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ABSTRACT

Rising demand for schooling on the part of many Pakistani parents has immediate implications for the cost of children. To fulfill their educational aspirations, parents must invest more than they have in the past in each child both directly, in terms of various costs associated with school attendance and indirectly, in terms of missed opportunities for labor. Variations among communities in schooling conditions, partly driven by demand for schooling as it is expressed at the community level and partly driven by district and provincial educational policies, would be expected to be associated with variations between communities in family-building strategies. Survey results presented in this report are the outcome of a research strategy designed to test the association described above. The goal was to visit a range of rural villages or communities reflecting very different socioeconomic and schooling conditions to explore the possible links between schooling and family-building strategies at the community level. The study outlined in the report was undertaken in 1997 in 12 rural villages in the Punjab and North Western Frontier Province (NWFP); within each community 60 households were selected systematically in each of the two provinces. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were applied to the data. The study captured variations in schooling availability and quality across the sites sampled. Girls, in particular, suffer in terms of school quality since public girls' schools offer fewer amenities. The data indicate changes in parents' attitudes toward education are related to their reproductive behavior. Contains extensive figures and tables and 18 references. (BT)

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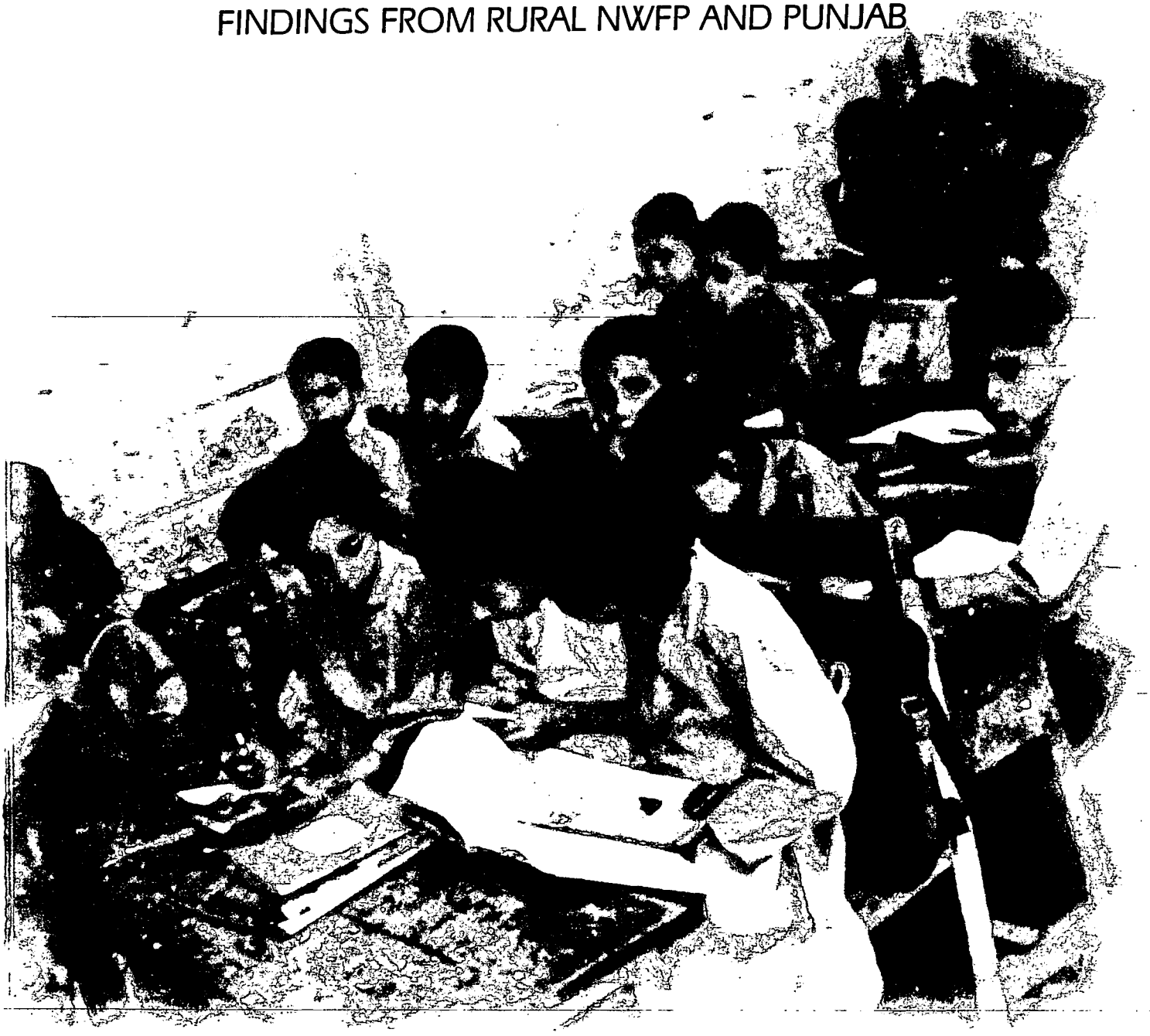

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Cover photo by Mumraiz Khan. Location: A primary school in Sialkot.

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CONTENTS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Rising demand for schooling on the part of many Pakistani parents has immediate implications for the cost of children. To fulfill their educational aspirations, parents must invest more than they have in the past in each child both directly, in terms of the various costs associated with school attendance (including tuition, uniform, books, and transportation), and indirectly, in terms of missed opportunities for labor. As costs of children rise, parental preferences shift further toward quality and away from quantity; this shift is manifested in changes in desired family size, as expressed in recent fertility surveys. Thus, variations between communities in schooling conditions, partly driven by demand for schooling as it is expressed at the community level and partly driven by district and provincial educational policies, would be expected to be associated with variations between communities in family-building strategies.

The survey results presented in this report are the outcome of a deliberate research strategy designed to test the association described above. The goal was to visit a range of rural villages or communities reflecting very different socioeconomic and schooling conditions in order to explore the possible links between schooling and family-building strategies at the community level. The study was confined to the provinces of Punjab and NWFP because these two provinces appear to be on the leading edge of the transition, if measured on the basis of rapid increases in contraceptive practice. Thus, it is important to emphasize that the data are in no way representative of the population of Pakistan as a whole, but are instead representative of some of the range of diversity that currently exists within rural areas of Punjab and NWFP. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were applied in order to enrich the insights that could be drawn from the data.

This study was undertaken in 1997 in 12 rural communities (villages) in Pakistan, 6 from each of 2 provinces (Punjab and NWFP). The 12 communities were drawn from 3 districts in each province during the month of December 1997, with follow-up visits in May 1998 during the regular school term. In order to sample the range of diversity in schooling conditions within rural Punjab and NWFP, district schooling and income data from the 1995-96 PIHS were used to aid in the selection of districts and ultimately communities or primary sampling units (PSUs). In each province, three districts were then selected for our study: one with higher than predicted schooling levels based on a cross-district regression analysis, one with predicted schooling levels, and one with lower than predicted schooling levels. Sialkot and Abbottabad were selected as the high-achieving districts, Dera Ghazi Khan (DG Khan) and Karak as the middle-achieving districts, and Rahim Yar Khan (RY Khan) and Swat as the low-achieving districts (districts are listed from Punjab and NWFP, respectively). Two communities within each of the selected districts which had enrollment rates that appeared to be average for the district (as calculated from the PIHS) were then selected. The result was a sample drawn from 12 communities, reflecting a range of schooling conditions within each of the 2 provinces. Within each community, 60 households were selected systematically with a random start. In the selected households all currently married women ages 20-45 were interviewed, as were all the husbands who could be located during the period the teams were in the communities. The final sample consisted of 722 women and 440 husbands (61 percent) who were found at home.

The main purpose of this study was to see if there was any link between recent changes in family-building behavior and investments in children as demonstrated through

quality and levels of primary schooling. This study has been able to capture a moment of considerable change in the social history of Pakistan. The onset of the fertility transition in the early 1990s has represented a radical change from stagnancy in fertility levels for over four decades. Total fertility has declined from 6.5 in the seventies to 5.3 in 1997; contraceptive prevalence levels have risen to 24 percent in 1997, and literacy rates (based on 1998 Census data) are up to 45 percent.

This study has captured variations in schooling availability and quality across the 12 sites sampled. While the majority of communities had a boys' primary school, there were two communities (Duresh Khel in Karak and Kotla Drigh in Rahim Yar Khan) which did not have a girls' primary school (within community) at the time of the survey. While access to primary schools has increased in recent times, particularly for girls, gender equity in access still needs improvement as demonstrated by the fact that only 38 percent of the public schools in our sample were girls' schools. The advent of private schools which tend to be mixed for both boys and girls have contributed to increased access for girls. However, 5 out of the 12 communities, did not have a private school. They were generally communities with a smaller number of schools than those that had at least one private school.

The extent of schooling choices for parents of primary school pupils varies enormously from community to community. While the arrival of private schooling offers competition to the public schooling system by increasing the basic pool of resources, private schools are often of poor quality from a pedagogical point of view even though they may provide more material amenities such as desks, toilets, and running water. Many primary schools remain remarkably small in terms of total enrollment and have student/teacher ratios that are very respectable from international standards, suggesting that the problems with quality have much more to do with lack of material resources, the inadequacy of the curriculum, and the quality of teaching (including absenteeism).

Girls, in particular, suffer in terms of school quality since public girls' schools have fewer amenities, fewer classrooms, higher rates of teacher absenteeism, and less management support. Absenteeism is a problem for rural Pakistan, in particular, because a large proportion of teachers have to travel to the school from elsewhere; for female teachers mobility issues and home obligations contribute to sporadic attendance at school. Private schools, with their lower experience and training certificate requirements, attempt to address this problem by hiring local teachers. Because of this, teacher attendance, a key measure of school quality, is better in private schools than public schools.

In-depth interviews with parents seem to indicate a widespread desire on their part to invest in their children's schooling. Education was valued for many reasons and there was a strong appreciation for all the social benefits of schooling for girls. Because in many communities the quality of schooling was poor, the parents had many complaints that included absent teachers, poor facilities, poor discipline, poor supervision, and poor results in terms of the development of basic skills. Because of the premium placed on going to school to access salaried employment, many placed a premium on learning English and, therefore, favored private schools even though some parents admitted their relatively poor quality. Parents strongly preferred schools to be nearby, particularly for girls, and often cited the lack of proximity of a girls' school as a reason why their daughters either never went to school or did not go on to the next level. Most parents regretted their current family size and felt they could have managed their lives better and provided better for their children, given current economic circumstances, if they had had fewer children.

Rising trends in schooling (particularly for girls) after 1988, are striking evidence of a rise in the investment in children in Pakistan. Younger girls (aged 6-9) have a greater advantage over their counterparts aged 10-14 in their chances of attending school. In contrast, schooling rates for boys have remained static in most communities and decline quite dramatically in two districts of Punjab. The differences in enrollment rates, in gender differences, and in trends in the past 5 to 10 years indicate greater gender equality than was the case 10 years ago. However, these changes are not occurring across the board. Data also demonstrate huge heterogeneity in schooling patterns across the 2 provinces and 6 districts chosen for this study. Enrollment rates for boys aged 10-14 vary from 33 to 97 percent and for girls from 15 to 90 percent. Clearly greater heterogeneity is visible in girls' schooling.

Gender differentials are quite different across the 12 sites. However, 3 districts show virtual gender equality in enrollment rates of girls and boys ages 10-14: Sialkot, DG Khan, and Abbottabad. In NWFP the gender differential is very dramatic. The province of NWFP has traditionally not favored gender equity in schooling despite recent gains by girls. In Swat and Karak there are glaring gaps despite these districts having done some catching up recently. However, they remain the worst off in terms of girls' schooling, while boys' schooling is almost universal. Schooling for boys might in fact be taking a dip in Punjab province or at least in parts of the province. Because of the decline in rates of enrollment of boys in Punjab, the gender differential has narrowed considerably. These are clear signs that parents are indeed following some investment strategy in children. However, this strategy is definitely changing over time, and is different for boys and girls and in the two provinces.

Along with the community influences are the important influences of households and parental characteristics on children's chances of being in school. The educational levels of parents, particularly mothers, seem to be the major determinant of children's schooling. But educated mothers themselves are a product of earlier investments in female education or at least a greater historical value attached to female education at the household or community level. Income, while important, is not as important as might be expected. However, it must be pointed out that both boys and girls in the lowest income quartile had a significantly lower chance of getting schooling. Demographic characteristics such as mothers' age, birth order and parity are important in determining the chances of children attending school. These factors appear to have a greater influence on girls' schooling.

Finally, the link between schooling of children and family-building strategies was investigated and found to be complex but apparent. Communities, which had overall higher schooling enrollments, were the very ones with higher contraceptive prevalence rates. Deliberate family-building behavior in the form of contraceptive uptake was most certainly correlated with investments in children. Local communities clearly influence parents' attitudes toward schooling and toward reproductive intentions and behavior. In particular, this would influence girls schooling because of the relatively scarcer availability of girls' schools.

Perhaps the more critical change, which has brought about the onset of fertility transition, has been the greater investments in girls' schooling. There is a realization on the part of parents that not just boys but girls, too, have to receive education in order to improve their lives. Even if just to be educated mothers or wives, this change represents an important transition in social values.

In conclusion, changes in parents' attitudes towards education are most certainly related to their reproductive behavior. It seems the relationship between investments in

children, as represented by greater outlays on their schooling (whether through school fees for private schools or missed opportunities for earnings), are in close synchronization with changes in values about smaller family size. While both represent significant departures from past trends, what is less clear is that one causes the other. The more likely explanation seems to be that the two are more likely to be in concurrence and, therefore, the largest reproductive and educational changes are seen to be concentrated in communities at one end of the spectrum. That is to say that high contraceptive prevalence and high enrollment rates are very likely to be found together as are low contraceptive prevalence and low enrollment rates. Pakistani communities in 1997 represent the full range of heterogeneity in social behavior. This heterogeneity is likely to diminish as greater sections of the population converge in their social and reproductive behavior.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Statement

Pakistan is at a critical moment in its demographic history. At a time of extremely rapid population growth, there are signs that parents' family-building strategies are beginning to change. Contraceptive use has been estimated at 37 percent in urban areas and 19 percent in rural areas as of 1996-97 (Hakim et al. 1998). This represents an increase of 50 percent in four years between 1990 and 1994. Recent estimates of fertility suggest a gentle decline in the total fertility rates from 6.0 in 1992 to 5.3 in 1996-97 (Hakim et al. 1998). Evidence suggests that the beginning of the fertility transition is primarily the result of changes in parents' fertility preferences (Sathar and Casterline 1998). The use of traditional family planning methods, in particular male-dominated methods, appears to have played an important role. However, there is considerable regional variation across Pakistan in levels of fertility and contraceptive use, with some areas showing recent change and other showing less or no change (Population Council 1997).

This project, looking at children's schooling and family-building behavior, was designed to explore one possible factor explaining the demographic diversity currently prevalent in Pakistan. That factor is the situation of primary schooling in the community. Caldwell (1980) hypothesized that the onset of the fertility transition would be linked with the achievement of "mass formal schooling" or near universal enrollment of children in primary or basic education. Caldwell (1980: 249) cited Coale in defining mass schooling as the point at which 90 percent of children of primary school age attend school and emphasized himself that the "most potent force for change is the breadth of education (the proportion of the community receiving some schooling) rather than the depth (the average duration of schooling among those who have attended school)." At the point that mass schooling has an effect on launching fertility decline, Caldwell posited that the effects are or will be universal, affecting all parents, regardless of education level, simultaneously. In developing his hypothesis from the historical experiences of the West, he particularly identified the importance of enforcement of compulsory schooling laws as a trigger to fertility decline. Indeed, one implication of his hypothesis would be that the onset of the transition might be slower and less uniform in countries where school attendance at the primary level remains voluntary.

In Pakistani primary schools attendance is not enforced. Geographic variations in primary school enrollment can be explained by variations in parental demand as well as by variations in the accessibility, quality, and cost of schooling in the community. The supply of schools and their quality are also responsive to demands at the community level in that it is in those very communities where demand is most clearly expressed that private schools are likely to develop and where district education offices are most likely to invest in new public schools. In other words, we expect to find a better schooling environment where there is a more crystallized demand for children's schooling based on the perception of higher returns for education. Indeed, the 1991-92, 1995-96, and 1996-97 Pakistan Integrated Household Surveys document enormous diversity across districts and even within districts in enrollment rates for children of primary school age. For example, in NWFP the proportions of children 7-14 currently enrolled in school range from 15 to 88 percent (PIHS 1995-96).

Rising demand for schooling on the part of many Pakistani parents has immediate implications for the cost of children. To fulfill their educational aspirations, parents must invest more than they have in the past in each child both directly, in terms of the various costs associated with school attendance (including tuition, uniform, books, and transportation), and indirectly, in terms of missed opportunities for labor. As costs of children rise, parental preferences shift further toward quality and away from quantity (Becker 1991); this shift is manifested in changes in desired family size, as expressed in recent fertility surveys (Hakim and Miller 1997). Thus variations between communities in schooling conditions, partly driven by demand for schooling as it is expressed at the community level and partly driven by district and provincial educational policies, would be expected to be associated with variations between communities in family-building strategies. The greater the strength of this association, the greater the potential for educational policies to have a demographic impact.

The survey results presented in this report are the outcome of a deliberate research strategy designed to test the association described above. The goal was to visit a range of rural villages or communities reflecting very different socioeconomic and schooling conditions in order to explore the possible links between schooling and family-building strategies at the community level. The study was confined to the provinces of Punjab and NWFP because these two provinces appear to be on the leading edge of the transition, if measured on the basis of rapid increases in contraceptive practice. Thus, it is important to emphasize that the data are in no way representative of the population of Pakistan as a whole, but are instead representative of some of the range of diversity that currently exists within rural areas of Punjab and NWFP. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were applied in order to enrich the insights that could be draw from the data. The details of the study design and sampling strategy are fully described in the next section of the report.

1.2 Organization of this Report

The report begins with this chapter describing the background and rationale behind this project. Details of the sample design and research techniques are presented in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3 information extracted from the two rounds of community questionnaires is presented; the initial tables and charts depict the community development indicators of the 12 sites. Community profiles, descriptions of the main features of each community in the sample, are also presented in this chapter. The data in Chapter 4 come from the school inventories and questionnaires; the data essentially describe the schooling environment of the sample communities. Important differences between boys' and girls' schools and private and public schools are highlighted. Data shown in Chapter 5 are based on responses from parents within the communities; these include respondents from the general questionnaire as well as those selected from this group who participated in in-depth interviews. Chapter 6 presents data from several sources in order to look at the possibility of a link between recent changes in family-building behavior and investments in children. Chapter 7 presents the conclusions drawn from the data presented in this report.

It should be noted that information from husbands (other than data on household consumption which is used as a proxy for permanent family income) has not been analyzed thus far.

CHAPTER 2
PROJECT DESIGN AND SAMPLING

2.1 The Sample

This study was undertaken in 12 rural communities in Pakistan, 6 from each of 2 provinces (Punjab and NWFP). The 12 communities were drawn from 3 districts in each province during the month of December 1997, with follow-up visits in May 1998 during the regular school term. In order to sample the range of diversity in schooling conditions within rural Punjab and NWFP, district schooling and income data from the 1995-96 PIHS were used to aid in the selection of districts and ultimately the communities or primary sampling units (PSUs). Within each province, a simple linear regression was run across districts between the proportion of children ages 7-14 currently enrolled in school and per capita income in order to estimate the statistical relationship between per capita income and enrollment. In each province, three districts were then selected for our study: one with higher than predicted schooling levels based on the regression, one with predicted schooling levels, and one with lower than predicted schooling levels. Sialkot and Abbottabad were selected as the high-achieving districts, Dera Ghazi Khan (DG Khan) and Karak as the middle-achieving districts, and Rahim Yar Khan (RY Khan) and Swat as the low-achieving districts (districts are listed from Punjab and NWFP, respectively). Two communities within each of the selected districts which had enrollment rates that appeared to be average for the district (as calculated from the PIHS) were then selected. The result was a sample drawn from 12 communities, reflecting a range of schooling conditions within each of the 2 provinces (Figure 2.1).

Within each community, 60 households were selected systematically with a random start. In the selected households all currently married women ages 20-45 were interviewed, as were all the husbands who could be located during the period the teams were in the communities. The final sample consisted of 722 women and 440 husbands (61 percent) who were found at home. Field teams consisted of both male and female interviewers; female interviewers interviewed women and male interviewers interviewed men. From each district, roughly 2 men and 2 women (no couples) with children of school-going age were selected to participate in follow-up in-depth taped interviews to probe parental attitudes about schooling (23 men and 22 women). Most primary schools attended by children in the interviewed households were also visited and a school inventory questionnaire was filled out for each one.[1] A full profile of each community was also prepared to elaborate on other dimensions of the community socioeconomic context potentially relevant to the study. More details about the specific questionnaires are discussed below.

[1] Only those schools were visited which had at least 10 percent enrollment of the interviewed population.

Figure 2.1: Geographic location of sample districts

2.2 Fieldwork

Three teams undertook the fieldwork. Each team was to cover 4 communities. While Punjabi and Siraiki was used to conduct interviews in the 6 Punjab sites (in the districts of Sialkot, Rahim Yar Khan, and Dera Ghazi Khan) and 2 in North West Frontier Province (in Abbottabad), a Pushto speaking team covered the NWFP sites in Swat and Karak. Each team was made up of 3 women and 3 men. The training was carried out in Islamabad at the Population Council office over 10 days with one major field pretest to ensure that the interviewers had ironed out all practical issues in the questionnaire. Training of men and women was held jointly except for separate sessions on contraceptive history. Most of the interviewers in the 2 Punjabi speaking teams (one of which also covered the Hindko speaking district of Abbottabad in NWFP) were selected from the Population Council's own pool of trained interviewers. The Pushto speaking team was entirely new and hired and trained afresh.

2.3 Household Questionnaires

After re-listing all of the blocks within the community, the field team proceeded to interview all currently married women ages 20-45 and their husbands. The married women were asked about a range of topics: basic background information for themselves and their husbands; full birth and education history for each child; their contraceptive knowledge and use; household economic activity; and their attitudes and aspirations about children's schooling. The husbands were asked similar questions: background information about themselves and their wives; a somewhat modified birth and education history for each of their living children; their attitudes and aspirations about schooling; and a modified module on income and consumption for the household that was developed in collaboration with PIHS. When the husband could not be interviewed, women were asked to complete the schedule on household consumption.

