

# PUBLIC SECTOR UNIVERSITIES IN BALOCHISTAN: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF FINANCIAL SUSTAINABILITY, GOVERNANCE, AND ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

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## Abstract

This paper examines the critical challenges confronting higher education institutions in Balochistan, Pakistan's largest yet most underdeveloped province. Drawing on institutional data, strategic planning documents, and comparative analysis, this study evaluates the financial sustainability, administrative efficiency, and academic performance of Balochistan's public sector universities. The analysis reveals severe systemic challenges, such as chronic underfunding with budget deficits exceeding 40% of operational costs, administrative inefficiencies from overstaffing and weak governance, and academic outcomes substantially below national standards. Using budgetary data (2013-2024), enrollment statistics, and institutional performance indicators, this paper identifies key bottlenecks and proposes evidence-based interventions. While Balochistan receives merely 3.6% of federal higher education funding despite significant developmental needs, strategic reforms, including establishment of provincial endowment funds, human resource rationalization, and performance-based accountability mechanisms, could transform these institutions into catalysts for regional socioeconomic development.

## Introduction

### 1.1 Context and Significance

Higher education serves as a critical driver of socioeconomic development, fostering human capital formation, promoting innovation, and facilitating social mobility (Xiao et al., 2024; Umair et al., 2024). In Balochistan, Pakistan's largest province by area yet most underdeveloped by nearly all human development indicators, universities represent more than educational institutions. They embody pathways for breaking intergenerational multi-dimensional poverty cycles and addressing historical marginalization (Turk et al., 2023; Khan et al., 2023). The development of human resources through higher

education can lead to socioeconomic mobility, peace, and progress in society (Bordoloi, 2018).

Despite covering approximately 44% of Pakistan's total land area and possessing significant natural resources, Balochistan lags substantially behind other provinces in educational infrastructure, enrollment rates, and academic quality (Panezai & Channa, 2017; Khan et al., 2023). The province's higher education landscape remained minimal until the 21st century, with only the University of Balochistan (established 1970) serving the entire region for three decades. These challenges have manifested in low enrollment rates, a shortage of qualified faculty, and curricula often misaligned with the evolving needs of the local

economy and broader society (González-Brignardello et al., 2024; Al-Abyadh & Azeem, 2022). The subsequent expansion to eleven public sector universities has been accompanied by severe financial constraints, governance deficiencies, and questions about academic standards (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

### 1.2 The 18th Amendment and Governance Challenges

The 18th Constitutional Amendment of 2010 fundamentally altered Pakistan's higher education governance by devolving responsibilities from federal to provincial administrations. This governance shift required provinces to develop autonomous higher education policies, funding mechanisms, and quality assurance frameworks. Although the aim was to enable responsive policymaking closer to constituent needs, this transition has presented paradoxical challenges for Balochistan.

Punjab and Sindh adapted relatively swiftly, establishing provincial higher education commissions with substantial budgets, Balochistan has struggled to establish robust systems for higher education management and development (Higher Education Commission Pakistan, 2023). This governance vacuum has exacerbated existing challenges of underfunding, weak accountability, and limited strategic planning (Ahmad et al., 2019). As institutional stakeholders note, "Since the 18th Constitutional Amendment, which devoted higher education to provincial governments, Balochistan's approach to higher education appears to lack strategic commitment" (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023, p. 2).

### 1.3 Research Objectives and Theoretical Framework

This paper aims to: (1) critically analyze financial sustainability challenges through examination of budgetary trends and inter-provincial comparisons; (2) evaluate administrative efficiency and governance structures, identifying systemic inefficiencies; (3) assess academic quality and research productivity relative to national standards; and (4) propose evidence-based policy interventions drawing from international best practices and contextual realities.

This analysis employs resource dependence theory (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978) to understand how external funding constraints shape institutional behavior and

autonomy. The intersection of financial dependence on government funding, combined with weak regulatory enforcement and informal institutional norms, produces suboptimal outcomes in governance and academic performance.

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Higher Education and Socioeconomic Development

Extensive research demonstrates positive correlations between higher education investment and economic growth (Xiao et al., 2024; Li et al., 2024). Higher education is intrinsically linked to socioeconomic development by fostering a skilled workforce, promoting research and innovation, and enhancing social mobility, thereby contributing to the overall prosperity and stability of a region (Khan et al., 2023; Umair et al., 2024). It cultivates the intellectual capital necessary for technological innovation and entrepreneurial endeavors (Wadhwa et al., 2022).

Studies examining East Asian development trajectories, particularly South Korea, China, and Malaysia, reveal how strategic higher education investments catalyzed rapid economic transformation (Nguyen, 2023; Čajka et al., 2023). China's increase of higher education budget allocation from under 20% in the late 1990s to approximately 35% by 2023 coincided with its emergence as a global innovation leader (Xiao et al., 2024). Similarly, India's expansion of higher education funding from under 10% to nearly 40% of central education budgets transformed it into a leading exporter of skilled professionals (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

The economic benefits of higher education are substantial, correlating with higher wages, improved employment prospects, and increased economic productivity, which in turn reduces poverty and stimulates national income growth (BOLARINWA, 2023). Universities contribute significantly to regional economies by enhancing human capital and fostering innovation, which subsequently attracts new firms and stimulates local employment opportunities (Ahmed, 2024).

### 2.2 Higher Education in Pakistan

Pakistan's higher education sector has experienced significant expansion since establishment of the Higher Education Commission (HEC) in 2002, with

the number of universities increasing from 59 to over 200 by 2023, and enrollment growing from approximately 276,000 to over 1.9 million students (Higher Education Commission Pakistan, 2023). However, this quantitative expansion has raised concerns about quality assurance, financial sustainability, and relevance to labor market needs (Murtaza & Hui, 2021; Sain, 2023).

Recent economic challenges have severely constrained federal higher education funding, creating acute financial crises across public sector universities (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2024). The federal government's higher education allocation remained relatively stagnant, representing a real-terms decrease when accounting for inflation exceeding 25% in recent years.

