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EDUCATIONAL SUCCESS IN PAKISTAN: IMPLICATIONS FOR STABILITY AND SECURITY

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P R O C E E D I N G S

MS. WINTHROP: Good morning everybody. Thank you so much for coming. Thank you for joining us.

I'm Rebecca Winthrop. I'm the director here at Brookings of the Center for Universal Education. It's a real pleasure to have all of you.

Today we are talking about education in Pakistan. I'm sure you are all intimately familiar with both those things, but just in case -- one of the reasons that we, in particular, are quite focused on Pakistan within our work in the center is because it's an important country, a very populous country, a young country, a country with very low human development indicators in a very unstable region. -- 185 million people, two-thirds of whom are under the age of 30, and 40 -- by the best sort of estimates -- 40 of the 70 million school-age kids in Pakistan are not even in school –-huge problems. And those that do get into school, often the quality of schooling is really incredibly poor, and there's a range of statistics around that. But I think Michael will probably cover some, but one that always sticks in my mind is, at least in Punjab province, which is the wealthiest, most prosperous, with the best sort of educational attainment, over half of the kids in third grade can't read.

There are deep sort of problems within education. And for us at the Center, human development is a driving concern of our work.

We care about education, intrinsically it's a right for all kids, but particularly because we know it's very important for sustained progress for countries, both in terms of the knock-on effects of health and lifting people out of poverty, and economic growth and development, and building skill sets for the future.

But we also care quite a bit about the intersection in the relationship between education and security, and education and stability. And, for us, we think about this in two ways. One is how does insecurity or violence in whatever form it is -- in the case of Pakistan, militancy, in other countries, armed conflict, et cetera -- how does that phenomenon affect education and education outcomes?

And there is a wide body of literature and work we do around that. Attacks on education is certainly one, keeping kids out of school is another. There's a whole range of issues. The very -- the case of Malala, the girl who was shot in the bus in Pakistan just for going to school sort of is a symbol of the impacts of violence and militancy on education.

But, secondly, we think about the intersection in a different way, and one that gets quite short shrift, in our opinion, which is the ways in which education, the processes of education, can actually intersect with -- and either help or hinder -- what, in the development lexicon is often a set of processes termed as "state building" or "peace building."

And there's a bunch of ways education does this. A couple, just to mention, because I think it's particularly important for the discussion today, is around governance, how education systems are governed and management. Education, probably more than any other social sector, is highly visible and highly symbolic. In Pakistan there's about, in my last count, I could be off a bit here, but 750,000 public government teachers, which is about 100,000 more than military personnel. There'sa school in every town -- or there should be a school in every town and village -- and people have the expectation that the government should provide schooling to their kids.

So, when teachers don't turn up, or they take bribes for exam pass rates, or a whole other host of poorly governed education management issues, it really affects people all over the country in terms of their trust in the government, in terms of their faith in their own future and their ability to sort of progress in the country.

Another piece, of course, is education, unlike other social sectors, is very influential in identity formation, whether it's the language that we pick to educate people in, whether it's who gets access to schooling, who doesn't, the content of the curriculum, what history is taught, what sort of social narratives are taught -- these are all, for decades and decades around the world, have been things that different

social narratives, different political ideologies, different groups have battled within the education sphere. It certainly has happened in Pakistan, but by no means limited to Pakistan. It happens, certainly, also here in the United States

That's our interest, and a snapshot of our work. And today, we're going to be talking about some of the good news that's coming out of Pakistan and the education sector, and potentially in the political and security sector.

We rarely hear about it in the U.S. All the media coverage is often about all the bad things that happen in Pakistan. But there are lots of good things happening quietly. Progress is being made in different ways.

And I'm really, really pleased to have with us three distinguished speakers. We have Sir Michael Barber, who is the Chief Education Strategist from Pearson. And we have Iqbal Noor Ali, who is the Senior Advisor of the Aga Khan Development Network. And then we have my good colleague Bruce Riedel, who is a senior fellow here at Brookings, and the director of the Intelligence Project.

And what we're going to do -- first, Michael, you'll come up, you'll tell us about some of the interesting progress that's being made on

education in Pakistan, and then the rest of us will come up and we'll have a discussion with all of you.

And one of the, the closing thoughts -- I don't know if anybody has gotten -- if everybody, rather, has gotten a chance to grab this, but this is the report on the progress that's been made in the last two years in education in Pakistan, that Michael will talk about, that he and, very closely with the government, has been intimately involved in moving forward. And, for me, the interesting thing this is that there is, you'll see from the presentation, been huge progress in the last two years. And one of the reasons that I think people who care about state-building, peace-building, security, stability often pay too little attention to the education sector is because actually this is one area where good policies, good data, good leadership can actually make a huge difference in a very short period of time. So it's an area that we can affect, in terms of policy, unlike -- it's much harder to affect a range of other issues that feed stability and security.

So, with that -- Michael, why don't I turn it over to you?

(Applause)

MR. BARBER: Well, Thank you, Rebecca, and thank you all for coming. It's really great to be at Brookings Institution. And thank you

to Brookings for putting together such a fantastic panel, and a wonderful group of people to discuss this agenda with.

I just want to say a couple of words by way of introduction. It's true what Rebecca says, I am the Chief Education Advisor of Pearson. That's my day job. The work I do -- and Pearson is very supportive of the work I do in Pakistan -- but I do it on behalf of the British International Development Department. It's unpaid work that I do roughly 30 days a year -- although it takes up a lot more of my head space than that implies. And it's actually the most rewarding thing I do, and maybe the most rewarding thing I've ever been involved in.

The publication that Rebecca mentioned is what I'm going to talk about. It's called "The Good News from Pakistan," and for the reasons Rebecca gave, it's really important that people understand that there is some good news from Pakistan. We did a presentation a few weeks ago in Stanford for, largely, the Pakistani Diaspora on the West Coast, and at the end of it, they were coming up and saying, "This is the first time we've heard good news from Pakistan for awhile."

Actually, there is a bit more good news, because the election went really well, and there's a lot of sense of hope, not just on education, but more generally now, in the sense -- partly that the election went well, partly that there's a government with a majority, or in a significant chance

of effective governance in several of the provinces and national level, and partly because the electorate seems to have, on the whole, rewarded politicians who delivered, and thrown out politicians who failed to deliver. And that is a good sign -- anywhere in the world, actually -- and a sign of democracy becoming embedded, because it's moving beyond patronage towards delivery.

And what I want to talk about is the way we've approached the education reform in Punjab. And just for completeness on the election, I was there last week, so I have the sense -- I met, probably, all the key people in Pakistan in a small number of days. And the road map that I'm about to describe is very much on track. The same chief minister is back in Punjab raring to go. WE were talking about what goals we should set for 2018 so that we can take the road map forward.

And before I go into the data, I just want to say one other thing by way of introduction. However good this looks, none of us involved think that this is a finished job. We know that it's not irreversible. We know that if we stopped doing this things could slide back to where they were two years ago.

So, we're not claiming sustainability or irreversibility. We're claiming really good progress over two years. But nobody should get the impression that this is deeply embedded, irreversible, and going on. We

have to keep focused on it to make it happen. And the chief minister is totally aware of that.

If you look at the data from some Indian provinces that made progress in the last decade, like Madhya Pradesh, you'll see it rises and then they change policy, they change chief minister, and you get this plunge in the results. That could happen in Punjab -- or could have happened. And now, I think, there's a really good opportunity that we will see this through.

And we're talking about, boldly, about phrases like "getting to Malaysia by 2018." That's the kind of aspiration, so that we can really create an education system that is irreversibly moving forward into the 21st century.

And for all the reasons Rebecca gave, that is very important for the future economy. It's a very young country. If you had a well-educated population, the country could really thrive in the next 50 years. If you have a badly-educated population, there will be economic and security and many other problems.

Last word by way of introduction, I'm going to take you through the policy that is embedded in the education road map in Punjab, and I'm going to take you through the processes, that drive it. Both are important. And I suppose what I want to do is remind people that,

however difficult it is in any government to get the policy right -- and it is difficult -- that's only 10 percent of the task. 90 percent is implementation, and processes that drive implementation.