2.4 In-depth Interviews

The discussion guides touched on social change and the value of education; views were solicited on perceptions regarding the quality of schools, the value (or return) to children and parents of schooling for children, and attitudes towards family size, family planning, and the costs of children. The duration of the interviews ranged from 1 to 1 ½ hours. All interviews were conducted in the local languages, taped, and subsequently transcribed into Urdu and then into English.

2.5 Primary School Inventory

Schools were visited without prior notification in order to avoid the usual courtesy bias that is involved in situation analyses of schools or family planning clinics. This allowed for the possibility that some schools might be closed on a regular school day during the school term due to teacher absence, weather, or other factors. The field researchers filled out a basic checklist for each school with the assistance of a teacher or principal. The checklist covered: the type of school (public, private; girls, boys, or mixed); the condition of the buildings and classrooms; the availability of amenities such as running water, toilet, and electricity; the medium of education and the medium of instruction; the availability of textbooks; the total fees; the duration of daily sessions and the number of days in session per year; the total enrollment, as well as the attendance on the day of the visit; the background of all of the teachers assigned to the school; and information on school management committees (SMCs) and other forms of social support.

Data on schools were collected in three phases. In the first phase, data for schools were collected concurrently with the fieldwork (December 1997). A second phase, in May 1998, involved data collection from the schools that were missed in the initial data collection phase. Finally, in May of 1999, the third phase was carried out. At this time information on the history of school formation was collected. Also, five schools that were not originally expected to meet the study criteria were found, after analysis of earlier household data, to meet the study criteria and these schools were then visited during this data collection phase. The information that was collected during third phase on the history of school formation in each community was prompted by our interest in the question of whether school access in the community was primarily reflective of community demand for schools or whether recent policy initiative were behind the setting up of new schools.

2.6 Community Profiles

For each community visited at the time of the field work, the field team leaders were asked to fill out a community questionnaire which asked about information on community characteristics such as availability of services, schools, health, etc. In addition, team leaders were asked to obtain a community development history to ascertain any notable developments and changes in the community in the past ten years. Factors such as migration, the development of roads and communications, and changes in cropping patterns were all expected to be recorded. This community information was obtained from key informants. Supplementary data were collected in May 1999 to get a more complete historical picture of community development features on a timed basis, making it possible to tabulate when the particular community had received electricity, telephones, metal roads connections, etc.

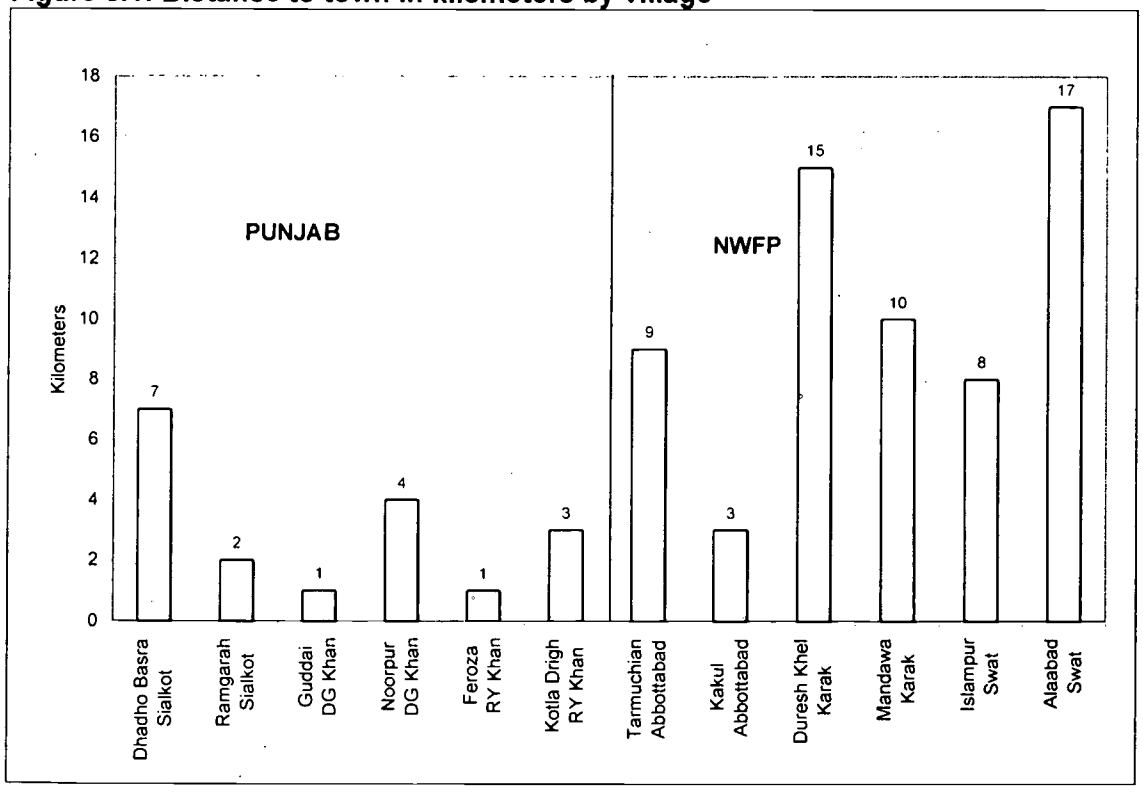
CHAPTER 3
THE COMMUNITIES

3.1 Overview

The basis for selecting the communities has been described in Chapter 2. This chapter, the diversity of the selected communities is discussed in terms of development indicators, distance from urban centers and the modes of production. While most of the data for this section is drawn from the community questionnaires, some is derived from the household data as aggregated at the community. Also included in this chapter are community profiles--brief description of the individual communities as perceived by the team leaders of our research field teams who spent about a week in each locality.

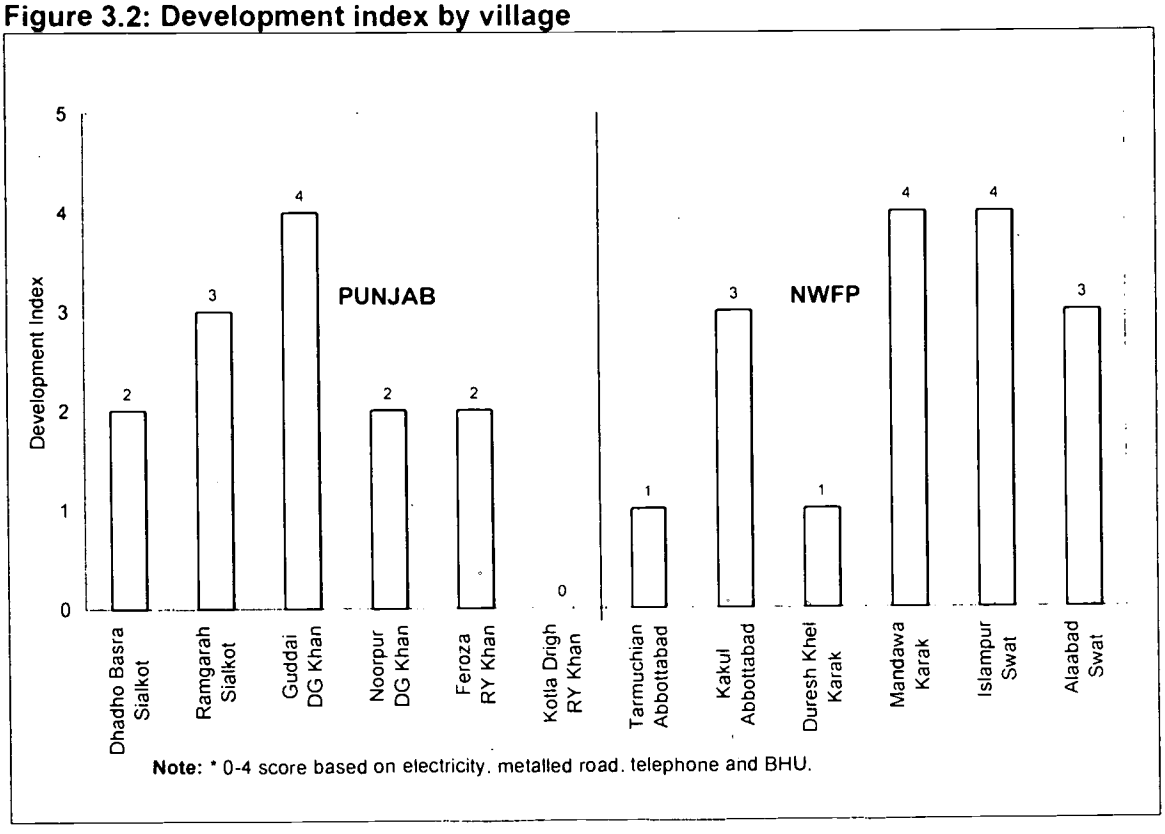
The 12 communities included in the study represented considerable variation in levels of development. Three indicators were utilized to demonstrate this point. The first was a basic indicator of distance from the nearest town or city (Figure 3.1). The distances were much greater in NWFP than in Punjab; however, it should be noted that the quality of roads was probably much better in NWFP because these roads were of more recent construction (as per the community profiles for NWFP communities). The variation was considerable, with some of the Sialkot communities located practically at the periphery of a large city, and communities in Karak and Swat at considerable distance from the nearest town (a maximum of 17 kilometers).

Figure 3.1: Distance to town in kilometers by village



The second index used to demonstrate the variation in communities was a development index. This index based on whether a community had a health center, metal road, electricity, and access to telephones and varies from a minimum value of 0 if no development features are present to 4 if all features are present. Here the communities of NWFP scored much better than those in the Punjab where a score of more than 2 was achieved by only two communities. On the other hand two communities in NWFP achieved a maximum score of 4 and two a score of 3. (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: Development index by village



Note: * 0-4 score based on electricity, metalled road, telephone and BHU.

The 6 districts were chosen on purpose to represent high, medium, and low levels of schooling within the 2 provinces. However, 2 communities within the districts also depicted distinct characteristics, as portrayed in the community profiles. There were significant differences across the 12 communities in levels of schooling of the couples interviewed, household structure, agricultural activity, and migration (husbands). These are presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Community characteristics of the twelve communities, by district

Characteristic	Punjab					
	Dhadho Basra, Sialkot	Ramgarha, Sialkot	Guddai, DG Khan	Noorpur, DG Khan	Feroza, RY Khan	Kotla Drigh, RY Khan
Household owns agricultural land	30.0	26.2	28.1	66.1	67.3	78.9
Husband currently living there	88.3	80.3	90.8	84.7	87.3	94.7
Husband educated	72.9	55.7	63.6	48.3	58.2	37.0
Wife educated	45.0	55.7	40.9	18.0	12.3	0.3
Household w/more than 1 couple	5.7	9.8	10.6	12.0	5.3	1.8
	NWFP					
	Tarmuchian, Abbottabad	Kakul, Abbottabad	Duresh Khel, Karak	Mandawa, Karak	Islampur, Swat	Alaabad, Swat
Household owns agricultural land	78.4	63.8	77.1	43.1	37.0	46.7
Husband currently living there	68.6	81.0	57.1	45.8	85.2	95.0
Husband educated	52.9	89.5	94.4	62.9	61.1	56.7
Wife educated	17.6	72.4	2.8	6.8	11.6	13.3
Household w/more than 1 couple	3.9	5.2	25.4	28.4	7.4	6.7

Sialkot district in Punjab was clearly less agricultural than DG Khan, and particularly RY Khan. Men were more likely to be working away from the communities of Sialkot and in Noorpur in DG Khan. Level of education among husbands was highest in Sialkot and DG Khan and much lower in RY Khan. The levels of schooling of women follow similar patterns and were highest in Sialkot. Non-nuclear households were most predominant in DG Khan.

In NWFP, agricultural activity, as reflected in agricultural land ownership, was dominant in all districts except Swat. Migration of men was highest in Karak, with as many as 54 percent of men living away in Mandawa. Not surprisingly, non-nuclear households were more prevalent in Karak. Level of education of husbands was very high in Abbottabad and in Karak. These levels were higher than in Punjab. On the other hand education of wives was exceptionally low in all of the NWFP districts other than Kakul in Abbottabad.

3.2 Individual Community Profiles

Community profiles were made employing two tools: social mapping and a checklist comprised of information on basic infrastructure available to the communities. The key informants were community leaders and schoolteachers who helped us in preparing these profiles. Also, on a few occasions women were also consulted regarding their activities; they were also asked a few questions about their mobility. During subsequent visits to elicit school history, we collected some information on social changes in the communities in the recent past. Furthermore, notes prepared by our team leader were also used to prepare the community profiles. However, only summaries are presented in the report for the sake of brevity.

COMMUNITY PROFILE

PROVINCE: PUNJAB
DISTRICT: SIALKOT
VILLAGE: DHADHO BASRA

The village of Dhadho Basra is 7 kilometers from Sialkot, with access to that city. The village population is 4,800, living in 600 households. The major castes in the village are Jat Basra, Saith (businessman), Janjua, Christians, Sheikhs, Qureshi, Butt, and Kazi.

The village has electricity and most of the houses are cemented and streets are paved. There are no government health facilities in the village, though there is a private doctor (MBBS) serving the community. There is a hand pump in every house; this remains the main source of drinking water.

Sialkot is one of the Punjab's major cities and the main exporter of leather goods and surgical instruments. The area has a skilled labor force; people are mainly involved in the production of leather knife covers, footballs, and gloves. The village's economic status is enhanced because of the leather industry; there are 15 factories situated in various homes. Few people leave the village, indicating that there are good economic opportunities here.

Other professions include weavers, laborers who carry mud and bricks on donkey carts, and agriculture. The main crops are rice, wheat, potatoes, and sunflowers. Men primarily take care of the work outside the village.

Women actively participate in the production of leather goods. Roughly 8 women have a BA; however, most (60 percent) are not literate. Generally the women are mobile; they go to work in the fields, and deal with contractors themselves.

A few children are also involved in making leather knife covers in their spare time and helping their mothers in the production. By the time many boys complete their primary education they have become a proficient member of the labor force employed in producing leather goods.

Prosperity has increased the demand for education, particularly for girls.

COMMUNITY PROFILE

PROVINCE: PUNJAB
DISTRICT: SIALKOT
VILLAGE: RAMGARHA

The village of Ramgarha is situated on Amenabad Road, 2 kilometers from Sialkot. The village population is 2,650, living in 294 households. The main castes are Arain, Jat, Kashmiris, and Gujar.

Most homes are small and cemented. Tap water is available but is not supplied by the government. There are no health facilities available within the village, but the city is very close. Telephones are available in the village.

Ramgarha has a very skilled labor force. Due to an increase in export of leather goods, employment opportunities have increased tremendously. This has opened new avenues for people of the area and raised their standard of living. There are 10 factories located in the village. Residents are involved in making leather hand gloves and jackets. They are also involved in the production of surgical instruments. As the city expands closer to the village, people become more involved in finishing products and other activities requiring higher-level skills and demand for their labor increases. Several men and women work in this formal sector. People who belong to agricultural families mainly own land and grow potatoes and vegetables. The trend toward growing vegetables has increased.

The village consists primarily of middle class people. Very few people of this village have migrated, and the ones who have done well have settled in the better areas of the city. No other development seems to have occurred

Women of this area are mobile; they go to the market freely and do not observe purdah (veil). Some of them are employed in the city and are involved with packing leather jackets.

COMMUNITY PROFILE

PROVINCE: PUNJAB
DISTRICT: DERA GHAZI KHAN
VILLAGE: GUDDAI

The village of Guddai is on Quetta Road only 1 kilometer from the city of Dera Ghazi Khan. The village comprises approximately 1,000 households with 9,000 occupants. The main castes include Leghari, Khuusa, Sayyad, Khokhar, Arayan, Malik, and Darkhan.

The village is similar to urban areas. A metalled road joins the village to the main city. The village has had electricity for the past 25 years (most households have a connection). Telephone facilities are also available. Most of the homes are small and made of cement. Hand pumps are used to get drinking water, as the piped water does not taste good. Dispensaries and private doctors are available. The sewage system is close to being completed; this is a major sign of development in the area.

Because Guddai is so close to the city most people are wage laborers and shopkeepers, with he majority working private firms. Many people own donkey carts; some are also involved in government service and others in technical work. Farming is not a major economic activity.

Many people have migrated to Guddai: the chance of getting work in the cotton and oil factories or flour and textile mills near the village is good The construction of the DG Khan canal has also attracted migration. There is also some trend toward out-migration; many men from Guddai work in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries. The families of these men are comparatively better off.

Women actively participate in income generation through embroidery and stitching clothes. Around 10 percent sow and pick cotton. Only about 20 percent are literate. Female mobility is restricted outside the home; women are accompanied if they have to go outside the village.

Parents find it hard to send their daughters to school due to an inappropriate atmosphere (young boys tease the girls when they are on their way school).

COMMUNITY PROFILE

PROVINCE: PUNJAB
DISTRICT: DERA GHAZI KHAN
VILLAGE: NOORPUR

The village of Noorpur is an old settlement on the Indus River about 30 kilometers from DG Khan. The area comprises of 125 households with 880 residents. A large number of families have moved to the city of Dera Ghazi Khan due to the destruction caused by frequent floods. Floodgates have been constructed to stop the destruction but the village is still precariously placed. The major castes in this village are Malkani, Chandio, Merani, Darkhan, and Bhatti.

People have to walk to get to Noorpur; no vehicles go there due to the poor condition of the temporary road. Most of the households are *katcha* and roughly 5-6 households share one compound as they are at risk of frequent floods. The village has had electricity since 1980; most homes make use of electricity. People use hand pumps for drinking water. No telephone facility is available in the village; the nearest telephone is in Ghousabad.

Most people in the area are engaged in farming; cotton, wheat, and sugar cane are the major crops. The cultivation of cotton, and the cotton mills, provides the greatest employment opportunities to the residents. Larger landholders own 20-25 acres of land, while most farmers do not own more than a *kanal*. Most tenants work for 50 percent of the share of the crop, especially cotton and wheat. About 15 percent of the people raise livestock and sell milk and other dairy products. There has been an increasing trend toward raising livestock, a profitable economic activity; there are plenty of grazing plots for livestock in the village. A large number of people are involved in waged labor and others in shopkeeping.

Female mobility is restricted; strict purdah (veil) is observed when women are outside the village. It is undesirable for men from outside the village (strangers) to enter the community, as women do not observe purdah inside the village. Although women are involved in cotton picking, they do not leave the fields and are rarely allowed to move outside of the community.

COMMUNITY PROFILE

PROVINCE: PUNJAB
DISTRICT: RAHIM YAR KHAN
VILLAGE: KOTLA DRIGH

Kotla Drigh is 3 kilometers from the town of Janpur. The village consists of around 150 households with 3,000 residents in 50 scattered settlements. The main castes residing in the village are Drigh, Maril, Sayyad, Markand, Bhatti, and Baloch.

A proper road ends at the start of the village after which a *katcha* path joins the various settlements. No transport is available to the village except *tongas*. Only a few homes have electrical connections, though there has been electricity since 1985. This is due to feuds and rivalries among the major castes. Gambling, distribution of land, and water supply are the major reasons for enmity. Most of the homes are well built and the residents are prosperous. The village has no telephone connection, only Janpur has phases. People use hand pumps for drinking water. The land is irrigated by a canal and tube wells. There is a dispensary in the village but it remains closed; residents go to Janpur for medication. Many women in the community suffer from *athra (*the child dies soon after birth) for no reason. A canal irrigates the fertile area.

The majority of the residents are engaged in farming cotton, wheat, dates, and sugarcane. A large number of people are shopkeepers; others work as transporters taking crops to the market. Several men also work in the nearby sugar mills. Many young boys are engaged in *kabooter baazi* (keeping pigeons), gambling, drugs, and other criminal activities. There is a rising trend toward out-migration (to urban areas and overseas) due to the lack of job opportunities in the area. The community believes that the economic conditions of families will improve through remittances from these men.

No major economic or social development has occurred due to the economic instability and the differences among the major castes.

There is no restriction on women's mobility and they are allowed to work in distant fields picking cotton. Women participate in activities on and off the farms. They engage in activities such as bringing fodder for the livestock and assisting the men during the harvesting season. Women also go to the city to get household items.

COMMUNITY PROFILE

PROVINCE: PUNJAB
DISTRICT: RAHIM YAR KHAN
VILLAGE: FEROZA

The village of Feroza is 1 kilometer from the main town of Feroza; a road divides the village from the city. The village comprises 400 households and 5,000 residents. Main castes of the community include Abbasi, Dashti, Khokhar, Arayan, and Bhatti.

The main double Shahi Road passes through the village. No other link road joins the various settlements only a katcha path. There is no transport available except donkey carts. Telephone connections are available in just one settlement of Feroza (since 1993). Most of the homes are made of cement. Since 1984 approximately 50 percent of the homes have electricity. Hand pumps are used for drinking water and tube wells are used to irrigate the fields. There is a Reproductive Health Services Center (RHSC) nearby but residents mainly go the government hospital in Feroza to seek medication.

The majority of the residents are engaged in agricultural activities, which include farming and transporting crops to the market. The community is inclined toward raising livestock and the production of other dairy products, which are lucrative goods endeavors. However, a substantial number of people work as wage laborers, shopkeepers, and factory workers. Approximately 10 percent are government employees and 5 percent have moved to other cities in Pakistan and abroad to seek better work opportunities. Farming is no longer considered a profitable occupation since few crops can be grown because floods and salinity adversely affect the area.

The majority of women do household chores, bring green fodder for livestock, pick cotton, and assist during the harvesting season. There is little restriction on female mobility in the village; women work in distant fields and can go into Feroza city.

Increased remittances from those who have migrated (to urban areas and to other countries) have changed the lifestyle of the people, especially in their attitudes toward education of children.

COMMUNITY PROFILE

PROVINCE: NWFP
DISTRICT: ABBOTTOBAD
VILLAGE: KAKUL

Kakul village is in the mountains, about 3 kilometers north of Abbottabad, adjacent to the Military Academy. It is surrounded by small *dhoks* (clusters of hamlets). The total population is 1,386, in 233 households. Jadoons are the predominant caste in this village, followed by Dhoundh.

This area is covered in snow during the winter and gets extremely cold. Most of the streets and homes are made of cement. The village has all of the essential facilities: transport to the city, electricity, natural (Sui) gas, a Basic Health Unit (BHU), and a private doctor.