### 2.3 Balochistan's Higher Education Challenges

Research on Balochistan's higher education sector identifies interconnected challenges spanning infrastructure deficits, faculty shortages, curriculum misalignment with economic needs, and limited research output (Arfeen & Nielsen, 2017; Haider et al., 2019; Sain, 2023). A critical issue is the limited access to quality educational resources, insufficient libraries, and outdated laboratories, which undermine the learning environment and restrict research capabilities (Arfeen & Nielsen, 2017).

The province's unique geographic and demographic characteristics present additional obstacles. Balochistan's vast and sparsely populated terrain makes it difficult to establish and maintain higher education institutions in remote areas, leading to disparities in access for students from different regions (Yelubayeva et al., 2023). Socioeconomic disparities also play a significant role. Around 70% population of the province live under multi-dimensional poverty and students from disadvantaged backgrounds struggle to afford tuition fees, transportation, and other educational expenses (Khan et al., 2023).

Gender disparities represent another critical dimension, with female enrollment substantially lower than male enrollment due to cultural barriers, security concerns, and limited accommodation facilities (Ghazi et al., 2011). Traditional social norms and cultural barriers, particularly those affecting female education, further limit access and

opportunities for certain segments of the population (Khalid et al., 2021).

Another significant impediment is the misalignment of curricula with the province's specific economic needs and development priorities, with many academic programs lacking relevance to the local job market, resulting in a surplus of graduates with limited employment prospects (Alanazi & Benlaria, 2023; Pervez et al., 2024). The persistent mismatch between graduate skills and labor market needs often results in high youth unemployment.

Political instability and security concerns in certain parts of Balochistan disrupt academic activities, discourage investment in education, and create an un conducive environment for learning and research (Ahmad et al., 2014). These multifaceted obstacles contribute significantly to the low enrollment and high dropout rates.

### 2.4 Financial Sustainability in Higher Education

International literature on higher education financing emphasizes diversification of revenue sources, performance-based funding mechanisms, and development of endowment funds as strategies for financial sustainability (Johnstone & Marcucci, 2010). However, implementing such strategies in resource-constrained environments like Balochistan presents significant challenges. Research on higher education in developing countries suggests that over-reliance on government funding creates vulnerabilities during economic downturns, while insufficient tuition revenue and limited philanthropic traditions constrain alternative funding sources (Altbach et al., 2019).

The lack of sufficient funding leads to various problems including inadequate infrastructure, poor quality of education, and inability to retain qualified faculty (Haider et al., 2019). Public sector universities' financial autonomy is limited, and they depend heavily on government grants, which stifles innovation and long-term strategic planning (Khan et al., 2023). Public-private partnerships, especially with local industries, could offer invaluable financial support and practical training opportunities for students, thereby increasing employability and contributing to regional economic growth (Umair et al., 2024; Muhammad et al., 2022).

**3. Methodology**

This study employs a mixed-methods approach, integrating quantitative analysis of institutional financial and enrollment data with qualitative insights from strategic planning documents, stakeholder consultations, and policy reviews. This methodological triangulation ensures comprehensive understanding of complex, interconnected challenges facing Balochistan's higher education sector.

Primary Data Sources included institutional budgetary data (2013-2024) from all eleven public sector universities, enrollment statistics and faculty/staff strength data, strategic planning documents, and minutes and recommendations from Vice Chancellors' Conference held in May 2023. While Secondary Data Sources consisted of Higher Education Commission annual reports and statistical databases (2013-2024), Pakistan Economic Surveys (2013-2024), Balochistan Finance Department budget documents and provincial and federal education sector reports

The quantitative analysis includes time-series analysis of budgetary allocations and expenditures (2013-2024), comparative analysis of provincial higher education funding, calculation of key performance indicators (student-teacher ratios, faculty-staff ratios, per-student expenditure), and projection modelling for financial requirements (2024-2033). Qualitative analysis involves thematic analysis of governance challenges and comparative policy analysis drawing from international best practices.

**4. Situation Analysis and Discussion**

**4.1 Institutional Landscape & Historical Development**

Balochistan's higher education infrastructure developed gradually, beginning with establishment of University of Balochistan (UoB) in 1970 in Quetta. For three decades, this remained the sole university serving the entire province. The early 2000s witnessed accelerated expansion, with establishment of Balochistan University of Information Technology, Engineering and Management Sciences (BUIITEMS) in 2002, followed by Sardar Bahadur Khan Women's University (SBKWU), and specialized institutions like Bolan University of Medical and Health Sciences (BUMHS).

The most significant expansion occurred post-2010, with establishment of regional universities in Turbat, Loralai, Gwadar, Panjgur, and Sibi. This geographic distribution aimed to address accessibility challenges and regional disparities. However, rapid expansion without commensurate financial planning and quality assurance mechanisms created sustainability challenges (Khan et al., 2023).

**4.2 Current Institutional Profile**

Table 1 presents key characteristics of Balochistan's eleven public sector universities:

**Table 1: Profile of Public Sector Universities in Balochistan (2024)**

University	Establishment Year	Location	Faculty	Staff	Students	Programs
University of Balochistan (UoB)	1970	Quetta	579	1,104	~ 11,000	80+
BUIITEMS	2002	Quetta	649	788	~ 21,300	45+
Sardar Bahadur Khan Women's University	2004	Quetta	362	453	~ 9,750	35+
Lasbela Univ. of Agriculture (LUAWMS)	2005	Uthal	223	481	~ 6,000	25+

Bolan Univ. of Medical & Health Sciences	2008	Quetta	15	79	~400	8
University of Turbat	2012	Turbat	157	140	~5,200	30+
University of Loralai	2013	Loralai	89	142	~1,780	20+
Balochistan Univ. of Engineering & Tech.	2013	Khuzdar	216	406	~3,980	22+
University of Gwadar	2015	Gwadar	47	54	~900	12
Makran University	2015	Panjgur	68	148	~1,020	15
Sardar Chakar Khan Univ.	2015	Sibi	68	148	~1,020	18

Source: Compiled from Chancellor's Secretariat (2023) and individual university data

Total enrollment across all institutions remains approximately 62,000 students, representing less than 5% gross enrollment ratio—significantly below Pakistan's national average of 10% and far below the South Asian average of 25%.