Many politicians around the world get that the wrong way round. They think getting the policy right is 90 percent of the task, and implementation will take care of itself. The road map is a pretty simple set of policy prescriptions, systematically implemented through a set of processes that I and other colleagues around the world have been involved in developing over the last few years. And the president of the World Bank now calls it the "science of delivery." I, rather self-mockingly, call it "deliverology." But either way, it's a science of getting things done, and it's an emerging science, it's not a perfect science -- but what we now know from Britain, and from Ontario, and from Malaysia, Sierra Leone, among others -- a number of U.S. States, incidentally -- that the science of delivery, if applied systematically, makes a huge different to the outcomes in a relatively short space of time.

So that what I'm going to present has implications not just for education policy in Pakistan, but for aid programs and for the governments, more generally.

When we started on the road map there were lots of problems with the education system is Pakistan. You can see the state of

some of the textbooks in this picture, not to mention the school. This is a school in the far eastern edge of Punjab, very near the Indian border -- nobody learning much, desperately trying to hold the books together in the breeze, outdoors in the sun. And Rebecca gave you a statistic. There are many other statistics like that. Lots of children out of school, the children in school not really learning, more than 20 percent of teachers not there on a given day, corrupt officials at various different levels, teacher transfers based on sort of political manipulation rather than anything to do with quality.

So that was the starting point.

And what the chief minister leapt on back in the latter part of 2010 was the idea that he could make a significant difference in a two-year period if he applied the policy lessons from other systems like his -- in India, in South Africa, in Brazil -- and then applied a systematic approach to delivery. And he decided to do that in October 2010. We began the implementation of the road map in January 2011, and that first phase, between January and August 2011, was about building the infrastructure for delivery. And then from August 2011, we began implementation school by school.

Pakistan is a place that has crises quite often. Every country has crises; Pakistan has more than its fair share. This is the floods of

2010. I went back to Pakistan after those floods. It was a huge trauma, it was biblical proportions, literally -- more than the surface area of England was under water. It was absolutely devastating. I met a set of officials who I'd been working with prior to that from around Pakistan, not just Punjab. They said, "We can't do education reform anymore. We've had a flood." I said -- you have to be ruthless sometimes -- "Did the flood make your schools better? If the flood didn't make your schools better, we've still got the challenge to do." And part of deliverology, or the science of delivery, is never being deflected from the task. If the schools are important, if the education of the future citizens of Pakistan is important, then it doesn't matter what crisis you have, you have to keep doing it.

When we started implementation in September 2011 in Punjab, there was an outbreak of dengue fever across Lahore and surrounding regions. We still carried on with the road map, we still carried on with implementation. We didn't let those crises deflect you. If you let the crises deflect you in Pakistan, you'd never get anything done. And governments around the world have learnt that lesson. There was a Russian prime minister who retired after two years in office, in the 1990s, a wonderful man called Viktor Chernomyrdin, and when asked about his term in office he said, "We tried to do better, but everything turned out as usual."

Lots of politicians have had that experience. But by getting the focus on the policy and the implementation you can avoid that fate.

, What are the elements of the road map? Well, here there's a pretty simple way of doing it.

The first thing is, for every -- for the province of Punjab, we've set targets: how many teachers do we want to turn up on an average day? How many children do we want to get into school, and by when? -- and so on -- so, very basic targets.

And then we split those targets up among the 36 districts, and we made sure that each district person, the EDO and the DCO -- the overall leader of a district and the education leader of a district -- knew exactly what they were meant to achieve by 2013. So we had province-wide targets, broken down into district-wide targets, and the trajectory to go from 2011 to 2013. Simple stuff. Everybody knows what they've got to do.

We then put in place a data system, building on some good work that the World Bank had done prior to the road map, education road map, to make sure that we got monthly data from every school -- 60,000 government schools across Punjab, every one of them, we get monthly data. The May data for this year will be in Lahore by two days from now, so the 7th of June. And by next week, myself, Fenton Whelan, who's here

and part of the team, will be able to analyze that data, will be able to share it with the chief minister, share it with the top officials. And then the following week, it will be back in the 36 districts. Every district chief will know how their district compares, on that data, to every other district in Punjab. very rapid cycles of data collection, analysis, and getting it back into the system. Very important.

The second thing, district administration -- corrupt officials are being removed. So we now have 36 EDOs, one in each district, appointed on merit by a committee chaired by the Secretary of Schools. No political interference. There was a bit of shuffling around of these officials during the election campaign because some of the political parties were worried that if they stayed in the districts they were in they would manipulate the vote in the favor of the current chief minister. So they got reshuffled. But they're all, they were all, actually, in fact, appointed on merit, and now we hope that most of them will stay in the districts they've been reshuffled to.

So getting good people appointed on merit, and keeping them in post -- very simple, but absolutely fundamental. Anybody who knows Pakistan knows that in large parts of the bureaucracy, you get this incredible turnover of officials that prevents you from getting anything done. But in Punjab, at the district level, and in the center in Lahore,

we've had a stable group of officials who have done a wonderful job. The Secretary of Schools, a wonderful official called Aslam Kamboh, said publically recently that at the beginning of the road map he was the biggest skeptic about the whole program. He thought it was going to be "just another aid initiative," in his words. Now he's the biggest fan. He will be promoted soon, probably. He's been there three-and-a-half years. He said to me last Friday, as a result of working on the road map, "I am a different official."

Really good people, and we train these people. Every six months we do very interactive training -- not generic capacity-building, but training to do this job, at that moment, over the next six months, very focused, very inspiring training.

We have a strategy on teacher quality: 81,000 teachers have been newly appointed in Punjab, all on merit, over the last three years. The teachers in post are now managed, so they're turning up 92 percent of the time, instead of just under 80 percent of the time as of a few years ago. They've all got lesson plans for grades 1 to 5 in English, math, and science. New textbooks have gone into school. They were meant to go in April, they'll get there, finally, totally, this very -- -actually, they should be in there by the end of May, so they should be there now, all the new textbooks.

And then we're piloting a new system of teacher quality, where each teacher has support from a mentor who visits the classroom once or twice a month and offers coaching on how to improve. Again, it's not taking teachers away to some training center where they get harangued -- which is the old model of training in Punjab. It's focused at the classroom level. We've piloted it in two districts; it's now in nine districts. And we hope, over the next year, to take it to all 36 districts. We've already got evidence that it makes a difference.

The enrollment drive -- we've made progress on enrollment, adding something like 1.5 million children to the rolls in the last year-and-a-half. It's not enough. We want to try and get another 3 million extra children into school in this year. We were hoping to make real progress in April but it was difficult during an election campaign. But in August, September, and October we will have a big enrollment drive. We talked to the chief minister about it last week. He will personally lead that enrollment drive, will treat it as an emergency and a crisis, and will drive progress on that.

And we've done everything down to a very specific guide, using cartoons and pictures, translated into Urdu, for each teacher who has to go out around the school, find the children, and bring them to school. WE know, for example, that if you want -- first of all, you need a

new map, because every place in Pakistan is getting bigger, because population growth is so rapid. But then you need the teachers to go -- and to get the girls into school, the teacher needs to go, with a girl child, go with a textbook, and say, "Look, this is the kind of textbook. Look, the school is different." And, "Look, here's a girl child who goes to school, and she likes it. Why don't you come tomorrow?" And that way we can find the children and get them into school.

All the big global stuff about getting children into school, in the end, it's all about the detail. It's what you do at the ground level, on the front line, in the dusty streets of the villages of Punjab.

And then there are whole ranges of additional supporting programs which I won't go into.

The Punjab Education Foundation is a key part of this. We have a voucher scheme, currently with 150,000 children on vouchers. They can take the vouchers, 500 rupees a month, they can take it to any low-cost private school that's registered. Those vouchers only go to poor parents, whose children are out of school, and we will build that voucher program up over the next five years so that something 800,000 children who would otherwise have been out of school are now getting to school as a result of that, particularly in remote areas where the government systems either aren't present or don't work.