Due to its terrain Kakul is assumed to be an underdeveloped part of Abbottabad but that is not the case. Half of the men are employed in the formal sector, others are agriculturists, 10 percent are businessmen, and 15 percent are drivers. Due to the close proximity of a phosphate factory, there are many laborers. However, most of the labor class is unemployed. During the last 10 years the forest department has started planting trees on a 50/50 basis. Due to the participatory nature of this project, forestation is increasing. There are no other micro enterprises in this area and most of the educated people join the army. Only a few people have migrated outside the village due to the lack of work.

Only a few women in the village are employed. Women's mobility is not restricted within or outside village.

Literacy is very high Kakul: about 95 percent of the men and 75 percent of the women are literate.

COMMUNITY PROFILE

PROVINCE: NWFP
DISTRICT: ABBOTTOBAD
VILLAGE: TARMUCHIAN

The village of Tarmuchian is 9 kilometers from Sharah-e-Resham on the Silk Route. It is a small village--about 84 houses and 600 occupants.

A track leads to the village. Electricity is available because of the efforts of the villagers and influentials of the area. Recently, Tarmuchian got a water facility with the help of the Asian Development Bank, after residents fought for it. The water supply scheme has not been implemented yet so there is a problem with fetching drinking water. The village is not prosperous: most of the homes have no boundary walls and are built of stones and bricks, the streets are narrow and unpaved.

Poverty is prevalent in the village. Though men are a little better educated than the women, most are not literate. The men in the village (90 percent) are fruit hawkers in Rawalpindi and earn meager incomes. Only a small number of residents are involved in agriculture, sowing maize and wheat. The forest department is planting trees on the uncultivated land belonging to the residents in partnership with them. There are few economic opportunities; men seek work outside the village--most want to migrate to Rawalpindi, but cannot find affordable accommodation.

Women, traditionally, look after the cattle and are involved in household chores. Very few women are literate; in fact none of them have studied beyond primary school Children help their mothers in handling cattle.

COMMUNITY PROFILE

PROVINCE: NWFP
DISTRICT: SWAT
VILLAGE: ISLAMPUR

Islampur is a typical mountain village, situated 8 kilometers from Mingora, the main city. The village comprises of 520 households and roughly 5,000 inhabitants.

This village has narrow streets. The homes are made of cement including some streets in the village. There is no sanitary facility and there is a serious garbage disposal problem. One community-based organization was created a few years ago to deal with sanitation and proper disposal of garbage. Islampur got electricity in 1965. About 50 homes have a telephone.

Residents weave woolen cloth, a traditional skill of this area; the craftsmanship of the *Swati Bandi* (jacket made with woven cloth) is acclaimed throughout Pakistan. This activity has led to an increase in related services, such as coloring threads, laundering, and dying cloth. In spite of the workmanship and skill involved in producing woven cloth, incomes are low because middlemen and shopkeepers take the major share of the profit. Farming is dependent on rain and only a small number of people are agriculturists. Some residents have migrated to the United Arab Emirates and the major urban centers of Pakistan. There has been no major social or economic development for the past 20 years.

Environmental issues were also raised during the discussions in Islampur. Community members believe that past deforestation spoiled the scenic beauty of the area.

Women of this village take an active part in weaving, agriculture, and livestock care.

COMMUNITY PROFILE

PROVINCE: NWFP
DISTRICT: SWAT
VILLAGE: ALAABAD

Alaabad is located on a plain on the Kalam–Mingora Road. It is 1 kilometer from Charbagh and 17 kilometers from Mingora city. The village consists of 600 households and 6,000 residents. Main castes residing in the village include Daulat Khel, Mashur Khel and Macca Khel.

A paved road joins the village to the main city, and there is access to transport. Telephone facilities are available in the village. Seventy-five percent of the homes have electricity. Most people use hand pumps for drinking water. No BHU, dispensary, or hospital exists in the village.

Most people in Alaabad are engaged in agriculture; major crops include wheat, rice, onions, vegetables, and fruit. New varieties of seeds and the use of tractors and threshers have helped the community improve the crop pattern and have increased agricultural production. Almost 10 percent of the residents have been working as wage laborers; a small number is employed in the government. Very few villagers have migrated abroad so the community is not dependent on remittances.

Most women do household chores and do not have specific duties outside the house. Female mobility is restricted to certain areas of the village; women leave the house only when they need to visit relatives or attend weddings and funerals. Women go to a doctor or health outlet along with male family members. Approximately 15 percent of the women are literate.

COMMUNITY PROFILE

PROVINCE: NWFP
DISTRICT: KARAK
VILLAGE: MANDAWA

Mandawa is 10 kilometers from Litumbar and 10 kilometer from Domail (nearby towns). There are approximately 260 households and 5,000 residents. Major castes residing in the village include Khattak, Kami Khel, Meta Khel, and Karigar.

A metalled road links the village to other areas; all types of transport are available to get to the village. The construction of the road brought major changes to the community. Mandawa has had electricity since 1985. There are no telephones; the nearest phone facility is in Litumbar. The public health water tank built recently benefits is used by almost all of the residents, bringing safe, clean drinking water. There is a government dispensary here

Residents of the Kami Khel caste own the majority of the land holdings. Most residents are government servants, only 30 percent are farmers. The village is *barani* (rainfed). Wheat, maize, and grams are the major crops; recently, residents started cultivating mustard and seasonal vegetables. About 95 percent keep livestock at home. Tractors have been used for last 2 years. Many people have moved to Karachi and other urban cities to seek work; most are engaged in daily wage employment. Of those who have migrated to other areas, small proportions are in the army or working abroad. Migration is increasing since agriculture holds little economic benefits.

Women are mobile and actively participate in farm activities, helping male family members during harvesting. They collect green fodder for livestock and go to the fields to collect firewood. Women go outside the home to go to the doctor or health outlet to seek treatment and to attend weddings or funerals of relatives. None of the women of the village are literate

COMMUNITY PROFILE

PROVINCE: NWFP
DISTRICT: KARAK
VILLAGE: DURESH KHEL

Duresh Khel is 15 kilometers away from Litumbar, a nearby town. It consists of 271 households and 3,000 occupants. The major castes are: Khattak, Mian Khel, Hassan Khel, Ethic Khel, and Ether Khel.

A paved road links Duresh Khel to Bahadar Khel and other nearby towns. This is a typical rural locality without any basic facilities such as drinking water, sanitation, and health facilities. No facility for providing drinking water is available; residents have to fetch water from the nearest well. Almost 60 percent homes have electricity. No telephone facility is available in Duresh Khel or in the communities nearby. There is a BHU, but the doctor does not perform his duties.

The majority of villagers are engaged in farming. The road has improved agricultural production. Because Duresh Khel is predominantly a *barani* area (rain fed), farmers have to wait for rain to irrigate the land. Major crops include wheat, peanuts, and grams. Mechanized farming has been introduced and tractors have replaced old bullock plows. Almost all of the residents keep livestock. A large number of people work as daily wage laborers. About 10 percent of the villagers are employed in various government departments. Due to rising prices and limited work opportunities in the area, some people have moved abroad to seek better job opportunities and to increase their income, but they are a small minority.

Women are free to work in the fields, collect firewood, and harvest the crops; they work in the fields along with male family members. Women fetch water from nearby wells and attend weddings and funerals of relatives. Very small proportions of women are literate.

The road has improved access to education.

CHAPTER 4
THE SITUATION OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS

4.1 Data Collection

An innovative approach was used to gather data on the primary schooling environment of the communities where the survey was carried out. In many earlier surveys, community data have often been collected just by interviewing a knowledgeable informant in the community about community facilities. More recently, in the education and family planning fields, health, family planning, or education facilities within sample communities are visited and assessed after a full listing of facilities is made based on information provided by one or more informed persons from the community. The recent 1995-96 PIHS survey is a good example of this approach. As part of a community questionnaire, a school facilities questionnaire was administered in each primary school that fell within the boundaries of the communities where the survey was carried out. (Federal Bureau of Statistics 1998)

The approach used for this study was slightly different. Primary schools to be included in the primary school inventory were identified as those that were attended by children in the sample, not just those who were technically within the sample community. Only in cases where the school was located quite far from the community or attended by less than 5 children of the community was the school left out of the schooling survey. As a result, 82 percent of those currently attending primary school in the sample were attending one of the schools visited. Of those whose schools were not visited, 30 percent did not remember the name of the school, and the rest named schools that had no more than a few students enrolled from our sample.

The methods used to evaluate school quality were observation, conversation with a school administrator or teacher, and review of the school records, if available. The interviewer worked from a checklist of required information including the physical condition of the school, staffing characteristics, and enrollment data. The latter were not always available, therefore, much depended on the attendance and actual conditions on the day of the visit. The only data collected on the basis of recall of staff were usual hours the school was open, the number of days in the year that students attended, and qualifications of the teachers. Other areas of interest included issues of accessibility, costs, and curriculum. The interviewers visited schools at times when they were scheduled to be in session.

4.2 School Sample

In total, the school sample consisted of 50 primary schools.[2] Out of these, 25 were *de jure* boys' schools, 13 were *de jure* girls' schools, and 12 were mixed (Table 4.1). Roughly 72 percent of the sample schools were public (36) and all public schools were officially single sex. Of the 36 public schools in the sample, 64 percent were *de jure* boys' schools. The rest of the schools in the sample were private and all but 2 of these were mixed.

[2] While 51 schools were actually visited, one school in NWFP was closed on the day of the visit so data were collected on 50 schools.

Table 4.1: Distribution of schools in sample by de facto and de jure type

		De facto		Type	
Dejure	Total	Single Sex	Mixed	Public	Private
Boys	25	16	9	23	2
Girls	13	9	4	13	0
Mixed	12	0	12	0	12
Total	50	25	25	36	14

Note: If only 1–2 of opposite sex are enrolled in grades 1–5, the school retains status as single-sex de facto.

Because many parents want to send their children to school nearby, together with their siblings, some single sex schools are *de facto* mixed.[3] This practice has also probably come about because many communities, until recently, lacked a girls' school. Nine of the 25 boys' schools in our sample have girls in attendance in grades 1 to 5 and 4 of the 13 girls' schools have boys in attendance. However, enrollment of the opposite sex in public single sex schools tends to be small and attendance rates among this small group, particularly in the case of girls, are distressingly low.

4.3 Findings

4.3.1 Trends in the Distribution of Schools

For each of the sample schools, information on the date that the school was founded was used to assess trends in the availability of schools of different types since 1980, assuming that no schools have gone out of business since 1980. Table 4.2 presents trends in the number and composition of schools for each province. Schools have been grouped by their *de jure* status because this provides a more accurate picture of changes in school accessibility by sex.

Table 4.2: Trends in number and composition of schools

	De jure			Type		
Province/year	Boys	Girls	Mixed	Public	Private	Total
Punjab						
1980	8	3	0	11	0	11
1985	11	5	0	16	0	16
1990	13	6	1	19	1	20
1992	13	7	2	20	2	22
1997	13	7	7	20	7	27
NWFP						
1980	6	1	2	7	2	9
1985	9	2	2	11	2	13
1990	9	3	2	12	2	14
1992	9	4	2	13	2	15
1997	12	6	5	16	7	23

[3] If less than 10 percent of the enrollment grades 1-5 were of the opposite sex, we identified the school as *de facto* single sex. These few exceptions to the single sex rule could be special cases, like children of teachers at the school, and their presence would not necessarily imply that the school was fully accessible to the opposite sex.

There are three trends that are particularly striking. The first is the sudden and very recent appearance of private schools in both provinces, with 10 of the 14 private schools in the sample having been founded within the last 5 years. Thus, in recent years, private schools are meeting some of the rising demand for schooling as well as providing competition to public schools. The second clear trend is a relative improvement in the supply of all-girls' government schools over time. The trend had been steady in Punjab until 1992 after which point no new girls' schools were added. In NWFP these increases have been more recent with 2 schools having been added in the last 5 years. However, as a proportion of the total, girls' schools still remain a minority of public schools, having grown in share from 22 to 36 percent of all public schools in the sample communities over the last 17 years. Finally, the growth in the overall number of schools has been particularly striking with 156 percent growth recorded in the supply of schools in the last 17 years in NWFP compared to a 145 percent growth in Punjabi communities.

A breakdown of these trends by community within districts and provinces shows that aggregate trends disguise quite a bit of local variation. Table 4.3 shows how the supply of schools has evolved over time for each of the study communities, looking particularly at the total number of schools, the availability of at least one girls' public school, and the availability of at least one private school (each indicated by a checkmark in the table). At the time of this survey, 2 communities out of the 12 still did not have an all girls' primary school (Kotla Drigh in RY Khan, Punjab and Mandawa in Karak, NWFP). In most communities at least 1 all-girls' public school has been available since 1985, but in Feroza in Punjab and most of the other communities in NWFP girls' schools have only recently been in place.[4] Full primary school access for girls has been a more recent experience for some communities in NWFP. Mixed private schools are available in 5 of the 12 communities, 3 in Punjab, and 2 in NWFP. Thus, for many communities in our sample, private schooling at the primary level still remains a remote possibility.

4.3.2 Accessibility and Price of Schooling

The schooling situation as it relates to accessibility and price is shown separately for Punjab and NWFP in Table 4.4. All but one of the primary schools visited included at least 1 preprimary grade on the premises. Though note was taken of the prevalence of preprimary enrollment, preprimary enrollment was excluded from subsequent analyses so as to have comparable statistics for all of the 5 basic primary grades. This is because some schools had 1 grade of preprimary and some had 2, and for some schools, pre-primary made up a substantial portion of the total enrollment. In fact, in many single sex schools that enroll students of the opposite sex, these students are often heavily concentrated in the preprimary grades, suggesting that this may be a convenient way for siblings of the opposite sex, particularly when young, to attend school together. Only 8 schools in the sample had a middle school as part of the compound, a factor that is probably important in facilitating the continuation of students beyond primary, particularly girls, who might otherwise have to travel out of the community.

[4] A relatively new girls' school in Duresh Khel had been closed for 6 months due to the lack of a teacher.

Table 4.3: Trends in school accessibility and choice, by locality and year

Locality[a]			Number and type of schools	1980	1985	1990	1992	1997
PUNJAB	Sialkot	Ramgahra	Number	1	2	2	3	6
			Girls' public		✓	✓	✓	✓
			Private					✓
		Dhadho Basra	Number	3	3	3	3	4
			Girls' public	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
			Private					✓
	DG Khan	Noorpur	Number	0	3	3	3	3
			Girls' public		✓	✓	✓	✓
			Private					
		Guddai	Number	4	4	6	7	8
			Girls' public	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
			Private			✓	✓	✓
	RY Khan	Kotla Drigh	Number	2	2	2	2	2
			Girls' public					
			Private					
		Feroza	Number	1	2	4	4	4
			Girls' public			✓	✓	✓
			Private					
NWFP	Abbottabad	Kakul	Number	4	4	4	4	6
			Girls' public	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
			Private	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Tarmuchian	Number	1	4	4	4	5
			Girls' public		✓	✓	✓	✓
			Private					
	Kkarak	Duresh Khel	Number	1	2	3	3	3
			Girls' public			✓	✓	✓
			Private					
		Mandawa	Number	1	1	1	1	2
			Girls' public					
			Private					
	Swat	Islampur	Number	1	1	1	1	4
			Girls' public					✓
			Private					✓[b]
		Alaabad	Number	1	1	1	2	3
			Girls' public				✓	✓
			Private					✓[c]

[a] Locality is shown by province, district, community. [b] 1 boys, 1 mixed. [c] 1 boys only.

Access to primary schools in the sample areas was strikingly better for boys than girls. A school was defined as accessible to a particular sex if it was either for that sex, if it was mixed, or if it was for the opposite sex but more than 10 percent of the students enrolled in grades 1 to 5 were of the non-intended sex. While 34 out of 50 schools were accessible to girls, boys could access 41 out of 50 schools. Overall, access for girls was similar in the 2 provinces.

Table 4.4: Accessibility variables for primary schools, according to province and type

Variable	NWFP		Punjab		Punjab and NWFP		
	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	Total
Type of schooling							
Primary only	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Pre + primary	16	3	16	6	32	9	41
Pre + primary + middle	0	4	1	1	3	5	8
School accessible to girls							
Yes	10	5	12	7	22	12	34
No	6	2	8	0	14	2	16
School accessible to boys							
Yes	12	7	15	7	27	14	41
No	4	0	5	0	9	0	9
Mean distance from community (in kilometers)	0.6	1.8	0.5	0.1	0.5	1.0	1.0
Mean commuting time (in minutes)	13	8	12	7	12	8	11
Total fees (rupees/year)	22	1,841	20	732	21	1,287	375
Total number of schools	16	7	20	7	36	14	50[a]

Note: As shown in the table, data include more than just primary grades; see discussion.
[a]There were 51 schools visited; 1 was closed at the time of the visit.

A final measure of the extent to which single sex schools are accessible (or "friendly") to the opposite sex is the attendance rate, which is measured as the percentage of students officially enrolled who were present on the day the team visited. While the overall attendance rate of girls was lower than that of boys, 61 percent versus 78 percent, this difference is primarily explained by the very low attendance rates of the relatively few girls who were enrolled in boys' schools. Indeed, the attendance rate of girls at all girls' school was 88 percent and of boys at all boys' schools was 82 percent. Girls' and boys' attendance rates at mixed schools were similarly high at 85-89 percent. However, only 36 percent of girls enrolled in boys' schools were present on the day of the visit; among boys enrolled in girls' schools the percentage was higher at 61 percent. These data indicate that girls in communities without a public all-girls' school are disadvantaged because, while mixed private schools and all boys' schools may represent alternative options, they are likely to be either much more expensive or possibly less girl-friendly when the majority of students enrolled remain boys.

The average distance from the center of the communities to the public schools was roughly half a kilometer in both provinces. Private schools were surprisingly close to most students in Punjabi communities but were almost 2 kilometers away on average in NWFP. However, traveling time, which may be a better reflection of mode of transport and quality of

access, indicated that school commutes for children attending private schools were similar in the 2 provinces. Indeed, in all cases, commuting time was reassuringly short at no more than 10-15 minutes on average.

Public schools are essentially free of charge; the average total fees in the study amounted to no more than 18 rupees per year. By contrast, private schools are very expensive though the fees cover a wide range, probably reflecting variations in underlying quality. On average, the private schools observed cost less than half as much in Punjab as in NWFP (1,841 rupees versus 732).

4.3.3 School Quality

School quality has many dimensions including time to learn, material resources, teaching resources, curriculum, and management. It is particularly interesting to compare school quality across types of schools, in particular single sex and mixed schools and public and private schools (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Selected indicators of primary school quality according to school type

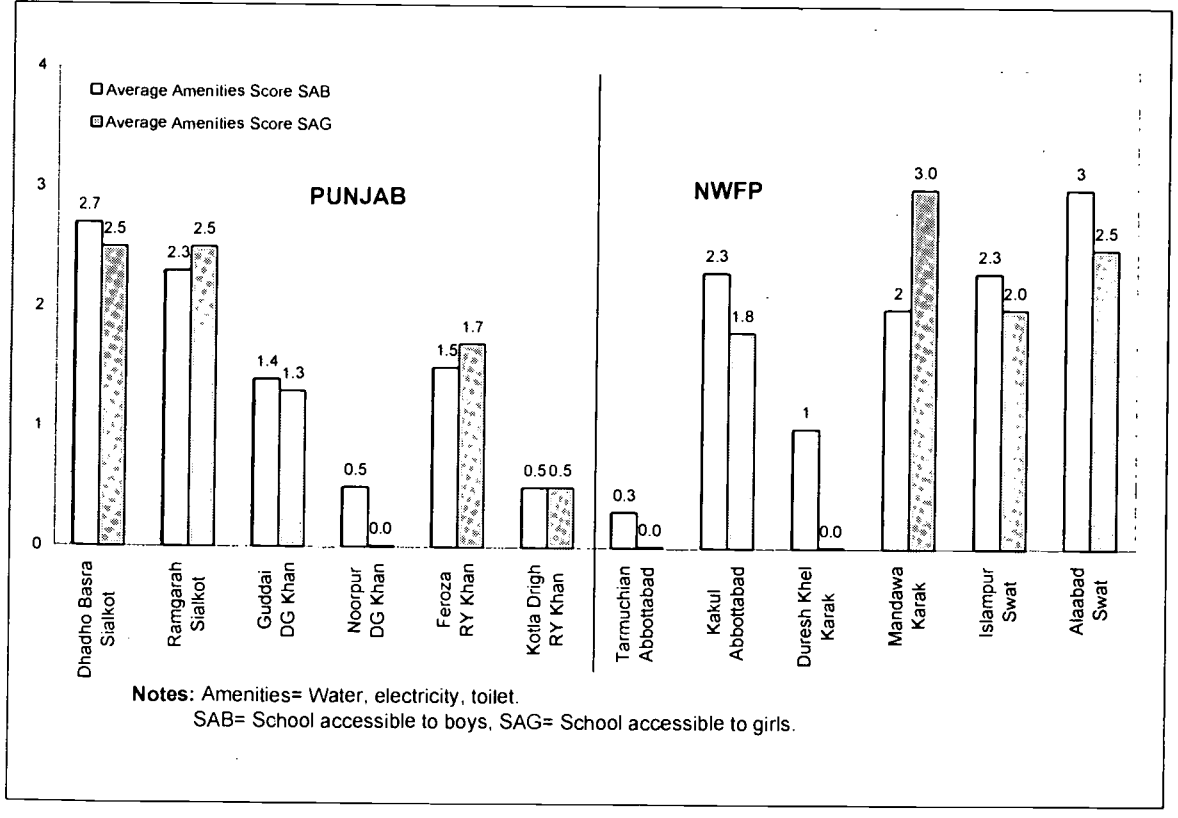
	Dejure			Type		
Indicator	Boys	Girls	Mixed	Public	Private	Total
Time to learn						
Hours per day (mean)	5.2	5.4	5.3	5.2	5.3	5.3
Days per year (mean)	220	225	230	218	238	224
Material resources						
Amenities score[a] (0-3) (mean)	1.3	1.0	2.8	1.1	2.9	1.6
Drinking water (%)	72	69	92	69	93	76
Toilet (%)	25	8	92	15	93	38
Electricity (%)	38	15	100	26	100	47
Classrooms with complete furniture[b] (%)	31	33	89	28	91	45
Students with books (%)	75	84	85	77	87	80
Student per classroom (mean)	36	48	29	41	27	37
Total school population per school (mean)	129	118	103	123	115	121
Teaching resources						
Primary teachers per school (N)	5.0	4.7	6.0	4.7	6.3	5.1
Teachers with teaching certificate (%)	94.2	97.4	15.4	98.7	18.1	76.1
Years of teaching experience (mean)	12.2	9.3	3.5	11.6	3.6	9.3
Teacher's year of education (mean)	11.5	11.4	11.6	11.5	11.6	11.5
Teacher residing in community (%)	31	34	81	31	76	44
Teachers teaching more than 1 subject to more than 1 grade (%)	49	43	26	47	29	42
Student/teacher ratio	24	25	21	25	20	24
Teacher absent on day of visit (%)	19	31	10	24	9	20
Curriculum						
Teaching in local language (%)	88	69	8.3	83	14	64
Textbook in Urdu (%)	84	85	58	89	50	78
Other						
Functional school management committee or other community support[c] (%)	32	23	0	28	7	22
Administrator on staff (%)	16	15	33	11	43	20
Total number of schools	25	13	12	36	14	50

[a]Amenities range from 0-3 and represent the sum of electricity, toilet, and drinking water (1 = yes).
[b]Classrooms were considered furnished if they had a seat for each student or a bench for 3 students.
[c]A school was given a score of 1 if there was a school management committee that actually met or if they received help, in cash or kind; from parents, other member of the community, or an NGO.