### 4.3 Financial Sustainability Crisis

#### 4.3.1 Financing Architecture

Balochistan's public universities operate under a three-tiered financing structure: (1) Federal funding through Higher Education Commission (HEC) block grants; (2) Provincial funding via grants-in-aid allocated through Balochistan Universities Finance Commission; and (3) Own resources, primarily tuition fees, with minimal revenue from research projects, consultancies, or commercial activities (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

This heavy dependence on government funding (approximately 90% of total revenue) creates acute vulnerability to fiscal constraints and policy shifts. Universities on average cover merely 10% of their budgetary expenses through own resources, generated mainly through fees and other charges to students. The mismatch between resource receipt from external sources as well as own resources, and expenditures has jeopardized the financial sustainability of public sector universities in Balochistan (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

#### 4.3.2 Federal Funding Analysis

Analysis of HEC allocations to Balochistan reveals persistent underfunding relative to both provincial needs and inter-provincial equity considerations. Table 2 presents federal funding trends:

Table 2: HEC Allocations to Balochistan (2013-2024)

Fiscal Year	Total HEC Budget (PKR B)	Balochistan Allocation (PKR B)	Share (%)	Real Terms Index (2013=100)
2013-14	48.5	2.10	4.3	100
2015-16	56.7	2.50	4.4	111
2017-18	65.8	2.80	4.3	111
2019-20	82.6	3.70	4.5	132

2020-21	91.3	4.00	4.4	134
2021-22	103.5	4.30	4.2	128
2022-23	118.2	4.50	3.8	121
2023-24	132.7	4.80	3.6	121
2024-25*	140.5	5.20	3.7	119

Source: HEC Annual Reports (2013-2024); Pakistan Economic Survey (2024) \*Note: Real terms calculated using GDP deflator with 2013 as base year; projected figures

Key Findings of this analysis reveal that, a) Balochistan's share of HEC funding declined from peak of 4.5% (2019-20) to 3.6% (2023-24), the lowest in the decade; b) In real terms, federal funding in 2024-25 (index: 119) represents only 19% increase over 2013-14, despite university expansion from 9 to 11 institutions and enrollment growth exceeding 40%

and c) Balochistan receives approximately 8% per capita compared to Punjab's HEC allocation, revealing systematic inequity (Higher Education Commission Pakistan, 2024).

### 4.3.3 Provincial Funding Patterns

Provincial government funding has similarly stagnated despite nominal increases. Table 3 illustrates provincial allocations:

Table 3: Provincial Government Allocations to Higher Education (2013-2024)

Fiscal Year	Total Provincial Budget (PKR B)	Higher Ed. Allocation (PKR B)	Share of Provincial Budget (%)	Per-Student Allocation (PKR)
2013-14	198.4	0.85	0.43	14,200
2015-16	237.3	1.05	0.44	15,400
2017-18	278.5	1.20	0.43	15,600
2019-20	331.8	1.50	0.45	16,900
2021-22	387.6	1.85	0.48	17,400
2022-23	425.3	2.10	0.49	17,900
2023-24	472.8	2.50	0.53	18,500
2024-25*	520.0	3.20	0.62	21,300

\*Source: Balochistan Finance Department; Chancellor's Secretariat (2023); projected

Critical Observations from this analysis include significant note-worthy points, such as, a) Provincial higher education allocation never exceeded 0.62% of total provincial budget throughout the period analyzed; b) This contrasts sharply with other provinces, for instance, Punjab allocates approximately 5.8%, Sindh 4.2%, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 3.1% of their budgets to higher education (Provincial Finance Departments, 2024); c) Per-student provincial funding (PKR 21,300 in 2024-25) is less than half Punjab's per-student allocation (PKR 45,200); and d) While Balochistan's

overall education budget has shown encouraging growth from Rs. 96.5 billion (2023-24) to Rs. 146.9 billion, and reportedly to Rs. 170 billion (2024-25), the allocation to university education remains dismally low.

### 4.3.5 Revenue-Expenditure Gap Analysis

The fundamental financial crisis stems from widening gaps between revenues and expenditures. The current and projected revenue streams are falling short of meeting the current and projected budgetary expenditures of public sector universities in

Balochistan (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023). Table 4 illustrates this critical divergence:

**Table 4: Revenue-Expenditure Analysis (All Universities, PKR Billions)**

Year	Total Revenue	Total Expenditure	Deficit	Deficit %
2022-23	8.88	12.71	-3.83	30.1%
2023-24	10.44	14.76	-4.32	29.3%
2024-25*	12.15	17.42	-5.27	30.3%
2025-26*	13.53	19.29	-5.76	29.9%
2026-27*	15.30	22.04	-6.74	30.6%
2027-28*	17.23	25.09	-7.86	31.3%
2028-29*	19.82	28.75	-8.93	31.1%

Source: Chancellor's Secretariat (2023); author's calculations and projections based on historical trends  
 \*Note: indicates projected figures based on current trends and inflation assumptions

This analysis reveals persistent and growing deficits, such as current deficit of PKR 3.83 billion (30.1% of total expenditure) for FY 2022-23, projected deficit increase to PKR 8.93 billion by 2028-29 absent policy interventions, PSUs covering merely 69-70% of operational costs through available funding, and the gap between expenditures and revenues is around Rs. 3.83 billion for current year, projected to increase to Rs. 4.32 billion in fiscal year 2023-24, clearly warranting urgent and immediate interventions (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023)  
 Taking the figures of 2022-23, public sector universities required approximately Rs. 10.939

billion to meet budgetary requirements, both establishment and non-establishment expenditures. While on the revenue side, universities received around Rs. 8.880 billion from federal and provincial governments through grant-in-aid (Rs. 3.379 billion from federal government, Rs. 2.5 billion from provincial government, and Rs. 1.27 billion bailout packages to four universities), and Rs. 1.829 billion through own resource generation. Universities faced a staggering Rs. 2.059 billion deficit (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

**4.3.6 Inter-Provincial Comparative Analysis**

Table 5 provides comparative perspective on funding disparities across Pakistan's provinces:

**Table 5: Inter-Provincial Higher Education Funding Comparison (FY 2024-25)**

HEC Share (%)	38.2	26.8	15.4	3.7
Provincial Allocation (PKR B)	27.5	20.0	11.5	3.2
Total Public Universities	42	27	21	11
Per-Student Funding (PKR)	45,200	41,300	33,800	21,300
Avg. Faculty Salary (PKR)	165,000	156,000	138,000	95,000

Source: HEC Pakistan (2024); Provincial Finance Departments (2024)

This comparison depicts significant systematic disadvantage. According to these statistics, Balochistan receives approximately 47% of per-student funding compared to Punjab, despite arguably greater developmental needs and higher costs due to geographic dispersion and security challenges. The disparity in funding necessitates advocacy for equitable distribution of national resources to bolster the region's educational infrastructure and academic programs (Khan et al., 2023).

