

Education Governance and Article 25-A in Pakistan: A Comparative Study with Finland Education Governance Model

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Abstract

Education governance is a set of rules, laws, and policies that shows how decisions are made, resources are allocated, and standards are maintained across the public and private schooling sectors. In Pakistan, Right to Education is guaranteed under Article 25-A of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973, which incorporates free and compulsory education for all children aged 5-16, yet after many years, its implementation is lacking. Factors such as poverty, population growth, regional inequality, gender disparities, political instability, weak infrastructure, institutional mechanisms and governance structure continue to be persistent issues in Pakistan that hinder access to and completion of education. Finland, on the other hand, is regarded as a global leader due to its low levels of Socioeconomic Inequality, Good Infrastructure, Adequate Funding sources for a strong education governance structure. The Foundation of the Finnish educational system is based on equity, which ensures that every child, regardless of background, has access to a top-notch education through state-funded schools and generous social support. This study provides the structural and functional aspects of governance in both countries, highlighting the effectiveness of their legal frameworks and the practical challenges faced. At the end, study provides the way forward for Pakistan, to improve its education governance structure and adopt Finland trust-based governance model to meet International Standards.

Keywords: Finland, Pakistan, Right to Education, Education Governance, Trust-based model, in-adequate resources, 18th amendment, Weak Implementation. Poor infrastructure

Background

Article 25-A was inserted into Constitution of Pakistan through 18th Constitutional Amendment, which devolved its governance mechanism to provinces, which states free and compulsory education for children aged 5-16. Education is considered a fundamental human right essential for sustainable development.¹The Right to education (*herein after refer as RTE*) has been recognized in Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 (*herein after refer as UDHR*) and been supported by vigorous other international obligations and resolutions.

After several years, country still lacks in its implementation with 26.2 million children out of school, because of less allocation of educational budget and governance disparities. Pakistan ed-

¹ Article 25-A Constitution of Pakistan (1973), as amended by 18th Constitutional Amendment (2010).

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education system ranked on lower tiers 136th out of nearly 190 countries ² among world rankings which creates a big question mark on Pakistan's education sector. On the other hand, Finland has achieved near universal enrollment, high equity, and trust based decentralized governance model as its educational system ranked among top in the world ranked 8th as per World Population Report 2026.³

Research Gap: Many Studies have examined Article 25-A from Constitutional, Legal, and access to Right to Education perspectives, while limited attention has been paid to the governance Mechanisms that shape its implementation. The paper addresses gap by doing Comparative Analysis with Finland's Trust-based Governance Approach, lessons for an effective policy approach to implementing Article 25-A in Pakistan.

Introduction

Governance plays an essential role in achieving targets and improving the quality of education. According to the current situation our country remains unsuccessful in accomplishing the desired goals and still facing issues in all educational system sectors, unable to guarantee the Right to Education, and deliver quality education to citizens.⁴ Education governance as per the Education for All (EFA) Global Monitoring Report "Governance in education is not only comprised of administration and management of education, it involves formulation of policies to the monitoring and implementation of plans in which every level of the system contributes from central government to the classroom and community" a report by (UNESCO, 2009)"⁵

In Pakistan, Article 25-A was inserted into Constitution of Pakistan 1973 through 18th Constitution Amendment which obligates the state to provide free and compulsory education to all children aged 5-16. However, Pakistan's education system remains in a crisis of implementation strategy, governance policy, institutional fragmentation, and fiscal insufficiency. Pakistan faces substantial educational challenges. With over 22 million children not attending school one of the highest numbers globally Pakistan continues to have difficulties with accessibility, quality, and equity (UNICEF, 2024).⁶ Universal education has been the goal of programs like the National Education Policy (2017), but progress has been hindered by enduring problems such as an inadequate budget, a teacher shortage, and ineffective administration (Government of Pakistan, 2023).⁷

Finland, on the other hand, is regarded as a global leader due to its low levels of socioeconomic inequality, good student results, and universal enrollment. The foundation of the Finnish educational system is based on equity, which ensures that every kid, regardless of background, has ac-

² Education Ranking by Country 2026, <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/education-rankings-by-country>