There were slight differences across schools in the number of hours schools remain in session daily, but the averages by type of school were very similar (5.2 to 5.4 hours). However, private schools remained in session over the course of the year for an average of 20 additional days in a year, a considerable difference.

In terms of various types of amenities, such as drinking water, a toilet on the premises, and electricity, girls' schools fared much worse than boys' schools, and public schools overall much worse than private schools. While 76 percent of the schools in the sample had drinking water, only 38 percent had a toilet, and 47 percent had electricity. However, only 8 percent of the 13 government girls' schools in our sample had a toilet, 15 percent had electricity, and 69 percent had drinking water. Of the 25 boys' schools in the sample, 25 percent had a toilet, 38 percent had electricity, and 72 percent had drinking water. Thus, a much higher percent of boys' schools had these essential amenities. Out of the 14 private schools in the sample, 93 percent had a toilet, 100 percent had electricity, and 93 percent had drinking water. The situation was much worse in public schools where only 15 percent had toilets, 26 percent had electricity, and 69 percent had drinking water. These striking differences are summarized in an amenities index in which a score of 1 was assigned to the presence of each of these three amenities. A score of 3 would indicate that all three were present. On average, boys' schools had an average score of 1.3, girls' schools an average score of 1.0, and mixed schools an average score of 2.8. By contrast private schools had an average score of 2.9 and public schools had a score of 1.1. Except in three locations, the girls' average amenities score was lower than for boys. Furthermore, the amenities scores were starkly low in four settings. Two of these were in NWFP and Punjab. In general, schools in NWFP had better amenities than in Punjab. (Figure 4.1)

Figure 4.1: Variation in school quality by PSU: average amenities score for boys and girls schools



Notes: Amenities= Water, electricity, toilet.
SAB= School accessible to boys, SAG= School accessible to girls.

Other aspects of material resources include classroom furnishings, textbooks, and class size. The average number of enrolled students per classroom was highest in all girls' schools, at 48 students per classroom.[5] The average was lowest in mixed or private schools at 29 students per classroom. For all boys' schools, the student/classroom ratio average was 37.

The percentage of classrooms that were furnished (i.e., a seat for each student or a bench for three students), on the other hand, looked slightly better in girls' than boys' schools. Thirty-three percent of classrooms were furnished in girls' schools compared to 31 percent in boys' schools. Both of these statistics stand in sharp contrast to the situation in private or mixed schools where 90 percent of the classrooms were furnished. Finally it appeared that most students in all schools had copies of their textbooks although they are often torn and in poor condition.

One of the most important aspects of school quality is the teaching staff both in terms of numbers and in terms of quality. The number of teachers per school for the primary grades, which averaged no more than 5 for the 5 primary grades, was similar for boys' and girls' public schools, but was distinctly greater on average for private schools than public schools (6.3 versus 4.7). This may often be explained by the presence of a special English teacher in private schools who was shared across grades. Essentially, all teachers in the public system had the required teacher-training certificate whether they taught in boys' or girl' schools. Only 18 percent of the teaching staff in private schools had this credential. Furthermore, the average number of years of teaching experience among teachers in the private sector was notably less (3.6 as compared with 11.6 years on average), with the greatest number of years experience recorded for all-boys' schools. These differences may be partially explained by differences between types of schools in the number of years that they have been in business. Finally, years of schooling attained by teachers were similar for all teachers in all types of schools, roughly 11.5 on average.

Teacher absenteeism can be a problem when supervision is poor. The average percent of teachers on staff who were absent on the day of the school visit was lowest in the private schools (9 percent). Among public schools, 24 percent of teachers on staff were absent on the day of the visit. The worst absenteeism occurred in the girls' public schools: 31 percent were absent on the day of the visit (versus 19 percent in boys' schools). Part of this difference may be explained by the fact that girls' schools were staffed almost exclusively by female teachers who had greater competing pressures on their time than male teachers. Differences in absenteeism between the public and private sector may also be partially explained by the fact that many more private school teachers lived in the community where the school was located--76 percent in private schools versus 31 percent in public schools. While 68 percent of the teaching staff in private schools were female, they usually lived in the community and therefore did not have trouble getting to school on a regular basis.

The average student/teacher ratio varied from a high of 25 for girls' schools to a low of 20 in private schools, with boys' schools showing an average ratio of 24. This is very low by international standards. However, there was much variability within the average. Of the 50 sample schools, the student/teacher ratios varied from 6 to 67 students per teacher. These variations can be partially explained by the fact that many primary schools in rural Pakistan are small (enrollment in grades 1-5 of under 100) which is particularly notable considering the

[5] While primary schools have 5 grades, they don't necessarily have 5 separate enclosed spaces within the school building for them to meet. Thus, several grades may meet together in one classroom

rapid growth in size of school age cohorts. Seventeen of 27 schools in the sample in Punjab, and 11 of the 22 school in NWFP, had enrollments under 100.

Teaching burdens also affect the overall quality of primary schools as teachers who have to cover more subjects and/or more grades have less time to work with each grade separately. The percentage of teachers who taught more than one subject to more than one grade was substantially greater in public than in private schools (47 percent versus 29 percent). Differences between boys' schools and girls' school in this indicator of primary school quality were not consequential.

Another measure of school quality relates to the medium of instruction both in terms of the language used by the teacher and the language of the textbook. In the early years of schooling children probably find it easiest to be instructed in their local language. As can be seen from Table 4.5, almost all public schools provided instruction in the local language (83 percent). However, this was not the case in the private sector: only 14 percent of private schools had teachers who used a local language in the classroom. Most teachers in private schools taught in Urdu even when it was not the local language. When it came to textbooks, life for children was even more complicated in that 50 percent of the private schools used English textbooks. Often in these same schools teachers used Urdu for oral instruction though they were teaching children whose families spoke a different local language. While there was tremendous demand from parents for instruction in English, very few of the private schools had teachers who could actually speak English even when the school used English textbooks. In private schools where many teachers had limited education themselves, this may have made for pedagogical confusion rather than fluency in new languages.

4.3.4 Community Involvement

An argument can certainly be made for including community support as a factor in the quality of schools. The discussion here includes a look at community involvement within existing schools as well as at community involvement in the creation of schools.

The SAP education program has as a high priority the development of community support for public primary schools through local school management committees (SMC). Overall, relatively few of the government schools in the sample had any active community support such as school management committees, but when they were in place they were much more typical in NWFP than in Punjab. Seven of the 16 public schools reported school management committees in operation; only 3 of 20 public schools in Punjab had such committees. This represents 28 percent of all public schools with, slightly fewer girls' schools (23 percent) than boys' schools benefiting from these management committees. On the other hand, private schools, which are not required to have an SMC, were much more likely to have a paid school administrator on staff (43 percent versus 11 percent for government schools).

Interest in the process underlying the placement of public schools in communities, caused the field teams to return to the sample communities in the summer of 1999. The teams inquired about the history of the formation of public schools in each community, as well as about the extent to which the community was currently active in the demand for new schools that have not yet arrived in the community. Of the 36 public primary schools identified as being attended by children in our sample, 30 were located within the communities where our sample households resided and 6 lay outside the boundaries of the community. Therefore,

data was collected only on the 30 schools within the communities about which community leaders were knowledgeable. Not surprisingly, community leaders could not remember the history of schools founded prior to 1973. This meant that information was available on the history of the formation of only 15 of the 30 public primary schools located within our 12 communities. Of these, 12 (or 80 percent) were formed in response to community demand: 4 boys' schools, 8 girls' schools. Three schools were formed in response to the efforts of local influential individuals. The 12 schools created because of community demand were located in 2 of the 6 sample communities in the Punjab and 5 of the 6 sample communities in NWFP. Thus, it appears that community activism, as it relates to the demand for primary schools, has been more apparent in recent years in NWFP than in Punjab. This may reflect the relative neglect of NWFP in earlier years in terms of the placement of schools.

Of the 15 schools built before 1973, information was collected as to whether or not the community took some initiative in more recent years to improve these older schools. There was evidence of community efforts in the case of 7 of these older schools (roughly 50 percent) with 2 Punjab communities and 5 NWFP communities participating in community improvement efforts. In some cases these improvements involved improvements to the buildings (4 of the 7), the rest involved the extension of the school from primary to secondary (3 of the 7).

Finally, inquiries were made about community demand for other schools, those not included among the 30 current primary schools, where petitions to the public authorities were either still in process or where previous petitions were unsuccessful. The communities reporting some community initiatives to create an additional public school included 2 of the 6 communities in the Punjab and 5 of the 6 in NWFP. However, only 2 of these were petitions for primary schools and both were reported to be unsuccessful. Four of these requests were for girls' schools and three for boys' schools.

Clearly, the current supply of public primary schools is not independent of demand within the community. However, it is also true that recent demand was primarily being expressed in those communities that were historically underserved. Eight of the 12 sample communities had no more than one public primary school in the community in 1980 and none of these communities had any girls' primary schools. All but one of these communities now has at least one additional public primary school as a result of the community efforts reported above. However, in 3 of the 6 sample communities in Punjab the recent establishment of primary schools was the result of individual petitions rather than community efforts. This suggests the continuing influence, at least in Punjab, of local influentials in the determination of the establishment of new public primary schools. Furthermore, some communities have reported community efforts that have failed: 4 of the 8 unrealized community requests were denied. Thus, the current distribution of public primary schools in the sample communities partially reflects demand and partly reflects an earlier pattern of influence that did not always represent underlying community demand.

4.4 Conclusion

To summarize, while access to school has increased, particularly for girls, gender equity in access has not yet been achieved. At the time of the survey, only 36 percent of the public schools in the sample were girls' schools. Furthermore, the extent of schooling choice for parents of primary school pupils varies enormously from community to community. While the arrival of private schooling offers competition to the public schooling system and increases the

supply of potential places, it is often of poor quality from a pedagogical point of view, even though it may provide more material amenities such as desks, toilets, and running water. Many primary schools remain remarkably small in terms of total enrollment and have student/teacher ratios that are very respectable from international standards, suggesting that the problems with quality have much more to do with lack of material resources, inadequacy of curriculum, and quality of teaching (including absenteeism). Girls in particular suffer in terms of school quality in that public girls' schools have fewer amenities, fewer classrooms, higher rates of teacher absenteeism, and less management support.

CHAPTER 5
PARENTS' PERSPECTIVES ON SCHOOLING AND FAMILY BUILDING

5.1 Data Collection

Parents' views about schooling and family building were solicited in two different ways in this study. First, while the regular questionnaire was being administered, both mothers and fathers were asked a small group of structured questions about schooling. To probe more deeply into parent's views a small subsample of these fathers and mothers were contacted for in-depth interviews (IDIs). Roughly 2 fathers and 2 mothers in each of the 6 districts were selected for in-depth interviews after the structured interviews were completed (22 mothers and 23 fathers). To be selected parents had to have living children with at least one child currently of school age. They also had to indicate a willingness to be visited a second time after the initial interview for another conversation with the same fieldworker. By analyzing the age and educational background of those parents who participated in the in-depth interviews, it was clear that they represented a selective sample of those included in the structured survey. The IDI respondents, both mothers and fathers, tended to be slightly older, to be relatively better educated, and to have more children because they were at a later phase of the family-building process. They were also significantly more likely to be using contraception. These were parents who were, therefore, more likely to have clearly formulated opinions about educational trends in the community and were better able to give voice to their views in an in-depth interview. Not surprisingly, the education level of the fathers interviewed was higher than that of mothers--as a result, the fathers were much more articulate than the mothers in the interviews with more clearly formed opinions about school. (Table 5.1)

Table 5.1: Respondents' characteristics, according to study participation

Chacteristic	Male		Female	
	Survey	IDI	Survey	IDI
Age (mean)	38.4	41.5	31.3	32.3
Years of schooling (mean)	3.5	6.8	1.4	3.8
Children living (mean)	5.6	6.7	4.3	5.0
Currently using contraceptive (percent)	31.3	59.1	26.4	45.5
(N)	(440)	(23)	(722)	(22)

The data from the basic questionnaires are presented first in the following discussion. The rest of this chapter is based on the in-depth interviews. The major points highlighted in the discussion of the in-depth interviews are points that were mentioned repeatedly by many male and female respondents from high, middle, and low performing districts. The analysis of the IDIs has required a careful reading of the IDIs topic by topic in order to identify recurring themes. Actual quotations from the in-depth interviews are provided for illustration only. In most cases, particular concerns or issues were voiced by residents.

5.2 Findings

5.2.1 Educational Needs of Boys and Girls

All parents were asked their views about the ideal number of years of schooling for boys and girls separately. In particular they were asked how many years of schooling children should complete. Almost no mothers or fathers saw just primary schooling as adequate for either boys or girls. As matric level (the completion of grade 10) is seen to be the end of secondary education in Pakistan, it was interesting to look at the percentage of mothers and fathers who thought boys or girls should have more than matric. Table 5.2 shows that the majority of parents thought boys should have more than matric-level schooling, but a minority saw this as being necessary for girls. The gender difference in educational ideals was slightly greater for fathers than for mothers. Particularly in the districts with higher overall enrollment rates, mothers' ideal number of years of schooling exceeded fathers, both for boys and girls. Finally, educational ideals for both boys and girls were higher for both mothers and fathers in NWFP than in Punjab.

Table 5.2: Percentage of mothers and fathers with aspirations for higher than matric-level schooling for girls and boys, by district

	Boys		Girls	
District	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Punjab				
Sialkot	81	56	58	23
DG Khan	61	46	22	25
RY Khan	54	58	21	29
NWFP				
Abbottabad	94	84	70	53
Karak	85	79	40	41
Swat	81	73	29	32
Total	76	66	40	33

When parents were asked whether boys or girls performed better at the primary-school level, there was wide variation in responses across provinces and districts. Overall, however, it appeared that parents thought that girls had an easier time. Table 5.3 Thus, it appears that, despite the fact that parents thought that girls learn more easily at an early age, they nonetheless valued girls' education less.

Table 5.3: Percentage of mothers and fathers who thought that boys or girls fared better in at the primary-school level, by district

District	Boys		Girls	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
Punjab				
Sialkot	5	4	63	63
DG Khan	16	29	29	39
RY Khan	19	46	18	39
NWFP				
Abbottabad	16	7	66	72
Karak	74	38	18	35
Swat	33	26	57	60
Total	29	25	41	51

Note: Respondents indicating that they did not know or did not care are not included in this table.

Parents were asked a series of questions about how girls and boys fared in different types of learning environments. In particular, they were asked whether they thought that girls or boys did better in single sex or mixed schools, with same sex or opposite sex teachers, or in public or private school. In each case, the parents were given the option of saying that it did not matter. The results are presented In Table 5.4. An overwhelming majority of mothers and fathers in both districts preferred single-sex schooling for both boys and girls. The preference, which was strong everywhere, appeared slightly stronger in NWFP than Punjab. Consistent with these responses, a large majority of mothers and fathers also thought that both boys and girls learned better when teachers were the same sex as the students. Mothers felt even more strongly about this for boys, and fathers felt more strongly for girls. (Table 5.5) Finally, roughly half of the mothers in the sample, and about 65 percent of the fathers, preferred private schooling. (Table 5.6) This is not necessarily inconsistent with the answers they gave to other questions, but rather these responses revealed that at the same time that parents valued single-sex education, they also valued what they perceived to be higher-quality education even when it involved mixed classrooms. The preference for private schooling seemed somewhat stronger in NWFP, particularly in Swat where almost 50 percent of the schools were private. Swat was also the only district in our sample where there were private schools for boys only.

Table 5.4: Percentage of parents who believe boys and girls learn better in a single-sex school, by district

District	Boys		Girls	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
Punjab				
Sialkot	81	69	82	74
DG Khan	88	77	87	82
RY Khan	65	78	75	84
NWFP				
Abbottabad	78	72	82	78
Karak	97	90	96	91
Swat	93	89	88	89
Total	84	80	85	83

Table 5.5: Percentage of parents who believe boys and girls learns better with a teacher of the same sex, by district

District	Boys		Girls	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
Punjab				
Sialkot	65	68	74	92
DG Khan	80	71	85	92
RY Khan	74	77	74	86
NWFP				
Abbottabad	54	56	75	97
Karak	98	63	89	72
Swat	97	68	77	74
Total	79	68	80	85

Table 5.6: Percentage of parents who believe that boys and girls fares better in a private school, by district

District	Boys		Girls	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Punjab				
Sialkot	47	54	41	53
DG Khan	46	58	42	54
RY Khan	25	44	23	42
NWFP				
Abbottabad	55	74	52	75
Karak	48	60	46	60
Swat	85	92	78	92
Total	51	65	47	64

5.2.2 Perceptions of Change in the 1990's

In each of the 3 districts within the Punjab and NWFP, regardless of the condition of schools in the community, parents systematically mentioned two dominant trends in schooling, as they perceived them: (1) the rising aspirations of parents for schooling beyond primary and (2) the increasing tendency of parents to send their girls to school. The following quotes from high, medium, and low schooling areas in Punjab and NWFP are illustrative of these universal views:

> *Yes, now there has been rising trend towards high education and now both boys and girls go to attend middle and high school…. [male, age 52, 12 children, 2 wives, Punjab]*

> *There has been [a] rising trend towards acquiring education…. [male, age 46, 6 children, NWFP]*

> *In the past, people did not enroll their daughters in school, as there was no custom of female education. Now people think that girls should at least study five classes. [female, age 31, 5 children, NWFP]*

But now, even illiterates send their girls to school. [female, age 29, 7 children, NWFP]

Parents gave a variety of reasons for these changes. First and foremost was the increasing availability of schools in or near these communities, particularly girls' schools and private schools; this was most often mentioned by residents of NWFP, in all districts. This perception was confirmed by the actual trends in numbers of schools in the study communities, again, particularly in NWFP. The other factor universally mentioned was the demonstration effect: the perception that rising enrollment was due to a growing demand for children's schooling on the part of parents in response to the observation of the behavior of others, as well as in response to what was portrayed in the media, particularly TV. Mothers in Punjab mentioned this in particular. Others mentioned the importance of remittances from absent fathers or other relatives who had migrated to urban areas or abroad that now made education more affordable.

Yes, now all the people get education. There are schools even on the mountains. [female, age 32, 7 children, NWFP]

Now there are schools in every village, and more and more people go to school. [male, age 44, 5 children, NWFP]

There was no school nearby, and no one could send their girls off one hour or two hours distance. Now new schools are being constructed, and girls are going to school also. [male, age 41, 5 children, NWFP]

Main reason is that those who are educated, they started educating their children, then others have started imitating them. [male, age 43, 6 children, NWFP]

Now, everyone has felt that the knowledge is a good thing, and everyone must get it, as it is the need of the hour. [male, age 51, 8 children, NWFP]

...when people watch TV dramas, they get inclined towards getting education. Parents have learned through watching dramas how children should be treated, how parents should talk with their kids. I feel TV has brought a great difference in life. [female, age 27, 4 children, Punjab, middle]

Education has become a fashion these days. [female, age 33, 5 children, Punjab]

Yes it brings a lot of difference, when a person sends money to his family they get stable economically and can better educate their children. [female, age 36, 5 children, Punjab low]

Yes of course their houses are cemented, their food and clothing is improved, they can start their own business, they can better educate their children. [female, age 33, 5 children, Punjab, middle]

A few also mentioned the growing importance in the marriage market of some education for girls and the recognition that some education was increasingly a prerequisite for any kind of formal sector job.

> *Look, when you want to marry your daughter people will ask about her education. [male, age 43, 3 children, NWFP]*
>
> *When people look at the others who get job after getting education, so they want their kids to study in order to get job. [male, age 47, 6 children, Punjab]*
>
> *They are educating their children because many people are doing jobs in the cities now and more people are moving to the cities. Many changes have occurred now in terms of education. Now people are more inclined towards educating their children. [female, age 37, 5 children, Punjab]*

5.2.3 Value of Education

Education appeared to be universally valued by all parents both for their children and because of the benefits they could gain indirectly. Few disadvantages were ever mentioned.

> *Boys can improve their nation or country if they are educated, while educated girls can take care of their household and children. The future of a nation depends on youngsters; if our coming generation is educated, then the future of Pakistan would be fortune. [female, age 35, 5 children, Punjab]*
>
> *Basically education is necessary. Educated persons become human beings and are advantageous for nation, religion and for all humanity. [male, age 52, 4 children, Punjab]*

Some specific economic, social, and personal benefits for children as well as the benefits for parents were enumerated.

A) Economic Benefits

While most people (particularly men) mentioned the very concrete value of schooling in terms of formal sector employment, which would enable children to eventually become self-supporting and to lead a better life, some respondents also demonstrated a much broader understanding of the economic value of education. The broader economic advantages mentioned included knowledge and training for a range of capabilities or life skills for the future (such as the ability to acquire new skills, learn new technologies, establish and manage a business or shop, as well as basic coping skills such as the ability to find a location, read instructions, travel overseas, etc.) All of these capabilities were seen as things that would bring a better and more comfortable life.