**Table 6: Own Resource Generation by University (FY 2023-24)**

University	Own Resources (PKR M)	Total Revenue (PKR M)	Own Resource %	Per-Student Fee (PKR)
UoB	550.0	3,225.8	17.1%	50,000
BUIEMS	430.0	1,550.3	27.7%	20,200
SBKWU	294.4	898.2	32.8%	30,200
LUAWMS	129.7	755.0	17.2%	21,600
BUMHS	250.0	267.8	93.4%	625,000
Others	174.5	2,182.9	8.0%	17,100
<b>Total/Average</b>	<b>1,828.6</b>	<b>8,880.0</b>	<b>20.6%</b>	<b>29,400</b>

Source: Chancellor's Secretariat (2023); university financial reports Note: BUMHS shows high percentage due to being new medical university with specialized fee structure

Major constraints on own-resource generation include, 1) affordability by the poor population of the province, 2) regulatory restrictions with regard to fee increase by the University Act 2022 allowing the universities to enhance fee structure by only 10% annually, whereas current inflation exceeds 28% (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2024), 3) political and social resistance from the students' bodies and political/social organizations on fee enhancement. (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023), 4) limited commercial activities at PSUs for revenue generation through consultancies, executive education, technology commercialization, or asset utilization, and 5) Poor student fee collection efficiency (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

**4.3.8 Expenditure Composition and Efficiency Concerns**

Analysis of expenditure patterns, calculated by the author presented in the report of the VCs' conference (2023) reveals significant inefficiencies impeding financial sustainability. Average expenditure

**4.3.7 Own Resource Generation Challenges**

Universities' own resource generation remains minimal, averaging merely 20-25% of total revenue (a figure that includes the exceptional case of Bolan University of Medical and Health Sciences). Table 6 presents own-resource performance:

composition across universities shows, salaries (faculty & staff): 76.8%, pensions: 6.6%, utilities: 8.4%, academic operations: 3.9%, research & development: 0.8%, infrastructure maintenance: 2.7%, and administration: 0.8%. Major critical efficiency issues revolve around salary dominance, growing pension burden, research underfunding, overstaffing, hostel and transportation costs (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

**4.3.9 Financial Governance Deficiencies**

According to the Chancellor's Secretariat report (2023), beyond funding shortfalls, weak financial governance exacerbates sustainability challenges, such as antiquated Accounting Systems, weak budget planning, procurement inefficiencies, insufficient audits, and endowment fund neglect.

**5. Administrative Efficiency and Governance Challenges**

**5.1 Overstaffing and Human Resource Inefficiency**

A critical governance challenge is systematic overstaffing, particularly in non-academic positions, directly contradicting efficient resource utilization principles (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023). Table 8 presents key HR efficiency indicators:

Table 8: Human Resource Efficiency Indicators (2024)

University	Students/Faculty	Students/Staff	Faculty-Staff Ratio	HEC Standard
UoB	19.0	10.0	0.52	1.5:1 max
BUIITEMS	32.8	27.0	0.82	1.5:1 max
SBKWU	26.9	21.5	0.80	1.5:1 max
BUMHS	26.7	5.1	0.19	1.5:1 max
LUAWMS	26.9	12.5	0.46	1.5:1 max
UoT	33.1	37.1	1.12	1.5:1 max
UoL	20.0	12.5	0.63	1.5:1 max
BUETK	18.4	9.8	0.53	1.5:1 max
UoG	19.1	16.7	0.87	1.5:1 max
MCKU	15.0	6.9	0.46	1.5:1 max
<b>Average</b>	<b>23.7</b>	<b>15.9</b>	<b>0.67</b>	<b>1.5:1 max</b>

Source: Chancellor's Secretariat (2023); university data; HEC standards Note: HEC recommends 20:1 student-faculty ratio and maximum 1.5:1 staff-faculty ratio

Critical Analysis conclude that several universities substantially exceed HEC's recommended 1.5:1 staff-faculty ratio, indicating severe non-academic overstaffing, overstaffing directly contributes to unsustainable salary expenditures exceeding 75% of budgets and estimated 15-20% workforce reduction needed across system to achieve HEC standards. The complacency of universities' leadership towards various internal and external groups is mainly responsible for over-employment. The standard criteria of the Higher Education Commission are not adhered to by universities. Human resource (for non-academic staff) hiring and promotion policies are either non-existent or not implemented in letter and spirit (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

**5.2 Governance Structure Weaknesses**

Following the 18th Constitutional Amendment and passage of Balochistan Universities Act 2022, universities operate under uniform governance framework with statutory bodies including Board of Governors, Academic Council, Selection Boards, Syndicate, and Finance & Planning Committee (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023). However, implementation reveals significant weaknesses, such as 1. dysfunctional statutory bodies, 2. leadership selection issues, 3. excessive centralization at the VC office level and minimal autonomy with

Chairpersons/Directors, 4. transparency deficits in cases of budgets, faculty recruitment and promotion decisions, etc., 5. political interference in appointments, establishing sub-campuses, student admissions and implementation of administrative disciplinary decisions.

