

Socio-economic Factors Influencing Gender Biased Access to Education in South Punjab



By

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Dissertation submitted for the partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

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Dedicated to the dreams of my loving parents

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Nazia Rafiq
(naziarafiq@gmail.com)

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIR	Apparent Intake Rate
AJ&K	Azad Jammu and Kashmir
BHUs	Basic Health Units
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CMSs	Community Model Schools
CRC	Convention on the Rights of Children
CSO	Community Social Organization
DESD	Decade of Education for Sustainable Development
DFA	Dakar Frame of Action
DFID	Department for International Development
Dy.DEOs	Deputy Education Officers
ECE	Early Childhood Education
EDOs	Executive District Officers
EFA	Education For All
ESRAP	Education Sector Reforms Action Plan
FANA	Federally Administered Northern Areas
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FSc.	Foundaion of Science
FSSSP	Female Secondary School Stipend Program
GAPs	Gender Action Plans
GAR	Gross Admission Ratio
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio

GOP	Government of Pakistan
ICT	Islamabad Capital Territory
IDI	In-depth Interview
ILO	International Labour Organization
INGOs	International NGOs
IRI	Incentive Ratio Instruction
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
KP	Kyber Pakhtunkhwa
LGO	Local Government Ordinance
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
NADRA	National Database and Registration Authority
NAR	Net Admission Rate
NEAs	National Education Assessments
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NIC	National Identity Cards
NTS	National Testing Service
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PCSW	Punjab Commission on the Status of Women
PDHS	Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey
PEAs	Provincial Education Assessments
PEF	Public Private Foundation
PERSP	Punjab Education Sector Reform Program
PhD	Doctorate in Philosophy
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

PSLM	Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurements
PSTs	Primary School Teachers
QEFA	Quality Education For All
RDS	<i>Rasool Pur</i> Development Society
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAP	Social Action Program
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SIMPOC	Statistical Information and Monitoring Program on Child Labour
SMCs	Schools Management Committees
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
THQ	Tehsil Head Quarter
TQM	Total Quality Management
UC	Union Council
UDHR	Universal Declaration for Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNDESD	United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WSC	World Summit for Children

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Abstract

This study aims to examine socio-economic and cultural factors responsible for low educational attainment of girls in rural communities of South Punjab. The study identifies differential parental, communal perceptions and deep rooted attitudes hindering girl's education. A multi-sited ethnographic account was employed in this study to investigate issues related to gender biases at the household and community levels within rural communities. The study was carried out in three remote locations of district Rajanpur, South Punjab, Pakistan. These three selected locales were categorized as the least developed, less developed, and developed communities. The study examines hindering as well as facilitating factors for girls' access to education across these three diverse communities. Data were mainly collected through qualitative approaches including participant observation, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and case studies. Three target groups from the stated communities were selected as study participants. 1) a group of girls of school going age (4-16 years of age), 2) a group of parents, community members and other related stakeholders and 3) a group of school teachers including key officials from education department. The study also examines how the communities have responded to gender biases towards girls' education. In doing so, the study identifies an improvised state of girls' education in two selected underdeveloped communities, while in the developed community, significant advancement in girls' education was found which is mainly attributed to positive contribution towards girls' education from their own families and the local community. Additionally, the study identified some facilitating factors to acquire socio-economic progress in a rural community by promoting girls education and hence minimizing cultural barriers that are mainly responsible for gender bias in education.

Keywords: Gender bias, girls' education, social capital, community initiatives, community development, Rajanpur

Chapter 1

Introduction

Gender inequality in education has received a considerable amount of attention worldwide, especially in developing countries like Pakistan (Klasen & Lamanna, 2008; Kleemann *et al.*, 2016; Russell, 2016; Klasen & Minasyan, 2017). Gender balanced education is central to the development of any country (Lindberg & Jütting, 2016). Recognizing the importance of education in general and girls' education in particular, United Nations designated the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (DESD) from 2005 to 2014 (UNICEF, 2003; UNICEF., 2011; Aleixo *et al.*, 2017). It has been widely acknowledged that education is a prerequisite for sustainable development (UNICEF, 2003; Hargreaves & Hargreaves, 2006; Adcock, 2013). To ensure sustainable development, gender equality in education is a matter of great concern for developing countries in particular. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) emphasised elimination of gender based inequalities in education, and the provision of additional resources for the education of girls (Loewe, 2012). After MDGs expired in 2015, development debate shifted to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which underscore a broader framework of commitment for ensuring access to free equitable education including provision of quality primary and secondary education for boys and girls alike by 2030 (Amsden, 1994; Campbell *et al.*, 2016). Specifically, Goal number 4.5 of the SDGs urges the international community to address gender equality in education to empower girls and women (Sachs, 2012). Acknowledging the background, in Pakistan, measures are direly needed to address gender inequality in general and gender discrimination in education in particular.

The education of girls is recognized as a fundamental step not only for female empowerment but also for the overall development of a country (Hargreaves & Boler, 2006; Stam *et al.*, 2014). Yet, in most developing countries, issues related to gender equality have received considerably little attention therefore, at all levels of education, girls seem to be treated differently in terms of access and retention particularly at post primary levels of education (Stromquist, 2007). Such trends hinder the progress of developing countries like Pakistan (Fredman *et al.*, 2016; Grown *et al.*, 2016). Over the past several decades, like so many other

developing countries, Pakistan has also struggled to achieve gender equality in education (Chaudhry & Saeed, 2009; Bano *et al.*, 2016).

Educating a girl is often associated with a series of benefits not only to the girl but also for others around her. By phasing out gender bias in education, a sense of gender equality in society gets promoted which ensures equal opportunities for all people irrespective of their gender (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998; McDonnell, 2017). Moreover, a gender balanced education presents a viable answer to the asymmetric power relation in the society including both men and women for different socio-economic activities. Several studies have endorsed education of girls' as a panacea to achieving equitable socio-economic development across the globe (Beneria *et al.*, 2015; Huggins & Thompson, 2015; Jones & Ramchand, 2016). Over the years, Pakistan's educational performance, particularly girls' education presents a dismal situation.

Way *et al.* (2014) opines that girls education has economic effects that relate to trading. This leads to necessary growth and development in developing countries as girls' education is associated with a higher productivity and an increase in the number of skilled labourers in a country. Furthermore, to further facilitate progress in the global value chain, developing countries need a large pool of skilled labourers. In the case of the Asia-Pacific region, which is constantly trying to allocate their public funding appropriately, the education of girls has a high payoff due to the high marginal returns and the effects that educating a girl has on her family members. Previous research on the topic emphasises the strong relations between education and women empowerment (Duflo, 2012; Bowen & Miller, 2018; Nadim & Nurlukman, 2018).

Education helps to improve the human capital development for a country (Apple, 2013; Gray, 2019). Therefore, girls' education has an important role in the accumulation of human capital for a society which is closely followed by much needed economic development (Nica, 2012). Similarly, the importance of social capital through education and social uplift measures is significantly established in many studies (Santos *et al.*, 2016; Butler & Muir, 2017). However, Network (2002) found that despite the fact that Pakistan is rich in social capital in many ways still the country has not been able to efficiently use this source for

generating civic consciousness, alleviating poverty, enhancing girls education, or nation-building.

1.1 Gender Bias in Education: An International Perspective

Gender inequality is a very broad issue. Existing literature on related topics extensively comments upon gender biases specifically in education (Cooray & Potrafke, 2011; Lu, 2012; Assembly, 2015). Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in its Article 10¹ stresses upon elimination of all forms of gender discrimination in education. It defines discrimination between genders as: “Any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field”(UNO, 2014). Shaukat & Pell (2017) and Yasin & Aslam (2018) found that gender discrimination in education is quiet common in Pakistan.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Bank are targeting education for girls’ as a strategic approach to reduce poverty (Raghavan & UNESCO, 2009; UNESCO, 2010; Mundy & Verger, 2015; Sperling & Winthrop, 2015). Two of the United Nation’s eight MDGs relates with the eradication of gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005

¹(CEDAW-Article 10): “States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women: (a) The same conditions for career and vocational guidance, for access to studies and for the achievement of diplomas in educational establishments of all categories in rural as well as in urban areas; this equality shall be ensured in pre-school, general, technical, professional and higher technical education, as well as in all types of vocational training; (b) Access to the same curricula, the same examinations, teaching staff with qualifications of the same standard and school premises and equipment of the same quality; (c) The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods; (d) The same opportunities to benefit from scholarships and other study grants; (e) The same opportunities for access to programmes of continuing education, including adult and functional literacy programmes, particularly those aimed at reducing, at the earliest possible time, any gap in education existing between men and women; (f) The reduction of female student drop-out rates and the organization of programmes for girls and women who have left school prematurely; (g) The same Opportunities to participate actively in sports and physical education; (h) Access to specific educational information to help to ensure the health and well-being of families, including information and advice on family planning.”

and in all levels of education by 2015 (Ansell, 2017). Despite various international and national commitments across the world, there is still a long way to go to achieve the targets set in the Education For All (EFA) initiative by UNESCO which aimed to eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by the year 2005. It also tried to achieve gender equality in education by 2015 by ensuring that girls' receive full and equal access to education so that they may at least achieve basic education.

Likewise, the expansion and improvement of comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children, intended to ensure that by the year 2015 children of all ages and belonging to all types of families (especially girls), and those belonging to ethnic minorities, will have access to completely free and compulsory primary education of good standard. Yet the target of eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education and at all levels of education no later than 2015 clearly could not be reached and hence created new space for action in SDGs (Dannecker, 2018; Umar & Asghar, 2018). In response to both international and national commitments, progress has been made by Pakistan towards improving access for girls' to basic education. However, at all stages of education girls' lag behind boys particularly at the transitional stages between primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education. Pakistan thus failed to meet the MDGs targets set in goal 2 and 3 that should have been achieved by 2015. Still many children and girls from developing countries in particular frequently drop out of school before they finish their primary schooling (Lu *et al.*, 2016; No *et al.*, 2016; Zuilkowski *et al.*, 2016; Durrani *et al.*, 2017).

1.2 Gender Inequalities in Education: An Overview of Developing Countries

Gender inequality in education not only deprives girls from one of their basic rights (Miller, 2008; Nour, 2009; UNO, 2014), but it also creates barriers for their empowerment and the overall mainstream development (Sen, 2001; Alkire, 2005; Alkire & Deneulin, 2009). Lack of education may lead to girls' being forced into child labour and early marriage (Nguyen *et al.*, 2015; Male & Wodon, 2016a). For example in the case of the Congo and other parts of Africa it has been revealed that it was commonplace for a girl to be married before they even cross the age

of menarche. Jeopardizing girls' education in the name of early marriage, paves its way towards the reinforcement of gender inequalities both at the micro and the macro levels. As a result, millions of girls are forced to turn into second or third class citizens and have to face poverty for the rest of their lives (Brown, 2012; Edwards Jr, 2019).

Apart from educational deprivation, the act of gender bias can lead to ill reproductive health of girls and women due to early marriages (Santhya *et al.*, 2010; Prakash *et al.*, 2011; Boyden *et al.*, 2012). In many developing countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, gender identity issues and the social status of women often are because of early motherhood (Dyer, 2007). Such issues are quite common in the rural areas of Pakistan. Generally with a rise in education, child marriage cases in Pakistan have been greatly reduced over the past few decades. The number of cases in the Congo and Nigeria has declined as compared to older statistics (Male & Wodon, 2016b; 2016c; 2016d). However, in the rural areas of Ethiopia and also in Pakistan, early marriage is still preferred for girls by compromising on their education. This is almost always amongst the less educated and the poor who cannot bear the expenses related to education (Erulkar, 2013). Such practices provides an early departure from taking responsibilities as parents.

A study of these issues in Pakistan performed by Nasrullah *et al.* (2013) which is based on data from the Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey (PDHS) 2006–2007 found that 66.1% of ever-married respondents (aged 15-24 years with at least one childbirth) were married before the age of 18 years. More than half of these females (61.9%) were married when they were just children. It was found that these women did not have access to a formal education. The majority (71.0%) of these women resided in rural areas. In the case of Afghanistan, a low focus on gender equality was seen, where only 67 girls were enrolled in primary school and 49 girls were enrolled in secondary education for every 100 boys (Shayan, 2015). Low representation females in human and social capital, bad governance and asymmetric gender relationships within families prevail in the society causing uneven educational growth among girls (Gupta *et al.*, 2017; Shareef *et al.*, 2017). Like all developing countries, in Pakistan the subject of gender and education is highly pertinent.

Summers *et al.* (1992) findings suggest that in the case of Pakistan, providing thousands of girls with just one extra year of schooling, will reduce child mortality rates (by 8%). In Taiwan, mothers with nine years of education (instead of six) end up saving one child per 1000 births (Chou *et al.*, 2010). A child born to a mother who can read is quite likely to have a 50% greater chance of survival after the age of five (Psacharopoulos, 2014). In countries like Pakistan, which have below average numbers of primary and secondary school enrolment, increasing the number of children who receive gender balanced education is likely to improve the mind-set of students that might ultimately reduce a risk of conflict. A similar study highlighted that each additional year of education provided to a child reduces a country's chances of falling into civil war by 3.6% (Winthrop & Graff, 2010).

1.3 Situation of Girls Education in Pakistan

Pakistan is the sixth most populated country in the world with an estimated population of 207.77 million people. 75.58 million people reside in urban areas while 132.19 million reside in the rural areas (GoP, 2018). Pakistan still has one of the highest illiteracy rates in the world. However, like other developing nations of the world, Pakistan has shown commitment to ensure that it achieves the Millennium Development Goals (MGDs) by 2015, particularly in the field of education (goal 2 and 3 of MGDs). Although Pakistan has shown its commitment in achieving 100% Universal Primary Education (UPE), the ground reality suggests that at the national level, the net primary enrolment rate (5-9 years of age) was 61% for males and 54% for females, whereas in the province Punjab, it remained at 64% for males and 60% for females for the year 2012-13 (GOP., 2014). The data clearly shows significant gender gap in schooling.

The Governments efforts are visible via a number of educational policies and amendments from time to time but these results are quite far from the required progress (Nasir *et al.*, 2016). At the divisional level, in D.G. Khan, the net attendance ratio at the primary level is 37% as compared to 75% in Rawalpindi (Govt. of Punjab, 2014). One possible reason for not having gender equality in female schooling is due to lack of gender based reforms in education and the limited access of girl's to schools (Sathar *et al.*, 2013). Moreover, gender reforms

have received limited attention in the localized context of education (Jabeen, 2018). Resultantly, coping gender discrimination in education remains a challenge for Pakistan.

Even though providing education to every child is the most necessary task, fulfilling this task is quite necessary due to the low literacy rate (54%). Low enrolment, gender inequality, dropouts from school, low quality of education in schools and multiple cultural factors continue to be recurrent concerns. As a matter of fact, the state of education in Pakistan is far from satisfactory. Over the years, educational reforms in the country have resulted in mainly “cosmetic changes” rather than an overall improvement in the system (Khalid & Khan, 2006).

AlifAilaan & SDPI (2015) presented the province wise ranking of education in Pakistan. Comparison presents a sharp contrast in educational outcomes within the same province of Punjab. At one end the province remained at the top of the ranking with eight of its districts in the top ten (top three districts from Punjab include Rawalpindi, Chakwal and Lahore). However, on the other side, two of its districts namely D.G. Khan and Rajanpur (study district) appeared as extremely low performing districts. Rising disparity between the low performing districts and the high performing districts in the province of Punjab is subject to complex and diverse ground realities at the micro level. As a result the rating of the province of Punjab has dropped below that of Azad Jammu and Kashmir to the 3rd place in the overall provincial rankings of Pakistan.

1.4 Socio-economic Factors as Deterrent to Girls Education

A large amount of literature has presented that various socio-economic factors are responsible for the low literacy levels among girls in developing countries (Bessudnov & Malik, 2016). Education of the parents always plays a crucial role towards the education of a girl. For example, parents with better education are less likely to deprive girls from education (Doss, 2013; Crede *et al.*, 2015). In an expanded study in 340 districts of thirty developing countries, on the primary school enrolment of over 220,000 children in total. It was found that some of the major constituents in socio-economic factors were parental education and income level. When the father’s education is above secondary education, the

chances of enrolment for both girls and boys are most likely to increase by 300%. Similarly, if the mother has been provided with a primary education in her childhood, the chances of the enrolment of her children is twofold if compared with illiterate mothers. It is quite evident from literature that the daughters of educated parents are more likely go to and stay in school (Vollmer *et al.*, 2016). Generally, socio-economic factors and illiteracy among parents adversely affects girls' education.

1.5 Socio-cultural Causes of Gender Bias in Education

In addition to socio-economic factors, cultural factors hugely influence girls' education. Maertens (2013), in a study on rural India found that both the levels of education as well as early marriage are tangled with social norms that impede both involvement in education and overall progress of girls. Boys are just more likely to be enrolled in schools as compared to girls. This is even though, girls face multiple factors which hold them back like poverty, large family sizes, insecurity, peer influence, pregnancy and early marriages, lack of parental concern and cultural rites. These factors are the main reason that girls drop out from school (Israel *et al.*, 2001; Kelly, 2013; Baker, 2016). Due to lack of education and growing cultural pressures developing countries and the third world countries are facing serious public health problems. The lack of proper child nutrition for children less than five years of age has created health issues that almost directly relates to the education and exposure of the mother (Gobir *et al.*, 2015; Hegde & Gaur, 2017). By simply providing expecting mothers with maternal education can bring a subsequent decrease in malnutrition related disorders amongst children. Another study by Hasan *et al.* (2015) suggests that at least a secondary level of education should be provided to mothers to minimize the risks of child malnutrition in Bangladesh

Pakistan is a culturally diverse country, having multiple cultural factors. Moreover such cultural factors influence gender, life style and overall education (Hameed & Hameed, 2016). Way *et al.* (2014) are of the view that in some parts of the developing world, achieving gender parity in education is faced with numerous obstacles. In the case of Pakistan, some extremist groups even go as far as to harass girls and their teachers just because they go to school.

1.6 Study Rationale

Pakistan is the 6th most populous country in the world with estimated population of 207.77 million, out of which 28.6% is between ages 05-14 that is the most ripe age group in terms of schooling (GoP, 2018; 2019). In the year 2015-16, literacy rate (10 years and above) of Punjab was 63%, out of which female literacy was 54% while male literacy was 72%. Number of literate males was significantly higher as compared to females (PCSW, 2018). The country stands 2nd in world ranking of out of school children. In Punjab alone, out of 9.2 million of school going children, 5.03 million girls had no access to schools (Dawn, 2018). Based on these alarming facts and figures this thesis explores grassroots realities at household and community level by employing a qualitative approach. Moreover, analysis offers a more nuance understanding of the dynamic forces of grass root realities, local participation and collective efforts of stake holders to ensure girls access to education which is important to examine particularly in case of Pakistan where gender discrimination in education is massively rooted in its socio-economic and cultural milieu.

Aslam & Atherton (2014) found that there is a lack of comparable data available related to the similarities and differences across communities in Punjab. In this regard, an ethnographic study was conducted to examine differences across selected communities at micro level. Similarly, concept of social capital in relation to girls' education has not been investigated. Therefore, the study offers a detailed discussion on minimizing those structural inequalities by employing social capital and human capital for promoting ownership of girls' education at household and community levels. This ensures an enabling environment in favour of female voice, capabilities and agency within and outside their family circle.

1.7 Significance of Study

The contribution of the study is obvious as the resulting outcomes can be capitalized for both theoretical as well as practical podium. On practical side, the study contributes to the ongoing debate on girls' education, taking it beyond the practice of the state to understand the sensitivity of gender issues at grassroots. It draws on an ethnographic approach that is instrumental in unravelling girls'

education in a number of ways. Study is carried out to provide a basic understanding for various stakeholders (policy makers, donor agencies, development organizations and the government) to comprehend the complex nature of girls' education at the grassroots in Pakistan. The study provides crucial input that reveals how the contextualization of education through improved ownership of local community could help in bringing awareness on gender and education issues. The study acknowledges that state's failure to achieve desirable objectives set out in MDGs and SDGs for gender equality in education is not only due to negligence of the state, it indicates state's inability to deal with external challenges faced by local communities (Annexure-1). Rather than acting alone, it is more beneficial for the state to understand and engage with the recipient communities to collectively address the issue of girls' education. Therefore, the study attempts to bridge this gap by providing empirical evidence. Furthermore, the study also suggests ways through which communities can contribute in education system.

In addition, the study contributes to theoretical knowledge by employing several social constructs such as social capital, human capital and capability approaches to investigate the phenomena of girls' school in rural communities, though these are relatively new in the context of Pakistan. Particularly the use and application of the concepts such as social capital, human capital and capability approach are relatively new directions in research (Gray, 2019). A combination of these approaches is useful for examining various networks, relationships and interventions within which girls' education can be streamlined particularly in rural landscape of Pakistan.

1.8 Scope of the Study

The scope of the study covers target population of *Basti Godden Wala*, *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Rasool Pur* of district Rajanpur, Tehsil Jampur of South Punjab respectively. The selection of these communities in the afore-mentioned communities was important to compare the differences and similarities in the state of girls' education. Among these communities, *Basti Godden Wala* and *Chah Kumhar Wala* were found as the most illiterate and gender biased against girls education, whereas the third community (*Basti Rasool Pur*) presented a

contrasting scenario that provided an enabling environment for girls schooling. Therefore, the study focused on reasons behind gender bias and associated attitudes of parents and communities towards girls' education. It was observed that these communities offer substantial differences which are crucial to study while discussing girls' education and differential parental perceptions and its impact on gender biased parental involvement in child education.

1.9 Problem Statement and Study Objectives

Education is a complex system that is strongly rooted in the social and economic background of a society. To understand the significance, desirability and ownership of education, it is imperative to equip ourselves with a mind-set that accepts the systematic nature of socio-cultural support for girls' education (Sperling & Winthrop, 2015). Furthermore, these multifaceted socio-economic factors such as parental and societal perceptions regarding girls schooling, parental literacy levels, family size, poverty, and gender parity in schooling (in terms of access, expenses on schooling and transportation) are interrelated and interdependent to ensure the aptitude of indigenous communities towards formal education. At the micro level particularly in the rural settings of Pakistan, children (students) in general and girls of the selected areas in particular are facing various socio-economic as well as cultural challenges related to their education. Sheikh *et al.* (2016) and Mughal & Aldridge (2017) are of the view that a huge number of female children in the rural settings of South Punjab are faced with numerous challenges at societal level. Such factors not only affect the tutoring of these girls but the entire community has to pay its cost in a number of ways (Israel *et al.*, 2001; Nica, 2012). Acknowledging the fact that majority of the school children including girls hailing from the poor strata of population are financially deprived due to limited financial resources and least enabling environment as compared to boys.

Amid this background, it was important to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the circumstances which encourage and convince local communities to lose interest in the education of their young-ones particularly girls. In this context the study aimed to explore various barriers to girls education in rural settings. The study has following four principle objectives.

- 1). To provide an insight on parental perception regarding girls' education.
- 2). To investigate various socio-economic factors as a barrier to girls' education.
- 3). To examine socio-cultural aspects affecting girl's education in rural Punjab?
- 4). To explore the role of rural communities in creating an enabling environment for girls' education.

To achieve the above stated objectives a qualitative study was conducted. Comparisons were made across different communities of the target villages in an attempt to contextualize their socio-economic and cultural backgrounds (Chapter 4, 5 and 6 for details). District Rajanpur was selected as a suitable site for this study, because it has one of the lowest literacy rates in South Punjab. The lowest literacy rates in the district directly correspond to various socio-economic as well as socio-cultural factors at the grassroots. (Cemalcilar & Gökşen, 2014; Haq & Ali, 2014; Butt & Ahmed, 2016). Within the Rajanpur district, the selected communities have different educational status. On the basis of difference in their educational status and overall development scenario the researcher categorized the communities into three types. 1) The least developed community (*Basti Godden Wala*) 2) the less developed community (*Chah Kumhar Wala*) and 3) the developed community (*Basti Rasool Pur*).

The researcher found that there was a marginal difference between the least developed and the less developed communities. Likewise, both the underdeveloped communities did not offer enabling environment for girls' education because of poor understanding of girls' of schooling. As a consequence, early dropouts, low educational attainment and child labour massively prevailed in these areas. However, one of the three communities, namely *Basti Rasool Pur* was found to have a variance amongst communities not only in terms of girls' education and female agency but also towards the overall development. Such change is mainly attributed to progressive attitude towards girls' and therefore, it ensured gender inclusion in education.

1.10 Key Research Questions

The key questions addressed in this thesis were set forth in accordance with the major objectives of the study. Therefore, the main research questions guiding this thesis are stated as follows:

- 1). How parental perception and involvement plays a key role in educating their children particularly girls?
- 2). How various economic factors hinder educational attainment of girls in a rural setting?
- 3). What are the various social and cultural factors affecting girls' education in rural Punjab?
- 4). How a community can play its role in creating an enabling environment for promoting girls' education?

1.11 Structure of Thesis

Chapter one presents a general introduction to gender and education by focusing on international, national and regional discourses on the chosen research problem in the light of study objectives. The chapter generally signifies the need to eliminating gender bias in education to ensure gender inclusion in development perspective. It also makes sufficient ground for the readers to understand the problem associated with girls schooling at grassroots that is covered in detail in next chapters.

Chapter two reflects upon conceptualizing gender, development and education. Similarly, the chapter discusses the available literature and states what has been found so far in the phenomenon of gender inequalities in the global, national and regional (community) levels related to education. However, a review of available literature prior to performing field work helped to clarify the concepts. Subsequently, it was significant to develop various themes and sub-themes of this study. Various theoretical insights covered in the literature review not only helped in setting up an appropriate set of questions and probes for in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, but it also enhanced my observation in the field as a participant. It yielded an essential understanding of the local discourses of bias, resistance to female education and change with a particular focus on categories such as gender, education and development. While going

through the process of reviewing the literature the researcher tried to find out existing gaps in literature and what has been done so far to improve the state of female education by various stakeholders' particularly at the grass roots.

Chapter three outlines research methodologies and the strategies that were followed in the study. This chapter is divided into two main sections. Section one covers the various methodological approaches applied to perform the study. Section two covers the area profiles of the communities under study. It addresses the demographic characteristics of the locals including the distribution of age and sex compositions, castes, educational trends, cultural patterns and practices under which girls' education flourishes at micro level. This section presents secondary data covering the educational and structural issues in district Rajanpur. Both of these sections together present a broader understanding of methodological insights along with the background of the selected research sites where important decisions regarding girls' education are made at the household and community level.

Chapter four covers parental perceptions and parental involvement associated with girls' education. Likewise, it discusses various socio-economic problems faced by girls of school going age across the various communities observed in this study. These factors include details about the socio-economic status, educational level of the parents of girls, and issues pertaining to access to school, mobility and transportation to and from the schools. Failure to seek education leads to many challenges including child labour and early marriages.

Chapter five presents different cultural problems faced by school going girls. Cultural factors not only appear as a barrier to girls' education rather they also limited their future prospects. Some of the major cultural factors discussed include patriarchy, gender discrimination, control over females, mobility, honour, early marriages, exchange marriages and son preference. These factors deprive girls of school going ages (at the household and community level) from education and development. Such realities are deeply rooted in the cultural construct exhibited through various cultural practices of the society, the chapter covers these aspects in detail. Furthermore, the findings presented in the chapter presents a comparison with a literate community which has undergone social change and progress in girls' education and overall women empowerment.

Chapter six throws light on self-improvements made by one of the three communities under study (*Basti Rasool Pur*) that showed resilience to the existing cultural norms through improvement in its developmental initiatives including girls' education. The significance of social capital in the case of the *Rasool Pur* community has been presented to qualify the central argument of the bottom-up approach of development. Moreover, improvement in social capital formation began with the community's recognition of education in general and in particular girls' education. By virtue of both advancement and investment in education the community learnt more about development initiatives for their own betterment. With passage of time a social change came about which helped the community find its way to development by involving educated youth as their leaders under the supervision of educated adults. Following their own standards and trends towards development, the community achieved a high quality of life in almost all the social and economic indicators of development in general and particularly in female education at the household and community level.

Chapter seven presents a synthesis of major findings of the study against set objectives. It highlights socio-economic factors, cultural variations, gender bias practices across three traditional societies of South Punjab and its impact on girls' education. The chapter draws on issues raised in previous chapters by engaging key arguments regarding formulation of decision processes about girls' education by analysing multiple stakeholders including households and communities. As in the case of *Basti Rasool Pur* (98% literate)², the local people themselves chose to foster its community development by inclusion of gender balance education system. By doing so, they were able to cope up with cultural challenges associated with gender and education. On the other hand, the rest of the two communities have presented less desire, unwillingness and lack of ownership for girls' education and therefore, presented exactly the opposite results in terms of girls schooling and overall development. The chapter also make some recommendations and suggestions for future studies in girls' education.

² Ahmadani tribe residing in *Rasool Pur* has 100% literacy however, people of other tribes in the same basti has comparatively low level of literacy.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Chapter one offers a brief overview of gender inequality in education by presenting the international, national and regional scenarios related to the research objectives of this study. Moreover, previous chapter has highlighted the need and justification for a qualitative study on girls' education. In this chapter the review of literature presents deconstruction of knowledge related to gender inequality in education and its relationship with overall development. It also provides an argument for adopting an appropriate theoretical framework and research methodology to achieve the objectives and aim of this study.

The chapter is divided in to four sections to properly understand the present research. Section one is entitled "Conceptualization of Gender" covers the broad understanding of gender as a concept, mainly understood in the Western theorization because it presents some commonalities with the gender perspectives of Pakistan. Steady (2005) highlights that the reason for using the Western thoughts in the present study is due to its similar nature in which gender is perceived, practiced and reflected (MacCormack & Strathern, 1980).

Wharton (2009) argued that gender is reflected in the social lives of people. Gender is a major theme in the social organization of societies around the world. Another justification provided by Harvey & Gow (2013) suggests that western concepts regarding gender and its associated theories heavily reflect on how and why gender intersects education and development. Therefore, the process of education along with gender perceptions, attitudes and practices end up in gender inequality in the larger society. The grass root applications of these western concepts are presented in chapters 4, 5 and 6.

The later half of the chapter relates with an overview of gender and development by focusing on a body of literature covering gender bias in developing countries including Pakistan that creates unequal opportunities for girls' education across the globe. An overview of the literature focusing on gender and development is presented to understand and conceptualize significance of education for girls.

That later helps in substantiating existing realities and practices for unequal educational access among girls and its impact on their future.

Section two entitled “Gender inequality in education: dilemmas and concerns” deals with overall problems related to regarding gender and education. It includes various contributory factors hampering the participation of girls in schooling. Role of the community is crucial in strengthening gendered aspect of education. To qualify the argument a detail review of Social Capital, Human Capital and Capability Approach is presented in detail. This section signifies that females in the developing countries are generally considered inferior to males. Girls are believed to have a short stay with the family having little social and economic gains. Societies are reluctant not only in spending equally on girls’ education but also in promoting gender inequalities at various levels like family and community. The subsequent arguments presented in this section endorse that children who lack access to education particularly girls contribute towards various forms of labour both within the household and outside.

Section three entitled “Differing economic considerations for gender and schooling” covers the economic aspects related to gender and education. Section four entitled “Asymmetric cultural factors affecting gendered education” focuses on the socio-cultural aspects affecting gender and education. Additionally, this section unfolds the very fabric of culture across the developing countries that diminishes the scope for female education. Such inequalities are heavily reflected in the form of marginalizing of girls’ rights including right to education, right to equality, right to health, right to property, and various other rights. In the end, the chapter sums up the major theoretical concepts engaged in the present study. This exercise helped me to frame the various aspects of the study in relation to the social construct of gender in a traditional discourse that affects girls’ education in South Punjab where the study was conducted.

2.2 Conceptualization of Gender

This section is relates to general conceptualization and theorization of gender.

2.2.1 Sex and Gender Divide in Education

Sex refers to physical characteristics of being a male or a female therefore, it is purely a biological concept (Hyde *et al.*, 2019). On the other hand, gender refers to the cultural concept based on individual, cultural and societal perceptions associated with a particular sex therefore, accordingly roles are assigned to them within a culture. The normative structure of a culture based on attitudes, beliefs and expectations of people about a particular gender favours one sex over the other. Such divides result into various forms of discrimination at all levels (Kanka *et al.*, 2019; Townsend *et al.*, 2019). Based on gender, providing educational opportunities to boys is still a preference for many in the third world countries including Pakistan. According to Global Partnership for Education reports, compared to ten million boys, girls face 1.5 times higher chances of being excluded from primary level of education on the basis of factors associated with barriers to education (Institute, 2017).

2.2.2 Gender Construction

First of all it is very important to familiarize ourselves with the concept of “gender” as it emerged as one of the key cross cutting variables of the study. Gender refers to two or more classes of people who are believed to be different from each other, having different roles and expectations for each other (Ember & Ember, 2003). The dictionary of Sociology defines gender as parallel and socially unequal divisions into “femininity” and “masculinity”. The term gender not only refers to identity of an individual, but at the symbolic level it is cultural ideals/stereotypes of masculinity and femininity. At the structural level it refers to a sexual division of labour in organizations and institutions (Scott & Marshall, 2009). Whereas the *Encyclopedia of Gender and Society* 2009) explained gender as a social construction which is created and recreated in the daily interactions of people.

Gender is not static but rather it is dynamic and an active construction. There are various social constructionist’s concepts on gender. All of them commonly agree that gender (becoming a male or female) is a social construct that is generated in the very fabric of the society (Ristvedt, 2014). Thus, gender is constructed at various levels i.e. at family, school and cultural level (Bonvillain, 2007; Parsons, 2015). The social constructionists are of the view that both males and females

themselves create their own identities by adhering to existing societal patterns, through rejection or modification of the various patterns provided by the society (Risman & Davis, 2013).

According to the modern Sociology of Gender, gender is the result of an individual's behaviour within a society and therefore, it cannot be fixed in advance (O'Brien, 2009; Klemme, 2010). Reflection from this discourse presents the fact that one's masculinity or femininity is defined through his/her own interaction rather than the other way around. During this present study conducted in South Punjab, it was observed that society largely sets and shapes the behaviour of an individual according to one's gender and the individual perception of identity reflects upon the approval and disapproval of society.

A theory that acknowledges the impact of society on gender identity is Sex Role Theory. The major argument of this theory presented the idea that socialization defines sex roles (Connell, 2014; Goktan & Gupta, 2015; Wood & Eagly, 2015). Family, peers, schools and mass media socialize and influence behaviour of a child through various forms of interactions. Therefore, these agents of socialization acts as a strong force for transmitting various cultural norms and practices in a gendered way (Manago *et al.*, 2014). Conformity to such gender norms being obligatory to both sexes is treated with reward and social approval whereas non-conformity leads to punishment and disbelief. Consequently, there is a strict and clear divide between the gender roles of a male and a female in the societal and cultural discourse. Socialization plays a vital role in training of males and females of a society into more gendered selves in response to an array of events to which they are subjected passively (Thein, 2015). In other words, due to various societal reasons individual are compelled to show conformity to the existing gender roles.

On the other hand, from a strict essentialist view point, nature itself influences gender. On the contrary, Sex Role Theory only ponders upon what nature has already provided. In this way society improvises in shaping the behaviour of young individuals in the society (Sowell, 2004). Although Sex Role Theory helped in seeking deeper understandings regarding gender in a dual way, yet it failed to present a complete picture. Basically it presented gender as a single form of masculinity and femininity (Sowell, 2004; Connell, 2014). Moreover, it did not talk

about the variation in terms of conformity and non-conformity to gender bias in social norms and practices (Thorne, 1992; Arnot *et al.*, 2000; Sowell, 2004; Connell, 2014; Mustapha, 2014). In traditional societies girls' education is perceived as a threat against traditional norms.

Further to the critique on the Sex Role Theory debate, scholars have mentioned that this theory does not account for the differences across cultures in case of gender. Since not all females are equally feminine and likewise all males may not be equally masculine therefore, Sex Role Theory itself is limited to the binary divide across gender and thus undermines the interaction and behaviour practices of both genders in our daily life particularly outside this dichotomous perspective (Stromquist, 1990; 2002; Sowell, 2004).

2.2.3 Gender and Development

Within the domain of development, gender and culture has become a significant concern (Nelson, 2015; Shortall & Bock, 2015; Lind *et al.*, 2016; Keller, 2017). The term Gender and Development (GAD) has derived women's role in development (Kumar *et al.*, 2016). Previously, it was considered that development advances women but now it has been proven that the development of society is possible only with the participation of women in their respective societies. (Reeves & Baden, 2000). According to the previous idea that development is meant to bring change in the lives of women while according to the Modernization Theory active participation of women in the development process is essential for economic progress (Fernandez, 2014).

Furthermore, the issue of gender and development emphasized on the ideology of capitalism and patriarchy. The issue of Women and Development will be highlighted through the perspectives of the Neo-Marxism and Dependency Theory (Peet & Hartwick, 2015). The idea of Dependency Theory and Neo-Marxism defined that there should be equal chances of work for women to ensure development therefore, there was no need of woman dependency and exploitation in the overall development process. Her work was to be raised at all levels. This practical approach emphasized the relationship between woman and its work at domestic and public field in economic way. Moreover, it defined woman roles, responsibilities and work that she performs to maintain development within

a society particularly in a patriarchal society (Brems, 1997). However, change in existing stereotypes can be brought through education.

The cause for the failure of women in the field of development cannot be ignored. Usually women are marginalized due to their lower status. Additionally, they are viewed on the basis of class (Kiani *et al.*, 2016). Women do not fully participate in the mode of production due to patriarchal way of life. Additionally, the reproductive work performed by women is ignored due to patriarchy. Women participate in income generating activities but the social and cultural way is not highlighted for their betterment, both in production and reproduction (Downer, 1997). The Gender and Development perspective emphasized on social aspects and has challenged gender roles. Oakley and Rubin worked on this approach while emphasizing on connection between man and woman on social basis. The social relationships defined woman as subordinate in the patriarchal society (Chant & Sweetman, 2012). Patriarchal control of girls and women limits their capabilities by restricting educational opportunities for them. Such mind-sets undermine the fact that women role is a critical component of development.

In order to define women as a vital group and resource in development this approach brought about a shift in understanding the social roles of women and men and hence redefined activities related to both genders (Longwe, 1998). Gender and Development is an idea of the division of labour and power relation on gender basis (Sutton & Stromquist, 1998). Gender role referred to the social construction of identity in a household. Similarly, gender role portrays societal prospects for both males and females. While, social relations analysis uncovers the societal parameters of relations in social institutions with respect to hierarchical power. Likewise it defines and influences societal positions that men and women acquire within a society. This position brings about discrimination and imbalance towards women (Johnston, 1985). However, gender equality eradicates discrimination against women while giving the same chances at all levels to both men as well as women. Therefore, the main objective of gender and development policies is to clear gender role expectations on a traditional basis such as household work (Hudson, 2009). In the light of the literature it is acknowledged that gender equality is needed at all levels to empower women.

The Gender and Development Approach was criticized on the basis of differences in social roles of both men and women within a society. It failed to explain the basis of social roles and relationships of women (Moser & Moser, 2005). International organizations have raised gender issues as an agenda item in economic development. In this regard, the World Bank emphasized the issue of gender in 1977 by appointing the first woman adviser in development. The bank started programs to solve women issues in 1984. In between 1977 and 1994, to bridge the gap among genders, many policies were addressed. Later on, Gender Action Plans (GAPs) started highlighting the significance of these development plans (Kabeer, 2003). Subsequently, women were considered as a key successful source for development. With the direct allocation of financial means to women including enterprise development programs, rural women were given the tools to free themselves from the chains of poverty. As a market-oriented tool, fostering economic development through financial inclusion of women was introduced through microfinance. It ensured the inclusion of disadvantaged and low-income people's access to financial services. However, it is a fact that micro-finance bank did not achieve all aspects of achievement for women in economic development (Johnston, 1985). During the global financial crisis, Neo Liberal Feminists raised their voice against the financial crises that women were facing. Hence feminism demanded a new economic structure giving more economic profit to women (Chant & Sweetman, 2012). Development impacted variously on women and men and did not benefit women as compared to men (Escobar, 1988).

Many development commentators identified gaps while dealing development with respect to both men and women. It is a fact that men and women work together to improve their lives. Both men and women were being victimized from the global economic structure and how wealth was distributed amongst the masses. As a result, to favour both men and women many movements started that particularly promoted women rights in economic development because women were facing discrimination within their respective societies (Duflo, 2012). These movements flourished the idea of the social welfare of women by creating job opportunities for women. Several studies endorsed the importance of women participation in development. Failing to achieve women involvement would create a larger

economic burden on the society particularly amongst those societies where. Lack of access to there is a scarcity of survival resources from the individual to collective level (Gaddis & Klasen, 2014; Cohen & Ladaique, 2018; Jahan, 2018) education has excluded women from playing role in overall development.

The Western ideology of Feminism received a large amount of criticism based on the universal claims of “womanhood” because it widely undermined the differences among them. Likewise, it elaborated that all women are equally suppressed without any geographical and cultural differences. Feminists of the developing countries had a divergent standpoint on the basis of the differential life experiences of women in developing countries that could not be fairly translated in the western ideology of feminism as it does not account for the cultural and historical construction of gender in the third world (Narayan, 2013). Moreover, Western Feminists tend to understand women of third world countries as a group, undermining their specific geographical, economic, political and religious differences (Narayan, 2013). Feminists of third world countries claim that women in the developing part of the world suffer not only due to asymmetric gender relations but are also marginalized due to colonialism, class, ethnicity and particular position of a country in the world (Lind *et al.*, 2016). Since 1990, Postmodern Feminists stressed upon feminism to address all forms of oppression against females to ensure better developments for women. To do so, the individual accounts of each country needs to be included because of its different socio-cultural norms, economic and political situation (Ebert, 1991; Alcoff, 1997). In addition to these, there are some other approaches that focus on gender and development. In this regard, the Welfare Approach has occupied a prominent position in literature. Until the early 1970s, policies on development were aimed to reduce fertility and improving mother and child health. These approaches were narrow in their scope since these considered women in the context of wives and mothers role only. Moreover, it was assumed that macroeconomic theories would benefit women through the trickledown effect of economic improvements in their husband’s income (Palmer, 1977). Such assumptions were challenged based on the idea that the household income does not necessarily benefit women since they were considered as traditional and backward and therefore, women were also loosing status (Doss, 2001; Boserup *et al.*, 2013). Such practices promote

vulnerability among females at multiple levels including household and community.

The UN 1975 International Year for Women and the International Women's Decade (1976-85) laid the foundations for the institutionalization of Women in Development (WID) policies among the public institutions, NGOs and donor agencies. This led to the rise of the women's movement in Western Europe and North America with the aim to engage women in income generating activities by launching various development projects for women. This approach assumed that the subordination of women was due to the limited access of women to economic resources (Rathgeber, 1990). However, it failed to consider the unequal power relations that caused limited economic opportunities and choices for women. Secondly, this approach failed due to the failure of its projects, because these projects were based on the idea that women in the South had sufficient time for these development projects. Moreover, this approach lacked focus on mainstreaming women in the process by treating women as a homogeneous category. The inadequacies in this WID approach led a shift from WID to GAD (Razavi & Miller, 1995).

Gender and Development approach originated in the mid-1970s in the UK. Centred to the concept of gender (the socially attained concepts of masculinity and femininity) and gender relationships (socially created patterns of relation among men and women), this approach analysed how development restructures such socially constructed power relations (Parpart *et al.*, 2000). Generally, based on feminist political activism, gender experts regard women as change agents. However, WID approach is criticized by them for taking women as equals, rather they put an emphasis on variations in the class, age, marital status, ethnicity/race and religion. In this connection they distinguished between "practical" gender needs and "strategic" gender needs. The former need aspects are related to improvement in women's lives within their existing roles while the later is related to the needs that help women to opt for new roles to seek empowerment (Moser, 2012). Therefore, gender experts recommended a modification in the power structure of both national and international agencies (Gardner & Lewis, 1996; Parpart *et al.*, 2000).

At the 1975 UN Women's World Conference in Mexico, previous feminist approaches were highly criticised and rejected by many of the feminists from the South since those approaches were limited to the white women of the North. Secondly, the feminists from the North were of the view that development initiatives did not address perspectives of development in North. Specifically, those feminists were of the view that some other factors such as poverty and colonialism were more imperative than equality and hence demanded for the inclusion of such prospects of development in a diversified way rather than treating it homogenously in the context of North (Bordo, 1990; Collins, 2002). By 1990, the WID, GAD and WAD approaches had largely come together (Rathgeber, 1990). With the passage of time, various other approaches to Gender and Development evolved for instance, as a part of development interventions, the planning and enhanced project effectiveness Efficiency Approach recognized understanding women's and men's responsibilities and roles in the course of development process. The strategy under this approach was mainly based on the context of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) to make good economic sense of gender analysis (Afshar & Dennis, 2016). This approach was condemned as it focused more on what women can do for development rather than how development could benefit women (Sparr, 1994).

In the 1980s, Empowerment Approach was regarded as a defence mechanism for the marginalized segments of the society. It primarily focused on participatory activities and development at grass root level through building organizational skills (Parpart *et al.*, 2000). Empowerment has several connotations and by the mid-1990s, key development bodies started adopting the term empowerment as a mechanism for improving productivity and efficiency without changing the status quo. However, on the contrary, development literature views empowerment as a method of achieving gender equality and social transformation. Empowerment may be considered as a wide development activity that facilitates individuals to gain self-esteem and self-confidence. This equally benefits men and women so that they can actively participate in decision-making and development process (Bowen & Miller, 2018; Chan, 2018; Eger *et al.*, 2018).

2.2.4 Mainstreaming Gender Equality

In 1995, the adoption of the platform for action (UN Fourth World Conference on Women) held in Beijing asserted the concept of “gender mainstreaming”. This forum was represented by 189 governments who unanimously acknowledged that the improved state of women and the advancement in equality with men are related with fundamental human rights issues. Therefore, these needed to be a prerequisite for social justice for women. With the context of mainstream development, gender mainstreaming reflected upon the strengths of both efficiency and empowerment approaches. Mainstreaming gender equality attempted to make sure that women’s as well as men’s experiences and concerns are central to the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the projects so that gender discrimination is not prolonged. It attempted to minimise the common problem of “policy evaporation” in the execution, impact of developmental projects and failure to reveal policy assurances (Derbyshire, 2002). It helped to overcome problems such as hostile male responses against women in the case of successful women-only projects (Awumbila & Momsen, 1995). In the late 1990s, donor supported development shifted its focus away from discrete project interventions to the general elimination of poverty, which provided an ideal pretext for gender mainstreaming and hence paved the way to the concept of gender aspects of poverty alleviation (Narayan, 2013). This particular shift brought positive changes in women empowerment.

For a considerable length of time, Pakistan has been confronting challenges in terms of education access and quality (Torres, 2000; Haider, 2008). For over 10 years, developing nations have been attempting to raise their educational standard by giving quality education to their nationals however; there are numerous impediments and obstacles that are hindering forces in the way of achieving educational objectives (Table 2.1). These difficulties including (amount, value, quality, access, and so on) are exceptionally regular in nature. However, it requires an appropriate method to address it in the best way. Although, there is a constitutional provision for free and compulsory education as a fundamental right of every child, children are still found educationally deprived in Pakistan in comparison with the other South Asian countries.

Table 2.1: Legal Provisions Concerning EFA

Fundamental Right (UN) “Free and compulsory basic education is a basic human right” (Article 26, UDHR, 1948).
Constitutional Right (Pakistan) “The state shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manners as may be determined by law” (Article 25-A).
Responsibility of the State of Pakistan “Remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period” (Article 37-b). “Make technical and professional education generally available and higher education generally available to all on the basis of merit” (Article 37-C).

In 2000, the United Nations Millennium Summit set out the United Nations’ goals for the next decade, known as The Millennium Declaration. Previously, during the 1990s, these goals came from various resolutions of series of world conferences under the platform of United Nations (Kumar *et al.*, 2016). These goals set standards which could be monitored although achieving these goals will not be easy (Clemens *et al.*, 2007). There were eight specific goals;

- 1). Halve the proportion of people living in extreme poverty between 1990 and 2015.
- 2). Enroll all children in primary schools by 2015.
- 3). Empower women by eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005.
- 4). Reduce infant and child mortality rates by two-third between 1990 and 2015.
- 5). Reduce maternal mortality rates by three-quarter between 1990 and 2015.
- 6). Provide access to all who need reproductive health services by 2015.
- 7). Implement national strategies for sustainable development by 2005 so as to reverse the loss of environmental resources by 2015.

8). Develop a global partnership for development.

To enhance access to education, world organizations are continuously making efforts to ensure that every child gets access to basic education (Bakhshi *et al.*, 2003; Awan *et al.*, 2011). In this regard MDGs are presented in (Table 2.2). In the point of view of Lewin & Akyeampong (2009) access to basic education is focal board of the worldwide activities on EFA and is conspicuously incorporated into the MDGs to which all nations subscribed.

Table 2.2: Millennium Development Goals: Education Targets

Goal/Target	Statement
Goal 2	Achieve Universal Primary Education.
Target 3	Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.
Goal 3	Promote gender equality and empower women.
Target 4	Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and to all levels of education no later than 2015.

2.3 Gender Inequality in Education: Dilemmas and Concerns

Over the past few decades, the prevalence of gender inequality in education has been a prime concern for many developing countries, including Pakistan (Gul & Khan, 2015; Jayachandran, 2015). This is due to the fact that girls' education has been globally acknowledged to be positively linked with social change, development, individual freedom and sustainable development. Amongst others, Pakistan has ratified various human rights treaties concerning children marginalization for example, the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Dakar Framework of Action (DFA) of 2000 and MGDs and most recent ratifications to SDGs. The first attempt regarding education was performed in 1948 by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. UNICEF (2003) characterized in its report that the global commitment to education for all was first set forth by UDHR and later it was acknowledged in 1989 by the Convention on the Rights of Child (CRC). In 1990, the World Conference on Education for All

was held to gear its efforts to ensure access to education (UNICEF, 2003; 2006). This conference suggested strategies for the accomplishment of widespread access to essential education. Inspired by the conference, the World Summit for Children (WSC) adopted a plan of action for the well-being of children including educational opportunities for more than 100 million kids and about 1 billion adults, out of which 66% were females, who at present had no access to literacy and education. It was necessary to invest in education and to eliminate gender inequality. For this purpose world agencies have already set their objectives.

Subrahmanian (2005) further elaborated that international agreement on education needs grant and significant place to accomplishing gender orientation equity in the educational circle. DFA, EFA and MDGs objectives were based on two specific goals addressing gender disparity and gender equity (Ansell, 2017). In continuation of the above, financing in education was made possible to keep female students in the mainstream. In this connection, literature from studies established that education, improvement and financing have been invested into intercessions pertinent to getting children into schools and keeping them there, particularly girls, but unfortunately these objectives were not fulfilled completely by 2005 (Lewin, 2009; Petrosino *et al.*, 2015). In many third world countries, including Pakistan, advancement rate is far slower than needed to meet various international commitments including elimination of gender inequality in education.

Seel (2007) argued that the MDGs and EFA objectives for gender equality in basic education had not been accomplished by 2005. Moreover, it was anticipated that by 2015 these objectives would not be accomplished by even 40% of the rest of the nations. For these reasons, the world's organizations appeared to be ready for receiving another round of worldwide objectives to take after passing fifteen years of MDGs period. MDGs were followed by SDGs as essential thoughts that could help at long last to move the world to a maintainable direction particularly in the arena of girls' education (Alsan *et al.*, 2017).

All these global policy initiatives discourage marginalization on the basis of gender. Therefore, such initiatives placed a particular focus on girls' education and female empowerment. Though these global initiatives and national commitments have relatively improved the situation of girls' access to education and gender parity in enrolment in some developing countries, still it is far from

satisfaction. This is observed particularly at the secondary level, where girls' retention at school, enrolment rates, dropout rates, completion and achievement rates greatly vary (King & Winthrop, 2015; Umar & Asghar, 2017).

Pursuant to the serious concerns of the UN regarding growing gender inequalities that is affecting half of the world's women population, SDGs urged the nations to generate powerful educational programs to reduce disparities. Therefore, access, equity and quality formed major criterion of agenda for various nations. Jejeebhoy (1995) reported that teaching and educating girls brings about improvements in efficiency, pay, financial improvement, and additionally, a superior personal satisfaction. The individual advantages that women join to education change generally as indicated by locale, culture, and level of advancement. However, education and training adorns female capabilities with expanded self-governance. Gender disparity is found especially in developing countries. Shabaya & Konadu-Agyemang (2004) established that, by all accounts, gender biased access to education seemed to be widespread in third world countries, for example, females in Africa appeared to endure more segregation as far as access to schooling was concerned. Similarly, in South Punjab, girls are the relatively more disadvantaged group in terms of seeking education (Afzal *et al.*, 2013). Filmer (2000) found that girls were facing more educational disparities in countries like Africa and South Asia due to ethnicity and gender inequality. Pakistani and Bangladeshi students showed low performances in education as compared to students of other developed countries. Archer *et al.* (2005) assessed that educational chances, opportunities and accomplishments reflected class, ethnicity as well as sex disparities.

Gender inequality is often found where there is a lack of education, economic and health facilities. Bardhan & Klasen (1999) described that gender disparity constrains girls education, financial opportunities and health to ensure the subordination of females in a society (Budgeon, 2014; Jewkes *et al.*, 2015; Brown & Stone, 2016). Arnot *et al.* (2000) found that asymmetric gender relations are deeply linked with gender disparity or discrimination that are exhibited in the structure of society at almost every level. At the individual and societal level, attributes of masculinity are more valued than the attributes of femininity and womanhood (Cuddy *et al.*, 2015; Riley & Evans, 2017). Interactionist point of view

is that generation of inequality and bias is basically rooted in the culture of a society which continuously creates gender differences (Jayachandran, 2015; Brannon, 2016). Gender differences are not just limited to individual and cultural level but are also visible at the level of institutions and organizations (Ferrant & Kolev, 2016). Moreover, the allocation of resources, status and worth are assigned according to one's gender (Branisa *et al.*, 2013). Thus, every lens irrespectively presents inequality.

Gender bias got recognition and approval from all corners of the social world. The various socio-economic forces existing in societies are interrelated and interdependent on such perceptions and understanding of gender. For instance gender bias in education (in socio-economic and cultural terms) starts from the household level and further perpetuates at the societal and institutional level yielding unequal educational outcomes for girls (Demirguc-Kunt *et al.*, 2013; Coppock *et al.*, 2014). Such trends consistently promote inequality in education and low status of females in the society and job sector (Waylen, 2014). As mentioned before gender bias is deeply rooted in the society and is institutionalized through the processes of institutional legitimization (Bjarnegard, 2013). For the eradication of gender discrimination, it is important to understand how discrimination penetrates and perpetuate at various levels (Caglar *et al.*, 2016).

Wharton (2009) delineated institutionalization as processes in which social relationships tend to reflect in the qualities of an institution. One can commonly find the status quo in institutional processes showing compliance to existing norms rather than opting for change and new interventions leading to change (Garcia-Moreno *et al.*, 2015). Therefore, gender acts as a barrier at the institutional level (Branisa *et al.*, 2014). Gender significantly affects the fabric of the society through the asymmetric gender divide. The patriarchal system is used as a tool for vulnerability, exploitation and abuse against girls and women (Blanco-Garcia *et al.*, 2014). This system often gets in the way of education for girls (Sancar & Paksoy, 2015). It may lead to certain other problems in the social organization of the societies (Sinnes & Loken, 2014; Beneria *et al.*, 2015).

