سکتا ہے۔ میں نے اس بات کی نشاندہی کی ہے کہ والدین ایسا سوچ سکتے ہیں انٹرویو کے دوران میں ان کے جوابات دوسرے اساتذہ اور سکول کے پرنسپل کے ساتھ سن کر کہیں گے، اور اس سوچ کے نتیجے میں وہ بیچینی محسوس کریں گے اور ان کے جوابات ممکنہ طور پ تعصب کا شکار ہو جائیں گے۔ کسی امکانی خطرے کو کم کرنے کے لیے میں واضح طور پر کہوں گی کہ اس مول جول کا مقصد میرے مقالے کی تکمیل ہے اور یہ کہ معلومات کا کوئی بھی حصہ، اساتذہ یا پرنسپل یا نیٹ ورک کے سربراہوں سے سن کر نہیں کیا جائے گا۔ اسی طرح میں اساتذہ کے سامنے بھی اپنا مذکورہ بالا بیان دہراؤں گی تاکہ وہ کسی قسم کا دباؤ محسوس نہ کریں۔ میں یہ واضح کروں گی کہ وہ کسی بھی وقت اس عمل سے علیحدہ ہو سکتے ہیں۔

اس میں شمولیت مکمل طور پر رضامندانہ ہے اور ہم اسی وقت رک جائیں گے جب بھی آپ بغیر وجہ بتائے اور بغیر کسی نقصان کے اندیشے کے الگ ہونا چاہیں۔

میں چاہوں گی کہ آپ کی اجازت سے میں آپ کی اور اپنی بات چیت کا آڈیو ریکارڈ محفوظ رکھوں تاکہ یہ بات یقینی ہو کہ میں نے آپ کے خیالات کو درست طور پر سمجھا ہے۔ متبادل کے طور پر میں اپنی نوٹ بک میں نوٹس بھی لے سکتی ہوں۔ آپ بتائیں آپ کون سی صورت کو ترجیح دیں گی؟ مجھے آپ سے دوبارہ ملاقات کی ضرورت پیش آ سکتی ہے تاکہ مہیا کردہ معلومات کی وضاحت حاصل کر سکوں۔ اس صورت میں میں آپ سے کہوں گی ملاقات کا وقت دیں تاکہ مزید سوالات کے جواب حاصل کر سکوں۔

اگر آپ اس پراجیکٹ میں حصہ لینے پر آمادہ ہوں، تو اس تحقیق کو ایک مقالے کی صورت میں لکھا جائے گا اور اسے آکسفورڈ ریسرچ آرکائیو کے لیے چھاپا جائے گا۔ مقالے کی کامیابی تکمیل کے بعد اسے یونیورسٹی آرکائیو میں مطبوعہ اور آن لائن دونوں صورتوں میں جمع کرایا جائے گا تاکہ مستقبل کی ریسرچ میں یہ مددگار ہو۔

یہ تحقیق علمی جریدوں، آن لائن یا کتابی صورت میں بھی شائع ہو سکتی ہے۔

اگر آپ کو کوئی شکایات یا خدشات ہوں، تو براے مہربانی مجھ سے فوراً "رابطہ کریں۔ میرا موبائل نمبر [REDACTED] ہے۔ آپ مجھ سے ای میل پر بھی رابطہ کر سکتے ہیں۔ [@sbx.ox.ac.uk](mailto:sbx.ox.ac.uk) آکسفورڈ یونیورسٹی کی اخلاقی کمیٹی نے اس پراجیکٹ کا جائزہ لیا ہے۔ اگر، کسی خدشے کی صورت میں مجھ سے رابطے کے بعد بھی آپ مطمئن نہیں ہوتے اور باقائده شکایت درج کروانا چاہتے ہیں، تو مہربانی فرما کر آپ اخلاقی کمیٹی سے رابطہ کریں۔ ان کا ای میل ایڈریس مندرجہ ذیل ہے: [ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk) میں آپ کو ان کا ڈاک کا پتہ اور پراجیکٹ کا اخلاقی ریفرینس نمبر بھی دے دوں گی۔ اگر مزید کوئی سوال پوچھنا ہو تو مجھے بتائیں۔