There's a big media campaign run by Geo, the largest media conglomerate in Pakistan, encouraging people to get their children into school. Those Pakistanis among you will be aware of the wonderful music of Shehzad Roy. He's done a whole song specifically to promote this whole education thing. He's done a 24-part television series, in which he rides around looking cool on a motorbike, but stops off and interviews people about education. He's changed the law, in several provinces, on corporal punishment as a result of that campaign.

And then there's a whole innovation fund which, again, I won't go into it, because I want to stick to my time.

I said that the routines were really important, as well. What makes this work? First of all, leadership commitment. Shahbaz Sharif has been really fantastic at leading this, consistent all the way through. Having a team on the ground -- Saad Rizvi, Fenton Whelan and he were members of that team at different times. It's been absolutely fundamental having a team working with the officials, helping them do all the things that get done.

Reviewing the road map actions, checking on the front line, going to visit schools and checking that it is actually working, it's not just the data you're relying on, you're seeing it through your own eyes. A regular stock-take that I do every two months with the chief minister,

where we review progress -- we have the Secretary of Finance, the Chief Secretary, the Education Secretary in the room, and we review progress. We make rapid decisions. We act on them. We've got a routine that drives delivery. We're not just responding to crises.

And then absolute discipline, never giving up, always focusing on delivery.

And these are the things that make delivery work. And I'm not going to go through the slides. You can all have the presentation.

But, basically, delivery is about answering five questions: What are trying to do? How are you trying to do it? How do you know if you're on track? If you're not on track, what are you going to about it? And can we -- in this case, the delivery team -- help to get that done?

It's as simple as that. It's the rigor with which you do it that makes the difference.

I just wanted to show you a few examples of the kind of data.

I mentioned the monthly data. Here's an example from September 2011. Bahawalpur is a bit district in the southwest of Punjab, on the Indian border. Every one of the 36 districts gets that.

So you can see the targets down there: "Teacher present," "Student attendance," "Teacher guides," and "Functioning facilities." You can see what Bahawalpur's performance was on each of those. You can

see -- this is sent to the EDO, the education official in charge of education. He or she can see -- in this case, she can see where they should be, aiming to be in November, and then they can see exactly how many extra teachers to hit the target.

They were green -- so they hit their September target. To get the November target, they've got to get an extra 25 teachers across the province, across the district, into school for the November target. But they were really poor on student attendance in September 2011, so they've got to get 14,741 students on that.

So we're making it really easy for them to see what the task is.

If you went and scrolled down, you'd find the names of the head teachers, the names of the schools that were not delivering, and sometimes the phone number of the schools. And the EDO has got to do is call them up and say, "Get five more children in school next months." We make it easy for them to do the job. This is delivery in action.

On the key actions that we report in the stock-take, the chief minister sees the actions there as Numbers 32 to 39, on Priority 4 listed, and we rank, we say "Are they green?" -- i.e., it's been done. Are they amber-green? -- or "yellow-green," if you're an American -- in which case they are largely done, but there's a problem. And sometimes they're

amber-red or red, there's a problem. In the stock-take, we're going to solve that problem. We won't leave the stock-take until we know what we're going to do to turn that green.

It's my job, my personal job, to judge whether something's green, red, or amber, or in between. Because if you're an official in Punjab, it's hard to report bad news to the chief minister, because it's difficult. But, for me, it's straightforward. So I make sure the conversation is honest. The officials often try to persuade me to turn things green because it will make their life easier in the stock-take. I tell them the only way to turn it green is to do the action.

So, what are the results? Well, all of these things are true; higher enrollment, more teachers attending than ever before, more schools with better facilities, stronger administration focusing on improving quality. So that's actually happening.

I won't go through all the data because my 15 minutes is almost up. But I want to show you the kind of graphs we use in the stock-take.

Here's one showing -- we check whether district administrators are actually visiting the schools. If you go back to August 2011, when we began, 22 percent of schools were visited in the average month. Now it's 96 percent of schools. We've summarized that:

Basically, a system that was un-managed is now managed. That's vital. A lot of delivery is really boring. It's just about doing the job.

As a result, we got lots of children into school, as I mentioned. We can break it down by urban and rural, north, central, and south. If you go to the far side, you can see that in urban northern districts, 95 percent of girls and boys are attending. It's pretty much the same in rural districts in the north. But in the south, we have a real problem with enrollment with girls in the deep south -- so, only 67 percent attending. So we can break this data down. We can do the same analysis at district level.

These are the heat maps we use. The chief minister, when he first saw these, said, "I'm going to sleep with these under my pillow." He loves these, he loves these maps. He can see, in this case, this is enrollment. We do a six-monthly independent survey of enrollment, not controlled by us, not controlled by the government -- independent survey. We see where enrollment is high, and where it's low, we focus the resources the resources, the attention, the energy on the red bits. And in the enrollment drive for 2013, those districts in the southwest, the tribal areas and the southwest of Punjab will get, by far, the most focus from our team, from the administration, in terms of resources.

Student attendance -- I won't go through all these things, I just wanted to give you a flavor. All of these graphs you can have -- they're actually all in the document that has been handed out. And sometimes the heat maps are less red than the one you saw before. And facilities have -- only 68 percent of schools had running water, electricity, a boundary wall, and toilets back when we started. Now it's over 90 percent. And "teacher presence," has gone from 80 percent to 92 percent.

These are the teacher quality pilots I mentioned. Look at the big improvements in the pilot from teachers using a lesson plan, using activities in the classroom, and using questions to check learning. So very basic elements of pedagogy that make a difference.

The new textbooks, I mentioned.

And then the vouchers. So it's gone from 2,000 children having vouchers to 140,000. Actually, we just got the new data. It's now 150,000. And next year we'll add another 50,000. This is really important to getting the enrollment of people in remote parts of Punjab into the school system.

And, finally, here are the lessons: Be ambitious. Set clear goals. Prepare, plan, and get on with it. Don't get the plan perfect, just get started. And, refine it through the routines. Establish those routines

that I've mentioned -- the stock-take being the centerpiece. Make sure the conversation is honest -- it's been my job, so far, but, increasingly, everybody joins in that conversation.

Really know what's happening -- not just the data, but look at the front line. Refine constantly, but don't compromise on the ambition. Create momentum -- momentum is everything. And by getting the monthly and seeing the change, you get the sense that we can really make a difference. So people get excited and engaged, persist even when there's dengue fever outbreak. Build a guiding coalition, a growing number of people who support this. It started with the chief minister and a handful of people, now there's a much broader coalition, politically, administratively, and, indeed, in parts of the public for supporting this.

Focus on the change that's needed -- so, decide what you want to do and work back to the money. Lots of aid programs start by focusing on the money and how to allocate it. Focus on what you want to achieve, come back to the money.

And, finally, when all else fails in Pakistan, you can always talk about cricket. This is easier for the British than the Americans and, in fact, it could be said to be said to be one of the major flaws in American foreign policy.

But, with that in mind, I just want to go back to the beginning: This is not a finished job. It's just started. Over the next five years we're going to try and get to Malaysia.

Thank you very much for your time and attention.

(Applause)

And one more thing: My Twitter handle is on there. There's a lot of debate about education in Pakistan on Twitter.

MS. WINTHROP: Great. Thank you so much. Thank you, Michael, for that impressive, rapid-fire walk-through. I think we can all be very impressed with the progress it's made in such a short period of time.

What I wanted to do is ask a few questions of our panelists, and then we'll float it up for debate and discussion with all of you.

And, Iqbal, I thought maybe I'd start with you.

Michael presented, basically, the fruits of a U.K. aid program in the last couple of years which have been very impressive. And your organization, the Aga Khan Development Network, has been working on education in Pakistan for decades -- almost, maybe a century, you've told me recently.

MR. NOOR ALI: Yes.

MS. WINTHROP: So, could you give some reflections, both about your thoughts about the reforms that Michael was talking about, but

also some of this longer-term vision about education reform in Pakistan, and about the role, perhaps, of non-state actors? We heard quite a bit about what the government can do. And I know, Michael, you didn't go into it in great depth, but part of the voucher scheme for reaching kids, poor kids in rural areas where there isn't a lot of government schools, is to partner with non-governmental entities to deliver services.