Gender disparity is the outcome of the presence of disadvantaged groups in a society. The term "disadvantaged" is traditionally used as an adjective to describe

a quality inherent to the group. It is now used as a verb to describe a process in which main stream society acts in a way that dis-advantages a particular group from development, and generally girls along with women largely fall in this group. The affected subordinates (females) are denied access to use the same tools found useful by majority of the society. One such tool is education itself (Sperling & Winthrop, 2015).

2.4 Reflections on Gender Inequality in Education: OSituation of Pakistan:

Gender inequality in education appears to be a serious problem of many developing countries like Africa, India, Bangladesh and Nepal (Jayachandran, 2015; Fincher, 2016; White *et al.*, 2016; Emran *et al.*, 2017), Pakistan bears no exception in this regard (Zaidi & Morgan, 2016; Umar & Asghar, 2017). Pakistan is the sixth most populous country in the world, having an estimated population of 188 million with 72.50 million urban based and 115.42 million residing in the rural areas (GOP, 2014). Pakistan faces a high rate of illiteracy particularly among rural girls. Although there is a vast level of commitment to eradicate gender discrimination by international communities across the world, many developing countries including Pakistan are quite far from achieving the set targets (Rogers, 2016; Kim, 2017). One can easily find some improvements in overall progress yet gender inequality in education is massively found (Asghar & Umar, 2017; Bordoloi, 2017). Similarly, in Pakistan, issue of girls' education presents dismal situation and hence calls for greater attention.

Pakistan is a country where gender disparity is one of the prominent factors contributing to educational deprivation (Sathar & Kazi, 2000; Jabeen, 2018). Aikman & Unterhalter (2005) further identified that we live in a world in which education is portrayed by broad sexual orientation disparities. Two thirds of individuals who have no access to school are young girls. Sixty five million females never even start their education and moreover, an estimated hundred million do not finish basic education because they are quite disadvantaged as compared to boys.

The statistics of women marginalization in education showed that since 1947, after 70 years of independence, the estimated literacy rate of the Pakistan is

51.13% growing at an average rate of 1% or even less (GOP, 1972). While on the other hand statistics indicate that the number of illiterates in the country has almost doubled from 28 million in 1972 to 48 million today. The percentage of female illiterates has been consistently growing at an alarming rate from 52% of 28 million to over 60% of 48 million at present (SPDC, 2003). Pakistan is signatory to many international commitments and also ratified many conventions on child rights and discrimination against girls and women (Farooq, 2015; Thakur & Abbas, 2017).

The very constitution of Pakistan in 1973 declared a strong commitment of the country to ensure education as a basic right to all. The constitution of Pakistan clearly acknowledges education as a basic right under its article 25-A of the 18th constitutional amendment. Moreover, by virtue of the same amendment, free and compulsory education for children between the ages of 5 and 16 has been declared as a fundamental right. On the contrary, female literacy rate in the country particularly in rural areas of Pakistan are the lowest in the world (Farooq & Kai, 2017). The World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report (2015) mentioned that Pakistan ranked 144 out of 145 countries worldwide (Sadiq, 2017). Statistics present unsatisfactory state of gender gap that significantly affects girl's education.

Irrespective of the problems associated with minimising gender gaps, I have an optimistic view point that change can be envisioned through the triangulation of family, community and school (education system) level. In this journey of change the parents, community, students and teachers can play a vital role in minimizing gender bias in education. It is quite evident that the entire world is now observing social change by challenging existing stereotypes associated with gender (Zafar, 2013). Gender inequality at the institutional and individual level has been significantly minimised particularly in the western world. One can find women holding peak positions at various institutes and in challenging professions that were earlier meant for males only. If it is seen in the context of the developing world particularly Pakistan, then it emerges as a long journey to eradicate gender discrimination demanding strong commitment and political will.

2.5 Social Constructionism

Social constructionism can be defined as a viewpoint which considers that a great deal of social life exists due to interpersonal influences. In more simple words, the social construction of reality or Social constructionism is a theory of knowledge of sociology and communication that studies development as mutually constructed understanding of the world. It proclaims that human development is socially situated. Moreover, knowledge is constructed while interacting with others. (Gergen, 1984; Owen, 1995; Von-Glasersfeld, 1995; Mead, 1999). Social constructionism does not negate the impact of genetic inheritance since genetically inherited factors and social factors work simultaneously but, it focuses only on exploring the social aspects that influence communal and individual life.

Berger *et al.* (2002) first used the term social constructionism in 1966. The idea was derived from Mead's concept of symbolic interactionism (Vaughan, 1968; Mead, 1999). Anti-essentialists argued that individuals together create and sustain social life through social interaction and practices (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). They view objectification, externalization, and internalization as three key elements for such social practices. People externalize when they act on changing their world, creating some artifact or practice. In a sense, this concept is closely related to social constructionism believing that people mutually construct artifacts. It focuses on objectification that is shaped through the social interaction of a group. In this way, individual learning takes place due to an internalization of social interactions within a group. The subjects that are a source of unrest for social construction are both culture, as well as society.

Social constructionism is interested in social relations. Similarly, it acknowledges an individuals' role in sustaining the social construction of reality. Social constructionism is not interested in creating maps rather it surprises the practices by which maps come. "Our maps are formed from our experiences and how we perceive them." Therefore, our maps are different perspectives of the same world. Our perceptions of the actual world create a distinct map for each of us. Social constructionism also believed that language, communication and speech play a vital role in the interactive process by which we understand ourselves and the world.

According to radical constructionism, a child functions in relation to its environment and thus, by understanding, constructing, modifying and deducing information he/she encounters his/her relationship with the outside world (Glaserfeld, 1995). The individual's capacity to construct his/her own understanding of the world is connected with the ability to think rationally given the fact that the individual is able to construct.

The social constructionism school of thought explains that genetically inherited factors, individual influences and social practices, all play a significant role in the construction of ideas and gender orientation. This study, explores the gender specific ideas in female's education. It is basically dependent on the social and interpersonal influences of the male members of the society. Primarily in a typical male dominant society, females are considered as a creature that is only made to serve the males and work at homes. That is the reason, in the rural areas of Pakistan, female education is not considered as important as it is for males. It explains the reasons for the non supportive response for female education by males. Almost all social forces work against female education in the light of social and interpersonal influences of feudal culture.

2.6 Social Capital and Human Capital Fostering Gender and Education

Theory of social capital and education is equally and directly related to the phenomenon under investigation in this study. The concept of social capital serves as a theoretical construct for addressing educational disparities across various societies. Social capital relates to resources that are intangible and rooted within social institutions or interpersonal relationships (Feldmann, 2019; Zhang, 2019). The three major forms related to social capital are:

- 1). As information channels
- 2). As obligations and expectations
- 3). As social norms.

In the context of education, social capital bridges three different yet interconnected stakeholders that are family, community and school. These three pillars of society are interdependent from each other for the success of education of a child particularly a girl child. Social capital covers and links parental

obligations, expectations, social networks existing in the institute of family, school, and community (Israel *et al.*, 2001; Wakefield & Poland, 2005).

These disparities in educational success are directly linked with parents' aspirations, perceptions and obligations for educating their children. It is influenced by the formation of social capital through network and connections between families, whom the school serves (Edwards-Jr, 2019). Similarly, it is useful for the academic climate, discipline/success of school and to facilitate cultural norms and practices to support student's involvement and progress in education (Lewicka, 2005). Children largely seek social capital from their families and their schools. Each context is significant for a child in terms of academic outcomes and social adjustment. Social capital at home is more persuasive than school (Dufur *et al.*, 2008).

Imandoust (2011) presented that social capital allows to take into consideration the importance of non-material assets of a society in social policy. It can affect the quality and quantity of education both in a community as well as in a country. It is imperative to discuss how the social capital has positive impacts in some communities. Secondly, it is very important to discuss how social capital formation occurs through education which helps better community development and improved quality of education.

Social capital at community level allows to mobilize internal resources and hence combine them with external resources for minimizing gender inequalities, educational uplift, development and social inclusion of the society (Dale & Newman, 2010; Flora, 2016). In academic and policy literature, social capital is widely recognized as a solution for a range of development issues including education (Goldthorpe, 2014; Collins, 2016; Roksa & Robinson, 2016). Gender balanced education is necessary for social, economic and cultural development of a community through improvement made by humans and through association between them in the form of social capital (Ramzan *et al.*, 2016).

The role of education is crucial towards improvement, growth and social inclusion of gender balanced education in a society, resultantly it pulls the society out of poverty sustainably (Abbott *et al.*, 2015). Parents possessing more human capital by virtue of education tend to offer more social capital to their children for their education, irrespective of gender (Von-Otter & Stenberg, 2015; Feldmann, 2019).

The organizational performances of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in Pakistan (Khalique *et al.*, 2015; Saqib *et al.*, 2016), social capital among farmers of rural Sindh (Sheikh *et al.*, 2015), occupational stress in banking (Akram & Qayyum, 2014), natural disaster and gender (Afzal *et al.*, 2015; Shareef *et al.*, 2015) demonstrate the evidence of the need and integration of quality education and gender equity (Andrabi *et al.*, 2007). Application of social capital can enhance ownership of girls' education.

In this context, social capital was a new concept for understanding the different aspects of social life at the level of community leading to development of the society (Tirmizi, 2005). The social capital theory stated that relationship is of a greater importance and therefore, the social networks existing in the society were considered to be valuable assets for people to enable them to foster strong communities through grass root development based on the network of trust and tolerance (Mehra, 1997). To strengthen community, a number of scholars attempted to determine the structure of a community. How does it work? What unifies a community? The answers were typically responded in three different ways involving common place, common ties and social interactions (Duflo, 2012). Many scholars have come to the conclusion that individual social capital is the answer to strengthening a community. Community and social capital are closely related because interactions that take place within a common place, with a common purpose for oneself and others turns out to be advantageous for a community to promote its beneficial behaviour to both genders (Hargreaves & Boler, 2006; Erulkar, 2013; Kuznar & Sanderson, 2015; Male & Wodon, 2016d). Dyer (2007) favoured the same conclusion by affirming that: "Social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence." Similar conclusion was conceptualized by Bourdieu considering social capital as a hub of social obligations (Bourdieu, 1985) .

It is not necessary that free education will completely solve the issue of access to education. Research showed that wiping out school fees is not the enchantment shot that provides all-inclusive access (Abuya *et al.*, 2013). Particularly for girls, society related problems can be solved only by involving local communities. Milojevic (2005) highlighted that extraordinary social issues of society cannot be illuminated without changing the whole structure of the general

society inside which these issues dwell. Therefore, it was suggested that to bringing positive changes, ensuring equal education to both men and women is much needed to assimilate in such progressions. Social capital theory has been considered effective to solve education related problems. Liou & Chang (2008) proposed the hypothetical framework that social capital has effectively broadened its impact over various disciplines. In spite of the fact that controversies exist, to characterize the theory, the shared conviction of these viewpoints alludes to expand that social communities are assets. It has become the popular theory to solve societal issues including girls' education. In the point of view of many socialist and researchers, social capital theory has turned into a promising system of analysis over the past decades (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Maeroff, 1999; Lin *et al.*, 2001; Dika & Singh, 2002).

Due to the popularity of social capital, other disciplines also adopted this theory to encounter their problems (Portes, 2000). "The idea of social capital is apparently a standout amongst the best exports from sociology to other social sciences and to open public talk." Surely, the idea of social capital has been stretched out to education, anthropology, economics, political science, and business. However, educational researchers and policy makers are considering it to solve educational problems related to class room and learning. Several scholars including (Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Dika & Singh, 2002) favoured that educational researchers started usage of the social capital theory in the field of school and learning irrespective of gender. Additionally, their objectives were to understand learning difficulties faced by the minorities. These studies also explored social disparity in status, race, and sex by using social capital. For instance, Coleman's longitudinal studies (Field, 2003) produced on his prior work which focused on the progress of black youngsters in American secondary schools. His work pulled in impressive considerations with his expected and unexpected innovations. Expectedly, social researchers trusted that parents' financial and societal position assumed deciding roles in the scholarly progress of their children. As anyone might expect, school students from families with sound financial and societal position had a tendency to outstand the individuals from families with low socio-economic background. When looking at minority schooling in the government and tuition based private schools, Catholic schools

exhibited lower dropout rates amongst students with the same background and capacity levels. Race did not demonstrate its impact in Coleman's case.

McClenaghan (2000) defined social capital as an idea in connection with various associated fields of evaluation, including the identification of components impacting educational achievements, clarifications of varying levels of involvement in formal and informal education conditions important to the development and improvement of schools/institutions and practices helpful for lifelong learning. Inside these specific circumstances, social capital has come to be characterized in an assortment of courses, all of which have been connected to aggregate standards, customs, values and relationship mirroring the inclusion of humans in a typical life in the perspective of family and community without any prejudice. Basically, community advancement is by and large characterized as a social learning process which serves to engage people and to include them as residents in aggregate activities for socio-economic advancement that equally benefits young girls and women.

Social capital has strong linkages with human capital and vice versa. Becker (1962) mentioned abilities such as health, education, and preparing of people as human capital in light of the fact that it forms the basis of positive aptitudes as a necessary dependable tool. Each one of those characteristics of a man for example, knowledge, information, health, abilities and experience that influence his or her conceivable present and future income or earning, mental wage, and salary in kind is called human capital (Kooreman & Wunderink, 1997).

Amsden (1994) identified the concept that education and human capital are vital for economic development (lastly, for destitution decrease). It received much significance in the mid-1990s on the grounds that economic advancement of East Asian nations (Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and The Republic of Korea) was essentially because of their interest and investment in human capital and education formation. Jeffery & Basu (1996) explained that a significant decrease in the number of deprived people is possible by ensuring access to education and training transmitting information, knowledge and aptitudes that is helpful in generating greater income opportunities. The immediate impact of education on destitution reduction is by expanding the profit in salary/wages. The secondary impact of the education alleviation of poverty is essential for "human destitution"

on the grounds that as education enhances the salary, the satisfaction of fundamental necessities gets less demanding and raises the expectation for everyday comforts which definitely implies the decrease in human poverty.

Mughal (2007) portrayed that both education and health of the people are the basic imperative elements of human capital. This makes people worthwhile and therefore, it ensures an enhanced quality of life for all genders. This requires an effective use of pure, physical, natural capitals, innovation and skills of any individual. Without a human capital plan, the objective of improvement or destitution disposal is unavoidable. Human capital gathering is to a great extent based upon education, mastery and skill achievement.

Awan *et al.* (2011) argued that the significant correlation between human capital and higher income has been supported by several researches (Foster & Rosenzweig, 1995; Autor & Handel, 2013; Shareef *et al.*, 2017). MDGs and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) immensely stressed upon human capital for reducing poverty and inequality across genders. The monetary improvement in East Asian nations is likewise connected with advancement in education and maximizing human capital. (Bruce *et al.*, 1960; Schultz, 1975) stated that interest and investment in human capital is supposed to be a powerful tool to enhance the welfare of individuals around the globe.

2.6.1 Community Involvement and Girls Schooling

It is prudent to involve the local community to reduce the inequality in education among boys and girls (Chou *et al.*, 2010; Collins, 2016). Similarly, Seel (2007) reported that community involvement had the capacity to decrease disparity through empowering schools and community groups and by making right decisions about educational needs.

Many countries, including Pakistan have taken initiatives in community involvement. Herz & Sperling (2004) discovered Colombia's Escuela Nueva system of multi grade group schools which had resulted in a 30% expansion in country enrolment. Likewise, a study in Pakistan found that rustic community based schools generally rise females' enrolments to more than four times at provincial level. Pakistan launched SAP program first time in 1993. But it did not achieve its targets due to lack of political will. Shah (2003) advocated that SAP

encouraged community help for opening primary schools through local Schools Management Committees (SMCs). The system was greatly supported by GOP and donor agencies. The objective of SAP educational project was to address Pakistanis' fundamental educational needs that were not fulfilled. SAP dealt with all Pakistan government primary schools. Patterson & Horwood (1995) identified that the involvement of communities in education has deteriorated during the 20th century. Both the school and the community have evolved into separate worlds that significantly affects the quality of education from both supply and demand side.

In the development sector of Pakistan, development projects entitled Girls Primary Education Development Project I and II (ADB loan Number 1454, Pak 2001) focused on improving girls' education. The first project was completed during the nineties. This project benefited over 1000 female schools with improved set up and infrastructure. The community donated land for this venture. The second project also constructed over 1000 rural girls' primary and model schools all over the country. More than 500 (five room) model schools were constructed in Punjab in almost all districts. The project equally focused on quality of education. As a phase-II project, it learnt some lessons from phase-I with an added rate of establishing SMCs. The project enabled girls to access and give quality instruction leading to mastery of basic literacy skills needed for productive education.

The major aims of the project were twofold: specifically, the project aimed at:

- 1). Increasing girl's access to quality education at the primary level by establishing CMS's by converting existing multi grade schools to CMS's and also building CMS's at new sites where it was not available for girls.
- 2). Deployment of supporting staff for local teachers to ensure teacher's presence in CMS's and reduce transfer and absenteeism of teachers.
- 3). Quality improvement interventions were introduced, including Incentive Ratio Instruction (IRI), instruction materials and assessment of achievements of students and their enrolment.
- 4). Supporting capacity building through provisional educational offices, abilities to conduct monitoring and evaluation, community participation in CMS's and student achievements.

- 5). Establishment of a network of learning coordinators, assigned to teacher resources rooms in CMS's.
- 6). Mobilizing community school committees and involving CMS headmistress, coordinators and staff outreach programs to nearby schools.

Each of the 1000 Model Rural Girls Committee Schools constituted local School Management Committees (SMCs); they were trained through well planned programs by a team of community mobilizers, with inputs by national and international consultants at Government of Pakistan (GOP) and Asian Development Bank (ADB).

The core objectives of community mobilization were;

- 1). Creating awareness on the role of community and its responsibilities in managing and operating CMS.
- 2). Organize and promote interest among various stakeholders of the community on certain task that facilitate CMS.
- 3). Build teams and develop network of support to strengthen the ownership of the school.

This project demulsified on site activities increasing investment on training and re-training of 5+1 teachers, of SMCs. Better schooling facilities and on the top teaching and training SMCs, leads to sustainability. To sum it up, more than 1000 schools (500 in Punjab, 200 in Sindh and rest in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and Baluchistan) benefited from this project initiated in the early 2000s. Sathar & Lloyd (2000) found that some of the government schools hardly had any active community help like School Management Committees.

A substantial review of education policies focusing on initiatives for promoting girls education were analysed commencing from the independence in 1947 to current education policy 2009 in to highlight initiatives of the country for promotion of girl's education from structural point of view. Furthermore, it helped to identify various issues and gaps in existing literature within which present study is qualitatively located.

2.7 Capability Approach

Capability approach is a technique that encompasses the multi-dimensional characteristics of well-being. It highlights the differences between means and ends, and also between people's potential capabilities and their achieved functions (Sen & Nussbaum, 1993; Alkire, 2005; Robeyns, 2005; Raynor, 2007). The difference between capabilities and functioning is similar to the difference between outcome and opportunity. The overall capabilities of someone collectively relate towards the overall freedom of a person to lead a life that the person values (Robeyns, 2003; Walker & Unterhalter, 2007). Having access to education which facilitates a person to progress and achieve a good quality of life is mostly considered to be "capability". Walker & Unterhalter (2007) in an article examined the relationship between capability approach in the overall wellbeing and role of education towards ensuring an overall wellbeing. In this article, two roles of education were mentioned to enhance the capacities of an individual. Firstly it enhances the opportunities and capabilities and secondly it exercises those appropriate capacities after necessary judgement.

Saito (2003) opines that the capability approach stresses upon developing conducive conditions of wellbeing, freedom and agency for individuals (adults and children). This entails that girls and boys should have access to education (a state of welfare) so that it may enhance their capabilities like adults. Background conditions can limit their access to education, capabilities and agency. A scarcity of resources for schooling particularly for girls and a general lack of understanding to minimise the gender differences might result in failing to achieve "functioning" but also to enhance capabilities. A gender marginalised child that has failed to acquire education as an intrinsic good (that could enhance her capabilities) will only add on the burden of things such as domestic work, food restrictions, lack of freedom to get involved in decision making and discrimination against girls/women. This can act as a restriction towards agency, freedom and identity and therefore, it limits the capabilities, and the intrinsic benefits of education for girls (Unterhalter, 2003).

The capacity approach defines that women and men must have the same freedom to achieve their own wellbeing through education. San explained that women's and girls' education is not only beneficial for them only but also for the

betterment of the whole society. Women and girls are discriminated from their educational rights. The capability approach is tackled when a person formulates a task and what is expected from him or her such as women believe that education is not possible for them due to education is not appropriate for them at high level. Here, it is seen that the value of education is not be measured with the context of women's capability because of less ambition. Boys and girls should have the same chances of freedom to achieve education but girls are less educated because the social system does not support them. There is no space for girls to get education and they have to live at homes to participate in household work.

Furthermore they will most probably be married off early and hence most of the resources are not invested in girls' education because they draw out resources of house. Therefore, their freedom is restricted which prevents them in achieving education. Social customs have a lot of influence on the wills of girls and hence their choices and capacities of getting education are to be judged in that particular context. They are told and made to believe that education has no such role in their lives and that there is no need to pursue education. Sen argued that capability should not be valued on the individual base but it should be examined through the social and cultural context among others that shape the preferences of people. Hence choices are influenced in the freedom of individuals (Unterhalter, 2003; Alkire, 2005; Sen, 2014).

The capacity approach shows arrangements to protect the freedom of children in the society. This approach would not solve issues such as discrimination of genders in the context of education but it creates a framework of operationalization. Gender inequality is concerned with social arrangements such as hierarchy with respect to decision making in educating. This approach does not tie with education only but it shows various dimensions such as freedom, political participation, employment and economic independency. Education assists to secure more goods like job, income, health, decision making. In fact, an educated person deals issues differently than an uneducated one. Usually educated people have a cool mind and uses different ways of thinking and analysis to solve the problems at hand. The capability approach understands the importance of education in an adequate way and makes differences in the way

of life for people in different areas such as better living, empowerment, income, social status etc. This approach gives an example of a woman who is educated and working towards achieving her own goals and targets with the freedom to go outside. On the other side, an uneducated woman usually faces issues such as family based domestic violence issues, familial discrimination, no property, a hostile quality of life and many more.

2.8 Factors Affecting Girls Access and Participation in Formal Education

Girls and women can play a central role in the flourishing social and economic sectors of development, particularly in a country like Pakistan where females are majority in number. Jejeebhoy (1995) was of the view that access to education has been perceived as a basic right. At the country level, educating females brings about enhanced efficiency, wage, and monetary improvement. The contributions of (Beneria *et al.*, 2015) acknowledged education as a vital device for human improvement in all aspects of life. It is equally important for girls and boys.

In spite of acknowledgments, girls are considered to be the more disadvantaged and vulnerable group and hence denied education due to different socio-economic and political reasons (Klees, 2017). It is accepted globally that education empowers woman. Many researches have attempted to explain that educational discriminations can be seen both as a cause as well as a result of the deeply rooted inequalities functioning within various key institutions such as family, community and educational institutes operating in the wider society (Branisa *et al.*, 2013; Thompson, 2016; Mills, 2017). In other words, gender bias flourishes at multiple levels i.e. Household, community and schools.

Access is simple to define but difficult to provide. It refers to providing affordable chances or opportunities to the target group for participation. In education it is measured by:

- Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) by level.
- Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) by level.
- Gross Admission Ratio (GAR) by level,

or

- Apparent Intake Rate (AIR).
- Net Admission Rate (NAR) by level,

or

- Net Intake Rate (NIR)
- Transition Rate from primary to middle/lower secondary.
- Transition rate from lower/middle to secondary/upper secondary.

For boys and girls, these indicators are calculated separately on the basis of rural and urban (among others) criteria. For measuring equity in access to education, all indicators refer to each age group by school going ages to some extent. Equity is associated with access (PCSW, 2018). Equity implies an equality of opportunities for achieving outcomes with equal inputs. In public policy, it denotes commitment to equity. Some key points include:-

- Differences in outcomes should not be attributed to differences in health, income, power or possession.
- Reducing the gap between top and bottom.
- Providing reasonable opportunities.

Some theories include:

- Equal input (Ethical aspects)
- Deserve merit (Economic aspects)
- Reduce disparities (Sociological aspects)

The benefits occurred are;

- Social cohesion
- Right of consideration

The absence of independent schools for females and female teachers had likewise been an obstruction in sending girls to the schools in rustic groups of third world countries like Pakistan and India (Srivastava, 2007). In the social section it implied a policy commitment for reducing inequality, the equal distribution of goods, improving accessibility of services, the general affordability of target groups, the lifelong education (learning for all), creating new delivery

agents and systems, increasing opportunities and reducing disparities. The low enrolment rates at the primary level, access, gender disparities, absence of prepared instructors, inadequacy of appropriate materials and poor physical framework of schools demonstrated poor execution of this industry (Memon, 2007).

Sathar & Lloyd (1994) advocated that the opportunities of Pakistani children entering school and finishing the essential level of education are to a great degree low as compared to moderately poor South Asian nations. The availability of "proper" single-sex schools and the accessibility of quality education are additional and important reason among children tutoring results, especially for females in the rustic regions.

Sub-Saharan African countries are the most disadvantaged areas in terms of education. Many efforts are being pursued to flourish education in the last two decades but still many students (particularly girls) are unable to complete even the basic education cycle. Lewin (2009) found that although the number of children with access to essential education in Sub-Saharan Africa have been expanded generously in the recent two decades however, a large number of children are still out of school. Children are not enrolled in schools, particularly in their delicate states, and although lots of them begin school they are unable to finish the fundamental cycle of education.

In every society and nation, there are particular deprived groups that have no access to schooling and are, therefore, unable to finish basic and fundamental education. Chimombo & Patrick (2005b) highlighted the reasons that hamper access to education and chance to complete various levels of education. At times, deprivation is because of inadequate resources and in others, differential effect is a consequence of educational strategies and policies that are implemented in the social/monetary/political relationship and associations in the general public. This educational deprivation can be eliminated with efficient policy formulation and implementation but policy makers seem confused between providing quality education and access to school. Hanushek (1995) reported that even in developing countries where policymakers have for some time been disturbed by the undesirable and unavoidable circumstances in the process of achieving wide access to education and establishing top quality schools.

2.9 Differing Economic Considerations for Gender and Schooling

Parents consider that girls' education is not beneficial for them from the future point of view. Herz (1991), in a study on the views of parents established the fact that male education may justifiably be a superior investment while female education is an extravagance that they cannot manage and afford. It is evident from researches that having no access to school is not the reason for low enrolment rates of girls versus boys rather it is affected by parents' economic condition and their willingness to send their daughters to schools (Ewing, 1997). (Ewing, 1997; Chimombo & Patrick, 2005a) elaborated that male and female differences in the rate of enrolment cannot be credited simply to the accessibility to schools since enrolment differentials are likewise impacted by parental attributes and financial status of the family unit. Girl's participation is seen to be low as compared to boys in developing countries. Colclough & Lewin (1993) described that the proportion of female to male enrolments was fundamentally lower in nations with low Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) than other nations.

Disadvantaged socio-economic factors play a vital role in the education process of the children. Particularly girls from poor socio-economic background are less likely to seek education as compared to their brothers (Bessudnov & Malik, 2016). Education is directly connected with poverty and the economic background of the students. Aikman & Unterhalter (2005) argued that the absence of education is for the most part connected with destitution and segregation. Therefore, involvement of parents in their child's learning plays a significant role especially among families with low socio-economic status. Heymann *et al.* (2004) found in their study that parental support is especially critical in enhancing accomplishments of kids from groups of low financial status.

The socio-economic background of parents plays a significant role in the education of their children. Mitra & Singh (2008) reported that the financial status of parents in third world countries is a noteworthy determinant of enrolment and retention of females at each level of education (Logan & Beoku-Betts, 1996; Mitra & Singh, 2008). Similarly, in the view of Bardhan & Klasen (1999), societal position and class profoundly affects the education of females, particularly where girls are from low income (Bardhan & Klasen, 1999) and ethnic groups. Therefore, they frequently drop out of school to assist their families in domestic tasks and likewise

contribute in income through their earnings from fieldwork (Stromquist, 1990; Mitra & Singh, 2008).

2.9.1 Schooling Cost: Does Gender Matter?

Poverty is considered as a key component of deprivation of education among underdeveloped countries, which results in low enrolment and a high number of dropouts from school. Dieltiens & Meny-Gibert (2008) presented that destitution is frequently given as a critical explanation behind why learners drop out of school. Failure to pay school charges, the expenses of uniform, shoes, transport and stationary added to schooling cost. School fees is just one aspect that is connected to the economic condition of parents but other expenditures like purchasing books, uniform, stationary etc. compel parents to keep their children out of school and contribute to family work. (Roithmayr, 2002; Fleisch & Woolman, 2004) argued that charges in the form of school fee do not include as an essential factor for drop-out rather inability of coping with expenses hinders educational access where the full scope of costs are connected with participation, especially of garbs and transport. Recent research has suggested that poverty leads to child labour; it compels parents to send their children to work rather than school. (Cockburn, 2001; Ray, 2002; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005) highlighted in their studies that child work for income generation is ordinarily connected with neediness and there is no accord in the literature on part of destitution in driving families towards putting kids into market for earnings (Boyden *et al.*, 2012). In other words, due to number of reasons, poor communities failed to ensure child education.

2.9.2 Child Labour Displacing Education

Child labour takes place mostly in the pretext of poverty where very small number of poor children get access and enrolment in schools due to limited resources. (Huisman & Smits, 2009). Children have a tendency to work more as compared to others (Basu & Tzannatos, 2003; Bourdillon, 2006). It is not a legitimate choice and not a reasonable option for parents to keep children busy with household activities and other family business or paid labour if they cannot afford their children's school fee. The possession of land and livestock is related with child labour in the majority of poor families (Goulart & Bedi, 2008). In order to manage

both land and livestock, families need abundance of labour likewise parents require more and more children for the execution of household chores and other works (Dar *et al.*, 2002). Such mind-set significantly affect girls' education.

In a study conducted by Webbink *et al.* (2012) across 178,000 children of 214 districts of 16 developing countries, comparisons on the basis of demographic socio-economic and cultural factors found that majority of the children spent time in agriculture related activities that resulted in dropout of children of school going age.

In developing countries there are many children who are busy in paid labour services and therefore, cannot attend schools generally, they are known as idle children. Most of them work in hidden forms of child labour, such as work in household, farm and family business. This idleness creates many problems and finally lead to dropout from schools (Amin *et al.*, 2006).

Moreover, cultural patterns and the local traditions of the society can affect parental decisions regarding girls' schooling (Kamruzzaman, 2015; Alsamawi *et al.*, 2017). Besides family business, work in market and household work result in direct return to the family in the form of cash or assistance. Such type of child labour is more harmful for the children because it directly affects the time that can be spent in school and is wasted in labour in the form of family business, work in market and house work. Many researches proved that children educational participation and achievements are negatively affected by to all forms of child labour such as family business, work in market and household work (Amin *et al.*, 2006; Allais, 2009; Assaad *et al.*, 2010). Poverty acts as a deterrent to children education by minimizing their schooling opportunities.

To uphold child labour bans, developing nations need more resources, particularly when majority of the children work for their parents in agricultural farms. In today's developing world, resistance in following obligatory schooling laws is a serious issue (Krueger, 1999; Brown & Duguid, 2001). Edmonds & Pavcnik (2005) recommended that making education more stunning can be used as a policy measure to reduce child labour. Similarly, strategies that try to lessen the expenses of education, raise school quality, or enhance the markets come back to education could only make a difference. Due to low perceived returns of schooling, families might not prefer to send their children to schools.

However, some evidences showed that child labour might be lessened by motivating families and parents to send their children attend schools. For example, Rosenzweig (1995) and Foster & Rosenzweig (1995) reported that in India, school development in the post green revolution period stimulated expanded education and diminished child labour. Various nations have received policies intended to demoralize child labour and raise schooling by bringing down the cost of education through instructive subsidies. In the recent past Pakistan has initiated many capitation grant schemes for free education at primary level however, still a large number of parents are not willing to send their girls to schools due to cost associated with schooling, transport and uniform.

There is an enormous body of literature that shows how a child's involvement in household tasks impedes the education level of children irrespective of their gender (Blossfeld *et al.*, 2015; Putnick & Bornstein, 2015). Several studies elaborate that sometime girls in the rural areas tend to perform household works at a very early age as compared to boys (Blossfeld *et al.*, 2015; Bérenger & Verdier-Chouchane, 2016). In another study, it was found that elder sisters are more likely to dropout from schools at an early age to take care of the younger ones (Tuwor & Sossou, 2008). Similarly girls do more household works as compared to boys, which leads to rapid early school dropouts among girls. Porter *et al.* (2017) are of the view that one of the major reasons for dropouts of girls is due to taking care of their younger siblings.

Some studies from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh showed that if mothers work outside the home then their daughters share their mothers' household responsibilities which causes school dropout among girls (Borkotoky & Unisa, 2015; Malik, 2015; Shah *et al.*, 2015; Kono *et al.*, 2018). Similarly, it was found in some studies that girls in rural areas perform more household duties as compared to their urban counterparts, and consequently their education gets compromised (Oruko *et al.*, 2015).

Sarkar *et al.* (2014) mentioned that rather than worrying about girls' education, parents were found to be more concerned about their daughters' role at home. Due to this, they hardly believe in girls' education since in their minds, girls are supposed to prepare meals and take care of their children and family in their future life.

2.10 Norms, Attitudes and Practices concerning Girls Education

In addition to socio-economic factors, cultural factors hugely influence girls' education. Maertens (2013), in a study conducted in rural India found that both early marriages and the levels of education are tangled with norms that impede involvement of women in workplace. Boys are more likely to study in schools as compared to girls. Since girls face multiple factors like poverty, large family size, insecurity, peer influence, early marriages, pregnancy, lack of parental concern and cultural rites that hinder their participation in education. Such factors are major reasons for girl drop outs from school (Israel *et al.*, 2001; Kelly, 2013; Baker, 2016). Due to the low level of girls' education, developing and third world countries face serious public health problems such as child malnutrition issues among children under five years of age (U5s). Therefore, a raise in maternal education can bring about a subsequent decrease in malnutrition among children. Hasan *et al.* (2015) in their study recommended at least a secondary level of maternal education to minimize child malnutrition in Bangladesh.

Female education can be considered to be a valuable investment in itself, as education could positively contribute to help girls and women excel in many areas of their lives including health. One of the major health challenges of global public health today is maternal morbidity and mortality. Goal 3.1 of SDGs clearly states its objective as "By 2030, reduce the global maternal mortality ratio to less than 70 per 100,000 live births" (Malik *et al.*, 2015; WHO, 2017).

Several studies identified that in many developing parts of the world, cultural beliefs and norms constrain girls' education (Bellamy, 2003; Jamal, 2015; Ali & Khawaja, 2017). In such societies, traditional mind sets and some religious beliefs constrain girls even for expressing their opinions and making vital decisions regarding education. Weisner (2015) found that many cultures are more favourable towards boys' education as compared to females' education.

Customs, traditions, and norms create hurdles in educating girls particularly in backward societies. Lloyd & Blanc (1996) and Berger *et al.* (2002) found that socially decided norms for characterizing women, men and their roles in a given society form gender specified chances, opportunities and requirements. People who are rigid in following their culture and customs are generally against girls'

education. Similarly, many societies are against investing in the education for girls and women (Kamat, 1976; Sathar *et al.*, 1988; Hadden & London, 1996; Jejeebhoy & Sathar, 2001). Another hurdle in the way of schooling to girls is the caste system that prevails in Indian society (Kamat, 1976; Patkar, 1995). Similar caste borne limitations hamper girls' education in rural areas of Pakistan

In traditional societies, girls and women education are considered as a potential threat to male dominance. Stromquist (1990) advanced that female education is seen as a potential challenge especially in a male dominant society. A lot of variables that influence the denial of education to girls include: 1) Protecting a woman's status cause high dropout rates among young girls at the onset of adolescence. 2) The possibility of marriage is endangered if training and education is beyond literacy in some customary social orders. 3) The way that young girls marry out of the family and move to the other family brings about minimal budgetary return (Hadden & London, 1996; King & Hill, 1997). Different investigations indicate that time disagreement emerges between what is instructed at home and what is instructed at school which may cause parents contradicting girls' proceeded with participation at school (Chimombo & Patrick, 2005a; Mwangi & Orodho, 2014). Therefore, girls experience differential treatment both within household and in community.

Without a doubt, girls' conduct is specifically identified with numerous tribal and conventional taboos which manage what and what not to do at different phases of their age that may strife with the demands of education. Many girls remain uneducated in Pakistan, as society and culture do not permit them to move freely in society. People of South Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, tribal areas of Baluchistan and elsewhere in Pakistan follow their own traditions and customs. Thus, traditions tend to discourage girls to seek education. People who perform more religious practices are against scientific and modern education, which causes educational deprivation. In some cases, they restrict not only girls but also refrain boys from getting modern education. Another component which additionally acts together with the state of mind is religion. Religious benefits of access have regularly been confined to specific classes and to men. Also, this example of transmitting and picking up of religious information and force has been compelling in deciding access and avoidance to formal state funded education.

Medway (1989) and Adcock (2013) found that religion with gender orientation; social class and provincial area are critical determinants of education. Pakistan is a culturally diverse country, having multiple cultural factors. Moreover, such cultural factors influence traditions, gender, life style and overall education (Hameed & Hameed, 2016). In some parts of the developing world, achieving gender parity in education is faced with cultural obstacles. In case of Pakistan, some extremist groups even harass girls and their teachers who go to school (Way *et al.*, 2014). Considering girls schooling as a gateway to modernity and no adherence of traditional values.

Class Culture Theory in education is based on other theoretical conceptions; it is an intrinsically elite class social theory of education. Social constructionist theory of education and the theory of social class and education have a great bearing on the philosophy of education (Weis & Fine, 2013; Foley, 2016). According to the class cultural theory, social class has a deep influence on educational achievements. In simple words, people belonging to middle class have more aspirations towards education than those who come from low social backgrounds (Bruner, 1996; Murrell, 2008; Foley, 2010). In particular poverty emerge as a constraint behind girls schooling.

In the universal context, middle class society always works hard for survival. A study by Foley (2010) explained that a social class who has more access to resources and affordability to education has more chances for enhanced civic engagement and a better socio-economic situation in life. Data showed that people who belong to a low social class live in a continuous deprived situation from generation to generation. This has been extensively studied in the area of “disadvantaged groups” (Murrell, 2008).

Murrell (2007) explained a similar situation while talking about children from low socio-cultural backgrounds. Bruner (1996) argued that culture has direct link with the individuals' mind set, inspiration and trend for obtaining education. This shapes families/parents decisions for their children's education.

In this context, it is important for the case study of region of Punjab, Pakistan that would help in discussing “cultural materialism” and in developing a background to understand the links between culture and education. Cultural materialism can be seen from two different perspectives; firstly, different parts of the society are

interrelated; bringing change in any part subsequently brings change in rest of the parts. For instance change in the income structure of the people makes important part of family income. It has a considerable positive or negative effect on a family. The institution of family experience changes in their livelihood, educational choices, health care and overall quality of life. However, it varies from family to family and also on frequency and intensity of change. Secondly, the overall environment upon which all members of a society rely for subsistence forms the socio-cultural basis (Harris & Johnson, 2006; Kuznar & Sanderson, 2015). Socio-cultural bias does not favour girls' education.

Furthermore, human needs are culturally and socially constructed. They are deeply rooted in the behaviour and cultural practices of people over the generations. They carry forward the traditional wisdom and supremacy along with them. For example, in a traditional culture (in rural Pakistan) where women hold secondary position and male dominance is strongly prevalent, the cultural norms and practices do not support female autonomy and thus access to education. However, with the rise in literacy rates, particularly of females, comes the prevalence of social change and slight shift in highly concentrated gendered outlook of the society. Such changes in the cultural context take very long time to make an impact. One can easily find many close communities which does not offer an enabling environment for girls' education.

Osita-Oleribe (2007) found that in traditional cultures, children (particularly girls) are made to believe that education is not compulsory for them. Their ultimate destiny is their husband's home. Education is not required for getting married or for producing babies. Such cultural doctrines made girls focus on getting married instead of getting education. Child marriages take place due to poverty, gender inequalities and illiteracy (Butt & Naveed, 2015). Similarly, Sarkar *et al.* (2014) mentioned that girls' education is considered to be a burden in third world countries. Therefore, in rural Bangladesh, the majority of parents try to marry off their daughters as early as possible. The social, economic, psychological and physical costs of child marriage bear adverse effects on girls.

Girl education is associated with a number of societal factors including socio-economic and cultural backgrounds at the household and community levels and institutional support within which gender based decisions are made related to

education (Shahidul & Karim, 2015). The socio-economic conditions particularly the cultural norms in which people live greatly influence girls' access to education. Intrinsically, factors like poverty, educational status of the parents, gender bias and social exclusion are essential determinants of the uneven status of girls in terms of equality in attaining education (Strand, 2014). As a matter of fact these social determinants shape overall educational outcomes of girls across these communities presenting a great effect on their lives.

2.10.1 Parental Involvement in Girls Education

Family is a prime agent of socialization for a child (Council, 2016). Parents, siblings, grandparents and society at large are the major agents of transformation of lifelong social experiences through enculturation (Brighouse & Swift, 2014). Parent's role in the education of their children is very critical. It is a wrong view that the responsibility of parents is to just send their children to school and think that now school/education is responsible to nurture children rather, it is true that parent involvement has a substantial impact on their physical growth and their development. Parent involvement cast much positive impact on children as compared to those who have little parent's involvement and this resulted in little impact on the children progress. It is extensively acknowledged that age of the children is a great barrier in parent's involvement. As the children move to higher level of education, parent's involvement decrease and at the secondary school age, parent's involvement comes at its lowest level (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). Low parental involvement results due to low parental education that further strengthens non supportive attitude towards girls' education.

A parental preference in education plays a vital role (Bruner, 1996; Jeynes, 2014). Most parents think that they should invest in boy's education instead of girls as Logan & Beoku-Betts (1996) found in a study that in numerous South Asian and African communities, parents like to put resources into their son's education because their son will give social protection to their parents whereas girls will principally serve the necessities of future life partners and their families (Logan & Beoku-Betts, 1996). Therefore, the expense of education and opportunity are promptly consumed by the family for a son instead of a daughter (Hadden & London, 1996). Moreover, mothers' own educational background and socialization significantly affect their children's distant as well as proximate

educational outcomes (Landry *et al.*, 2014). Illiterate mothers lack capabilities to support their children education.

Socialization and interaction reinforce one another across the various stages of cognitive development of a child in various social contexts. Human capital perspective stresses on having knowledge, skills and capabilities that further contribute to productivity by investing in humans (Burt, 1997; Nijs *et al.*, 2014). In short, human capital refers to changes that bring out capabilities and stock of new skills hence, enabling a person for new ways. Human capital can be taken in the national as well as individual perspective (Acs *et al.*, 2014). In the present study, the individual and community level of human capital was the major concern (Koc, 2015). The acquisition of knowledge and skills mainly depends on the completion of education. Often education attainment is equated with human capital (Autor & Handel, 2013). Mothers play a crucial role as care givers furthermore, maternal human capital “provides the potential for cognitive environment for the child which helps in learning” (Coleman, 1988).

Mothers act as positive role models (Hesketh *et al.*, 2014), they use their own cognitive learning in interactions during child development. Although, human capital mechanism most frequently occur within home in interactions between mother and child. There are many other forms of interactions outside home where mothers use their human capital skills while interacting with other people and in coping up with the educational challenges faced by the school and family. Illiterate mothers lack various skills like cognitive flexibility, problem solving abilities, language skills and skills for acquiring information and are therefore unable to apply it in various novel situations. Harding *et al.* (2015) found that educated mothers can efficiently use these skills to improve their children education. Educated mothers possess advanced language skills and vast vocabulary that they commonly use while interacting with their children. Similarly, educated mothers provide their children with a continuously stimulating learning environment during infancy and pre-schooling. More frequently educated mothers read and tell stories to their children, sing songs, recite rhymes and do different art and crafts with their children than their counterparts with low education, who face various inadequacies and hence transfer limited worldview and assistance to their children in formal education (Güneş, 2015) hence level of

human capital formation at individual and community becomes another major concern. In other words, girls are to be prepared for future development. Girls' education is vital in this regard.

2.10.2 Gendered Mobility, Purdah and Education

Mobility limitations emerge in numerous societies when girls reach adolescence and this has a huge impact on girls of school going age. The parents' perceptions regarding girls' education remain critical as they think that they can teach girls at home rather than sending them to schools (Hadden & London, 1996). Mobility of girls is restricted because of *Purdah* system especially in Muslim countries (Cain *et al.*, 1979). In Pakistan and elsewhere in Bangladesh it is frightening for extremist people to provide education to women because they think that in this way their girls would gain independence in making their decisions (Papanek, 1971; Cain *et al.*, 1979). Stromquist (1990) noted that the access of girls to education is restricted by religious and family impacts (Stromquist, 1990; Jejeebhoy, 1995; Logan & Beoku-Betts, 1996; Leach, 1998). The terror that educated women will be "ungovernable", "uncontrollable" and "unmarriageable" likewise go side by side as a hurdle in the way of girls education (Leach, 1998).

However, traditional norms and values can vary according to geographical locations. Glover & Liebling (2018) mentioned that in developing countries, traditional beliefs and norms are stronger in rural areas as compared to urban areas. Therefore, traditional people often do not permit girls to attend schools (Jamal, 2015).

A few conservative societies do not let girls leave their homes that ultimately results in educational deprivation for females. Herz (1991) described that in various countries women may likewise require special physical security. Moreover, in some conventional societies, women need strict supervision and more disguising garments when they venture outside the home.

Security of girls is the main concern for parents especially in rustic areas. Logan & Beoku-Betts (1996) explained that field data indicates that the area and the location of the school significantly affects girls access to schooling as parents are not willing to compromise over security with concerns that their girls might have to travel long distances to reach schools in rural and backward regions (Logan &

Beoku-Betts, 1996; Afzal *et al.*, 2015). Parents perceive it as a challenge therefore, they limit girls' access to education. On the basis of rigorous review of literature presented in this chapter, the following theoretical framework of the study is developed and applied (Figure 1).

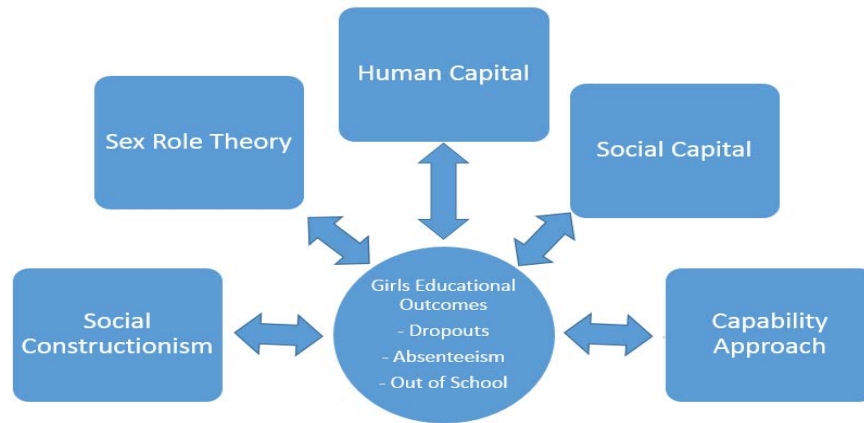


Figure 1: Theoretical framework of the study

2.11 Conclusion

The main objective of the chapter was to understand, discuss, and address gender bias in education at household and community levels in light of various theoretical concepts. Literature has shown that gender is a social construct as it reflects in daily lives of people by virtue of social interactions. Gender cannot be affixed to an individual rather it takes many shapes in accordance with various situations in social milieu of people. It can be observed at household, community and institutional levels. The understanding of gender and its social construct has helped understand the diverse experiences of marginalized girls in traditional societies with respect to education. Additionally, the literature has also encapsulated some concepts relating to gender and development in light of various international commitments such as EFA, MDGs and SDGs to substantiate gender inequalities in education.

A Feminist viewpoint has briefly been covered through theoretical constructs of WID, WAD, and GAD. These approaches offer some similarities between Western culture and the study areas. The review of literature helped the researcher to establish an appropriate theoretical framework to comprehend three major discourses related to this study. Firstly, the effects of social

construction of gender with reference to education. Secondly, it highlighted the significance of the concept of social capital at the household and community levels. Thirdly, the significance of human capital and capability approach is shown which endorsed the study objectives. The theoretical framework helped the researcher to understand how education and social capital is useful to minimise gender disparities, strengthen social cohesion and ensure equal educational opportunities through fair inclusion of both genders at the micro level.

Literature has demonstrated the fact that despite having various national commitments to uplift girls schooling in Pakistan, the factual position still exhibits unsatisfactory results. The demand and supply issues related to gender equality in education have also been discussed in the chapter. In the light of the literature review in the chapter, the next chapter proceeds to offers details on methodological aspects and introduction of the study areas.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Chapter two presented an overview of literature to lay the foundations for this study. The literature covered in the previous chapter mainly relates with gender, education, development, socio-economic and cultural factors associated with girls' education. Based on the review of the literature presented in the last chapter, this chapter begins by highlighting a suitable methodology for this research. Moreover, the chapter engages in explaining the research methodologies employed in this study along with an introduction to the research locales. The chapter is divided into two main sections, section one provides detailed accounts on the research methods used along with the process through which the data was accumulated and analysed. It also covers field work experiences, ethical issues faced during the research and how such issues were addressed. Section two of the chapter reflects upon the research sites and provides details about the overall socio-economic, cultural as well as the demographic aspects that prevail in the studied areas. In this way a brief introduction to the research sites helps in contextualizing and analysing the study.

3.2 Research Methodologies and Strategies

Sorting out any possible answers to the topic under study was made possible through the analytical integration of preconceptions with the application of scientific research and the interpretation of the research topic. Therefore, methodological and systematic inquiries for the study hinges upon the application of various techniques and methods in the quest of valid data (Mouton, 1996). This is also applicable for the interpretation of data (Cohen *et al.*, 2013). Moreover, the combination of qualitative and quantitative research made use of the most valued feature of each (Cohen *et al.*, 2013). Both methods were employed in this study at the micro level. Emphasizing the importance of “thick description” defined by Geertz (1973) cited by (Ponterotto, 2006) elaborated in anthropological work as one's own construction based on other people's (respondents) construction for something they and their competitors are up to. The interpretation of the actions and interactions of others requires a detailed

description of their contextualized behaviour to make one's observations more credible.

3.2.1 Research Design and Strategy

Qualitative research methods were specifically useful in grasping the “thick description” of girls' education in the social fabric of the culture. While doing so, observations were linked with multiple ideas and themes related to the study. In the whole process, ideas were developed, modified, tested and then re-tested against the observations made. This made it difficult to stop the qualitative analysis till the end (Bernard & Bernard, 2013).

To serve the socio-demographic characteristics of the community and the respondents, quantitative data were gathered in addition to qualitative approaches. Incorporating quantitative data has strengthened and validated the qualitative findings. Qualitative and quantitative research differ in many ways, but in the end they do complement each other. It proved quite useful to gather data systematically, analyse empirical data and then carefully study the patterns in them to explain the social life of locals and their attitude towards gendered education (Louis *et al.*, 2007). My overall interaction with respondents and the collection of primary data lasted over a period of one year. During this time period I made frequent visits to the locales, resided with the people of these locales. I visited schools, NGOs, allied health and the education department to broaden my understanding of various themes and sub themes of the study and to therefore, acquire as much authentic information as I could by utilizing various research tools.

3.3 Rationale for Qualitative Approach

By applying a qualitative approach in this ethnographic study, the researcher has attempted to establish the meanings of a phenomenon of gender discrimination in education. Additionally, it helped me gain in-depth point of view of the local perceptions and expectations of girls, parents, communities, and education officials related to gender bias in education. The qualitative approach was primarily used to grasp the ethnographic considerations when examining these diverse experiences and the views regarding gender inequalities. Likewise, this approach encapsulated the socio-economic and cultural factors which nurture

such disparities in education. The qualitative approach was further strengthened by various feminist approaches that argued that the gender issue can be more fully grasped via a qualitative approach because the quantitative approach does not reflect the actual situation of girls and women. Therefore, feminists advocate for in-depth probing and interviewing that allows the researcher to have a more responsive, interactive and flexible conversation with the respondents. This might not be the case in other methods of inquiry. Complex and intertwined issues at the grass root levels such as poverty, cultural discourse, belief system of the locals, the power structure and the role of various social institutions such as family, school and community require an in-depth study to understand reasons of gender inequality in education. Finally it helped in suggesting remedial measures that should be undertaken to address such odds. The final consideration for having a qualitative inquiry arose from the fact that there is a lack of qualitative research on gender and education in Pakistan. Understanding gender inequality at the household and community levels demands insider accounts from the respective communities of South Punjab, Pakistan.

3.4 Population of the Study

Rural girls of selected disadvantaged areas in Punjab were the subjects of the study. In an anthropological context, the sites were selected from Rajanpur, the least developed district of Punjab (Khan & Mahmood, 2009; Rafique, 2010). Study primarily focused on three typical communities namely *Basti Godden Wala* (the least developed community), *Chah Kumhar Wala* (the less developed community) and *Basti Rasool Pur* (the developed community). This was to ensure the situational analysis of girl's education across three different communities. Parents, elders, community members, teachers and managers form a variety of stakeholders and were therefore, included as respondents of the study.

3.4.1 Sampling Technique

When performing this research, the selection of the sample were done in two stages. First, the population was divided into strata based on geographical divides and people residing in the various strata of the community. After stratification of this population residing in all three communities, one third of the population (roughly 33%) was selected as a sample. The number of households

that would represent the society was selected from each locale by utilizing a simple random sampling technique which helped in selecting respondents from only those families having children of school going age and with at least one girl child of school going age.

3.5 Data Collection Phases and Processes

This section presents a glimpse of the phases of data collection across the three different locales. The period of data collection lasted for one year from August 2014 till August 2015. Within the context of the selected locales of this study, data collection involved three mutually reinforcing phases: Preliminary data collection, Major data collection and Supplementary data collection phase (Table 3.1).

Phase # 1: (August 2014 - November 2014)

The major activities during this stage involved the strategic planning of the study, the finalization of guidelines for in-depth interviews and focus group discussion, rapport building in all three locations, managing contacts, short stays at the field for the observation of participants, creating field notes, identification of respondents to call for in-depth interviews, case studies, FGDs and the training of three assistants who assisted in the collection of a socio-economic census survey of these three locales.