زبانی رضامندی حاصل کرنے کا مرحلہ، جب دلچسپی رکھنے والا خاصی سوچ بچار کے بعد کسی نتیجے پر پہنچے کہ اس نے پراجیکٹ میں حصہ لینا ہے یا نہیں:

کیا آپ مجھے اجازت دیتے ہیں کہ اول، میں آپ کا انٹرویو کروں؟ دوم، کیا آپ مجھے اجازت دیتے ہیں کہ میں آڈیو ریکارڈنگ کروں؟ کیا آپ مجھے اجازت دیتے ہیں کہ معلومات کی وضاحت کے لیے میں آپ سے دوبارہ رابطہ کروں؟

کیا آپ پراجیکٹ میں حصہ لینے پر خوش ہیں؟

بہتر، شکریہ، اُنہیے اس صورت میں ہم کام کا آغاز کریں۔

## Appendix K: Interview Schedule for Parents (English)

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Department of Education  
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### Interview Schedule for Parents (English)

#### DEMOGRAPHICS:

1. Where do you live/How far is it from the school?
2. What do you (mother) do? /What is your occupation?
3. What is your highest level of education?
4. How old are you?
5. What is your mother tongue/native language?
6. How much tuition fee do you pay each month?

#### SCHOOL:

7. How involved are you with your child's school on a scale of 1 to 5? (1 being not involved and 5 being highly involved)
8. Do you meet with the teachers? When do these meetings usually take place?
9. Do you set up these meetings? Which party initiates the meetings?
10. How often do you visit the school?
11. How often do you meet the teachers?
12. How often do you meet the principal?
13. Are there any other activities at school that you are involved in?
14. Do you think education is important? (Why? In what ways? What is the value of education? What are the benefits? Why are these benefits important to you?)
15. What topic do you usually discuss when you meet the teachers and/or principal? Is it academics? Is it discipline or behaviour? Is it both?
16. How often do you meet teachers outside of parent-teacher conferences?

#### HOME:

17. Do you help your child with homework?
18. Do you help them prepare for their exams?
19. Do you send them for private tuitions? Why?
20. How much do tuitions cost each month?
21. Do you encourage the siblings to help each other?
22. Do you sit down with them whilst they're studying?
23. Do you set up a schedule for them to study at home? If yes, why? If not, why?
24. Do you read to them? Which books do you read? Textbooks or other reading books?

## Appendix I: Interview Schedule for Parents (Urdu)

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### Interview Schedule for Parents (Urdu)

#### شماریاتی خصوصیات آبادی:

1. آپ کہاں رہتی ہیں؟ آپ کا گھر سکول سے کتنی دور ہے؟
2. آپ کیا کرتی ہیں؟
3. آپ نے کتنی یارہاں کی ہے؟
4. آپ کی کیا ہمر ہے؟
5. آپ کی مادری زبان کیا ہے؟
6. آپ کتنی فی دہائی ہے؟