Universities follow typical bureaucratic procedures which affect their efficiency and impact their governance. They are financially dependent on external sources, which ultimately have adverse impacts on their overall governance, accountability and even autonomy (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

**5.3 Administrative Inefficiencies**

The author's practical work at one of the reputable PSU, his observations of other PSU operations and systems and the Chancellor's Secretariat Report (2023), reveal that persistent administrative inefficiencies undermine institutional effectiveness and waste scarce resources. These inefficiencies include manual paper-based systems, absence of digital systems (for example (ERP systems or comprehensive management information systems (MIS), weak strategic planning, poor coordination among administrative and academic departments, inadequate HRM (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

**5.4 Motivational and Cultural Deficiencies**

Beyond structural issues, motivational and cultural factors also undermine performance of the PSUs in the province (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023), for instance; compensation issues, centralized decision-making, unfair incentivization and favouritisms, and

mediocre culture. Moreover, trust deficit between top management and employees of universities creates organizational dysfunction. Conflict of interest among faculty, administrative staff and senior management persists without resolution mechanisms.

**6. Academic Quality and Research Performance**

**Table 9: Research Output Indicators (2023-24)**

University	HEC-Recog'd Papers	Citations	Research Grants (PKR M)	PhD Graduates
UoB	94	445	16.8	14
BUIITEMS	135	892	24.5	10
SBKWU	38	189	4.8	4
LUAWMS	46	256	9.2	6
UoT	25	98	3.5	2
Others	57	214	9.0	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>395</b>	<b>2,094</b>	<b>67.8</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>Per Faculty Avg.</b>	<b>0.16</b>	<b>0.87</b>	<b>28,200</b>	<b>0.02</b>

Source: HEC Research Database (2024); University Annual Reports

Available facts and figures reveal that a single major Punjab university (e.g., LUMS produces ~500 papers, Punjab University ~700 papers annually) often exceeds all Balochistan universities' combined output. Balochistan contributes less than 2% of Pakistan's total research output despite 6% population share. Average 0.16 papers per faculty member annually, far below national average of 0.45 and international benchmarks of 1.0+ for research universities. Unfortunately, research expenditure per faculty (PKR 28,200) is minimal, insufficient for even basic research activities.

Various literature and assessments concluded the following underlying structural factors that result in low-research production in Balochistan. Including, minimal research funding, weak research culture, lack of infrastructure like modern laboratories, analytical equipment, and technical support staff, isolation from Networks, (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

**6.2 Teaching Quality Concerns**

While several universities maintain acceptable student-faculty ratios on paper (ranging from 15:1 to

**6.1 Research Output Assessment**

Research productivity remains alarmingly low across Balochistan's universities, contributing less than 2% of Pakistan's total research output despite housing approximately 6% of the population (HEC Research Database, 2024). Table 9 presents research output indicators:

33:1), qualitative dimensions of teaching-learning environment reveal substantial concerns:

1. Faculty Qualifications and Training: Percentage of faculty with PhDs varies substantially, with some departments staffed predominantly by MS/MPhil holders lacking research training. The faculty, particularly teaching faculty, is largely ill-trained for effective teaching and assessment. PSU in Balochistan do not have robust training programmes for faculty members. Most junior faculty are not only not adequately academically competent, but they are also ill-trained (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).
2. Infrastructure Deficits: Students in Balochistan often face limited access to educational resources, such as textbooks, research materials, and digital learning tools. The lack of these resources hinders their ability to acquire knowledge and perform well academically (Arfeen & Nielsen, 2017). Limited modern laboratories and equipment, inadequate library resources and digital databases, poor internet connectivity limit research capabilities.
3. Pedagogical Approaches: Lecture-based passive learning predominates; limited adoption of active learning, problem-based learning, or flipped classroom models. The adoption of innovative pedagogical approaches, such as problem-based

learning and interactive teaching, is critical for enhancing student critical thinking and improving learning outcomes (Bhuttah et al., 2024; Thorndahl et al., 2018; Dawo & Sika, 2021). However, outdated pedagogical approaches and lack of emphasis on critical thinking, problem-solving, and innovation characterize teaching in Balochistan's universities (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

4. **Assessment Quality:** Examination and assessment systems are extremely poor in almost all PSUs. Although examinations are largely cheating-free, contrary to practice in secondary and higher secondary levels, the pattern and standard of question paper setting, assessment and marking criteria are loosely administered (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023). Question papers often test rote memorization rather than conceptual understanding or application.

5. **Language Barriers:** Instruction predominantly in Urdu/English creates challenges for students from Balochi/Brahvi/Pashto language backgrounds, limiting their full participation and comprehension, especially during their first semesters, which builds the foundation of the students.

### 6.3 Curriculum Relevance and Employability

Curriculum-related challenges significantly impact graduate employability and institutional relevance (Alanazi & Benlaria, 2023; Pervez et al., 2024):

1. **Outdated Content:** Many programs use curricula designed decades ago, not reflecting contemporary knowledge, skills, or industry requirements. Universities normally tend to establish new faculties/departments/academic programs without undertaking any feasibility studies or determining the scope of the discipline (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

2. **Poor Industry Alignment:** Limited consultation with employers in curriculum development results in graduates lacking market-relevant skills. The persistent mismatch between graduate skills and labor market needs often results in high youth unemployment, creating a critical gap that necessitates immediate curricular reform and industry collaboration (Alanazi & Benlaria, 2023; Pervez et al., 2024).

3. **Insufficient Practical Training:** Laboratory work, internships, and hands-on projects inadequately integrated into programs. Theoretical knowledge

emphasized over practical application skills needed by employers.

4. **Skills Gap:** Employers report Balochistan university graduates require substantial additional training upon hiring. Soft skills (communication, teamwork, presentation) identified as particularly weak (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023). Technical skills often theoretical rather than practical. English language proficiency inadequate for many professional contexts.

### 6.4 Quality Assurance Mechanisms

Most universities have established Quality Enhancement Cells (QECs) per HEC requirements, but their effectiveness remains severely limited (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023) because of resource constraints, pro forma compliance, weak implementation, limited accreditation, low-quality teaching and learning practices at the sub-campuses level, etc.