Phase # 2: (December 2014 - March 2015)

This was the main stage of data collection and involved the administration of socio-economic census survey forms to each household of the selected communities. Alongside this, focus group discussions and case studies were performed and carefully recorded to yield in-depth information. This stage was the most difficult and challenging one due to several reasons. Firstly, this stage involved me having practical interactions with the respondents especially during interviews, FGDs and case studies. Administration of these tools was a hectic job and quite difficult since they heavily relied on the comfort and availability of the actors involved in it. Nevertheless, it helped me to gain insider views and to paint a clear picture of inequalities at the grass root level regarding girls' education. In the two less and the least developed locales, it took several hours to help the people understand the research plan and the purpose of the interview. At the developed community, the locals were more accepting and cooperative in

fulfilling the needs of the research due to the higher levels of education and exposure.

Phase # 3 (April 2015 - July 2015)

In the third stage, the supplementary phase of data collection was started. The major part of the data collection had already been completed except for the failed and reappointment cases which were filled in during this stage. Secondly, archived data regarding the schools of district Rajanpur was compiled through intensive exploration of the website of the schools education department, Government of Punjab.

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

Data was collected through an organised set of methodology that provided step by step guidelines for conducting research and helped in selecting an appropriate methodology for studying the current social problem in different contexts. This section presents a detailed account of the research methods employed in this study. It presents the process of performing the field work and the analysis stage. These research methodologies enabled me to analyse and interpret data, starting from rapport building with the locals and going as far as trying to form a “mutually shaped interaction” with the respondents about gender related educational issues at household level and community level. This was further connected with the role of parents towards their daughter’s education along with other key socio-economic factors and cultural milieu in which vital decisions regarding girls’ education were rigorously trashed out. In addition to this, the indigenous response towards community empowerment and community development, gender and education through social capital was also covered. The following qualitative and quantitative tools were particularly used in the study.

3.6.1 Participant Observation

This study benefited greatly from participant observation. Participant observation was one of the foremost qualitative methods applied during the field research that lasted from August of 2014 up till July of 2015. While doing so, I was able to identify culture-sharing practices in the society. Also, the researcher was able to discover shared patterns of behaviour over a period of time by observing the

Table 3.1: Data Collection Phases

Phases of Data Collection	Major Activities	Schedule
Preliminary Data Collection Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strategic mapping for the study. - Participant observation and rapport building. - Preparation of guidelines for in-depth interviews and FGDs. - Jotting of field notes. - Managing contacts. - Seeking appointments from various respondents including parents, girls of school going age, community members, educationists, govt. officials, politicians. - Training of field assistants to obtain socio-economic census survey data. 	August 2014 - November 2014
Major Data Collection Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Administering socio-economic census survey forms. - Participant observation. - Jotting of field notes. - Conducting in-depth interviews, FGDs and case studies. 	December 2014 - March 2015
Supplementary Data Collection Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Refining data collected so far - Filling the gaps and discrepancies in data. - Compilation of archival data on secondary schools at district level. 	April 2015 - July 2015

(Source: Author's Field Research, August 2014 to July 2015).

participants' behaviour through participant observation (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative study is not completed, without involving participant observation (Spradley, 2016). Participant observation was important to define my role as a researcher. It involved getting close to the locals, staying there, learning new languages and observing the day to day activities of the people under study (Musante & DeWalt, 2010; DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011). While doing so, I tried my best not to disturb or modifying the behaviour of the locals due to my presence. The research journey was accomplished by completely immersing me in a different culture, by putting me in the footsteps of the locals and to covert what was observed, understood and heard into meaningful data to be used for future analysis (Bernard & Bernard, 2013).

Participant observation crafted the study in four different ways. Firstly, by observing day to day life of the respondents. Secondly, through participating in their economic activities, customs and rituals. Thirdly, by deeply understanding their interpersonal as well as intrapersonal interactions and attitudes in various gender specific contexts. Fourthly, by probing the grass root realities and trends towards girls' education. It allowed the researcher to contextualize the existing normative structures of locals and their aspirations towards the educational growth of children particularly of girls. As a strength, this approach enabled the researcher to experience and presumably better understand the qualitative and quantitative insights of this study. Holy cited by Ellen (1984) was of the view that the aim of anthropologist's participation in the fieldwork is not just to obtain data but instead it facilitates the employment of research techniques to yield desired data.

3.6.2 Key Informants

Key informants are the people with whom researchers can talk to easily, who understand the nature of the desired information and who willingly give out information or help in obtaining the information from other people (Bernard & Bernard, 2013). The best approach to work with individuals in the field was to cooperate intensively with informants, who have long been used by social anthropologists in their field researches (Burgess, 2002). In much of the qualitative studies, a key informant serves as a vital source of information about what has already happened in the field before the arrival of the researcher and it

provides explanations for various events happening in the field and the reason for it (O'Quinn & Corry, 2002). Realising the importance of this research technique, four key informants were used quite effectively during fieldwork. They mainly facilitated in approaching respondents in a helpful way. The purpose of employing key informants was to establish a good rapport with the locals. Later that proved useful in seeking in-depth information from the targeted respondents which was related to research questions and various themes of the interview guides.

The key informants of the study consisted of three males and one female. During the initial days of field work, the locals were mistrusting my research intentions. They perceived that I was some development sector personnel who was there to help them. Later on, the interaction with the target respondents and the community became a lot smoother with the help of key informants. Two of the key informants were school teachers from the research locales. They introduced me to the administrative staff of their respective schools, arranged meetings and also facilitated interactions with students at school. An old lady was taken in as another key informant who was quite supportive in a number of ways. The reason for selecting her as a key informant was that she was well known and respected across all of the three communities. With her age came a lot of knowledge as she knew every family along with their backgrounds, which turned out to be crucial for the verification of information collected especially from the socio-economic surveys. Besides that, she facilitated in encouraging shy women to respond in a better way. She was instrumental in pacifying the family members of the female respondents at moments when they would doubt the interview process. This was understandable as this was a unique experience for them.

3.6.3 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews were used to collect data from the selected communities to understand the mind-sets of the respondents in light of their experiences in the community and the meaning that they deduced out of those experiences (Seidman, 2013). Hameed & Hameed (2016) described the narrative practice and the active interview procedures while Silverman (2016) opines that the in-depth interviewing process collaboratively produces narratives of people's circumstances and lives. Only later it is translated into meaningful data for

analysis. To obtain this data a total of 45 in-depth interviews were conducted with various stakeholders including adolescent girls, parents, community members, clergies, tribal elders, school administrators, concerned education department and educationists. Interviewing yielded deeper insight regarding girls' education from both the demand and the supply sides. 15 un-structured interviews in each community were conducted at various instances while doing the fieldwork across the three communities.

To accomplish this, an in-depth interview guideline was prepared with special attention to local values, norms and practices associated with girls' education. The guideline was followed to cover all of the important themes related to the study covering various socio-economic and cultural aspects at the household and community level. It particularly covered parental role and involvement in education, perception of various stakeholders towards girls' education and the traditional influence of local culture in the way of education. From the supply side issues related to social dimensions and parental involvement in education outcomes, socio-cultural barriers, economic aspects and concerns over gender and quality of education were addressed. Later these interviews were transcribed and translated accordingly.

An unstructured interview method of data collection was chosen for its flexible, responsive, and natural nature of probing. In-depth interviewing methods were used to acquire detailed data from multiple stakeholders. These sorts of interviews were not followed by any structured guidelines but an inductive approach was used to understand the phenomenon. Adopting this method of data collection helped the respondents to freely express themselves with the margin to openly react to the research questions. While doing so, the respondents were not bothered on being scrutinized for the interview. Interviews were conducted in a casual manner, their gossip provided useful information regarding education, economy, religion, and community participation, along with gender and community development.

All of the interviews were performed in person. I used to begin the conversation and I allowed the respondent to talk freely. The more freedom they had to choose their topic and to direct the topic of conversation, the more I was able to hear the "native's point of view" that I was interested in. Geertz (1994) stresses that

“meaning is public”, and this explains that our most important means of communication are our voices. Our culture is not a cause but a context within which our social lives takes place. Based on these facts, solid interpretations evoke the reality (Schneider, 1987). During the course of this research, I extensively used field dairy to record field notes that were jotted down in different forms; descriptions, quotations and field notes as an observer (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015).

Interviews were carried out in various settings with mothers, fathers, household heads, tribal heads, school administrators, male/female students, clergies and farmers. Most of the interviews were recorded after seeking the informed consent of respondents. At some instances, some female respondents did not allowed to record their voices, fearing that doing so may put them in trouble. Such interviews were recorded by taking notes (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). While some of the female respondents completely declined to be interviewed. These women were not even allowed to sit with me because their husbands were too strict. Later on some of them and their husbands were convinced by the key informants who intervened.

3.6.4 Case Studies

The case study method was used as an empirical inquiry to probe the process of girls' education with in the normative structure of existing culture. Ellen (1984) opines that case studies are the detailed presentation of ethnographic data for the researcher that relate to a particular event or a sequence of events ranging from individuals, families, the society community and the nation and village level of social organization, that helps to infer theoretical interference. Qualitative research was engaged by employing a naturalistic inquiry which proceeded by inductively studying real-world settings to generate rich narrative descriptions for the present study and construct case studies. An inductive analysis of these case studies helped in generating and strengthening various patterns and themes presented under various headings and sub headings of this research document (Patton, 2015). Keeping in view the importance of this technique, 6 case studies were undertaken to analyse and explore the particular phenomena in question.

Case studies were used to highlight gender and education in the pretext of processes and progress at the individual and community level within given culture. These case studies were performed with certain predefined themes associated with the processes and outcomes related to the study. Moreover, these themes included social change, education, migration, gender, poverty, harassment and development. The case studies provided a holistic view of the local perceptions about education from the individual, family and community perspective. While selecting and documenting these case studies, the gender perspective was kept in focus to understand social change, child labour, the socio-economic status of parents, and the school environment as a driving force for girls' educational attainment.

3.6.5 Focus Group Interviews

Focus group discussions (FGDs) were designed to engage different groups of people, in a series of meetings, enabling them to voice their point of view and experiences in open-ended discussions (Taylor *et al.*, 2015). In recent years, group interviewing (focus groups) has become increasingly popular in the field of social sciences and to perform applied research. Employing FGDs in this study has a number of advantages. First of all it helped me to obtain data from a large number of people in a short time period. Besides this, the technique was instrumental in providing data in a short span of time.

Secondly, FGDs helped the respondents to recall and deconstruct their memories. It was encouraging for the participants to talk freely, to show confidence in front of their group mates and to share their views on the various aspects of gender inequality in education in a natural way. During the data collection, 9 FGDs were conducted with the mothers and fathers of school going children, girls of school going age, out of school adolescent girls, school management employees and community members of mixed age groups from all three of the different communities under study.

These focus group discussions were held covering different themes of the study. The data for these themes was collected by loosely structured probes on these themes. This helped the researcher to moderate and to maintain the flow of all of the overall group discussions, come to conclusions and draw responses

(Hughes, 2002). Some of the FGDs were conducted to find answers to the following specific issues:

- The perception of parents towards gender and education.
- To understand the socio-economic status of families that influenced the education of their children, particularly girls'.
- The concerns of parents and communities towards gender and education.
- Quality of education provided to girls.
- The students' perceptions regarding their own families and the school management.
- Understanding social capital for the uplift of girls' education within a community.
- How child labour affected the education of children.

A total of 50 people including men, women, adolescent boys and girls participated in these nine FGDs across the three communities. These FGDs helped showcase the diversity of the voices of these people from the multiple strata in the three communities. Some of the FGDs were conducted in the initial stages of data collection, and were instrumental in three ways. Firstly it helped in establishing a positive rapport in the community. Secondly, it facilitated to understand the local perceptions, perspectives, processes and challenges faced at the grass root level in attaining and sustaining girls' education in particular. Thirdly, the FGDs aided in gaining familiarity with the local terminology which was used to express different feelings, situations and life experiences of the locals.

Moreover, the initial FGDs strengthened my understanding of the whole phenomena of culture acting as a contributory factor for the state of girls' education. Likewise it suggested some coping mechanisms envisioned by the locals. Overall these group discussions provided me with a rich insight on the topic. The last three FGDs were conducted towards the end of my field work, it helped me to compare data collected from the beginning and the end of my research. By this time the trust and confidence level of the respondents was comparatively higher than before whereas the responses of the respondents were more focused and spontaneous.

In addition to FGDs, informal and free group discussions were carried out whenever convenient to explore education related issues and its desirability among the locals. These discussions provided a chance of observing the different attitudes and perceptions relating to the role of parents, community and culture on girl's education. This helped in seating education as a concept in the minds of the poor folk. Such discussions helped me in particular throughout the research process. These free style discussions were full of vital information for me because the participants were not in any formal setting and therefore, they did not hesitate as much while participating. It was noticed during these gossips/discussions, that the participants were not as self-conscious as they were during the in-depth interviewing.

Such kinds of discussions were usually held at tube wells where a number of women used to gather for washing laundry, bathing among other chores. While performing their activities they had time for free discussions in an enjoyable manner. Evening gossip over "*Hookah*"³ was a common activity amongst the locals that ended up serving the purpose of group discussions.

3.6.6 Socio-economic Census Survey

To learn more about the demographic characteristics and the economic standing of the locales, a socio-economic survey was carried out at the household level in each community. The quantitative data was then analysed using a Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Through this survey, data on gender, age composition of the family members, education, sources of income, marital status, gender parity, household assets, caste, and household income was collected. These variables gave a holistic picture of each household. Indicators covered in the socio-economic census survey form were analysed independently as well as in cross tabulations to check any possible relationships between various variables.

³*Hookah* is a traditional way of smoking tobacco. The pipe is rotated between the seated people. Often the same *Hookah* is shared among close male and female kin during their usual gossip.

3.7 Data Analysis and Interpretation

A systematic recording of data including field notes, voice recordings, photographs and mapping was performed to make the data collection process more comprehensive and less cumbersome. Recording of data helped me to elaborate the research findings. Another advantage of documentation was that it enabled the researcher to learn the language and verbatim of participants. It reduced the disadvantages of recalling everything from memory. During the entire course of study the research ethical guidelines were cautiously followed that included informed consent, anonymity, and confidentiality of the respondents. The accumulated data was documented and analysed in the light of the research objectives of this study. In case of the interviews conducted, a considerable number of field notes were taken during and after the interviews. However, in some case I had to rely on voice recordings except in cases where the respondent felt uncomfortable with being recorded.

As part of methodology, thematic analysis was employed for examining patterns across the data which enable me to identify patterned meaning to describe phenomenon of girls' education and asymmetries surrounding it. While doing the thematic analysis, interview coding was used to grasp the related information from the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. It helped in exploring how locals make meanings of their experiences and act in response to it. In this way coding served as the first step of analysis of the data sets. Along with coding conceptual labels were attached to add more depth to understanding and organizing the data. Codes of participants verbatim facilitated development and understanding of a particular concept.

During the entire phases of data collection, I used a combination of field notes, photographic images and videos to document my interaction with the various respondents. Photographs and other visual data provided an excellent source for the qualitative analysis in cases where the observed information was not explanatory enough. (Allen, 2012; Smith, E. *et al.*, 2012). The pictures people take lend insight into what is important to them and how they view themselves and others. Photographs were analysed in the same manner as any other kind of personal document or archival material would be. This is not the only use photography has in performing qualitative research. The camera or video

recorder can be useful research tools in the world of social sciences ethnography (Murthy, 2008).

Ethnographic work needs to be combined with an understanding of the virtual worlds, since it a whole culture in and of itself. Just as a tape recorder can aid in recording audio data, film and videotape equipment can capture details that would otherwise be forgotten or go unnoticed (Boellstorff, 2012). Taylor *et al.* (2015) acknowledging the usefulness of audio-video (AV) aids, voice taping, photography. Short video documentaries helped in recording a detailed analysis throughout the research. Following the guidelines of (Tarone, 1980), while employing these AV aids, the consent from respondents was sought. Furthermore, research ethics were solely kept in mind during the entire process (Collier & Collier, 1986). Later on, data accumulated through AV aids was solely used for research purposes. Situations where photography and video recording were not permissible I relied on taking field notes.

The information gathered from data collection was substantial and therefore, difficult to manage. It required efficient management skills both in screening and preparing data for analysis in accordance with the research objectives. Later on, I spent ample time in rearranging my data in accordance with the field notes, photographs and videos with reference to time and locations. This was done manually as well as in the computer. This exercise helped me in setting the direction of the write up process according to various themes, sub themes and categories outlined earlier. In this way the cluttered data was effectively sorted. Figure 2 depicts the conceptual framework of the study.

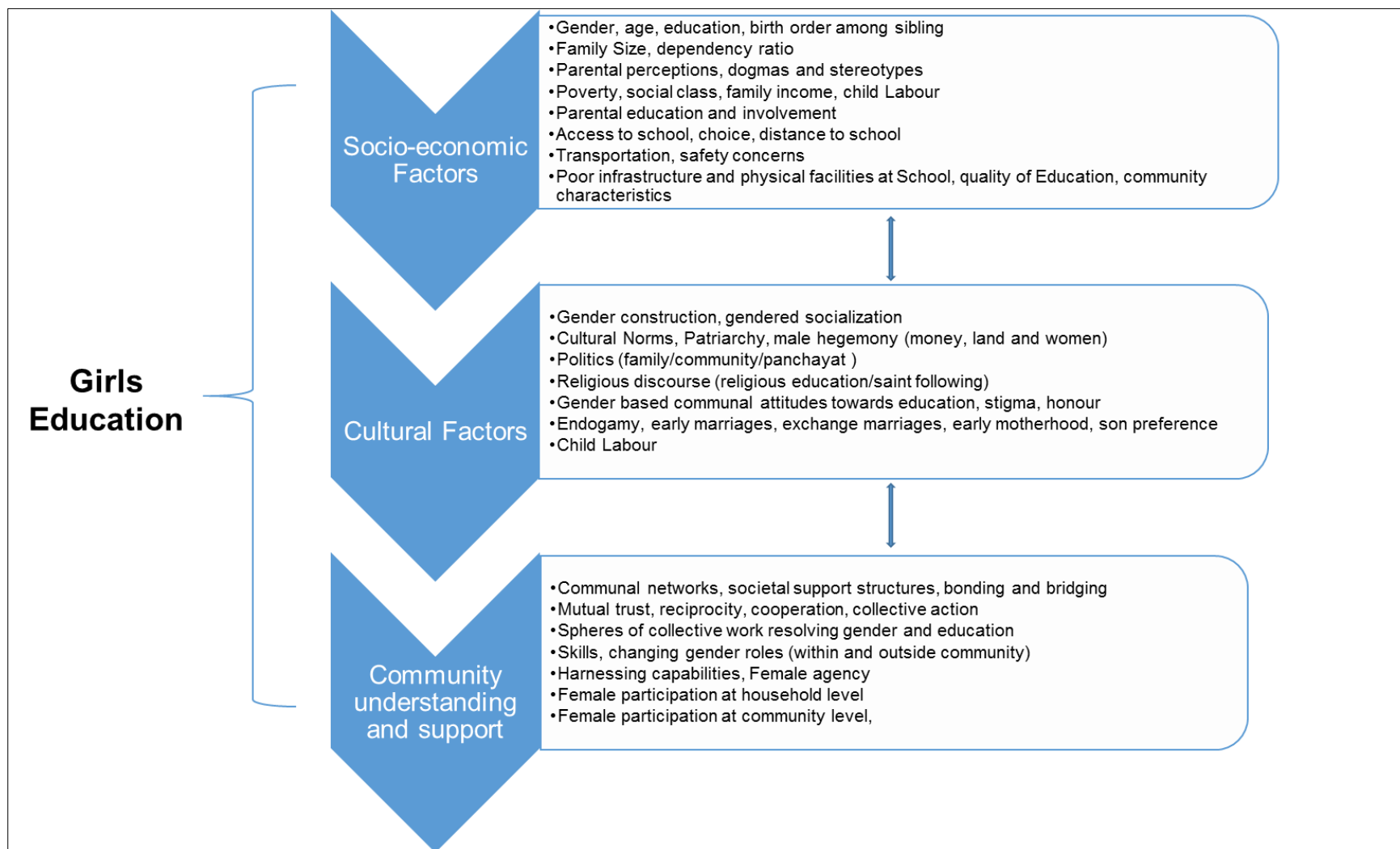


Figure 2: Conceptual framework depicting correlates of girls' education (Developed by the author)

3.8 Reflections on Field Experiences

I enjoyed the data collection phase. During the preliminary phase of field work I faced some challenges. Initially the locals perceived me as a Non Government Organization (NGO) or aid/government personnel, who was supposed to be there to help them so, I was faced with a conflict of role as a participant observer. This was the stage in which I was perceived as an 'outsider' who was there for the financial benefit of the locals (covered under some imaginary project). In one stage of data collection, sensing the chance to receive financial gains, a large number of locals visited my place and volunteered to take part in my research. The reason behind was that the locals held high expectations from me in the form of cash and kind. In the past these communities had been the beneficiaries of various aid programmes funded by both national and international agencies, particularly during and after the massive flooding in 2010 and 2011. Secondly, in public schools the children were recipients of various food/cash stipend programs to help students from poor communities through the support of the Female Secondary School Stipend Program (FSSSP) under the Punjab Education Sector Reform Program (PERSP) (Masood, 2015).⁴ It took some time to manage their expectations and emotions, and to acquire the desired information. To address these issues, one of the key informants of this study helped me to convey the true spirit of my presence there. Secondly, participant observation method proved instrumental in providing me with both an emic and an etic perspective of the impeding factors associated with girls' education in rural communities.

I used to make friendly visits at the *Peter* (Tube well) where women visited to bathe themselves and their children. They came to wash their clothes just like in the Japanese culture. But one difference is that the rural women in Pakistan have access to these tube well facilities free of cost, while the Japanese pay. While the Japanese women are more reserved, Pakistani women show some resilience. When the women would take a break from their work at the tube-well, we used to gossip and with the passage of time other women joined in conversation. Men

⁴The study by (Masood, 2015) revealed that girls benefiting from the program were more likely to remain in school for a short or medium span of time, and were less likely to complete middle or high school. The early dropout rate of the girl(s) substantiates that beneficiary girls of the program were facing early marriages and motherhood at a very young age. Such results present a critical issue for policy makers in order to assess the successfulness and usefulness of such programs.

usually showered when the *Peter* engine turned on and then they would leave early. For the locals, this place was the most exciting spot. As my friendship grew, I was able to communicate the mutual benefits of my work to them. Later on, it became easy for them to understand me and to respond positively. Soon we became a friendly group that gossiped freely.

During the stay, I had the opportunity to teach the children of the locales. This opportunity provided me with significant insights after multiple interactions and to talk about the educational issues faced by children in general, parent's involvement and the pedagogical behaviours of students. We discussed what kind of support a girl child receives from her family, community, school and the overall society while she goes through the process of her education. Additionally, it enabled me to have friendly relations with girls and their parents. Particularly during the later half of initial phase of the research, I received welcoming attitudes, trust and respect from the locals since teaching was perceived as a prestigious and culturally suited job for females.

Since most of my discussions revolved around education and its relation with the various facets of their life, the locals used to address me using only 2 titles. Both of these terms were commonly used for female teachers. Interestingly, both terms were not from their local language but they were commonly used. One of the terms was *Bajji* (elder sister) and the other word was *Miss* (female teacher). Both the terms held high respect, status and acceptability (in the context of a culturally approved job for females) across the respondents. Barton (1970) comments on the topic of fieldwork in a village of Malta. He opines that every anthropologist is faced with a role conflict as participant observers. While documenting his field observations in Hal-Farrug (where he had to seek data from a wide network of contacts) he found it to be a challenging job as the respondents did not view themselves as informants but as friends. His friendship network often got in the way of obtaining the desired information. He learnt and shared the fact that as an anthropologist he had to be both a researcher and a friend at the same time which he managed by adopting various research methodologies. At the end he was successful in getting a positive response based on his friendship with the informants. Out of casual talks and by learning new roles to be played in various

situations concerning the social life of the respondents he extracted the desired data and managed the themes of his gossips accordingly.

3.9 Ethical Considerations of the Study

Research was undertaken in a flexible, open, transparent and responsible way. Research ethics were not undermined at any stage of the study. I used a flexible and reflexive approach by taking into account the interests of the major stakeholders (adolescent girls, families, communities, tribal heads and school personnel). At every stage of data collection the local concerns were thought of. I was willing to develop and modify my interactions with the respondents according to their preferences and availability. In this way the respondents were more convinced and focused particularly during the in-depth interviews and FGDs. Verbal informed consent was sought from the respondents as requesting written consent is unusual in Pakistan particularly among participants who cannot read and write. Furthermore, before the start of employing a research methodology, respondents were given the assurance of anonymity and introduced with a basic account of the research purpose and its goals. This was performed in their native language with short statements about the research objectives.

Data was collected from respondents in complete privacy and in a comfortable environment. For conducting this present research, pseudonyms were used. Respondents were quite cooperative because of the flexible nature of the research topic. Stakeholders showed overwhelming concerns regarding the education of their children. However, when talking about sensitive themes like honour and gender there were concerns in some cases. Three respondents outrightly declined to talk about these issues. This mostly happened when other family members' and usually when male members were present.

Another concern was the extent to which the local women were able to exercise their consent. Sometimes they only agreed to the interviews because they were being courteous to the key informant, landlord, elders, school/community teachers, obeying their elders or they sensed the chance for some help in cash or such for their children. Sometimes other family members particularly mother in law gave their consent in her place. Some of the women even wanted to keep

the information disclosed as a secret from their family members. In such cases they desired that the information should not be disclosed to their family members especially their husbands. The hierarchal culture in Pakistan was clearly visible during data collection. The female respondents were asked a couple of times during the interview if her participation would become an issue for her later. Some women remained confused as they related my presence with NGOs and media work. Some women who were performing agriculture related work in the fields along with their children were curious of the cameras and about being featured in the newspaper. They were hesitant because they feared that it could make them questionable in the context of honour and *Purdah*. With the passage of time and their confidence grew and they started feeling at ease. Role of key informant was helpful to expedite the process.

The qualitative nature of inquiry was a novel experience for these respondents. Qualitative research is still rare in Pakistan particularly in the remote and rustic areas. The majority of the illiterate women were unable to comprehend words like PhD, Anthropology, thesis, and research due to their low levels of education. Keeping in mind their level of comprehension and the fact that they were communicating in their local language, I avoided the use of technical terms or connotations.

3.10 Limitations of the Study

Any empirical research in social sciences inherit some limitations, and so does this study. The first and foremost limitation of this study is that it is specific to the context, and focuses only on the selected rural sites of district Rajanpur. It is important to mention that one of the developed community was exceptionally different from the rest of South Punjab in terms of its socio-economic status, gender, education and overall development conditions. The study only covers Balochs settled in the selected study areas which is distinct from the residents of Balochistan province bearing no political linkages with strife between residents of Balochistan and the federal government.

The study covers the cultural diversity of the rural areas of district Rajanpur, South Punjab which is not the same in the rest of Punjab due to its cultural, ethnic, lingual and development differences. Therefore, a set of core values may help in

making a careful generalization, as the condition in other parts of Punjab are relatively different. However, all of the neighbouring communities and the tribal belt (particularly *Baloch* communities) of South Punjab have similar social and cultural traits.

Secondly, this study focuses on the specific aspect of gender and education i.e. the socio-economic factors affecting girls' education (school level) prevailing in rural areas. It is important to mention here that this study does not provide any sort of comparison between rural and urban areas (even within the study area) nor between public and private schools even though different aspects were discussed to clarify the research findings. There are many other aspects of gender, such as women health, religion, development, power dynamics, child labourer and many other dimensions, for example the relationship between community and schools, to evaluate the bridging of education between schools and communities. All of them require independent discrete studies of their own. The third limitation of the study is that it is bound to the limitations of time, space and the research methodologies used. Due to limitations in both time and resources, the data gathered and the findings obtained are accumulated mainly through qualitative study and only based on a small number of selected communities.

3.11 Introduction to the Research Site

3.11.1 Pakistan

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan consists of an area of 881,913 km² (340,509 sq. miles) and is bordered by Afghanistan and Iran to the West, the Arabian Sea to the South, India to the east, and China to the North East. Pakistan's geography is a combination of lush vegetation and hot deserts with varying climatic conditions. Pakistan is divided into three major geographic regions namely

- 1). The Northern highlands (comprising of parts of the Hindu Kush, Karakoram Range, and Himalayas).
- 2). The Indus River Plain (the *Safed Koh* Range along the Afghanistan border, the Suleiman Range and *Kirthar* Range).

- 3). *Baluchistan* Plateau. Some of the prominent passes of the country include *Khojak Pass*, the *Khyber Pass* and the *Baroghil Pass*.

Pakistan has four provinces, namely Sindh, Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP formerly known as NWFP) and Balochistan. In addition to these, there are the regions of Gilgit Baltistan, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Federally Administered Northern Areas (FANA), Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) and the Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT).

3.11.2 Punjab Province

Overall the province of Punjab is mostly rural and agrarian. “*Punj*” means five and “*ab*” means water. *Punjab* literally means the land of five rivers. It is the most productive and populous province of Pakistan with approximately 56% of the country’s total population. *Punjabi* and *Saraiki* are major languages of the province. *Punjab* is divided into two parts, central and northern. Being the provincial government’s headquarters, central Punjab occupies a privileged position while the rest of the province is relatively deprived in terms of health, infrastructure, gender and education. There is no physical barrier between the two. However, an unequivocal language divide exists. South Punjab is predominantly a *Saraiki* speaking region whereas Punjabi is widely understood in variety of dialects and spoken by the majority of the population in central and northern Punjab. Despite disparities, South Punjab is the largest contributor of agricultural output in the province and country. The reasons for these disparities in the province are manifested due to differential budget allocations in the Annual Development Programs (ADPs) and various other development initiatives.

People in this part of the province feel a strong sense of deprivation and a feeling of constant neglect by the government in all the domains of social and development sectors including education in general and female education in particular (Mughal & Aldridge, 2017). The key indicator that has contributed to the lack of development and overall impoverishment is the inappropriate and irregular budget for the different tiers of education in South Punjab. As a result the people of South Punjab have raised their concerns and expressed their anger through various separatist movements (Annexure-2) that emerged from time to time with vociferous demands for the creation of a separate “South *Punjab* province” or

“*Seraikistan*” Such articulated voices were based on a revolt against the cultural domination of *Punjabis* (representing the central and north) over the *Seraikis* of South Punjab.

3.11.3 District Rajanpur

Rajanpur (study district) is located in Southwest part of Punjab. Rajanpur is bordered by the province of Sindh to the South and the province of Baluchistan to the West. Geographically, Saraiki belt starts from Attock leading to and Mianwali, D. I. Khan, D. G. Khan and Rajanpur which boards with Balochistan and Sindh. It features multilingual speakers including *Punjabi*, *Sarhadi*, *Balochi* and *Sindhi*. This belt also reflect different cultures corresponding to these languages. However, the majority of its speakers speak *Saraiki*. By location, Rajanpur is divided into three zones i.e. *Pahar* (mountainous area), *darya* (river side) and *maidani ilaqa* (plain area). *Balochi*, *Sindhi* and *Saraiki* are respectively spoken in these areas. It is one of the poorest and most backward districts of South Punjab in terms of the education and overall development (Jamal *et al.*, 2003).

3.11.4 Brief History of Jampur: Introducing Research Sites

In 1982, Rajanpur gained a district status. Prior to this it was a tehsil (administrative subdivision) of the district D.G.Khan. Jampur is now a tehsil that comprises 30 Union Councils (smallest administrative unit) inhabited by 664,325 people in 183 villages. Rural areas are more usually more populated than the urban areas. Its total area is around 5,73,789 acres with a cultivable land of 3,02,846 acres. It has 2,63,193 acres of uncultivated land and 7,750 acres comprises of forests (Male & Wodon, 2016a). Administratively it has 76 *patwar* circles and 09 *Kanungos*^{5&6}. Some of the famous places in and around *Jampur* include the Shrine of *Hazrat Khawaja Ghulam Farid*, *Kot Mithan* (1841-1901), *Harrand Fort*, *Lal Garh*, *Thair Dillu Ram*, Jampur. Due to the close proximity along with the economic and educational ties, the locals were more likely to avail college and university facilities from D.G.Khan as compared to Rajanpur. Most of

⁵ Land revenue term used to denote immediate supervisors of *patwaris* (village land record keepers or village land registrars).

⁶ Data obtained by the researchers from the education department Rajanpur.

the reputed colleges, university and medical college are located in D.G.Khan. Rajanpur and the majority of its tehsils are highly fertile, and the rural areas have a higher density of population than the urban area. People from the rural zones migrate to *Jampur* and D.G.Khan to seek education and better job opportunities. However, people living in the urban areas are still connected with their extended families residing in their ancestral homes in rural areas. People settled across the rural-urban divide know each other quite well by virtue of their kinship, caste and matrimonial ties.

Tehsil headquarters Jampur is located on the right bypass of the Indus highway while travelling from D.G. Khan to Rajanpur at a distance of 48 Kilometres, at GPS coordinates (Latitude 29°38'32" N Longitude 70°35'45" E) and an altitude of 103 meters above sea level. The selected locales of the study fall under the jurisdiction of District Rajanpur, tehsil *Jampur*⁷. There are 69 administratively different working Union Councils. All the three communities namely *Chah Kumhar Wala*, *Basti*⁸ *Godden Wala* and *Basti Rasool Pur* covered under the study fall in Union Councils *Tattar Wala* and *Kotla Dewan, Jampur*. Less developed community is located at a distance of 1.5 km, the least developed community is at 8 km and developed community is 9 km from *Jampur* town respectively.

Out of the three selected communities, developed community has elevated itself above the traditional hurdles and excelled in education and other walks of life. This success is attributed to the village's adaptable community that has generously invested in education of both genders at the household and community level. Developed community is a self-resilient community that has envisioned the state of their development via community participation. At present developed community is known for its excellent performance in the field of education and socio-economic development. Irrespective of gender, there is no child who does not attend a school in the developed community (Siddiqi & John, 2016). The cultural discourse in which education was prioritized by the developed community managed to influence, motivate and help out not only the inhabitants but also the neighbouring communities in many ways (Chapter 6 for details). The

⁷ Tehsil is an administrative sub division in a district.

⁸ *Basti* denotes inhabitants

majority of the males and females from developed community were associated with the education sector and provide their services as teachers in the various schools and colleges. The males on the other hand were serving in diverse professions both within and outside their community. The neighbouring least developed community paints a stark contrast and is completely illiterate as per the socio-economic census survey performed in my investigation. The majority of parents here are uneducated and most children have either dropped out of school or have never been there.

3.11.5 Climate

The climate of tehsil *Jampur* is characterised by low rainfall and long hot summers lasting up to eight months. Summer season usually begin in April and continue until the middle of November. The average temperature of the area hovers around 44-46 degrees Celsius. The temperatures here are generally amongst the highest in Pakistan during summer season. Winters start by the end of November and linger along till the end of February. These are marked by the usual dryness, chilly winds and on rare occasions the temperature falls to zero degrees. There may be slight variations in the beginning and ending of the seasons due to climatic and seasonal changes. Harsh climatic conditions significantly affect the educational pursuits of the children particularly when there is excessive load shedding due to the current energy crisis in the country. The educational institutes in the rural areas are worst hit due to the lack of alternate energy sources that has badly hindered the concentration of the students in their studies.

3.12 Characteristics of the Selected Sites and People

Characteristics of the people and the sites are presented in detail in this section under the following sub headings.

3.12.1 Brief History of *Baloch* Tribe

Oral narrations of history revealed that the *Balochi* tribe is famous for their bravery, rigidity and adherence to cultural norms and practices. The origin of the word *Baloch* has many different interpretations. Rawlinson cited by Hughes (1977) supposes it to be derived from Belus, king of Babylon, the *Nimrod* of Holy Writ. From 'Kush' (the father of *Nimrod*) comes the name of the *Kalati* eastern

district, *Kachh*. Hughes (1977) relates that the *Balochis* are of a Turkoman lineage. However, the very tribe associates their origins to the earliest Muhammadan invaders of Persia and also desire to be linked with the Arabs extraction. They reject with scorn any idea of being Afghan. They may possibly be of an Iranian descent and the affinity of their language, the *Balochg* to the Persian, bears witness to this supposition. But the proper derivation of the word '*Baloch*' still remains questionable.

The province of Balochistan, chiefly inhabited by *Baloch* tribes, owes its settlement to the nomadic nature of the great majority of the inhabitants due to lack of education, constructive commerce or trade. Their ancestors were pastorals engaged in grazing, herding and cattle rearing. Some of them migrated for a better livelihood and got settled in the neighbouring areas outside the province itself. Despite being strongly affiliated with *Baloch* code of ethics, they were experiencing assimilating with dominant culture of the respective areas where they travelled to and lived for varying time duration. It led to changes in their social, cultural, economic and political integration. With the passage of time and with varying degrees, they adopted agriculture as their occupation and evolved themselves from pastoral societies to settled ones. Being in close proximity, South Punjab and particularly Rajanpur became home to a number of *Baloch* sub tribes. According to oral histories when these people got settled in this area a new language was developed called *Saraiki*. They got settled in Punjab and other areas of Pakistan mainly to satisfy their socio-economic and livelihood needs. The study only covers Balochs settled in the selected study areas.

3.12.2 Code of Ethics for Locals

The *Balochs* of the locale needs to be understood in the light of their identity as a tribe, their tribal ties and lineage.⁹ There are certain guiding principles that are important for every *Baloch*. These principles are referred to as the code of ethics for the local people. This code of ethics for *Balochs* are unwritten and passed on

⁹ The *baloch* tribe referred in this thesis are distinct from the residents of Balochistan province as aforementioned have been settled in Punjab for many generations and have no political linkages with strife between residents of Balochistan and the federal government. While, *Balochgi* refers to a term of reference in the entire *Baloch* culture. In the entire manuscript, the term *Balochgi* is to refer to the code of ethics of the *Baloch* tribe presented in section 3.12.

from one generation to another through the *Balochs* socialization and culture. These ethics are generally respected by both literate and illiterate *Balochs*. However, with more education, migration, exposure development and modernity there are variations in the levels of conformity to them. The locals conform to their communal identity as “*Balochgi*” to sustain an ideal tribal life. This *Balochgi* is more strictly observed by the less educated and the illiterate people as compared to the literate ones. The *Balochgi* practiced here is basically inferred from the *Pushtoonwali*¹⁰ code of life practiced by the *Baloch* tribe settled in the *Baluchistan* Province (neighbouring province). The ancestors of the locals originally migrated from the *Balochistan* province therefore, they were believed to be followers of *Pushtoonwali*. However, *Pushtoonwali* as an identity is not used at all in *Jampur*. The locals see themselves following the cultural framework of *Balochgi*.

The salient features of *Balochgi* are based on the following guidelines:

- 1). *Wadera* system¹¹, paying high veneration to *tuman* (feudal lord).
- 2). “*Badla*” taking revenge for bloodshed, women, land and wealth/gold.
- 3). Providing shelter to all refugees but not in the case of rapists.
- 4). Ensuring complete protection to a refugee, even at the cost of one’s life.
- 5). Hospitality
- 6). *Rasam-i-haal*¹²
- 7). The refusal to kill a woman, minor and/or a religious minority in disputes.
- 8). When the women of the accused/culprit’s family approach the opponent for forgiveness then the matter gets resolved by either

¹⁰ Tribal identity of *Pashtoon* tribe.

¹¹The feudal system in these areas is strongly prevalent. A *sardar* (feudal lord) represents the people of a certain geographical area and a particular caste. Every sub caste of *Balochs* has its own feudal representative.

¹²This relates with a cultural norm which involves understanding the wellbeing and current situation of a family or group. This is performed both at the individual and group level. 1. Individual level: When a person asks the other person for *Haal*, it means that he/she is inquisitive about the other individual’s wellbeing. 2: Group or communal level: when a group of people collectively approach the other party i.e. *Sardar* (feudal lord) or *Pir*, the other party will ask for *Haal* i.e. the reason for coming. Upon which a group representative will take lead and will present the matter and ask for a patch-up/reconciliation/advice. The *Pir/sardar* play a mediatory/advisory/decisive role. The situation presented decides the type of *haal* used.

complete forgiveness or by sending the women back to their home after giving them an unstitched suit as a symbol of respect. But rape cases are rejected from any kind of considerations or waivers.

- 9). No bloodshed at the home of a *Pir* (saint) if someone has sought refuge there.
- 10). Any fight/dispute will be stopped on the intervention of a *Mulla* (cleric), a Syed (ancestors of the prophet of Islam) or any women who places The Holy *Quran* on her head and makes a plea to cease the fighting.
- 11). Giving *Tallaq* (divorce) to women is highly disapproved of.
- 12). *Karokari* (honor killing).
- 13). The strict observance of *Purdah* and gender segregation.

Table 3.2 explains some more attributes of the communities studied as the total population by gender and the literacy status of male and females. Data showed that generally males outnumber the females across these communities. The literacy level of any community signifies its development status and future prospects. As for the purpose of the study, communities were identified and selected on the basis of the variation in their educational status. The figures presented in the table show that there is a sharp contrast between the education attainments of males and females in all three communities. A substantial number of males from the developed community were literate and these numbers were

Table 3.2: Percentage Distribution of Gender of Household Members and Literacy Status by Location

		<i>Basti Godden Wala</i>		<i>Chah Kumhar Wala</i>		<i>Basti Rasool Pur</i>		Total	
		%	#	%	#	%	#	%	.
Gender of Household Members	Male	54	532	57	124	53	357	54	1013
	Female	46	454	43	95	47	323	46	872
Total		100	986	100	219	100	680	100	1885
Literacy status (Male)	Literate	7	37	20	25	98	350	41	412
	Illiterate	93	495	80	99	2	7	59	601
Total		100	532	100	124	100	357	100	1013
Literacy status (Female)	Literate	5	22	15	14	95	306	39	342
	Illiterate	95	432	85	81	5	17	61	530
Total		100	454	100	95	100	323	100	872

significantly different from the males of the other two communities especially from the least developed communities where males were barely literate.

The comparison of the female education status across these communities shows that the majority of females from the developed community were literate whereas females from rest of the communities were far behind. Interestingly, the general pattern in Pakistan is that males are more literate than females but in this case the females of the developed community were far ahead than even the males of the other two communities. This huge difference clearly implies that the education attainment of the older generations has had a positive influence on the current

generation and this influence will have the same effect on all future generation particularly the girls (Chapter 4 and 6 for details).

3.12.3 Background Information of Household Members by Communities

The following section of the chapter attempts to discuss the profiles of the communities by describing some background characteristics of the households and their residents. The data is based on the analysis performed by the socio-economic census survey forms.

The study was conducted on a total of 366 households having a population of 1900 residents. Table 3.3 shows the household sizes and the mean number of children in each of the studied communities. The census results of the communities show that the total household sizes of the developed community is smaller than the least developed and developed communities. The size of the least developed and less developed areas are more or less same. The number of children determines the fertility behaviours and the population trends of any area. In terms of the mean number of children, both the least and less developed communities have a similar mean. Couples from the developed community have an average of four children which indicates the positive effect of their education on the fertility behaviours of their families.

Table 3.3: Household Size and Mean Number of Children by Location

	Less developed community (Basti Godden Wala)		Least developed community (Chah Kumhar Wala)	Developed community (Basti Rasool Pur)	Total
Mean household size	Mean	6	6	4	5
	N	170	35	161	366
Mean number of children	Mean	5	5	4	4
	N	170	35	161	366

3.12.4 Dwelling Patterns

Generally the settlement of the areas are in the form of small communities known as *basti's*. Almost all houses were constructed adjacent to each other within each *community*. All three communities are located at a distance from each other but within each community the houses are situated with party walls. As far as the construction of the houses is concerned, nearly all of the houses were cemented with *pakka* floors in the developed community. These houses belonged to financially and economically sound people with a higher social status. The houses were built using urban architectural designs. The houses were well furnished and equipped with modern furniture, electronics and décor. The type of housing depicted the overall rich economic conditions of the households of developed community which was far better than the surrounding areas. In both less developed and the least developed communities the houses were both *katcha* (made of clay) and *pakka* (cemented) type depending on the socio-economic status of the people. Generally large open courtyards can be observed in these houses.

These courtyards were mostly left un-cemented but some people were fond of making mini gardens with decorated plants and flowers in them. In the summer season entire families sleep under the stars in the courtyard. Commonly, two types of materials were used for the roofs/ceilings. One was cemented and the other type was created using iron girders. Out of the total constructed houses 29% had cemented roofs while the remaining 71% were made out of iron girders.

Geographical proximity to the neighbouring town of *Jampur* (which is quite close to these three communities) hardly affects the lifestyle of the residents of two communities in particular. The infrastructure and practices of the local population present a classic example of refusal/resistance to the modern style of living due to the weak financial status of the locals. The women of the locale had a minimum exposure to the outer world and their mobility was greatly restricted. Compared to this, developed community (which is relatively far away from *Jampur*) presents a vividly open urban culture and life style.

3.12.5 The People

When compared to the urban cities, the day to day activities begin early in the morning in rural areas. Most of the people living here get up early in the morning and offer morning (*Fajr*) prayers. Male members of the families who own livestock, milk their animals early in the morning and then set out to sell it in the market which is their primary source of earning. Sometimes the women milk the cows as well regardless of the absence or presence of the men. After this activity is performed, the women prepare breakfast. It is first served to the elders and males as they have to leave for work and then to the rest of the family members. Normally women eat their breakfast after finishing some chores. Young girls help their mothers in preparing breakfast and later on in washing the utensils and pots. Afterwards, some of the girls lend their hand in sweeping the house. School going children get up a little late in the morning and leave for schools after they have breakfast. The same is true for the men who are employed.

Girls not attending schools work hard in performing the various household chores like preparing meals, cleaning their homes, washing laundry and taking care of their siblings and agricultural activities. Girls manage their responsibilities either alone or with their mother's assistance. Elderly women have the responsibility of looking after the smallest of the kids and in managing the animals grazing their fields. Often the males remain busy in their routines but after returning from work they switch over to agricultural related activities. Males also bring firewood which is used as fuel for cooking or heating purposes. Young boys help their fathers in the field and in bringing in fodder. The elderly people in the village are more involved in maintaining and promoting social relations which is considered a very healthy sign of a cohesive community. Some elderly males visit their social circles to gossip and smoke *Hookah* in the evenings. However, this trend has significantly decreased amongst the educated people of the communities.

3.12.6 Dietary Habits

Food timings in villages usually correlate with prayer timings and the daylight hours in the village instead of the urban chronometer style. This schedule is not fixed and keeps varying due to the varying lengths of the days and the various duties of the families. The timings for food are given particular names i.e. *Niran*

(breakfast), *dopaharain da tukkar* (lunch), *pachhera* (afternoon meal) and *raat di rooti* (dinner). Usually *Niran* is taken around half an hour after the sun rises. Women get up early in the morning and after offering their *Fajr namaz*, they prepare breakfast for all of the family members. Some males offer prayers at home while, others perform them in the *maseet* (mosque). After that they are served with breakfast which usually consists of *Chaa* (tea), *pratha* (oil fried flatbread) or *maki roti* (putting churned butter on *chappati*)¹³ with *raat di bhaji* (last night's gravy/curry). Traditionally, in the past breakfast used to be served with *lassi* (milk diluted with water and stirred) or milk instead of tea as part of the breakfast. Tea is deemed as a hot food whereas eggs are more frequently consumed in winters. However, some educated and well off families enjoy eating bread with eggs in their breakfast. Lunch is usually eaten around 12 o'clock before the *peshei di namaz* (noon prayers) and consists of flatbread, rice, *bhaji* (curry) of any kind, pulses, *halaal* meat or vegetables. The locals here usually love eating spicy foods. If they are short of *bhaji* then *roti* (flatbread) can be taken with raw onion or green chillies. *Roti* has to be eaten with some curry or spicy dish. *Pachhera* is not a freshly prepared dish but rather it is the leftover food of the noon meal. Tea, bread and leftovers are generally included in the menu for *raat da tukkar* (dinner) which is usually taken after *namashan dinamaz* (it is the second last prayer of the day and is offered after sunset). Dinner consists of the same *bhaji* (curry) as discussed. However, there are a few exceptions like *chawal* (rice), *channy* (chickpeas), *bhatt* (coarsely grinded porridge of whole-grain wheat), *sewiaan* (vermicelli) light food are usually not preferred for dinner.

Usually the locals prefer to eat fresh *roti*. Vegetables and pulses are staple food. Chicken, mutton or beef are taken very infrequently as they are expensive and the majority of the locals cannot afford them. In the patterns of serving food, the gender differences are quite visible for all four meals in general and at breakfast and dinner in particular. The males and children are not at home at noon due to schooling and job obligations. At lunch time only the women and the little children are generally at home. If the elderly are at home, they are served with lunch and after that (as is the custom), the women and children have their lunch. The school

¹³ Flat bread made of whole wheat flour in a particular way and afterwards cooked on a flat skillet called *tawa*

going children and bread-earning males eat their meals whenever they return home. An interesting point is that, although women usually take their lunch earlier than males they consider it important to leave the best quality and a large quantity of food for their males. At dinner the males and the elderly are served first whenever they are at home. This is not a normal practice and at times all of the family members sit together to have their food. But even here the males are served food on *Charpai* (wooden cot) whereas the children and women usually sit in the cooking area on the floor and have their meals at the end.

Another interesting topic is the high level of respect given to the guests. They are treated in a special manner and are served meals with great care. The hosts prepare a variety of different foods and the mannerisms exhibited in serving them indicates the hospitality of the hosts. There is lot of curiosity around who prepared the dishes and then on who served what kind of meals. It does not end here and is followed by an analysis of whether the food was tasty and delicious or not. For example, the preparation of chicken, mutton, rice and any desserts in the meal for guests is considered as a sign of respect. If the host serves a routine meal to guests that consists of vegetables and pulses it might lead to gossip or become the topic of jokes amongst neighbours. Food is served in separate places to guests and normally the female family members do not join them. In social gatherings like marriages or death ceremonies, generally only one or two types of dishes are prepared in sufficient quantities and the entire village is invited. It is perceived as very embarrassing for the host in the case of a food shortage and/or if all of the guests are not served the same quality and quantity. In normal circumstances they use utensils like silver or steel for cooking purposes but dinner served to guests is presented in pots and with plastic dinner sets, which is considered prestigious. All of these food serving habits are culturally defined and all of these practices refer to one or other symbols of high esteem upon which the guests are held upon.

3.12.7 Dressing Pattern

*Shalwar Kameez*¹⁴ is the cultural dress code for males and females but it is mandatory for women to cover their heads with a *Bochhan*¹⁵. The Cambridge dictionary defines a *Shalwar Kameez* as a type of suit that is worn by Asian women, with loose trousers and a long shirt. (Harley, 2000; Harley *et al.*, 2002) The preferred dress code for traditional and elderly males of the locale is *Dedhi*¹⁶ and *Kurta*¹⁷. A large square piece of cloth on either of the two shoulders is called *Pachevri* or *safa* and is culturally preferred and commonly used by males. *Pachevri* is a multipurpose cloth and is used as protection from the hot sun as well as wiping sweat from their bodies. *Patka* (turban) is worn by the elderly and respectable males. The area under study experiences harsh summers with short winters. Therefore, the people prefer to wear clothes made out of thin cotton or cotton mixed with other fabric.

Educated males wear shirts and trousers when at their jobs but not in their villages since it is not a culturally acceptable dress code over there. This form of dressing is not preferable by others and therefore its use is not common in the routine lives in the villages. Similarly, the women and girls studying in large cities exhibit variations in their dressing behaviour. If these girls are in their native areas they are expected to observe *Purdah*. The male kids can wear both kind of dresses but the females have no choice other than wearing a *Shalwar Kameez* with *Dupatta*. But still variations in current fashion were observed regarding the material, designing and colors for the different age groups.

¹⁴ Shirt and trouser stitched in a particular fashion. *Shalwar Kameez* stitching and designing/styles vary by gender. Female dresses are always more vibrant in the colors and designs.

¹⁵ A long scarf. in *Urdu* it is called *Dupatta* or *chadar* (a long piece of cotton cloth put on over the head that trails on the ground). In the modern context, educated females cover their faces with it while moving outside instead of wearing a *burqa* (gown with *veil*) to hide their body and face.

¹⁶ Long unstitched cloth wrapped around the waist.

¹⁷ Another style of male *Kameez* sometimes with handmade embroidery on it called *sejp*.

Men wear Sindhi *Ajrak*¹⁸, *Sindhi Topi*¹⁹, and *Balochi Topi*²⁰ along with *Khusa*²¹. Wearing a fine quality of cloth made from the finest cotton yarn called (*latha*) is common amongst the males who in particular wear this dress as a status symbol. They make sure to wear such dresses on *Eid*, special occasions, festivals, marriages and social events/gatherings. In their daily lives men, women and children wear readymade *chappal* (shoes). Women love to wear handmade *khusa* as these are more colourful, decorative and vibrant in designs. But school going children wear black shoes only.

Culturally, *purdah*²² is strictly observed in the locale. It is preferred that the girl should be veiled and accompanied by one of the family members or trusted female relatives when she has to move outside her home. She has to cover her face with a *Chaddar*²³ or wear a *burqa*.²⁴ Old women wear traditional *burqas* whereas young women and girls clad themselves with *fashioni burqa* (modern *burqas*) and *hijab* (head covering) as a symbol of their modesty and privacy. Covering their head and chest is a must and this women-wear comes in lots of diverse colours, decor and styles.

Elderly women wear *Dedhi*. If they prefer casual outfits, they wear moderate prints with bright colours in cotton or lawn fabric with a *dupatta* of different colours that normally do not match the suit. When they go outside on social gatherings they wear a matching dress with big *Chadders*. Middle and old aged women use relatively light and small prints while young girls like bright colours and prints. The

¹⁸ Long piece of cloth having block printing on it. A handicraft from province *Sindh*, Pakistan

¹⁹ Handmade cap. A handicraft from province *Sindh*, Pakistan

²⁰ Handmade cap. A handicraft from province *Balochistan*, Pakistan

²¹ Hand crafted footwear having the finest hand embroidery on leather.

²² Majority of the respondents having tribal base are conservative regarding freedom of women, it is mandatory for the women to wear a veil, and women/girls are not allowed to interact with males/strangers. If an unknown male comes to the village, he cannot directly visit a home. Rather he has to stay at a separate place outside the community where he meets the males of the community.

²³ A long piece of cloth with a longer breadth and width than that of a *Bochhann* covering the major portion of the body. It should not be transparent in any way. Female pin it in a way so that only the eyes remain open and the rest of the body is covered with it. This cloth is usually preferred to be black in colour

²⁴ A loosely stitched attire covering women from head to toe which is meant to be worn in public or for going outside the home for shopping or visiting someone. However, for visiting immediate relatives who might be neighbors, it is not mandatory to cover the face. The *Chaddar* serves as the protection in this case.

women of these locales are generally very hardworking and perform a lot of physical work both in the fields and at home along with other family members. If we talk about young girls in the households, it was observed that when they reach the age of 6 to 8 years they are expected to cover their heads and bodies with *dupatta*. Seasonal changes do not affect the basic dress pattern but instead the designs of the clothing are changed and made more impressive. In summers for instance light clothes are in demand while the bright coloured warm clothing are reserved for the winters. Warm shawls become an important part of the getup of the females and males during the winter season. Both the public and private schools have different uniforms for students. Girls studying in public schools wear white *Shalwar Kameez* with white *dupatta* and boys wear grey *Shalwar Kameez*. In private schools there are a variety of coloured uniforms both for girls and boys. The boys wear trousers and shirts along with neckties instead of plain coloured suits. The uniforms depend upon the requirements of the school.