So, it would be interesting to hear from an organization that's been doing that for a long time.

MR. BARBER: Can I correct one thing --

MS. WINTHROP: Yes, please do.

MR. BARBER: I don't think of it as a "British aid program" that's done well, I think of it as "Punjab government program" that's done really well, supported by --

MS. WINTHROP: Well, well corrected.

MR. BARBER: It's a very, very important distinction.

MS. WINTHROP: Yes. Yes, thank you.

Anyway, I'm a big fan -- before I let him speak, I'll say I'm a big fan of the Aga Khan Development Network's work on education in Pakistan. I've visited it several times, and I have to say that the best girls' education program I've even seen in the world was up in Gilgit-Baltistan, with --

MR. NOOR ALI: Oh, thank you.

MS. WINTHROP: -- with AKD.

Anyway, the floor to you.

MR. NOOR ALI: Well, good morning. Thank you, first of all, for inviting me here. I'm honored to be in the company of people who are experts, not only on the subject of education, but about the country where I was born. People normally assume I know a lot about the place where I was born, and I don't. So I feel daunted on the one hand, and secure on the other. So I'm in great company.

And thank you for giving me the opportunity to talk a little bit about the AKD, and its work in education. You're right, the first schools were set up in pre-partition India -- Pakistan didn't even exist -- in 1905, well over a hundred years ago. In fact, the very first school I went to was an Aga Khan school. It wasn't quite a hundred years ago, but that was my first school.

It started -- I guess, if you want to trace it back, it is, the role of the Aga Khan as the leader of a community which he inherited from his grandfather, Sultan Mahomed Shah, who, back in the 1880s, when advising this community, told them that if you have to choose between -- if you have limited resources, and you want to choose between educating you sons or your daughters, educate your daughters first, because that

will give you a strong grounding for the future for the family. And I often tell the story about how my mother was better educated than I am, because her parents followed the advice, and she could read, write, and speak five languages, and I barely manage one. And if you imagine that she was educated in the '20s and the '30s, that was quite awhile ago.

we can talk a little bit more about that, but let me just congratulate sir Michael on the work that, really, his leadership, and the political will of the leaders in Punjab, is making possible. And as you've rightly pointed out, it is the beginning, but it's a very august beginning, and one which is, Godspeed, full progress with it.

But what I got out of reading the report and what was said this morning is that you need political will, you need vision.

MR. BARBER: Yes.

MR. NOOR ALI: You need a visionary leader. And, in the case of the government, you have one now in the case of the Aga Khan Development. We've been very fortunate to have that leadership continue for well over a hundred years.

The ability to stick to the long-term goals there will be ups and downs along the way, but you've got to remain focused on goals. And I think, so far, in the two years, this project demonstrates that very well. Clear objectives, a results-oriented approach -- I almost look at it as a

business venture, that you're driving it -- if you had a business start-up -- and I come more from a business background than a development background -- you drive for results, and you simply innovate along the way in order to overcome the obstacles and find solutions.

I also see in it -- right now it is with the Punjab Education Foundation it's a public-private partnership, but I also see a public-private partnership, but I also see a public-private-community partnership emerging out of it. It's a notion and a concept that we in the Aga Khan Development Network, both in Pakistan and elsewhere, support very strongly, because, eventually, the community has to buy into it. And I can illustrate that with an example in education, for instance, in a valley called Nagar, in the northern areas that you might have visited.

I remember driving to Nagar, which is across, the valley across from Hunza. And the two communities there were at odds with each other for decades, if not centuries. They were killing each other, basically. And I remember going there in the early '80s, sometimes, a few years after the Aga Khan rural support program had been established and had come into that village. And our sorts of cars were stopped by villagers, on our way to Hunza, where a group had gathered and said, "Here is the land. We want you to come and build a school here."

That transformation took place. If you look 30 years ago, the enrollment of girls from Naga was only 4 percent. Today it is, I believe, 92 percent. There were no schools that girls could go to at the time, and now there are primary schools -- they still don't have high schools -- but the parents have gotten together and they transport their children over to Karimabad to send their girls to high school there. And 70 percent of them stay in high school.

The role of the community is important because a non-state actor, or even the government -- and I'm not claiming that the Aga Khan education services did it by itself, because the government was involved, the other programs were involved -- have helped changed the attitude of the community. And, eventually, for anything to be -- to use that often-misunderstood word -- "sustainable," is for the community to have a role in it.

And I see the emergence of that in the program that has been described about the Punjab.

I think the value of in-service teacher training -- because basically, when you're reaching out to teachers, you're making them part of the ownership of that program itself. It's something we've learned doing it in Gilgit-Baltistan and Chitral. And it's effective because, in many cases, girls, especially, are not allowed to go out to study somewhere far. So you

bring the mountain to Mohamed, so to speak. You bring the training within the classroom, where they can learn, practically, about what are the issues, and how to deal with, better, the pedagogy.

In the five minutes I want to touch on two other things. One is our success in girls' education, that I think we're all very proud of. The other is the trail-blazing role that the Aga Khan University has played in bringing private sector higher education to Pakistan. And the invitation of the government back in 1983, the Aga Khan University was established as Pakistan's first private university, with very clear objectives -- and that would be a one-hour presentation if I went into that.

But one of the objectives was to be a role model, and to focus on quality of education. It was the first private university between the Suez Canal and Japan at that time, in 1983 -- so I'm told by my colleagues at AKU.

What it did was it opened the doors for other private sector players to enter the higher education field in Pakistan. And you have some very good universities now -- alums that you work with, the Lahore University of Math and Sciences -- and several others. There's about 60 of them, 59 or 60 of them now.

And one of the other things that the Aga Khan University has been able to tackle, on different issues in education and so on, was the

system of examinations. They set up an examination board that was approved by the government in 2003, 2004, as an alternative to the government school of examinations which was corrupt, which was not credible, which -- you know, if you came to this country or some other with a certificate for education in Pakistan was not worth the paper it was written on. I remember a friend of mine applied for a job here recently to the Bank, and has tons of years of experiences, but doesn't have an MBA. But he happens to be from Pakistan, and the recruiter offered the job and then found out he doesn't have a master's degree. He said, well, what kind of master's degree do you need? I'll get you one from Pakistan. (Laughter)

You know, I mean, that --

MS. WINTHROP: And did he?

MR. NOOR ALI: No. And the recruiter said, thank you, either Pakistan or some other countries.

The point being that the examination system lacked credibility, and there were many flaws on the ground. The biggest one was that the examiners were preparing them from a testing standpoint, as opposed to the curriculum. Students were not being tested on what they had learned, but were being coached in order to pass an exam. And all kinds of things sort of went on there.

So that is one of the success stories. And I think it's catching on, and has become a good alternative.

But what it's also doing is, by osmosis, the government examination system is adapting some of the methods that the Aga Khan University examination board have adopted, and that's changing the whole system of how testing is done.

And I can stop there for now, and we can talk more --

MS. WINTHROP: We'll carry on. Yes. Thank you so much, Iqbal.

Bruce, can we turn it over to you? You, of course, are well known for your expertise on security in Pakistan and the region, and you just have a new book out on Pakistan, India, and the U.S., I gather.

But, you also -- and every time I've heard you speak you talk quite eloquently and strongly about human development, and education, in particular, particularly as it pertains to women and girls -- and the role it plays in stability and security.

And so I'd be curious if you could talk to us a little bit, you know, about the other good news. You've written some blogs recently on the elections.

What's your take on the status of the country at the moment? And then where do you see some of this progress? Quiet, ongoing

progress that Iqbal was talking about? Or recent, very recent big systemic progress that Michael was talking about in the education sector -- interfacing with the security context.

MR. RIEDEL: Sure. Well, first of all, thank you for inviting me here. And it's a pleasure to be here with these very distinguished colleagues.

When Rebecca sent me an email about a month ago, saying that she was going to do an event entitled "Good News from Pakistan," I said I've got to be there. (Laughter) It is so rare, that we've got to seize on this moment.