> *...you are getting salary as you are educated [referring to the interviewer] but we are the wage laborer. [male, age 40, 8 children, Punjab] [this man was illiterate]*
>
> *The literate or illiterate can do any kind of job but difference is that literate will do it in a better way. Even if he does agricultural task, even then he would do it*

better. It means that education trims [fine tunes] a person. [male, age 35, 7 children, Punjab]

An illiterate person takes more time to learn new things, and the result is slow progress. [male, age 40, 6 children, Punjab]

Most important advantage is that one gets job through his education. [male, age 30, 4 children, NWFP]

If one cannot get a job, even then he can read and write, he can start his own business. [male, age 52, 12 children, 2 wives, Punjab]

[The] most important benefit of education is that a literate person can support himself through joining a job. If he goes somewhere, then he can learn the route, transport, address, names of places, etc. But illiterate is just as blind. [female, age 31, 5 children, NWFP]

B) Social Benefits

Most people saw education as teaching manners, respect for parents and elders, and the difference between right and wrong. Other benefits were the ability to get a better spouse in the marriage market (mentioned by some parents) and the advantages to the nation of becoming a better citizen (mentioned by some mothers).

Education brings manners amongst children. It makes a person more civilized, he starts respecting elders, while an illiterate person respects no one, neither his family nor outsiders. [male, age 46, 6 children, NWFP]

Most important benefits of schooling are that it brings awareness, manners, quality to distinguish between what is right and what is wrong. But an illiterate knows nothing about the surrounding [environment] and the world. [female, age 31, 4 children, Punjab]

An illiterate society is of no use, people are unaware thus they do not understand anything. I feel that all evils (for example, gambling and drug addiction) are caused by illiteracy. [male, age 40, 6 children, Punjab]

Children must be literate if they are to get married. It is necessary these days. [male, age 40, 8 children, Punjab]

[They] can serve their country in a better way. [male, age 44, 5 children, NWFP]

C) Personal Benefits

Most people saw education as having intrinsic value for each individual experiencing it by bringing awareness and enlightenment. Some women also mentioned the fact that is not possible to steal education, unlike other types of investments. A few mothers also talked about education bringing a clean and pure mind and providing a pathway to God.

Education is ornament of a person, everyone should get it. Education brings humanity amongst people, it brings awareness and manners. In the modern era everyone should be aware of right and wrong and advantage and disadvantage. [female, age 52, 4 children, Punjab]

...I mean, an illiterate is as a blind one, while an educated person has two eyes. [male, age 35, 6 children, NWFP]

Education's basic reason (benefit) is 'enlightenment,' which helps a person distinguish clearly between good and evil. [male, age 35, 4 children, NWFP]

An educated person gets respect wherever he goes. He is offered a chair to sit on, while uneducated will be asked to sit on the floor. I mean education brings value and respect in life. [male, age 46, 6 children, NWFP]

There is no disadvantage of education. This is the thing which cannot be stolen, and it cannot be kept by someone. [female, age 37, 5 children, Punjab]

To bring awareness and wisdom. [female, age 32, 7 children, NWFP]

D) Benefits for Girls

Many specific reasons were mentioned for valuing the education of girls beyond those mentioned above. These included the greater ability of an educated daughter to: help her family earn the dowry for her marriage; attract a better husband (a more educated match from a better family); be a good mother (raising kids in a better way and taking an interest in their schooling); as well as keep accounts and manage the household. Furthermore, mothers, particularly in NWFP, mentioned other advantages including the ability of more educated daughters to support themselves in hard times if they had no husband to support them. Some mothers even mentioned the advantages of a two-income family, with more educated mothers being more able to get a job to assist their husbands in providing economic support to the family. A few fathers saw no advantages to educating their daughters but they were very much in the minority.

Our daughters will do jobs so that they can earn money and make their dowry for marriage. They will educate their children in a better way. [female, age 35, 5 children, Punjab]

...the girls should be highly educated, as they need it to get married in [a] reasonable family. [female, age 43, 3 children, NWFP]

...as it is shown on TV that literate mothers take proper care of children in terms of schooling of kids, doing homework, dressing and feeding of kids, we the illiterate people do not do these things in this way. [female, age 27, 4 children, Punjab]

They [daughters] can join a job at their Susraal [husband's house] and can share the economic burden of husband. They can better raise their kids, can read and write letters. [female, age 36, 5 children, Punjab]

Girls can better lead their married life. No one knows about the coming misfortune, so the daughter would be able to face the hard circumstances. And if she remains illiterate, then what would she do? Her life would be spoilt. [female, age 30, 4 children, NWFF]

...educated girls can better keep the account and manage their household. They can raise their kids in a better way. [male, age 47, 9 children, Pur.jab]

...knowledge is wealth that can not be lost, but wealth can be lost any time. Specifically, knowledge is jewelry for girls that remains with them throughout their life. People ask for a dowry, but I think knowledge is better than a dowry. [female, age 30, 4 children, NWFF]

E) Benefits for Parents

Both shorter and longer-term advantages were mentioned as advantages of children's education for parents. Shorter-term benefits included helping keep family accounts and managing family businesses, respecting parents and understanding their rights, and getting a job to supplement household income or, in the case of daughters, for a dowry. In the longer term, more educated children could help support their parents in old age, give them pleasure (mothers in particular mentioned this), and give them a good name in the community, even after death.

Children support their parents in old age and provide them with food. But it depends on the fate that sons prove loyal or insincere. We can just invest on their upbringing and education. [female, age 31, 4 children, Pur.jab]

They will definitely bring income to us, as we are investing on their education during this hard time. [female, age 34, 7 children, NWFF]

They will respect and value me. [female, age 23, 4 children, NWFF]

They will manage the business. [male, age 40, 10 children, Pur.jab]

Children learn manners and respect their parents. They can be helpful for their parents in future. [male, age 40, 6 children, Pur.jab]

The girls are educated so that when they go to their husband's home, they bring up their children in a better way, which gives good name to the parents. And boys are educated so that when parents are old, they can lend a hand to them. [male, age 35, 4 children, NWFF]

When a child is at school the teacher teaches him about the rights and duties of a good person, Then a child gets aware of the rights of his parents and other family members. [male, age 51, 8 children, NWFF]

F) Disadvantages of Education

A few mothers and fathers mentioned disadvantages to education for girls. These were responses given to a prompt as to whether or not there were disadvantages:

I have not done any promotion of life by educating a girl but education of boys promotes our lives. It is not advantageous as such to educate a girl. [male, age 38, 8 children, Punjab]

Yes, higher education of daughters create problems for parents. She does not accept (to marry) uneducated guy of her family, but rather she may refuse and it will be insulting for her parents, whole family will get angry with her parents. [female, age 27, 4 children, Punjab]

Yes, higher education spoils the mind of girls and boys, they can get indulge in undesirable activities. Especially girls may develop friendship with boys. So they should not be given freedom for such activities. [female, age 36, 5 children, Punjab]

5.2.4. Assessment of Schools in the Community

At first glance, the responses to questions about quality and perceived changes in quality of schooling in the community seemed surprisingly inconsistent, with residents of the same community often giving contradictory answers. This may be partially explained by the fact that the questions posed did not differentiate between public and private schooling. It was clear from the responses that people were sometimes responding about public schools and sometimes about private schools. Furthermore, it was difficult for someone who never went to school or only went to school for a few years a long time ago to assess changes in quality. Fathers, who were much more educated than mothers who were interviewed, were more likely to talk about a decline in quality from an earlier time; mothers were more likely to see school quality as having improved.

Parents' view of school quality was affected by several criteria including: whether or not the teacher attended regularly and was properly supervised; the size of classes; the type of facilities; and the standards expected for students (sometimes judged by whether or not children could read or write). Many of the negative comments related to: absenteeism of teachers; large class sizes; poor physical facilities; teacher abuse of students, in the form of punishments or inappropriate chores; and declining standards, in terms of requirements for completion of a particular level. It was often clear from the context that these comments were primarily directed at the public schools. Some examples of negative comments on school quality follow:

Although the schools have building but no other facility is available there (for example, electricity, furniture, or rugs to sit on). [male, age 47, 9 children, Punjab]

Teachers try to teach well. But teachers are not local, and they come from far-flung villages, so they can not get to school in time. They have to face great problems during rains. [male, age 43, 6 children, NWFP]

...I have heard that teachers of these schools are locals. They do not treat the children properly and do not observe the right time. Male teachers are also locals. It is heard from other people that they get their personal tasks from children side by side. [female, age 37, 5 children, Punjab]

I think the standard of education has declined, now a student of Matric cannot properly read Urdu. We need to have Urdu medium schools. [male, age 47, 6 children, Punjab]

One major reason is that in the government schools, the number of children has increased, which the teacher can't control. Therefore, naturally the teacher's behavior has changed from what it used to be in the past; gradually the teachers have become useless. [male age 39, 8 children, NWFP]

Teachers do not just give proper attention to the children, though they come to school regularly, but they do not teach properly. You see, just a month is left, but teachers have started no preparation for examinations. They do not teach throughout the year, and when examinations are close, they start punishing children. What is the use of this punishment? If teachers teach throughout the year, then children can understand and learn better. If teachers do not teach well, then how children can learn? [female, age 31, 5 children, NWFP]

Earlier, teachers taught with dedication, and children worked hard as well. But now teachers pay no attention towards teaching, and consequently primary pass kids can not even write a letter. [female, age 33, 5 children, Punjab]

Now it has become the standard that the child of a poor family is failed despite his intelligence and ability. But incapable child of a well-off family gets high marks in exams without any hard work. [female, age 36, 5 children, Punjab]

When the schools were viewed positively, it was often because the teachers were regular in their attendance, set proper standards for the children, and did not abuse their position by taking advantage of the children. Some examples of positive comments on school quality follow.

I feel these days education is better as compared to past. Earlier, there was no uniform, but now children wear uniforms. Now children have to be punctual and regular at school. [female, age 31, 5 children, NWFP]

As both male and female teachers are regular so the students study, in case of absence of teacher how can students study. Female teacher resides in the same village, so they are regular. [male, age 52, 12 children, 2 wives, Punjab]

They teach well; their attitude is okay. They punish the students, but it is necessary. Otherwise they do not learn their lessons. [male, age 41, 5 children, NWFP]

The change has come that is, in past the teachers used to make the children do their personal work without payment, and now they can't do that so. But, in some underdeveloped areas, children are forced to work. [The] basic reason for that is there is no one to check them. [male, age 35, 4 children, NWFP]

Earlier, teachers had to come from far-off areas and wanted to get themselves transferred. But now teachers come from nearby villages so the studies are getting better. [male, age 52, 4 children, Punjab]

Finally, there was also a sense that the advent of private schools had changed the environment within the communities by giving parents more choice and also by creating competition. Several parents in high-performing districts only commented on improvements in the overall quality of schooling in the community since the advent of private schools:

Now, [the] standard of education has improved due to private schools. It has declined in government schools. [male, age 43, 3 children, NWFP]

A great change has occurred since the establishment of private schools in the last ten years. Teachers concentrate on teaching and the kids are becoming sharp in their studies. They [teachers] send messages to the parents about the progress of the kids in school so the parents become informed of the studies. They take care of their studies, and the teachers work hard as well. [female, age 30, 3 children, NWFP]

Now government schools concentrate on the education due to a sense of competition with private schools. Both try to show good results. This competition has brought a great change, and I like it. [female, age 30, 4 children, NWFP]

5.2.5 Advantages and Disadvantages of Private vs. Public School

Parents were asked their views about differences between private and public school and between English-medium and Urdu-medium schools. While English was not always the medium of instruction in private schools, it was only in private schools that English was spoken in class. Therefore, it appeared clear that people interpreted these questions to mean the same thing, mainly comparing private to public schools and associating private schooling with the more proper teaching of English. Putting aside for the moment the fact that private schools are often quite expensive and therefore not accessible to all, the majority view was that private schools were of better quality than public government schools. Many reasons were given for the perceived better quality of private schooling, including better facilities, more attentive teachers, better discipline, and more fluency in English (needed for future employment).

As the private schools charge higher fees, so the teachers teach with concentration, and parents send their kids to the school regularly, as they pay a price for them. [female, age 33, 6 children, Punjab]

There are strict rules in private schools. Children are restricted to punctuality, the gate is locked in the morning, and no child is allowed to leave earlier. While in government schools, children are not punctual. They come and leave the school whenever they want. Studies are irregular. [female, age 33, 5 children, Punjab]

Government schools have more leaves [days off], and they are irregular as well. While the private schools have fewer leaves, only on Sunday. In

government schools, teachers, including the students, take unnecessary leaves, for instance on the events of birth and death. It causes irregularity. [female, age 23, 4 children, NWFP]

A child faces no difficulty if he starts studying English during initial classes. Children in government schools face problems when they start learning English in class six. [female, age 33, 6 children, Punjab]

In private schools, parents have contact with teachers, while in government schools parents rarely contact the teachers. [male, age 35, 7 children, Punjab]

I think private schools are successful due to the sense of competition. Private schools have both male and female teachers who compete with each other and try to show good results, so consequently the studies are better there. [male, age 40, 6 children, Punjab]

There is no education in government schools. Now look at these books, the session is going to end and now these books are available in the market, then how can children read these books? [male, age 43, 3 children, NWFP]

...in government schools the teachers don't ask the students that they have understood the lesson or not, while in private schools the teachers work hard with students. They are given computer education and taught many other skills. The benefit of this is that after completing their education, they can produce their own living if they can't get government jobs. [male, age 35, 4 children, NWFP]

The child is happier in a private school because of good syllabus, environment, and teachers. The children are neat and clean there. Therefore, children are happier in that kind of environment. [male, age 39, 8 children, NWFP]

...people prefer English education because in Pakistan, people who know English get a job quickly, and everywhere English is given preference. [male, age 35, 4 children, NWFP].

Because it is the era of science, and everything is based in English language. Then it gets easy for a person to learn this scientific knowledge if he studies in English. [male, age 51, 8 children, NWFP]

However, some parents did not view private schools favorably, seeing them as just in business to make money and as having poorly qualified teachers (the later confirmed by the school inventory assessment). Also, they saw government schools as being more committed to equal opportunity for the rich and the poor.

In private schools children are promoted to the next class even if they know nothing. A student who has completed seven classes from government school has more knowledge than a higher level student of a private school.... [male, age 38, 8 children, Punjab]

I think government teachers can fully devote themselves to the teaching if they are checked but teachers in private school are not checked, there is no one to ask them. [male, age 39, 6 children, Punjab]

I mean, if a Nawab [ruler] establishes a school, then it is for the Nawabs [elites]. While the government school is equal for all, including poor and well-off people. [male, age 35, 6 children, NWFP]

Education is better in government schools because teachers concentrate on teaching. I feel the teachers of private schools are incompetent in their teaching...I teach in government school. When the students of private schools come to us, they are incompetent. Parents just want their kids to learn English, so they enroll the kids in private school. [female, age 40, 4 children, Punjab]

...however, English is not our language; it is just a subject, and our own language is good. There are some children who are afraid of English. [female, age 37, 5 children, Punjab]

I feel these days private schooling has become a business. They employ under-matric teachers who are paid 500 rupees per month. These teachers do not know how to teach properly. Above all, they have a single English book while the rest of the books are in Urdu. They just display the board of English medium schools; otherwise studies are of no use. Government schools are better in terms of education, as they charge low fees and even the poor can educate their kids in those schools." [female, age 37, 5 children, Punjab]

A few parents saw the flaws in both types of schools:

Private schools are a source of earning. They charge higher fees, but do nothing. However, the situation in government schools is worse than in private ones. The only advantage in government schools is that education is free of cost there. [male, age 37, 6 children, NWFP]

5.2.6 Reasons for Choosing a Particular School and Reasons for Withdrawal

The most common reason parents mentioned for selecting a particular school for their child was because it was the only choice or because it was either convenient to get to or nearby. The cost was also often mentioned as a factor, as was the availability and attentiveness of teachers. Data on enrollment in government schools suggests that, while government schools were always nominally either all boys' or all girls' schools, as reflected in the sex of their teaching staff, many government schools were *de facto* mixed which may reflect the preference of parents to send their children to the most convenient or proximate school, even when that meant sending a girl to a boys' school or a boy to a girls' school. The following are examples of reasons given for sending a child to a particular school.

Because other schools are far away, while these schools are nearer. [female, age 37, 5 children, Punjab]

Because this school has three masters [teachers] who teach with devotion, so studies are better. [female, age 42, 4 children, Punjab]

There is no other school. [female, age 31, 5 children, NWFP]

Main reason is that most of the people of this village are poor, and the studying in a government school is free of cost. That is the advantage for the people. [female, age 30, 6 children, NWFP]

This school is in the center of the village and is the nearest among all schools. That is why the majority attend this one. [female, age 23, 4 children, NWFP]

Because the government school is on the other side of railway line, we are afraid of the danger of train. That's why we prefer to send the children to private school, which is nearer. [male, age 47, 6 children, Punjab]

The primary reasons mentioned for withdrawing a child from school were related to the distance and cost, but teachers' attendance and attentiveness was mentioned as well in this regard. One major problem had to do with the fact that there were fewer secondary schools and therefore, continuation in post-primary school often meant considerable travel and cost from the family's village of residence. This was often seen as preventing girls from continuing because of the unacceptability of having girls travel too far from home.

[Sons] complained about the teachers, who gave physical torture, thus they left studies. [male, age 40, 8 children, Punjab]

Education has no disadvantage, my kids left studies as I could not afford their schooling expenses. [male, age 47, 6 children, Punjab]

Teachers come to the school twice a week, so my wife asked [my daughter] to leave the school. My daughter was keen for schooling. We asked the headmistress of primary school Batolni to get her enrolled in that school, but she refused, as she was now over-aged for the primary school. She was 14 at the time. [male, age 41, 5 children, NWFP]

...two [of my] daughters have left after getting primary education because there was no secondary school. That's why they couldn't continue.... [male, age 43, 6 children, NWFP]

Distance is the major hurdle, and people cannot send their daughters to the city. [female, age 31, 5 children, NWFP]

There wasn't any school here, and we didn't have enough money for her education as well. We tried for her admission, gathering books from different places and getting a certificate, but she didn't get that. I tried for her admission near my father's house, but she'd grown up and people said that it looks bad that a girl goes too far. And secondly, we couldn't bear her expenses. If we'd owned a car, it [would have been] okay. Therefore, her education is only up to six classes. [female, age 32, 7 children, NWFP]

5.2.7 Aspirations and Unmet Need for Schooling

Demographers are very experienced at asking about family size preferences but rarely ask about preferences, aspirations, or expectations with respect to children's education. One difficulty with such questions, particularly as loosely phrased in our discussion guide, is that the answer may depend not only on respondent's fertility preferences but also on the endowments of a particular living child and, therefore, are difficult to generalize to all children in the family. Another is that it is not always clear whether responses reflect true preferences abstracted from resource constraints or expectations based on economic realities. This is partially due to the fact that each child has unique endowments but also due to the fact that children of different ages may, in fact, face very different educational opportunities. Children past a certain age or children who have dropped out rarely have the opportunity to enter or reenter school, so parents are likely to be thinking of their children who are still currently enrolled or not yet old enough to attend school when answering questions on educational aspirations.

At a minimum, parents aspire to having their children complete matric but many aspire to much more, as indicated by the overall response to questions on educational aspirations. Given overall levels of educational attainment in Pakistan, this aspiration would imply a significant increase in attainment over past levels. Many parents, however, expect chance or fate to play an important role in attaining these educational aspirations; they also expect resources to be an important constraint on fulfilling these aspirations.

> *We wish our children to do M.A. and get useful degrees and courses. We say that our children may become doctors, but it is all the matter of fate. [female, age 37, 5 children, Punjab]*
>
> *I wish they would study matric at least. [female, age 33, 5 children, Punjab]*
>
> *I wish my sons would study up to 12 classes. Later depends on their will. [female, age 31, 4 children, Punjab]*
>
> *We want them to study up to B.A. but we have economic constraints. I pray may God bless us with enough money so we can educate kids up to the desired level. [male, age 39, 6 children, Punjab]*
>
> *It depends on God's will and on children's capability [to] what level they can study. I think my children will study up to F.Sc. and B.Sc. [male, age 43, 3 children, NWFP]*

While many parents espoused egalitarian principles when it came to educational aspirations for sons and daughters, a more careful reading of the evidence would suggest that most expected that their daughters would attain less education than their sons would. Practical reasons were often involved, such as the lack of availability of post-primary schools for girls in the community. There were a few exceptions, however, particularly among parents who had older sons and younger daughters. At an earlier phase of the life cycle, parents had greater financial constraints and children had fewer educational choices.

> *Parents attempt to educate both boys and girls equally, but I feel boys study more than girls. [male, age 46, 6 children, NWFP]*

The girls should get as much education as the boys. Both should be equally educated. [male, age 41, 10 children, NWFP]

...I want my daughters to study up to matric and sons up to M.A., but nothing can be said about the future because economic conditions may be improved or even worsen. [female, age 35, 5 children, Punjab]

Definitely she will study up to B.A., after which it depends on her. I hope my sons will study up to M.A. We will try and will help them to study more and more. [female, age 40, 4 children, Punjab; note-- respondent is a teacher]

I want my sons to be professor and doctor. Girls must study at least primary so that they can write letters. We will get them admitted in the vocational school if it would be established here. [female, age 36, 5 children, Punjab]

Yes, of course I would equally educate my daughters and sons. [female, age 30, 4 children, NWFP]

Here people don't educate girls. They consider it shameful to send their daughters to school. [female, age 29, 7 children, NWFP]

I want my children to get educated up to M.A. or F.A. level, and I want that girls should at least get education up to matric. [female, age 32,7 children, NWFP]

5.2.8 Desired Family Size and Reasons for Family Planning Adoption

When mothers and fathers were asked how many children they would have if they could start life over again, almost all reported a smaller number than the number of living children they currently had. It should be kept in mind that the parents involved in IDIs tended to be older and at a later stage of the family-building process. Typically, parents implied in their conversations that things had changed in ways that made it more difficult to raise the size of family that they currently had. Inflation was often mentioned, as well as a desire to provide better health and more education.

[If we have] two sons and two daughters. We will afford their expenses comfortably. They will get good level of education and get good job in current circumstances. [female, age 35, 5 children, Punjab]

If I keep in mind the current circumstances, then I stop childbearing just after two or one child. Inflation rate is very much high. [female, age 37, 5 children, Punjab]

I would like to have two sons and a daughter, as they would be enough during this inflation. Fewer the children, more prosperous the family would be. Children would get better education. Parents should be able to put attention on each child and to feed and clothe them properly. [female, age 33, 6 children, Punjab]

I would want four kids so they can be easily raised. It is better to properly raise fewer kids instead of spoiling large number of kids. [female, age 37, 5 children, Punjab]

These days one must have a son and a daughter. [male, age 52, 12 children, 2 wives, Punjab]

I would like to have just a son and a daughter. So that we can better educate them. [male, age 39, 6 children, Punjab]

Fewer children are better because it is difficult [to bring up] more children. [male, age 39, 8 children, NWFP]

I would want to have 5 children--3 sons and 2 daughters. [male, age 44, 5 children (3 daughters, 2 sons), NWFP]

Few respondents could identify any advantages to a big family, and those who could were primarily fathers. Many disadvantages were named such as the cost of food, clothing, and education, as well as other factors such as the health of the mother and family conflict.