3.12.8 Handicrafts

The less educated and illiterate women regularly make traditional handicrafts to decorate their homes and to give away as gifts or to sell. However, these women lack patronization and the proper training to make this activity profitable and expandable. Common handicrafts of the area include hand embroidery, stitching and weaving. All of these are quite popular and quite reasonably in demand both inside and outside of the communities. The handicrafts are made from dried date leaves and wheat straws. Women use dried sticks to make decorative handicrafts like *chabri* (baskets), *pkhay* (hand fans), *kanjair* (saucer for bread), and *taddi* (mat). *Vaan* (strips/strings) come in handy for weaving a *charpai* (traditional bed). *Chari* (date sticks) are also used for making *jhoolay* (swings) for small kids. *Bohara* (flowering shoots of the date trees are utilized to make *bohari* (broom). The adult women are experts in these tasks as compared to young girls. It was noticed that with the progress of modernity and commercialization such skills are at the verge of dying out since the majority of these skills are less popular and less in demand amongst the youth. Women sell these handicrafts at the small scale and mostly within the communities. Most of the time these handicrafts are made for household uses and for friends and relatives as a token of love and reciprocity.

In the traditional communities a girl is considered to be very talented if she is good at making handicrafts especially stitching and embroidery. Her education does not matter much, because in this way she can at least share the burden of the stitching costs of her family members and make an earning as well. While on the other hand, educated women are usually less involved in handicrafts. Instead of making them, they prefer to buy them.

3.12.9 Language

The majority of the respondents speak *Saraiki* (name of a local language, a dialect of Punjabi language) despite the fact that their ancestors hail from *Baluchistan*. Only a small number of elderly people are well versed in the *Baloch*²⁵ language. The natives have gone through the process of assimilation when it comes to their language. *Balochi* as a medium of speech is not preferred amongst the second and third generations raised in this area. According to the oral narratives this is because of the limited applications of the mother language in the new areas at the time of migrations and geographical variations. With the passage of time, the elderly people started speaking *Saraiki*, while just 0.8% of the people speak other languages i.e. *Pushto or Punjabi*. Some exceptions were those females who moved here after their marriages and a few newcomers who opted to settle in this area.

Saraiki is a rich language in terms of the varied poetic expressions. A curious observation is made on the illiterate elderly females and males who frequently use oral quotes from a variety of *Saraiki* poetry and proverbs in their social gatherings, discussions and day to day interactions. Although unable to read this language, they have learnt it from their older generations and from their daily life experiences. Moreover, in some cases people were found who were unable to read or write or even interact with the outside world even to the slightest degree. But they produced expressively meaningful poetry that highlights, in a rhythmical expression, their own life experiences and feelings.

“Tusaan perhay hoy ao ty assan karay hoey ann.”

Translation:

²⁵Language spoken in Balochistan or by *Balochis*, province of Punjab in Pakistan.

“You are educated, we are illiterate. Yet we know more because we have had lifelong experiences and learning and its importance cannot be denied” (Informal discussion, Male Community Member, Chah Kumhar Wala)

Another variation worth mentioning here is that some of the educated people with a sound socio-economic status prefer to speak Urdu when communicating with their kids. Similarly the young girls and boys who are pursuing their education (especially at the college and university level) were communicating in Urdu and a few of them could even converse in English as well. It was interesting to observe that the students who were studying (especially out of town students) wanted to express their thoughts in Urdu to demonstrate their spoken Urdu skills and therefore, build a good impression.

Another finding pertained to the fact that the students and teachers preferred to converse in their native language in most of the public schools. Despite the fact that the medium of instruction in the schools is *Urdu*, the students chose to speak *Saraiki* when conversing with their fellows and peers. The majority of the school going children at the primary level and onward were hesitant to speak Urdu even if they were able to understand it. The private schools on the other hand, put effort into making their students and teachers communicate in Urdu and English. But once the students left their schools, they conversed with their fellows and peers in their native languages.

3.12.10 Marriage

The legal age for marriage in Pakistan is 18 years. But the custom of early marriages in the locales still persists due to three main reasons. Firstly due to the societal pressure on early marriage, secondly due to a lack of education amongst the parents and the third is due to the unavailability of birth records. In some cases it is quite difficult to track down the ages of the bride and groom. In most cases the age of the girl is unofficially documented at the time of her marriage. This holds true for the impoverished strata of the society, with massive illiteracy rates. The marital age greatly varies and starts as early as 12-13 years or at the onset of puberty up to 18 years and above. Usually the educated families' married off their children after the age of 20.

Endogamy is perceived as a common practice here and it is customary to get married amongst one's own caste (preferably within extended families). For girls, marriages with their cousins are thought to be the best choice. The parent's perception is that their daughters will remain close to them, within the same family and will take care of them in case of any illness or dependencies. Close relatives are perceived as a strength and support to the family compared to outsiders. In the case of outsider marriages, the girl's parents do not have a sizeable say and lack authority in their affairs. Parents of the girls are concerned about the marriage of their girls for the very reason that they wish to get done with the responsibility at the earliest, fearing that in case of their death their daughters will be at the mercy of their married son(s), daughter(s) or other relatives who may or may not take responsibilities of their daughter(s).

The majority of the local families of *Basti Rasool Pur* were more concerned towards the educations and careers of their children. Therefore, the children's marriages are delayed until they complete their education attain jobs and settle down in their practical lives. After completing their education, the girls usually get married and if the circumstances allow it, they pursue their careers after marriage. The marriages of the males were delayed until they complete their college and university education and find good jobs. Like girls, marriage amongst cousins was preferred for boys but if no match was found, the second choice was endogamy within the same caste. A boy with a higher education degree and a secure job had more chances of getting engaged to the best girl from the community.

Patrilocal marriages are greatly practiced in the community. Some males enter into polygamous marriages for various reasons including the desire to have a male child, to settle a family dispute, for taking revenge because of exchange marriages and for grabbing a share of jointly owned land. Polygamy for females' is strictly prohibited because it is against the religious code and the customary norms. Matrilocal marriages were rarely seen because they were the most undesirable and socially disapproved form of marriage for a male. Besides this, in the locale there was not a single case of court marriage. Although in the recent past there had been a number of love marriages, but the families did not acknowledge such marriages because the parents were not involved in the selection process. If the affair became public, the marriage was performed with

the involvement and consent of the parents. Normally all of the marriages are arranged by the parents. Both the families of the bride and groom visit each other's homes to get acquainted and to develop intimacy which help in creating a long lasting relationship. After a number of visits by the groom's family, an understanding blossoms and things get finalized through the marriage contract. Although legally, marriage is a contract between two individuals, the reality is, that it is more of a family contract or a bond between the families of the groom and bride that remains intact thereafter. In Islam, this is characterised by the *Nikahnama*.

Marriage is an event of jubilation for the entire family and it is celebrated in the form of various rituals in a series of events. The first of many events in a Pakistani wedding is the *Dua-i-khair*. The *Dua-i-khair*, is a prayer for the beautiful future of the couple and is performed (commitment between parties) on a certain date fixed by both parties. The prospective groom's parents along with their close relatives pay a visit to the bride's house. The prospective bride's family invites their closest relatives to this event. This event is a formal announcement and commitment by both families, declaring their intentions in the presence of the elders to marry their son/daughter whereas the guests become witnesses to this public announcement. The guests are served with sweets, tea and light snacks.

Dua-i-khair is followed by the ceremony of *mangni* (engagement). On a mutually agreed date, the female family members of the groom to be are accompanied by a few relatives (mostly women, young girls, children and a drum beater) and they visit the brides (to be) home. On the way there they sing folk songs to the drum beats and perform *cultural* dances called *jhoomer marna* at the prospective bride's place. The future bride is gifted with two or three unstitched suits, fancy bangles, and the presenting of a gold ring (ring is not obligatory. It depends on the financial status of the groom's family) by her in laws. *Mangni* has become an optional ceremony as in most cases it is skipped entirely after the *dua-i-khair*. The next event is *gandheen Badhna* (fixing date of marriage) by both families. The word *gandheen* translates to tying a knot in *Saraiki*. It symbolizes that the groom and bride (to be) are in an anticipated marital relationship. A few guests including close relatives gather, distribute sweets and publicly announce the date of marriage.

Kandhy (marriage invitations) are distributed to the extended family, friends, and acquaintances by the families of the groom and bride. Traditionally, these invitations were distributed by the *mirasi's* (drum beaters) or the *Nai's* (barber) of that area but with development and modernization, the mode of invitation has been switched to printed cards. This is a change from the traditional custom of hiring people from lower castes to deliver wedding invitations. Those families who cannot afford the cost of printing the cards send out a verbal invitation via their close family members or nominated individuals.

3.12.11 Education

District Rajanpur features one of the lowest districts in educational ranking of Pakistan. According to a latest report by AlifAilaan (2017) it was ranked 62nd in education scores of Pakistan. Whereas a another report by (PCSW, 2018), in 2014-15, Rajanpur showed lowest literacy rates of males and females at 46% and 20% respectively among 16 low performing districts (44%) in Punjab having below 40% female literacy levels (Figure 3).

The total number of schools in district Rajanpur is 541. Out of these, 324 schools are female only and 307 schools are male only (Table 3.4). Furthermore, there was a clear difference in the number of male and female schools at higher secondary, high and middle as 25%, 41.18%, 37.64% and 43.99% compared to male as 75, 58.82, 62.16 and 56.01% schools at different levels. Similarly, the difference is more prominent in the male and female students of the higher secondary, high and middle level. Females stood at 29.45%, 43.16% and 28.82% respectively while the males at the same level stood at 70.55%, 56.84% and 75.18% respectively. Furthermore, the teacher availability for male and female students showed a big gap as the female teachers' availability for higher secondary, high, middle and primary level was 25.23%, 39.09%, and 34.04% compared to the male statistics that stood at 74.77%, 60.91% and 65.96% respectively. A larger number of teachers were available at higher secondary, high and middle level to male students.

As far as facilities are concerned the table further shows a huge difference regarding the availability of safe drinking water, boundary walls and classrooms. The female population of Pakistan is 52% but the strange thing is that education

facilities are more accessible to the males. And thus a gender balance in the provision of equal status in education facilities is absent. The above discussion clearly indicates that there is a discriminated structural difference among the female and males in obtaining education. It is obvious that the socio-cultural factors influence the access to a gender neutral education. The latest data of 2008-2009 showed that there are a total of 44,970 primary schools in the whole of the province of Punjab out of which 15,455 are located in the South Punjab region (which represents almost 34.36% of the total).

Jampur has 421 primary schools out of which 189 are for females and 232 are for males. The number of middle schools here is 41 and out of these 15 are for females and 26 are for males. As far as higher educational facilities are concerned there are 27 in total out of which 11 are for females and 16 are for males. There are only 5 higher secondary schools out of which only one is available for females (Figure 4). Jampur has only 2 colleges (one for each gender).

Educational choices available to the children of the locals include public schools, private schools, NGO(s) assisted educational facilities and literacy programs at the community level (Source: data from the office of the DCO, acquired during the field survey). In a study by Oxfam it was found that many schools lacked basic infrastructure with inadequate and in some cases zero latrines that was partly responsible for the high dropout and low enrolment rates particularly amongst the girls.

The situation becomes even more critical when girls reach puberty introducing further challenges related to their menstruation cycles. Under the given situation, girls prefer to remain absent from school until their menstrual cycle completes. It was noted that in the rural areas, girls and boys have to travel long distances to attend schools. Many boys, however take time outs to visit their homes during school hours to use the toilet either due to the unavailability or the inadequacy of the toilet facilities at their schools (Shafi, 2011). Another study shows that the majority of schools lack the provision of menstrual and hygiene management (MHM) facilities. They lack adequate sanitation and hygiene facilities that significantly affects the working environment of institutions and subsequently affects girls education (Aziz, 2015).

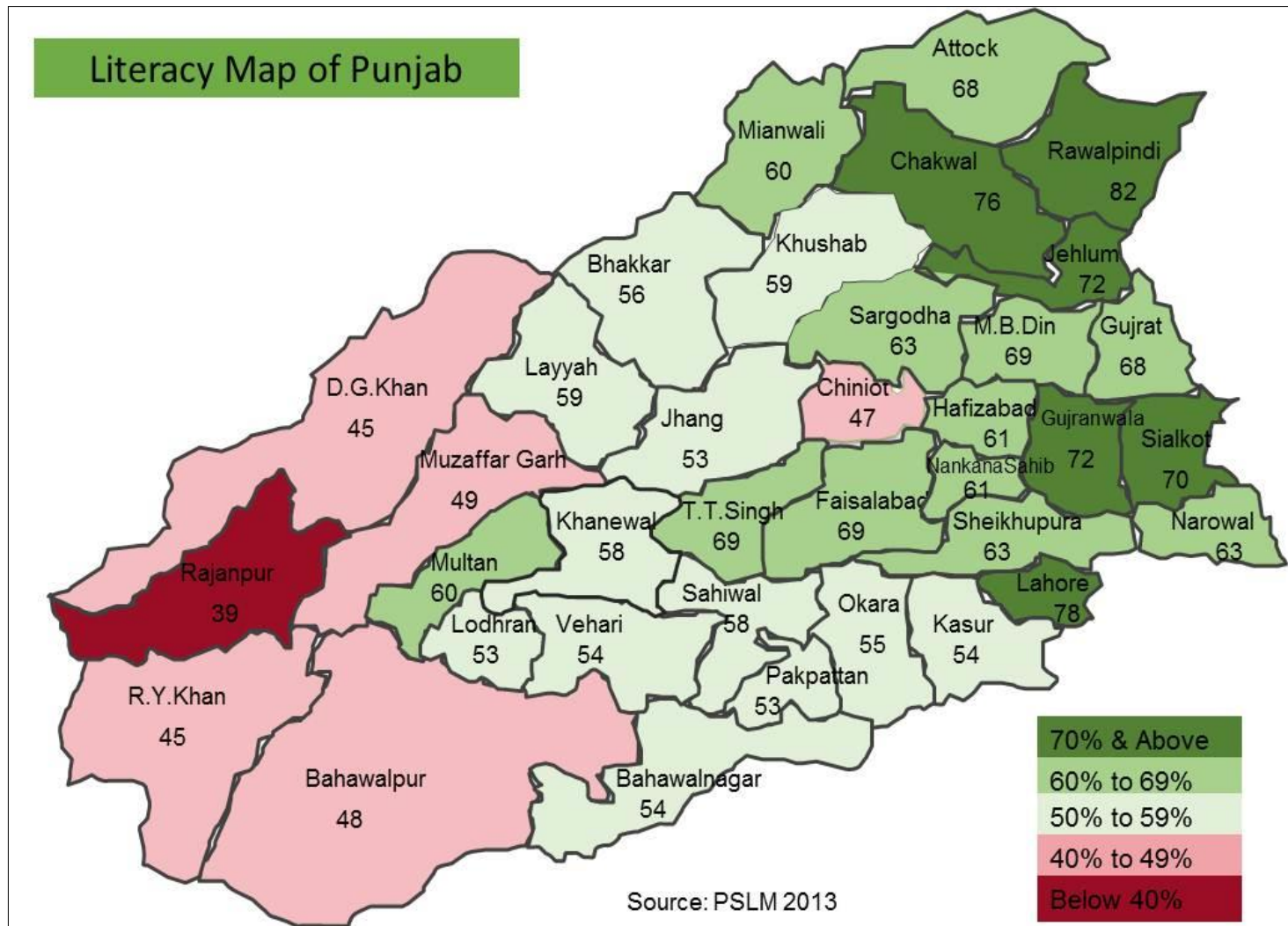


FIGURE 3: LITERACY MAP OF ALL DISTRICTS OF PUNJAB PROVINCE. SOURCE: (PSLM 2013).

Table 3.4: Educational Profile of District Rajanpur at a Glance

		Gender			
		Female		Male	
		No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Educational Facilities	Schools				
	H. Sec.	1	25.00	3	75.00
	High	14	41.18	20	58.82
	Middle	14	37.84	23	62.16
	Primary	205	43.99	261	56.01
	Enrollment				
	H. Sec.	754	29.45	1806	70.55
	High	7246	43.16	9541	56.84
	Middle	2052	24.82	6214	75.18
	Primary	9233	49.63	19521	50.37
	Teachers Availability				
	H. Sec.	27	25.23	80	74.77
	High	258	39.09	402	60.91
	Middle	113	34.04	219	65.96
	Primary	618	53.37	540	46.63
Other Facilities related to Education	Drinking water				
	H. Sec.	1	25.00	3	75.00
	High	14	41.18	20	58.82
	Middle	11	34.38	21	65.63
	Primary	200	46.62	229	53.38
	Classrooms				
	H. Sec.	16	23.19	53	76.81
	High	172	45.50	206	54.50
	Middle	71	31.42	155	68.58
	Primary	549	50.88	530	29.12

Source: School Education Department, Government of Punjab 2016

3.13 Civil Amenities

The facilities available to the people of this village serve as indicators when estimating their socio-economic status. Moreover, it indicates the varying patterns at the societal level over the years.

3.13.1 Source of Drinking Water

Traditionally the locals used to fetch water from the various wells which used to be situated far from their dwellings. With the passage of time the water table has descended and these wells have almost completely vanished and have been replaced by tube wells and hand pumps. The majority of people here use ground water made available by the use of hand pumps. People who are well off often create their own tube wells by drilling small wells in their homes or their open fields. Tube wells provide drinking water, water for crops, and water for nearby people. Besides, it gives opportunities to women to do gossips, dish washing, laundry, bathe themselves and their children. Men usually take a quick bath at these tube wells to cleanse and freshen themselves to beat the summer heat. Every household cannot afford to have a tube well of its own so they share it with the ones who own them. Households that have the tube well boring facilities inside their homes are considered to be more financially stable compared to others. Rafique *et al.* (2014) in a study on the quality of the drinking water in Jampur found that the majority of the locals were using contaminated water that is creating a number of potential health risks to the people. Similarly, there was an acute scarcity of the provision of clean water to the schools. The condition of the water storage tanks and water coolers were not satisfactory.

3.13.2 Electricity

The socio-economic census surveys conducted for this research revealed that only 70% of the households have electricity connections. However, a regular supply of electricity remains a constant issue. The locals are faced with long and uncertain power outages that has affected their lives in multiple ways. The problem was most acute in the schools as it becomes extremely difficult for both students and teachers to focus on any classroom activities because of the difficult conditions (which includes the lack of water for drinking and toilets). The energy

crisis continued to pose a serious concern that directly relates to the schooling of children.

3.13.3 Health Services

The tehsil headquarter hospital in *Jampur* handles the provision of health facilities to its neighbouring communities. Basic Health Units (BHUs) are available at the Union Council level and these provide first aid services to the people in the villages. In most cases, the locals are not satisfied with the standard of medical care delivered at the public health facility. This is partly due to the shortage of standard medicines and the absence of qualified doctors. As a result the majority of the population has no choice but to rely upon the costly services of various private clinics that have popped up in different areas around the Tehsil Head Quarter (THQ). An alarming situation here is the complete lack of any official maternal and child health services at the hospital. Locals have to travel to better equipped maternal health facilities elsewhere whenever there is an emergency because they simply do not have the availability of any proper health facilities at the THQ hospital. Some UCs of the tehsil are quite far away from the government hospital which makes it evident how difficult it is to cope with emergency health situations.

3.13.4 Bank

There are various branches of leading banks such as *Zarai Trakiyati* Bank limited, Habib Bank Limited, Muslim Commercial Bank, United Bank Limited, Allied Bank, Bank *Alfalah*, *Meezan* Bank, Bank of Punjab and Cooperative Societies Ltd in *Jampur* city which tend to the financial requirements of the people. The majority of the people (both literate and illiterate) are largely dependent on the banks for paying their utility bills and other banking transactions.

3.13.5 Transportation

Most of the people travel by public transport that connects *Jampur* town to several villages. *Jampur* is the main terminal from where the public transport plies to the various places of the country. The local transport that commutes between the various villages across the Indus Highway is operational even late at night. The communities we have selected for research are a little far away from the main road. These villages are not at a walking distance from the main road and the

locals have to travel by rickshaw to reach their specific *basti*. In case of emergencies like serious illnesses or rushing pregnant women to the hospital, the locals can utilize these rickshaws, make special vehicle bookings or arrange for private transport. The majority of the households here possess motorbikes which serve as the most convenient form of transport in almost every situation. Those who cannot afford a motorbike are forced to borrow from friends or family in the case of an emergency (In exchange for the payment of fuel charges).

Those who have their own vehicles are visualised as being financially well off. When looking at it from the perspective of girls' education, the physical distance to the schools and the reliance on transportation together constitute a grim barrier for these girls' (Chapter 4 for details). Some literature suggests a strong correlation between the schooling of girls' and their transportation (Sathar & Lloyd, 1994; Buzdar & Ali, 2011a; Maqsood *et al.*, 2012; Rousso, 2015). The problem of transportation for girls' was mentioned often in the local narratives. It was deduced that inadequate and insecure transportation facilities has hampered the access of girls' to their schools (Buzdar & Ali, 2011a). This study has focused on such factors in plenty of detail (Chapter 4 for details) in the light of girls', parents', and the communities viewpoints on these matters.

3.13.6 Roads and Streets

A metalled road leads to *Basti Rasool Pur, Chah Kumhar Wala* whereas the road connecting *Basti Godden Wala* is an unpaved mud track. Only in *Basti Rasool Pur* are the streets properly designed and maintained by the locals themselves. Every street is named after their ancestors and the name of each street is printed in stylish Urdu calligraphy on a colourful metal sheet (Plate 1). The situation there is in sharp contrast to the other two *basti(s)* where people reside in small clusters alongside their agriculture land with no proper street system or signage.

3.13.7 Graveyards

There are *Gustaan* (graveyards) in and around the locale *Tataarwla*. The first one is *Chottay balain²⁶ da gustaan²⁷* is located in *Jampur* town. This graveyard is

²⁶*Bal* is a unisex word used to refer to both male and female child, *balain* is the plural of *bal* that means children.

²⁷*Chottay balain da Gustaan*: Graveyard for neonates and minor kids of the locale.

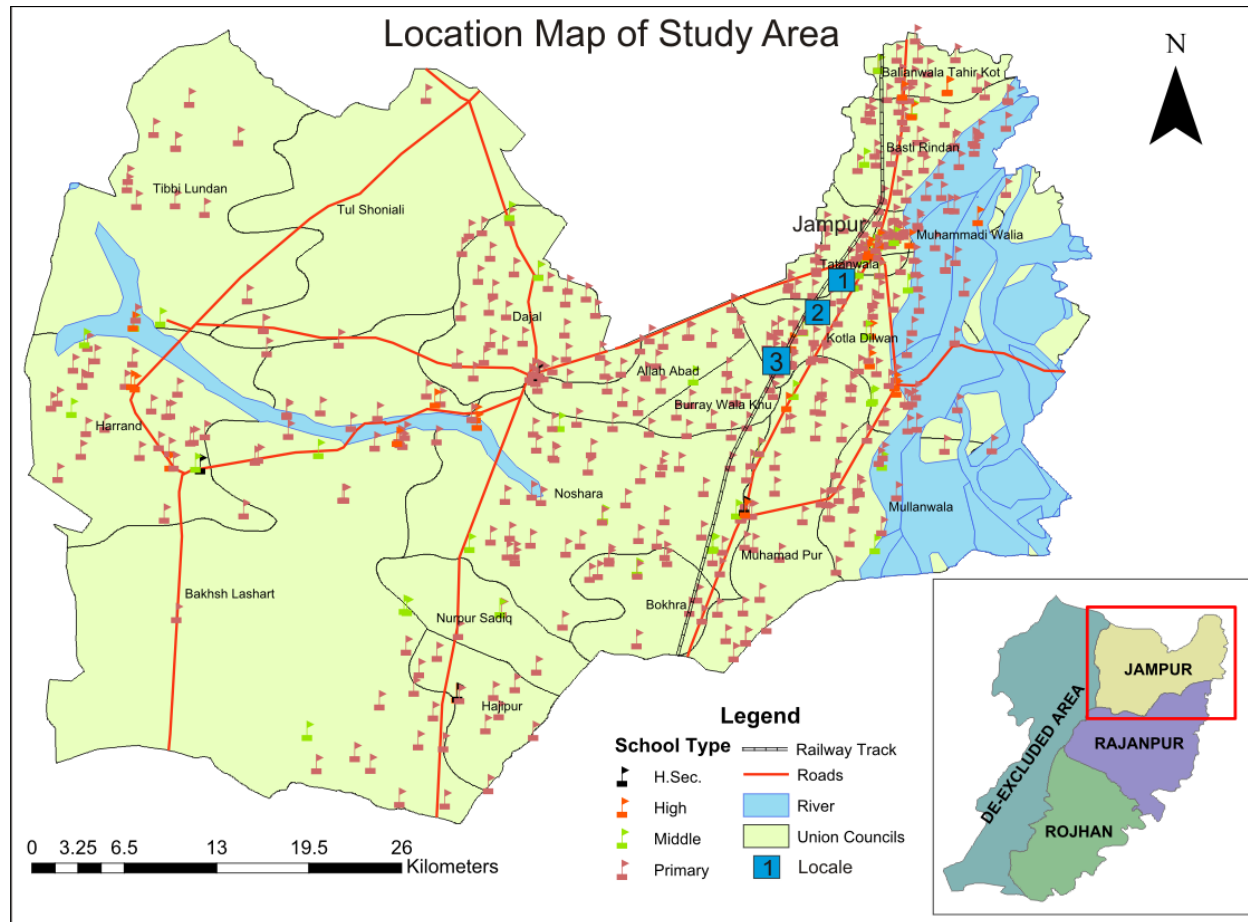


Figure 4: Location map of district Rajanpur showing three tehsils including trible area (inset map). The detailed map showing tehsil Jampur along with school located in different Union Councils and three study locals 1) *Chah Kumhar Wala*, 2) *Basti Godden Wala* and 3) *Basti Rasool Pur*.

specifically known to be used for neonates and minors of varying ages. To understand the upper age limit of a diseased child, a detailed discussion was held with the key informants of the locale regarding the presence of adult graves in the graveyard which is primarily only meant for minors. They were of the view that the graveyard was open to all and there was no hard and fast rule. The variations are a common sight and are usually because of some emergencies and inevitable situations. The locals find their choice to be limited as there are 2 other graveyards, but they are at some distance from the locale. Some people find it difficult to afford a burial away from their homes or in managing funeral ceremonies due to bad weather conditions etc.

The second graveyard is *Massan Shah da Gustaan*²⁸ and is located outside the locale at approximately 5 kilometres. There is a strong following of the saint (*Pir*) and therefore, the locals prefer to bury their loved ones in the courtyard (*Ahata*) of the *Pir's* mausoleum/grave (referred to as *Pir ki qabar*). A special amount is paid to buy land for those families who would like the grave of their loved ones to be near the *Pir's* grave. It is commonly believed that the *Pir* keeps an eye on the dead and takes care of their departed souls and provides an eternal source of blessing and forgiveness to them. The third is *Thakray wala Gustaan*²⁹ that is located outside the locale at a distance of 10 kilometres. Amongst the three mentioned graveyards the *Masan Shah* is the most preferred one. However, within each Basti the locals had independent graveyards.

3.14 Conclusion

First half of the chapter, provides an overview of the research methodologies and strategies adopted in the study. It also justifies the use of methodologies. It examines the processes adopted for the selection of participants, sampling techniques, in-depth interviews, case studies and FGDs. In addition to this, the chapter presents field experiences, ethical concerns and limitation of the study. Later half of the chapter relates to a brief introduction of the research sites, which is important to reveal the existing realities. The introduction allowed the readers

²⁸*Massan Shah da Gustaan*: this graveyard was named after the name of a popular local saint *Massan Shah*. This graveyard is believed to be the most ancient one in the area.

²⁹*Thakray wala Gustaan* is an old graveyard. It is named after the name of a *Hindu* landlord known as *Thakar*. He donated the land for the graveyard to please a saint of his time.

to understand overall socio-demographic, socio- economic and socio-cultural characteristics, related to girls' education at grass root level. Furthermore, by analysing data of more than 500schools of district Rajanpur (study district) an overview of state of girls' education at district level is presented in the chapter that revealed flaws at institutional level. The chapter presented the fact that how lack of infrastructure, human resources and other facilities contribute towards low achievements in girls' education. Generally socio-economic and cultural differences prevail at multiple levels i.e. household, community and schools. Such biases lead towards inequality therefore, girls lag behind boys particularly in the education system. The next chapter covers a detailed account of various socio-economic factors that impede girls' education.

Chapter 4

Socio-economic Factors Influencing Girls Education

4.1 Introduction

The first half of chapter three covered the methodological aspects of the study that were largely covered by qualitative methods of analysis and partially with quantitative methods. The second half of the chapter encompassed introduction to the research sites. Overall chapter three formed the methodological basis and a general background of the research locales for the subsequent chapters. First part of this chapter deliberated on parents' perception, aspirations towards girls' education and parents' involvement in the education of their children in general and in particular girls. Later part of the chapter deals with the various socio-economic factors affecting girls' education. Themes including family size, dependency ratio, poverty, access to school, mobility, transportation, quality of education and child labour emerged through both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the study.

To provide a reliable analysis of the different socio-economic factors that affect girls' education, this study was designed to purposefully select three different locations to understand the diversity of ground realities surrounding girls' education. It helped in drawing comparisons for a critical discussion of socio-economic factors relating to gendered construct of education across the communities. During data analysis phase, poverty and gender emerged as cross cutting variables to understand the varying context specific realities of girls' education particularly at the family and community level. While comprehending the concept of gender biased access to education, the study has also explored various intersections that contributed towards the overall educational experiences of girls in rural settings. In many developing countries, girls' education is influenced by various economic and socio-cultural contexts (Zhao & Glewwe, 2010; Doss, 2013). As a result, the majority of girls have to face several challenges and obstacles to achieve even a basic form of education. Such challenges and obstacles are always context specific to each community of a particular country (Grant & Behrman, 2010). This is the main reason for the alarmingly number of girls who are out of school, particularly in the rural areas (Chaaban & Cunningham, 2011). The following sections

provide a detailed account on the many aspects related to girls' education from the perspective of gender.

4.2 Socio-economic Factors Influencing Gender Education

Family factors significantly influence girls' education in both positive and negative ways (Carneiro *et al.*, 2013; Cooper *et al.*, 2013; Estell & Perdue, 2013; Shahidul & Karim, 2015). In the process of attaining education, a girl is totally dependent on the moral and financial support from her family. As mentioned above, female education is linked with the values and social norms prevailing in a particular society (Björklund & Salvanes, 2011). After reading and looking back over the narratives collected for this study, this section attempts to present the varying factors that contribute towards the increased dropout rate of school going girls due to various economic and social compulsions faced at the household level in diverse communities. These family factors are discussed under the following sub sections.

4.2.1 Parental Perception regarding Education in General

Irrespective of their financial and educational backgrounds, the majority of parents across the three communities understood the importance of education of their children especially the girls and had firm conviction that education was a dire need of their children. Parents wanted their children to get '*shaoor*' (awareness) through schooling. Parents also considered education as '*changie shay*' (a good thing) for their children. Moreover, they believed that through quality schooling their children could acquire worldly knowledge which would enable them to lead better lives. However, in reality, the financial and social standing of parents across the scores of communities exhibited differential educational outcomes, and a range of different preferences (from low to high educational preferences) for education of their children. Such preferences primarily related with the gender based standing of the child in a household and financial means involved in schooling.

4.2.2 Parental Perceptions regarding Girls Education

For this study the majority of respondents were mothers from the less developed and the least developed communities who mentioned that they prioritized the education of their male children over their female children. The study found that education in these

localities was highly gender specific. Parents from both under developed communities strongly believed that their male child held a bigger right over education and other family resources. If there was a competition between male and female siblings, then clearly the males held a strong preference over the females. Majority of the parents believed that their male children have a greater right over their parents' resources than the females because these male children are more likely to financially support the parents' in their old age. Therefore, compared to females, the parents were more inclined to send their male children to schools. Gender emerged as the cross cutting theme regarding economic determinant of female education in the majority of families observed. The girl child was often viewed as someone else's property (Chapter 5 for details). Contrary to the ground realities, majority of the mothers of the less and least developed communities mentioned an array of problems in their personal lives because of not being educated. Summary of problems presented by a young mother in an interview is as below;

“Ager asaan perhi howan ha ty kisay kabil howa ha, balain ko perhaon ha ty noki ty wanjoo ha per saako kisay sakool nai wanjan deita agay sari dheeen da naseeb ve saday jai ay.” (Faiza Mai, IDI-mother-08, BGW, 20/3/2015)

Translation:

“If we were educated then we could have jobs, we could have helped our children in their education, unfortunately no one let us go to schools. I think my daughter has got similar fate like me.” (Faiza Mai, IDI-mother-08, BGW, 20/3/2015)

However, for the parents from *Basti Rasool Pur*, education generally and for girls in particular was a priority. Being an educated community, they had a certain level of awareness and they wanted to educate their girls for various reasons. Parents commonly believed that their own success lies in the success of all of their children (both boys and girls). They further perceived that it was their duty to provide an equal access to education for their children irrespective of their gender. The majority of parents here were highly concerned about high level of female education for their daughters. A detailed account of parental perceptions and support to girls' education

in the developed community of *Basti Rasool Pur* (Chapter 6 for details).

4.2.3 Dogmas Surrounding Girls Education

The following set of beliefs of parents regarding gender, gender roles, education, educational choices, household work, child labour and careers for girls and women strongly support indices of gender discrimination in education, particularly in both under privileged communities. A mother expressed negative perception regarding girls' education in the following words.

“Perh ty chohrain kiya kraisain, sambhalana ty on vy ghar ay.”
(Zarina, FGD-02-mothers, CKW, 01/01/2015)

Translation:

“What is the use of educating a girl? After all she has to perform household work.” (Zarina, FGD-02-mothers, CKW, 01/01/2015)

Another mother while discussing about her daughter's education expressed her negative feeling towards girls' education by saying that;

“Chohrain da kam ay gher ty balaan kun sambhalna, dafa kero perhai ko.” (Noor Bibi, IDI-Mothers-03, BGW, 11/3/2015)

Translation:

“The female's job is to take care of her home and children, so what is the point of getting education? Let the education go to hell.” (Noor Bibi, IDI-Mothers-03, BGW, 11/3/2015)

Several narratives mentioned above presented that girls' education was discouraged in a number of ways due to numerous dogmas such as “a girl has to take care of the home” and “she has future role as a mother”. Therefore, to understand their views about the culturally approved roles of girls, a number of questions were asked from the parents, according to the majority of illiterate parents, education does not have much to do with the life of girls. According to them, it is actually the life experiences that teach a girl to become practical and therefore, the parents viewed that girls need to learn life skills to live a better life instead of education.

The majority of the parents expressed their views about girls' education as being negatively associated with the honour of parents'. The following reply from a father regarding girls' education represents the perceptions of many other fathers of both under developed communities.

"Perhsi ty ma piyo de byizzati kerisi." (Nawaz Khan, IDI-father- 02, CKW, 01/02/2015)

Translation:

"When a girl receives education, she is likely to dishonour her parents." (Nawaz Khan, IDI-father-02, CKW, 01/02/2015)

Number of parents from both under developed communities expressed their views about girls' education as being negatively associated with the honour of parents. Believing that if they educate their girls then there are high chances that girls will not conform to existing societal norms. Moreover, the girls are perceived to develop a different opinion contrary to their traditional customs and practices just because of education. A great fear existed amongst parents regarding the possibility of a girls interactions with the outer community (especially boys) that was strictly not permissible.³⁰ As a matter of fact one of the reasons for the early dropout of girls from schools was mainly due to the fear of violating societal norms. But on the other hand, in case of the male child, the perceptions and feelings of parents were exactly the opposite. Boys were encouraged to seek education, or they would face the consequences of being illiterate. One of the mothers whilst explaining the importance of education to his son, motivated him towards education by warning him of a bitter future in the following words;

"Perai ya bhaidaan charaisain." (Nooran Bibi, IDI-Mother-03, BGW, 11/03/2015)

³⁰*Balochs* are known for their stubbornness and rigidity; they hardly listen to anyone and they fight over small affairs like crossing over other peoples land. If someone crosses any place where females are present due to "*pani da wara*" irregularities/mismanagement in ones turn to have canal water for irrigation etc. It can turn into disputes and even result in bloodshed. This is particularly common among uneducated people. (IDI- Kamran, Community Member *Panchayat, Chah Kumhar Wala*).

Translation:

“If you do not study you will become a shepherd.” (Nooran Bibi, IDI-Mother-03, BGW, 11/03/2015)

It was commonly noted that lots of misconceptions and negative perceptions about girls' education were quite widespread amongst the illiterate masses of these areas. These assumptions were often triggered by fear, misunderstandings due to their own personal limitations and the inability to handle such challenges. Furthermore, there was a lack of ownership and wealth of prejudice at the community level towards girls' education. Contrary to these negative perceptions prevailing in less developed and the least developed community in the case of the developed community, the parents had a positive understanding of educating girls and they acknowledged the fact that education plays a vital role in providing a good quality of life to girls. Therefore, alongside their sons, parents ensured an equal support to their daughters in their education.

Data suggests that positive educational aspirations were out of reach for the majority of many parents in *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala* due to a number of factors like poverty, illiteracy and lack of awareness. The educational level of the parents contributes towards educating their children particularly of girls. In my opinion, if the parents understand the value of education, they become a role model and have a positive effect on girls' education. Education brings about a positive change in the overall education system as girls enrolment will increase and good academic and practical results can be achieved. The majority of the illiterate parents found a flimsy solution to girls' problems by discontinuing their education.

4.2.4 Secondary Position of Females in Household

Compared to the men, the women of the family worked harder and longer hours since their duties covered home and fields. However, most of the times the women's efforts go unnoticed, because of the overriding ideology of being housewives (Whatmore, 2016). Girls were further marginalised in their capacity as unpaid workers due to their inferior position in the house. These discriminatory practices have brought negative effects on the literacy rates in the community particularly for females.

Generally, in patriarchal and traditional communities there is a pro-male or a gender bias approach in case of the parental preference towards the education of their children. Under the given financial constraints, it was equally difficult for parents to positively perceive regarding provision of education to their girls.

Usually a girl's family was more concerned about her early marriage, marital expenses and dowry rather than spending on her education. Secondly, when any huge investments were made on a female child, it was perceived as benefiting others (her husband/in-laws). Moreover, the overall success and status of the family in the community and elsewhere was associated with educating the male child only.

“Saadi khawahish ty einvay hy ky puteraan ko perhaon wala o burapy da sahara banain, ager dhereen ko perhaon ty oda ty sakoon koi faida nai.” (Salma Bibi, IDI-07-Mother, CKW, 22/01/2015)

Translation:

“We prefer to educate our sons so that they can take care of us in old age. What is the use of educating girls when they are not going to stay with us in old age?” (Salma Bibi, IDI-07-Mother, CKW, 22/01/2015)

Parents could not easily grasp discernment of benefits of girl's education due to a number of reasons the foremost being that the parents and the society considered females as secondary grade. Second, the presence of grown up daughters at their parents' home for too long, was considered devoid of any future rewards for their families. Third, girls were not perceived to be able to do jobs out of home like men with the result that their education was not considered mandatory in these societies, in other words it was meaningless. In *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala*, the parents initially got their daughters enrolled in the schools but later on pulled them out leading to a higher dropout rate. The major reason for this scenario were socio-cultural restrictions (Chapter 5 for details) and therefore, majority of girls dropped out of schools even before completion of primary level education. Only a small number of girls from these communities were able to study beyond primary and middle levels of education.

Table 4.1: Percentage Distribution of Gender-Wise Comparison of Students across Primary-Middle Level Public Schools in Basti Godden Wala

Grade	No. of Girls	Percentage	No. of Boys	Percentage
<i>Awal Adna/Katchi</i>	20	18.5	25	32.5
<i>Awal Alla/Pakki</i> (Grade 1)	17	15.7	20	25.9
<i>Doum</i> (Grade 2)	15	13.8	12	15.5
<i>Soum</i> (Grade 3)	12	11.11	10	12.9
<i>Chaharum</i> (Grade 4)	12	11.11	05	6.4
<i>Panjum</i> (Grade 5)	10	9.25	05	6.4
<i>Shesham</i> (Grade 6)	07	6.4	-	-
<i>Haftam</i> (Grade 7)	09	8.33	-	-
<i>Hashtam</i> (Grade 8)	06	5.5	-	-
Total	108	100	77	100

Table 4.1 reveals gender-wise comparison of students at two different public schools located in *Basti Godden Wala*. One of these two schools was a primary school for boys while the other one was a middle school for girls. Both these schools were gender segregated. Girls had an advantage in terms of access to the middle school since it was located quite close to their locality. The boys on the other hand had to travel quite a distance to get to their school as it was far from their locality. Frequent dropouts were generally observed across both genders. However, the gender-wise comparison suggests a slightly higher (9.25%) dropout rate amongst the girls as compared to 6.4% amongst the boys at the primary level. It was observed that the post-primary drop out among girls was alarmingly high due to gender specific restrictions prevailing in the society. Irrespective of having an educational facility close to them the number of girls attending were quite low.

Gender was the major issue for dropouts among girls. On the contrary, the influencing issues that affected boys' education were mostly financial. This suggests that the perceptions of the parents regarding their daughters' education played a crucial role towards their dropout rate. There existed a cultural likeliness and approval for child

labourers amongst the poor communities, which was basically driven by their financial constraints and economic disparities (Section 4.2.17 for details).

Studies indicate that the existing perceptions of the benefits of girls' schooling and its processes shapes the educational outcomes. Parents look for tangible benefits in sending their children to schools (Buchmann, 2000; Jamal, 2015; Chiu *et al.*, 2016; Jerrard, 2016). In addition to the figures presented in Table 4.1, it was found that 14 boys from well to do families availed educational facilities from private schools outside *Basti Godden Wala*. But only one girl from the entire *Basti* was going to a private school to receive her secondary education. The gender differences in terms of seeking education from the private sector were highly skewed towards the male children. Moreover, another key observation from the data revealed that the completion rate of primary education in both cases was alarmingly low at 75% for girls and 50% for boys.

4.2.5 Link between Parents Education and Girls Education

While talking about girls schooling, job opportunities and future prospects a significant number of parents expressed that their mind-sets were predominantly driven by the societal norms which do not support girls' education and career opportunities (Chapter 5 for details). One of the mothers in an interview mentioned financial resources as the impeding factor towards girls' education.

“Saaday kol chorain de pehai da kharcha nai ty choreen ko kivain perhaon.” (Salma Bibi, IDI-07-Mother, CKW, 22/01/2015)

Translation:

“We have no money for the education of our male children then how can we think of educating girls.” (Salma Bibi, IDI-07-Mother, CKW, 22/01/2015)

Similarly another women was of the view that;

“Asan garib mazdoor log haan e galu apni aulad to naysay perha sakday, bagair perhain asaan apni roti kamaday wadoon ty saadi olaad ve eiway kama ghinsee.” (Farzana, IDI-10-Mother in law, BGW, 19/02/15)

Translation:

“We are poor labourers, we cannot afford to educate our children. If we survived without education our children will also make their way without it.” (Farzana, IDI-10-Mother in law, BGW, 19/02/15)

4.2.6 Parents Role in *Taleem-o-Tarbiyat*

In less developed and the least developed communities it was observed that taking care of the education of the child was considered the prime responsibility of the mothers. In addition to *Taleem* (education), a child was supposed to seek *tarbiyat* (socialization) from his/her mother. *Tarbiyat* refers to the socialization of the child and has a deeper meaning associated with the manners, behaviour, conduct, thinking, modes and actions of a child/person. These elements of personality were judged by shared understanding of cultural framework of the society.

When a child does something odd, the society blames the mother for his/her wrong acts due to lack of care on her part for upbringing of the child. To comply with the societal construct a mother is expected to guide the child in a culturally appropriate manner. It was found that female children faced excessive victimization throughout their lives on receiving poor *tarbiyat* from their mothers that resulted in a low self-esteem and falling victim to subordination. Some popular and common derogatory statements aimed at girls were;

“Janyjhi maa uhoo jahin dhee.” (Shaheena Mai, IDI-Mother in law-08, BGW, 20/3/2015)

Translation:

“Like mother like daughter.” (Shaheena Mai, IDI-Mother in law-08, BGW, 20/3/2015)

The following common saying depicts the similar derogatory expression as;

“Maa dy kheer daa asar ay.” (Khairan Mai, IDI-06-mother in law, BGW, 10/01/2015)

Translation:

“The wrong deed by a person (mostly of girls) is due to the weak socialization by the mother only.” (A common taunt to mother of a girl).” (Khairan Mai, IDI-06-mother in law, BGW, 10/01/2015)

As the majority of the mothers in *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala* were illiterate, they were unable to provide *taleem* (education) to their children at home nor could find suitable schools for them. However, all of the mothers, irrespective of their educational backgrounds were performing a key role in the *tarbiyat* of their children. It was further noted that in some cases mothers were facing a strong opposition from the family when they were strict with children regarding the studies or socialization of their children. In such cases, mostly the family supported the children and scolded the mothers for forcing their children onto studies or for inculcating good manners. The children were directed not to follow the mothers' instructions. In one in-depth interview a mother reported her experience of encountering an odd behaviour from a family member in the socialization process. Her husband had responded to her actions;

“Wadhi tou a gyee samjhwanaar aali bal koon. Tee koon app koon kya pta hy. Wadda rahee awain.” (Salman, IDI-husband-02, CKW, 15/01/2015)

Translation:

“Do not go beyond your limits, this is too much. You leave the child on his/her own. You know nothing, He/ she will learn on his/her own.” (Salman, IDI-husband-02, CKW, 15/01/2015)

Usually, the mothers were blamed for not taking care of the education and manners of their male children. A plethora of literature suggests that parents are great contributors towards preparation of the child for education/school, interaction with school, meeting with teachers, assisting in homework and supervising his/her education. Parental involvement in the education of the children positively influences child's educational outcome (Sriprakash, 2010; Hornby, 2011; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). Such capabilities were found missing among majority of the illiterate mothers of underdeveloped communities.

4.2.6.1 Gender Differences Affecting Parental Involvement

Generally parent's attitudes regarding their involvement in their children's education can be divided into two different categories. One category (mainly from *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala*) perceives that their role was to send their children to

the school and it was the responsibility of the school and its teachers to take care of their children's education. The other type of parents (from *Basti Rasool Pur*) were aware of the fact that their involvement in the education of their children was crucial for their overall progress.

In the traditional discourse of the study areas, the father of a child was not perceived as an active contributor towards the education of the child in general and girls in particular. Supporting the children in educational matters at home does not fall in the culturally appropriate gender domain of the father. Males were primarily perceived to earn bread and butter for their families therefore, there were hardly any role of the father's involvement in the daily homework activities of the children in less developed and the least developed communities under study. Some of the fathers were not even aware of the grade in which their children were studying. However, in *Basti Rasool Pur* the fathers' involvement was positively witnessed in the overall academic progress of the children. Father-daughter bonding was an important factor in the educational pursuits of girls'. The father's educational level significantly affected the child's learning progress because he had ability to foresee the benefits. In addition to the cultural factors, the involvement of the fathers in the education of the children of *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala* was limited due to the father's poor educational status.

The vast body of literature highlights the importance of parental support and involvement in the studies of their children (Chiu *et al.*, 2016; Hasan, 2016; Buff *et al.*, 2017). In reality, lack of support by the parents is also a major reason for children's lack of interest in education (Kızıldag, 2017; Siddiqui, 2017). The parents usually concealed their weaknesses and incompetence and blamed the children and the schools for the lack of interest in studies. Lack of quality education in the public schools puts an additional pressure on the child (Bold *et al.*, 2017). Concurrently, the communications and interactions between the parents and school about the learning difficulties of the child appeared as quite weak. In the wake of the absence of feedback and concern by the parents, the schools lacked parental input and concern over the quality of education provided.

The parents' involvement in the education of their children positively correlates with the educational outcomes of the students (Ingram *et al.*, 2007; Park & Holloway, 2013;

Sosu, 2014; Wilder, 2014). In the given cultural context of the communities under study, a few factors play a crucial role regarding the parents' involvement in their children's education:

- 1). Parents' own educational level
- 2). Parents' perceptions regarding their involvement.
- 3). Gender bias in parental involvement.
- 4). Socio-economic and socio-cultural life contexts of parents.

4.2.7 Family Size and Dependency Ratio

When I was in the field, I found a number of families from the least developed and less developed communities that were large in size. Pakistan can be characterized with a high household dependency ratio (Arif & Farooq, 2014; Aleemi *et al.*, 2015). Furthermore, the high dependency ratio is one of the factors that create poverty at the micro level (Chaudhry *et al.*, 2015; Haq *et al.*, 2015). Similarly, the study revealed high dependency that vastly prevailed in the least developed and less developed communities. On the other hand, dependency ratio was found relatively low among locals of developed community. It was a well off community on the basis of its overall development at household and community level. The majority of households here possessed a sound socio-economic status and better jobs. Moreover substantial number of females were serving in different professions (Chapter 6 for details).

4.2.8 Poverty and Life Contexts of Parents

Poverty was another major reason for the depleted education of children. Parents faced financial constraints and had limited resources to manage both their own living expenses and the educational expenses of their children. Thus, the continuity and sustainability of children education in general and girls' education in particular becomes a big challenge for the parents on the basis of their socio-economic status and personal limitations.

Across these communities, both the males and females worked together in the fields to earn for their families. On an average the daily wage of an uneducated labourer ranges from Rs.300-500. Sometimes a number of days would pass without any work either because of the unavailability of any work or due to unforeseen circumstances

(weather, health, personal and family related issues) that prevented them from working. In both underdeveloped communities, it was observed that there were a few earning hands and a large number of dependents in a family. This situation begets the division of financial resources at the household level and thus further shrinks the budget for schooling of girls. Repeatedly the majority of the poor parents of two out of the three locales, mentioned that educating their children was a hard task for them. This situation further worsens with the rise in the number school going children under scarce resources. Instead of schooling, children as they grew, preferred to acquire skills like labourers, masons, mechanics, drivers and tailors to support their families at an early stage and overcome poverty to some extent. The girls had no choice but carry on household work and perform agriculture related activities in the field (Section 4.2.17 for details).

Hypothetically assuming if a father earns 500 rupees in a day then on an average he earns 12,500 excluding the four weekend leaves. The educational expense of a child varies from 5000-10,000 subject to grade and school in which the child is studying. In this way a handsome amount is required for the educational expenses of one of his child. Similarly, annual expenses of education and related expenses of a child vary between 42,880-76,020 rupees (Table 4.3). This clearly exceeds income of the parents to keep their child at school. The cost of education is directly proportional to educational grades. If the same estimates are multiplied among 4-5 children then it goes beyond their means, hence for poor parents expense on education was a luxury therefore, it served as a constraint particularly for girls.

4.2.8.1 Case Study: A Male Change Agent from the Community

My name is Muhammad Saleem. I have completed my masters and B.Ed. I am 28 years old. I wish I had never been born in *Basti Godden Wala*. Often my feelings relate to the harsh realities of *Basti Godden Wala* aggravated. I am fed up with impoverished conditions of *Basti Godden Wala*. I remember worrying about my people when I was in grade 10. I used to think "When will the people of my *Basti Godden Wala* realise the importance of education and other things when will they improve their living to defeat poverty. Poverty is the one prime factor for illiteracy. For this very reason, neither the parents could study nor could they send their kids to schools. The locals of *Basti*

Godden Wala believe the status quo to be the reason. They are fixated with the misplaced notion that they cannot study because they are poor.

The schools were established near *Basti Godden Wala* in the early 90's because the people here lagged behind in education, and there are not many school going children. The vicious cycle of poverty continued unabated, depriving the poor families the opportunity of education. They did not educate their children despite the availability of schools due to their idiosyncrasies. Another major reason for this was the complete lack of awareness that had strong roots within the community. As a matter of fact, people did not make any effort towards girls' education in particular and were content with the present state of their female children's education.

After getting my education, I was a misfit in my own community. I could not get a suitable marriage partner from my own community since the girls there were not educated and therefore, my marriage was exogamous. But I found a partner and today my wife is a literacy school teacher in our community. We both are teachers. We both face a lack of cooperation and frequent dropouts of children particularly of girls. The situation is mentioned in an interview as;

“Mazdoori karan dy nal ve sada roh karenday hy chohrain de taleem thee vanjay. Wala vee asan kharcha keraison, koi masla nai, wada masla aye hay chorian ko sakool pochan da, sakool ghar dy nal howey ha taan asaan chohrian ko bahoon zeyda pharoonha.” (Muhammad Saleem, CS-1, BGW, 20/02/2015)

Translation:

“We wish to educate our children despite the fact that we are labourers and earn very little. Even though we could facilitate the cost of education for our children but the problem is in bearing the transportation cost to the school due to the non-availability. If the existing school gets upgraded up to grade 12 we would love to send our girls to school.” (Muhammad Saleem, CS-1, BGW, 20/02/2015)

In my view the poor socio-economic status of parents has retarded their efforts to sustain the education of their children in the long run. As a direct consequence of poverty and paucity of family income to support their educational requirements, the

majority of such cases show even boys' dropping out from schools before completing their secondary education.

Table 4.2 is disaggregated into 13 categories depicting estimated financial costs related to the educational expenses borne by the parents. Data reveals that educational expense of children was much higher than income of the parents. Transportation costs are on the higher side as observed in the table. It presents a real challenge to parents and their children since the cost jumps beyond the means of the parents which significantly affect children's education. Allocation of financial resources were noted to be shrink further for girls' education due to low perceived future benefits of their education. Therefore, financial limitations faced at household level caused low school attendance and retention particularly among girls of school going age.

Table 4.3 reflects that managing cost of children is really challenging for parents of underdeveloped communities even when most of education related expenses are covered by school. Education is free of cost at PEF (Punjab Education Foundation) schools where most of the expenses in terms of school fee, books, stationary and uniform is covered by the schools, even then parents cannot bear the cost of transportation and lunch for a child. The government in the recent past has made serious efforts to improve primary education. As a result the dropout rate at the primary level was minimized in the study district including the studied locales. To retain more students at schools they gave a stipend of Rs. 450 to each student. Again, a gender wise comparison of parental preferences in terms of bearing educational expenses revealed bias in allocating financial resources, strong gender preferences and adherence to cultural norms (Chapter 5 for details).

4.2.9 Limited Livelihood Resources affecting Girls Schooling

Both agriculture and livestock served as the major source of livelihood in the least developed and less developed communities. However, livelihood resources for the developed community relied on various white collar jobs.