³ Muhammad Jhangir Khan, PIDE, *Finnish Miracle in education: Lessons for Pakistan*, (Published, 2022). <https://pide.org.pk/research/finnish-miracle-in-education-lessons-for-pakistan/>

⁴ Huma Akram, *Education Governance in Pakistan: a critical analysis of challenges*, <https://www.scienceimpactpub.com/journals/index.php/jssa/article/view/77/77>

⁵ UNESCO. 2009. *Overcoming Inequality: Why Governance Matters*. EFA Global Monitoring Report 2009. Paris, Author. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0017/001776/177683e.pdf>

⁶ UNICEF. (2024). *Education in Pakistan: Situation analysis*. UNICEF Pakistan.

⁷ Government of Pakistan. (2023). *Pakistan education statistics 2022–23*. Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training.

cess to a top-notch education through state-funded schools and generous social support (OECD, 2023).⁸

A comparison between Finland and Pakistan offers important insights into how institutional structure, proper funding, and governance affect educational outcomes. Finland frequently finances between 6 and 7% of GDP in education, indicating strong political commitment and long-term planning, whereas Pakistan struggles with low public spending on education typically less than 2.5% of GDP (as per World Bank Report, 2023).

Education Governance Structure of Pakistan

Constitutional Mandate:

According to Article 25-A of the Pakistani Constitution, *"All children of Pakistan aged between five to sixteen years shall receive free and compulsory education in such manner as may be determined by law."* It was inserted by the 18th Amendment together with the Right to Information (Article 19-A), which confirmed Pakistan's commitment to SDG-4 and the UN Conventions, which guaranteed equitable high-quality education for all. Before, 18th Constitutional Amendment this subject was dealt with under the principle of policy chapter 2 (Article 37-b).

Fiske (1996) states that educational governance systems deal defines how school systems create policies, make and spend money, educate teachers, create national curricula, and oversee local schools. Effective community, parent, teacher, administrator, and management engagement in curriculum, funding, and project decisions is made possible by the decentralized governance framework monitoring to evaluate the general quality of education as well as the performance of teachers and students. It acknowledges that the government would not be able to create policies and properly handle educational challenges without the involvement of the local community, school administration, and teachers.⁹

Governance Issues: Post 18th Amendment

Since the 18th Amendment inserted in Constitution of Pakistan 1973, the provinces have had significant authority to manage their own educational systems. Many issues that undermine education plans and equal access for all students in Pakistan have been caused by the current changes in governance. Due to the autonomy granted by the 18th Amendment, provincial authorities are subject to unequal financial distribution, which limits their capacity to implement educational reforms. While Sindh and Balochistan struggle with resources and expertise, Punjab and other provinces are known for their high-quality infrastructure. Because they require both basic organizational support and professionals, provinces are unable to manage their increased obligations.¹⁰

Their inadequate teaming framework makes it difficult for provincial and federal leaders to work together to develop unified educational strategies. The issue worsens when several provinces must cooperate because they lack standard-setting for higher education and consistent regula-

⁸ <https://eurydice.eacea.ec.europa.eu/eurydice/finland/organisation-and-governance>

⁹ Harris Khalique, *Educational Governance In Pakistan*, https://www.itacec.org/document/PCE_Governance_Final_.pdf

¹⁰ Syed Abdul HASSAN Naqvi et al, *Education Policies In Post 18th Amendment Pakistan: Federal Provincial Dynamic and Challenges*, <https://assajournal.com/index.php/36/article/view/183/276>

tions for student mobility between areas. Government processing delays and political shifts harm education management by disrupting planning. Political disturbances between provinces and federal government have put a major halt to our country education governance.¹¹

Education Polices Inconsistencies Across Provinces

One of the major issues Pakistan education sectors facing is lack of single unified curriculum across the country. Since enactment of the 18th amendment provincial autonomy has been granted, caused provinces to formulate different educational policies. Different education plan developed by the provinces which made it hard to build National Unified Policy. Provincial governments have developed their own curriculum, this approach prevents learning from being consistent throughout Pakistan's educational systems (Osman & Subhani, 2016). Punjab encourages successful reforms, but Baluchistan and Sindh still struggle with a lack of resources. (Rana 2020)