...there is no benefit to having more kids. [male, age 52, 12 children, 2 wives, Punjab]

Parents of more children are in loss because neither they can pay attention to their children, nor they can educate them better. [male, age 43, 6 children, NWFP]

I think there should be fewer kids so that a man can meet the necessities of life at ease. Otherwise, if one has many kids, then [the] situation is that one has [a] shirt while [the] other one lacks shalwar [trousers]. [male, age 35, 6 children, NWFP]

...food is in the hands of Allah and his prophet, but for other expenses, God asks human beings to earn on their own. If the economic condition is strong more schooling can be provided to the children. [female, age 37, 5 children, Punjab]

These days, it is of no use to have more kids. The people who even do not have food to eat. How can they meet the expenses of large numbers of children? How can they afford the schooling expenses? [female, age 33, 6 children, Punjab]

...many disadvantages of more kids. Parents find it difficult to raise more kids. Mother's health gets spoiled due to multiple deliveries, and more kids trouble the mother that causes tension for her. [female, age 36, 5 children, Punjab]

More children aren't better for poor people because their expenses are many. For example, their schooling expenses will be more. More children cause more problems. If children are fewer [two or three], it is easier to care for them and to provide them the necessities of life. [female, age 29, 7 children, NWFP]

...children are the wealth of life. [male, age 40, 10 children, Punjab]

More kids are considered advantageous amongst us, as more kids strengthen the father, and they can assist in riots. [male, age 37, 6 children, NWFP]

The main reason given for the adoption of family planning was the costs of an additional child. Women also mentioned concerns about their health.

Because we could not bear the expenses of [an] additional child. [male, age 52, 12 children, 2 wives, Punjab]

Because these children are enough, ultimately we will have to bear the wedding expenses of the kids. [male, age 47, 6 children, Punjab]

Because I want to better educate my kids and to avoid economic crises. [male, age 35, 6 children, NWFP]

I wanted no more kids, so the surviving kids can be provided with proper food, dress, and education. If one has limited income, so obviously it would be difficult to raise the large number of kids, consequently the future gets ruined, and they will curse their parents. [female, age 40, 4 children, Punjab]

I thought these children were enough for me, and I was concerned about my health. A weak or unhealthy mother cannot take proper care of her children; she cannot perform her household responsibilities. So I decided to get sterilized. [female, age 33, 6 children, Punjab]

My father-in-law was sick, there was no one at home to do work except me and my mother-in-law. I was the only one to take care of the whole family, so I decided to adopt family planning. I wanted to take proper care of my kids. [female, age 30, 3 children, NWFP]

I am sick. I cannot take care of these kids. [female, age 23, 4 children, NWFP]

5.3 Conclusion

It is clear that things are changing in Pakistan. Responses from our study show that there were rising aspirations for children's schooling and a growing awareness of the costs of raising a child properly. There continued to be differences in parents' aspirations for boys and girls in terms of educational attainment, and a strong feeling that boys and girls do better in separate schools with same sex teachers. Education was valued for many reasons and there was a strong appreciation for all the social benefits of schooling for girls. Because in many communities the quality of schooling was poor, the parents had many complaints that included absent teachers, poor facilities, poor discipline, poor supervision, and poor results in terms of the development of basic skills. Because of the premium placed on going to school to access salaried employment, many placed a premium on learning English and, therefore, favored private schools even though some parents admitted their relatively poor quality. Parents strongly preferred schools to be nearby, particularly for girls, and often cited the lack of proximity of a girl's school as a reason why their daughter either never went to school or did

not go on to the next level. Most parents regretted their current family size and felt they could have managed their lives better and provided better for their children, given current economic circumstances, if they had had fewer children.

CHAPTER 6
INVESTMENTS IN CHILDREN AND FAMILY-BUILDING STRATEGIES

6.1 Introduction

The primary purpose of this study was to see if there was any link between recent changes in family-building behavior and investments in children as demonstrated through quality and levels of schooling. This chapter deals with these links. First, the discussion focuses on schooling behavior in the different locations, then on family-building behavior, and finally on the links between the two. It is worth pointing out that there are two levels for making the linkages: the community level and the individual or family level. Both of these are utilized in the chapter.

6.2 Findings

6.2.1 Schooling Levels

As was elaborated in the earlier section on schooling quality in the communities, there are significant differences in the quantity and quality of schools in the 12 survey settings. The number of schools across sites ranged from 2 to 8 and there were areas, such as Kakul, where girls had almost equal access to schooling as boys, and at the other extreme, Kotla Drigh, where there was practically no access for girls. Quality, in terms of the availability of options between public and private schools, varied considerably. These features represented the supply of schools for children and were thought to affect community-level access for children in the various communities. Also important were the demand-side factors, such as the motivation of parents to send their children to school and for children themselves to be motivated to study. These, in turn, were affected by the cost and value of schooling as perceived generally within the different communities. But these also varied by family characteristics and those of individual children. Particularly important in this regard were social and economic characteristics of parents and families and the gender and birth order of individual children.

There were major differences in the levels of schooling in the 12 sites; these were also evident when the sites were grouped together into the 6 districts. As pointed out earlier, the guiding factor in the selection of the sites, particularly the districts, was the Pakistan Integrated Household Survey of 1995-96.[6] Table 6.1 contains the comparison from the two surveys of the proportion currently in school for two age groups, 5 to 9 and 10 to 14, since these are the ages when children attend primary school. There were significant differences in the schooling levels observed across the two sets of data. The schooling levels were notably higher in our survey than the PIHS with few exceptions. Reasons for this difference could be real, based on actual changes in schooling levels in the year-and-a-half between surveys, but were more likely due to differences in sample size and some differences in definition of the boundaries of the primary sampling units.

[6] It should be noted that the PIHS typically used a cluster of about 20 households per sampling unit while in this survey 60 households were interviewed. This survey is, therefore, likely to be less influenced by sampling errors.

Table 6.1: Comparison of proportions attending school, by community, according to age group, Education and Family-Building Survey and PIHS 1995-96

Province/district/community	Ages 5-9		Ages 10-14	
	Education	PIHS	Education	PIHS
Punjab	53.1	49.5	56.9	50.5
Sialkot				
Dhadho Basra	65.8	61.1	73.0	78.6
Ramgarha	84.4	75.0	69.8	83.3
DG Khan				
Guddai	60.3	70.0	66.1	47.1
Noorpur	50.0	50.0	51.2	35.7
Rahim Yar Khan				
Feroza	30.4	22.2	49.0	40.0
Kotla Drigh	23.3	11.8	22.0	17.7
NWFP	62.7	65.1	65.1	59.5
Abbottabad				
Tarmuchian	70.0	85.0	63.0	69.6
Kakul	93.8	93.3	92.3	66.7
Karak				
Duresh Khel	52.1	57.1	57.3	57.9
Mandawa	58.4	69.6	68.8	66.7
Swat				
Islampur	57.1	53.6	49.3	38.5
Alaabad	69.7	50.0	67.7	64.7

A couple of points are worth noting. There were striking differences between the pairs of communities chosen within the districts, reflecting inter-community variation in schooling levels both in the PIHS and, especially, in the education survey. Ranking in terms of schooling levels is similar in the PIHS and the Education and Family Building Survey for Punjab. In Punjab, Rahim Yar Khan still contained the community with the lowest schooling levels (Kotla Drigh) and Sialkot had the highest schooling levels (Dhadho Basra and Ramgarha). However, in NWFP, while Abbottabad remained the education survey's 'high schooling' district, and contained the community with the highest level of schooling (Kakul), ranking of the four communities in Swat and Karak was ambivalent.

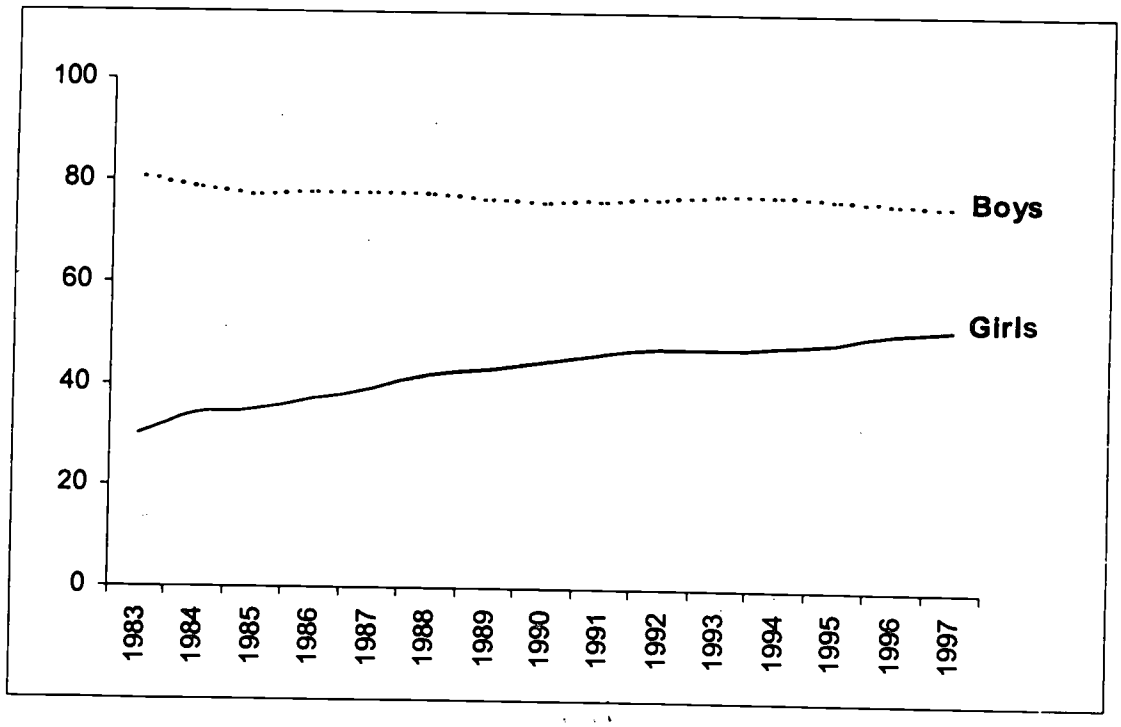
Gender differences in levels of schooling were striking across all of the sites. Table 6.2 shows that, with the notable exceptions (Dhadho Basra and Guddai) in Punjab, boys were much more likely to be currently attending school than girls. This was the case particularly in the North West Frontier Province. The one community where, in fact, there was hardly any differential by gender in school attendance in NWFP was Kakul in Abbottabad.

Table 6.2: Gender differentials in proportions currently in school, by community, according to age groups

Province/community	Ages 5-9				Ages 10-14			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Punjab								
Dhadho Basra	54.1	(37)	77.8	(36)	75.0	(36)	71.1	(38)
Ramgarha	86.1	(36)	82.9	(41)	60.0	(30)	82.6	(23)
Guddai	53.8	(39)	67.6	(34)	55.2	(29)	77.8	(27)
Noorpur	48.3	(29)	51.6	(31)	65.0	(20)	38.1	(21)
Feroza	29.4	(34)	31.4	(35)	53.8	(26)	44.0	(25)
Kotla Drigh	31.6	(38)	9.1	(22)	33.3	(18)	15.6	(32)
NWFP								
Tarmuchian	86.5	(37)	51.5	(33)	80.0	(25)	42.9	(21)
Kakul	95.6	(45)	90.0	(20)	93.5	(31)	90.5	(21)
Duresh Khel	78.4	(51)	22.2	(45)	94.4	(36)	23.1	(39)
Mandawa	75.5	(49)	42.3	(52)	97.6	(41)	38.5	(39)
Islampur	68.3	(41)	41.4	(29)	71.8	(39)	21.9	(32)
Alaabad	77.5	(40)	61.1	(36)	95.8	(24)	50.0	(38)

The picture presented thus far has been a static one, based on current schooling levels by age and gender, as was the case at the end of 1997. The data, however, also allow for a retrospective look. Due to the distinct advantage of having collected both birth and education histories, it is possible to construct cohort and period rates of schooling in conjunction with one another. Both cohort and period trends of girls and boys ages 6-14 have been evaluated to look at the influences of age, gender, and calendar periods on the chances

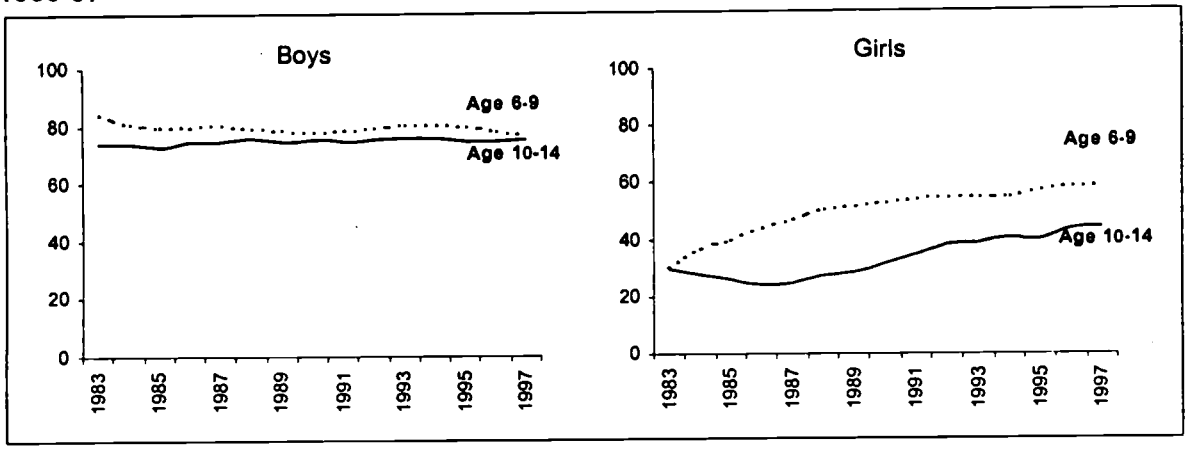
Figure 6.1: Proportion of children (6-14) attending school, by gender, 1983-97



of being currently in school. Figure 6.1 presents these trends and shows the dramatic rise in girls' schooling after the 1986 period. Boys' schooling has remained firmly static at levels below mass schooling. There is, therefore, a distinct improvement in the trends in girls' schooling, and their chances of schooling are moving toward greater equality with boys. As was pointed out in an earlier table, there were communities where the schooling rates for girls exceeded those of boys, but those were exceptions to the prevailing inequalities faced by girls. The fact that there has been much less improvement in the schooling rates of boys has had the effect of narrowing the gender gap in schooling over the past 15 years.

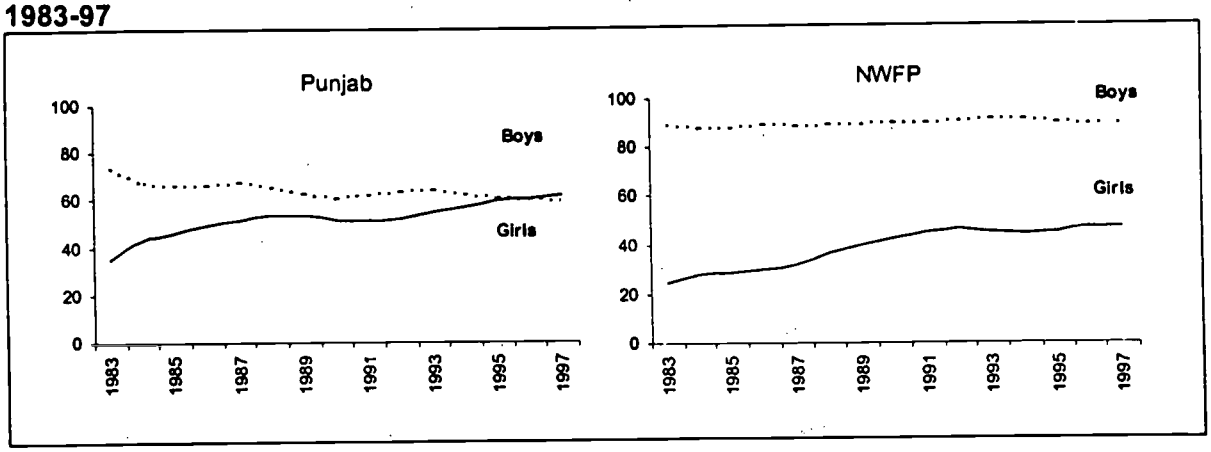
Younger girls in particular are benefiting from both cohort and period effects and have

Figure 6.2: Proportion of children (6-14) attending school, by age cohort and gender, 1983-97



a much higher chance of attending school than older cohorts and even the same cohort in the pre-1988 period. Figure 6.2 shows the proportions in school for two cohorts, 6-9 and 10-14, for boys and girls separately. Younger girls were even more likely to be in school, which of course is not surprising as there was greater attrition of older girls from school. But the

Figure 6.3: Proportion of children (6-14) attending school, by gender and province, 1983-97

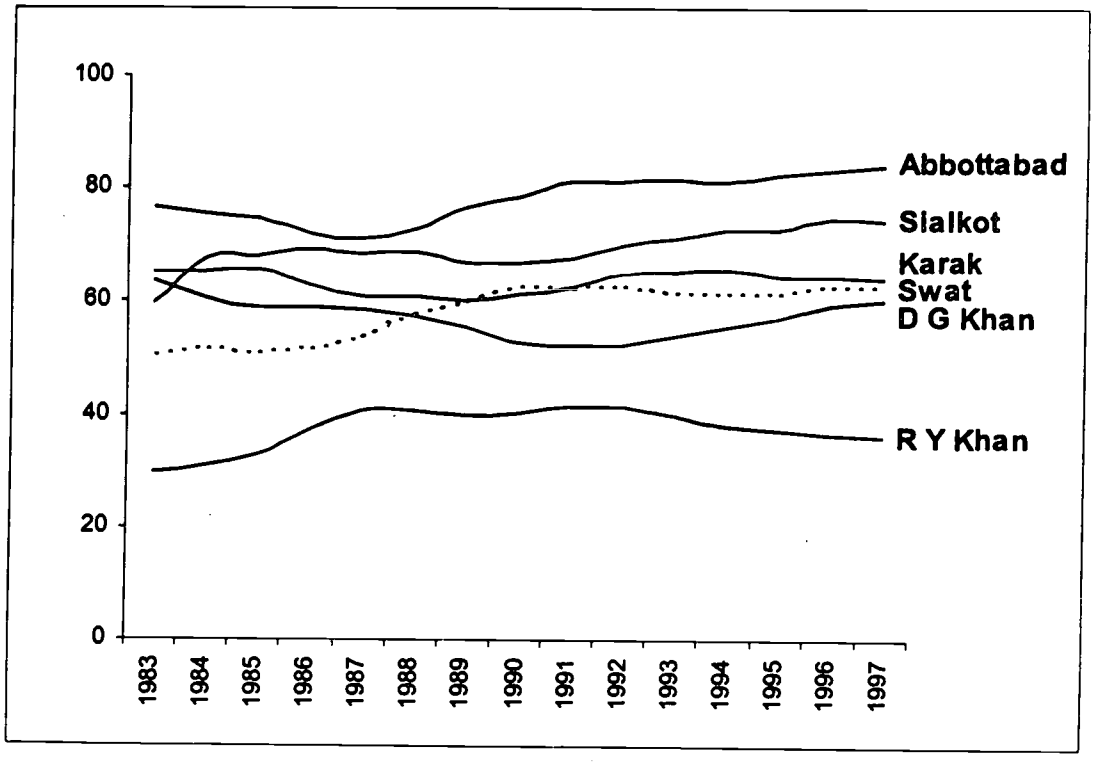


schooling rates of younger girls went up dramatically, while the increase for younger boys was much more stagnant if not declining.

Next is a look at inter-provincial differences in schooling by gender. (Figure 6.3) Girls schooling chances have risen steeply in the past 15 years. Thus the gender differential in Punjab narrowed and girls' enrollment has in fact surpassed that of boys. But this is at the cost of a substantial decline in boys schooling rates in Punjab. Girls in NWFP demonstrated the more remarkable rise in schooling rates. The gender gap is glaring in NWFP despite the remarkable rise in schooling rates of girls. This is because boys schooling rates have remained almost static.

As pointed out in the detailed discussion on schooling quality in Chapter 4, there were distinct differences in the schooling environment across the 12 communities and the 6 districts. In particular, there had been recent improvements in the schooling environment for girls across most districts. To some extent the quality of schools also reflected the desire of community members for better quality education as seen through the rise in private schools in areas where schooling rates were high and rising (e.g., Abbottabad, Swat, and Sialkot). Figure 6.4 shows schooling patterns across the 6 districts and the rising trend, most noticeable in the

Figure 6.4: Proportion of children (6-14) attending school, by district, 1983-97



last ten years, in Abbottabad, Sialkot, Karak, and Swat. While DG Khan showed some rise in the last 5 years, Rahim Yar Khan demonstrated the least change in schooling rates in the last decade. The ranking of schooling rates overall was higher for the 3 districts of NWFP than they were for Punjab, because of much higher rates for boys in NWFP.

The disaggregated patterns of schooling by gender presented a different scenario with girls catching up and surpassing boys in 2 districts of Punjab (Sialkot and DG Khan). (Figure 6.5) The situation was different in NWFP where schooling rates for boys continued to be much higher than for girls. At the same time the rate of increase in schooling rates for girls in NWFP was higher than for boys. This was particularly apparent in Abbottabad where the gender gap was the narrowest and the rise in girls' schooling was the most dramatic in relation to all districts. It ought to be pointed out that Abbottabad is the only Hindko speaking area in NWFP. The language spoken is close to the adjoining areas of Punjab and distinctly different to the Pushto speaking districts of Swat and Karak. In summation, there are clear spatial patterns in schooling patterns, which are to some extent reflective of differential investment strategies across these areas. While communities in Punjab move toward greater equality in investment in children's schooling, the districts of NWFP depict stronger historical trends of investments in boys' schooling. This is further displayed in the stark differential patterns in individual communities seen in Figures 6.6a and 6.6b.