Table 4.2: Estimated Monthly and Annual Educational Expense Borne by Family at Public School(s)

Sr. No	Categories	Cost frequency (Daily/Monthly/Annually)	Monthly Expense (in Rupees)			Annual Expense (in Rupees)		
			Grade 1-5	Grade 6-8	Grade 9-10	Grade 1-5	Grade 6-8	Grade 9-10
1	Books	Annual	-	-	600	-	-	2000*
2	Copies	Monthly	300	500	600	2400	4000	4800
3	Stationery	Monthly	200	250	300	1600	2000	2400
4	Shoes	Bi annual	500	800	1000	1000	1600	2000
5	Uniform	Bi annual	500	800	1000	1000	1600	2000
6	Sweater	02 per year	350	500	1000	700	1000	2000
7	School Bag	Annual	400	800	1000	800	1600	2000
8	Socks	06 pairs each year	30	40	70	180	240	420
9	Lunch Box	Daily	20	50	50	4800	12000	12000
10	Transport	Monthly	0	2000	2000	0	16000	16000
11	Head Scarf	04 per year	100	250	350	400	1000	140
12	Exam Fee	Thrice a year	-	-	-	90	150	240
13	Pocket	Daily	20	30	50	3200	7200	20000
Total			2420	6020	7420	16170	48390	65260

*Additional books expenses are covered by the parents

Table 4.3: Estimated Monthly and Annual Educational Expense Borne by Family and Punjab Education Foundation Schools

Sr. No.	Categories	Daily /Monthly /Annually	Monthly Expense (in Rupees)			Annual Expense (in Rupees)		
			Grade 1-5	Grade 6-8	Grade 9-10	Grade 1-5	Grade 6-8	Grade 9-10
1	Books	Annual (Covered by school)	-	-	-	-	-	2000*
2	Copies	Monthly	300	500	600	2400	4000	4800
3	Stationary	Monthly	200	250	300	1600	2000	2400
4	Shoes	Bi annual	500	800	1000	1000	1600	2000
5	Uniform	Bi annual	500	800	1000	1000	1600	2000
6	Sweater	02 per year	350	500	1000	700	1000	2000
7	School Bag	Annual	400	800	1000	400	800	1000
8	Socks	06 pair each year	30	40	70	180	240	420
9	Lunch Box	Daily	50	50	50	8000	8000	8000
10	Transport	Monthly	3000	3000	4000	24000	24000	32000
11	Head Scarf (Girls only)	04 per year	100	250	350	400	1000	1400
12	Pocket Money	Daily	20	30	50	3200	7200	20000
13	Exam Fee ³¹	Thrice a year	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total			5450	7020	9420	42880	51440	76020
*Additional books expense covered by the parents								

³¹ Estimations presented in Table 4.2 and Table 4.3 are calculated on the basic inferences drawn from field data*.

4.2.9.1 Agriculture

Agriculture was the main occupation and formed the basis of the economy of two of the communities under study. The majority of the local families of the less developed and the least developed communities were closely associated with agriculture either as small farmers or as tenants. In this way the entire family shared in the agricultural activities hence, farming has become a family enterprise for them (Whatmore, 2016). The living conditions of these rural masses are highly dependent on the agricultural level of a particular *basti*. For instance, in *Basti Godden Wala* the majority of parents (particularly mothers) and their kids served as daily wage labourers (Plate 2). Their particular work was *ranba* (weeding) and *phutti chunnai* (un-ginned cotton picking). In both these activities, females (specifically young girls) were involved to a great extent and had no time to educate themselves (Section 4.2.17 for details).

4.2.9.1.1 Lack of Technological Advancements in Agriculture

Tehsil *Jampur*, (largely an agriculture area) has both irrigated and arid agriculture practices. Besides agriculture, rearing livestock played a significant role in the economy of almost every household here. A sizeable number of the population across tehsil *Jampur* were small farmers. Except for the few big land holders, the rest of people working in the agriculture sector were mainly subsistence farmers. Due to the subsistence level and poverty, these small scale farmers could hardly afford to pay the daily wage to labourers for on-farm as well as off-farm activities. Despite introduction of technological advancements in majority of the communities the farmers of less developed and the least developed communities possessed a limited knowledge of these advancements which can help them get higher yields. Agricultural activities are defined by their traditional wisdom and the traditional practices of rural farming. Moreover, both illiteracy and non-affordability of technology and labour leads to status quo consequently, child labour becomes an inexpensive form of labour available to them. Those who did not own any land worked on other's land in which the women and children are equally involved. The majority of poor women along with their female children worked in the field throughout the year, compromising the education of these

children (Miller, 2008; Male & Wodon, 2016c), while the educated people get it done by hiring services of paid labour.

4.2.9.2 Livestock

Livestock along with agriculture is the back bone of every rural household economy. Livestock formed a potent source of livelihood and income generation mechanism for the locals. The locals possessed a great passion for livestock because possessing livestock is considered a matter of prestige in the rural discourse and people who did not own any livestock are perceived as poor. Possessing one good breed was a matter of honour, which was overwhelmingly exhibited during the local *maely* (festivals), *muqably* (competitions) and *Eid* (Muslim festival). On such occasions the prices of the cattle increase leading to a profitable business for the locals. The locals actively participate in heated bargains revolving around the sale and purchase of good breeds of cattle.

As discussed above, the less and least developed communities had a large family size. Similarly, the socio-economic status of the households was generally very poor. These long financial intervals made them vulnerable to multiple issues like food security, mother and child health, diseases and expenses on education, marriages and deaths. Livestock was considered the running liquid capital in the rural context. It was deemed handy for emergencies like deaths, births, accidents from a range of situations.

4.2.9.3 Gender Involvement in Livestock and Educational Uplift

A significant number of respondents voiced poverty as a main factor for lack of education at their end, but on the other hand they possessed livestock at their homes which confirmed the fact that their priorities were not focused on spending for the education of their children. It was further noted that like women, girls were more involved in management of livestock and its business. Most of the women owned cows, goats, buffaloes and poultry. The ones who could not afford their own had shared livestock with some other women or family referred to as '*bhaiwalpa*' or *adhil*. Both these terms refer to sharing of animals between two families/women. Each one owned half the monetary worth of the animal.

Usually a well-off woman would share her animal by receiving half of the sale price of an animal from the receiving woman. The animal was kept and raised by the borrowing women/family. The milk products were consumed by the possessor whereas, in the case of birth, the baby calf was either owned by both parties or each party had an equal number of *phal* (produce). The income from *bhaiwalpa* was used in *wadha ghatta* (good and bad times), *dukh sukh* (happiness and sorrow) or for *baalain de parhai* (children's education) and the marriage of children. Due to the women's active involvement in livestock, their gossip usually revolves around topics like livestock, livestock yield and its business at the micro level. Women used to consult each other for seeking traditional knowledge in case their livestock faced any disease/delivery issue. In the case of emergencies, a veterinary doctor would be called in for help. People who could not afford to buy any animal for their subsistence, took goats, cows or buffaloes from someone on the condition that the animal would remain in owner's possession but this man would take care of the animal on his own cost and when that animal gave birth to two or more babies then one would be retained by the care taker while the other will go to the real owner.

Among a few sections of the communities, one prominent use of income from livestock was to meet the educational expenses of children because the majority of parents were not only poor but also lacked a regular source of income. The school expenses, transport and other related expenses were high and therefore, a few wise mothers saved some income from livestock that was later on spent on their children's education and related expenses. An interesting case is that of a widow who had lost her husband a year ago. She possessed a small piece of land measuring a few canals. She gave this to others on *mutta* (renting land) for the purpose of cultivation. At the time of harvest, she got enough wheat to last a year. In addition, she was also involved in rearing poultry on her own on a small scale. This helped her in bearing the cost of one of her son's college education. In this case daughter's education was not a priority for the mother rather daughter assisted her mother to manage it for her brother.

4.2.9.4 White Collar Jobs

Majority of the locals including both men and women of developed community were involved in various white collar jobs as teachers, doctors, lawyers etc.

4.2.10 Distance to School Hampering Girls Retention at Post Primary Level

Amongst others, one reason for the low participation of girls in schooling was due to non-availability of middle and high schools near the community (Way *et al.*, 2014). As a result, there was a rapid exclusion of girls from the formal education system at the primary level of education or just after completing primary level. All of the three settings were fairly isolated rural environments and had a limited access to various resources including distance to school for girls. The distance from the households to the schools was quite long that resulted in fewer post primary schooling opportunities for girls. The more distant the schools, the sooner the girl child would dropout. UN-Women (2012) reported that in Pakistan, a half-kilometre increase in the distance to school decreases girls' enrolment by 20%. According to a report by Aalif Aailan, in Rajanpur girls retention at schools beyond primary level were only (40.68%) similarly gender parity scores (70.29%) was found to be low (AlifAilaan, 2017). However, access and distance to schools was not a problem for both genders of *Basti Rasool Pur* but the community still did not welcome the public schools that exist in their proximities due to quality concerns (Section 4.2.15 and 4.2.16 for details).

4.2.11 Girls' Access to School

Access to education depends on the educational opportunities available. Access to schools emerges as a crucial factor in *Chah Kumhar Wala* regarding education of girls in particular. There was only one government primary school that provides co-education in this community. The school was located half a kilometre away from the locale and there was no other private school in the vicinity.

In one FGD, mothers expressed their desire to have one high school in their locale, so that they can send their daughters to school. A large number of poor parents desired to educate their girls provided that the secondary schools become available closer to their homes. In reality, the majority of girls in *Chah Kumhar Wala* received education up to the primary level. But later on, 95% of all

female children enrolled were unable to continue their further education due to the unavailability of middle schools in the proximity of their homes which completely hampered education prospects for them. Most of the factors affecting girls' education can be associated with the poor socio-economic status of the households across the various communities in terms of accessibility, affordability and acceptability for girls' education (Dudala *et al.*, 2014).

In *Chah Kumhar Wala*, the females had limited access to school whilst the boys had a relatively wider choice (Timmons *et al.*, 2014). Similarly, based on physical access and educational opportunities with respect to gender, the boys were at an advantage and were most likely to continue their studies by accessing the nearby public and private schools (Summers *et al.*, 1992). The majority of the parents in *Chah Kumhar Wala*, did not allow their girls to seek education outside of their communities. Despite the fact that the parents in *Chah Kumhar Wala*, showed a willingness to send their girls to school that suggested they were not against girls' education, yet they did not allow them to go to another school outside the community. In two separate FGDs with adolescent girls and mothers, both were of the view that they wished for girls to pursue studies, but they had no available facilities in this regard. Another finding that emerged was that the mothers were supportive towards female education, despite the fact that they themselves were illiterate. Only three girls of *Chah Kumhar Wala* had access to a higher school education outside of *Chah Kumhar Wala*. Despite having a poor cultural trend towards girls education, it was interesting to note that some mothers were willing to educate their daughters but were constrained by the unavailability of any middle and high school for their daughters in their vicinity and therefore, they had to surrender. One of the mothers in an interview responded as;

“Sakool di sahoolat howey ha ty garebi kon na dkhon ha. Baloon koon perhawan ha.” (Nazeer Bibi, IDI-mother-06, CKW, 15/01/2015)

Translation:

“Although we are poor, yet we want to educate our girls. But, the problem is, schools are far away and we cannot afford them.” (Nazeer Bibi, IDI-mother-06, CKW, 15/01/2015)

Another mother in one FGD was of the view that if the girls had proper access to school after primary level then the parents would have loved to educate them. The parents would not have been bothered with poverty, instead they would have sent their girls to schools and be assured of their safety within the locale.

On the other hand, *Basti Rasool Pur* had, a separate school for girls and boys at a distance of less than half a kilometre from the *Basti*. Unlike *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala*, both of these are proper schools and are located inside the community. Besides these two public schools, there are two private schools, one PEF school, one literacy school and two *madrassas* within the community so both the boys and the girls had an improved access to education within their own community. Therefore, the literacy rate across both genders was quite high in *Basti Rasool Pur*.

While on the other side, in *Basti Godden Wala*, the children have access to two public schools, at a distance of one km from the *Basti*. The first one is a middle school for girls and the second is a primary school for boys. Despite having two schools, the majority of children of school going ages of both genders remained out of school. Even those who were attending schools were inconsistent and non-serious about their education. The overall turnout of the students receiving education in *Basti Godden Wala* was the worst amongst all three *Basti(s)*.

Within the given educational scenario where two schools exist simultaneously, the boys and girls could definitely benefit by being more regular students, but unfortunately this was not the case. After completing their basic education, the question arises regarding the accessibility to schools particularly for girls. The reality is that the children of both genders do not manage to benefit even from the available educational opportunities in that area.

Gender wise segregation suggests that girls are a marginalized group in terms of acquiring education because of the cultural stubbornness of their parents who refuse to send them to school. Furthermore, some glaring irregularities were observed regarding the students' attendance at school amongst both genders. Their absence peaked during the harvesting seasons due to their duties at the fields where they worked as child labour. And so the children who were engaged elsewhere (of both sexes) form a huge part of the total number of children out of school in the *Basti Godden Wala* and *Chah Kumhar Wala*. The field data and

participant observation revealed the fact that attending the classes at school is not an issue for an impoverished household but rather there is a lack of awareness. The people do not value education nor the fact that if continued and sustained, yields individual and social benefits, leading to a better, happier and healthy life in the long run. The following statistics presented in Table 4.4 reveal a declining trend in retaining students at schools.

Table 4.4 shows the gender-wise differences of students studying at a primary school in *Chah Kumhar Wala*. In grade 3, the dropout rate for girls was more than 50%. In contrast if one looks at figures corresponding to male students the overall percentage (38%) was already low on the account of having an easier access to schools (both public and private) outside of their locality. Mobility was not a problem for the male children and they could easily reach their schools with other adult males, as compared to females who found it difficult to travel alone or in the company of other females (Chapter 5 for details).

One notable finding is that the overall number of female students in the school was higher as compared to the boys. Girls contributed around 62% of the total strength of the students whereas the boys stood at only 38%. This visible change is due to the government's efforts to achieve the Universal Primary Education (UPE) goals, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). All public schools have been assigned with the task of ensuring that the majority of children from their neighbouring communities should be enrolled in schools. However, non-willingness and non-acceptance of girls' education has aggravated poor choices and unfavourable parental decisions regarding girls' education.

4.2.12 Streets not Travelled by Girls

Both the geographical locations of the schools and the distance to the schools have significantly affected girls' schooling more than the boys (Calder *et al.*, 2017). Mobility has become a barrier particularly at the post primary level of education for girls because the conservative families usually show a reluctance in sending their daughters to distant schools (Lawton, 2015). The mobility of girls is strictly curtailed and monitored as compared to boys. However if a girl has the support of her father and brothers then she can enjoy a greater freedom in terms

Table 4.4: Percentage Distribution of Gender Wise Comparison of the Number of Students in Primary School in *Chah Kumhar Wala*

Grade	Girls	Percentage	Boys	Percentage
<i>Awal Adna/Katchi</i> (Nursery)	21	25.9	17	34
<i>Awal Alla/Pakki</i> (Grade 1)	16	19.7	14	28
<i>Doum</i> (Grade 2)	25	30.8	9	18
<i>Soum</i> (Grade 3)	12	14.8	2	4
<i>Chaharum</i> (Grade 4)	5	6.3	6	12
<i>Panjum</i> (Grade 5)	2	2.5	2	4
Total	81	100	50	100

of mobility (Calder *et al.*, 2017). In the studied areas girls were considered to be children up to the age of seven. On the attainment of this age a girl underwent both practical and symbolic changes in her attitude. She had no choice in any matter and had to accept and follow these changes imbued on her through the normative structure and guidance of parents. Mothers and elderly women taught her about these practices so that she could easily comply with the existing norms. At the tender age of seven, the girl is faced with restrictions on her free movement outside the home. Her role in the household strengthens. On the other hand, the boys of her age experienced a greater freedom. Generally, all of the women of the locale had to face a strong restriction on mobility, but these restrictions were relaxed in their old ages. The adolescence period was critical to the mobility of females in *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala*. A mother comments are presented as follows;

“Satt saal de chohir koon bal smajha wainda hy oondy baad o zaida ghar khari rehsi, balagh theesi oonkoon akhdun ay vaadi thee gyee ay.” (Faiza Mai, IDI-mother-08, BGW, 20/3/2015)

Translation:

“A girl of seven years of age is considered as a minor. After that she has to remain at home. She cannot go outside her

home and when she attains the age of puberty she is considered as an adult.” (Faiza Mai, IDI-mother-08, BGW, 20/3/2015)

Similarly, another male participant added as;

“Asan apni balochgi vich rehna chandy a, zaaln de azadi changi nai.” (Abid Khan, IDI-grandfather-06, BGW, 21/02/2015)

Translation:

“We want to hold the traditions of our ancestors. In this way the freedom of a woman is not a good thing.” (Abid Khan, IDI-grandfather-06, BGW, 21/02/2015)

Young women were strictly confined to household duties and only the elderly women had the freedom of visiting the neighbours. However, during the cropping season, the young women along with their adolescent girls' worked in the fields. In some cases, the young girls' looked after the household and attended to their young siblings while their mothers had to stay in the field for the entire day. Generally, there was a strong observance of “*Purdah*” (veil) in the locale amongst all women. However, during the work performed in the fields, *Purdah* was not observed in strict sense.

The number of middle and secondary schools were not only fewer than primary schools, but they were also located far away from the localities of the girls' of school going ages. Therefore, both mobility and transportation became a major problem for children particularly for girls'. Traditionally the mobility of a girl outside the home is mostly negatively perceived and is considered as a threat to the male ego and *ghairat* (Jamal, 2015). This concept holds true for communities with mass illiteracy rates and rampant poverty as in the cases of *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala*. The following response from a grandmother from *Basti Godden Wala* explained the cultural restrictions towards girls as;

“Sakool tak vaayaanar ve wada masla hay, chohrian taan chohray da chorar taan wal vee tur k lagy wenday hen, chohrian kalian nhi vaayaan saggdian hen.” (Mai Salma, IDI-grandmother, BGW, 21/02/2015)

Translation:

“Access to school is a problem for both girls and boys, but the boys can reach the school on foot whereas girls cannot do this alone.” (Mai Salma, IDI- grandmother, BGW, 21/02/2015)

By contrast, in an educated community like *Basti Rasool Pur* the girls’ enjoy more freedom and they can easily move to their schools and go back home. Women can also travel to their jobs. Pick and drop services were hired by females and young girls’ to move into and outside of the community for work and to commute to schools.

4.2.13 Safety Concerns Affecting Girls Schooling

The safety of children is another barrier affecting schooling of children in these areas. In *Chah Kumhar Wala*, the location of the boys school itself was not considered to be safe. It was located close to a railway track and a risky bridge crossing (with a considerable gap, like a ladder) on the *Jampur* canal. Children had to cross both of these risky pathways to reach their schools. The majority of parents did not consider this route to be safe for their male children. Even, this feeling of insecurity led to delayed admissions at schools, and resulted in late schooling for the children. The following response from a mother highlights the physical and infrastructural barriers faced by the school going children of *Chah Kumhar Wala*; the summary of her submissions is narrated as follows;

“Sakoon wada dar lagda hay saday bal neher ich dhay na poven, saday bal jadana waday saray thee weyden, pechhain asaan enhhaan ko sakool behjanday haan .Bahoo saray bal neher ich dhay gay hen, Hik bal tan sakool wenda pea hi ty neher ich daan ty mar gy.” (Nazeer Bibi, IDI-mother-06, CKW, 15/01/2015)

Translation:

“We remain worried about our children; they may fall in the canal while going to school. That is also one of the reasons that we delay sending our children to school, because we have witnessed cases where children have lost their lives in this way. Just recently, one child died in such an event.” (Nazeer Bibi, IDI-mother-06, CKW, 15/01/2015)

Another threat was posed by the railway track that passes through all of the three communities under research. Although the usual train timings did not coincide with school timings, the train, however sometimes passed at unusual times that posed a threat to human and animal life. After an analysis of this phenomenon, it was found that the department of education did not conduct a proper mapping of the school sites and community had not raised their concern at the time of construction of the schools. When compared with *Basti Rasool Pur*, the trends were found to be quite different. Women were educated and helped their children in their studies. The discrimination against women and the dropout rate of girls' from schools was rare in *Basti Rasool Pur*. Both the literature and the empirical studies suggested that there are great gender inequalities and gender discrimination faced by females in Pakistan. However, this concept is more applied to the rural settings of Pakistan.

It was observed that in most of the cases (particularly from *Basti Godden Wala* and other poor *Basti(s)*) the household heads stopped their elder daughters from going to school for two main reasons.

- 1). The older daughters (around 10 years old) were expected to assist their mother in household chores, taking care of siblings and other family members.
- 2). The high fertility rates among mothers had led to pregnancies almost every other year and this was common in the rustic rural areas. In both these cases the elder daughter turns into a mini mother. Such cultural practices are also reiterated in various local narratives and examples.

“Waadi adi maa de ja hy.” (A common saying)

Translation:

“The elder sister is just like a mini mother.” (A common saying)

Culturally, the siblings showed more respect to the elder sister, considering her just like their mother both in honour and status. At the individual level the elder sister had a bigger chance of sacrificing her education for others by opting to dropout from school.

4.2.13.1 Elder Sister as an Education Activist

After dropping out of school, a girl starts performing her household duties. Interestingly in many cases, it was observed that she becomes an advocate of her sibling's education. Her unmet needs for education were exhibited towards advocating and mobilizing her parents and other family members to educate her siblings. In most of the cases her efforts were in vain. This was particularly successful in *Chah Kumhar Wala* where elder sisters contributed towards the education of their siblings.

One possible reason was that the parents had a large amount of the household work completed by her. In this way her younger siblings had the relative advantage of age and gender as well. Parents remained ignorant of the fact that they had snatched the right of education from their female child. But instead of getting educated, it was perceived that it was a woman's job to learn household chores and family matters. The more efficient a girl was in performing household duties, the more her services were recognized and praised by others. Mothers were supposed to train their daughters in household errands so that when the daughters got married they could easily handle household responsibilities. Failing to do so brought bad name to the mothers. Mothers are usually blamed for not teaching the right skills to their daughters. Likewise, it presents that their mothers were inept and did not teach them how to work and behave properly.

4.2.14 Lack of Transportation for Girls' Schooling

The majority of parents highlighted different problems related to transportation that negatively affected their daughters' education. The poor and uneducated parents of *Basti Godden Wala* and *Chah Kumhar Wala* were unable to bear and manage the transportation of their daughters because they did not value female education that much. Therefore, removing girls from schools became the rational choice for them. They would instead prefer to bear the transportation expenses of their male child. And as a result, the number of girls' dropping out from schooling and their roles in household work increased (Plate 3). At a very young age, girls started assisting their mothers in household work (Section on child labour).

A large number of the parents believed that a boy could walk, ride a bicycle, or take a rickshaw to attend school, but the girls were not permitted to do so. Only three girls in *Chah Kumhar Wala* had access to a high school. Rickshaw drivers charged 50 rupees from *Chah Kumhar Wala* for a round trip to the schools, 100 rupees from *Basti Godden Wala*, and 120 rupees from *Basti Rasool Pur*. Scores of parents in *Basti Godden Wala* and *Chah Kumhar Wala* could not afford this tiny cost of transportation. Compared to *Basti Rasool Pur*, many families in *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala* were large in size and had a limited amount of financial resources. It was a matter of great concern for the parents in managing the costs of educating each child. The girls' in particular managed to attend primary schools since these were located close to their homes. But when the time came to switch schools for higher level of education, they faced mobility issues (Plate 5). The boys of course, did not face any such mobility problems.

A declining trend was noticed amongst the education of girls that is almost directly associated with transportation issues. As discussed earlier majority of the public primary schools were easily accessible as they were located within a distance of 1 km to the households. But on the other hand, the middle and secondary schools for girls were not only less in number but also located far away from two of the communities under study. The financial impact of the transportation costs is directly linked to poverty. Majority of the parents faced additional burden in their incomes and expenses to manage the transportation charges. Only well off parents from developed community could afford the transportation expenses to facilitate their children's education.

4.2.15 Reflections on Quality of Education Causing Girls Dropouts

Apart from these factors, the poor quality of education imparted at public schools along with other factors like mobility and transportation are not only a cause of the bad state of education, but it hampers girls performance and retention at schools. Data revealed that parents from all the three communities unanimously wished to send their children to schools. However, most of the parents from *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala* did not send their children to schools for a number of reasons. They did not trust the schools and believed that the teachers in these public schools were only concerned with their salaries. Many parents mentioned that the bad behaviour of the teachers created lack of interest amongst

the children in their studies. Parents believed that their children only attended school to enjoy and have fun with his/her peers in his/her schools. Usually when a child from a community did not go to the school it affected his/her peers. Some of the common reasons that parents presented for the lack of interest among the children were;

“Baal skool nai vaindy.” (Nawaz Khan, IDI-father-02, CKW, 01/02/2015)

Translation:

“Children are careless, they do not want to go to school.” (Nawaz Khan, IDI-father-02, CKW, 01/02/2015)

Another mother from *Chah Kumhar Wala* stated in a FGD that;

“Ustaad nai perhaindy, perhai hondi kasha kai ni.” (Zarina, FGD-02-mothers, CKW, 01/01/2015)

Translation:

“Teachers do not teach properly at schools. There is no education at schools.” (Zarina, FGD-02-mothers, CKW, 01/01/2015)

Similarly another father from *Basti Godden Wala* stated that;

“Nai jo perhday asaan kiya karoon.” (Majid, IDI-01-father, BGW, 16/02/2015)

Translation:

“When the kids do not want to study what can the parents do?” (Majid, IDI-01-father, BGW, 16/02/2015)

Similarly another woman added as;

“Perhai vich dil nai lagda. Doji threerji wich fail thee gay, ustaad enkoon hik e jamat wich karai rah gay trai saal tak.” (Naila, IDI-06-literacy school teacher, BGW, 20/02/2015)

Translation:

“The child takes no interest in studying. My brother failed and his teachers made him repeat the same class for three years.” (Naila, IDI-06-literacy school teacher, BGW, 20/02/2015)

Talking about the role of schools and teachers, a female respondent from

Basti Godden Wala said;

“Mundh day vich balaan koon samajh honday nai, jo asaan perhoon ty khuch thee vanuoon, balaan koon samajh nai ty ustaad ta perhavey, perhai hondi kay nai ty agoon ty kerday gy, jadhoon panjvi pohnchy ty ustaad khila pila ty pass kerwainday hain, agoon ty o bachay pooray nai thee anday ty perhai choor dainday, Piyo maa akhdy mahoor he maro.”
(*Shabana, IDI-10-school teacher, BGW, 22/02/2015*)

Translation:

“At the beginning children do not know about the importance of education. If the children do not know about the importance of education, then the duty of the teacher is to educate them. The problem is with the teachers. They are least bothered and they will keep on promoting the children to the next grade even though they have not learnt properly. Students only show physical presence and are virtually absent from studies. When the child approaches the fifth grade he has to appear in a Board/Departmental Exam where they cannot perform. Sometimes the teachers bribe the external examiners in order to clear the examinations of their students. After this with a further advancement in grade the child feels more pressurized and is unable to perform. This leads them to drop their studies. Parents give up as well.” (*Shabana, IDI-10-school teacher, BGW, 22/02/2015*)

To ensure the attendance of children, Primary School Teachers (PSTs) from the public schools also work as community mobilizers. This helps re-enrolment and retention of dropped out children. The PSTs did not have any formal training and expertise in community mobilization and as a result, their efforts at the community level were less sustainable (Buzdar & Ali, 2011b). It was found that the training of PST lacked in bringing about a change amongst the traditional masses to create a general awareness on the importance of education. The PSTs did not maintain a record of dropouts and out of school children. The same study highlighted that due to the absence of proper training, the PSTs failed to deliver. The poor results of their efforts made it obvious that the efforts of these PSTs in convincing the parents of the children had not produced any positive outcomes.

In addition to community mobilization through PSTs, the Punjab government introduced a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system in South Punjab. Special

efforts were made to ensure an active and gender bias participation amongst the students. To make the system more effective, the government implemented a monitoring and evaluation process by employing the services of ex-army personnel who reported to the education department regarding the number of students, teacher absenteeism and the gender wise proportion of the students in the schools. Based on the findings of these M&E teams, the education department was able to take remedial steps which resulted in a marked increase in the number of girl students at schools at the primary level. However, the post primary status of girls schooling is still disappointing and is based on various gender sensitive societal and cultural factors associated with girls schooling (Chapter 5 for details).

4.7 Reflection on School Environment

Parents of children from *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala* could only afford to send their children to public schools which were within their meagre means. Public schools were more monotonous and there was little innovation in the teaching style. The teachers utilised traditional and obsolete methods of teaching. An authoritative, aggressive and brash attitude of teachers towards students widens the gap between the teacher and the students. The students were mostly scared of their teachers. But interestingly, the parents themselves wanted the teachers to be strict on their children. Parents normally did not question the aggressive attitude and physical punishments doled out by the teacher. The child did not get the support of parents if he complained about the unfriendly behaviour of any teacher. This attitude of the parents encouraged teachers to continue their unabashed behaviour towards students.

It is important to mention here that in both the under developed communities the trend of parent teacher meeting is non-existent. None of the parents mentioned about any meeting with the teachers regarding their child's educational progress and that contributes towards the isolation of parents' from their children's education and hence has created disinterest among the illiterate parents. But on the other hand, the parents of the developed community frequently interacted with schools and teachers. The teacher-parent relationship was very strong in both formal and informal settings (Chapter 6 for details). The strong association between the positive parental involvements brought forward positive results in the

overall education and performance of the children particularly amongst the school going girls of the community.

4.2.15.1 Case Study: School Environment and Girls Education

Salma, a twelve year old student of grade 6 narrated a few cases about incidents of physical abuse by the boys at her school. Salma mentioned that the school environment was not acceptable for girls'. It causes the dropouts of girl's from school. Compared to boys only a few girls were studying in the schools. The reason for this was that the boys used to harass girls, made friendship offers to them, associated their names with other boys and chased them while commuting to school.

Salma narrated that two of her class fellows, a boy and girl, started a fight over some issue. Then the boy suddenly abused her physically and put his finger up her bottom in front of everyone watching. All the boys laughed and enjoyed the scene. This incident was reported to the teacher but no action was taken. And as a result she and another class fellow quit the school. In these situations the girls' attending schools did not cast a good impression about the schools discipline to their parents. The parents did not prefer to send their girls to government schools due to the weak teaching standards and the deplorable and demeaning environment. The male students (at a very young age) are attracted towards the females instead of focusing on their studies. Incidents like these become good pastimes and source of gossip for the boys. Parents perceive their girls to be socially insecure when they leave their homes to go to school and when they return home. Views of an adolescent school going girls are summarized and presented as;

"Koi banda ghal kar deve taan maa peo di vadi beazti hondi hay lok ahdai hen dheko filan di chohair vendi pai hay." (Naila, IDI-adolescent-school going girl-11, CKW, 27/01/2015)

Translation:

"If someone says anything indecent to a girl, it earns a bad name for both the parents of the girl and girl as well. People will stigmatize her by defaming her." (Naila, IDI-adolescent-school going girl-11, CKW, 27/01/2015)

In case of girls, they got married at an early age. If a female somehow reached the level of post primary schooling she had to face extreme restrictions from parents who feared that the environment at schools and colleges was insecure. There was only one segregated college for boys and girls and that was at a distance of 15-20 km away from the community. There was only one school bus available to pick up students from 9-10 distant stops. She added;

“Roz savairy chohrian kharian hondia hen taan unkoon bus ty charendy hen, kuj chohrain apy college choor dendiana hen kharab honwanar day dar tou, wal una da behra ya wadira dehk ghiny gali vich choherdy nall chohir ko alenda taan wal ve kalege chorwa dendin.” (Sobia, IDI-adolescent-school going girl, BGW, 27/01/2015)

Translation:

“Every day the boys tease girls while they are commuting to the school. Some girl(s) dropout from college due to the fear of stigmatization. If by chance any male family member witnesses this teasing, then they would never allow their girls to continue their studies.” (Sobia, IDI-adolescent-school going girl, BGW, 27/01/2015)

4.2.16 Private Schooling

The private schools are usually very expensive and are located in prime places. Such schools offer different syllabi, a unique setup and personalized care to the students. Such schools continue to be inaccessible to the poor masses particularly for girls due to the lack of affordability and a feeling of relative deprivation.

Lack of quality in education, teachers' disinterest, poor services, dismal academic results and the incapability of the system to operate efficiently has opened up opportunities for private schools to make their mark. They have done just that in an unprecedented manner over the last few decades and established themselves as an authority in promoting quality education. Legal difficulties and litigation implications for denationalizing private institutions, materialized in the 1972 education policy and so, private schools emerged as a policy initiative with the introduction of 1979 National Education Policy. English became the medium of

instruction for schools. Their arrival created a new social class, the “prominent elite” similar to the dual system created by the British in the pre-partition era.

With the passage of time, the image of the public schools deteriorated and the remaining trust in the quality of education provided by the public schools crumbled. As a result, most parents started sending their children to private schools, and for these families it became a status symbol. The trend continued, and the families took bold decisions to educate their children in private schools despite their financial constraints. In reality only those parents who possessed a sound financial background could afford this type of education. Generally, the parents believed that private schools gave more time and attention to students as compared to the *sarkari skool* (public schools). Thus, the private schools strengthened their roots and gained a social approval both in the rural and urban areas. They were believed to offer quality education and ultimately this culture reached every nook and corner of the country.

The majority of private schools operated out of small rented buildings located near the locale and in *Jampur* city. The number of private schools was quite large in the small *Basti(s)*. In *Jampur* alone, one can find more than four or five public and private schools located very close to each other. Wherever there was a public school, there would be two to three nearby private schools including PEF schools. PEF schools offered free education and books to students and gave a stipend of Rs.450 to each student to enhance the literacy rate in the area. But the teachers appointed in these schools were not reasonably qualified and were not given a permanent status as compared to public schools.

The public schools including the PEF schools were also functioning as evening coaching centres for the students of 8th to 10th classes. This was a clear exploitation of students by these educational institutions with hidden vested interests mostly relating to personal gains. One PEF school building served as a school in the morning and as a tuition academy in the evening. Moreover its expenses were covered by the funds already received for the PEF morning school. The extra money earned out of this business went in the pockets of the owners. The regular school teachers served in these academies as part-time employees. The minimum salaries for these evening teachers varied from 3000 to 10,000 rupees depending on the qualification, experience, and workload of the

hired teachers. In some instances, the school was registered in the name of an educated person who was supposed to be the lead/head teacher, but it was actually run by other, under-qualified teachers. The public-private partnership through the PEF significantly decreased the number of students attending public schools.

The majority of the parents wanted to provide the quality of education to their children. Parents believed that quality education was available only at private schools. For this reason, they aspired that their children should attend private schools instead of public schools to ensure a better future. In almost every interview, the comparison between public and private schools emerged recurrently. Public schools and their services were highly criticized even by the uneducated women. The educated young women of the community preferred to send their children to private schools. These women believed that just sending their children to school was not enough, it was the selection of the school that ensured meaningful education for the better future of their children.

Parents recommended the private schools within the community and preferred the reputable ones located in Jampur city, which offered exceedingly good education facilities and sound quality of education. Boys make up the majority of the number of students who receive education from renowned private schools outside of the community. If a comparison is drawn between the three communities regarding the choice of schools, the other two communities desired high schools to be built in their communities. In case of *Basti Rasool Pur*, the locals expressed a widespread distrust on the quality of education provided by the public schools. When the locals were asked to give reasons as to why their children would not study in public schools, the majority of them said that in the past many children had received education from these two schools but with the passage of time the trends have changed. Now the parents of *Basti Rasool Pur* are educated and are aware of the fact that public schools have comparatively fewer resources to deliver quality education.

These private schools were a matter of choice for boys as compared to girls as a number of them availed evening classes in the private academies and were in a position to take a decision. Only a few girls from *Basti Rasool Pur* attended the evening classes at *Jampur* for better preparation, higher grades and to achieve

high positions in the Secondary and Intermediate Board examinations. There was an increased desire amongst the parents to send their children to private schools. However, in practice it depended on affordability and gender based preferences of the parents regarding the schooling of their children.

Parents with a poor socio-economic status were content with public schools, because they had no other choice. Both the families and the respective communities favoured educating the male child. However, such occurrences were marginal in the case of *Basti Rasool Pur*. For instance, in *Basti Rasool Pur*, a family migrated to *Jampur* city just for the sake of the education of their girls and to save time and cost of travelling. Likewise, it helped them to overcome the cultural barriers associated with girls' education. They were proud of the fact that their girls were growing up and moving into higher grades. The father of these girls was a school teacher at *Basti Rasool Pur*. But still he preferred to commute to his job at *Basti Rasool Pur* for the sake of his daughter's education.

Table 4.5: Percentage Distribution of Gender Wise Comparisons of Strength of Students in Public Schools of *Basti Rasool Pur*

Grade	No. of Girls	Percentage	No. of Boys	Percentage
<i>Awal Alla/Pakki</i> (Grade 1)	4	15.4	1	9.05
<i>Doum</i> (Grade 2)	5	19.3	0	0
<i>Soum</i> (Grade 3)	4	15.4	0	0
<i>Chaharum</i> (Grade 4)	3	11.5	1	9.05
<i>Panjum</i> (Grade 5)	3	11.5	0	0
<i>Shesham</i> (Grade 6)	1	3.9	0	0
<i>Haftam</i> (Grade 7)	2	7.6	3	27.3
<i>Hashtam</i> (Grade 8)	2	7.6	2	18.2
<i>Naham</i> (Grade 9)	1	3.9	2	18.2
<i>Dhaham</i> (Grade 10)	1	3.9	2	18.2
Total	26	100	11	100

Table 4.5 shows an interesting point when a comparison was made regarding the actual number of male and female students at the secondary level in both the public schools of *Basti Rasool Pur*. It was noted that out of the 713 students in both schools only 37 students (26 girls and 11 boys) belonged to *Basti Rasool Pur*. 8.6% of the girls were between the nursery and primary sections, 1.7% of them were in between the primary and middle grade and only 0.7% were in grades nine and ten.

On the other hand only 0.5% of the boys were in the primary section, 1.21% in between the primary and middle grade sections and 0.6% of them were in grades nine and ten. These results suggested that the majority of children from community of *Basti Rasool Pur*. Only those families who could not afford private schooling tended to send their children to study in public schools because education was considered a priority of the locals irrespective of the gender of their children. In this locale, there were three private schools out of which one were run by Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) and the other two schools were run on private proprietorship. .

A significant number of the boys and girls from *Basti Rasool Pur* travelled to *Jampur* city to study in the private institutions. It was noticed that the *Basti Rasool Pur* community was quite supportive of girl's education. Children from *Basti Rasool Pur* were enjoying the financial and social capital that was dedicated to education and to the well-being of children regardless of the notable gender differences in education (Chapter 6 for details).

4.2.17 Child Labour Displacing Schooling

The international convention of the United Nations defines people below the age of 18 as children (Buck, 2010; UNO, 2014). Although Pakistan has adopted these articles, our concept of child labour has economic and cultural insights that are different from the global standards that define a child. Our culture has its own standards that define a child depending on various situations. For instance, in the traditional societies it is assumed that the onset of puberty is linked with maturity regardless of the age of a child or if the child is 18 years old or not. This concept can be attributed to Islamic perspective that makes prayers and fasting obligatory for everyone after start of puberty.

The onset of puberty is recognized not just as physical changes in the boys and girls rather it is defined by their gender roles and their added responsibilities without recognizing them as children. Males get the opportunity to interact and participate in the world 'public sphere' whereas the females are expected to be confined to the households 'private sphere' to keep them safe and to assist in performing household duties. Boys are perceived to be economically productive and should take up the responsibilities of the family (Plate 4). The girls on the other hand were supposed to take care of the other family members, perform household chores and to always remain docile, compromising and sacrificing.

The females helped in household work instead of completing their education due to higher opportunity cost involved in education. Child labour had various interpretations among the society that suggests that child labour was imminent because of certain social structures along with cultural values, norms and widespread poverty. Children were thus supporting their families in bearing the daily expenditures (Plate 5).

Most parents in *Basti Godden Wala* and *Chah Kumhar Wala* who worked mostly as daily wage labourers, small farmers and tenants had a weak educational background and their primary objective was the subsistence of the household. They were unable to finance the education of their children. The children had to work alongside their parents to meet the family's financial needs. When a child works in hotels, workshops and shops his master covers his daily food expenses and gives him pocket money so that the parents may have slightly free hand at spending. The parents feel content that their child is acquiring some skills that will be useful for him and his family and contributing to the household income. The beliefs of the parents are strengthened due to the lack of trust in schools, education quality at schools and having the belief that the child wastes his time at school (Sen, 1992).

It was observed that a huge number of children from rural families were involved in both on-farm and off-farm activities. The involvement of children in agricultural activities increased during the harvesting seasons (Plate 2 and Plate 4). As a result, either the children were absent from their schools or they left them altogether. The majority of the poor children did extensive and rigorous work on

the fields. They hardly had any time to concentrate on their studies. One of the adolescents mentioned incidence of child labour as follows;

“Sara Diheen ghar dee kaam kaaj kerain di han maa piyo ahhdan na perh koi zarorat nai.” (Hira, FGD-02-adolescents, CKW, 20/01/2015)

Translation:

“I work both at home and in the field. My parents stopped me from getting education.” (Hira, FGD-02-adolescents, CKW, 20/01/2015)

Another out of school adolescent girl expressed her desire for study and added;

“Baji mai ko perhan da roh ty hay per mai gher dy kaam keraindi hann, Bhira behan sambhaldi haan, medi maa kaam ty waindi hay.” (Kiran, FGD-4-adolescents, BGW, 12/03/2015)

Translation:

“Sister, I want to study but I have to do a lot of work. I take care of my younger siblings, when my mother is away for work on field.” (Kiran, FGD-4-adolescents, BGW, 12/03/2015)

Similarly, Asma another adolescent girl from *Chah Kumhar Wala* was of the view that;

“Asaan ae khatir nai perhiyan ky kam keraindiyan sy, vaar churndiyaan haan, gha golainday hain maal kitay.” (Asma, FGD-2-adolescents, CKW, 20/01/2015)

Translation:

“We do not study because we work. We pick cotton in the fields and gather fodder for our livestock.” (Asma, FGD-2-adolescents, CKW, 20/01/2015)

Explaining about the nature of work in the fields an adolescent child labourer said;

“Raindiyn hy sy, ramba, saafi, kelli, goda, wala kapainday hy sy, wala kutrainday hy sy.” (Anila, FGD-2-adolescents, BGW, 05/03/2015)

Translation:

“Girls help in sowing, removing unwanted shrubs and grass

from the crops, and in putting the land right. Then we cut tobacco leaves and finally make small pieces of dried leaves.” (Anila, FGD-2-adolescents, BGW, 05/03/2015)

Similarly, another respondent added about their earning as;

“Kaph churndy haan mul ty, 5-6 rupee kilo, main aik diheen ich 30-35 kilo chunerdi haan.” (Amna, FGD-4-adolescents, CKW, 15/02/2015)

Translation:

“We girls are cotton pickers and we get 5-6 rupees per kg of cotton. In one day, I normally collect around 30-35 kgs of cotton.” (Amna, FGD-4-adolescents, CKW, 15/02/2015)

In the locales studied, the total time spent in a particular grade by children was around eight months, with two and a half months summer vacations and ten vacations in the winter season. In addition to these two seasonal vacations, there are national holidays and the weekends are also off. In addition to these leaves, the children from poor backgrounds were forced to take 2-3 months off from their classes during the harvest season and get involved in agriculture related activities. There were always chances that many of them simply did not return to schools and ultimately lose any interest in studies.

4.2.17.1 Leisure Time Activities of Children

A close look at the activities of children showed that after returning from school children would usually play with their peers. Besides assisting in various household chores, the boys usually played marbles, cricket outside their homes and watched television. The girls played with their dolls alongside their peers and sisters, hide and seek within their homes and watched television. The children normally listened closely to every gossip and dispute of the adults. Therefore, they copied the adults in their habits and mannerisms. Normally they were oblivious to urban manners. Throughout my field work, I hardly saw any child from *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala* who was studying hard or completing his/her homework in the evenings. Many of the children did not even bother to open their school bags at home. Instead they kept themselves busy in many household chores. On the other hand, the children of developed

communities were highly concerned completing their homework and do extra study at their homes.

4.2.18 Economic Determinism of Education

Economics plays a vital role in promoting schooling. As discussed earlier, majority of the cases of school dropouts were the result of parent's inability to meet the school expenses. The resultant outcome as that both girls and boys were more likely to enter into child labour at a very early age (Plate 6). An important point is that the competition among the genders was very low in both cases; starting from 34% and ending up to 2.5% in the case of girls (Table 4.4). Even amongst the boys a poor trend in terms of attaining education was noted. Boys tend to leave schools quite early to support their fathers and their families. Talking about poverty a woman was of the view that;

“Hik kamanvar ala banda apanry pory ghar di zimaydari chi pea rahnday.” (Gulzar Bibi, IDI-6-mother, BGW, 01/03/2015)

Translation:

“A single earning hand can hardly fulfil the needs of our family.” (Gulzar Bibi, IDI-6-mother, BGW, 01/03/2015)

Under financial compulsions, parents support the child's dropout from school. Under such situations, education becomes secondary and is thus compromised in majority of the cases. For the majority of the local people, education was linked with jobs, they immediately anticipated economic rewards from their studying children. Even before they completed their secondary and higher secondary education, the parents from poor communities (except from *Basti Rasool Pur*) anticipated that their children would have some meaningful employment that would support their large families. For such families, education and economics were seen as interdependent. Providing twelve to fourteen years of education was perceived as a cumbersome experience by the poor families and was seen as a long term investment on a child which was uncertain to bear any fruit. When a young graduate did not have a good job even after completing his/her education, his/her case was cited as an example for others since from both the

emic and etic perspectives the education system did not assure employment even after university education.

It was generally observed that education was viewed as an economic entity in terms of its affordability and relevance to both genders. Moreover, the illiterate locals from the moderate to completely uneducated backgrounds were unaware of the processes related to the education of their children. The majority of them were concerned with gaining the prospective profits from educating their children without incurring any losses. A positive correlation on the lack of willingness towards children education and child labour emerged as a strong factor from the data collected. To educate a child, the poor parents had to invest in education and the related expenses of educating children including transportation. On the other hand was a child who worked as a daily labourer. The later was preferable as in this way a child started supporting his family from school going age.

As a result, child labour has flourished with positive support from the community on economic grounds. Parents of such children were encouraged by their peers and relatives who had benefitted from these practices. Such perceptions paved the way for child labourers. The females mostly performed household and agriculture related activities whereas the males older than ten worked in both agricultural fields and market places such as hotels, shops, workshops as apprentices and then as trained staff etc.

Due to low perceived economic returns of girls', their education did not yield much academic benefit and they became involved fully in household work at a very early age. Firewood is brought home by the young girls and stockpiled. In a way the mothers were socially training their daughters by involving them in domestic and agricultural activities and on how to adapt to their future roles and responsibilities.

4.2.18.1 Case study: A Girl Child Labourer and her Schooling Experiences

Asma was a student of grade six. During the harvesting season, she started being absent from her classes. A message was sent to her to return to school. After a few days, she did return but she was running a fever and was suffering from a backache due to cotton picking. She could not study at all on that day. She said

that she did not want to study. She needed to rest and lay down on the floor under the sun. Her teachers felt sorry for her and let her do so. That poor adolescent girl had to compromise on her education to perform hard labour.

Interestingly, child labour was not observed to act as a barrier against education particularly in *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala* (with certain exceptions in some uneducated families). They were really concerned about the education of their children. In *Basti Godden Wala*, 98% of the families were very poor with no educational background. Child labour was observed as harmful amongst the girls of the ages 7-14 and above. A female informal literacy school teacher in *Basti Godden Wala* reported;

“Gher day baal khas ker chohrieen, baligh thewwan alay umer diyan school awaan de bajahy Ukhalii mohlay dy naal seraain wichoon chawal alaida kerain diyan takay gher walay khana kha sakaan. Halankay wasti dy wich mai perhaindi haan, meger unhaan de ty unhaan dy, maa piyo de perhai wich koi dilchaspi kai nai.” (Naila, IDI-06-literacy school teacher, BGW, 20/02/2015)

Translation:

“Children at home particularly girls do not go to school before the age of adolescence. Instead they prepare raw materials for the preparation of food. Children do not come to my school, despite the fact that I am there in their own community to teach them. Both the parents and their children have no interest in studies.” (Naila, IDI-06-literacy school teacher, BGW, 20/02/2015)

Children were facing a multitude of problems related to the lack of involvement and support by the parents, poor quality of education at schools (mostly in public schools) and the belligerent attitude of the teachers coupled with corporal punishments (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Erulkar, 2013). All these factors contributed towards a lack of interest in education by a child. Paul (2014) noted that when the child for any reason drops out or runs away from school then he/she has too much idle time on his/her hands which is not desirable culturally. Therefore, there are high chances that the parents will want their male child to acquire some skill based learning/work. As a result, some male children ended up as child labourers. The skills that a male child can learn include: Agriculture

related work, managing livestock, working at a hotel, motor cycle mechanic, tyre shop, barber, tailor and cobbler.

When choosing the occupation, the economic aspects of low investment skills were preferred with the idea that after acquiring the skill, the child could start working independently at a low wage. This appeared to be more manageable and doable for the child because at this age it was difficult for them to manage and run a shop. On the other hand, the girls provided assistance in some areas including agriculture work, household work, embroidery and stitching (Winthrop & Graff, 2010).

The division of occupations and activities were gender and culture specific. The culture presented the acts of learning skills and child labour as a solution to the idleness of the children when they were not busy in their studies. The cultural narratives presented three apparent benefits of skill based learning and child labour for the children and their families;

- 1). Child learned some worthwhile skills to live a reasonably suitable life.
- 2). Less chance for the child to get astray and get involved in any delinquency.
- 3). Immediate financial support to the family.

Similarly, the dignity and respect gained by manual work was commonly supported and valued by the families and communities. Children were praised for supporting their parents financially and were encouraged to continue their work. While performing this work the child's physical, mental and educational needs were constantly compromised. Such children increased the level of respect and cultural approval for child labourers in their communities. Those children who started working at a young age to support their families served as a good example and role model to other children. Overall, child labour was perceived as a part of socialization and learning future roles. Such perceptions categorized the education of a child as unimportant. Child labour particularly by female children halts the educational progress and future of the children. Child labour is, by and large, practiced in the rural settings only.

4.3 Analysis

In the light of the empirical data number of theoretical connection were drawn that are presented below;

- In both the under developed communities, the existing societal structures and social construct of gender emerged as driving force behind discriminated attitude towards girls education similarities were found debates in feminism. Lack of enabling environment for girls' education has resulted into exclusion of vast majority of girls from education circle. Social constructionist as well as Sex Role Theory opined the same (Stromquist, 1990; Sowell, 2004; Stromquist, 2007).
- Discriminatory attitudes predominantly governed affairs related to girls education Sex Role Theory and Social Constructionism approach clarified as to why and how gender plays a vital role in education under the given stereotypes and negative values attached to girls education.
- From family and community perspective, girls education did not emerge as a priority therefore, rather than educating girls, socialization was based on training (household, agriculture and skills) them to adapt to their future roles as wives and mothers.
- The shortcomings in terms of support structures for girls' education within and outside the family were largely missing in both underdeveloped communities. Having negativity assigned to girls' education, both the underdeveloped communities were found under the impression of low formation of human as well as social capital. Where as in the developed community social networking was found high (Helliwell & Putnam, 2007; Putnam, 2017; Feldmann, 2019). Abundance of social capital in developed community not only promoted girl education but also female agency and empowerment at both household as well as community level.
- The empirical data further delineates that given the unequal state of gender, lack of human as well as social capital and capabilities of girls in terms of education, personal growth and agency was found low in both least developed as well as less developed communities due to sheer absence of support structure and enabling environment to gain substantive freedom for girls. Capability approach stresses on having

enabling factors at household and societal level for gender inclusive development as in case of developed community of the study area (Alkire, 2005; Sen, 2014).

- Recognizing education as the central stone of development irrespective of gender, its absence carries multidimensional and adverse effects on one's life. Capability approach majorly addresses such factors behind deprivation and hence revolves around wellbeing of humans through enhanced capabilities ((Hoffmann & Bory-Adams, 2005). In the developed community understudy area, capabilities of girls and women were high due to the enabling environment and socio-economic support required for promotion of girls' education.

4.4 Conclusion

The chapter provides an in-depth analysis of various socio-economic factors affecting girls' education. Evidence from the underdeveloped communities showed negative and non-supportive parental perceptions associated with girls' education. A common perception among parents and community prevailed that if the girls are compared with the boys, the later have a greater right to education and thus they can enjoy more financial resources for their education. It seems that the girls' education did not figure in their priority list. The analysis found that the cost of education and sending their children to school was generally higher than the income of the family, which affected their priorities. They opted to send boys to schools leaving aside the girls, thus depriving them of their right to education. This shows that the family's investment in children's education is strongly associated with gender. Generally, boys' education is preferred over girls' education mainly due to a general belief that boys would yield larger monetary returns to the family in future. Therefore, a large number of households did not give importance to invest in girls' education. As a result of that supply-side constraints, the financial allocation of resources was more favourably inclined towards boys as compared to girls. This led to the crude observation that girls were marginalized in the educational process due to their secondary position in the household as compared to boys. The data presented in the chapter indicated that at household level, girls' access to financial resources was highly gender based and asymmetric that negatively affected their education. Factors such as

large family size, high dependency ratio, poverty, limited livelihood resources and illiteracy among parents served as resource constraints for spending on girls' education. While on the other hand, parents from *Basti Rasool Pur* (a developed community) have played a supportive role to promote girls' education due to positive perceptions, overall improvement in their socio-economic condition and educational status of the parents and community.

However, underdeveloped communities showed a diminishing trend in girls' education and frequent dropouts particularly at the post primary level of education due to lack of middle and secondary schools for girls in the study areas. The distance to schools along with various security concerns were impeding girls' schooling. Similarly, lack of transportation to schools significantly hampered girls' education. Majority of the parents were not satisfied with the public school environment and its quality of education which created negative parental beliefs associated with girls' schooling. Parents were unable to afford private schooling due to high fee structure. However, they were ready to invest in boys' education. In many cases, even the availability of public schools did not ensure girls' access to schools because of unwillingness of parents due to socio-economic as well as cultural reasons. As a result of exclusion from education, child labour had become a rampant issue in these communities. Both underdeveloped communities demonstrated that a significant number of girls were engaged in child labour within households and in the fields. Child labour was crucial for the families hailing from underdeveloped communities because of the high opportunity cost for girls' schooling that resulted in frequent dropouts. The next chapter will analyse how socio-cultural constraints affect girls' access to education.

Chapter 5

Cultural Factors Affecting Girls Education in Rural Punjab

5.1 Introduction

In chapter four, detailed accounts on the various economic aspects related to schooling of girls were presented. These socio-economic aspects were intertwined with the socio-cultural backgrounds of the people living in the locales and mostly consisted of the stereotypical thinking of assigning a lower status to girls based on their transitory stay with their parental family. Having been influenced by such mind-sets, the process of enrolling girls in schools and spending money on their education was perceived to be less beneficial as compared to boys. Therefore, a clear discrimination exists in terms of educational choices, resources and expenses which has resulted in a restricted and hampered access to education for girls across these traditional societies. The present chapter encompasses some major cultural factors that influence vital decisions that parents make towards the education of girls at the household and the community level. Questions like how much support a female child gets from her family and community to pursue education are largely shaped by the socio-cultural framework in which the family exists (Sen, 1992). The concept of honour and gender plays a significant role in the cultural context (Unanua *et al.*, 2008; Feildman, 2010). Furthermore, the contribution of these intersections towards the educational experiences of a female child within the household and the tribal/rural culture of the region being studied are discussed at length (Petersen & Hyde, 2010).