Inadequate Funding Resources

For more than 20 years, Pakistan's education spending has remained below 2% of GDP, which is among the lowest in South Asia and much lower than the UNESCO-recommended 4-6%. This is more than just a lack of resources; it is a reflection of a political economy in which debt repayment, defense spending, and short-term patronage goals compete unfavorably with education. Because provincial governments lack the implementation to absorb promised resources, budget allocations frequently surpass actual expenditures.¹²

All elements involved in achieving the intended goals are referred to as resources, including financial, human, and technical one. A successful execution plan depends on their proper use. It has been noted that the primary issue preventing educational plans from reaching their intended goals is a lack of funding. Additionally, there is a difference between the amount allotted and the amount spent on education. The grants are insufficient to meet the needs of the educational sector and are frequently misused, making it difficult to carry out the plans effectively, ultimately leading to failure.¹³

Teacher Governance

Numerous systemic shortcomings define the teacher governance environment in Pakistan. In many provinces, hiring teachers is highly politicized, and ghost teachers' people who are paid but do not actually teach constitute a major burden on public education expenditures. There are no national standards for pre-service qualifications, and the quality of teacher training institutions varies greatly. The Professional Standards for Teachers in Pakistan have not been operationalized with respect to implications for professional advancement, hiring, or retention.¹⁴

¹¹ Abdul Hafeez et al, *Impact of Devolution of Power on School Education Performance in Sindh after 18th Constitutional Amendment*, <https://jdss.org.pk/article/impact-of-devolution-of-power-on-school-education-performance-in-sindh-after-18th-constitutional-amendment>

¹² UNICEF. (2024). *Pakistan education overview*. UNICEF Pakistan. <https://www.unicef.org/pakistan/education>

¹³ Huma Akram, *Education Governance In Pakistan: A Critical Analysis Of Challenges* https://www.researchgate.net/publication/350017245_Education_governance_in_Pakistan_A_critical_analysis_of_challenges

¹⁴ International task force on teacher 2030, <https://teachertaskforce.org/knowledge-hub/national-professional-standards-teachers-pakistan>

To improve student performance and achieve institutional and national educational goals, teachers must be qualified and skilled. Numerous studies have shown how crucial teacher learning is for students' success. Teachers professional development should focus on updating their knowledge and skills in accordance with current demands. Nonetheless, the government has planned a several in-service training programs and taken several steps to improve the caliber of instructors. However, various issues, including inadequate funding and poor management, prevent the government from providing teachers with the necessary training.¹⁵

Accountability

The lack of legally binding accountability measures is arguably the biggest weakness in Pakistan's education system. The civil society organization Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi (ITA) produces the ASER-Pakistan report annually, offering detailed, nationally representative statistics on learning outcomes. However, there is no institutional connection between these data and political accountability, or budget decisions. The state gathers information but does nothing with it, civil society fills the void left by the government in terms of accountability.¹⁶

Accountability and supervision play significant roles in determining the program's efficacy. Inadequate accountability results in resource loss, making it impossible to meet the intended targets and goals. Unfortunately, it is difficult to achieve the intended learning results at many educational institutions due to a lack of responsibility and inadequate supervision.

Finland Trust Based Education Governance

From Weakest to Achieving World Standard:

Finland transformed its education system from a heavily centralized, underperforming model in the 1970s into a world-class standard by shifting to highly decentralized, trust-based governance model. This shift dismantled rigid structures, replacing them with universal free education, high teacher autonomy, and localized accountability. Finland replaced its tracked school system with the Peruskoulu, a single, nine-year comprehensive school for all students, in the 1970s.¹⁷ A decentralized type of governance replaced the highly centralized, giving municipalities and schools considerable control over management and budgets. This structural equity commitment was the foundation upon which Finland's subsequent gains were built.