## 7. International Best Practices: Lessons for Balochistan

### 7.1 Strategic Investment Models

South Korea's post-war transformation demonstrates the power of sustained investment in higher education. The country increased education spending from 2.3% of GDP (1960) to over 5% currently, while strategically focusing on developing elite universities alongside broad access expansion. Strong university-industry collaboration and aggressive faculty development through overseas PhD training programs enabled the transition from teaching-focused to research-intensive institutions. Multiple South Korean universities now rank in the global top 100 (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

China's "Double First-Class" initiative (2015-2030) allocated \$6 billion to 42 universities and 95 disciplines through selective, performance-based funding tied to research output and international rankings. Combined with international recruitment and infrastructure investment, Chinese universities now produce the most research papers globally, with several ranking in the top 50 (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023; Xiao et al., 2024).

Malaysia transformed its higher education sector by increasing funding from \$1.2 billion (1990) to over \$6 billion (2020), designating research-intensive

universities, and positioning itself as a regional education hub. The country now hosts numerous international branch campuses with universities consistently ranking in Asia's top 200 (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

For Balochistan, these cases suggest that strategic concentration of limited resources on select institutions with comparative advantages may yield better outcomes than spreading funds thinly across all institutions (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023; Hussein, 2024; Atanaw et al., 2025).

#### 7.2 Post-Conflict and Developing Country Models

Rwanda's post-genocide reconstruction allocated 20% of its national budget to education, achieving 93% primary enrollment and increasing higher education enrollment from 4,000 (2000) to over 130,000 (2020). Key reforms included shifting to English-medium instruction, technology integration, and rigorous teacher training (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023). This demonstrates what political commitment can achieve in contexts similar to Balochistan's challenges.

India increased higher education's share of its central education budget from under 10% to nearly 40%, transforming the country into a leading exporter of skilled professionals. This expansion involved establishing new institutions, investing heavily in IT education, developing quality assurance mechanisms, and facilitating private sector investment while maintaining public funding for equity (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

Brazil's inclusive expansion through federal universities, affirmative action programs, and student financial assistance dramatically increased enrollment among previously excluded populations, reducing regional and social inequalities while promoting economic diversification (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

#### 7.3 Financial Sustainability and Governance

Harvard's \$53 billion endowment demonstrates the power of professional management, diversified portfolios, and disciplined spending policies (approximately 5% annual distribution). Singapore's NUS built a \$3 billion endowment through government matching of donations and systematic alumni engagement (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023). While differing in scale, these principles of professional management and systematic fundraising

apply to Balochistan's context and are critical for long-term financial sustainability.

India's University Grants Commission provides an autonomous buffer between government and universities through formula-based funding allocation and quality assurance via the National Assessment and Accreditation Council. Balochistan currently lacks such a provincial body; establishing a Provincial Higher Education Commission could improve governance, funding transparency, financial management, and academic quality (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

Finland's 2010 university autonomy reform transformed institutions from government agencies to independent corporations with financial, personnel, and academic freedom, paired with performance-based accountability through ministry oversight (Hong, 2023; Al-Filali et al., 2023). This model suggests that autonomy combined with accountability can enhance efficiency and innovation when adapted to local governance contexts.

## 8. Conclusion

This comprehensive analysis reveals Balochistan's higher education system at a critical inflection point, confronting three deeply interconnected challenges that threaten institutional viability and provincial development prospects.

Universities face severe and persistent financial unsustainability with budget deficits consistently exceeding 30% of operational costs. Balochistan receives merely 3.7% of federal HEC funding despite housing 6% of Pakistan's population and facing significantly greater developmental challenges than other provinces. Provincial allocations at 0.62% of total budget pale in comparison to other provinces allocating 3-6%. This systematic underfunding, combined with severely constrained own-resource generation (averaging 22% of revenue), creates deficits projected to exceed PKR 8.9 billion annually by 2028-29 absent urgent interventions. Universities currently cover only 69-70% of operational costs through available funding, making even basic salary payments problematic (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023; Pakistan Economic Survey, 2024).

Administrative examination reveals pervasive overstaffing, particularly in non-academic positions, with average faculty-staff ratios of 0.67:1 substantially

exceeding HEC's maximum standard of 1.5:1. Governance structures, while formally established through Balochistan Universities Act 2022, function inadequately with weak statutory bodies providing insufficient oversight, excessive centralization of authority in Vice Chancellors' offices, and limited transparency in decision-making. Manual paper-based administrative systems, absence of digital platforms, weak strategic planning, and political interference in appointments and resource allocation compound inefficiencies (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

Academic assessment indicates substantial quality deficits. Research output remains alarmingly low, with Balochistan contributing less than 2% of Pakistan's research despite 6% population share and average faculty productivity of merely 0.16 papers annually, unfortunately, far below national average of 0.45. Teaching quality suffers from ill-trained faculty, outdated pedagogical approaches, inadequate infrastructure, and poor assessment standards. Curriculum-industry misalignment leaves graduates unprepared for employment, with employers reporting substantial skills gaps. Quality assurance mechanisms exist formally but function weakly (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023; HEC Research Database, 2024).

Despite these formidable challenges, international evidence from South Korea, China, Malaysia, Rwanda, and Brazil demonstrates unequivocally that strategic higher education investment catalyzes rapid socioeconomic development, even in resource-constrained or post-conflict contexts (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023). Balochistan PSUs can present the most viable and sustainable pathway for transformative development, poverty reduction, and social harmony building upon CPEC and several other international donor interests, for example, Reco Deck (Khan et al., 2023; Umair et al., 2024). The province's comparative advantages create unique opportunities for universities to drive economic diversification beyond extractive industries. Strategic research focus on Balochistan's needs, such as water resource management, sustainable agriculture and livestock practices, mineral processing technologies, renewable energy systems, and regional connectivity can address pressing developmental challenges while building specialized expertise and reputation (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023). The burgeoning

interest in Technical Vocational Education and Training programs represents significant opportunity to cultivate skilled workforce aligned with both national requirements and global market demands (Younis et al., 2020; Ahmed et al., 2021).

Human capital development through quality higher education can reduce dependency on volatile commodity markets, create knowledge economy opportunities stemming brain drain, empower marginalized communities including women and rural populations, and build social cohesion across ethnic and linguistic divides (Wahid et al., 2025; Haque & Khan, 2025). Higher education's role in building human capital is essential for economic progress and effective utilization of national resources (Umair et al., 2024). By fostering critical discourse and intercultural understanding, higher education institutions can act as vital platforms for promoting social cohesion and mitigating conflict within diverse communities (Dobrovolska et al., 2023).