Figure 6.5: Proportion of children (6-14) currently in school, by district and gender, 1983-97

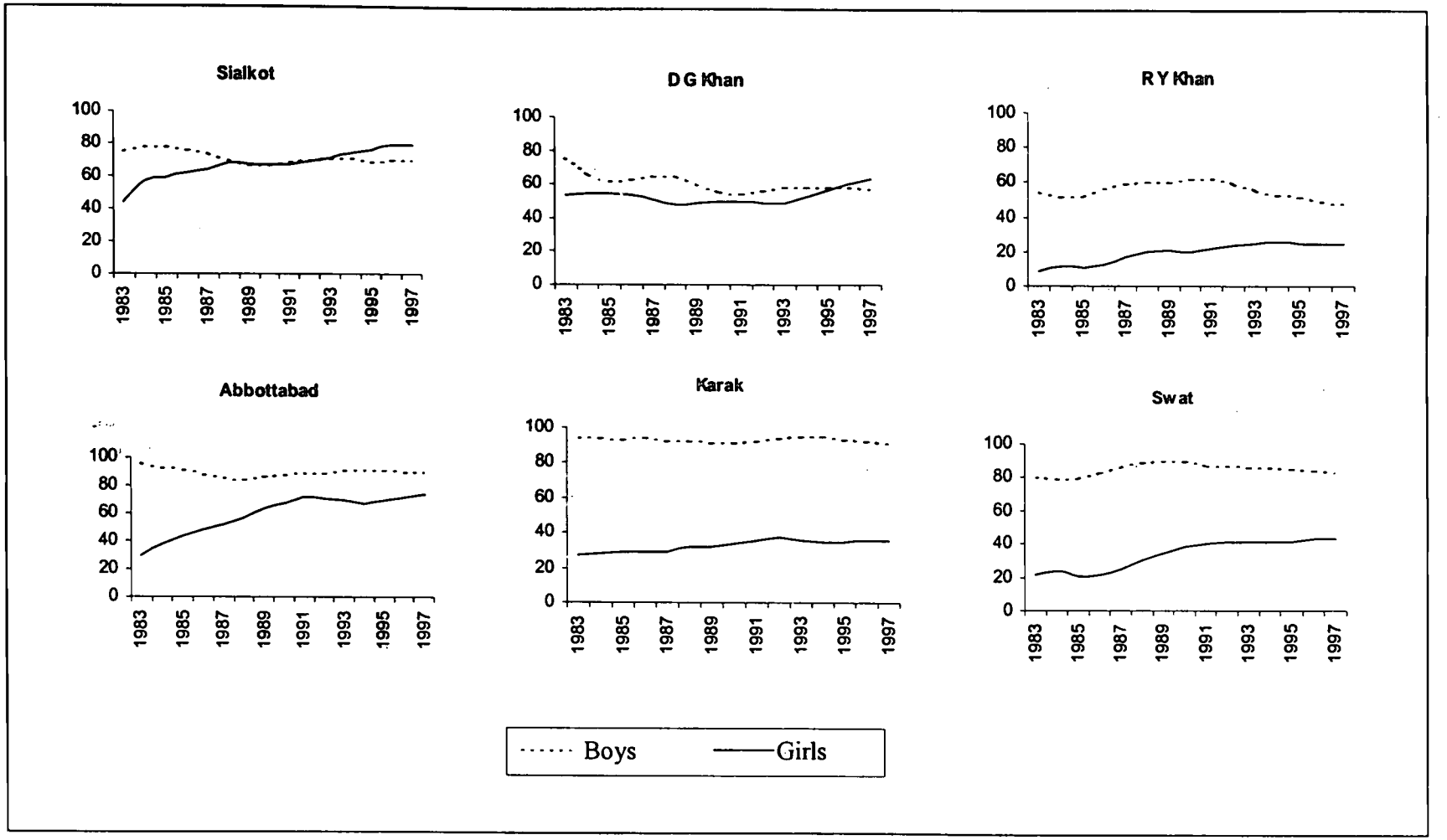


Figure 6.6a: Proportion of children (5-14) currently in school, by community and gender, 1982-97

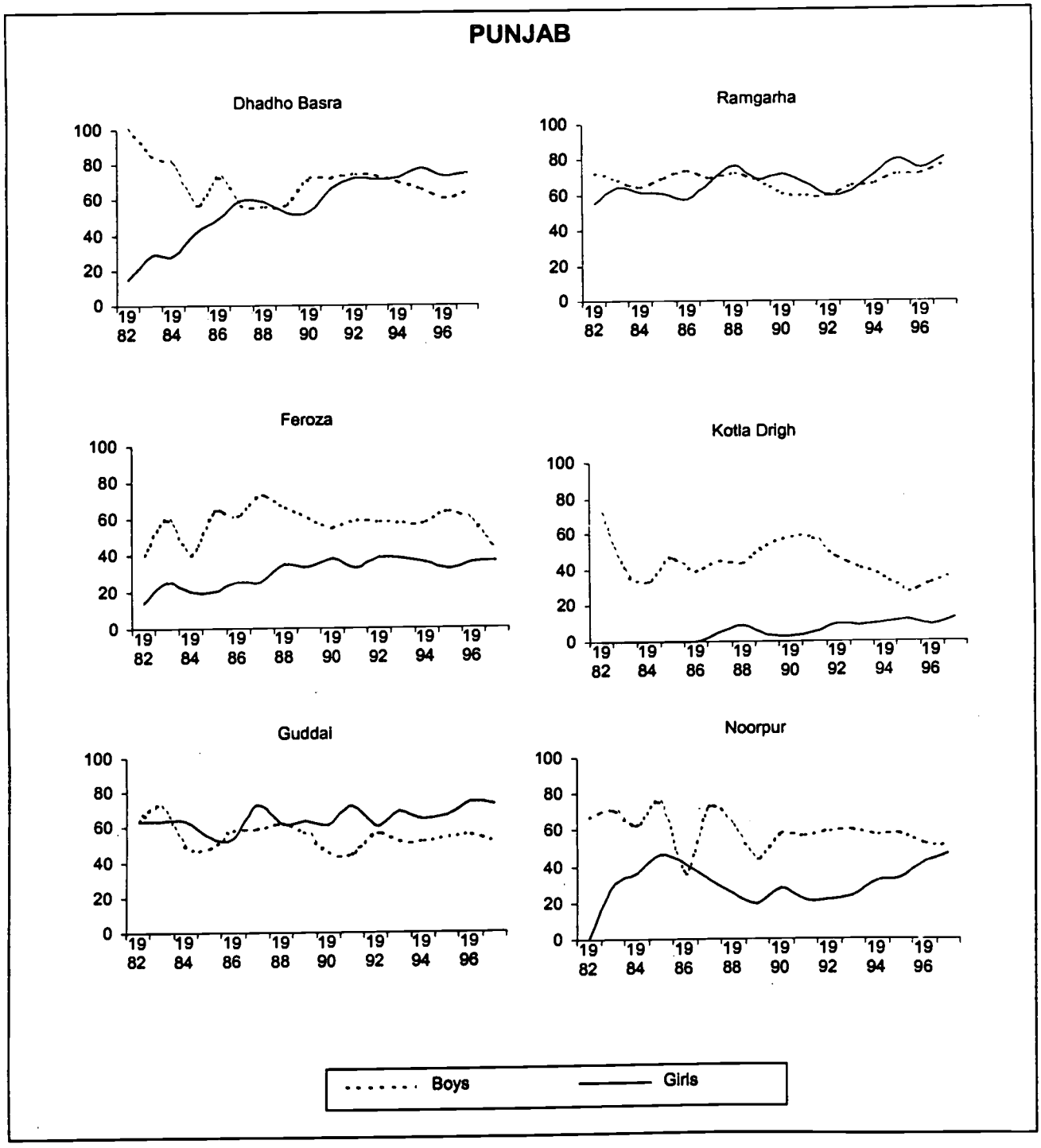
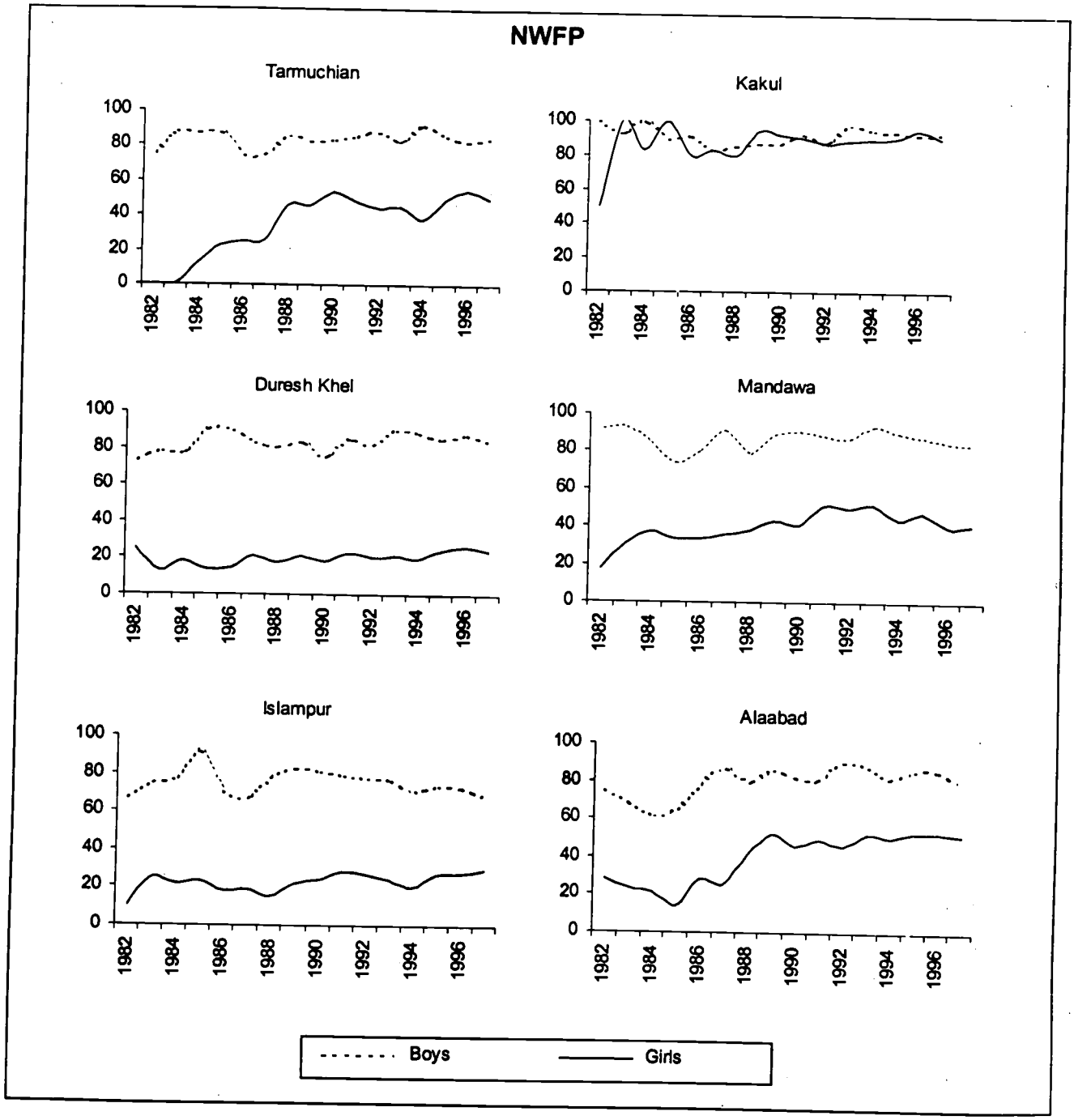


Figure 6.6b: Proportion of children (5-14) currently in school, by village and gender, 1982-97



On the demand side, one of the most important influences was expected to be parental education (in light of previous research on the determinants of children's schooling: Sathar and Lloyd 1994, Burney and Irfan 1991). In Table 6.3 schooling attendance by fathers' and mothers' schooling and consumption quartiles are presented. The association between schooling of children and parental education, particularly mothers' education, was much stronger than the household consumption level effect. The chances of being currently in school were significantly enhanced, and those of dropping out or never attending school were thereby reduced, especially when mothers had more than five years of schooling (100 percent of boys and 90 percent of girls were in school in that category). While consumption levels did make a difference, it was particularly apparent that households in the poorest quartile were the ones with the most significantly reduced schooling chances and the highest drop out and never attendance (only 65 percent of boys and 37 percent girls were in school in the lowest quartile compared to 85 and 60 percent, respectively, in the highest quartile). The income and maternal education effects appeared to be stronger for girls.

Table 6.3: Schooling rates, by selected parental characteristics and gender

	Boys				Girls			
Characteristic	Currently in school	Left school	Never attended	(N)	Currently in school	Left school	Never attended	(N)
Fathers' schooling								
0	61.8	20.8	17 4	(144)	33.6	13.6	52.9	(140)
1-5	71.4	18.4	10.2	(49)	52 7	16.4	30.9	(55)
6+	88.5	6.4	5 1	(156)	57 9	20 1	22.0	(159)
Mothers' schooling								
0	73.5	14.3	12.2	(294)	38 9	18.1	43.1	(288)
1-5	80.9	14.9	4.3	(47)	81.3	12.5	6.3	(48)
6+	100.0	0.0	0.0	(14)	90.0	10.0	0.0	(20)
Consumption level								
1	65.5	17.9	16.7	(84)	36.8	17.9	45.3	(95)
2	77.4	12 9	9.7	(93)	38.6	20.5	41.0	(83)
3	76.4	16.9	6 7	(89)	56.6	15.7	27.7	(83)
4	84.6	6.4	9.0	(78)	59.3	12.8	27 9	(86)
Total	75.9	13.7	10.5	(344)	47.6	16 7	35.7	(347)

Demographic characteristics were also likely to influence schooling chances. Research on the association between a higher family size and birth order effects and schooling is quite extensive (Lloyd 1994: 181-202). However, a review of the literature based exclusively on the results of empirical studies using multivariate analyses, provides mixed evidence on the issue. In data from this study which are based entirely on crosstabulations rather than regression analysis at this point, birth order is negatively associated with enrollment only for girls, with those who were born after 4 siblings having a significantly enhanced chance of being in school currently. (Table 6.4) Associations of enrollment with parity are also more apparent for girls: among mothers who had a larger number of children (6 +), daughters' school attendance was significantly reduced. Mothers' age has contrary associations for boys and girls. Older mothers were more likely to have girls in school while younger mothers were more likely to have boys in school. Overall, demographic factors seemed to be more associated with girls' schooling than boys' schooling.

Table 6.4: Schooling rates, by selected demographic characteristics and gender

Characteristic	Boys				Girls			
	Currently in school	Left school	Never attended	(N)	Currently in school	Left school	Never attended	(N)
Age of mother								
< 30	83.8	5.4	10.8	(37)	38.5	20.5	41.0	(39)
30-39	78.6	13.2	8.2	(220)	47.2	17.0	35.8	(229)
40 +	65.3	18.4	16.3	(98)	52.3	14.8	33.0	(88)
Order of birth								
1-2	76.6	13.1	10.2	(137)	45.1	20.3	34.6	(153)
3-4	78.3	13.0	8.7	(115)	40.5	16.4	43.1	(116)
5+	70.9	15.5	13.6	(103)	60.9	11.5	27.6	(87)
Parity of mother								
1-3	70.0	10.0	20.0	(10)	66.7	16.7	16.7	(12)
4-5	80.6	16.1	3.2	(62)	56.9	20.0	23.1	(65)
6 +	74.6	13.4	12.0	(283)	44.4	16.1	39.4	(279)
Total	75.5	13.8	10.7	(355)	47.5	16.9	35.7	(356)

6.2.2 The Tradeoff between Child Schooling and Work

The premise of this study is that changes in schooling reflect greater investments in children and are an indicator of the beginning of the tradeoff between the numbers of children and their quality. (Knodel 1993) There is another dimension, however, of valuation of children in traditional and developing economies such as Pakistan, and that is the expectation that children will supplement household income and enhance its survival. Earlier work in similar settings (in India and Bangladesh) shows the importance of children, particularly sons, for household labor and income (Vlassoff and Vlassoff 1980). While schooling was considered a positive investment in children's futures, and perhaps indicative of long-term expectations, children's labor at early ages is utilized to fulfill immediate household needs. Children are either pulled out of school or not sent at all so that they could contribute to the household's economic survival instead. In fact, the mechanism may be more complicated in that children might be doing both, that is attending school and working, or doing neither. The national data point quite glaringly toward the complicated situation of child labor in Pakistan. (Durrant 1999, Kazi 1998)

Table 6.5: Child work, by location and gender (10-14 year olds)

Location	Boys		Girls	
	%	(N)	%	(N)
Punjab				
Sialkot	33.3	(66)	11.5	(61)
DG Khan	18.4	(49)	17.0	(47)
RY Khan	18.2	(44)	33.3	(57)
NWFP				
Abbottabad	5.6	(54)	0.0	(41)
Karak	0.0	(77)	3.8	(78)
Swat	17.5	(63)	15.7	(70)

Work is defined in this study as activity other than household work, paid or unpaid. Children's work was much more common among boys, and in the older age groups of 10-14. (Table 6.5) While girls' participation in work was quite prevalent in Punjab it was minimal in NWFP. While the work participation rates of girls and boys were fairly similar in DG Khan for ages above 10, they were in fact higher for girls in Rahim Yar Khan. This was because this is a cotton growing area and reflective of a demand for waged agricultural work among women and girls. Also surprisingly high was the percent for boys in Sialkot (a high education area), at 33 percent.

Table 6.6: Child work, by selected sociodemographic characteristics and gender (10-14 year olds)

	Boys		Girls	
Characteristic	%	(N)	%	(N)
Mothers' education				
0	16.0	(293)	15.0	(286)
1-5	10.9	(46)	10.4	(48)
6 +	7.1	(14)	0.0	(20)
Fathers' education				
0	24.3	(144)	19.4	(139)
1-5	14.6	(48)	13.0	(54)
6 +	7.1	(155)	8.8	(159)
Consumption quartiles				
1	17.9	(84)	26.3	(95)
2	12.9	(93)	11.0	(82)
3	17.9	(88)	7.3	(82)
4	11.7	(77)	9.3	(86)
Birth order				
1-2	15.4	(136)	17.6	(153)
3-4	12.3	(114)	10.4	(115)
5 +	17.5	(103)	10.5	(86)
Parity of mother				
1-3	10.0	(10)	0.0	(12)
4-5	13.1	(61)	10.9	(64)
6 +	15.6	(282)	14.7	(278)
Total	15.0	(353)	85.0	(354)

This is due to the concentration of industrial activity and related demand for waged workers in that district.

Child work was greater among those who had uneducated fathers and mothers, and who were placed in the lowest consumption quartile. (Table 6.6) One of the most interesting results was in the poorest families, with girls working more than boys. While birth-order effects were not prominent, they were again in reverse order for boys and girls. However, both boys and girls whose mothers had had 6 or more children were likelier to work. This could partly be a household formation effect, with children growing up when parents had attained their full family size. These are at a greater risk of the need to supplement household income.

6.2.3 Reproductive Intentions

There were distinct differences between the reproductive intentions of women in the 6 districts. (Table 6.7) The ideal family size varied from 3.3 in Sialkot and Abbottabad to almost 5 in Swat. Proportions of women who wanted no more children after 4-5 births varied from 50 percent in Rahim Yar Khan to 82 percent in Abbottabad.

Table 6.7: Reproductive intentions, by district

District	Ideal family size	(N)	Wants no more children after 4-5 births	(N)
Punjab				
Sialkot	3.3	(98)	66.7	(24)
DG Khan	3.9	(100)	61.3	(31)
RY Khan	4.1	(73)	50.0	(24)
NWFP				
Abbottabad	3.3	(98)	81.8	(33)
Karak	4.7	(115)	67.9	(28)
Swat	4.9	(106)	69.6	(23)

Yet another indicator of reproductive change is the level of "wantedness of fertility." Respondents were asked if each successive birth was wanted then, wanted later, or not wanted at all by the parent. (Table 6.8) A word of warning is warranted about answers to wantedness of births back in time. Westoff and Bankole (1998) have described the fragility of responses to such questions over time. However, earlier work has shown the potential importance of changes in wantedness status of children on other outcomes such as schooling and child survival (Montgomery et al. 1998).

Table 6.8: "Wantedness" of each birth, by time period and gender

Time period/gender	Wanted then	Wanted later	Not wanted at all	(N)
1983-87	62.1	30.7	7.2	(691)
1988-92	54.8	31.5	14.1	(894)
Son	54.8	32.5	12.7	(480)
Daughter	54.8	29.5	15.7	(414)
1993-97	56.0	27.3	16.7	(845)
Son	59.1	27.6	13.2	(416)
Daughter	52.9	27.0	20.0	(429)

In recent years trends in the wantedness status of births have sharply diverged for boys and girls. Girls born in the last 5 years had, in fact, less of a chance of being declared wanted by their parents than boys. One-fifth of the births of girls in this period were not wanted as compared to 13 percent of boys (Figure 6.7). This sharpening of gender preference of children is reflective of strong son preference, which heightens choices when parents do begin to put an upper limit to family size (KIHASA 1997).