Decision-making authority was transferred to the local level as part of this devolution, and since 1994, education providers usually municipalities have been in charge of creating a local curriculum and ensuring quality, working with families and other stakeholders. Teachers are crucial part of decentralized educational system. Their participation in local curricular work is their responsibility. When Finland initially emerged at the top of the PISA rankings in the late 1990s, analysts worldwide looked for the underlying causes. The solution was a governance approach based on professional trust, fair resource distribution, and municipal autonomy nested within a cohe-

¹⁵ Khan Afridi et al, *Professional Development Of Its Teacher And Future Needs*, (2017), https://qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue/The%20Dialogue/12_2/Dialogue_April_June2017_211-228.pdf

¹⁶ Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi (ITA). (2024). *ASER Pakistan 2023: Annual Status of Education Report*. ITA.

¹⁷ Jari Lavonen, 2026, *Teacher autonomy and agency in Finland: The role of research-based education, collaboration and supportive policies*, <https://teachertaskforce.org/sites/default/files/2026-02/Finnish%20Teachers%20Paper.pdf>

sive national framework exactly the opposite of a high-pressure testing system or market competition between schools.¹⁸

Adequate Funding Sources:

Finland spends approximately 6.4% of its GDP on public education, which accounts for roughly 11% to 12% of total government spending. The responsibilities are heavily decentralized to municipalities, which account for about 75% of educational expenditure. The governance structure ensures that funds are widely distributed for fully pre-primary school and basic education.¹⁹ Finland's educational system is very decentralized. While municipalities manage direct funding, staffing, and local organization, the federal government (Ministry of Education and Culture) establishes general regulations and core curricula. Schools continue to have a lot of autonomy.

Most funding comes from the public sector and is higher than the OECD average as a proportion of GDP.²⁰ Central government grants to municipalities are weighted for socioeconomic disadvantage, ensuring that schools serving poorer communities receive more, funding. There are virtually no private schools at the basic education level.

Teacher Professionalism:

The teaching system in Finland is one of the most prestigious professions. Only the top 10% of university graduates are accepted into teacher programmes. All teachers must complete master's degree a research-based qualification that produces teacher researchers capable of independent pedagogical decision-making. Significantly, there are no national teacher education curricula or standardized accreditation systems; universities have full autonomy over teacher preparation, trusted to produce graduates of the highest quality.²¹

In Finland, teaching has long been considered the most desirable career. Class-teacher education has been the top choice for Finns for many decades, but the requirements are becoming increasingly difficult. The Finnish government has not created any evaluation protocols; instead, trade unions have played a significant role in creating the framework for teacher and municipal appraisals. The evaluation of Finnish teachers differs greatly from that of many other nations. Teacher assessment differs from the accountability-based teacher evaluation procedure in that a teacher is evaluated based on students' academic performance. The evaluation of a teacher's effectiveness is based on their students' performance. In VAM (Value-added model) based systems, student outcomes frequently serve as justifications for contentious and crucial decisions about teachers' roles in the classroom.²²

¹⁸ Ouakrim-Soivio, Najat & Kupiainen, Sirkku. (2024). *Beyond PISA: Building a World-Class Learning System in Finland*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/377490376_Beyond_PISA_Building_a_World-Class_Learning_System_in_Finland

¹⁹ <https://tradingeconomics.com/finland/public-spending-on-education-total-percent-of-gdp-wb-data.html>

²⁰ https://www.oecd.org/content/dam/oecd/en/publications/reports/2022/09/finland-s-right-to-learn-programme_58de2f6c/65eff23e-en.pdf

²¹ Altaf, S., Shehzad, A., & Akhtar, A. S. (2020). *Finnish Education System and its Triumph in Pisa: Lessons to Learn for Pakistan*. *Global Regional Review*, V(I), 479-487. [https://doi.org/10.31703/grr.2020\(V-I\).51](https://doi.org/10.31703/grr.2020(V-I).51)

²² Id

Accountability:

The Finnish system of education rests on the professional responsibility of dedicated and knowledgeable teachers rather than test-based accountability. Finnish educational policy does not provide significant accountability in addition to superficially established learning criteria, as is the case in many other nations. In order to improve student performance, Finnish educational policies are based on the idea of sustainable leadership.²³

Teaching and learning are heavily emphasized, and schools are encouraged to create the best possible learning environment, practice rational accountability, and use educational materials that support students in achieving the common educational objectives. The Finnish constitution makes it quite clear that everyone has the right to a basic education.²⁴

Comparative Analysis

The comparative study of education governance in Pakistan and Finland provides valuable insights into varied approaches and their effectiveness in implementing Unified National Education Policies. Finland and Pakistan provide a valuable insight for examining how legal obligations, funding adequate resources, and governance policies lead to a disparate outcome. However, Finland is a global role model for equitable and high-achieving education, while Pakistan struggles with issues of access, quality, and exclusion from basic learning. This shows relevance in how developed and developing nations tackle educational difficulties using distinct goals and policy lenses.