Realizing this transformative potential requires unwavering commitment across multiple dimensions: 1. Political Will and Leadership: Provincial leadership must recognize higher education as development priority, reflected concretely in budget increases from current 0.62% to minimum 2% of provincial budget by 2028-29. This requires difficult political choices, reallocating resources from visible infrastructure projects to less tangible but more impactful human capital investments. Federal government must address historical inequity in HEC allocations.

2. Strategic Focus and Selectivity: Rather than spreading limited resources uniformly across all institutions and programs, strategic concentration on select universities/programs with genuine comparative advantages and growth potential will yield better outcomes. This means difficult decisions to close unviable sub-campuses, discontinue low-enrollment programs, and invest differentially based on performance and potential rather than political considerations (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

3. Accountability and Performance Culture: Transition from input-based block grants to performance-based funding creates incentives for improvement and innovation. Transparent governance with empowered statutory bodies, public disclosure of performance data, and consequences for

persistent underperformance will drive cultural transformation.

4. **Stakeholder Engagement and Ownership:** Active involvement of industry providing curriculum input and employment pathways, civil society ensuring accountability and equity, alumni contributing financially and professionally, and students participating constructively in governance creates shared ownership essential for sustained improvement. Public-private partnerships can bridge gaps between academic research and industrial needs, fostering innovation ecosystems (Umair et al., 2024; Muhammad et al., 2022).

5. **Long-Term Commitment:** Transformation requires sustained investment over decades, not short-term interventions. Political cycles must not derail strategic plans. Endowment fund establishment providing permanent financial base, faculty development creating intellectual capital, and research infrastructure enabling innovation all require patient long-term commitment (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

The choice facing Balochistan's leadership is stark and consequential: continue underinvesting in higher education, accepting continued marginalization, brain drain, and instability; or embrace universities as cornerstones of development strategy, investing adequately and strategically for transformative change. As the strategic planning document powerfully states, "If not addressed, the consequences will be stark: we may end up with more buildings, but not enough trained human resources or intellectual capital to put them to use for the benefit of society" (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023, p. 3).

## 9. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations:

### 9.1 Financial Sustainability Interventions

#### Immediate Measures (2025-2026):

#### **Recommendation 1: Emergency Provincial Funding Support**

Current funding covers only 70% of operational costs and universities are unable to pay salaries consistently. Without immediate intervention, several universities face closure (because of faculty strikes and nonoperations) or severe quality degradation. The Government of Balochistan should immediately increase higher education grant-in-aid from current

PKR 3.2 billion to around PKR 10 billion for FY 2025-26, preventing institutional collapse.

#### **Recommendation 2: HEC Funding Equity**

Current allocation grossly inequitable given Balochistan's developmental needs, geographic challenges, and historical marginalization. Increased allocation addresses historical discrimination and provides resources commensurate with development requirements. Higher Education Commission should increase Balochistan's allocation from 3.7% to minimum 10% of total federal higher education budget, reflecting provincial needs and constitutional equity principles (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

#### **Recommendation 3: Fee Rationalization with Robust Financial Aid**

Current fees recover only 10-15% of actual costs; below-cost pricing financially unsustainable. Fee increases must be coupled with expanded Balochistan Education Endowment Fund (BEEF) and institutional financial aid to maintain equity and prevent exclusion of poor students. Universities should implement gradual fee increases (20-25% annually for three years) for market-based professional programs while establishing comprehensive need-based scholarship schemes to protect access for economically disadvantaged students (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

#### **Medium-Term Strategies (2026-2029):**

#### **Recommendation 4: Provincial Higher Education Endowment Fund Establishment**

Government of Balochistan should establish Provincial Higher Education Endowment Fund with initial corpus of PKR 15 billion (increased from originally proposed PKR 10 billion due to inflation), growing to PKR 100 billion by 2033 (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023), however, it can start from at least PKR 20 billion and gradually increased to PKR 100 billion by 2033 (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

#### **Recommendation 5: Institutional Endowments**

All universities must establish their own indigenous endowment funds and grow through whatever savings they can manage or through donations and support from public and private organizations and individuals.

**Recommendation 6: Corporate Social Responsibility Mandating**

Government should mandate that companies operating in Balochistan direct minimum 30% of CSR spending to higher education institutions in their operational regions, with tax incentives for exceeding minimum (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023). This will, on one hand, enable the PSUs to produce excellent human resource, while other hand it will have a long-term affect on the overall economy of the province.

**Recommendation 7: Renewable Energy Investment**

Balochistan has among highest solar irradiation levels globally (6-7 kWh/m<sup>2</sup>/day), making solar economically viable. Universities must ensure optimal utilization of their equipment and infrastructure and consider innovative/renewable interventions to cut energy costs. Solarization projects by engaging private entities is viable option (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023). Universities should invest in solar energy infrastructure to eliminate electricity costs (currently 6-8% of budgets) and contribute to cleaner environment for the people of Balochistan.

**Long-Term Structural Reforms (2030-2033):****Recommendation 8: Performance-Based Funding Transition**

In agreement with the Chancellor's Secretariat, (2023) report, this study also suggest that the government of Balochistan and the PSUs must make a transition from block grants to performance-based funding by 2030, with allocation tied to some performance indicators, such as, graduate employment rates, research output and citations, institutional efficiency, female enrolment, rural access, student retention and completion rates, etc.

**Recommendation 9: Revenue Diversification Target**

Public sector universities must ensure 40% to 50% of their expense through own resources (Fee, Projects, Endowment, consultancies betc.) by 2030, though recognizing this will adversely affect low-income students. To compensate students from very humble economic backgrounds, universities with support of BEEF must devise robust scholarship programmes ensuring no student drops out due to inability to pay for education (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

**9.2 Governance and Administrative Reforms****A. Institutional Governance:****Recommendation 10: Establish Provincial Higher Education Commission**

The conference attending Vice Chancellors agreed in 2023 that government should establish autonomous Balochistan Higher Education Commission by 2025-26 (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023). Provincial Higher Education Commission can better regulate universities and ensure good governance, financial management and academic quality (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023).