And I think it's almost impossible to overstate the importance of this. Pakistan is a nation under siege. Since 9/11, 45,000 Pakistani civilians, police officers, and military personnel have been killed in acts of terrorism and acts of militant violence. That's the equivalent of a dozen 9/11s in the United States in the same period of time.

The militancy, the violence, targets the educational system. It was no accident that Malala was the target of an assassination campaign. The Pakistan Taliban saw her for what she was: a threat to everything that they want to do.

So this is a country under siege, but it's also a country, I would say, at a crossroads -- at a very, very important crossroads. And we've alluded to it, but I think we need to be more specific about it.

This election -- for the first time in the history of Pakistan, over 65 years, a democratically-elected civilian government filled out its term in office, and then had another democratic election, and a new civilian government took its place. These elections were not perfect, they were not flawless, but there is no real challenge that they, in the end, produced the results that the Pakistani wanted them to have.

Turnout -- despite the threats of militant violence, despite over 140 terrorist attacks, and somewhere around 97 other acts of political violence -- turnout was remarkably high, especially in the Punjab, but in other places as well. People were told that not only should they not vote because it was against Islam -- in Pakistani Taliban's version of Islam -- but that it wouldn't matter. And yet, they turned out, and they voted, and it did matter.

The other very important thing about it is that the new government, the Nawaz Sharif PML government, has a real mandate. They have a majority in the parliament. That majority is likely to grow as people see a winner and want to join on the winning ticket. This provides Pakistan with a chance for some real change, and real new decisions.

Which then comes to this report. As Sir Michael has eloquently laid out, it's all about leadership. And here, the leadership comes from Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif. Shahbaz Sharif is a very well known quantity. He's been a central player in Pakistani politics for a long time, and so has his brother. And one thing that we know is that it is a team -- Nawaz and Shahbaz are a team, they work together. One of the things I discovered in the Clinton administration, working with Nawaz, is his second term as prime minister, was just how important to his thinking was what his brother told him in the privacy of the two of them working together.

And that's very good news. If the Sharif brothers have understood the importance of education in Punjab, if they've understood the chance, the opportunity that was given to them here to work with this institution, that augers well for what the third Nawaz Sharif prime ministership will look like.

What did he run on? What did he say he wanted to do as prime minister for third time? He emphasized education, and he emphasized infrastructure -- and those are exactly the right things that Pakistan needs in the future.

One doesn't want to get carried away. Pakistan still has huge problems. The relationship between the Pakistani Army and the

Pakistani civilian government is one that we will have to see how it develops. Nawaz and Shahbaz are, after all, acutely aware of this problem, since they've ended up spending a good part of their lives in exile because they didn't get it right the last time.

Nawaz's -- one of the key challenges he faces, he is picking the new Chief of Army Staff. Needless to say, he chose poorly in the past. He's not alone. A lot of Pakistani leaders have chosen poorly in the past when it came to choosing Chief of Army Staff -- probably no one more poorly than Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who ended up paying with his life for a poor choice.

But it's easy to be pessimistic about Pakistan, and it will take you nowhere. It is much more important to be hopeful about Pakistan, and hope that this study, these developments in the Punjab, auger for a change in the future of the country. And I think that's a good reason to have come here today.

I can't stop, though, without making one other shout-out. You rightly noted this is not a British government program, but I do think that we ought to give some credit to former Foreign Secretary David Miliband, my good friend, for having been an inspiration and making this happen. And if he has no other legacy as British foreign secretary -- and

he actually has quite many other legacies -- this will be one of the most important.

MS. WINTHROP: Thank you very much, Bruce. And that's a perfect segue, Michael, to see if you have any sort of reflections or last comments before we open it up.

I had two questions on that, hearing what Bruce just raised about sort of the importance and the heft with which the U.K. government has engaged in this process.

It's early on, it's early days, you emphasized that. But, over the long term, what's the sustainability sort of plan here? In particular, there were two things that I was interested to hear your thoughts on. One is, you kept saying, you know, it's very difficult to talk honestly. There are incentives within a bureaucracy for, you know, district-level officials not to tell the truth to their chief minister. And you said part of the success is you, an external actor, you who are there to work closely with the government, was able, you know -- no skin off your back. You can talk honestly. If they don't like you, the worst thing is you stop working on it. It's not the end of your job, you're not -- et cetera.

So how do you make that transition? That was one key question.

And the other question I guess I had is: Is this something that you think you can take on in the other provinces in Pakistan? Punjab is exceptional in some ways.

MR. BARBER: Yes. Well, thank you. I'll be very brief. Thank you for the comments, to both the other panelists. And I just want to reinforce where Bruce finished: David Miliband started this. He and I had worked together in Downing Street earlier, you know, back in the previous decade, and before Blair was elected. And he was a great foreign secretary. He really cared about Pakistan. I think he's the only foreign secretary in British history that went to Pakistan more times than he went to America. And he really takes it seriously, and he still thinks about. He was e-mailing me about it after my visit last week -- so it's true.

And, by the way, this is a big element of quiet British -- I was going to call it "diplomacy." Britain is really interested in doing this, the education reform, and working with the Pakistani leadership to enable this to happen.

On the two questions, I think the fear that some officials have of some politicians is not confined to Pakistan at all. I've seen it in British administration. Some ministers are challenging to be with. In the end, it's the way the civil service builds its culture.

And I think what I'm trying to model, and hopefully, people will develop, is creating the kind of conversation where you focus on solving the problem before you allocate the blame. Normal governments around the world allocate blame first, and then solve the problem afterwards. But they get so caught up in the blame -- often driven by the media, who are saying, "Whose head should roll?"

What we tried to do back in the Blair administration, when we were developing this delivery process, and what I'm trying to do in Punjab, is get the focus on solve the problem first. If there's blame to be allocated, just do it later. Sometimes there is, sometimes it's just the story.

So, I think you can build that capacity in a governmental system over time, to get that bit right. I'm not pretending it's easy, and it depends on the individuals, as well as the culture of the institution. But I'm impressed by the top officials in Punjab, and some of the ones I've met elsewhere, and their ability to increasingly debate this. I'm also impressed with the way Shahbaz Sharif has moved on from -- as he said in one of the early stock-takes about somebody who was frustrating him -- "Throw him in the Arabian Sea." He didn't really mean it -- moving on to now focusing on solving the problem.

I think that's a matter of time. But none of these things are easily made irreversible. It is about building cultures focused on delivering outcomes, solving problems.

Is it transferable to the other provinces? We hope. And we're putting in place in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa the infrastructure that will make this possible if the newly elected PTI government decides to do that. I met their leadership last week, and they are enthused about doing this process. We will see whether they're ready to adopt it.

But if we could get a kind of education road map adapted to meet the PTI policy, and then the focus on delivery that we've had in Punjab translated into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, I think that will be a big step forward.

So, there is definite interest in doing that.

MS. WINTHROP: Great. Thanks.

So, the floor is open. We'll open it up to questions for folks. And there's a mic going around.

I see a handful. Let's start at the back, sort of one, two -- back on the aisle there.

Yes.

SPEAKER: My name is Arnav Sahu, I'm an intern at Brookings.

I live in India myself, and I think a lot of problems Indian villages face are also faced by some of the issues we discussed today. And something I noticed in India, as well, is a lot of families refuse to send their children to school because they feel that schooling is useless because a lot of schooling does not translate into jobs, and they'd rather have the children working at home, supporting the family income and various other occupations.

So my question is: From a policy standpoint, how do you think this perception can be changed in various households in Pakistani villages?

MS. WINTHROP: Okay. Great. That might be a question for you, Iqbal.

Right here on the end -- yes.

MR. NABI: I think, good news and bearers of good news are most welcome, especially on Mass Avenue --

MS. WINTHROP: Can you speak up a little? We can't --

MR. NABI: -- where often news about Pakistan is very bad.

Britain has taken a number of excellent initiatives in Pakistan. I live and work in Pakistan, including funded IGC program, et cetera.