In general, education is a by-product of the social, economic and cultural contexts in which it flourishes hence these factors are closely interrelated. These factors act as a barrier to girls' education in a complex way. The social background of a particular group of people prevents education from promoting gender equity and influences the path of children to adulthood in complex ways (Colclough, 2012). Therefore, to understand the phenomenon of gender inequality in education, one needs to have a basic understanding of the various agents of socialization in a society at the family, community and school level. The extent and expression of female autonomy is strongly influenced by religious norms and cultural beliefs

that are discussed in the later half of the chapter.

5.2 Gender Discrimination at Family Level

In the socio-cultural context of South Punjab the discrimination faced by girls can be observed in many forms (Hussain *et al.*, 2000). Gender discrimination starts with birth of a female child. As soon as they enter this world, girls are treated to be inferior to their male counterparts. Sometimes parents do not feel the same level of happiness in announcing their birth as they do for boys. Girls are even denied some basic rights i.e. right to education, right to inherited property and even birth registration. In general they are deprived of any liberty and are prevented from their education because parents do not think it right to invest in their daughters. There were some recurring themes that emerged from the data that I collected for this study. These are discussed at length in the subsequent headings.

5.2.1 Gender Perception at Birth

It is very common in the Pakistani society that the birth of a female is equated to God's wrath whereas the birth of a son becomes an occasion of celebration and joy for the entire family. In most common expressions, the locals felt thankful that God had blessed them with a male child. They perceived that God had been kind to them and saved their lives from '*perishani*' (constant worry). This happiness is expressed through cultural celebrations such as the custom of *satthi* (birth ritual) which is performed on the third or seventh day after a male child has been born. Relatives are invited, food is distributed, *jhoomer* (local dance) is performed and alms are given out. On the other hand the birth of a girl creates an atmosphere of complete silence and unhappiness for the whole family. Such mind-sets about gender inequalities at birth were commonly noticed during the study.

5.2.2 Son Preference

Having a male child is considered to be the blessing of God. People visit shrines and offer special prayers to increase their chance to have a male child. A common greeting that relative's wish to women of child bearing age is;

"Saatain puttaran de maa thewain." (Khairan Mai, IDI-06-mother in law, BGW, 10/01/2015)

Translation:

“May God bless you with seven sons.” (Khairan Mai, IDI-06-mother in law, BGW, 10/01/2015)

The number of male children in a family plays a vital role in the overall dimensions of the social structure of the family since only the male children are reckoned to have the ability to resolve family issues and to settle disputes. Therefore, in such communities, the mothers of male children are held in high esteem by both the society and the husbands of these mothers. Due to this, they attain some power and respect amongst the other mothers. However, the birth of a female child is regarded as a *azmaish* (testing period) for the entire family and it also lowers the status of mother in her in laws family. This reveals that under the current cultural discourses women get strong by giving birth to male children only.

Comparatively, the situation in *Basti Rasool Pur* was relatively different where it was found that, despite giving preference to males, girls’ education was not ignored. The following narratives highlight the main reasons behind importance of a male child in the cultural discourse across these three communities. While underscoring the desirability of male child one woman from the fields remarked that;

“Chohar johli wich dy denainay han, wala duawain dainay han k allah saian pehlay pehlay puttar deway.” (Nazeer Bibi, IDI-mother-06, CKW, 15/01/2015)

Translation:

“A baby boy is put in the lap of a bride with the perception and wish that by doing so God will bless her with a male child.” (Nazeer Bibi, IDI-mother-06, CKW, 15/01/2015)

Another narrative by a young mother expresses the magnitude of the issue in the following manner;

“Allah dhee keney bachavi. Ager pehli dhee howay ty afsos theenda hay k Allah de marzi. Balkay perhay likhay logon vich ve evyn hy, Aa gaal peerhe dar peerhe andi pi hy.” (Faiza Mai, IDI-mother-08, BGW, 20/3/2015)

Translation:

“May God protect us from having female children. In case someone has a first-born baby girl then people display sorrow

at her birth and regard it as the will of God. Even amongst educated people such beliefs prevail as this mind-set is deeply rooted in our culture.” (Faiza Mai, IDI-mother-08, BGW, 20/3/2015)

The above narratives from the research communities establish the fact that the area under study is characterized by a patriarchal society where males are considered to be superior, powerful and a strong force that can carry out all of the family’s obligations. Therefore, they possess a high prestige and a greater authority in the domestic, legal and moral affairs of their family. In two of the three communities under study, the education of male children is considered to be more important than girls.

5.2.3 Gendered Socialization and Schooling

At the time of birth only the child’s sex organs distinguish whether the baby is male or female. Later, the family socializes that child according to its gender. A female is socialized and likewise expected to show feminine traits which are defined by the cultural code of *Bloachgi*. Indoor activities such as cooking, washing, cleaning the household, and attending to siblings were feminine roles as defined by society. However, adolescent and adult females were often accompanied their mothers or other family members in the fields. It was astonishing to observe that the female was not appreciated or even recognised with the amount of work that she shouldered. The society takes her service for granted. One of the respondents in an in depth interview said;

“Ager byee r kaam kerraindi hay ya mahir ay ty ay hona chai da hay. Pasand kita wainda mager zaida sir dy nai chahaya wainda ay uss de zimindari hay.” (Mai Salma, IDI-grandmother, BGW, 21/02/2015)

Translation:

“If a woman works hard at home it is quite common. It is perceived that a woman should be like that. She will not receive any recognition and appreciation for that since this is perceived to be her responsibility.” (Mai Salma, IDI-grandmother, BGW, 21/02/2015)

Another narrative revealed the abusive behaviour of a husband towards his wife;

“Manhoos, nikami, othri chuddha ay. Kaam da da nai se

anada, na kam de na kaar de dubha jalhaar de.” (Faiza Mai, IDI-mother-08, BGW, 20/3/2015)

Translation:

“You are my bad luck, you are lazy, you do not even know how to do work. My resources (money, food) are wasted on you.” (Faiza Mai, IDI-mother-08, BGW, 20/3/2015)

It is worthy to present that since childhood the majority of girls in these areas are socialized to perform all sorts of work at home and in this way are destined to learn the art of performing hard work to successfully take up their future roles as wives and mothers. Furthermore, it was observed that non-school going female adolescents were found to be more involved in work both at home and in the fields. The majority of adolescents mentioned that they remained busy in doing various household chores like cooking meals, laundering, taking care of siblings, taking orders from adults and agriculture/livestock related work. Such roles are highly characterized as feminine role and hence inappropriate for males. However, female adolescents from *Basti Rasool Pur* were less involved in household and agriculture work than the adolescents of the other two communities. During the course of interaction, I gathered the following information from a mother in response to recognition of support provided by girls in household chores.

“Changee maa piyo de dheer hy achi terbiyat hy.” (Faiza Mai, IDI-mother-08, BGW, 20/3/2015)

Translation:

“She is the daughter of a noble parent and is brought up very well.” (Faiza Mai, IDI-mother-08, BGW, 20/3/2015)

Local women from the community appreciated only those girls who helped their mothers. In their discussions, they envy such mothers who were receiving support by their daughters. It was linked with successful upbringing of their daughters.

5.3 Gender Involvement in Job Sector

The preference of male children is also affected by economic factors in the region.

Generally, the interviews of different family and community members further endorsed the idea that the male children is perceived as a sole bread earner of the family. During the study it was observed that there was an almost negligible trend of female employment in the mainstream job sectors particularly in the less developed and the least developed communities. Some of the respondents were of the view that due to some socio-cultural issues, females are not allowed to study and have a job outside their homes. Since it is considered culturally inappropriate therefore, females are confined to performing household duties and working on fields.

In stark contrast to this situation, at *Basti Rasool Pur*, female participation in the mainstream job sector was relatively common. This was quite odd in the current scenario, where the locally embedded cultural norms and social values across all neighbouring communities are highly unfavourable towards female involvement in the job sector. Interview responses revealed that the majority of the females were largely associated with the teaching profession which was the most culturally approved profession for females. Nevertheless, the current situation showed an increase in female participation in various other professions particularly amongst young girls of the developed community. The overall participation of females in the job sector reduced the financial burden on their families. It also helped women to bring about a social change at the household and the community level by exercising more agency and freedom.

5.4 Influence of Differential Gender Preferences on Girls' Education

In analysing gender bias parental and societal behaviours, data revealed similar findings in *Basti Godden Wala*, and *Chah Kumhar Wala*. Female education was hampered mainly due to the multiple stereotypical concepts and constructs of the locals such as considering females to be *paraya maal* (other's property). Most of the locals generally believed that eventually the female will get married and move to someone else's family (with her husband). Upon her marriage she would attain the status of *nimana dana* (a lesser being) and *la tarrq* (one who has no right on any type of capital from parental family). Under such circumstances the majority of the poor and illiterate parents give more preferences to their male children. In response to some questions regarding the impact of gender discrimination on

education, a mother of three girls and two boys responded as,

“Puttar ta pagh da waris ta peau da moondha honda aa, unhan ko zaida perhana chahida hy.” (Zarina, FGD-02-mothers, CKW, 01/01/2015)

Translation:

“A son is the bearer of his father’s possessions, his honour and is a helping hand for his father. Therefore, as compared to a girl he should have more opportunities to get his education.” (Zarina, FGD-02-mothers, CKW, 01/01/2015)

Similarly, another male respondent mentioned about discrimination as;

“Sadai jataki wich choorian koon bas thora bhoon likhna parna sikha dita wainda ay, o bihar nai ja sakdiyan chohair ty bahar vayn ky perh sakdy ny school, college university wagaira.” (Asghar, IDI-01-father, CKW, 10/01/2015)

Translation:

“It is a tradition of our family and tribe that we only give a very basic education to girls and they are not permitted to move outside. We only send our boys to colleges and universities education.” (Asghar, IDI-01-father, CKW, 10/01/2015)

A mother in law of a young girl was of the view that;

“Akhir choor na ei kam kar ka ghar ko chalana aa.” (Farzana, IDI-10-mother in law, BGW, 19/02/2015)

Translation:

“After all, the male has to run his household and family after completing his education.” (Farzana, IDI-10-mother in law, BGW, 19/02/2015)

The family think it more valuable to invest in the education of their sons because they would become an earning hand in the future unlike the females. Such behaviours significantly affect the girl literacy rate and the overall life experiences of girls in rural settings. Aslam (2009) concluded with the same findings in a study that detailed on how parents focus more on male education and how they consider it as a future investment. In a response to a question about girl’s education, most of the respondents in a FGD explained their views about girls’ education in the same way.

“Choir koon ty doojy ghar vayna hondy te maa pau koon koi faida nai milda ehen wasty loki sochn dyn choir koon school veyne di zarorat kai nai. Puttar ta karch kareson teen kaal kon kam ta ousi.” (Bakhti, FGD-04-community, BGW, 29/02/2015)

Translation:

“The female is destined to move into someone else’s family after marriage and therefore, she pays nothing after her marriage to her parents. That is why people think that education is not compulsory for a girl. On the other hand, if we will invest in a boy in the form of education, he will definitely pay us back in the future.” (Bakhti, FGD-04-community, BGW, 29/02/2015)

In both *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala* male dominance was prevalent and therefore, girl’s rights can never be equated with her brother. Males are perceived as the guardians of their family’s honour, power, and are seen as the successor of their family. Such perceptions significantly affect female education. (Bhalotra & Atfield, 1998; Mehrotra, 2006) have discussed such cultural perceptions and found that an asymmetric gender response and the uneven distribution of resources among the two genders has created barriers for female education and hampered their future choices in different fields of life and overall empowerment. This condition was supported by Colclough (2012) who found that schooling can shake patriarchal cultures in an indirect manner and may lead to female empowerment in the respective community. However, due to the overall improved education status and the better socio-economic status, these unfavourable attitudes towards female education were relatively less prevalent in *Basti Rasool Pur*.

The noticeable discriminatory attitude of parents creates a strong barrier for the females if the later desires to acquire a higher education after completing their primary education. At this critical stage, the parents show an attitude of indifference towards the female children as they do not encourage and support their daughter’s in continuing their education even if the middle school is located approximately three km away from them in Jampur town.

5.4.1 Social Behaviors Surrounding Girls Schooling

Many of the factors that are responsible for the state of girls’ education are

inextricably linked to social conditions and social structures that shape individual's capabilities. The social construction of the gender theory that was mentioned in chapter two supports the idea that societal structures are crucial in determining the adopted behaviours of the population. These behaviours are adopted according to the guidance of the social, economic, cultural and gender relations within a society (Ristvedt, 2014). Likewise the society shapes its values and norms that subsequently influence the roles that parents give to their children (Bonvillain, 2007). Acknowledging the theoretical constructs, backgrounds of the girls, their parents, the community and the schools are briefly explored in a gendered way at the household and community levels. Similarly, this study explored the impact that these gendered roles have on the overall state of female education.

In the present study, the males of *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala* are the off springs of less educated and impoverished parents and so they generally display an aggressive and volatile behaviour towards females since birth. Such cultural practices not only affect the development and grooming of a girl but also affects her educational accessibility outcomes. Multi-faceted social, cultural, psychological and gender based discriminations shed light on many complex reasons because of which females are continuously devoid of many fundamental rights including the right to education.

Table 5.1: Percentage Distribution of Estimated Dropout Rate at Primary Level in *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala*

Grade	No. of Student	Percentage	Percentage Dropout between Grades
Awal Alla/Pakki (Grade 1)	20	100	0
<i>Doum</i> (Grade 2)	16	80	20
<i>Soum</i> (Grade 3)	12	60	25
<i>Chaharum</i> (Grade 4)	8	40	33
<i>Panjum</i> (Grade 5)	5	25	38

Table 5.1 presents a grade wise dropout rate at the primary level. There is a constant increase in the number of dropouts amongst children with the passing

of each grade. It drops down from 100% to 25% at the end of the cycle. There are large cases of female dropouts due to socio-cultural barriers. Resultantly, after being dropout from schools girls' role in household and agriculture related jobs gets swell (Section 5.2 for details).

5.4.1.1 Case Study: Problems Faced by an Educated Girl in a Traditional Society

The following case study presents an insight to problems faced by educated girls of traditional societies.

A young girl named Rani had one brother and mother. She was 25 years old and had received her education from the public schools of the locale. She was lucky to have the support of her mother in pursuing her education. After her matriculation she moved to a big city to get a better education. This was a new experience for her not only in terms of education but also in terms of openness and exposure. She witnessed a new face of life that was quite opposite to the cultural restrictions that she had faced in her own culture. She lived and studied in the study until her graduation and then she left and moved to her place of origin.

Now she was faced with the traditional mind-set once again. As a member of the society she was again supposed to show compliance to the cultural norms that she hardly liked, after experiencing the exposure of city life and the experiences and confidence of her educated hostel fellows. She wanted to be free and more independent in her personal matters. Contrary to her desires, her family tied the knot with her cousin in which she had no say due to adoptive preferences that she had to face. Afterwards, she lived a troubled marriage. But even though she was married, she never surrendered to the cultural pressure that made her live out her personal and marital life according to the norms of her society.

Everyone closes to her tried to convince her to surrender but she refused to do so. She decided to do something good for the community and for the betterment of children through social endeavours. She started to raise awareness amongst the parents to educate their girls and voluntarily started teaching nearby children. She also became a member of the community where one of the public schools of the area was situated. At the same time, she was faced with consistent a fear and a lot of pressure to focus more on her marital life. Her own higher education

became a barrier for her within the cultural milieu. She was aspiring for a better life by trying to improve the education of her community whereas the community was demanding her to be like other girls and females of the area who were successfully running their homes. As a result, she was under constant psychological pressure. A few years later, she passed away. The circumstances of her death has remained a mystery.

5.5 Early Marriages Causing Dropouts

The empirical evidence gathered here can be used by socio-anthropologists to generate important insights into this cultural phenomenon of early marriages. One observation is that early marriages present an early pay off and act as a release from the parenting responsibilities associated with girls in particular. The age of marriage acts as a major contributor in shaping the lives of both males and females as shown in Table 5.2. Early marriage has negative repercussions both on family life and fertility outcomes. Delayed marriage is a prerequisite for healthy outcomes and education attainment both in rural and urban areas. Table 5.2 demonstrates that the low education attainment status is directly related to early marriage trends not only for females but also for males.

Table 5.2: Mean Age at Marriage by Gender

	<i>Basti Godden Wala</i>		<i>Chah Kumhar Wala</i>		<i>Basti Rasool Pur</i>		Total
	Age at Marriage		Age at Marriage		Age at Marriage		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Age	20	18	22	19	27	23	23
Total	532	471	124	99	357	351	1934

There is a great variation in the mean age at marriage across all three communities. The developed community experienced more delayed marriages both for males and females and had a high frequency of education attainment status than its counterpart. Thus, the mean age of marriage presented in the table signifies the importance of education in transforming lives of young people. The

majority of the respondents relayed that after puberty, girls are supposed to marry and handle household responsibilities that becomes another cause of girls' dropouts. The majority of such girls of school going ages are deprived of their education and married off early to take responsibility of their family. Their parents are reluctant to educate them and to invest in their education due to family pressure, economic and cultural causes (Plate 7).

Facts from the research communities in relation to early marriages revealed that most girls, particularly those from impoverished background and of illiterate parents got married much earlier than the legal age of marriage *i.e.* eighteen years of age. Usually, the age at the time of marriage is forged by the girl's parents or they present the excuse of non-possession of computerized National Identity Card (CNIC). Furthermore, it was noted that at the same time there were inconsistencies in birth registration and record keeping by the concerned department. The records from the Union Council and National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) need to be maintained to check the particulars of every individual. Despite having a policy document published by the Punjab Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW), the majority of the locals preferred early marriages and early child bearing. Hence, such indigenous practices greatly exploited the human rights of the child including the right to education, under the fabricated rubric of the culture (PCSW, 2018).

5.4.1 *Watta Satta*

Generally, endogamy and *watta satta* (marriages by exchange) are preferred in South Punjab particularly in *Jampur*. Some commonly emerged reasons mentioned by the respondents were: preference for endogamy preferably exchange marriages ensuring guaranteed trust, support, purity of blood/clan, strengthening of kinship ties, and the security of receiving inheritance in the possibility of divorce. It is a family strengthening process. In the majority of the cases seen, the proposals are finalised only when both of the parties certify to reciprocate another marriage in exchange. Under such an arrangement a man marries the sister of his brother in law and vice versa. In other instances, nieces are exchanged to obtain brides for their uncles. In the majority of such marriages, there is usually no pressure of dowry from both sides.

It was found in two underdeveloped *Basti(s)* that *watta satta* marriages are still

practiced to a great extent. In fact, most marriage proposals of young girls are finalised at the onset of puberty and in some cases even before that. This fixing of the marriage proposal at an early age destroys any future hopes or whatever little chances the female had to attain a reasonable education, and this is practiced in the majority of cases studied (Plate 7). In recent times, comparatively, *watta satta* has become less popular amongst educated people like in the case of people from *Basti Rasool Pur*. Rise in the literacy rate has weakened the practice of exchange marriages in *Basti Rasool Pur*. However, both endogamy and exchange marriages are still preferred in both literate and illiterate groups.

A case study from *Basti Godden Wala* revealed the extent of *watta satta* and its effects on girl's education. The following case study was gathered in this regard.

5.5.1 Case Study: Early Child Marriage Compounded by Exchange Marriage

Amir was a *Hafiz* (one who learns the entire Quran by heart). He was the eldest amongst his brothers and sisters. His parents had passed away when his siblings were still very young. Being the elder brother, he had to take care of them. When two of his brothers turned seventeen and eighteen years of age, he started to look for any suitable brides that could marry them. Finally, he was successful in finding mates for them, but when he approached the two families for a marriage proposal, they asked for an exchange marriage proposal. So, he then exchanged two of his daughters who were just seven and ten years of age to obtain brides for his brothers. The ten year girl was forced to give up her school and was bound in a marriage relationship through a *nikah* (legal marriage contract). Both parties agreed that the *rukhsati* (departure of the bride from her parent's home) will take place soon after the girl reached puberty. There were numerous examples observed just like these two girls particularly in *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala*.

5.6 Reflections on Masculine Power Minimizing Girls Schooling in Rural Discourse

At the local level, social lives of the locals revolve around three domains of power possessed by men in a patriarchal society.

1. *Dhan* (capital or money)

2. *Vanni* (woman)

3. *Banni* (land)

It was evident that these three tiers of one's life determine the social, socio-economic and the political status of a person in society's overall setup. The three tier system entails the social organization of the rural communities and are overtly expressed in determining the behaviour of people in their everyday lives including family disputes and social evils. Moreover, it serves as one of the strong determinant of the impoverished state of education particularly for girls.

These three tools of masculine power encompass the norms, gender roles, institutions and cognitive processes referring to all the social relationships that people were born into or create later in life. In most of the cases these three pillars of social order become a source of conflict and competition in the rural areas. Among both literate and illiterate people, both *vanni* and *banni* were visualized as the most sensitive and potent forces for disputes and rivalries. However, the number of disputes over these were more frequently noted in the illiterate. To understand the social rubric of the society, a similar concept of *zar* (capital), *zan* (women), *zameen* (land) has been repeatedly discussed as a tool of emancipation in South Asian countries like Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. Coghlan (2006) in his article 'Afghanistan's feared woman warlord' deciphered that the Afghan proverbs "*zan, zar, zamin*" women, gold (symbol of status and money), and land provide the basic drive to the violence that underpins the life of the local. "People get killed over little things like water and land." Similarly, (Hashmi, 2000) concluded that (*zar, zan and zameen*) often lead to murders in Punjab. According to his study in Punjab, these factors contribute to about 42.31% of all reported murders.

5.6.1 Dhan

Dhan refers to capital in the form of liquid cash and kind that forms the basis for all the comfort and material gains. The affluence and riches of a person and/or a family raises the *wadaepa* (social status). *Dhan* is a critical indicator that determines the socio-economic status of a person in the society. One who has *dhan* is judged to be powerful and prestigious amongst the others in the society. (*Dareshak, Lagari, Malik, Mir and Chaudhry*). Likewise, it determines the various life choices and opportunities in life that are available to that person/family.

5.6.1.1 Significance of Dhan towards Girls' Education

Among the others, *dhan* is also a crucial factor for education. Case (2004) opined that the distribution of income within the household affects the schooling, health and sharing of resources. Moreover, it serves as a pool of wealth well-being of individuals within households and leads to an overall meaningful characteristic of the household behaviour towards education. Locals from *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala* possess a lower amount of *dhan* and socio-economic status as compared to locals from *Basti Rasool Pur* where the majority of the households possessed abundant *dhan* and a better quality of life. Besides the social and cultural factors, *dhan* conveniently supports education and its related expenses. The socio-economic status of all the three communities has considerable negative and positive impacts on the education of their children. For instance, in a number of in depth interviews, parents revealed that they faced financial issues while selecting schools for their children. Although the public sector provides free of cost education, the mind-set of the males and the hidden costs impede the progress of education particularly for girls.

But on the other hand, landlords, public employees, businessman and feudal lords were in a better position to choose the best educational opportunities for their children offered by the private sector due to possession of *dhan*. Some affluent families sent their children outside of their communities and cities to acquire a quality education. *Basti Rasool Pur* presents an example in this case where parents generously spend *dhan* on the education of their children. The majority of the children (both girls and boys) from *Basti Rasool Pur* were seeking education from private schools located inside the community and even from *Jampur* city. Interestingly, the majority of female students of *Basti Rasool Pur* were enrolled in private schools and their parents were spending *dhan* on their education along with their male sibling's education.

In contrast to this, the small farmers of *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala* possessed pitiable socio-economic status and an alarmingly low literacy rate both at the household and the overall community level. To substantiate their existing socio-economic status, most of them camouflage their existing situation in the name of cultural and societal factors. In case of both these communities, due to their low socio-economic status, educating a girl child was less valuable.

Children were forced into child labour at an early age and thus having more children was perceived as a powerful economic support to the family. Based on gender, girls were further marginalized in the process (Chapter 4 for details).

5.6.2 Vanni

The socio-cultural characteristics are complex since the concept of *Vanni* (woman) is a sensitive and private domain culturally embedded amongst the *Baloch* tribes. The status of the *vanni* (female/woman) is relatively low as compared to the males. As discussed earlier, a woman is considered to be a subordinate to her husband and his family. Her prime job is to manage the household chores and the procreation of children, preferably the male children. Such a dastardly status is due to the cultural discourse, economic dependence and illiteracy. Status of women and land was presented as follows:

“Vanni ty banni kithyya maar aoo ya mer wanjo, laro!” (Allah Baksh, IDI-22-father, BGW, 04/03/2015)

Translation:

“Fight! Kill others or get killed for your women and land.” (Allah Baksh, IDI-22-father, BGW, 04/03/2015)

Fighting over a female and your land is considered as upholding honour and displaying bravery. In the most extreme cases men did not hesitate to take the life of another to safeguard these sensitive pillars of honour. In a similar statement by a male community member states as follows:

“Vanni ty banni da jaira barood hy hy ethy, waani ty banni kithay jaira kern aly kon kharorha ty bhazaar samja wainda ay.” (Salman, IDI-husband-02, CKW, 15/01/2015)

Translation:

“Quarrels over females and land are common occurrences. Fighting for these two is considered to be an act of courage and bravery.” (Salman, IDI-husband-02, CKW, 15/01/2015)

Another male community member added;

“Budhy apnay nigar (nojawan) ko ahdin banni dy vanni kity birr wanjo.” (Muhammad Ameen, IDI-37-policeman, 01/04/2015)

Translation:

“The elders taught the youngsters to fight and defend their

land and women.” (Muhammad Ameen, IDI-37-policeman, 01/04/2015)

It was noted that the majority of men were highly sensitive towards women and are ready to lay their lives for their women and lands. At the household and the community level, locals are not ready to accept girls' involvement in education. This might be deliberate to maintain males' supremacy over the females.

5.6.2.1 Vanni as a Cultural Practice

Vanni, in the context of a common woman, is a term of reference in the *Baloch* tribes. However, in another context, the term *vanni* refers to a cultural practice in which a woman from a murderer's family is forced to marry a man from the victim's family as an act of reconciliation between the two rival families. By virtue of the cultural practice of *vanni*, the bride gets the lowest status in her in-laws family. As she belongs to a family that has murdered a member of her new family, she has to pay the price for it and has to work as a servant over there. These types of solutions introduce negative consequences not only for a woman but for her future children and their education in the longer run. Such situations limit the free will of a woman. These decisions are made by the *panchayat* (a decision making group) and reflect the mind-set of the community. For the woman this is coerced compliance (Section 5.7.1 for details).

5.6.2.2 Ghairat (Honor)

With their particular style and peculiar customs, rural *Baloch* male folk have a highly conservative approach about their female(s). For instance, addressing a woman by her name in public is perceived as an assault or a *galli* (vilification) to the *Baloch* honor. Males avoid using the actual name of their spouses or other females. Some of the terms that were used to address the women of the household were *amma* (mother), *mai* (girl/woman), *adi* (elder sister), *bibi*, *dhee*, *budhree/ wadairi* (elderly women). Such terms are generally avoided to be used in public. *Tarimat* is a general term used to refer to a female (any woman). *Chohir* refers to an unmarried girl child. *Baal* is a term which translates to the children of a person. When the male addresses his wife in public then he uses the term *baal* to address both his wife and children.

They perceive woman as a *khufiya cheez* (secret entity) and *izzat* (honor) at one end, while on the other hand, in a dispute, the opposing parties exploit this sensitivity by using obnoxious language and leveraging *galli* (abuse) against the females of other party. To safeguard their honour (females), accusing someone of a murder or being murdered is considered right for a *Baloch*. Gazing and taunting women, making fun of females and developing any type of interests in them is uncalled for and can often lead to serious disputes that usually end up in the murder of the offending male and/or *karokari* (honor killing). Consistent checks on the emancipation of women is a matter of pride for all of the males.

Such perceptions hold true even for the educated *Baloch* males. However, amongst the literate *Balochs*, the level of sensitivity is comparatively less as compared to their uneducated counterparts due to more education, migration and occupational change. This sensitivity further decreases when a male *Baloch* moves away from his traditional rural community. But once he returns to his community, he again starts showing great respect to his cultural values and acts in a customary way that further minimizes girls' education. The perceptions below reflect views of a male respondent regarding *ghairat*:

“Banni ty vanni kithy mar wanjo ty shaheed ho.” (FGD-02, male community members, CKW, 20/01/2015)

Translation:

“If one dies in order to protect his land or women, then he will be a martyr.” (FGD-02, male community members, CKW, 20/01/2015)

Similarly, another male added as follows:

“Aurat gairat da naa ay.” (Attu Khan, FGD-02-father, CKW, 11/01/2015)

Translation:

“Woman is the name of honour.” (Attu Khan, FGD-02-father, CKW, 11/01/2015)

While discussing the tribal mind-sets in the suburbs of the locale one male stated;

“Rohjan vich raan kon joti paaven nai daindy. Joti na hosi tee unha de deedh zameen ty hosi, Raan agar joti peesi o byfiqar thy veesi ty wala lokain kou dekhse, log o ko dekhsan.” (Muhammad Ameen, IDI-37-policeman, 01/04/2015)

Translation:

“In Rojhan³² women are not allowed to wear shoes. It is perceived that if she wears shoes then she will be care free while walking. She will observe people particularly males around her and the males will notice her too.” (Muhammad Ameen, IDI-37-policeman, 01/04/2015)

In this study, kinship relations are broadly divided into two categories namely maternal and paternal relationships. One is called *cholli da sang* (maternal relatives)³³ and the other one is *paag da sang*³⁴ (paternal relatives). In the locales studied a preference was usually given to the paternal relatives instead of the maternal ones. While conversing with outsiders, maternal relationships were not mentioned since it admits the presence and may lead to naming female(s) which are details that are supposed to remain hidden. So, when talking about a maternal relative, they are referred to as *qareebi rishtaydar* (close relative) or *apna baal* (our child) rather than the direct relation itself. Participant from *Chah Kumhar Wala* described about nature of sensitivity to women issues. The summary of his submission is presented below:

“Sharam mehsoos kiti waindi ay age raan da ziker away taan. Peraya banday sadi masi dy baray ich kiyoun sochay. Parai aaraat da naw kiyoun ghinay.” (Allah Baksh, IDI-22-father, BGW, 04/03/2015)

Translation:

It is against the code of honor if some female aspect is discussed in conversation. Why would the other males even think of our mothers and sisters when we introduce my massat (mother’s sister’s son). Why the other should be allowed to utter a word about our women?” (Allah Baksh, IDI-22-father, BGW, 04/03/2015)

Data revealed strong adherence to honour serves as a cause of girls’ dropout from schools. Moreover, it was generally perceived that school education is highly

³² Name of a neighbouring district.

³³ *masi ,molair, masaat.*

³⁴ *Soter, chacha,*

associated with clash of cultural norms

5.6.2.3 Anna (Ego)

The *Baloch* tribe is divided into many sub castes. Each sub caste shows an assimilation towards the grand *Baloch* tribal identity through the concept of *quom* (distant family relationship) and *biradarism* (interwoven family bloodline). For them it is a matter of pride to be a representative of the *Baloch*. There is an underlying competition to be the most superior among the various sub castes of *Baloch quoms*. The sheer numbers of the *Balochs* forced various other non *Baloch* castes to abandon their own norms and adopt those of the *Baloch*. In case of any retaliations, the *Baloch* would disown them.

As an individual, the common male shares strong ties to the *Baloch* identity, which manifests in his interactions within and outside of his home. It has a large impact, both directly and indirectly on the dignity of his ties to the *Baloch*. If someone does anything positive, then that will make his *baradri* (caste) proud and vice versa. The locals have their own definition of positive and negative actions. In certain situations, it is considered positive to commit murder or to kidnap a girl from a rival tribe. Similarly, assaults in retaliation to situations where the honour of a family is being undermined are seen to be a symbol of bravery that safeguards *baradri's* (family) honour. Every tribe has a standard that represents their identity as a group. If someone offends the overall image of the *baradri*, it is highly condemned by the community and is equated with '*baradri de nakkapwa'* (bringing shame upon the entire baradri). The following narrative during an interview is presented below:

"Sher jaway ya maray gaah mol na charey." (A common saying)

Translation:

"A Lion prefers to die than to eat grass." (A common saying)

If a person's honour is directly targeted at through any means, it will be considered as a blow to his ego. Similarly, *jufa* (to compete with others out of jealousy and making undue savings in material, capital and home finances) and *sarapa* (jealousy) together contribute towards raising one's ego. To satisfy one's

ego and to decrease the ego of others is a game that is played irrespective of one's actual needs or requirements.

5.6.2.4 Stigmatizing Attitudes towards Girls' Education

As mentioned earlier, data collected from the research areas revealed that education of girls is perceived to be negatively associated with the concept of honour. Under such perceptions, the girls of school going age were stigmatized. Amongst those families with a poor socio-economic status and a low level of parental education, the education of a girl beyond the primary level particularly is highly marked with stigma. These findings were endorsed by the data collected from *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala* where the majority of girls were not allowed to receive education after the primary grade. A school going girl who has to travel out of her community to seek education has to face lots of criticism and stigma by the community.

Such individual and collective connotations greatly inhibit the education of females. On the other hand, males did not face such stigmas as a barrier towards education (Nica, 2012). At the individual level stigma refers to flaws in a person, which had immediate linkage with a girl who was proceeding for education. While the later connotation referred to stigma as a process created by the structural powers rooted in the society, such forces prevented the education of a girl in the rural communities largely due to stigmatization. Link & Phelan (2001) proposed a sociological definition of stigma as a broad concept that linked interrelated components like labelling, stereotyping, cognitive separation, and emotional reactions (Link *et al.*, 2004) and identified the social processes that took place within the socio-cultural environment the effects of which could be observed within the individuals.

According to the literature, this stigma had both an individual (Jones, 1984) and a collective connotation (Major & O'Brien, 2005). On the other hand, the concept of the stigmatization of female education was found to be non-existent amongst the girls of developed community due to constructive familial and societal capital towards the promotion of girls' education. The following case from one of the study areas describes the sensitivity of the issue of stigmatization.

5.6.2.5 Case Study: Gender, Schooling and Stigma

My name is Uzma, I am 16 years old and I am studying in grade 10. I have a great passion to pursue my studies. My parents are kind and share my passion for education. They did not discriminate between me and my siblings and did not compromise my education for my brother's. Initially my father was against my studies. He was worried about the finances related to my studies. Later on, my mother convinced him, and he started working hard. Soon my parents had saved up enough money for my education. People in my community think that the education of males is more important as compared to females. They prefer to send their boys to schools outside the community (Prakash *et al.*, 2011). An adolescent girl mentioned some of reasons for limited scope for girls' education in a FGD as;

“Larkiyān perhain gee to wala o larkoon ko nai perha saktay phir wo larkoon ko zaida shooq nal perhaty hain.” (Kiran, FGD-4-adolescents, BGW, 12/03/2015)

Translation:

“Parents think that if they educate their girls', they will not be able to afford the studies of their boys. For this reason, they prefer to educate their boys only.” (Kiran, FGD-4-adolescents, BGW, 12/03/2015)

She continued that the locals perceive that if a girl gets education she will most likely get spoilt. While going for schooling, I had to face lots of criticism from the community. Sometime girls' take some wrong decisions such as eloping with someone. Such girls disgrace their parents and create troubles for other girls. People perceive that the girls who get education are more likely to get into such practices (Nasrullah *et al.*, 2013). They have more liberty to exploit their situations in the name of education. I heard people saying odd things about me, for instance;

“Perh likh kee to larkiyaan bhaag jati laikin aisa nai hy larkiyān tameez aur behtri ky liay perti hain.” (Nazeer Bibi, IDI-mother-06, CKW, 15/01/2015)

Translation:

“The common perception is that after studying, girls elope. It is not true, the majority of girls study to seek knowledge and get good grooming.” (Nazeer Bibi, IDI-mother-06, CKW,

15/01/2015)

People compare their illiterate female children with me. They do not take my education in a positive way. They are of the view that if their girls have not been educated, other girls should follow them. I and my parents have to face lots of challenges, particularly when I have to stand and wait for transport (rickshaw) to take me from my home to my school. Sometimes the rickshaw arrives a little late and people get an excuse to criticise my education. They suggest to me and my parents to give up my education and ask me to stay at home. People mislead my parents and argue against my education from time to time.

“Rishka aik khass johh toon chandee utlee tak toor ke venjron pondee tain riskkaee da intezar karna pondee. Loog shok karedain vaal ghalat samjhdain. loog ahadin a kahin bandee waste khari hosi. Main zameen doo dehkdi pahdi haan taan vaala rishkee teen bahh veen di haan.” (Uzma, IDI-05-adolescents-school going girl, CKW, 19/01/2015)

Translation:

“Rickshaw picks me from a certain point as it cannot reach my home. I take a little walk to reach that point. Sometimes I have to wait for the rickshaw then people make gossips and rumours. On the way to the stop I encounter a number of males. People consider it wrong, that I should observe them. Sometimes they say that I might be having interactions or showing interest in any of them. They think that I do not care for our values. To avoid such comments, I keep my gaze down on the ground while I wait for the rickshaw. The rickshaw arrives and I leave for school.” (Uzma, IDI-05-adolescents-school going girl, CKW, 19/01/2015)

I thank God that my parents trust me. They ignore such negative attitudes and continue to support my studies. My parents' support has enabled me to reach grade 10. Now there are three girls who are following my example and studying in schools outside *Chah Kumhar Wala*.

5.6.2.6 Safeguarding Honour

In this scenario a female (being a sensitive issue), is considered safe only when she stays at home. Moving outside her home exposes her to the outer world even for the sake of education. It is reckoned that by insulting and taunting her, one

may easily let down her family's name/honour. In such a situation, the girl in question along with her family must face criticism, repulsive behaviour, and the seclusion of the *Baradri*. Therefore, to safeguard honour, illiterate masses prefer not to send their daughters to school.

As soon as a female reaches adolescence (a learner at primary level), she is exposed to unexpected changes in behaviour regarding her mobility and mingling with others by her *taberi* (family). With advancement in her age, the cultural construct of *ghairat* looms before her. As a result, her family becomes extremely conscious about her movements outside the home even for educational purpose. One of the mothers shared her views as follows:

“Primary tak ty choeir bal hondi ay pichay ghairat da masla thee wainda ay.” (Zarina, FGD-02-mothers, CKW, 01/01/2015)

Translation:

“Till the primary level of education, it is okay for a female to attend schools. However, after that it becomes a matter of honour and disrespect to send her to school.” (Zarina, FGD-02-mothers, CKW, 01/01/2015)

As mentioned in chapter four, the ratio of the number of middle and secondary schools in such communities is less than the number of primary schools. Even these were located at a considerable distance from the community. The mobility of a female was burdened with the concepts of ego, *anna* and *ghairat*. The parents therefore, did not allow their female children to attend these distantly located middle and high schools. Moreover, a girl was not allowed to play even outside her home and was only permitted to visit a few close trusted neighbours or relatives.

As a result, her role in the household swells and her days would be completely full of tasks such as assisting her mother in household work, keeping an eye on younger siblings while her mother was busy in work outside household, fetching wood for making fire from the wood piled in some corner in home, and helping her mother in cleaning the home and serving food to the family members.

5.6.3 Banni

Land is the prime property of the locals, the main source of *rozi* (livelihood), *chara*

(fodder) for *mal* (livestock) and *pusht* (support) for the farming communities. It is shared with all of the kin of a family who are related by blood and by marriage. Land is an immovable capital that nobody can take away or steal. Kinship (patriarchal) and farming bears an economic interest in land in terms of the families subsistence and survival. In most of the cases, actual written documentation regarding the ownership and possession of land is missing. *Mushtarka zameen* (common ancestral land) is possessed by the locals that serves as a bone of contention amongst them. With the passage of time, it can be a potential source of confrontation and contention among them due to the need for fragmentation and the rise in the number of heirs. Having reservations on one's share according to one's choice and preference, disputes over the *banna* (demarking boundaries), nature of the land and proximity of the land with the roads of the city are all issues that are the root of most misunderstandings among individuals.

Land (*banni*) plays a vital role in determining the power structure in the rural set up besides the subsistence. It determines one's social standing in baradri. Owning more land is often equated with having *izzat* (prestige). Farmers are classified into different categories based on the land they possess like *zamin daar* (big farmer), *chotta zamindaar* (small farmer), *aathain mazdoor* (a person that takes the 8th part in the share of crop, or nominal wages of 200-300 rupees), *muttay walay* (30,000-40,000/acre, (land less or having insufficient land beyond subsistence level). This unequal distribution of land creates an array of disputes and is seen as a main cause of exploitation amongst the feudal/landlords and even amongst the general masses.

In the majority of cases, women get deprived of their rights and inheritance of patrilineal property. This awareness and desirability of the right to property is highly disliked by their families and society as well. It is preferred that a woman should not take her share and would rather surrender it to her father/brothers as a token of respect. In case of divorce women do not get share of property from their ex-husbands. Such discriminations make women further vulnerable to financial crisis and unable to support their children education.

Secondly, *jahaiz* (dowry) at the time of daughter's marriage is very common and is treated as a sort of compensation to the inheritance right. However, in some

situations some educated families gave their women the right to the ancestral property, but these cases were only a few in number. The importance of land was revealed in an in-depth probing of some locals as below;

“Zameen her shay hy. Maa vee hy tay ulaad vee hy.”
(Shahista, FGD-females community members, CKW, 17/01/2015)

Translation:

“Land is everything. Children and land are the source of strength in one’s life.” (Shahista, FGD-females community members, CKW, 17/01/2015)

Another male from the community added;

“Zameen maa hy. Jeeven maa piyaari hy zameen aveen piyari hy. Maa dy paith vichoon usaan paida thiyoun, wala maa dy pait ich waisoon.” (Salman, IDI-husband-02, CKW, 15/01/2015)

Translation:

“Land is as beloved to me as my mother. My mother gave birth to us. When we will die, we will return to the lap of our mother.” (Salman, IDI-husband-02, CKW, 15/01/2015)

5.7 Rural Polity

The area under study, particularly the rural side, is under the influence of *tumans* (feudals). The urban side of the tehsil is relatively educated and independent and so are less influenced by feudalism in their daily lives. However, there was no one who could enjoy complete freedom due to the overall political and social influences of feudals in this area. There are several terms to address and refer to a feudal for instance *tumandar sahib*, *sardar/goda saien*. All three of the terms synonymise the feudal lord. Each tribe and sub tribe have their own *Tuman*. The feudal system follows the rule: ‘*pagh dar pagh*’ (father to successor rotation of the turban). Influential *tumans* are elected by the public as their representatives in the National Assembly and the parliament *Tuman* governs the overall development activities including education in the area and all important matters of the common man.

Local feudals have a strong hold over the local *thana* (police station) and they help them to control the masses. Justice cannot be easily sought against a *tuman*.

The local *thana* serves as a handy tool of the *tuman* by ensuring political support likewise it works as spying unit so that no First Investigation Report's (FIR) is filed against the will of the feudal lord. When someone does not comply with the will of the local *sardar*, then a fake FIR is filed by the *sardar* against him. In other cases, he can be subjected to severe beatings by the scoundrels of the feudal lord. The feudals have a powerful role in the local *panchayat* system (Section 5.7.1 for details).

When someone comes to the police to file a FIR, the *thana* administration immediately contacts the feudal to obtain permission to register the FIR. In some cases the feudal lord orders the management not to file FIR even before the arrival of the complainant. Later, a fake FIR is registered against the victim and subsequently mistreatment by the Police. *Tuman* is the real authority for the *thana*. Poor people from rural areas are terrified of the *Tuman* and the police. Therefore, they immediately surrender and show compliance to the wills of the feudals, because otherwise the feudal may become revengeful.

One of a police inspector stated in an in-depth interview that;

“Lok wadairay dar dy maray aprainy dil de gaal nai kerain dy.”
(FGD-Male community members-BGW, 15/03/2015)

Translation:

“People get scared of the feudals and prefer to mute their voices (or votes).” (FGD-Male community members-BGW, 15/03/2015)

Every *tumhan* holds a number of *hawari* (sub-feudals/representatives) to control the general public who keep an eye on his interests and report back to him both in his presence and in his absence. Feudals are least supportive towards development activities such as the promotion of education in general and girls' education in particular, health in the rural areas. They think that education will bring about an awareness that will destroy their authority over poor communities. The status quo suits the hegemony of the feudal lord (Ahmed *et al.*, 2015; Qaiser, 2015; Ahmar, 2016; Khan, 2016). An analysis of the onsite situations made it clear that feudal culture in the area is responsible for the snail pace development and the educational deprivation in the region. Khan, *et al.* (2015) highlighted that the wealthy feudal(s) forcefully capture land that is actually allocated for schools and colleges by the government.

They do so to maintain their supremacy and at the same time to keep the poor masses and their children away from education, lest they get awareness of their rights. The feudals discourage children to get enrolled at even the primary level of education.

5.7.1 Panchayat System and Gender

Village *panchayat* (traditional courts) exhibits the connotation of democracy and self-rule. It is greatly practiced particularly in the rural areas of South Punjab (Gohar, 2007). *Panchayat* is considered to be a powerful tool of social controlled justice. Usually, every *quom* (caste) has its own *panchayat*. Each *quom* has a *wadera* (wise person) who administers the local justice system. *The wadera* of the *panchayat* is considered to be a respectable, honest, trustworthy and a “*haq de gal kern ala*” man (courageous enough to support and implement decisions). Being educated is not a necessity for him. The *wadera* criterion is based on age and communal respect. Adults, and *tuman* (feudals) along with a number of respectable males of the community constitute the main body of the *panchayat*.

Panchayat is a self-governed unregistered body that functions without the involvement of the Government. Traditionally, women are denied any role in the *panchayat* system due to their secondary position in a patriarchal system. She is neither allowed to be a part of the jury nor is she allowed to present her case in person before the jury. Her male members usually (brother, husband, father and sons) advocate on her behalf. *Panchayat* is preferred by the locals to provide an instant and accessible justice instead of getting entrapped in the long and laborious procedures of the police stations, courts and litigation. Another reason for preferentiality to *panchayat* is that the provision of justice here is cost effective and proximate to the local culture. *Panchayat* is a cultural institution that is widely trusted by the locals across all of the rural communities in Punjab and elsewhere in Pakistan. Similarly, it is quite familiar to the natives of the present research. It takes place at the convenience of the feudal(s) and tribal elders depending on the need and feasibility. It can be constituted to settle inter and intra individual and community issues within the community like full bench court.

Some of the functions of the *panchayat* are to create harmony and solidarity amongst the locals, keeping in mind the guidelines of culture and religion. It is

closely linked with the social, political, economic, cultural, moral, communal, and the gender facets of the lives of the rural masses. *Panchayat* resolves almost all types of criminal and family cases such as those related to honour, caste, disputes, land, women, financial matters, theft and murder cases (Akram & Qayyum, 2014).

The institution of *panchayat* is under the great influence of the feudals and notables of the area. Therefore, the justice provided by this jury in most of the cases, remains questionable. The decisions tend to be biased and are based on nepotism, gender, caste ties, the socio-economic status of the offenders and personal favours. The punishment/resolution modes were mainly based on the local justice system through *chatti* (fine), *bha paani* (proving purity/non-involvement through water and fire) and *vanni* (See section 5.7.2). In case an individual defies the decision of *panchayat*, a person might face physical abuse, fake cases by the police, land disputes, threat to honour, out casting, punishments, rivalry, animal theft and other hidden modes.

At the community level, people bring their matters to a *wadera* to settle small and large dispute(s). Both of the parties bring their supporters (indefinite number of males) to constitute a *panchayat*. The *wadera* listens to both parties and selects two males from each party for further discussion and reconciliation process. They settle the penalties or mode of punishment through a mutual oral agreement. The punishment depends and varies according to the nature or sensitivity of the problem. The *wadera* ensures that both parties fulfil the commitments made in front of the *panchayat* once the verdict is announced. One respondent in an interview described the attributes of *wadaira* as:

“Mudai ty mulzim nal wadery di waqfiyat lazmi hy lazmi hay dohaan fariqaan wadery de faisly koon maandy hen.” (Aqeel, IDI-39, Male Inspector Police, Jampur, 16/03/2015)

Translation:

“Ideally the wadera should be mutually respected and trusted by both the parties. That will make them listen, regulate and respect the decision mutually.” (Aqeel, IDI-39, Male Inspector Police, Jampur, 16/03/2015)

If the accused confesses to the crime then the *mairr* (group of people) will go to

victim's house to ask for forgiveness. If the later does not agree then the *wadera* will call the *kath* (assembly of people for *panchayat*) to hold the *panchayat* at his (*wisagh/daira/baithak*) or near the house of either one of the parties. It will be referred to as *gher kath* (gathering of people near one party's house). In case the *tuman* is invited in the *panchayat* then he will supersede the *wadera* and his decision will be considered final in the *panchayat* as per his social hegemonic position.

With the passage of time, *panchayat* has become more organised in dealing family, land, honor and murder issues. The decisions are now recorded on judicial stamp papers, duly signed and endorsed by the adversaries, the members of *panchayat* and the witnesses of the groups, respectively. Traditionally there were two modes of punishments offered by the *panchayat* system which are elaborated in the following section.

5.7.2 Patt Sakh

To gain some social control over the masses, *panchayat* imposes some undocumented punishments. Firstly, to determine and detect crime, secondly as a tool to control crime and curb defiant behaviour, and thirdly as a mechanism to judge the truthfulness and falsehood of the convicted person. Traditionally the *Baloch* justice system is based on rituals that employ physical torture methods to prove a person's innocence and to determine his involvement. This phenomenon and cultural practice has religious interpretations upon which the beliefs and value systems of the locals rest. (Danforth, 1989) Such behaviours and conventions were determined by practicing the ritual of *patt sakh* (judge between truth and falsehood) upon the demand and decision of the *tuman*, *wadera* and assembly of wise men of the area. The final authority lies with the chief of the tribe.

Two types of *patt sakh* namely *bha* (fire) and *panni* (water)³⁵ are presented to the

³⁵ This old tradition of water and fire is common among the *Balochs*. In *Baloch* language and in Baluchistan it is called *Aas* (fire) and *Aff* (water) system whereas the same tradition is denoted by *Bha Pani* in the *Saraiki* language. The terminology varies due to the language differences. Historically the *Baloch* tribe is believed to have its roots of stay and acculturation within *Sistaan*, Iran culture, the society and the political system. *Pat Sakh* was a major legislative act of that time. *Balochs* have adopted and practiced *Pat Sakh* ever since its conception. (Durant, 1950) has elaborated in his research on the Iranian culture that physical torture was used to investigate crime and suspicious people by licking hot iron, walking on fire and eating poisonous food as a testimony to believe criminals and to convict them.

accused person and he/she is asked to choose either one of them to prove his innocence. A carpet of red hot coals is prepared and if he chooses *bha*, he is required to walk over the burning coals. He has to take seven quick steps over a length of around one foot of coals. He can choose another option where he has to lick rough hot iron seven times consecutively. Certain rituals are performed. For example, the *molvi* (clergy man) recites verses from The Holy Quran and leaves of *akk* (*Calotropis gigantea*), a local herb are placed over the burning coals. The accused is asked to start with the name of Allah and The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and recite: "Allah if I am a sinner then punish me otherwise save me with your blessings". The ritual of *Paani*, requires the accused to tie a string around his waist and asked to sit in a pool of water so that his whole body remains submerged in water for a certain period. If the string remains unfastened then the accused qualifies for the truth, otherwise he is considered to be a naysayer. It is understood that criminals cannot qualify this ritual and they might either die in the water or the water will push them to the surface. The same is the case with fire.

In case of harm by fire or water, the offender is declared to be a criminal. The offender definitely shows some reluctance in front of the hundreds of spectators and *panchayat* to prove his innocence or his guilt. Such modes of punishment are practised mostly by the illiterate people and are surely against human rights. Such people are secluded from education, modernity and awareness of law and its enforcement on legal grounds. In such communities the literate people possess a difference of opinion on such trials, even though they are only a fraction of the entire population of the area. But, at times they also get victimised and stigmatized for not respecting their cultural values.

Such literate people are considered as rebels and therefore, perceived as *bywaqoof* (foolish), *pagal* (mad) and *bygairat* (dishonourable). In view of their disrespect and non-compliance to the inhumane decisions based on culturally rooted practices such people are socially shunned. In the traditional discourse, a woman is not supposed to clear her position against any allegation before the *panchayat*. That has to be done by a male (immediate family member) on her part through the practice of *patt sakh* before the *panchayat*. Women were exempted not because they were inferior to men or physically weak, but they

were considered as non-trustworthy.

One of the respondents expressed his views about women and justice provided by the *panchayat* in the following way;

“Raan da koi itbar koini. aprain faidy wasty koi vee kaam karesi. Raan di koi gaal theek nai hondi. Islam vi raan di gawahi ty jowan di gawahi braber nai samjhda.” (FGD-02, male community members, CKW, 20/01/2015)

Translation:

“One cannot trust a woman because she can go say anything for her own sake. Evidence presented by women is weak. In Islam, evidence presented by women is considered to be weak as compared to men and the same concept applies in the local justice system. (However, in Islam two women witnesses equals one man).” (FGD-02, male community members, CKW, 20/01/2015)

A vast body of knowledge and literature focuses on the reforms in education through decentralization (Srinath, 1987; Onta, 1996; Wankhede & Sengupta, 2005; Malik & Yadav, 2008; Shields & Rappleye, 2008; Govinda *et al.*, 2010). Education and its promotion at the community level has never had a serious agenda in the overall educational policies of Pakistan to date. The local *panchayat* system has never been used as a medium to decentralize education in Pakistan. Similarly, at the community level, there were many examples where the landlords do not want education to spread and succeed in their areas for their own vested interest. Likewise, from the cultural perspective, the notable males of the area were also not in favour of female education as they want to hold their cultural dominance over females by controlling their lives and maintaining a controlled check over their education and the freedom of action and speech. This holds true for the insolvent rural communities having a low literacy rate. Such communities like those existing in *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala* act as laggard societies and this suite the feudal mind set. Ideally, the *panchayat*, being a supreme body, can serve as a best medium for the promotion of education amongst the rural masses in general and for the education of females in particular but unfortunately the *panchayat* is devoid of any progressive policy making matrix.

Amongst all of the developing countries, India (Webster, 1990; Verma, 2017;

Bavinck, 2018) has provided the best example where its government has successfully uplifted gender equality, education, child welfare and community development projects through decentralization via the *panchayat* system and community involvement via a bottom up approach (Vasavi *et al.*, 1997; Bryld, 2001; Ghosh *et al.*, 2006; Krishnamurthy & Kamala, 2015), of course with varying degrees of success and failure (Subha, 1997; Gopalakrishnan & Sharma, 1998; Acharya, 2002; Banerjee *et al.*, 2002; Mukundan & Bray, 2006). The lack of government ownership and the patronization of local bodies like the *panchayat* system in Pakistan has resulted in the increase of local level manipulation and the emancipation of the predominantly feudal and patriarchal system. The status quo has been maintained and institutionalized through a typical male dominated institution like *panchayat*.

The local narratives revealed that as generation after generation passed away, women were continuously victimized by male bigotry mainly through the political *panchayat* system causing great gender disparities in key areas of education, development and empowerment. In rural Punjab, it accounts for the asymmetrical change and slow progress towards achieving women's equity and seeing sustainable changes at the household and the community level. Adhikari (2012) studied fifty female representatives in a three tier *panchayat*, from Purba Medinipur district of West Bengal found that the women representatives in the *panchayat* system were less powerful in decision making and were acting like some sort of puppets due to the overall male ascendancy. So, the *panchayat* system has emerged as a new tactic to hold women in the traditional patriarchy.