**Recommendation 11: Leadership Selection Reform**

An effective, nonpolitical and unbiased search and selection committees can ensure selection of well-deserved and competent candidates for the positions of Vice Chancellor and Pro Vice Chancellors of the PSUs. These committees may include membership from the Chancellors' office, Government of Balochistan, Academia, Balochistan Public Service Commission, Balochistan High Court, Business Community/Industry, etc. The desired minimum qualification should be a PhD from HEC-recognized reputable national or international institution, with minimum 15 years demonstrated leadership experience in administration of a large institute/organization. Out of the 15 years, at least five years of affiliation with an academic institution should also be the requirement. The term may be between 4 to 5 years; however, non renewable. A yearly mandatory performance evaluation should be carried out by the Chancellor's office.

**B. Administrative Efficiency:****Recommendation 12: Digital Transformation Mandate**

All the PSUs must be required to an effective and efficient ERP system (HEC has already acquired for all public sector universities) especially for financial management, HRM and procurements. They should provide online student services (admissions, registration, fee payment, transcript requests, complaints). Electronic file management system is more efficient than paper-based one. This will reduce around 30% in administrative processing time; enhanced transparency reducing corruption

opportunities; improved audit trails; cost savings on paper and storage.

**Recommendation 13: Human Resource Rationalization**

All the PSUs in Balochistan must re-evaluate their recruitment policies and practices and achieve HEC-mandated ratios by 2027-28: 20:1 student-faculty ratio (acceptable range 18:1 to 22:1); maximum 1.5:1 faculty-staff ratio. This may be a bit challenging under the political pressures but it will substantially reduce financial burdens on the PSU and enhance efficiency.

**Recommendation 14: Administrative Decentralization**

As suggested in the 2023 Chancellor's secretariat document, Vice Chancellor must focus on monitoring & evaluation, quality control, external linkages, and financial management, instead of indulging in petty administrative issues and micro-management (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023). Empower department chairs and deans with greater decision-making authority (Chancellor's Secretariat, 2023). At the institutions level Chairpersons/Directors shall be responsible for all decision-making at departmental level through departmental committees.

**9.3 Academic Quality Enhancement**

**Teaching and Learning:**

**Recommendation 15: Provincial Faculty Development Program**

Under the administration of the Department of Higher Education, Gov of Balochistan, a comprehensive faculty development program needs to be introduced. At provincial level Faculty Development Directorate and/or Center of Excellence be established. The Directorate/Center can provide induction training for all new faculty covering teaching methodologies, assessment design, classroom management, research methodologies, entrepreneurship, leadership. Continued professional development training sessions can also be delivered by the same institute/directorate.

**Recommendation 16: Curriculum Modernization Initiative**

Curriculum development mechanisms must be maintained to ensure relevance and quality, with experts from diverse fields contributing to academic boards. All programs must undergo comprehensive curriculum review by 2026 incorporating industry modern relevant curricula, hands-on experience practices and must include soft skills like critical thinking, problem-solving, communication, teamwork and leadership skills. The curricula must also include and ensure technology-based learning.

**9.4 Research Improvement:**

**Recommendation 17: Research Funding Increase**

Universities should encourage their staff to undertake projects/research grants/consultancies and make incumbent to contribute to universities' resources from these projects and consultancies. Moreover, the PSUs must also allocate minimum 5-8% of budgets to research by 2028 (current its less than 1%), funding. Research areas focusing Balochistan's socioeconomic development should be prioritized. Researchers and the PSU must engage with the national and international research and development partners for enhanced involvement in the development sector.

**Recommendation 18. Quality Assurance Systems and Cells Strengthening:**

Quality Assurance Systems and the Cells out to be strengthened to ensure financial sustainability, academic excellence and efficient governance and administrative process at the PSU level. All required programs and research bodies must be accredited from the relevant forums to ensure their credibility and acceptance at national and international markets. PSUs should incentivize best academic and research performance.

**9.5 Equity and Access Enhancement**

**Recommendation 19: Gender and People With Disability (PWD) Equity Initiatives**

Around 50% of the provincial population and around 10% of PWD population must not be ignored. These disparities must be addressed through gender-sensitive policies, improved infrastructure, and financial assistance to enhance access, enrollment, and retention rates (Rasheed & Mar'iyah, 2024). Specific

measures to increase female participation from current 35% to 50% by 2033 (Khalid et al., 2021; Wahid et al., 2025) is desirable. Addressing gender disparity in education, particularly in remote areas, requires targeted interventions promoting gender equality through educational initiatives (Rasheed & Mar'iyah, 2024), which PSUs shall consider on priority basis.

To conclude, this paper provides comprehensive evidence base documenting challenges, international lessons demonstrating possibilities, and detailed actionable recommendations specifying pathways. Implementation requires collective action from provincial entities, like the Chancellor's office, Chief Minister and Education Minister, Secretary Higher Education, Secretary Finance offices and other relevant organs of the public and private sector and the federal government by providing resources and policy support, and robust monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. University leadership ensure implementing reforms courageously, faculty deliver excellence in teaching and research, students seriously engage in learning, civil society ensure accountability, and private sector partner for mutual benefit.

The roadmap is clear and evidence based, and its time to act now. Every year of delayed reform represents another cohort of students denied quality education, another generation of potential unrealized, another year of development opportunities foregone, another increment of instability risked. For a province confronting poverty affecting 71% of population, unemployment exceeding 30% among youth, and security challenges threatening stability, investment in higher education represents not luxury but necessity. A positive action will be a strategic imperative for prosperity and peace (UNDP Pakistan, 2023; Pakistan Economic Survey, 2024).

Balochistan's youth deserve universities that prepare them for 21st century challenges and opportunities. The province's development requires intellectual capital that only quality higher education provides. Pakistan's progress demands all provinces, especially historically marginalized Balochistan, achieving their full potential through educated, skilled, innovative populations. The time for transformative action is now. Balochistan's future depend on decisions made today regarding higher education investment and reform. This is the defining challenge and

opportunity of this generation of leadership. History will judge whether courage and vision prevailed or whether another opportunity for transformation was squandered.

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