My question is about what you call "deliverology." There are districts in, especially in northern Punjab, where you have very high literacy, and have had high literacy for a long time -- without any gender difference.

What is it that we learn from those districts as we expand the delivery of education in the districts in southern Punjab? And how does that inform what you are doing?

MS. WINTHROP: Could you introduce yourself before we pass the mic on?

MR. NABI: My name is Ijaz Nabi. And I teach at LUMS, and I'm based in Lahore.

MS. WINTHROP: Great. Thank you so much.

And then we had a question here. The blue shirt, and then we'll go to Hina, at the end.

Go ahead.

MR. ANSARI: First of all, thank you for all the work you do. My name is Sa'ad Ansari. I'm with the Yale Journal of International Affairs. And I will actually be interning here at Brookings later on in June. My question is just about human resources.

There's been a lot of talk about the brain-drain happening in Pakistan. There's a lot of talk about that there's not a culture of teaching,

that people don't want to be teachers, rather be a business person. And there's also some kind of complaints that Pakistan has a huge diaspora community in Europe and the United States, but it hasn't really leveraged it properly.

Overall, my question is: Considering the brain-drain, diaspora, and the lack of appeal to become a teacher, what challenges and opportunities do you see in the human resources sector, and getting better teachers?

MS. WINTHROP: Good.

And one last question, here. We'll catch the others in the second round. I'll catch you next time -- a very patient man there.

MS. BALOCH: Hello, my name is Hina Baloch, and I'm a fellow at Penn State University.

My question to you is that you've worked extensively with PML-N, and you will be working with them more in the next five years. PML-N has been known to be a right-wing political party, and that is also known to have covert links with groups like Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Tehrik-e-Taliban Punjab.

I'm just wondering -- and Punjab is also a province where we've seen most violence against Christians, against Ahmadis, against

other minority communities. Also, if you see the blasphemy prisoners in Pakistan, most of them are in Punjab.

Now, all of those who have studied this in Pakistan, we can say that a lot of this goes back, can be traced back to what we've studied in our textbooks in Pakistan. And Punjab has tried a little bit to bring textbooks reform, but it hasn't really worked that well.

How much do think DFID, or the U.S. government would be able to put some sort of pressure on the government this time to introduce some serious kind of textbook reform.

My second question is that aid work in Pakistan is highly political. Aid goes, unfortunately, to the strongest rather than to the weakest, not that -- I am not saying that Punjab doesn't have its problems, but there are also other provinces in Pakistan that have bigger problems than Punjab. I work at a major organization for five years, and it used to be a huge task for me to, for example, bring Baluchistan in focus, or try to divert some aid funding to Baluchistan.

How do you see that, now that your model has worked in Punjab, how do you see sort of replicating it in other parts?

MS. WINTHROP: Okay. Great. Thank you so much.

So we have a question around community demand for schooling, which -- anybody can answer anything, but Iqbal, perhaps you could especially answer that.

There was also a question around the sort of high literacy rates in the northern areas, but what do we have to show for it. Perhaps, Michael, you could talk on that.

We also had -- I'm missing --

MR. BARBER: A brain-drain.

MS. WINTHROP: The brain-drain. That's it -- the brain-drain question.

And then this last question had several. One is about, sort of, the political nature of aid. Bruce, perhaps you can speak on that -- as well as there's -- and anyone please speak on this, as well -- this idea of the content of the curriculum in Pakistan, and how that interfaces with militancy, or a militant attitudes, or sort of looking favorably on violence, I think is the question.

So, Bruce, why don't we start at your end.

MR. RIEDEL: Sure. I think the question of how do you replicate this is an extremely important question. You mentioned Baluchistan. I would say, to me, the priority is how you replicate this in Karachi. Because unless Pakistan can get its biggest city, and its port city

right, it's hard to see how this is, in the end, going to work. And Karachi is a really hard nut to crack.

One of the features of this election that is disturbing is the way it's broke down on regional lines. The PML did extremely well in Punjab. The PPP did very well in the Sindh. And the MQM did very well in Karachi. On the standard of who is likely to promote the outcomes we want, I think we've gone in the right order there.

How the Nawaz Sharif government deals with the problem of Karachi is going to be one of the major challenges in front of it.

You raised the question of the party's relationship with various militant groups. It's a fact. It's a fact. I mean, Nawaz Sharif's birth in the political process, and his brother's birth, were as protégés of Zia ul-Haq. We can only hope that the passage of time has convinced them that the policies of Zia ul-Haq are not the policies they want to pursue in the future. As I said, I think there are, in this report, in the way the chief minister worked on it, reasons to be hopeful.

The last thing I would say, the British government deserves tremendous attention and commendation for doing this. U.S. policy towards Pakistan, I think is also at a crossroads today. We've had a rough four years. As the President acknowledged in his speech at NDU, the relationship has gotten to be rock-bottom. But he has also promised

changes. My words, not his -- he has decided to become a reformed drone addict. And we can already see that he is suiting-up less. That augers well for the capacity of the U.S. and Pakistan to see if we can turn a corner as we start what is now a new government in Islamabad.

MS. WINTHROP: Thanks. Thanks, Bruce.

Iqbal? Any of those questions.

MR. NOOR ALI: I think the question that was asked of me about why would people, especially in rural areas, want to send their children for more education because there are examples that have been cited where there is reluctance to it.

It's a somewhat complicated answer. I think it comes back to what I've hinted at earlier, it's the community's involvement in its own development.

We have done studies where we have found that when women have access to income, for instance, they want more of it to go towards their children's education and health. So there are linkages, you cannot compartmentalize things.

We also found, in our development work in Pakistan, and elsewhere -- even in East Africa and in India -- that villages are smarter than we give them credit for. When they see an economic benefit coming out of a certain action, they will not only buy into it, they'll want to lead it.

So the business about community sensitization, awareness, and so on, begins by having a catalyst that brings awareness to the community, and not necessarily want to sell something to the community.

Our experience has been quite different in the villages in the northern areas. Part of it has been policy-driven. For instance, we've had, for the lack of a better term, I would call it "affirmative action," towards girls' education. The Aga Khan schools there have had a policy that the ratio of girls to boys in our schools will be 65 to 35. And only in exception cases, where there are no boys schools available, will the ratio go to 50-50, girls and boys, provided all the girls in the village have been admitted to school.

So, sometimes, that kind of policy discretion on the part of an implementer also helps.

The other thing that we found creates an awareness is what we call the "ladder of education." We believe that education starts right from birth and goes on through university. So our early childhood development programs in villages already make mothers and fathers want their children to be better educated, because they can see the results of that cognitive learning that takes place in the under-two age. So there are multiple factors.

I'm very optimistic. I think if there are people who feel reluctant, it doesn't take very long for them to understand the value of education, and they then demand it themselves.

MS. WINTHROP: Great. Thank you.

Michael.

MR. BARBER: Just quickly, on Hina's question, first of all, on aid. Although I described the work in Punjab, we're taking the same, or an adapted version into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. And then, in Karachi, which Bruce rightly mentioned as a major challenge -- because we don't believe that, here I mean "we," the British -- don't believe that we can give aid to the Sindh government because we don't think they'll spend the money effectively, in Karachi we've built a new not-for-profit organization led by the business leaders of Karachi, given it some aid money, and that institution is buying places in low-cost private and NGO centers who are out of school across Karachi.

Karachi is the least well educated mega-city on the planet. We can't leave it, we can't neglect it, for reasons Bruce gave. But, equally, we can't use the government because that won't work.

So this is a big innovation in aid. Already 18,000 children are benefitting from that. There's a voucher program just coming on

board, based on the one in Punjab. So we're not neglecting the other areas.

And then, in Baluchistan, British aid, working through other aid agencies, is beginning to look at that, but that's not part of my work. And, I agree, it's important.

On the other part of your question, you said that I work with the PML-N. And it's true that, obviously, the chief minister of Punjab is a PML-N person, through and through.

I just want to say that we work with the government of Punjab. That's the way I think about it. It's not a party, political, they're the elected government, we work with them. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, we'll work with the elected government, which will be PTI-led.

So we're not, in that sense, party political.