Figure 6.7: "Wantedness" of children at the time of birth, by gender, 1983-97

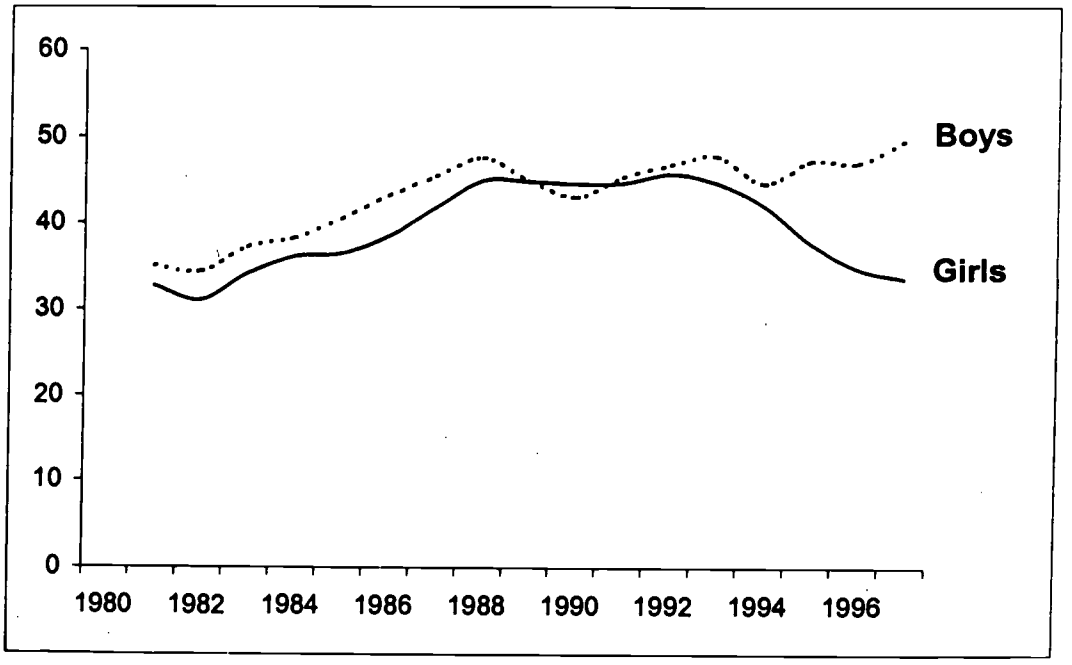


Table 6.9: Children's (10-14) school and work status, by their wantedness

Gender/ Wantedness	Status				
	School only	Work only	Both school and work	Neither school nor work	(N)
Boy					
Then	71.9	12.2	2.7	13.1	(227)
Later	66.3	14.9	3.0	15.8	(101)
Not at all	95.2	0.0	4.8	0.0	(21)
Total	71.7	12.2	2.9	13.1	(349)
Girl					
Then	43.9	13.7	1.9	40.6	(216)
Later	45.8	8.4	0.9	44.9	(107)
Not at all	34.5	3.4	6.9	55.2	(29)
Total	43.7	11.2	2.0	43.1	(352)

The 'wantedness' status of children had little association with schooling rates for boys. (Table 6.9). Girls who were unwanted were less likely to be attending school than those who were wanted. At the same time, girls who were not wanted at all were also less likely to be working. This association is also to be found between boys wantedness and their work status. A part of the motivation for stating that children were wanted may arise out of the value attached to children who can contribute to household income and not necessarily because parents want to invest in children's education. The table reveals a stronger relationship between unwantedness of children and their not attending school nor doing any work. Needless to say a higher proportion of girls than boys fell into this category. Thus, 55 percent of girls who were unwanted at the time of birth were neither working nor attending school compared to 41 percent who were wanted at the time of birth.

6.2.4 Reproductive Behavior

As pointed out in the problem statement, Pakistan is at the beginning of its fertility transition. In all probability fertility began to decline in the late 1980's; Punjab and NWFP provinces are believed to have led the change (Sathar and Casterline 1998). However, urban change has been more dramatic and occurred earlier and the sample for this study was primarily made up of rural settings. Thus, reproductive change may not have become fully apparent, therefore the expectation would be that data from this study would show only the beginnings of change if any change has in fact occurred. Full birth histories were collected for this study so it is possible to look at several fertility measures, both currently and back in time.

As in the case of schooling there are clear differences in family-building behavior across the 6 districts. This was manifested in differences in the past five years in contraceptive prevalence, mean children ever born, and marital fertility rates. The 6 districts are at distinctly different points of the fertility transition (Figure 6.8). Table 6.10 shows considerable variation in the contraceptive prevalence rates across districts. Abbottabad and Sialkot, the 2 districts with highest levels of schooling, also had higher contraceptive prevalence rates. The exception was Swat, which demonstrated much higher contraceptive prevalence than would have been expected based on its development and schooling rankings. The contraceptive prevalence rates for rural Punjab (22.3) and for rural NWFP (15.6) were clearly lower than prevalence rates found in the Education Survey (Hakim et al. 1998).

Table 6.10: Reproductive behavior by district

Province/district	Children ever born (CEB)	Contraceptive prevalence rate (CPR)	Parity at first use	Unmet need	(N)
Punjab					
Sialkot	5.1	38.8	3.9	62.3	(98)
DG Khan	4.6	15.6	4.8	88.6	(100)
RY Khan	5.5	9.0	3.7	87.1	(73)
NWFP					
Abbottabad	4.2	37.6	3.4	58.1	(98)
Karak	5.5	15.4	5.5	81.0	(115)
Swat	5.3	44.0	4.5	51.6	(106)

Furthermore, contraceptive use was adopted by women in Sialkot and Abbottabad at lower parities than in other districts, with the exception of Rahim Yar Khan (though Rahim Yar Khan was based on less than 20 cases). Contraceptive prevalence was high in Swat but, on average, contraceptives were first adopted after 4.5 children. The mean number of children ever born also varies, with much lower fertility in Abbottabad, followed by DG Khan. The range of mean children ever born is from a high of 5.5 in Rahim Yar Khan and Karak to 4.2 in Abbottabad. Unmet need for contraception, as defined by the proportion of women who did not want their last birth or wanted to postpone it but were not using any contraception, is also presented for the 6 districts in

Figure 6.8: Contraceptive prevalence rates (standardized for age) by village

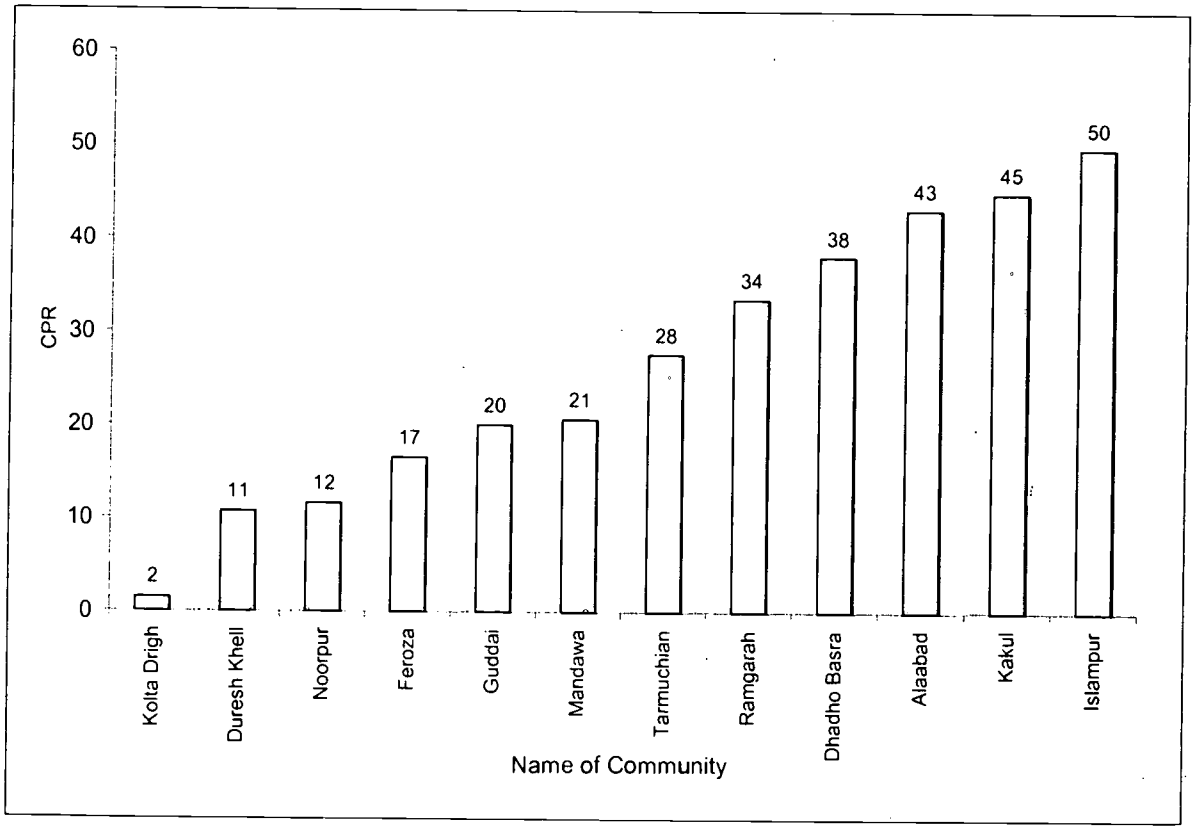


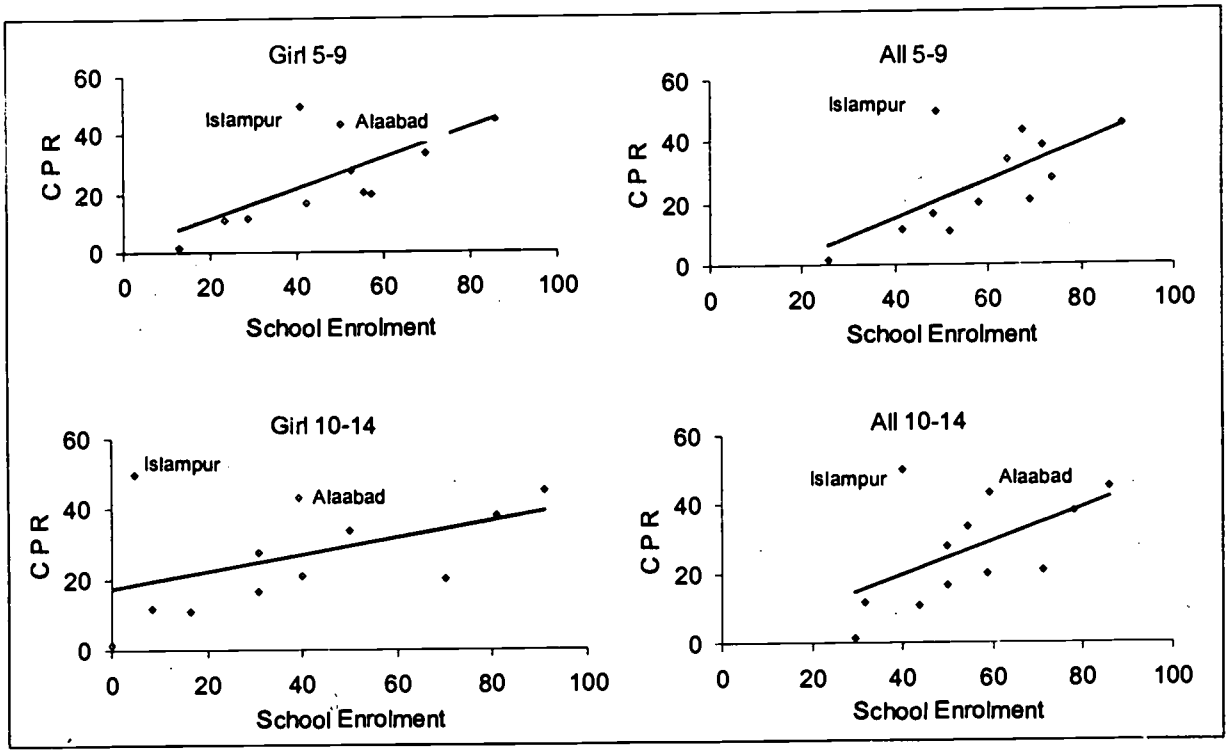
Table 6.10. To refine this measure, the women who were infecund were excluded but the differences were again considerable. Unmet need ranged from 52 percent in Swat, a place with high contraception and relatively high fertility preferences, to 89 percent in DG Khan, where reproductive intentions and behavior were least well matched. Unmet need was low in Abbottabad too, where fertility intentions were low and contraceptive use was high.

6.2.5 Links between Schooling Behavior and Family Building

An important motivation for this investigation was to look at linkages between schooling of children and fertility change. The link between schooling of children and family-building strategies was investigated and found to be complex but visible. Communities that had overall higher schooling enrollments were the very ones with higher contraceptive prevalence rates. Evidence has already been presented demonstrating that the communities were ranked quite diversely in terms of schooling levels and fertility. In Figure 6.9 the values for enrollment rates 5 years before the survey and the contraceptive prevalence rates for the 12 communities have been plotted in a regression line.

While schooling levels varied from 22 to 92 percent for children aged 10-14 and from 33 to 94 percent among 5-9 year olds, the contraceptive prevalence rates also ranged between 2 and 50 percent. (Figure 6.9) With the notable exception of the communities in Swat, there appeared to be a strong association between schooling levels and contraceptive prevalence rates (standardized for age). The communities located in Abbottabad and Sialkot, which also had the

Figure 6.9: Scatterplot of contraceptive prevalence rates and schooling rates for 12 communities, 1992



highest enrollment rates, also had the highest contraceptive prevalence. The more anomalous result is really the high levels of contraceptive prevalence in Islampur and Alaabad located in Swat. While enrollment rates have been on the rise they are hardly at the level of universality and girls are trailing far behind. At the other end, the districts with the lowest enrollment rates also trail behind in their levels of contraceptive prevalence. Rahim Yar Khan, DG Khan and Karak depict this end of the spectrum. In Figure 6.9 we are looking at the association of contraceptive prevalence with both enrollment rates of children aged 5-9 and 10-14 and then girls separately. While the fit is much better with all children as the independent variable, it is possible that girls' schooling may be carrying more weight in terms of explaining variation in contraceptive prevalence.

The association between contraceptive prevalence and children's schooling is strong with both the lagged and unlagged[7] schooling enrollment rates. The regression fit as well as the slope of the line indicates that the lagged rates explain a greater part of the variation in contraceptive prevalence rates. This is some indication of causality between a rise in investments in children, demonstrated by rising school enrollment rates five years earlier, and current contraceptive use rates. Communities clearly influence parents' attitudes toward their children's schooling and toward reproductive intentions and behavior. In particular, this is likely to affect girls' schooling because of the relatively scarcer availability of girls' schools.

Perhaps the more critical recent change, which has brought about the onset of fertility transition, has been the greater investments in girls' schooling. There is a realization on the part of parents that not just boys but girls, too, have to receive education in order to improve their lives. Even if they are expected to be only educated mothers or wives, this change represents an important transition in social values.

Of course the causality is not that simple. Schools are only possible or at least functional where there are teachers available. Since teachers' attendance is highly related to their residence in the community, the pool of educated adults (particularly females) from which these teachers are to be drawn becomes critical. Therefore, a history of education in the community is more likely to have a spin off effect on girls' schooling levels and to lead the way of fertility transition. In the final analysis, the very areas where contraceptive prevalence rates are higher are those that are farthest along the path to universal education.

In conclusion, changes in parents' attitudes toward education are most certainly related to their reproductive behavior. It seems the relationship between investments in children, as represented by greater outlays on their schooling (whether through school fees for private schools or missed opportunities for earnings), are in close synchronization with changes in values about smaller family size. While both represent significant departures from past trends, what is less clear is that one causes the other. The more likely explanation seems to be that the two occur together and therefore the most dramatic reproductive and educational changes are seen to be concentrated in communities at one ends of the spectrum.

[7] Regressions were fitted using enrollment rates at the time of the survey and five years earlier as the independent variables and contraceptive prevalence rate as the dependent variable. The fit was found to be much better with the 'lagged' rates.

CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

This study has been able to capture a moment of considerable change in the social history of Pakistan. The onset of fertility transition in the early nineties has represented a radical change from stagnancy in fertility levels for over four decades. Total fertility has declined from 6.5 in the seventies to 5.3 in 1997; contraceptive prevalence levels have risen to 24 percent in 1997 and literacy rates based on data from the 1998 Census are up to 45 percent. The poor record of Pakistan in the social sectors may have finally taken a turn but there are reasons to be concerned with reverse trends in boys enrollment, which is stagnating and even declining at below mass schooling rates. In the recent past schooling rates for girls have been on the rise. However, gender differentials remain large in most settings, particularly those that are at low levels of educational attainment. Boys' schooling which was at much higher levels 10 years ago than girls schooling, has remained stagnant even declined dramatically in quite a few communities in Punjab more recently.

This study also captured variations in schooling availability and quality across the 12 sites sampled. While the majority of communities had a boys' primary school, there were two communities (Duresh Khel in Karak and Kotla Drigh in Rahim Yar Khan) which did not have a girls' primary school at the time of the survey. While access to primary schools has increased in recent times, particularly for girls, gender equity in access still needs improvement as demonstrated by the fact that only 38 percent of the public schools in our sample were girls' schools. The advent of private schools which tend to be mixed for both boys and girls have contributed to increased access for girls. However, 5 out of the 12 communities did not have a private school. They were generally communities with a smaller number of schools than those that had at least one private school.

The extent of schooling choice for parents of primary school pupils varies enormously from community to community. While the arrival of private schooling offers competition to the public schooling system by increasing the basic pool of resources, private schools are often of poor quality from a pedagogical point of view even though they may provide more material amenities such as desks, toilets, and running water. Many primary schools remain remarkably small in terms of total enrollment and have student/teacher ratios that are very respectable from international standards, suggesting that the problems with quality have much more to do with lack of material resources, the inadequacy of the curriculum, and the quality of teaching (including absenteeism).

Girls, in particular, suffer in terms of school quality since public girls' schools have fewer amenities, fewer classrooms, higher rates of teacher absenteeism, and less management support. Absenteeism is a problem for rural Pakistan in particular because a large proportion of teachers have to travel to the school from elsewhere; for female teachers mobility issues and home obligations contribute to sporadic attendance at school. Private schools, with their lower experience and training certificate requirements, attempt to address this problem by hiring local teachers. Because of this, teacher attendance, a key measure of school quality, is better in private schools than public schools.

Interviews with parents seem to indicate a widespread desire on their part to invest in their children' schooling. Responses from the parents selected for in depth interviews in our study show that there were rising aspirations for children's schooling and a growing awareness of the costs of

raising a child properly. There continued to be differences in parents' aspirations for boys and girls in terms of educational attainment, and a strong feeling that boys and girls do better in separate schools with same sex teachers.

Education was valued for many reasons and there was a strong appreciation for all the social benefits of schooling for girls. Because in many communities the quality of schooling was poor, the parents had many complaints that included absent teachers, poor facilities, poor discipline, poor supervision, and poor results in terms of the development of basic skills. Because of the importance placed on going to school to access salaried employment, many placed a premium on learning English and, therefore, favored private schools even though some parents admitted their relatively poor quality. Parents strongly preferred schools to be nearby, particularly for girls, and often cited the lack of proximity of a girls' school as a reason why their daughter either never went to school or did not go on to the next level. Most parents regretted their current family size and felt they could have managed their lives better and provided better for their children, given current economic circumstances, if they had had fewer children.

Rising trends in schooling after 1988, particularly for girls, are startling evidence of a rise in the investment in children in Pakistan. Younger girls, that is those aged 6-9, have a greater advantage over their counterparts aged 10-14 in their chances of attending school. This trend is not that notable for boys, in fact boys' schooling has even declined slightly. The differences in enrollment rates, in gender differences, and in trends in the past 5 to 10 years indicate greater gender equality than was the case 10 years ago. However, these changes are not occurring across the board. Data also demonstrate huge heterogeneity in schooling patterns across the 2 provinces and 6 districts chosen for this study. Enrollment rates for boys aged 10-14 vary from 33 to 97 percent and for girls from 15 to 90 percent. Clearly greater heterogeneity is visible in girls schooling.

There are considerable differences in the range of gender differentials in schooling associated across the six districts. Gender differentials continue to be stark in districts of NWFP, which have traditionally not favored gender equity in schooling. However, 3 districts show virtual gender equality in enrollment rates of girls and boys ages 10-14: Sialkot, DG Khan, and Abbottabad. In NWFP the gender differential is very dramatic despite recent gains by girls. In Swat and Karak there are glaring gaps despite these districts having done some catching up recently. However, they remain the worst off in terms of girls' schooling, while boys' schooling is almost universal. Schooling for boys might in fact be taking a dip in Punjab province or at least in parts of the province. Because of the decline in rates of enrollment of boys in Punjab, the gender differential has narrowed considerably. These are clear signs that parents are indeed following some investment strategy in children. However, this strategy is definitely changing over time, and is different for boys and girls and in the two provinces.

Another important factor affecting children's schooling may be the alternative demands on their time in the form of paid work opportunities. This was especially apparent in the case of girls in Rahim Yar Khan and the case of both sexes but especially boys in the case of Sialkot. Whereas there may be pulls on children's time in terms of easily available opportunities for paid employment. Parents may not be the ones consciously having to make choices between sending children to school or sending them to work. Environmental or community influences are likely to be the greater influence in molding the choices between work and school or doing neither.

Along with the community influences are the important influences of households and parental characteristics on children's chances of being in school. The educational levels of parents

particularly mothers seem to be the major determinant of children's schooling. But educated mothers themselves are a product of earlier investments in female education or at least a greater historical value attached to female education at the household or community level. Income while important is not critical as a restrictive influence on schooling, with the exception of the lowest income quartile where it is a significant factor. Demographic characteristics such as mother's age, birth order, and parity are also associated with the chances of children attending school. These factors are a greater influence on girls' schooling.

Finally, the link between schooling of children and family-building strategies was investigated and found to be complex but visible. Communities that had overall higher schooling enrollments were the very ones with higher contraceptive prevalence rates. Deliberate family-building behavior in the form of contraceptive uptake was most certainly correlated with investments in children. The communities to which children belonged clearly influenced their parents' attitudes toward their children's schooling and toward their own family size through reproductive intentions and behavior. In particular this would influence girls schooling because of the relatively scarcer availability of girls' schools.

Perhaps the more critical change, which has brought about the onset of fertility transition, has been the greater investments in girls' schooling. There is a realization on the part of parents that not just boys but girls too have to receive education in order to improve their lives. Even if education among girls is intended to bring up educated wives or mothers, this change represents an important transition in social values.

Of course the causality is not that simple. Schools for girls are only possible or at least functional where there are teachers available. Since teachers' attendance is highly related to their residence in the community, the pool of educated female adults from which these teachers are to be drawn becomes critical. Therefore a history of female education is more likely to have spin offs on girls schooling and to lead the way of fertility transition. In the final analysis, the path toward universal education is the one towards fertility transition.

Changes in parents' attitudes toward education are most certainly related to their reproductive behavior. It seems the relationship between investments in children as represented by greater outlays on their schooling (whether through school fees for private schools or earnings foregone) are in close synchronization with changes in values about smaller family sizes. While both represent significant departures from past trends, what is less clear is that one causes the other. The more likely explanation seems to be that the two are more likely to be in concurrence and therefore the largest reproductive and educational changes are seen to be concentrated in communities at one end of the spectrum. That is to say that high contraceptive prevalence and high enrollment rates are very likely to be found together as are low contraceptive prevalence and low enrollment rates. Pakistani communities in 1997 represent the full range of heterogeneity in social behavior. This heterogeneity is likely to diminish as greater sections of the population converge in their social and reproductive behavior.

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