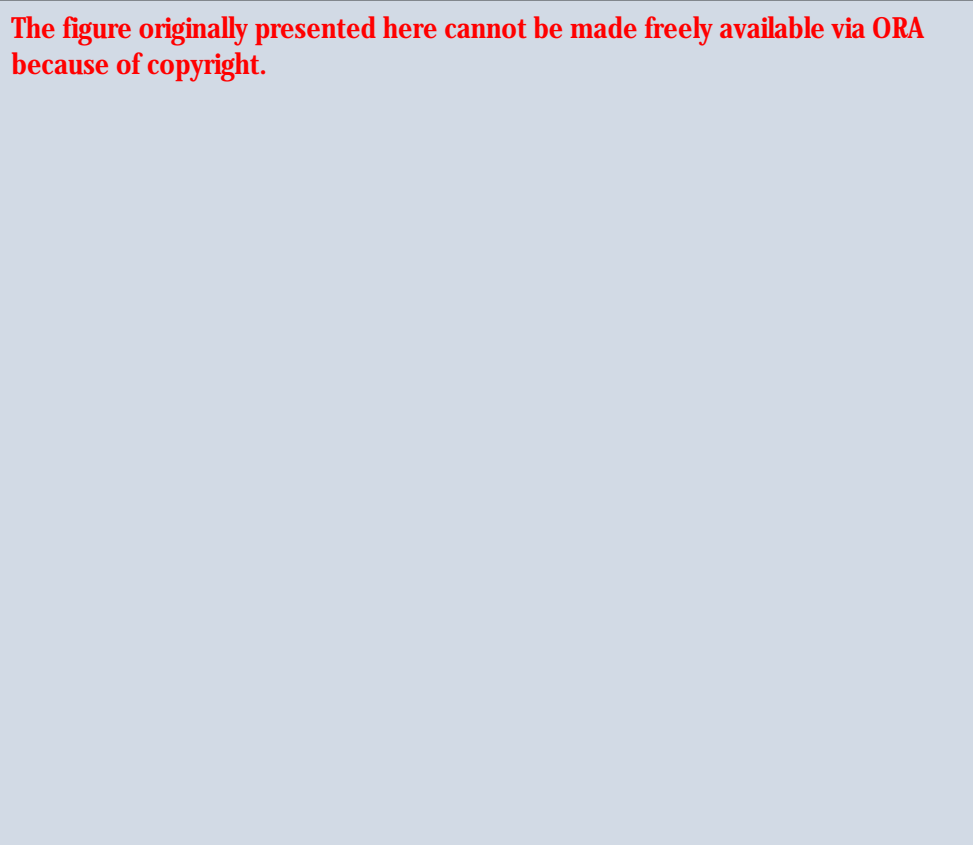
#### سکول:

7. آپ اپنے بچے کے سکول کی سرگرمیوں میں کتنی دلچسپی لیتی ہیں؟ 1 سے 5 تک نمبر دیں۔ (1 کا مطلب ہو گا کوئی دلچسپی نہیں، اور 5 کا مطلب بہت زیادہ دلچسپی۔)
8. کیا آپ بچے کی استانی/استاد سے اور پرنسپل سے انفرادی اور اجتماعی سطح پر باقاعدگی سے ملاقات کرتی ہیں؟
9. کیا ان ملاقاتوں کا اہتمام آپ کرتی ہیں؟ دونوں میں سے ملاقات کی خواہش کا اظہار کس کی طرف سے ہوتا ہے؟
10. آپ اوسطاً کتنی مرتبہ سکول کا چکر لگاتی ہیں؟
11. آپ اوسطاً کتنی مرتبہ ٹیچر سے ملاقات کرتی ہیں؟
12. آپ اوسطاً پرنسپل سے کتنی ملاقاتیں کرتی ہیں؟
13. کیا آپ سکول میں غیر نصابی سرگرمیوں میں دلچسپی لیتی ہیں؟
14. کیا آپ کو لگتا ہے کہ تعلیم اہم ہے؟ کیوں؟
15. آپ ٹیچر کے ساتھ ملاقات میں کس موضوع پر توجہ مرکوز کرتی ہیں؟ بچے کی تعلیمی سرگرمی پر یا سکول کے نظم و ضبط پر؟
16. آپ والدین اور اساتذہ کے مابین باضابطہ ملاقاتوں کے علاوہ ٹیچر سے کتنی مرتبہ ملاقات کرتی ہیں؟

#### گھر:

17. کیا آپ ہوم ورک میں بچے کی مدد کرتی ہیں؟
18. کیا آپ بچوں کو امتحان کی تیاری میں مدد دیتی ہیں؟
19. کیا آپ بچے کو ٹیوشن کے لیے بھیجتی ہیں؟ وجہ؟
20. ٹیوشن فی کتنی ہیں؟
21. کیا آپ بچوں سے کہتی ہیں کہ بھائی بہن ایک دوسرے کی مدد کریں؟
22. جب بچے گھر کا کام کریں تو کیا آپ ان کے پاس بیٹھتی ہیں؟
23. کیا آپ نہر گھر میں بچوں کے پڑھنے کے اوقات مقرر کر رکھے ہیں؟ ہاں یا نہیں، دونوں صورتوں میں وجوہات بتائیں۔
24. کیا آپ ان کو کچھ پڑھ کر سناتی ہیں؟

**Appendix M: Distances between Government and private schools in the same village**



**Source:** LEAPS Survey (Andrabi, Khwaja, Vishwanath, & Zajonc, 2007)