Legal Framework

The legal framework for Right to Education in Pakistan provided in various scattered laws and provisions. Key legal instruments include Article 25-A of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973 through 18th Constitutional Amendment before that it deals under the Article 37 (b) in the Principle of Policies chapter. It guarantees the free and compulsory education to all the children between the ages of 5 and 16. Following the 18th amendment, education was devolved to the provinces. Each province has passed its own specific Right to Education (RTE) Act to enforce Constitutional mandate, i.e, *Right to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2012*, *Sindh Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2013*, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Free Compulsory Primary and Secondary Education Act, 2017*, *The Balochistan Compulsory Education Act, 2014*. Despite having the Constitutional backing and giving autonomy to provinces Pakistan still lacks in providing quality, and equitable education, and fails to consolidate scattered framework into single cohesive work. Poor Policy and Governance structure of education also suffer that create hindrance to its true implementation.

In contrast, Finland established a comprehensive and sustainable legal and governance framework for the Right to Education, positioning itself as a global leader in the education sectors. In Finland Right to Education incorporates in Section 16 of Constitution of Finland, The Act on Compulsory Education 2020, The Basic Education Act 1998, Non-discrimination Act 2014, Act

²³ Id

²⁴ Sahlberg, P. (2015). *Finnish lessons 2.0: What can the world learn from educational change in Finland?* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

on Early Childhood Education and Care 2018. These laws provide a solid foundation for effective implementation of this right. The finish approach emphasizes inclusion of early intervention, individualized support-based needs rather than diagnoses. This Right-based System recognized internationally for its effective in supporting diverse learner while maintain high educational standards across country.

Governance Structure

The Pakistan education governance structure is three tiers: Federal, Provincial and District level with a significant decentralized approach after 18th amendment which transfer primary responsibility for education to provinces. At the federal level, the Ministry of Education formulates National education Policy and ensures its implementation across provinces. Provincial departments of education are responsible for administering elementary, secondary, technical, and higher education. District governments have also been given responsibility for educational affairs, with the executive district officer overseeing functions like planning, budgeting, and implementing policies. Despite having this three-tier governance framework and constitutional guarantee the system continues to face challenges such as weak coordination between federal and provincial governments, inadequate resource distributions, accountability mechanism, political interference, and significant disparities in educational access and quality.

The Pakistani educational system exhibits structural shortcomings, including inadequate institutional capability, political instability, and inadequate funding. The execution of the plans is further hampered by problems with Federal and Provincial Government, local spending on education is still much below international standards. However, poverty, population growth, regional inequality, and gender disparities continue to be persistent issues in Pakistan that hinder access to education. Consequently, the governance structure often emphasizes bureaucratic compliance rather than right based approach focused on ensuring equitable inclusive and quality education for all.

In Finland, Education governance structure follows single decentralized approach that balances national guidance with local autonomy. It functions on a three-tier system, national policy, local administration, institutional implementation. At national level, the Ministry of Education and Culture responsible for drafting educational legislation, allocating state funding, and setting national policy goals across all levels from early childhood to higher education. Finish National Agency for Education (EDUFI) operated under the ministry. It is responsible for practical implementation of policy goals developing educational objectives and creating National Core Curriculum.

Local municipalities play a central role in organizing and funding schools, hiring teachers and adapting the national curriculum to local needs. In Finland, where education is both free and mandatory all schools are public, there is a strong sense that society is investing in children. And a first-rate infrastructure guarantees the return on those investments. Finland views education as an investment rather than a short-term political goal, and its teachers are highly educated, well-paid, and respected in society. Governance relies more on professional trust, collaboration and self-evaluation than inspections and standardizes testing.