But the point you raise about textbooks, historically, is a very important thing. One of the things that Shahbaz has done in the last two years is visit a school in Birmingham, in England, where most of the -- it's a girls' school. Most of the children in the school are British Muslims. He was really impressed by -- it's a wonderful school, just an ordinary government, state school.

When he went back, on a panel with me, on a platform with me, he harangued the journalists in the front row. He said, "Show me a

school anywhere in Pakistan where we would educate Christians the way the British are educating Muslims in Birmingham." It was really, really impressive, actually. He didn't need to do that.

I think that that whole mode of thought is moving on in a very, very significant way. And the textbooks will all need looking at.

On the north and south that Ijaz asked about -- one of the things about these maps is it shows where the resource is needed. You know, you look at the map and you can see that you've got to focus your enrollment drive in the southwest.

In conversation with the Punjab government last week, we talked about one of the goals for 2018 being to equalize education outcomes, as far as we can, between the north and south of Punjab, drawing on the experience of the north, but also recognizing the many differences in resource and other cultural factors. That is a big challenge.

If you take Italy -- just to take a totally different run on a randomly selected country -- the north and south, even though they have equal funding, have very, very different educational outcomes. That's not an easy thing to take on.

But the deliverology process enables you to see where you need to put the effort.

Nobody mentioned the brain-drain. I can't go into all of the questions you wrapped up in that, but I want to say this: There's never been a better moment for talented Pakistanis to go back and contribute to their country. This is a fantastic opportunity to go and do that.

And on the parents, and thinking school is useless, as you put it, that's true. So one of the things we do in Punjab is now say, "A new day is dawning," like on the slide. And we take that message out to the parents, and say, "Why don't you look again, because maybe this time your child will have a teacher, and a textbook, and a lesson plan, and really learn something."

MS. WINTHROP: Great. Thanks.

And I wanted, before we go out to the next round of questions, I wanted to pick up on something that you raised a bit, Bruce, and ask all of you: we're talking about sort of the U.K. involvement in this process through its aid. I have a question about the U.S., and the U.S. engagement in development in Pakistan in the education sector.

Is the U.S. involved in supporting the road map? If not, why not? What -- I mean, Michael, you're here in D.C. Certainly folks in the audience, some of them, will be working with the U.S. government. What would you want to -- what advice would you want to give to the U.S. government on that?

U.S. aid is complicated because of the security operations. And, Iqbal, I don't know if you have thoughts. I know that NGOs on the ground, some are more reluctant to partner with USAID than other donors, perhaps.

And, Bruce, if you have any thoughts on this in particular -- I'm sure you do.

Michael, maybe you want to --

MR. BARBER: Well, as Bruce said, relations were fairly strained between the U.S. and Pakistan over the last four years, not just because Americans don't understand cricket. And there were lots of factors. And the Punjab government actually, in the pre-election period, refused to accept American aid.

There is a new day dawning. There is a new government. There's a new attitude from the U.S. towards Pakistan. There's lots of reasons to hope that that progress that's been made in the last few months will be built on in the next few years.

There's then a wider question about aid, in general -- well, let me say two. One is, there's no point Americans' spending aid in the hope of being loved in Pakistan while, however few they are, drones are being fired into the country. You won't get loved for delivering aid while drones are still being fired in. So there's a whole issue there.

The thing to thing to think about aid is, are we investing in the future development of the country in a serious way? But don't do it to be loved.

But then the wider question, which is for the aid community, not just the Americans or the British, is there's an awful lot of separate aid initiatives that actually get in the way of each other, many of them badly designed, many of them separate initiatives, building 30 schools here, or a literacy program here -- or whatever it is.

The road map is different. As I said, it's a Punjab government initiative supported by the British. But also, the World Bank is in behind there, the Canadians are in behind there. So if the Americans want to get involved in Punjab, they should plug into the road map process, otherwise you just get a whole series of separate initiatives, or what one of my friends calls "the helping hand striking again and again and agin," like being slapped around the face. That just gets in the way of delivery.

Now we've got a process, if the Americans want to invest in the future development of Pakistan. Of Punjab, on education or any of the other provinces where we're doing this, they should do it through the road map, in a collaborative way, assuming that the government of Punjab or elsewhere would like that support.

MR. NOOR ALI: I'll come to the U.S. government funding part of it, but may I just add a word on the brain-drain.

MS. WINTHROP: Please. Yes, yes.

MR. NOOR ALI: The example that was cited about teaching not being seen as a worthwhile profession, the analogy I can give you is about nursing. When we started the Aga Khan University, we started with the School of Nursing. And a lot of people asked why nursing? Well, one, because the ratio of doctors to nurses was actually the reverse of what it should be, so that was a need. But the nursing profession, which was predominantly a women's profession, was not considered of good status, and so on.

What we found over time -- and, in a very short period of time -- is that by giving quality education to nurses, and enhancing the social stature, you not only helped them earn more money, but it's become a desirable profession.

And I think the same applies to teaching. Teaching, even in our country right here, we have problems. But we need to see teachers in a better light. I remember every teacher that's ever had any impact on my life. And when I say my prayers, I either thank them, or pray for their souls, because without them, honestly, I wouldn't be doing anything I've

done. Because there are people you remember that, as teachers, have had an impact on your life.

So the brain-drain -- yes. And I wish I could share Sir Michael's optimism about this being the best time for people to return to Pakistan. I would say inch'Allah.

Because we have that same issue. We have -- nurses, again I come back to them, we lose half of them to the U.S., because they get better paid here, there's more security, they are more desirable as married partners for Pakistani men living here, et cetera, et cetera. We lost half the doctors that graduate from the Aga Khan University. And some of them, after having themselves here, do want to go back, but they cannot because of the political instability and insecurity.

So, hopefully, when that turns, a lot of good things will begin to happen.

We've had funding from USAID when I worked with a foundation before this, and they've been good partners for us. In the post 9/11 era, it wasn't easy, I have to admit. But I've also found that when you sit down and rationalize, and reason with people at USAID, they understand your constraints. One of the biggest ones we faced was where they insisted on branding, putting the American, the USAID seal. Now, that's like setting up a target for someone to shoot at.

And we, our early childhood development program was partly funded by USAID, in Sindh and Baluchistan -- we worked in Baluchistan. A very difficult place. And when you sit down and reason with them, that here's a compromise, are you seriously interested in improving the lives of young children, or are you more interested in getting the logo out there, they will quickly tell you, "Do what you need to do." I found them to be very reasonable. They supported us in early children, the examination board, which was controversial at the time, we had partial support from USAID in getting that started. And a number of things, we had a very good relationship with USAID over the years.

But we find them to be -- they have their own constraints. I will not say that everything is rosy, but you can talk things through.

MR. RIEDEL: Well, I will just admit up front, I spent two years posted in London and, despite repeated efforts; I couldn't make any sense out of cricket. I found it incomprehensible. I couldn't figure out how you were scoring, and I didn't understand how you played some games in one day, and other ones took two weeks. So, if that's our challenge, I'm afraid America is going to fail. We're not going to make it.

On the question of U.S. economic assistance for Pakistani development, I think that there are, you know, a lot of negatives about how

the U.S. programs have been run. There has been a lot of friction with the Punjab government and USAID in Pakistan,

We're at a crossroads, we're at a new day. We have the opportunity to try to do something better. I would urge the President, in one of his early steps, now that the Prime Minister has formed a government, would be to invite Prime Minister Sharif to Washington for a face-to-face opportunity to see if they can't find ways to work together.

We are going to differ. That is inevitable. We have profound differences over the future of Afghanistan, for example. And the drones are not going to go away. But we need to find ways within the realities that we both face, to try to take us from the rock-bottom we are in the U.S.-Pakistan relationships today, to something better.

The good news is there's an awful lot of room to improve. The bad news is, unfortunately, it could also get worse.

So there's a crossroads. It's a moment to seize the opportunity.

MS. WINTHROP: Great. Thank you.

Let's do one last round. There is a very patient man, here, in blue shirt who I called on last time, and he, hopefully, remembers his question.