5.8 Gender, Religious Education and School Dropout

Religion plays an important role in setting norms, patterns and practices for a society. It provides many definitions for the different aspects of life. At the societal level, a triangular concept is followed that comprises the cultural, social and religious rituals. In a critical sense; all of these cultural and social norms are extracted from the religious codes of life.

In the areas being studied, the sect of "*Ahle Sunnat wal jamaat*" (Sunni) was the only religious sect of Islam. So, there was no diversity in this domain. The inhabitants particularly the older generation avidly offer their prayers and carry

out all other worships according to their sect. By and large, the locals relate to and refer their practices and customs in the context of Islam. However, practicing religion varies and depends upon the educational level and the socio-economic background of the locals. In general, the highly educated locals of the areas under study were careful about any religion based characteristics in their personal and social life. They kept an eye on the role of *molvi's* (clergymen) in their lives in light of their own understanding of Islam. In simple words they were not put under influence by the *khutba* (sermons) of the *molvi's*. Educated people have regular healthy discussions on various topics related to Islam with the clergy and the locals. Unlike the other two segments of the locale where the majority of the locals were illiterate, such diversity was only observed in the educated community of *Basti Rasool Pur*. The other two communities just relied and believed whatever *Quranic* interpretations were aired in religious sermons. They try quite hard to be true Muslims, but they never question the authenticity of the sermons. In such community's religion sustain division of labour and resource allocation at household level in gendered way which serves to restrain girls' access to education.

5.8.1 Adherence to Religious Practices

In Pakistan, many people continue to display an intrinsic attraction towards the shrines of the *pirs* (*saints*) and strongly believed in *Sufism* to seek out guidance in terms of religious practices. Similarly, the locals preferred to visit shrines for various ritualistic performances on different occasions. These occasions included child birth, celebration of success/happiness, praying for the resolution of family disputes, praying for the remedy to certain types of diseases, infertility, abortion and *jairay jatt*³⁶ (domestic disputes). Moreover, people made a *manat*³⁷ (wish) at the shrine and the *pir's* place to fulfil their desire.

Upon fulfilment of their *manat* (desire), people pay thanks by visiting the *pir's*

³⁶ Local word that denotes disputes or arguments with someone.

³⁷ Supplication to make a vow. This is a common practice among the Muslims of the Sub Continent where they make a vow to visit a shrine, make offerings, and observe fast, shower flowers and rose water at the shrine, place pieces of cloth on graves to request/please/thank God and the Saint. This is done both when asking and as well as upon the fulfilment of a desire/happiness.

place with different offerings in terms of cash. For instances *divaa balna*³⁸, *chadaar charhana*³⁹, *daigh charhana*, *bakra dena*⁴⁰, *mithai dena*, *pakhri pehnana* and sweets are offered which are made from pure milk and ghee etc. In fact, people think that pleasing the *Pir* is actually pleasing and thanking God Almighty. The *Pir* acts as a bridge between a person and *Allah Saien* (God). During this study, it was observed that the illiterate and less educated people pay more visits and give more offerings to shrines and *pirs* as compared to the educated people. Congregations celebrate annual *urs* (commemorations) in the memory of the holy saint, where enthusiastic locals irrespective of their age and gender participate in the proceedings. It is held on the 12th of *Rabi ul Awa*.⁴¹ People from far flung areas and other provinces visit the shrines (*Durbars*). *Jhoomer* is celebrated by women in *Jaaga* (bathing of the grave with rose water and subsequent decoration with lots of *chadars* (long pieces of cloth) commonly known as *pagh*). *Urs* is usually accompanied with a *mela*.⁴² *Durbars* were commonly believed to be the guardians of traditional culture in the form of *mailey* (fairs) *thailey* (stalls), *circus* (theatre), *chirya gher* (zoo), *pingh* (swings), *jhoomer* (dance), *milaad sharif* (Birthday of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and *khairat* (charity) in the religious attire.

According to local narratives, *Masan Shah* (holy saint) was a bachelor when he passed away so his followers celebrate symbolically celebrate his marriage, which they name as *shadi* (marriage). There are two perceptions of the word *shadi*. One means marriage while the other one means a celebration in memory of the spiritual union of a saint's soul with his eternal *Allah* (God). So his departure

³⁸ A small oil lamp made of baked clay is lighted for ritualistic performances and religious celebrations. It is lighted on a saint's shrine/home to show respect and gratitude to the saint it is illuminated on celebrations/religious festivals.

³⁹ The practice of putting on a piece of cloth (usually of a green and black color) on the graves of Holy people/saints.

⁴⁰ The distribution of food at a saint's grave i.e. cooked rice, goat meat both in cooked or uncooked form depending upon the affordability of the pilgrims

⁴¹ Islamic month. On this particular day *Jaaga* (birthday of the Holy prophet) is celebrated for the whole night.

⁴² A short term festivity usually for two to three days where there are recreational activities, a variety of foods such as *methai* (local sweets), *daigain* (cooked rice with meat or chickpeas) and *tukkar* (lunch, dinner) along with swings for the children. Some of the local names for these swings are *jholay* (swings/rides), *chikal* (roller coaster), *Chadhaar* (merry go round).

from this world and his ultimate union is celebrated in the form of yearly celebrations referred to as *urs*. This is a collective ritualistic activity in which people are supposed to follow prescribed and sanctioned practices and protocols on this specific day in memory of the saint.

The concept of *piri muridi* (saint and his followership) is very common amongst the locals. The locals of the communities under study mainly follow two different schools of thought. One is *Naqshbandi* while the other is the *Chishtti* school of thought. The *Pir* is believed to be a spiritual guide, a message convener to God, a faith healer, a source of relief from worldly worries/diseases and a never ending source of bounding and blessings. The Saint has a following that is irrespective of age and gender. Locals particularly women pay regular visits to *darbars* (monuments/shrines) both in the village and outside the village. Furthermore, to cure diseases and to get away from problems such as exorcisms, the *pir/bibi* is invited at home. Following are three behaviours of any visit to the monuments/*pirs* have been observed in *Jampur*.

- Visit to shrines/saint(s) within the village
- Visit to shrines/saint(s) outside the village
- Inviting the saint to one's home

Normally, when a woman starts talking about *pirs'* or shrines, it starts a flow of conversation around this issue. Women keenly listen to the deliberations and nod their heads in affirmation. Everyone shares information and her views in the discussion and gives suggestions to other women to find the solution to their problems. If someone does not agree or utters something negative in the context of this issue, it is highly disliked and criticized by other listeners. If something odd happens to that person, it is strongly associated with defiant behaviour.

In the areas under study, the educated people believe that it is only the deeds of a person that can take him to either heaven or hell. The saint has nothing to do in this regard. However, generally both the literate and illiterate persons show respect to the saints. But the illiterate people visit the saint's place more than the literate ones at occasions such as the death of their loved ones.

Spiritual and religious treatment is considered to be a source of satisfaction in two different ways. On one hand, it imparts an internal emotional satisfaction

while on the other hand, it reflects cost effectiveness. Usually, both educated and illiterate people show conformity and respect to this spiritual faculty. However, its frequency and intensity vary with the respect shown to the educational and socio-economic status of the respondents.

It was also observed in the population under study that the belief in these behaviours are further strengthened when others share their success stories related to spiritualism. Interestingly, it has been observed that if someone's desire is not fulfilled, then his/her belief will not be shaken, and it would be simply related to his/her bad fate. Furthermore, it was observed that the educated masses generally tried to find more logical remedies to solve their day to day problems. However, they showed respect towards the saints and shrines. For instance, to treat a disease they will look for a doctor instead of visiting a saint or shrine. On the other hand the poor uneducated masses find saints as the most affordable and comfortable resort. (Marsden & Khan, 2011) found that *sajjada nasheen*, the successor of a durbar, is not only respected by the locals but also has a great influence on their actions and receives monetary benefits in the form of *kharcha pani* (money provided by the locals). He holds a strong political position in the area as well. Besides, the institution of saints provides a solution to the lower rungs of the community to address their identity crisis. For this specific function, people add the name of any saint or his religious doctrine to their own surname.

5.8.2 Gender, Mosque and Education

Mosques are of paramount importance with respect to religious practices. The locals belong to the *Sunni* sect of Islam. There are several large and small mosques in different *Bastis* (communities). Males usually prefer to offer prayers in the mosques situated close to their houses. However, the *Jumma* (Friday) prayer (being a special prayer) is sometimes offered in the *Jamia* (main) mosque situated in the main city of *Jampur*. Mosques in the locales not only function as a place of worship and prayer but also serve as a hub and an initiator of the villager's activities.

In the village, special attention is given to the religious education of the children. Therefore, the mosque serves as an informal educational institution in the village where children study religious education in the form of *naazra* (learning Al-Quran)

and *hifz* (learning Al-Quran by heart) from the *molvi/qari sahib*. *Molvi* charges a small fee from his disciples. Girls are withdrawn from the mosques after the age of eight and are sent to a female religious teacher for their religious education which is the more culturally approved way of learning. Ironically, parents who cannot afford the schooling of their children make sure that their children particularly the girls receive *Quranic* education. The *madrassa* has its own syllabus of teaching depending on the school of thought it follows. There were separate *madrassa(s)* in each *Basti* for girls and boys. These *madrassa(s)* educate children in several ways:

- 1). Learning Al-Quran (for specific hours in a day)
- 2). Memorizing Al-Quran by heart (residing disciples)
- 3). *Alim/alima*⁴³ course (teaching Islamic books for at least five years or more and memorizing Quran regularly).

During the sermon, the *molvi* calls the locals for physical and financial participation in the social welfare work. People donate money, clothes and food to mosques and the *madrassa* for distribution amongst the poor villagers. Moreover, the mosques are involved in arranging collective social and religious functions like *nikah* (marriage), *nammaz-i-janaza* (funeral prayers), *qul* (3rd day after death) and *jumiraat* (every Thursday till forty days after death). Rather than seeking medical assistance the rural people contact the *molvi sahib* for a *taweez* (*amulet*) in case of any illness. Locals give *mokh* (token money) to seek prayers and blessings from a *molvi*. In addition to this the *molvi* has a vital role in the local *panchayat* when they practice the traditional mode of punishments (*patt sakh*)⁴⁴ (Section 5.7.2 for details).

The concept of modernity amongst the Pakistani Muslim communities constitutes and displays the deeply ingrained prevalent religious forces at play at the micro level. This perception was particularly observed amongst the traditional mind sets where the concept of modernity is perceived to be “anti-Islamic”. The rural masses are more inclined to believe this philosophy of anti-modernity whenever it clashes with their core values. Having diverse socio-economic and cultural

⁴³ *Alim* (male Islamic scholar), *Alima* (female Islamic Scholar).

⁴⁴ Proof of innocence.

reasons, these communities are far away from the mainstream development and use of technology in their lives. At the micro or at the operational level, the religious leaders in the villages and in the community play a crucial role in perpetuating the dichotomy between Islam and modernity. While doing so the mind-set of the indigenous people is encapsulated in the name of religion keeping them away from acquiring education and adopting technology and modernity in their lives. Generally, females are more suppressed in the name of misunderstandings that arise relating to religion. There is a dire need to highlight the positive roles of religious education as it directly affects normal education in a religiously dominant society.

5.9 Analysis

- Cultural forces emerged as a significant barrier for girls' education.
- The influence of traditional beliefs and low values assigned to girls' education was based on traditional mind sets and remoteness of its locals from development.
- These findings were in line with social constructionism, Sex Role Theory and feminist approaches presented in chapter two. Freedom of girls, as envisioned by capability approach (Walker, 2005), was found to be associated with education therefore, girls education in underdeveloped communities was highly discouraged and stigmatized in an institutional way (family, community, economic, religious and political contexts).
- Absences of enabling environment at all levels, was favoured in both underdeveloped communities. It has resulted in male hegemony (exhibited through possession of money, land and emancipation of women) and resistance to change existing gender roles, socio-cultural symmetry and overall development.
- Gender skewed behaviour at household and community level contributed to gender disparities in all fields including education. Data delineated a strong support and link between cultural values and educational fate of girls' education and overall development.

- Overall socio-economic and cultural outlook of both underdeveloped communities contributed to striking difference in low formation of human as well as social capital.
- The difference type of capabilities within the three communities in the study area produced nuance to concept of gender biases in education. This may also pose challenge to progress in minimising gender differences in education.

5.10 Conclusion

In the chapter I have presented various grass root accounts of the cultural discourse that minimises the access of girls to education particularly at the community level. The current chapter explained the underlying causes of various social aspects and cultural established rules for social behaviour of majority of the less educated locals, which act as a barrier to girls' education. In two of the three communities under study, discrimination against girls started with birth and prevails over rest of their lives. Such discriminations are culturally practiced through unequal gender roles at household level, gender biases and the unequal distribution of financial resources. Girls are marginalised due to parental and societal discriminations. Moreover, parents consider that their daughters have a temporary stay with them and therefore, instead of educating them they socialize them in a gendered way. Girls are expected to show feminine traits so that they can easily adopt and adjust to their future roles as wives and mothers, which restricts their access to schools and likewise results into higher dropout rates in schools. The patriarchal nature of the society and their pro-traditional approaches were reflected through early marriages, *watta satta* (exchange marriages), early motherhood and preference of having sons. All of these minimise girls' opportunity to study and get empowered.

Due to the inherent patriarchy that exists, males generally prefer to have ignorant and subservient women instead of educated ones. They strictly adhere to their norms and values at any cost. The reason for this stringent adherence to traditions is to supposedly safeguard their supremacy which is mainly exhibited through three aspects of gendered hegemony of power. 1) *Dhan* (control over financial resources) 2) *Vanni* (control over women), and 3) *Banni* (control over

land). These three aspects are mostly responsible for the abysmal progress and limited life choices for women including education of girls. The parents along with the culturally established roles of the tribal feudals and religious heads together are not in girls of female education.

The role of the village court along with the feudal and religious leaders has been critically discussed in the chapter. These traditional roles strengthen gender discrimination in an institutionalised way and they suppress the female voices in the community including the voice for education. Across both underdeveloped communities under study, the education of girls was linked with modernity, and the non-adherence of cultural values and therefore, basic religious education was preferred over school education so that girls can live a better life. Comparatively in the third community (developed community) the growing number of educated school going girls and the state of women empowerment presents a viable answer to the century old system that is governed by absolutely asymmetrical powers. In this way, the status quo has been challenged by virtue of education in general and female education in particular. Next chapter reflects on enabling factors at household and community level that favour girls education and overall empowerment of women and community.

Chapter 6

Gendered Outlook of Education in *Basti Rasool Pur*

6.1 Introduction

The gender based cultural experiences of girls of school going age were explored in the previous chapter. The data collected has revealed that apart from the economic aspects related to girls' schooling, the secondary position of females at the household and societal level undermines both their future potential and their chances to complete their education. In the cultural discourse, boys and girls are treated in significantly different ways. It was found that in most cases, both the parents and the society act as major agents of discrimination against female schooling. Such indices are high in situation where the family has a poor socio-economic and educational status. Such families hold a pro-traditional approach towards female schooling which is largely compromised on the basis of the societal concerns regarding female mobility, stigmatization, honour and gender which are relative to cultural born realities. The present chapter discusses the role of social capital and its relation to communal activities and educational uplifting for the development of a society.

The first part of the chapter is about trying to develop a conceptual understanding of social capital and the historical background of communal initiatives towards education. Both of these aspects were monitored in *Basti Rasool Pur* to understand female education and the development of its community. Moreover, the study discusses how the community has an impact on female education and empowerment through social capital formation. The second half of the chapter provides an analysis that relates to the varying perceptions regarding education and gender which prevail at the various levels of society particularly at household and community level in an educated rural community.

6.2 Untangling Social Capital

The existence of social capital has been discussed keeping in mind the scores of problems/obstacles faced by the neighbouring communities. Individual and communal level problems associated with gender and education were studied within various support structures, networks, and groups through common norms,

reciprocity and trust existing in the community. Nevertheless, on a broader level, the prevalence of social capital in *Basti Rasool Pur* clearly owes its existence to the presence of both human capital and public capital.

Whenever individuals participate with others for a collective action, they are perceived as a 'community' (Mihaylov & Perkins, 2014). The process of various collective interactions between individuals have several sociological aspects (Hardin, 2015). Therefore, it demands an intensive theoretical discussion. A large amount of literature considers motivation and other associated factors as the binding force for the behaviour of individuals towards a collective action (Byun *et al.*, 2012; Fields & Feinberg, 2014; Aldrich & Meyer, 2015; Ramzan *et al.*, 2016). The concept of social capital is used in many developmental discourses to understand different social phenomenon. (Cemalcilar & Gökşen, 2014; Liu *et al.*, 2014; Putnam, 2017). In general, it refers to the collective actions of people towards achieving specific social and economic purposes like education, health, leisure and business (Beard, 2007).

Social capital is often assessed via an individual's engagements in associations, clubs and societies. However, the context of such associations, clubs and societies may vary in different scenarios and at different geographical locations (Paldam & Svendsen, 2000; Cleaver, 2005). In the case of Pakistan, people are connected via informal networking, for example, working in the fields can portray a form of social capital which is invisible to any outsider. Similarly, political and religious institutions along with traditional courtship are examples of common venues for social capital formation. In some cases, social capital formation is very rapid for a special cause or action in the community.

Plenty of significant debates over the definition and scope of social capital have been made so far. Relating to this study, social capital focuses on the significance of social relationships in producing reciprocity, trust and a common cultural identity towards gender and education as well as community development. Therefore, to achieve this, it is vital to understand how individuals relate to each other for mutual benefits and what the outcomes from their mutual cooperation are. A deeper understanding of the applications of social capital helps the various stakeholders to comprehend the complexities of social interactions and the processes for any collective action. The concept of social capital is widely used

in the development discourse as the rationale for community based initiatives in terms of harnessing local social capital (Westlund & Bolton, 2003; Williams, 2003; Boyd *et al.*, 2008). Keeping this in mind, the main idea of the chapter is to provide an analysis with empirical examples that show how the locals of these traditional communities voluntarily amass to strengthen education in general and girls' education in particular.

The structures at the micro-level talk about including voluntary associations, public institutions and extended family as binding forces between individuals and the wider structures of the society (Field, 2003). Furthermore, we should understand that activities at a micro level shape the course of evolution of development and vice versa. A historical view of social capital with development initially dominated as theorised by Coleman (1988) as an asset accumulated by individuals and later It was theorized by (Putnam, 2000) as an asset belonging to collective groups (Fine, 2001; Field, 2003).

To meet the challenges of educational inequality, there has been considerable demand and emphasis on approaches that harness the required attitude, skill, and knowledge amongst other resources. One of the primary approaches for solving such problems is the accumulation of social and human capital. Many social capital theorists use the rational choice theory to support the argument that individuals act collectively by virtue of trust and reciprocity to seek and maximize possible gains to reduce transaction costs. Linking social relationships can enable the poor segments of the society to connect with those individuals or organizations who have the power to bring changes in the structure (Putnam, 2001).

6.3 Reflections on Social Capital Formation across Communities

This section provides information relating to social capital formation in the cases of the less developed, least developed and developed communities. The purpose of this study is to explain the whole phenomenon of girls education and the schooling experiences of girls from less developed and the least developed communities under study, and it can so be referred as “neighbourhood deprivation” in terms of education. It was commonly observed that people and particularly girls living in under developed areas experience low education

attainment than those who live in better and well off areas. Girls' education and its impact on them and their schooling experience in less developed and the least developed communities under study, can be referred as 'neighbourhood deprivation' in terms of education.

Growing up in communities with less resources may limit the education, health and income opportunities for females (Viner *et al.*, 2012; Bray & Lillis, 2016). It has been argued that a low level of education gives rise to low self-esteem and slow personal growth in females (Giunta *et al.*, 2013; Wagner *et al.*, 2014; Jetten *et al.*, 2015). This study explains that not all the communities suffer equally from 'neighbourhood deprivation' and that some show resilience to the socio-economic barriers towards education but it is a hard task that calls for motivational drive. *Basti Rasool Pur* is an example highlighting very interesting facts not only related to girls' education but also on the overall achievements in education and that has brought laurels to the community. Before going further into any details, it is pertinent to understand what it means by 'resilience'. It basically refers to a system (comprised of families, communities and groups) or it may be an individual's capability to successfully cope with their problems in the face of poverty, risk or adversity. In Pakistan there exists some research on this topic, however quite little is known regarding the effects of collective efforts to promote female education (Khalid & Mukhtar, 2002; Hashmi *et al.*, 2009; Mustafa *et al.*, 2016).

6.4 Historical Reflections of *Basti Rasool Pur*

To provide a critical analysis of *Basti Rasool Pur* and its comparison with other communities, such that, to understand the existence of social capital formation and overall community development. It is imperative to present the historical background of Rasool Pur and to shed light on various aspects regarding the social change and educational growth in the community.

6.4.1 Community Settlement and Educational Environment: Pre-independence Scenario

According to the information collected through interviews, residents of *Basti Rasool Pur* mentioned that they got settled at their present place after episodes

of migration from neighbouring areas. Before the partition (1800s on-wards), Ahmadani⁴⁵ tribe was living in the area who were highly motivated towards its educational development. During the course of an in-depth interview with a learned local the following information was provided.

“It was the time of early 1800, a person from Ahmadani tribe had the opportunity to seek formal education from Dehli⁴⁶. After completing education, he returned home and motivated others to seek education. As a result, three males of the community followed his footsteps and sought education from the same institution. After completing education, they returned back, one of them got selected in education department in D.G.Khan. By virtue of his job he had the opportunity to support many others in terms of education and job seeking. Whereas rest of two of his fellows also served their own as well as neighbouring communities as teacher. This marked the beginning of Education in Ahmadani tribe. Since then the process and success related to education is exemplary and unprecedented” (Muhammad Jamsheed, IDI-30-BRP, 24/03/2019)”.

In 1912, this community lived in *Bhambay Wala* near present *Kotla Mughalaan* (district Rajanpur). The community was displaced due to flood. Later, its inhabitants migrated to *Khoie Pirani Wala* near *Dhora Hajana Mastoi Wala* where they lived for a period of twenty years. Here again they faced flood and displacement. Understanding the displacement problem, one of the landlord of the area named *Ghulam Rasool Khan Korai* gifted a piece of land to some of his friends from Ahmadani caste. In this way *Basti Rasool Pur* came into existence in 1933 and was named after the landlord. At the time of settlement Ahmadani community was educated therefore, both men and women of Ahmadani caste not only established the new place but they also significantly contributed towards its social and economic development particularly in promotion of education and service to humanity (Annexure 3).

⁴⁵ Ahmadani is the name of the tribe as well as the name of the caste. It has no religious similarity due to its name.

⁴⁶ Before partition this area was called sub-continent, at present it is capital of India

6.4.2 Community Settlement and Educational Environment: Post-independence Scenario

History of *Basti Rasool Pur* is full of individual as well as communal commitments towards overall education. What the community has been? And what it is now? What its residents prefer to talk about and feel proud of many of the factors covering spectrum of its community life. Since the beginning, community of Rasool Pur was highly sensitized and conscious therefore, its residents played a positive role in creating an environment of equitable education by marking education its top communal priority.

However, Residents of *Basti Rasool Pur* are different in terms of individual and communal efforts towards education. One of the participants mentioned during the interview that their forefathers always preferred educational achievements because it helped them as an immediate source of better socio-economic life, a better future for their children. Table 6.1 presents a glimpse of few notable people of the community.

Table 6.1: Glimpse of Educational and Occupational Profile of *Basti Rasool Pur*

	Male	Female	Remarks
PhD	06	1	
M.Phil	07	06	
Pilot	02	-	
Passport Officers	02	-	
School Principle	02	01	
Advocate	07	02	
Doctor			26 in total (including 9 DVM doctors and 5 lady doctors)

Dispensers	19	-	
Tehsildaar	1		
Patwari	05	-	
Officers/officials in Wapda	05	-	
Agriculture Officers/Officials	11	-	
Officials at Rescue 1122	4		
Vetinary Assistant	19		
Hafiz	20		
Engineers/Sub Engineers in various categories			19
Assistant Directors	10		
Bank Officers	10		
Primary School Teachers/ Secondary School Teachers	55	84	
Clerical Staff in various departments			17
Police Officers/Officials	8		

Since they were so much determined and knew the outcomes of education, they never waited for public institutions to come and build schools for them, rather they were working together as one community to build schools for their children. The first school in the community started functioning on a self-help basis with the support of community (Plate 8 and Plate 9). As time passed, a number of communal initiatives were also undertaken to upgrade the public schools within the community. Subsequently, in 1935, a government primary school for girls was

established in *Basti Rasool Pur*. In 1971 this school was upgraded to middle level. Similarly in 1982, the school was further upgraded to a higher level. Concurrently, a government primary school for boys' was established in 1935. The school was upgraded to the middle level in 1964 and finally in 1984, it was raised to a higher level. Irrespective of gender, the community members of *Basti Rasool Pur* were pro-education and therefore, there was a strong demand for educating their children. As a matter of fact, regarding educational equality, the female school was upgraded to a higher school much earlier than the boy's school in *Basti Rasool Pur*. Literature suggests that it is not the sole responsibility of schools only to gauge the educational progress of the students, the communities too have an obligation to help the students to create an enabling environment for them so that they may learn how to craft a better tomorrow (Israel *et al.*, 2001; Miller, 2012).

Basti Rasool Pur works as an integral part of the community. Its residents play a multi-dimensional role for both the family and the community in the form of enhanced academic attainments, higher staff confidence, better socialization of the children and improved social resources for the betterment of the community (Forsyth *et al.*, 2011; Ansari *et al.*, 2012; Wang & Eccles, 2012). Thus, the community was able to improve the quality of education of its schools through community participation, reinforcement of discipline and monitoring of entire school system. From time to time, a number of educated males and females of *Basti Rasool Pur* serve in schools and also in the other nearby villages. They use education as the main tool for the development of their community. For example, educated people in the community used their refined planning skills and ability to execute socio-economic development process in an organized manner. Social capital formation through education at community level benefited the entire community. The triangular support structure between homes, schools and the community each acted in the best possible way for *Basti Rasool Pur* and produced benefits that have genuine impacts for the community. Children have been inspired by their families, peers, teachers' relatives and the other community members. By virtue of their interactions with the various sources of knowledge at the home, community and school, children learnt more consistently to become more active member of the community (Acar, 2011; Tzanakis, 2011; Byun *et al.*, 2012).

Similar approach was presented by Epstein (2010), such that the avenues for child learning and growth involves the home, school and community. Such a triangular structure, if implemented successfully, continuously plays a productive role towards an urge to learn among the children and youth. The progressive attitude towards attaining education bridges the distance between the home and the school and between the school and the community which constructs social connection. The schools occupy a central position in this scenario. In other words, the school plays the role of a hub for everyone in the community. Therefore, education yields productive results both for individual and communal benefits (for example, more awareness, capability development of individuals, increased self-awareness and empowerment for females) and thus produces a collective social return for the enhancement of the society at large (Welter, 2011; Galindo & Sheldon, 2012).

6.4.3 Process of Social Change through Education

Education clearly provided a major source of livelihood to the local men and women in Rasool Pur. It brought alteration in the existing socio-cultural norms, structure and overall values in the village. It promoted male viz a viz female education. Visible changes are observed in gender roles and agency as compared to a large number of males and females from neighbouring communities. They largely depended on small farming for living as a result they remained uneducated and underdeveloped. Women were further marginalized and secluded whereas women of *Basti Rasool Pur* enjoyed freedom and agency. Remarkable differences were found in maintenance of individual as well as communal resources due to variation in financial resources of the locals of *Basti Rasool Pur* relative to the under privileged locals of the neighbouring communities. Similarly health levels of these people were very low whereas it was not a significant issue for the locals of Basti Rasool Pur. The major reason was massive illiteracy which minimized financial and social capabilities of those people. Moreover, such deprivation stopped them from modern techniques in farming that could possibly enhance their livelihood. On the contrary, residents of *Basti Rasool Pur* despite having almost no land for farming grew exceptionally on the basis of gender neutral educational pursuits.

6.5 Coverting Challenges into opportunities at Gross Root Level

Literature shows that education is a pre-requisite for developing collective social capital in a society (Helliwell & Putnam, 2007; Forsyth *et al.*, 2011; Tedin & Weiher, 2011; Tokas, 2016). In the case of this present community under study, the very foundations of development paved its way towards a simultaneous accumulation of social and human capital within the community. Similarly, it enhanced the capabilities of locals in multiple ways (Comim & Nussbaum, 2014; Mwangi, 2015; Midgley *et al.*, 2017). Over the course of time, the educated adult members in the community were highly ambitious and motivated to educate their fellow community members. Hence, they started providing both formal and religious education to the children particularly to the girls of the community. This holy mission for an educational uplift was carried out on a voluntary basis in a consistent manner. In 1935, just two years after settling, the community members laid the foundations for the first school in the community. This first school was up to class four “*Jamaat Chaharum*”⁴⁷. As the decades passed, a number of communal initiatives were taken to uplift the public, private and public private partnership schools. As the generations elapsed, not only the children of this village but also children from neighbouring communities have benefited from these schools. Mentioning about rendering educational services by the schools of *Rasool Pur* community, one respondent was of the view that;

“Rasool Pur mai larkay aur larkiyoun ky liay sakool bohat pehalay say mojud hain jis main door daraz ky loogoon ky bachay perhnay atay thay”. (Muhammad Sohail, IDI-10-father, BRP, 12/03/2015)

Translation:

“Rasool Pur has schools for girls and boys since long, when there were no schools in the neighbouring communities. These schools have a long history of serving the educational needs of the neighbouring communities.” (Muhammad Sohail, IDI-10-father, BRP, 12/03/2015)

⁴⁷Prior to the independence of Pakistan, primary schooling (five grades of education) was not recognized and instead “*Jamat Charum*” which had four grades of education was the first step in the education system.

It is an established fact that education plays a significant role in the development and socialization of a society (Chang & Chuang, 2011; Byun *et al.*, 2012). The education system provides a quality learning environment and physical, psychological and social support to young children (Smith *et al.*, 2012). These were observed in *Basti Rasool Pur*, where the positive features of household, community actions, higher rate of education and peaceful community living became a positive source of capital formation in the community. As mentioned earlier, connecting the home, community and school was significant to determine the educational aspirations of the students beyond their socio-economic and cultural limitations. To minimise dropout rates and to achieve positive learning outcomes, teachers voluntarily helped their students even after their school timings.

Within the community, it was commonly noted that students of high grades usually attended evening classes for 3-4 months prior to their final examination. Additional support was provided to the students by some affluent community members. Sometimes, students from neighbouring communities used to reside in *Basti Rasool Pur* as it was difficult for them to commute to their respective institutions at least twice a day and so, both food and shelter was provided to them by the *Rasool Pur* community on a volunteer basis. Prior to the establishment of a secondary school for boys in this village, a similar trend was observed for grade eight students in their final board exams. The 8th grade board exams were held in distant areas like *Jampur, Muhammad Pur and Dajal* (approximately at a distance of 10-15 km (Figure 2)).

To handle such issues, the school management committee (which consisted of a few teachers) of the school, used to hire a house and stayed with their students where they would look after them and help them to prepare for their exams. The volunteer based provision of such services continued for almost two decades. Later, it was suspended due to the commercialization of education and the unavailability of teachers for free education. Mainly it is because many teachers for Science, Maths and English were involved in paid teaching activities after school hours or they were coaching classes in their homes. Now the students pay for coaching either directly to their teacher or through academies. Availing a tuition facility has become a common practice even in the rural areas because it

is thought to be necessary to obtain higher grades and to continue availing further education. The majority of the students', particularly the male students, started to avail tuitions after the 6th grade because they had to appear in board exams in grade 8th, 9th and 10th.

6.5.1 Rasool Pur Development Society (RDS)

At the community level, the formation of social capital through education was explored by assessing the impacts of various organization(s) in the community. A number of community organizations in the past operated here on a self-help basis, however, *Rasool Pur* Development Society (RDS) is the latest and a well-organized society currently working on different community initiatives with dedication. One remarkable difference between the existing and former welfare societies of *Basti Rasool Pur* is that RDS is that the former were led by a few senior male members of the community whereas the educated young males of the community lead the latest one. In one interview, some key personnel of RDS spoke about the transformation and restructuring of the community as;

“Shuru main hamari basti ky maslon ko hamaray baray sambhalty thy, un ky pass koi khas ohday nai hotay thy, waqat guzarny ky sath un ke himat aur kawajo kam hoti gyee. Aur wo mojoda dour ky taqazoon ko ba asani pora nai ker pa rahy in halat ky paish-e-nazar sabqa tanzeemi dhanchay ko nay mai badla giya aur issay nojawanoo ki sarparasti mai dy diya giya taham iss mai buzurgoon nay hamesha apni sarperasti aur tawjo faraham ke, jis mai Basti ke taleem hamesha sar-e-fahrist rahi.” (Nawaz, IDI-29-others, BRP, 20/03/15)

Translation:

“Initially our communal matters were looked after by our elders and the youth helped them without holding any key positions themselves. Over a period of time however, it was observed that the elderly people were getting too weak to take up responsibilities, they lacked consensus over prioritizing the issues faced by the community, and in most cases all of the members were not on the same page. Their approach was not quite effective either considering the modern discourse of development. Sensing the problem, it was decided that the old welfare society needed to be transformed into a new one under the leadership of the youth so that it may partake in various developmental activities for the community including education.” (Nawaz, IDI-29-others, BRP, 20/03/15)

It shows that although the young people are admired by their seniors, the elders still want to perform the tasks in more organised ways. But at the same time, the elders were supportive to the young leadership of RDS for the developmental activities they performed for the community. They believed that the young community members have shown great potential towards the empowerment of their communities. In the words of Weakland & Hollingshead (2009), the engagement of young minds in positive and productive activities helps to prevent them from indulging in other negative activities, such as radicalism and extremism. When asked about the changes and restructuring of the former society from a former elder member of the society, he was of the view that;

“Rasool Pur society ky zair-e-saya hamary nojawaan zaida josh o jazbay ky tehat Basti ky masail ko samj saktay hain or hal ker saktay hain. In sab kamo ko kernay ky liay bohat himat, waqat aur taqat ke zaroorat hoti hay. Ab hum mai wo himat nai rahi, nojawan dor-i-hazir ke zarroriyat ko ham say behatr samjty hain iss liay yeh sab ky behtreen mufaad main hy k wo Basti ky amoor ko nojawan he dekhain. Hum unke rehnumai ky liay her waqat mojoood hain.” (Muhammad Saleem, IDI-40-male community member/former member of welfare society, BRP, 20/03/2015)

Translation:

“Our youth is more energetic towards looking after the matters of the community under the umbrella of RDS. It takes a lot of commitment, energy and time to perform such activities and perhaps we are getting too old to handle them. Secondly, our youth has a unique style of doing things. To avoid any possible differences, it is better to let the youth look after the matters of RDS. We always support them, whenever they seek guidance from us.” (Muhammad Saleem, IDI-40-male community member/former member of welfare society, BRP, 20/03/2015)

Similar responses were collected from both the youngsters and the elders at *Basti Rasool Pur* which depicts their collective community work, especially their work for the development and betterment of education. They truly think education is the main factor which can help them to show greater improvement. They were of the view that only by working together can they enrich educational facilities in *Basti Rasool Pur*. As a result, while talking about education, majority of

respondents found that the interaction of the locals was channelized by formation strong workable interconnection of social capital. The following few sections present an overview of the society's contribution towards the accumulation of social capital.

6.5.2 Formation of Social Capital and Participation at Community Level

Under the new structure, the core team of *Basti Rasool Pur* RDS was found to be constructed on a volunteer basis, and comprised of 16 male members, from the four segments of *Basti Rasool Pur* namely, *Jara waira*, *Meiji waira*, *Lama waira*, *Ubha waira*. An equal number of male representatives from each segment made up the core committee. The RDS core committee consisted of two PhDs. The lowest qualification among its members was F.Sc.

In this way, the dynamic and educated youth were looking after the developmental aspects of their community with a proactive and responsible approach. Every household of the community was a member of RDS. All of the educated and earning individuals (both males and females) of the community were donating on a monthly basis to RDS for community work. It was found that, in the case of more than one earning member within a household, both were independent contributors. The amount of donations varied according to the socio-economic status of the donors. All records of donations were recorded. The record book was placed at a local shop so that everyone may see the details of the donations and expenditures and provide constructive feedback.

6.5.3 Domains of Developmental Works

The domain of development for the *Rasool Pur* RDS was diverse in nature and related to the various needs and developmental aspects of the community. These included education, welfare of the needy people, sanitation, communal gatherings, arranging literary events for the community, recreational trips for the community, electrical issues, educational issues, marriage, financial help for the births and deaths of the poor and financially weak people, facilitation in transportation to schools, hiring a security guard for the entire community, maintaining the community library, renovation of the library etc. The role of RDS towards the uplifting of education is explained in detail as under:

There were some highly anticipated annual events for the locals of *Basti Rasool Pur* for example:

- 1). *Salaana chaah mushaira* (annual public recitation of poetry over a cup of tea).
- 2). *Salana mehfil-e-ziker-i-rasool* (Birthday celebrations of the Holy Prophet (PBUH))
- 3). *Sanvari* (summer recreational trip) for the male members of the community.

The first two functions are organised in the local library which is situated in the community (Section 6.5.4 for details). The third event is an outdoor recreational trip in which the male members including male children collectively go to some picnic spot near *Jampur* canal. The arrangements for the event are managed by RDS through the contribution. Some of the recreational activities include swimming, playing cricket/football, mango treats and lunch. Important discussions amongst individuals and groups are held to address the various issues faced at the individual and community level.

The collective trip becomes a source of unity, leisure, learning, entertainment and social mobility for the locals. During this one day trip the local males share their mutual and individual problems to seek guidance and find solutions from each other. For instance, problems like a child's progress at school with his teacher, the future prospects of his/her studies, the teacher's behaviour, the student's response, difficulties faced in learning by the student and the behaviour of the child are all discussed in an informal and open way. Such constructive talks bridge the gap between the family, school and community and hence produce better educational outcomes. As we already know, plenty of literature stresses heavily on the three corner stones of education (family, community and school) to provide healthier education to students (Booth & Dunn, 2013; Haines *et al.*, 2015; Dockett *et al.*, 2017). Mentioning about the usefulness of communal trips views from a male participant are summarized as;

“Logon ky pass apnay masahil ky baray mai baat kernay ky liay pora din hota hy. Taleem in ke guftago ka markaz hoti hy. Iss mulaqat mai wo ghair rasmi indaaz mai apny bachoon ke taleem ky mutaliq mutaliqa logoon say baat cheet kerty

hain. Zaida ter log chotay choty garhoon mai aik dosry sy baat cheet kertay nazar aty hain in ke guftago mai taleem, mawaishion, sehat, rishtoon, nokri aur dosray taraqeyati amoor ky mutaliq baat hoti hy.” (Arshad, IDI-28-community member RDS, BRP, 26/03/2015)

Translation:

“People have a whole day to discuss things related to their lives. Education holds a central position in common talks in both direct and indirect ways depending on the interests of the people. They approach concerned people to discuss issues related to the education of either their children, or their own in a small “in group session”. During the course of the day various corner meetings take place concerning issues related to education, health, livestock, marriages, jobs and other developmental issues of the community in a focused way.” (Arshad, IDI-28-community member RDS, BRP, 26/03/2015)

RDS provides a platform for the locals to participate in these annual community events. The community generates a dynamic level of youth participation towards the social growth of their community. Moreover, it was found that due to cultural and family restrictions females were not allowed to participate in mixed public gatherings.

6.5.4 Library Hall *Rasool Pur*

To facilitate the progress of education and learning, the male community members felt the need to have a library in *Rasool Pur*⁴⁸. The library was built on a self-help basis, as land and resources for this exceptional place came from donations. The library was named after Imtiaz Ahmad Fareedi, who was a renowned local of *Rasool Pur*. In December of 1992, the library was formally inaugurated by a local politician (Plate 10). Since then the *Rasool Pur* RDS is managing all of its affairs like buying new books and journals and their proper preservation. Recently in 2014, it was renovated by the community members through RDS. It now has a large collection of books and IT services. Besides

⁴⁸The availability of a library in a remote village is a rare phenomenon in Pakistan. The educational aspiration and visionary approach of the inhabitants of *Basti Rasool Pur* serves as a unique feature to facilitate education and learning.

providing assistance in educational activities, the library hosts multiple extra-curricular and recreational events for the community.

The Library hall is used for various communal learning activities. Such as, conducting poetic festivals and religious and political sessions. Distinguished guest speakers are invited in these sessions. These events are well organised and announced well in advance (Plate 11). Annual poetry functions and competitions are some of the most awaited events in the community. Males and students from various age groups are encouraged to participate in this event. Participants present their own poetry as well as other famous poetry in the event. This event is useful in a number of ways. First, it provides a platform for learning and serves as a recreation opportunity for the locals particularly for the students. In this way their communication skills, confidence and exposure get refined. Second, the guest speakers get a chance to interact with the educated audience to present their work and to get spontaneous feedback. Thirdly, in the concluding session, the educated adults of the locale share their success stories related to education and highlight the importance of education in their life (Plate 12 and Plate 13). In this way youth and children get motivated as they are surrounded by constructive role models from their own community. Education contributes towards the community's social and human capital formation not only in the present but for the future as well (Israel *et al.*, 2001; Berns, 2012; Aldrich & Meyer, 2015).

Such communal initiatives not only become a source of encouragement towards the desirability of education but also brings some positive reinforcement in the lives of young ones. Pritchett (2004) is of the view that the objective of education is to train people with the range of skills required to live a productive and fulfilling life all the while being fully integrated into their communities and respective societies".

Finally, the grooming and personality development of children is a task that cannot be accomplished by the school alone. The response from the community (as in the case of *Basti Rasool Pur*) is a positive input by the society itself to empower school children in matters of personality development and socialization. The communities are composed of different families and each community has a specific educational goal. Schools play an important role to achieve these goals

but to ensure the best quality of education and the effective socialization of the people to achieve the maximum individual and collective results, collaboration between the family, community and school is essential. This collaboration between these three agents of socialization helps to reduce common problems such as poverty, discrimination, violence and crime. It has been suggested that, both the school and communities demand a share of all stakeholders for the empowerment, protection and promotion of families (Adelman & Taylor, 2007). It was positively supported in case of *Basti Rasool Pur*.

6.5.5 Gender Participation in Library

It is important to mention here that collective learning events are organized only for the male members of the community. Females do not get a chance to participate in a mixed gathering due to the prevalence of gender segregation and purdah restrictions in the community. Females only hear the sermons via loud speakers. Although females do not benefit in person from these collective activities, nonetheless, due to capacity building and the grooming of males, these females get the support of males at the household and community level. At home, males discuss the constructive aspects of the events and the success stories of various guest speakers that helped bring a positive influence on the whole family.

6.6 Role of Women in Social Capital Formation

The educated females of the past have played a vital role in flourishing education in general and female education in particular. It was generally observed that the women of this community were totally in contrast to the women of their surrounding communities (Chapter 4 and 5 for details). The analysis of data, presented the fact that the women of *Basti Rasool Pur* were playing an active role for developments in their respective society. The majority of the women in this community were better educated and professionally qualified. Being educated mothers, they were able to socialize their children in a morally constructive manner and this helped the children outshine in their performance at schools. One educated mother from the community added as;

“Main apnay bachoon ko ghar main khud perhati hoon aur mujhay fakhar hay ky mery bachay class main hamesha awal aaty hain.” (Fatima, IDI-12-mother, BRP, 29/03/2015)

Translation:

“In the evening I help my children in their homework tasks. I am proud that my children always stand first in their classes.”
(Fatima, IDI-12-mother, BRP, 29/03/2015)

A significant number of females were serving as teachers in the community and other surrounding areas. It has raised their social status and autonomy at the household and the community level. Cultural restrictions for girls and women (for not working outside home and community) were not noticeable in *Basti Rasool Pur* because the teachers have bridged the school and community the female teachers were able to improve both the quality of education and also reduce the number of dropouts. It was reported in the underdeveloped communities that the female teachers act as facilitators and advocates for female education. Issues related to girls' education were frequently discussed with the mothers of the students in an effort to improve girls' performance at schools. Both the quality and the retention of females in education are major issues in the region. On the contrary, in the case of the developed community, it did not emerge as a problem.

6.6.1 Female's Role in Education and Communal Uplift: A Case Study of Shamsa Nisa

Ms. Shamsa Nisa was the first female teacher of *Basti Rasool Pur*. She was born in 1926. Her parents were educated, and they decided to educate their daughter as well. Ms. Shamsa got married during her studies. However, she continued her educational pursuits even after her marriage. After some time, she started teaching in a public school. Her husband was also a school teacher. The couple not only provided educational services to the children of their own community but also to many other students from the neighbouring communities. During her job, she was transferred to various public schools (as is the case with government jobs). Besides teaching at school, she voluntarily provided religious education to more than 300 children from her community and many others from neighbouring communities. However, towards the end of her career she preferred to serve her own community only and eventually retired in 1982. She was a dynamic lady and still is a role model for many females in her community and elsewhere (Plate 14 and Plate 15). Her children and grandchildren are all well-educated from

respectable institutions. She played a major role in helping the girls of her community to complete their education and make an honourable place for themselves in the community.

6.7 Changing Gender Roles and Social Mobility

Pakistan is a male dominated country where the majority of decisions are taken by the male members of the society that comprise of fathers, husbands and brothers. The household head has the authority to decide the fate of any child's education and other aspects of a female child's life for example marriage, education, mobility and other important aspects that may serve as a barrier to female agency (Kabeer, 2016; Watson *et al.*, 2018). However, it emerged from data collected from *Basti Rasool Pur* that family members, particularly males, did not act like barriers but instead, they provided the much needed help in improving role of females in the community. Males are providing support against the existing socio-cultural hierarchies which are still rampant in most of the rural areas in Pakistan and pose a serious hindrance against progressive intentions. As a result, an educational uplift in general and female empowerment in particular was clearly visible in the community. The interview data showed the strong impact of males' education in changing the stereotypical roles of the society towards female education.

Moreover, females play an important role in maintaining and improving the household income by virtue of their jobs. In this way the females help their husbands and family members in various socio-economical domains which is central to development of a family. In a study performed by Meier zu Selhausen, it was highlighted that the greater female agency through collective actions in gender relations builds a positive image for the active participation of females in the workforce (Meier, 2016).

With this change in roles at the household level, the financial and overall situations of many families have improved a lot. Some literature suggests that generally, families and communities are ill equipped to provide the necessary support to schools that can help them to adequately prepare the future generations (Coleman, 1987; Clark, 2014). But this idea was not true in the case of *Basti Rasool Pur*. A detailed examination of the positive reinforcements of

social capital in *Basti Rasool Pur* has been presented in a chronological order. In fact, a few decades ago the community started to provide education on a self-help basis, and since then the availability of educational resources within the community have provided great opportunities both for male and females.

6.7.1 Divergent Communal Insights Regarding Education

An insight into the community (perceptions related to equitable educational opportunities) enhances our understanding of the relationship between the various individuals of the society, and helps us visualise how communal actions lead to overcome the variations in educational outcomes. The international definition of literacy proclaims that any person who can read and write is called literate but this definition does not hold true in case of the perceptions of the locals in *Basti Rasool Pur*. For them, a person who has any formal education up to the 8th or 10th grade will still be considered an illiterate. The *Rasool Pur* community has set even higher standards for someone to be called literate.

The common perception is that a person should have a college level and preferably a university level of education to be called “educated” otherwise he will be considered to be ‘*Jahil*’ (illiterate). In the traditional discourse, *jahil* is a person who has little or no education, and is incompatible with the modern world and the job market. At present, *Basti Rasool Pur* has a 98% literacy rate (as per the socio-economic survey conducted for the study). The literacy rate is not only a key indicator of the current status of education but it also holds information about the sustainability and desirability of education amongst the locals (Plate 16 and Plate 17).

The locals of *Basti Rasool Pur* believe that they have developed and excelled through education itself. This has enabled them to create and develop their own standard for education. As mentioned earlier, this standard is of course independent of the international and national standards of literacy and education. There may be a few reasons for this behaviour. For instance, they want to uplift and maintain a high standard of education particularly within their own community. And being an educated community, they are well aware of the merits of high education and its linkages with an improved quality of life. A father expressed his views regarding prioritizing girls’ education as below;

“Hamara yhan education py focus kiya jata hay. Chahay wo larkey ke taleem ho ya larki ki. Ager koi na perhay to ussay criticise kiyajata hay.” (Toufeeq, FGD-5-community members, BRP, 30/03/2015)

Translation:

“In our community the education of girls and boys is equally stressed upon. If someone fails to achieve a better education then he/she is highly criticized.” (Toufeeq, FGD-5-community members, BRP, 30/03/2015)

This has enabled them to earn the status of a highly educated community within the region and even within the whole of Pakistan. Conversely, district Rajanpur has a poor quality of education because of the less community efforts towards educational development in its villages (Khan. *et al.*, 2015). So, at the grass roots, their socio-cultural environment still holds on to its traditional values. The majority of the locals generally think that education for girls is not important and this can possibly explain the poor state of female education in the district (Khan & Mahmood, 2009; Javaid, 2013; Taylor & Taylor, 2016).

Furthermore, since its settlement in 1933 *Basti Rasool Pur* has been known for its achievements in education and males and females working in high level jobs within their district, other parts of the country and even abroad. Because the people are more educated and living quality life one can easily find a more peaceful and enabling environment in the village. Local narratives revealed that the crime rate in the community is almost negligible just like the divorce rate, due to the positive attitudes of the locals and the sensitization on rights and relationships. All these indicators significantly attribute to a higher quality of life in the village.

The education of children depends upon finding solutions both at the household and the communal level. The positive perceptions and decisions are important so that schools can act upon the notion of education for everyone and teachers can truly internalize and act upon the concepts that all children have the right to learn.

6.8 Changing Parental Perception Regarding Education

Parental perceptions play a significant role in the child’s educational achievements (Eccles, 2011; Gunderson *et al.*, 2012; Lam *et al.*, 2012). Both the

parents and children play an important role in the attainment of education. As a matter of fact, positive parental attitudes bring about positive educational outcomes (Eccles, 2011). The children of *Basti Rasool Pur* were receiving their education irrespective of their gender because the parents always had concerns about the education of their children. The majority of parents were educated and therefore they had a positive influence on their children. One major reason for the change in parents' perception and behaviour was their own educational background and the amount of social and human capital they had received from their parents and community.

There were hardly any parents who had negative perceptions about the educational progress of their children. However, there were a few parents within the same community whose religious sect was different, and they were relatively poor and less educated. However, the locals of Rasool Pur community still helped them for the education of their children. One mother in an interview added;

“Jab ham iss Basti main ay to hamaray bachy nai pertay thy magr Rasool Pur ky bachoon ko dekh ker ham nay bhi apnay bachy aur bachiyoun ko perhana shuru ker diya hay.” (Gulzar Bibi, IDI-06-mother, BRP, 01/03/2015)

Translation:

“In the past we hardly used to care about education, but ever since we have moved here, we also send our children (both boys and girls) to schools just like the other children of Rasool Pur community.” (Gulzar Bibi, IDI-06-mother, BRP, 01/03/2015)

One of the main reasons for the increased importance given to education was associated with the common perception of a 'better life'. The aspirations and wishes of parents' for their children to live a better life through education is the first step towards a quality life. The quality life offers a far easier way to live as compared to the existing farming and labour trends prevailing in the neighbouring communities (Chapter 4 and 5 for details). Therefore, the parents' perceptions on the education of their children and the support their children needed in terms of educational experiences positively correlated with their own concept of success.

6.9 Gendered Context of Parental Perceptions regarding Education

In particular, the parents' educational expectations from their daughters were positively related to their educational aspirations. Therefore, female education has remained as one of the top priorities of parents in *Basti Rasool Pur*. As an educated community, the majority of them realize the value of a female education. The majority of females here have received plenty of support at the family and community level. Highlighting the importance of female education, one mother expressed that;

“Larkiyaan bhi aaj kal larkon ke terha taleem hasil kerti hain mager un larkiyoun ko zaida behtar samjha jata hay jo barsar-e-rozgar hain.” (Amna, IDI-15-mother, BRP, 04/03/2015)

Translation:

“Nowadays girls are getting education just like boys, because educated girls, particularly those who have jobs, are considered to better than others.” (Amna, IDI-15-mother, BRP, 04/03/2015)

After an in-depth interview, it was obvious that parents were well aware of the drawbacks of not educating their girls. It can lead to different problems one of them relating to getting a suitable marriage proposal. Highlighting this problem, one father mentioned that;

“Larkiyoun ke achay rishtoon ka miyaar un ke achi taleem hay.” (Ahmad, IDI-05-father, BRP, 10/03/2015)

Translation:

“Education has now become a merit for seeking better marriage proposals for girls.” “Larkiyoun ke achay rishtoon ka miyaar un ke achi taleem hay.” (Ahmad, IDI-05-father, BRP, 10/03/2015)

It was observed in case of developed community that there was a competition both amongst the parents and their girls that motivates both of them to strive towards higher education. At the community level, it is mandatory for every household to send their girls to schools, colleges and universities just because everyone else in the community is doing the same.

The majority of parents, particularly mothers, were really supportive towards female education. One poor mother from the community mentioned that;

“Mai chahti hoon ky meri beiti university main perhay, iss liay mai nay apny gaon mai dukan khol rahi ha takay main uss ke perhai main mali taowoon ker sakoon.” (Kalsoom, FGD-07-mothers, BRP, 08/03/2015)

Translation:

“I want my daughter to obtain her education from a university and to support her financially, I have opened a shop in my home.” (Kalsoom, FGD-07-mothers, BRP, 08/03/2015)

Illiteracy among females is out of question in *Basti Rasool Pur* as it is thought to be unacceptable behaviour on part of any responsible parents. The majority of all educated parents have a strong commitment towards the education of their daughters, because they are aware that quality education will benefit them in the long run. While highlighting the significance of girls' education, one girl in an interview mentioned as following;

“Aajkal un larkiyoun ko foqeeyat de jati hay jo taleem yaftha hoon aur nokri bhi un keho, iss liay shuru say khawateen ke taleem per tawajo de jati hay.” (Poonam, IDI-04-adolescent girl, BRP, 15/04/2015)

Translation:

“For marriage proposals, educated and career oriented girls are preferred. This is one of the reasons that parents give more attention to the education of their daughters.” (Poonam, IDI-04-adolescent girl, BRP, 15/04/2015)

The field data suggested that females were equally competing with their male counterparts in terms of education due to positive parental-communal attitudes and reinforcement.