Funding Resources

Pakistan public spending on education in Pakistan remains critically low, winged around 0.8% to 1.5% of GDP, as per 2026-2027 Federal Budget falling short of recommended international benchmark of 4-6% UNESCO. Frequent expenses like teacher wages take up a significant amount of spending, leaving little money for projects related to digital learning, infrastructure expansion, quality improvement, and governance policies. Nominal education budgets have gradually increased, but issues like population growth, inflation, ineffective governance, and unequal provincial allocation still limit the efficiency of public education spending and unsuccessful in the achievement of Sustainable Development Goal-4 related to Quality Education.

In Finland, as per Eurydice report 2026, Finland roughly devotes 5.4% of its GDP to education with about 10.2% to 11.3% of total national public budget directed toward the educational sector. In Finland, education remains highly publicly funded with the state covering roughly 89% of tertiary education costs. Municipalities, which are in charge of staffing, infrastructure, and school administration, receive a sizable share of this financing, ensuring that resources are dispersed fairly evenly throughout the various regions. This sustained investment supports Finland's key policy priorities, including small class sizes, highly trained teachers, free school meals, student welfare services, and strong early childhood and basic education systems, all of which contribute to its internationally recognized educational outcomes.

Lessons For Pakistan

1. Finland governance model balances the national policy direction with substantial local autonomy. The central government establishes national education goals and curriculum framework while municipalities having flexibility to implement policies according to local needs. Pakistan needs to fully implement decentralization and declare complete autonomy of its schools. Although Pakistan make effort after 18th amendment, but it still suffers from inconsistent policies, weak distribution of funding resources, weak infrastructure.
2. Pakistan needs to raise the funds allocation on the public education to meet the international standard set the UNESCO 4-6% of GDP and ensure the efficient utilization of resource distribution. Finland allocates sufficient funds to public to ensure all school, regardless of location receive quality infrastructure, teaching material, and support services which make Finland stands as world best education sector in the world.
3. Pakistan should focus on phenomenon-based learning approach. In this approach students are taught how to apply skills and knowledge in a single class. This approach resembles a real-life problem-solving approach. There is need to map and re-analyze the national education curriculum and keep them updated with current world needs. Currently Pakistan is following top-down approach to problem solving in education. In Pakistan every child has to read the same topic and answers the same questions to assess how many questions they have answered correctly.²⁵
4. Equity is one of the most prominent features of Finnish system. Every Finn is facilitated and provided with the equal opportunities and education is one of them. From primary to

²⁵ Muhammad Jhangir Khan, *Finish Miracle in Education Lessons for Pakistan*.

higher education, at all levels, education is free for everyone. Their system based on the principle of equity.

5. Pakistan needs to build more schools in underprivileged areas and support poor families with education incentives.
6. Pakistan must promote trust-based governance model shifting from excessive political control towards professional trust empowering school and teachers in decision making process.
7. There is strong need to establish a stronger federal and provincial coordination mechanism and create transparent accountability systems linked to educational outcomes and policy implementation.

Conclusion

Right to education was inserted in Constitution of Pakistan through 18th Constitutional Amendment (2010) as Article 25-A. It shows a political consensus that education is a Constitutional Right that the state under any circumstance is required to provide to its citizens. However, a decentralization model that transferred authority without capacity, institutional weakness, political instability, and inadequate funding resources, all have contributed to evidence of poor governance structures, and shows the lack of implementation of basic rights.

Finland's governance path provides a foundation for reform rather than a model for copying. Three pillars support this reasoning: equality as the architectural principle of fiscal and institutional architecture; trust in professionals as governance agents; and the realization that decentralization only functions when the entities gaining authority are capable of exercising their responsibilities. These pillars are not cultural particular. These are principles of governance that are independent of context.

A comparative analysis between Pakistan and Finland provides a valuable insight for Pakistan to enhance and modify its education governance structure. Pakistan has shown commitment through various legal frameworks, decentralization of power after 18th amendment but efforts remain fragmented and need a proper governance structure and nationwide unified education policies.

Adopting measures and learning from Finland's best practices will streamline Pakistan's education governance model and will provide a true implementation of Right to education guaranteed in Article 25-A, and stands among the one of global leaders.