MR. CHRISTOPHER: Hi. University of Wisconsin, I'm a researcher, Colin Christopher.

My question is about the quality of education. It's great news that we have more children in the schoolhouses, that the schoolhouses are actually having walls and water, teachers are showing up more.

Two questions -- one is accountability of teachers showing up. Could you explain a little bit about the details of how the incentives for them reporting correctly -- that's one of the problems that we've in the past with teachers' not showing up and saying they did show up -- and the other one is quality of education. We know that the quality of the teacher is the most important factor, input and outcome, of how a student learns, whether it's in Punjab or anywhere else in the world.

Can you speak of how Punjab has attracted quality teachers? I know that's been a problem, especially in rural areas, where it's difficult, especially for women, to live in these remote areas.

If you could speak on those points. Thanks.

MS. WINTHROP: Thank you.

Right here, in the white.

SPEAKER: Hi, my name is Suzanne, and work with Teach for All. And Teach for Pakistan is one of our network programs.

Building on the quality questions, I was interested in knowing more about the low-cost private schools and the voucher program, and how those schools have or haven't been a part of the road map reforms, what you do to -- what mechanisms are in place to monitor the quality, and hold those schools accountable that are receiving the vouchers.

MS. WINTHROP: All right.

There's a question all the way at the very back.

MS. STEER: Hi. Liesbet Steer, from Brookings. I thought the presentation was great in making a case for saying that progress is much more than about money. And we haven't talked very much about money -- which is quite interesting.

We talked about the role of donors, but we know that donors are ever more constrained, and that they are likely to play a more limited role as time goes on.

So the question is, what role could they most effectively play. And then how much is actually required from the governments? I'd love to know more about how you got the Punjabi government to raise more funding, or to invest more resources in what you did. I assume they also contributed to it financially.

MS. WINTHROP: One last question here, and then we'll just go straight down the line. And feel free to answer any questions you'd like, and any last words before we close.

MS. QURESHI: Sabra Qureshi, independent consultant. Thank you for all the good news we've had today.

A quick question, I think, following on from all the questions on quality.

You talked about public-private partnerships also. We know that a lot of the private-sector schools, and some of the NGO schools are English medium, but the public sector is all Urdu medium instruction -- although the government is trying to gradually move towards English medium for some subjects.

Just a quick sort of thought on how this language divide continues to perpetuate some of the huge problems we see in Pakistan, and whether there should be a complete switch to English medium by the public sector, also.

MS. WINTHROP: Great. Thanks.

So we have a couple of questions around quality education, particularly the role of teachers' accountability, as well questions around language. Another question around low-cost private schools. And then

questions around donors' most effective role -- and how much does this all cost? It's a good question.

MR. BARBER: Okay, so I'll try to make it quick. There's a lot in there, and I'll try and be -- on the quality of education, Teach for Pakistan, the issue is how to get a significant impact, rapidly, at large scale, given the challenges there. And I think that's what Teach for Pakistan should be thinking about.

On teacher accountability, I showed the increase in monthly management visits to 96 percent, and also the data collection process involves some people randomly arriving at the school and checking that the teachers are there. So that the teachers -- in every school, somebody will randomly, each month, show up and see if the teachers are there. That's why we've got the big increase. We've squeezed the amount of discretionary time teachers were taking off for things very important in Pakistan, like weddings and which take several days sometimes. And so we've squeezed that time down from like 25 days a year to more like 12 days a year, and making sure that the teachers show up. And that's important.

And then the teacher quality pilot that I briefly touched on is the way of getting at the quality of teaching. It's at a very low base, and we're really working on how to get some basic aspects of pedagogy --

starting a lesson properly, using a lesson plan, using an activity, summarizing the learning outcomes at the end of the lesson. So we're at that level of improving the teacher quality.

And then, access to the teaching profession -- in Punjab, it is now totally on merit. And so, over time, the teaching profession should be improving.

Now I know that's a short answer that needs longer, but we're running out of time.

On the low-cost private sector, the vouchers are one of the schemes that the Punjab Education Foundation does, but there are two others -- one setting up new NGO or for-profit schools in rural area, and the other the Foundation-assistant program, which basically buys the places in a low-cost private sector, and allocates them free at the point of use to the children who use it.

If you add up all that, it's something like 1.2 million children are now in Punjab Education Foundation programs, which means the Punjab Education Foundation is a bigger educational delivery agency than Denmark, for example. And that's a really important part of building the public-private partnerships.

If you look at the total Punjab, there are 100,000 schools, of which about 60,000 are government schools. If you look at the

proportions of children in low-cost private or government system, it's about 60-40 in the province. In Lahore, it's 30 percent in government schools, 70 percent in low-cost private schools. What we're trying to do is build a whole system reform that combines the energy of both.

The question a chief minister or an education minister has to ask -- and this would apply across India, as well -- is not "How do I improve my government system," but "How do I get every child in this province a good education as fast as possible, regardless of where they go to school?"

And then the last thing I wanted to say is on the donor question. The road map is not expensive in donor terms. It's about shaping the way the Punjab government spends its total education budget. The road map itself -- DFID gave this answer recently in Britain -- the road map itself has cost about 25 million pounds. It's a really small cost to shape the way the Punjab government checks its cost.

The future of aid programs is to get that kind of leverage, to get the influence on the big money through building the right relationships with the government, through supporting governments rather than running aid initiatives. That's how we're going to get big change for aid money.

And, obviously -- and it goes into this in "The Good News in Pakistan" -- the goal of all aid programs should be to abolish themselves, and as soon as possible. The British are actually increasing their aid money very significantly, and I'm in favor of that. But we've got to spend it effectively so that, at some point in the foreseeable future, we don't need aid, except in the face of humanitarian crises. Because in the end, we want governments to be effective and do these things for themselves.

MS. WINTHROP: Great. Thanks, Michael.

Iqbal, any last thoughts, or answer to some of those questions.

MR. NOOR ALI: Well, I think Sir Michael's covered them very well.

On the quality of education question, yes we work through various support programs, as you are at the Institute for Educational Development, the Aga Khan University, and the Professional Development Centers. It's constant upgrading of teachers and their skills, and making them more competent professionals, because that's really what they are. That will eventually improve the quality. And we have something called the "School Improvement Program" that, in addition to the 190 schools that we run; it supports 200 community-based schools,

and 100 government-based schools. But you work with administrators, where supervisors -- as in the case of the Punjab -- are taught to be more coaches and mentors than people who check off things on boxes on a sheet.

I had one other thought on the role of donors that I wanted to actually advocate. It is the role in institution-building. Because if you look at Pakistan from every perspective -- whether it's political, financial, markets, education, and so on -- why it lags behind compared to other countries is the lack of focus on building institutions. And, unfortunately, the donor mentality -- which I call the "Wall Street mentality" of looking for quarterly results -- does not fit in well with institution-building, which requires long-term commitment, a long-term vision, and staying the course.

If I was to advocate something to donors here -- and everywhere else -- it's if you believe in the long-term viability of Pakistan, invest in helping build institutions.

MS. WINTHROP: Thank you.

Final word, Bruce?

MR. RIEDEL: A final word, I would say one other reason for hopefulness, one other reason for this being a crossroads moment is that

the new Pakistani government, both brothers have eloquently spoken about the need for detente and rapprochement with India. If Pakistan really wants to have a future, it needs to stop being obsessed with being the anti-India, and develop its own identify as Pakistan

The dark forces in Pakistan -- Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, Lashkar-e-Taiba, and others -- will also know this is a crossroads moment, and we can expect them to try to sabotage all of it. The United States, the United Kingdom, will need to be alert, and need to try to steer with the Pakistan government, and the Indian government, towards a better place in the future.

It's easy to say all of that. The history of U.S. relations with India and Pakistan argues it's very difficult for America to be very helpful in that regard.

But hope springs eternal, and today we've had a lot of hope. So we should go off, for a change, thinking that maybe the future will be brighter for Pakistan, and for U.S.-Pakistan relations than it has been in the past.

MS. WINTHROP: Great way to close.

Thank you very much. Thank you, all of you. (Applause)

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