6.9.1 Problems Faced by Girls

Despite having positive familial and communal social capital in favour of girls education the qualitative data collected has also revealed gender based inequalities that exist amongst the parents of children that relate to child schooling, educational priorities and the choice of institutions. In some cases boys were seen to have an advantage over girls. Parents usually spend more on

their male child's education as compared to girls. The boys were able to study in prestigious private schools and tuition academies while the girls studied at public schools and were not able to avail tuition academies in the evening. The transitory stage from school to college brought about many challenges for girls and their parents regarding mobility and transportation issues. Generally, colleges do not provide transportation to students in the communities. One adolescent girl mentioned regarding the problems as;

“Hamain sab say bara masla taleem ky hasool ky liay Basti say sher tak jana. Hamary gaun mai koi bus nai atti.” (Rushna, IDI-05-adolescent girl, BRP, 14/04/2015)

Translation:

“Our biggest hurdle in getting education is travelling to the city from our community as our community/village has no bus transport. Girls face a lot of difficulties in commuting to colleges and universities and therefore, some of our class fellows could not continue their studies after matriculation or intermediate level of education.” (Rushna, IDI-05-adolescent girl, BRP, 14/04/2015)

Even if a transport system does exist, the routes are far from the locality's main bus stop. The cultural phenomenon of prioritising male education was observed in some cases, however, the encouraging thing is that the parents would not stop their female children from getting education. Generally, the parental attitude towards the education of girls remains supportive but in some cases, the parents asked their girls to achieve their education either through self-study or through distance education. There are less chances that girls will drop out from school or college education. The discrimination in terms of financial support for girls and boys education was found only in families who were financially constrained. Even in a poor household of *Basti Rasool Pur*, it was compulsory for a girl to have access to education, at least up to the secondary level. Post-secondary level education then became a challenge for girls in terms of the lack of transport facilities and financial constraints. In such scenarios the parents compromise on their daughters' education in favour of their sons.

Questions were asked regarding the extent of parental support in case a child wanted to obtain education from another city. Some of the parents did not encourage their girls to stay away from them. Parents take it as a sensitive matter

if they have to send their daughters outside the *Basti*. Boys on the other hand have lots of opportunities in terms of travel and stay. Availing a private hostel facility for a girl is generally discouraged citing cultural factors as a reason. But if hostel facilities were provided by the university, the parents would be satisfied and would be less likely to stop their girl's education. And in this way, the girl's journey of achieving a higher education becomes more challenging as compared to boys.

It was observed that although majority of the parents had no issues in sending their daughters to schools and likewise for further education but they think carefully before sending their daughters to schools outside the community and for private coaching classes. As a result, girls of the community face lots of difficulties in accessing schools and academies outside their community mainly due to three reasons.

- 1). There is shortage of reputable academies within the community.
- 2). The majority of teachers in the academies are males, and parents do not prefer to send their daughters to study from a male teacher in a premises that is owned by the teacher or at any other private community place.
- 3). Most reputable schools and tuition academies are located in the city, far from their homes and therefore, both transportation and the issue of an accompanying male family member becomes a hurdle. For their own security and other cultural values, a girl's independent mobility is not socially approved and therefore, for the sake of girls' education few families migrated to Jampur city while the others managed transportation.

In the case of Amna and Salma, students of the 9th and 10th class from *Basti Rasool Pur*, who were studying in a public school in Jampur city, it was noted that they used to stay at their schools late after school timings to attend an academy for tuition. They used to return home quite late in the evening. Mentioning about prioritizing education of his girls, one father mentioned;

“Hamaray yahan bachiyon ke taleem py hamesha tawajo de gye hay taham hamara masla yeh hay ky achacy school aur acedemiyan Jampur main hain. Jampur yahan say kafi door hay, hamri bachiyon Jampur school main perti hain aur wahan per he tuition perhny ky liay unhain chutti ky baad sakool main rukna perta hay, iss terha un ka bohat time zaiya ho jata hay

lehaza ham nay socha hay ky ham apni bachiyoun ke taleem kay liay karahy per Jampur mai shift ho jain.” (Muhammad Aqeel, IDI-14-father, BRP, 12/03/2015)

Translation:

“Girls education has always been a priority in our community. Being a parent, our concern is that all quality educational institutions and tuition academies are located in Jampur city. Jampur is quite far off from our village. Two of my daughters are already studying in Jampur. To avail the tuition facility, they have to stay late in the school. They return home late in the evening. In this way they get exhausted and their time gets wasted and therefore, we have decided to live in a rental home in Jampur for the sake of our daughter’s education.” (Muhammad Aqeel, IDI-14-father, BRP, 12/03/2015)

In this case, the parents were concerned about their daughters and their education and thus, they decided to migrate to the city. They were of the view that it was extremely hectic and time consuming for their daughters and it was problematic for them too, therefore, they moved. One of the parent’s was serving in a local school at *Basti Rasool Pur* and he preferred his daughter’s education over his own comfort.

6.10 Gender and Education

Education is not only prioritized but also deemed as a symbol status and prestige amongst the members of the community. Parents whose children perform well in education and get better jobs are more appreciated by the community. They become a role model for the rest of the community. In case of *Basti Rasool Pur* the community plays a supportive and positive role whereas in the case of *Basti(s)*’ like *Godden Wala* and *Chah Kumhar Wala*, their respective communities mostly act like a barrier to female education considering female education a threat to their identity, honour and tribal value system. In *Basti Rasool Pur*, the positive motivation at the community level acts as a catalyst for parents to make valuable and favourable decisions regarding the educational attainments of their female children. While talking to participants, the majority of parents mentioned that education is really crucial for their children to progress.

One mother mentioned that;

“Hamaray waqtoon main sahooolatain bohat kam theen aur bachiyoun ko perhai main bohat duswari hoti thee. Ab hamari Basti kafi taraqi ter chuki hay aur bachiyoun ke taleem per khasoosi tawjo deti hay, ager taleem ky liay Basti say bahir bhi chali jain to issay bilkul bura nai samja jata.” (Anila, IDI-40-mother, BRP, 29/03/2015)

Translation:

“In our times seeking education was difficult particularly for girls due to shortage of facilities and due to societal barriers. Now our village has advanced and is particularly focused on girls’ education. Now it is considered normal if the girls move out of the village for the sake of education.” (Anila, IDI-40-mother, BRP, 29/03/2015)

The social capital in *Basti Rasool Pur* favoured ways towards improving female education and community empowerment. It was noted that families can stimulate their children’s education in many different ways that can play an effective role in improving public policy:

- 1). Through their involvement and their financial investment in education for their children particularly for girls.
- 2). Thorough monitoring of the quality of care that parents provide to their children for their overall wellbeing all the while prioritizing education.
- 3). Communities themselves play an important role to judge the performance of the school and teachers. The active role of the parent’s in the education of their children is equally important. The community should work with the parents to ensure that that the school management addresses the immediate feedback and concerns of the parents to ensure a better quality of education.
- 4). By the quality of care that is provided to children in general and girls in particular.
- 5). By ensuring that financial capital for the sake of education is available to children without any discrimination. Children who had access to more resources and better parenting were able to obtain better education, better jobs and a higher social status than those who did not.

6.11 Quality of Education in *Basti Rasool Pur*

The residents of *Basti Rasool Pur* were greatly concerned about the quality of education provided to their children at schools (*achi taleem*⁴⁹). They were highly dissatisfied with the quality of education that had been provided to them from the public schools (particularly towards higher grades) and therefore, they preferred private schooling over public schooling. The lack of trust in public schools is mainly related to the deteriorating standards of education provided at public schools, the inadequacies of the teacher's behaviour, poor communication skills and lack of updated knowledge. Another reason for availing private schooling was to ensure that children would achieve good grades which would later ensure a smooth entry in to the higher education system. It was found that the majority of parents in *Basti Rasool Pur* tended to send their children to private schools located in *Jampur* city so they could receive a better quality of education. This was because private schools try to provide attention to every individual student, give them access to technology and improve their language skills. Views of a mother are presented as;

“Hamaray Sarkari school mai jaded sahooliyat ka fukdan hay, khasoosan bari classes main. Ham yeh samjtay hain ky private schools mai behtar taleem o tarbiyat de jati hy iss liyay hamari kosish yeh hoti hay ky ham achay private schools say apnay bachoon ko taleem dilahain taky wo kisi qabil ban sakain.” (Fatima, IDI-12-mother, BRP, 29/03/2015)

Translation:

“Our school has all modern facilities and quite large classrooms. We believe that private schools have a better standard of education and that is why we strive to send our children to the best private schools so that our children may become successful one day.” (Fatima, IDI-12-mother, BRP, 29/03/2015)

In such cases, parents are ready to pay for costs like the relatively higher fee, books, stationery and the transportation/hostel charges. The majority of the parents' are financially able to bear the costs of private schooling for their children. However, if financial constraints arise then boys have more chances of

⁴⁹ '*Achi taleem*' was linked with the modern style of teaching, assessments, English language, computing, technological aid and confidence building of the students.

receiving support as compared to girls who would have no other option but to attend public schools. Table 6.2 presents the gender wise comparison of a number of students enrolled at two different public secondary schools located in the developed community of *Rasool Pur*. These schools were well reputed and well known in neighbouring communities for producing excellent results (Plate 18 Plate 18: Outstanding educational performance of girls (students) in secondary exams at district level.).

Table 6.2: Percentage Distribution of Gender Wise Comparison of Students of *Basti Rasool Pur*

Grade	No. of Girls	Percentage	No. of Boys	Percentage
<i>Awal Adna/Katchi</i> (Nursery)	50	16.7	46	11.2
<i>Awal Alla/Pakki</i> (Grade 1)	27	9	40	9.6
<i>Doum</i> (Grade 2)	34	11.4	35	8.6
<i>Soum</i> (Grade 3)	26	8.6	34	8.3
<i>Chaharum</i> (Grade 4)	34	11.4	33	7.9
<i>Panjum</i> (Grade 5)	22	7.4	40	9.6
<i>Shesham</i> (Grade 6)	30	10	46	11.2
<i>Haftam</i> (Grade 7)	32	10.6	36	8.7
<i>Hastam</i> (Grade 8)	21	7	49	11.8
<i>Naham</i> (Grade 9)	8	2.6	31	7.5
<i>Daham</i> (Grade 10)	16	5.3	23	5.6
Total	300	100	413	100

Both girls and boys from various other communities sought to obtain education from these two public schools. A number of students across both genders presented a healthy comparison as compared to the other two communities under study. But even here, an overall decreasing trend amongst girls was evident in this data. If 50 female students entered in *Katchi*, by the time they reached the next grade, their number dropped by around 46%. Number of inconsistencies were observed in schooling trends.

As discussed earlier, these results endorsed lack of trust on public schools by the community which results in the switching of the school. The majority of students were from the neighbouring communities. In the past the fact remained that having a secondary school in the locale (for both genders) ensured overall improved results for both genders. Female access to education beyond the primary level was far better in this community when it was compared to the rest of the communities. This was explained by the social and human capital available to the children of the school. With the advances made in the socio-economic status, the educational uplift of the community and the changes in the educational preferences of the locals of *Rasool Pur*, the community prefers private schools over public schools (Plate 19).

6.12 Coordination between School and Parents

A growing amount of literature has demonstrated the benefits of parental involvement to improve social functioning (El-Nokali *et al.*, 2010; Baquedano-Lopez *et al.*, 2013; Ma *et al.*, 2014) Similarly, a recent study of students from Head Start school has revealed that parental involvement was directly associated with less instances of problems arising with students (Fantuzzo *et al.*, 2004). Such findings are evident in adolescence (Hill *et al.*, 2004). However, such studies addressing parental involvement have typically focused on the early childhood years and utilized cross-sectional designs. Englund *et al.* (2004) and El-Nokali *et al.* (2010) highlighted the significance of parental involvement in a meta-analysis of 50 studies and reached to the conclusion that parental involvement was positively associated with good achievements of children in schools and is crucial during the adolescent age as this stage is marked by physical and social changes in the child.

In the context of new stages of development, academic performance often declines and at the same time, the long-term implications of academic performance get intensified as the child advances from the primary level to the secondary level (Alkire, 2005). Talking about the parent-school relationship, one parent from the community mentioned:

“Yahan ky waledain hamesha sakool sy rabtay mai rehtay hain aur Basti ky jo teachers school mai perhatay hain un ky gher ja kerb hi apnay bachoon ke taleem ke baaz pushat

kertay hain.” (Toufeeq, FGD-5-community members, BRP, 30/03/2015)

Translation:

“The parents of the community always maintain a healthy relationship with the schools. They visit the teachers homes (teachers who live in the community) to inquire about the educational progress of their child.” (Toufeeq, FGD-5-community members, BRP, 30/03/2015)

When correlating our findings from literature it was found that in the case of *Basti Rasool Pur*, parents were quite concerned about the studies of their children. The parents' try to provide the maximum help possible to keep in track of the progress of their children. Apart from ensuring that the children get good schooling and tuitions, they encourage them on their own. The mother plays a key role in monitoring the routine progress of the school going children. Along with this, parents interact with the school committees and the teachers of their children to monitor their educational journey. A public school teacher said in an interview;

“Rasool Pur ky bachoon ke maahain apny bachoon ke karkerdagi ke bary mai bohat fiqar mand rehti hain. Aksar wo bachiyoon ky taleemi masail kay baray mai mashwara kernay ker liay school mai atti hai, jab ky dosri maain kabi bhi nai atti chahay unhain kitni baar b kiyoun na bulaya jay.” (Ansar, IDI-29-school teacher, BRP, 19/03/2015)

Translation:

“The mothers of female students from Rasool Pur community are always concerned about their daughters' education. Mothers attend parent teacher meetings and regularly visit our school to discuss the educational progress of their daughters while the mothers of girls' outside Rasool Pur never visit our school for parent teacher meetings even after repeated calls.” (Ansar, IDI-29-school teacher, BRP, 19/03/2015)

The quality of education was relatively better in *Rasool Pur* due to positive personal attitudes and the support of the community. Therefore, to know about the views of the locals, further questions were asked from parents, teachers and community members about their involvement in school related activities. They were asked for any possible suggestions so that they may try to improve the

quality of education. The majority of them were of the view that a successful school counts on both the role of parents and the community.

6.13 Spheres of Networking at Communal Level

Formal and informal social networks can bring about a positive change in a community. The value of flow of benefits at the community level relies on the activation of social capital groups and active participation from community members (Putnam, 2001). In this way, social capital initially vested by the society for the progress of education at *Basti Rasool Pur*, leads the way to introduce various other forms of social capital formation such as financial capital, human capital and the development of the capabilities of its inhabitants irrespective of their gender. In short a variety of benefits or resources at *Basti Rasool Pur* were found to be flowing across groups through network of social ties at community level. How exactly social capital served the community is discussed in the next section.

6.13.1 Bridging Proximity

The majority of respondents repeatedly explained their views about the abundance of social capital in the community. It was found that social capital in *Basti Rasool Pur* has bridged the inter-generational gaps. The threading of the community through informal networks has narrowed the gap between the rich and poor and the adults and juniors. The locals were of the view that their synergy in various formal sessions and mutual discussions sparked some confidence and groomed the personalities of minors, adolescent and youth. The synergy of the educated youth and elders complemented each other and helped shape the youngsters' experience, wisdom, vision and strength. The following reply from a young respondent represents the role of adults in the following manner;

“Hamary baray hamary liay mashal-i-rah hain, wo her mauamlay mai hamari rehnumai kertay hain.” (Maryam, IDI-29-adolescent, BRP, 20/03/2015)

Translation:

“Our adults are our role models, they guide us in every matter.” (Maryam, IDI-29-adolescent, BRP, 20/03/2015)

It was observed that the older adults in the community render a substantial amount of support (moral and physical) and act as a source of continuity and companionship to the young people towards community development. The adults are surrounded by a network of people who are important to them such as family and friends.

6.13.2 Strong Group Ties for Community Uplift

The presence of informal social networks in *Basti Rasool Pur* provided an opportunity for people to mutually visualise communal problems and to help find a solution to these that would be agreed upon by all members of the community. These include development issues, educational help, financial help for the needy, and the organization of literary events for the overall betterment of the community. Likewise it was observed that the community was able to regulate and practice the feeling of being part of something bigger than oneself in a systematic way for the uplift of the community. The following response from a community member reveals how the community issues are taken up by the community:

“Basti ky saray maslay ham mil jul ker hal kertay hain aur iss main hmmain apnay buzurgoon kay maswaray aur madad hasil rahti hay. Ham sab log mil ker Basti ke behtri ky liay kosish kertay hain chahy muhaly ke naliaan saaf kerny say ly ker baray masil masala ky toor per government collge ke manzoori tak ky haal tak.” (Arshad, IDI-28-community member RDS, BRP, 26/03/2015)

Translation:

“We collectively solve all our problems and we have continuous support from our adults. We are work together for the betterment of the community ranging from cleaning to having a college.” (Arshad, IDI-28-community member RDS, BRP, 26/03/2015)

6.13.3 Reinforcement of Positive Behaviours

The different experiences and narratives from the field data showed that the family and community keep an unnoticed check and balance on the youth of the community. The community tries to prevent individuals doing something that may bring a bad name for his/her family and community. That helps with the personality development and grooming of young recruits in *Basti Rasool Pur*. In

addition to this, the educated people of the community help and motivate others towards success and achievement. Mentioning the positive reinforcement by the educated people, one of the respondents was of the view that;

“Basti ky logoon ky liay Basti ky andar he bohat bary baray role models majood hain jo dosroon ky liay bhi mashal e rah hain, hamari Basti mai taqreeban her field mai ala khidmaat ada kernay walay loog mojud hain jis main teachers, doctors, engineers, PhDs, shair aur aadeeb shamil hain. Yeh log her lehaz say dosroon ke rehnumai aur madad kertay hain.” (Toufeeq, FGD-5-community members, BRP, 30/03/2015)

Translation:

“The people of this Basti all act as sources of guidance for everyone in the community and we have people from all walks of life. We have teachers, doctors, engineers, PhDs, writers and poets in the community who can help others to solve their issues.” (Toufeeq, FGD-5-community members, BRP, 30/03/2015)

In the light of the literature covered in chapter two and the data collected from the field, it can be safely stated that in childhood bonding, social capital related education is crucial for the overall state of education of the community. In this way, positive cooperation and behaviour act as the glue that holds the community together. This is mainly characterised by the norms and the feelings of trust and reciprocity between different individuals and groups. As a result, it motivates them towards a common purpose that will help them benefit mutually.

6.13.4 Social Networks as a Source of Information

When questioned about the available support structures to the community, the majority of the respondents were of the view that social networking is a good source of information in *Basti Rasool Pur*. For instance, a young student can easily get some guidance and help from others. In a similar fashion, people looking for jobs can seek out potential candidates from contacts within their own circles. There is an abundance of guidelines and help available for the sake of education regulated through the forum of *Rasool Pur* Development Society.

The *Rasool Pur* community provides the necessary support structures, along with political and civic involvement through the participation of the community and mutual trust. It therefore, facilitates mutual cooperation between and amongst

various groups and hence becomes a source of social capital for the entire community. This capital includes items like the knowledge of local affairs, and their influence over events within the community. It was observed that being a small endogamous community, the frequency of meeting relatives, close friends and neighbours was relatively high in Rasool Pur.

6.13.5 Family as a Source of Social Capital

The family has a crucial role in minimising gender based discriminations at the household level. It includes an array of factors including education. As discussed earlier, it was observed that in the community of *Rasool Pur* the families' provided the necessary support that contributed to the educational uplift of girls in the community. This included the supportive behaviour and the changed norms at the household, and community level. Every family had a unique role in the construction of some supportive social and human capital. Trust is one of the foundation stones of social capital and therefore, it forms the moral foundation of behaviour. The majority of the children in the community were fortunate enough to have these constructive attitudes from his/her family.

It was found that families provided the basics along with the guidelines for developing some level of trust and morality in their children that further laid the foundations for social cooperation and coordination at a broader level. Such issues remain unaddressed in both the least developed and less developed communities and therefore, at the childhood stage, such shortcomings on the part of the family lead to mistrust, suspicion and the failure to develop constructive attitudes for mutual cooperation. Likewise, the family should socialize about the differences between trust and betrayal, exchange and reciprocity. Such characteristics form the basis for the creation of social capital at the household level. Later on, these connections multiply at various levels towards the betterment of the society.

6.13.6 Emotional Support

In needful situations, members of the community can seek help from the social network, as members of the support network try to find solutions to problems of other people, may it be illness, managing a funeral, bearing the cost of education and providing financial assistance to the poor etc. For educational purposes, a

child is dependent on the community and the overall conducive environment that exists within it. It is only when all of these facts are viewed from the point of view of the recipients, can we realise how the mere existence of a potential support network increases the sense of self efficacy and controls and helps the situation become more manageable.

The positive attitudes and perceptions of the locals presented a healthy correlation of how progressive, secure and happy these people are within their culture. Moreover the female does not feel deprived both in education and in her personal life unlike the women of the surrounding communities.

6.13.7 Bonding and Bridging

The *Rasool Pur* community presents a closer connection between its people that is further characterised by strong bonds and kinship ties. Such bonding helps them to get by in their lives. Similarly, people in the community have access to distant connections (through existing community members) with other people outside their community that can be of help to them. These include politicians, members of village councils, the education department, religious leaders and organizations that help them to get ahead in life. For instance, a common individual can hardly gain access to and convince politicians in case they are elected to improve the infrastructure, to upgrade the schools and hospitals, and to help provide water and sanitation.

The mobilization through education of mutual trust helped village of *Rasool Pur* to have its schools and library upgraded. Female education has received additional facilitation through the practice of bonding and bridging in the society. The social capital of people of *Basti Rasool Pur* is monitored by the old and exercised by the youth who act as intermediaries between the community and the political forces. The following quote highlights the relationship of the community with some external sources;

“Jab koi political leader hamaray ilaqay main vote mangnay atta hay to ham ussay ussi sorat mai vote detay hain jab wo ham say hamary masil ky haal ka yaqeen dilahy. Iss terha ham nay apnay ilaqay ke sarak paki kerwai aur sakoolon ko upgrade kerwaya.” (Imran, FGD-5-community members, BRP, 30/03/2015)

Translation:

“Whenever some political leader comes to our locale to secure our votes for his party, we only vote for him if he promises to find the solution to our problems. In this way we have gotten politicians to help us in constructing our roads and upgrading our schools.” (Imran, FGD-5-community members, BRP, 30/03/2015)

The *Jamia* mosque is the oldest and most prominent mosque in *Basti Rasool Pur*. This is a huge mosque built solely from the donations of the locals. Whilst the fieldwork was in progress, the mosque was renovated and extended to expand its capacity for the neighbouring communities as well. The locals were also of the view that the mosque was in a dilapidated condition and it was vulnerable to earthquakes. So, in addition to the former one they decided to build a new one. Now it is maintained by the mutual donations of affluent people in the locale.

The children of the village receive their religious education from mosques. Usually the eldest members perform the duty of *Azan* (call for prayer). In addition to the day to day engagement of the clergy in the lives of the locals, they play a vital role in the local justice system which is dominated by the local *panchayat* in light of the Islamic code of life (Chapter 5 for details).

Young people have a tremendous stake in the present and future state of communities. Almost half of the human population is under the age of 25. If the resources of our youth such as energy, time, and knowledge are misdirected towards violence, terrorism, socially-isolating technologies, and unsustainable consumption, then civilization itself faces destabilization. Young people should grab whatever opportunity they can so that they may participate positively in all aspects of development and sustain it by grit and unfaltering energy. To do so, young people need education, political support, resources, skills, and hope.

6.14 Contrasting Dynamics of Community Development and Gender in Underdeveloped Communities

In the light of the data collected It was commonly found in two of the under developed communities that there was a severe lack of commitment both at household and community level to support girls education. Likewise it presented the fact that how lack of social capital formation constrained actions of individuals of underdeveloped communities to improve their weaknesses and draw on their

limited resources to support education in general and girls' education in particular. Narratives from these communities showed number of shortcomings faced by various actors of the community stem from their own lack of awareness and capabilities to drive physical as well as financial support to address their difficulties including girls' education. In certain instances, majority of the locals could not perceive beyond fatalistic approach and hence regarded poverty, culture and religious factors as the major contributors for their impoverished state of life. In other cases their own low educational level was regarded as a barrier.

On the other hand developed community had both positive and negative impact on its neighbouring communities. On the positive note it serves as a role model in terms of development in general and girls' education and female empowerment in particular due to higher level of social capital formation over there. Second number of educated professional (both men and women) from the developed community serve in number of underdeveloped communities in its surrounding, they impart their constructive role towards change and betterment. Yet a sharp difference exists between the developed community and its most immediate neighbouring communities like the least developed community understudy. There are many such communities which present state of least development. There are a number of reasons for example; locals of developed community belong to a certain sub tribe (*Ahmadani* tribe) who are relatively new settlers in the area, their only strength was education (of both men and women), as it served as survival mechanism for them. To maintain supremacy of their caste as well dominance in education they preferred endogamy and remained concerned about their own development at community level therefore, their element of trust, reciprocity and cooperation was largely confined within their own community. Mentioning about the differences one of the respondents from a neighbouring community pointed out that;

“Rasool Pur ky log parhay likhay ty ameer han, o sirf apni tarqi dy baray ich fiker kerainday an ty assan naal farq salook rakhaiday han, unhan ko ty asan ko banay saien da ferq hy”.
(Allah Baksh, IDI-22-father, BGW, 04/03/2015)

Translation:

“People of Rasool Pur are educated, rich and proud they are concerned about their success and treat us differently. They look down upon us therefore, there is a huge difference

between them and us". (Allah Baksh, IDI-22-father, BGW, 04/03/2015)

In the case of the other two conservative communities under study, it was observed that many women and girls in both settings were predominantly uneducated and lived in poverty. It was found that these women were largely associated with agricultural activities and were paid daily wages. Most of the respondents from these two settings reported multiple practical challenges (domestic responsibilities related to household work, child care, involvement in agricultural activities and non-involvement in education) as possible barriers in their lives that had further significantly affected their own education and the early dropout of girls.

Traditionally, such women faced all kinds of socio-cultural odds and restrictions in terms of awareness, mobility, educational attainment, health attainment, marriage, child bearing, autonomy and their overall empowerment. As a result, they were unable to afford the basic essentials of their daily life and were commonly faced with status-quo and unable to play their role towards change and development of society.

6.15 Analysis

- Data lends support from underlying concepts of social capital and its strengths for promoting girls' education and overall development. This theory helped as a tool to understand harnessing and enabling attitudes behind girls' educational and overall community development (Kay, 2006; Putnam, 2017). Mainly reflected through engagement of locals in their community based networks.
- Availability of support networks in developed community was providing platform for formation of high social capital, expressed through mutual understanding for collective actions, sharing and trust. This has helped the community to gain wholesome development including girls' education.
- In rest of the two communities, existence of low or almost negligible social capital predominantly impacted their overall development as well state of gender and education, human capital and capabilities.

- In both these communities rate of change was very low because the influence of traditional beliefs and practices hampered their socio-economic growth. Ultimately it resulted into low human capital having no access to substantive freedom as promulgated by the capability approach (Bakhshi *et al.*, 2003).

6.16 Conclusion

The chapter highlighted changing scenarios within patriarchal and patrilineal system as discussed in previous chapter. It explained how girls of school going age were able to avail family and community's support to pursue their education and careers. To qualify these arguments the researcher has critically analysed the data and shown how a community can draw on various resources on a self-help basis through mutual cooperation, trust, and shared objectives that ensured overall improvements not just in the educational prospects of girls but how it also enriched their overall quality of life. The research has shown how such communal arrangements can contribute towards the development of a community in general and female education in particular at the grass roots. In doing so, a case of a well-developed community is presented which focused on achieving an improved state of gender, education, and overall development. Similarly, it also became evident how the community has succeeded in harnessing and shaping a number of arrangements for its common interests which have not only resulted in the creation of a contrasting approach with the other two underdeveloped communities but also ensured girls' improved access to education through communal realization and ownership of girls' education. It has bestowed upon a strong connection between the family, community and school that has greatly enhanced girls' educational performances at multiple levels.

At the micro level, the involvement of locals in the social as well as economic decisions and changes in socio-cultural norms has led the community to bring about changes on the pretext of gender roles, education and development. From time to time, the community was channelized mainly through its own welfare societies that exist and works on a volunteer basis. One example is the RDS (*Rasool Pur Development Society*), which is run on monthly voluntary donations by the locals and is managed by a core administrative team made up of educated

male youth. It exists on the basis of trust, mutual cooperation, kinship support and reciprocity featuring the existence of a higher level of social capital at the community level. The majority of households were represented in a wider circle for its welfare activities such as communal literary meetings, communal trips, religious and social gatherings.

The chapter has explained how the community plays its role in bringing about changes in the existing socio-cultural norms (particularly related to gender). The same was qualified by presenting the role of women and contributions in promotion of education in relation to community development. It discusses how the women of the community played their role in promoting female education in the neighbouring communities and how women became active contributors in the household income. The chapter has displayed a change in parental perceptions regarding gender and education and has explained the reasons for prioritizing female education and their career development. As a result, educated girls showed stronger capabilities, agency and contribution in human capital development.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

This study sets out to explore the concept of gender inequality in education. To achieve this objective, a comprehensive review of literature was carried out. With the help of literature, it was qualified that unequal access to girls schooling is an example of a cause and effect relationship that permanently rests in the social norms and gender based frame of reference in a particular society. Moreover, this phenomenon of gender inequality is highly skewed by social, economic, religious and cultural forces operating in a society at multiple levels (family, community and school). Social forces were found to be interrelated in complex ways that act as barriers to female education. It was found that ample theoretical evidence regarding gender bias in education is available. However, only a few qualitative research studies provide an understanding on socio-economic and cultural dynamics with particular reference to Pakistan. Available literature in the context of Pakistan also presented the fact that despite presence of various national and international commitments to uplift girls schooling in Pakistan, the real situation is still quite abysmal.

To fill this gap, the study focused on deep insight regarding culture, caste, and family system as important variables for girls' education at the household and the community levels. In this context, the study addresses the following four questions:

- 1). Does parental perception and involvement affect girls' access to education in rural communities?
- 2). Does the socio-economic diversification across communities influence the education attainment of girls?
- 3). How various cultural factors contribute towards girls' education?
- 4). How rural community can play a role in creating an enabling environment for girls' education?

To find out answer to the above questions, the study focused on three locations from Rajanpur district, a rural area of South Punjab, Pakistan. Ranjanpur district

is one of the marginalised area in the province of Punjab. Moreover, it is ranked as one of the districts with lowest literacy rate (Figure 3) in Pakistan (AlifAilaan & SDPI, 2015; Butt & Ahmed, 2016). The selection of the communities was made on the basis of their socio-economic and development portfolios. It helped to explore and understand the specific realities of girls' education. The selected communities were categorized as a) less developed community (*Chah Kumhar Wala*), b) the least developed community (*Basti Godden Wala*), and c) developed community (*Basti Rasool Pur*). A total of 366 households from selected communities were studied to compare similarities and differences regarding girls' education. The study found that despite the fact that these communities had similar culture, one of them (*Basti Rasool Pur*) was exceptionally heterogeneous and more developed than others in terms of its overall educational achievements particularly in girls education.

Besides presenting these factors, the study reaffirms various approaches by showing how socio-economic, religious and political factors collectively effect and influence gender specific interactions, behaviour and decisions of individuals regarding gender and education.

If we look at the findings of the current study through the lens of the theoretical concepts drawn in chapter two, generally females and particularly girls between 04 to 16 years of age extensively emerged as a disadvantaged group particularly in two of the three communities studied. While using the social construct of gender as a theoretical framework, the study recognised the importance of societal structures as a driving force for the differential attitudes and practices that govern the state of girls' education across various rural communities in South Punjab. Human capital and capability approaches helped to understand the relationship between education and development both for individual and collective grooming. Moreover, to understand girls' education and development, the theoretical constructs of social capital elaborated the support structures through networking, trust, reciprocity, and cooperation within a community by creating an enabling environment for both girls' education as well for community development (Chapter 6 for details).

To be specific, the theoretical constructs highlighted how and why gender plays a role when it comes to a girl's education. The theoretical discussion helped the

researcher seek answer to many important questions, such as: How do people define a girls' education? How does the construct of gender relate with low educational achievement? How do stereotypical perceptions derail girls' education? What are the major socio-economic and socio-cultural factors involved in gender biased education that compel girls to compromise on their education, well-being and agency and what role communities can play to strengthen girls' education.

The design of the study was primarily qualitative in nature. However, quantitative data was also integrated to examine the level of participation at schools by gender and schooling cost. The study analysed the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants to supplement thick descriptions of the factual position of gender and education in the study area.

The population of the study was primarily the rural girls of school going age belonging to disadvantaged groups within the three selected communities. The researcher divided the population into three strata based on socio-economic position of each group. To draw a representative sample, one fourth of the households were selected from each strata comprising of girls of school going age along with other key stakeholders such as (parents, community members and education officials).

A wide range of techniques were used including participant observation, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and case studies to collect empirical data within the framework of anthropological paradigms and theoretical constructs employed in the study. This was supplemented by documentaries, audio visual aids and field experiences. These approaches enabled the researcher to collect qualitative data from three main stakeholders which were girls of school going age as a primary group, the families and teachers as secondary group, and the community as tertiary one. The study examined the perceptions of these stakeholders' regarding girl's education by particularly focusing on family and communal networking relationships.

The next section presents how the socio-economic factors restrict girls' education. It also presents gender specific perception and parental involvement in education of their children. In addition to this, it offers details regarding application of social construction of gender in the research areas and how it has

affected girls' education and their future prospects in the light of societal structures. It also highlights community participation to bring desired changes in girls' education as in the case of developed community of *Basti Rasool Pur*.

The following sections put forth the key findings against each objective of the study.

7.2 Multiple Domains of Gender Specific Parental Perception and Parental Involvement in Girls Education

First objective of the study revealed the outcomes of differential parental perceptions regarding their daughters' education. The study showed that the majority of parents from poor communities were illiterate which adversely affected girls' education. In both underdeveloped communities, girls were perceived to have a lower status than boys due to their secondary position in the household and community. Consequently, boys' education was more important for parents as compared to girls. Moreover, parents held fatalistic views to justify their own attitudes and practices towards girls' education.

Likewise, in underdeveloped communities, women were perceived as domestic commodity therefore, their lives were strongly considered to be associated with household and agriculture work. Therefore, from childhood girls were trained of having limited mind-set. Parents and community believed that training of household work was crucial for a girl as their role was identified to be limited to a house wife and future mothers. As a result, girls' participation in household work increases and their participation in education decreases. On the other hand, boys were not socialized in the same spirit to assume their future roles that could possibly affect their education. It was found that there was a clear division of roles which was clearly defined by the prevailing gender based structures in the community.

The narratives of parents about the future prospects of girls' education were governed by a customary approach, largely translated in the rigid face of traditionalism practiced in the study areas. This has created a hegemony of one gender over the other in an interrelated and interlocked manner that does not favour education and career opportunities for females. Having personal limitations coupled with a traditional mind set has not only resulted in a negligible

parental involvement in the education of their children but also does not allow them to visualise the benefits that accrue from education of girls in particular.

Negative parental perceptions regarding girls' education significantly contributed to the distinct gender gap in education even at the primary level. This gap is likely to widen at the post primary levels of education. A large gap exists between the parents and schools. The parents were either unaware of the importance of their involvement in education of their children or they were hesitant due to number of reasons including lack of confidence, communication and cultural barriers.

In both of the under developed communities, it was found that looking after education of children was perceived as a feminine role. The father usually stayed away from this otherwise important activity. Home based parental involvement for children education in general and girls' education in particular was found to be negligible. While schools approach the father in case of any behavioural issue or regarding some educational performance of the child this responsibility too was taken care of by mothers. However, being females in a male dominated environment, the mothers were faced severe mobility issues neither were they supposed to interact with the male teachers of their children.

Data endorsed prevalence of wide scale discrimination against girls' education. Majority of the parents were not supportive towards education of girls because they perceived the quality of education at public schools to be quite poor. Also, the relevance of education is only perceived to be better amongst the poor parents if it might one day ease their financial burden.

The study has revealed the strong cultural forces and rigidity that prevailed amongst least educated parents' that strengthened negative perceptions about girls' education. The education of girls was generally perceived and interpreted as a non-conformity to cultural norms, pro-modernity and freedom of girls and women as a threat to male honour. Therefore, both low profiled communities did not show any preference for girls' education.

On the contrary, in developed community, a contrasting picture emerged regarding parental perception on the value of girl's education. Findings from the data revealed that parents held higher aspirations for their daughters' education due their improved socio-economic as well as educational status. This brought

shift in norms and social perceptions related to girls education and hence minimized gender discrimination.

Parents with a diverse education background perceived that the educational achievements of their child would enhance their quality of life and self-esteem. Education of girls was perceived to be equally important for enhancement of living standard. Data also presented that change in traditional thinking was altered through education. Majority of the respondents were of the view that highly educated girls are vitally important for the uplift of their households as well as the community.

Under the umbrella of positive perceptions, parents showed a greater interest and involvement in education of their children. Girls were equally encouraged and facilitated in schooling and beyond. Along with mothers, fathers too held positive perceptions regarding girls' education therefore, they played a positive role in school based involvement of their children's' education. Developed community was not facing educational constraints and was relatively less influenced by cultural pressures that disfavoured girls' education. Synergy between the child, family and school was found highly favourable for education in general and girls' education in particular. Nearly all girls in this community were not only attending schools but also enjoyed a greater voice and agency at the household and community level.

7.3 Multiple Domains of Socio-economic Factors Influencing Girls' Educational Attainment

The second specific objective of the study is to present the economic factors impeding girls' education at the local level. The study deeply probed the reasons for the financial constraints for girls' education. This section synthesizes the major findings drawn from the empirical data chapter. Other areas are explored to gain an in-depth understanding of the economic factors that shape educational outcomes for girls.

The study found on one hand, that both family size and the dependency ratio were high amongst the poor communities while on the other hand, family income was very low that severely constrained girls' education. Moreover, under scarce financial restraints, the situation got worse with the increase in the number of

children that were equally eligible for schooling. This situation further limited the girls' access to education. By contrast, in the developed community both the family size and dependency ratio were low. This enabled the families to have better utilize their income and hence provide better educational opportunities for their children irrespective of gender.

In answer to what constitutes economic resources to scarce at the household level that marginalise girls' access to education. It has been found that the majority of families, particularly in two under developed communities of the study, possessed a low socio-economic status. The majority of respondents were dependent on agriculture (mostly as tenants and daily wage labourers) and care takers of livestock as a source of their livelihood. The majority of poor parents from these two low profiled communities under study were unable to afford the cost of education that included school fees, uniform costs, books, transportation and other related expenses. It seemed difficult for them to manage in addition to provision of food, clothing and shelter to their families. These socio-economic constraints adversely affected girls' education particularly in both undeveloped communities. Likewise, it was also noticed that there was a strong preference for educating boys as compared to girls mainly due to gender bias and cost involved in schooling. This discrimination was clearly noted in the allocation of scarce resources for the education of female children and in the lack of support for their education that consequently caused greater dropouts. By contrast boys had more freedom and parental support for their education in terms of the allocation of financial resources.

While in the developed community the educated locals were involved in white collar professions and possessed relatively higher socio-economic status. Therefore, they did not face any financial constraints that could possibly retard the education of their children.

The study has revealed that in both underdeveloped communities, there was a clear divide of roles between males and females. The women's job was limited to the private sphere burdened with household chores including cooking, cleaning, laundering and managing children etc. It consumed most of their time, men were considered culturally inappropriate to participate in such roles therefore, women had to perform these duties. Moreover, to safeguard male identity, the males

strongly resisted participation in these tasks. Consequently, as part of socialization, girls were trained to assume their future roles as successful housewives and mothers therefore, girls start assisting their mothers at a very early age. The girls' preoccupation in the domestic chores leads to school absenteeism and poor educational performance at school. Due to familial and cultural bias, boys have a clear advantage over girls. Likewise, boys have more time and energies for studies as compared to girls. The study results indicate that in both under developed communities, girls' attendance and retention at schools was relatively improved up to the primary level because majority of primary schools were located within the radius of one kilometre from the community. However, at middle and secondary levels girls' participation in schools was quite low. Post primary level schools for girls were not only limited but also located far from the communities. According to fresh report (PCSW, 2018) the ratio between middle schools and primary schools stands at 77%, suggesting that students have fewer middle schools to attend once they clear the primary level. It was somewhat encouraging to see that the percentage of high schools accessible to the boys after clearing the middle schools stood at 8.7% suggesting that it is not a very noticeable decline. But girls were at a disadvantage as in their case there was sharp decrease of 35%. Overall a comparison between the number of higher secondary institutions and high school presented a dismal picture (89% to be precise). The drop in number of institutions for boys stood at 90% and 89% for the girls. As a result, dropout among girls was high. Lack of access to schools clearly impeded girls' education particularly in both underdeveloped communities. Whereas the supply side constraints were less severe for male students (Figure 4).

Study found that at the post primary level of education, girls reach the age of puberty and hence became more vulnerable in terms of honour based restriction associated with girls schooling (discussed in next section). Given the context of tribal mind sets, the majority of poor parents were sensitive to harassment and stigmatization issues related with girls schooling. This served as another major reason for the dropout of girls' from schools particularly at the post primary levels. The long distance to schools coupled with transportation issues became another challenge for girls of school going age. In this way education of the girls gets

compromised while boys were free from such gender bound limitations affecting their education.

Experiences from the underdeveloped communities yielded an array of findings, for instance the lack of confidence in public schooling in terms of quality of education, concerns over teacher's harsh behaviour, and incidents of corporal punishment. These resulted in lack of trust on schools amongst parents that ends up being a barrier towards girls' education. Parents wished to provide private schooling particularly to their boys but most of the times it was beyond their financial limits.

The study revealed that in response to the financial constraints faced by the poor family, most poor parents got their girls involved in child labour because of high opportunity cost involved in girls schooling in comparison to boys. Therefore, majority of the girls were involved in child labour at a very early age to support the family income which left them with very little or no time for education. Consequently, they were more likely to dropout.

The socio-economic perspective of the developed community was found highly favourable towards girls' education and women empowerment. Therefore, incident of a girl not going to school was beyond imagination for the entire community. As far as gender bias is concerned, developed community was not found completely free of it although the majority of the girls were school going still in some cases a differential treatment between girls and boys was observed in terms of their school choices. Parents were spending more on the education of boys as compared to girls by sending them to reputable private schools outside of the community. Yet the remarkable difference in this community regarding girls' education was that the majority of the parents supported their daughters' education to higher level.

It was noted that after completing their education, the majority of girls and women were doing jobs and economically contributing to their family's income. The majority of married women wanted to have a small family due to various socio-economic reasons and also to provide quality education to their children. It was found that these women were well aware of the fact that this would ensure a brighter future and quality of life for them and their children.

7.4 Multiple Domains of Socio-cultural Factors Minimizing Girls' Education

The third specific objective of the study was set forth to probe cultural bias in girls' education. It was found that access to education was highly intertwined by the socio-cultural influences. While addressing the issue of girls' education in rural communities, findings further revealed that contextual reality can be either supportive as in *Basti Rasool Pur*, or non-supportive as in *Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala*. The social constructionism studied and applied in the present study has exhibited that the tribal mind-set of the *Balochgi'* (tribal identity) did not favour girl's education specifically across communities where overall educational level was poor. The researcher uncovered these differences at different levels such as the household, community, along with studying the caste structure. Impact of social and cultural dynamics on girl's education was further presented through case studies of three typical *Baloch* tribes. The narratives yielded that rigidity, bravery, massive illiteracy, myths, and gender biases all hindered girls' education.

The findings of this study exhibited that the socio-culture state plays a vital role in setting up a particular frame of reference in establishing norms, values and traditions to maintain the status-quo, especially related to girls' education. The study showed that the patriarchal nature of the society has paved the way for asymmetrical relationships and discrimination against females from their birth until their death. Over all, culture is pro-male and authoritative in nature. Such cultural dominance not only affects gender but also adversely upsets girls' education and in doing so, creates many obstacles for their present as well as future lives.

It was found that the majority of decisions regarding girls were taken by the males (father, brothers, uncles, grandfather, in case of being married husband and father in law). Furthermore, decisions including the right to education, marriage and the inheritance of patrilineal property were deeply entrenched in their culture and are hence pro-male. Denial of their rights further marginalizes women and therefore, makes them vulnerable to the status quo, socio-economic dependence and the inability to support their own as well as their child's education. Such practices were common in both the underdeveloped communities under study.

It was commonly found that the traditional norms, values and beliefs sustain a gendered asymmetry of power both within and outside the household. Likewise, the division of labour and allocation of resources were gender specific which have significantly hampered girls' access to education particularly at the post primary level.

The strong adherence to cultural norms was associated with a number of factors. One of these is the tribal mind set of holding back women in educational and career oriented opportunities. Male dominancy and hegemony were expressed through the emancipation of *vanni* (women), *banni* (land) and *dhan* (money) served as potent sources of the hegemony of power that have inclined towards and strengthened the male gender. When it comes to females, the tribal males of the study locales were very sensitive in terms of ego and honour associated with girls' education. They feared that girls' education would bring them stigmatization, freedom of voice and choice option for girls and women which they never wanted.

Tools of male power exhibited through *Dhan*, *Vanni* and *Banni* were greatly favoured by their subjugation of women and girls by keeping them away from education and societal exposure. The lack of awareness among both parents particularly fathers, brothers, husbands and sons was appended to the imbued honour, which was negatively attributed to education and freedom of expression among girls and women.

Male actors manoeuvred various capabilities to gain control over female agency through various culturally supported practices such as early marriages (mostly endogamous and exchange marriages) associated with teenage pregnancy and motherhood. Such practices have severely hindered girls' education.

Study found that cultural practices were pro-male and were not supportive towards girls' access to education. The study concludes that men are vital actors for education of girls. Having resistance to change leads them to the accept adversities of poverty, rigidity in terms of livelihood, poor educational choices, health care and overall quality of life. However, it was found that this varies from family to family and community to community depending upon their likelihood for change through improved education and gender sensitivity.

It was found that men would compromise girls to settle their common disputes over land and murders through compensations in the form of girls/women. In extreme cases girls/women get killed in the name of *vani* (honour killing). Such disputes are addressed and settled through the institution of panchayat (village court). Such practices adversely affect girls' education and their future prospects.

Girls were aware of the discriminatory behaviour of their parents and the society but they were not in a position to question it because it was considered culturally inappropriate to do so. Non-compliance to the cultural construct of gender led to an array of problems for young girls/women therefore, majority of such compulsions were approved as adopted preferences for girls. Interestingly, educated girls were not exempted in this regard. In some notable cases, educated girls were facing both role and status conflicts within their families and communities. Such girls were highly criticised by others because of showing non-conformity to gender hegemony. In such cases girls were left with no other option other than surrendering to the prevalent structural inequalities within their society. Consequently, it was found that among educated girls of both under developed communities adaptive preferences, in the context of inequality and oppression, strengthen the conditions that reduces freedom of speech and choice among educated girls. Such a view would reduce the imperative to change for girls with no other option other than surrendering to the prevalent structural inequalities within their society. (Case in point is of a girl who graduated from Rawalpindi and ultimately faced her untimely death which still remains a mystery).

It was observed that the rural masses were more adherent to the religious doctrines within their cultural background. Paradoxical differences between the theoretical and practical application of religion were observed. Keeping in mind the strong religious belief system of rural masses practice of religion served as an impeding factor towards gender based superiority of men over women. Religious practices sustained a gender divide and served to reinforce and perpetuate the gender divide in a way that was aligned with their culture. It was found that there were lots of misunderstandings and misinterpretations of religion in its textual understanding and practical implication. Illiterate masses preferred basic religious education for girls as compared to sending them to school. Such type of religious orientation was practiced making girls obedient.

The subjugation of *vani* (female) was performed in the name of honour. In a number of cases, school going adolescents faced stigmatization due to their involvement in education. To curb such issues, the practice of early marriages preferably endogamous exchanged marriages was performed and in some extreme cases girls were murdered in the name of honour. This was performed on the basis of the negativity and brazen arrogance associated with education since the majority of the illiterate locals (particularly males from the least developed and underdeveloped communities) were of the view that educating girls meant setting them free from adherence to cultural norms. In that case there was a possibility that the male's supremacy over the females could be challenged or it may also affect their honour (Chapter 5 for details). Education of girls was associated with modernity and hence unmanageable and ungovernable unruly stallion.

It was discovered that the feudal system where the peasants are bound to show mandatory allegiance to the all-powerful lord emerged as a barrier particularly for the poor rural masses across the underdeveloped communities not just for girls' education and their future pursuits, but also to have independence of political thought. The Feudal system constitutes of factors negatively related to education in general and girl's education in particular. Feudals impede the social welfare of communities and hinder development works like the construction of schools, hospitals, agricultural developments and improvements in transportation in connivance with the political elite because they want blind and obedient followers who should spend enslaved lives.

Basti Rasool Pur presented a unique case, as it was remarkably different from the two communities covered under this study. One plausible reason for this difference was education and second the existence of social capital at the community level that created the heterogeneity complexity and favourable environment for both genders. These aspects were covered at length in chapter six.

The study has revealed that parents from the developed community were educated and hence greatly realized the importance of girls' education. Girls' education was considered to be a status symbol and the successful and highly

educated females were presented as a role model to the rest of the girls to encourage them to pursue their education.

From this study it is obvious that only education can change the fate of such communities and can strengthen the structure of the society. The overall education system failed to address the discrepancies faced by children outside the domain of the school

7.5 Multiple Domains of Self-improvements and Gender Bias at Gross Root Level

To answer the fourth objective of the study, I have mainly employed the scholarly contributions of Putnam (2016), Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1985) to understand and apply concept of social capital towards girls education. Moreover, its also helped me to understand community development in a wider context to understand how communities can play their role in promoting girls education despite having the rigid face of cultural values that oppose girls education. Subsequently, how communities construct and reconstruct their own agenda for promotion of girls education and development. The study identified that the participatory approach, networking and collective efforts at the community level have contributed as divergent factors that shape communal improvements for girls' education and alters the status quo at the household and community level. Moreover these factors were significantly helpful in understanding how and why the collective efforts and actions of various actors at the community level can address the cultural barriers hampering girls' education.

To present an answer to what constitutes improvements at the community level to enhance education in general and girls' education in particular, the present study offered that the developed community (*Basti Rasool Pur*) has significantly benefited from and developed girls' education even though they have the same background and public resources as the other two underdeveloped communities. Such changes within the developed community mainly occurred due to communal ownership, positive framework, constructive attitude reciprocity and trust both within and outside the community. The study shows how the community realized better livelihood, quality of life, and gender balanced development particularly in the field of education.

The study has also revealed how such barriers were amicably addressed in the developed community. Moreover, it exhibited how the locals of the community, particularly girls had an innate urge and desire to learn and this relative advantage of obtaining education and agency led them to develop their long term objectives with a full backing of wise elders. As discussed, this was largely accomplished on self-help and self-improvement basis at the community level through employing social capital in their communal initiatives.

Findings have disclosed that the developed community possesses better resources both at the household and community level to facilitate girls' education as compared to under developed communities. Moreover, the study explains how the developed community considered its individuals (including both men and women) as important tools for their overall progress as a community/sub-tribe. Therefore, the community as a whole was more concerned and participatory in communal initiatives. To ensure a wholesome community development, its locals run welfare societies on a self-help basis. Since the establishment of the developed community many small welfare societies existed from time to time. Among these, the latest and the most organized society was RDS which functions on a self-help basis through the monthly donations of its inhabitants. RDS was run by a team of motivated and educated youths (male only). The core team of RDS was comprised of an equal number of representatives from the four settlements of the community thus the team uniformly presents and addresses the communal issues of each quarter. Young leaders of RDS were duly supervised and supported by their adults. One of the strong points of the community was their proactive approach towards development and therefore, they have hardly relied on any NGO or government initiatives to address their basic issues.

Educational problems form one of the prime communal concerns irrespective of gender. Through this platform various social and financial issues associated with education in general and girls' education in particular were addressed. As a result of community mobilization, bonding and bridging, a middle school for girls' in the community was established a lot earlier than the boys' middle school. Later on the same school was upgraded up to the secondary level. A preference for girls' education has only resulted through the presence of the overall communal

demand, social networking that propels cultural and economic factors, and ownership required to promote girls education. No such communal efforts were noted in the underdeveloped communities.

Most respondents expressed that communal awareness and efforts towards the advancement of education has empowered the community over the past several decades and generations. Moreover, a strong network based on trust and mutual regard between the family, community and school has served as the social capital for the advancement of children education particularly the girls. On the contrary, findings have shown that the communal ownership for girls education was found to be missing in both of the under developed communities under study. That has served to be another reason for the impoverished state of education of females.

The study has revealed that the developed community possess strong linkages both within and outside the community which were manifested at various occasions particularly at the time of voting, managing funerals and marriages. Besides this community holds a series of communal literary events at local level to groom its individuals and mobilize them for self-expression and public representation. One such event is the annual poetic function where males of all ages participate and recite their poetry. In such events, children perform in company of constructive role models within the community whose presence gives them encouragement and boost their performance. Moreover, a renowned guest speaker chairs the session and shares his knowledge with the locals to broaden their worldview. Second there is an annual picnic trip for the individuals in the community. This event serves as a source of happiness, leisure and refreshment for the locals, but it also counts as a pedestal for sharing of problems faced by the locals and the process of finding viable solutions. Parents get an opportunity to discuss the educational progress of their children in a more informal and personal manner. The community established its own public library in the village to build habit of reading and facilitate the education of its inhabitants and to serve as a gathering point for various literary session.

The study has expressed that due to cultural restrictions, mix gathering were not allowed. Most of the public events were meant for men but it does not mean that girls and women were not given such opportunities. The females were allowed to hold their separate meetings but relatively at a smaller scale. However, the

grooming of males and their educational exposure has directly and indirectly helped the girls and women of the community in mutual exchange of ideas.

The study has uncovered that women play a constructive role both at the household and community level towards community development and have restructured the discourse of limited spheres of women domain of work and agency. They served not only outside the four walls of their home but beyond their own community. Majority of them served as teachers in a number of surrounding villages and promoted girls education. The economic contribution of women assisted the economic status and quality of life of their households. Likewise, women being educated mothers were able to assist and handle educational needs of their children. Such women played a more active role compared to women of other communities.

The findings of this study have made known that the middle class families hold more inspiration towards education as compared to the lower class. For the present study, the middle class community of *Rasool Pur* and two other communities (*Chah Kumhar Wala* and *Basti Godden Wala*) from low social background were compared. Since *Basti Rasool Pur* had access to improved resources, mental capacity to deal with issues and enhanced civic engagement and gender empowerment therefore, the results showed an improved socio-economic situation, better education, female organization skill and quality of life of its people. But in the other two communities under study, all of the social indicators which are key for community development and education were found to be mostly non-existent. For example, the main factors included family income, social class, cultural values towards girls' strong support for education, parental educational background and religious belief and practices. As a result of absence of such factors girls' education was adversely affected in these dispossessed communities. The cycle of poverty and status quo rules from generation to generation in these two communities hardly allowing for free spaces to the residents to think of anything beyond subsistence.

As mentioned earlier, in both underdeveloped communities, there was a limited access for girls' education beyond the primary level of education due to high dropouts and leaning towards child labour for economic reasons and restricted female mobility. *Basti Rasool Pur* raised its own socio-economic status through

more progressive action plans and investing in education of girls. The gender variable was crucial in secondary schooling in terms of affordability, mobility and parental support. The gender gap was easily visible and is increasing geometrically between the two backward communities and *Basti Rasool Pur* the progressive community. Panchayat systems, in its current state, form the asymmetric basis of power relationship and vested social capital in rural areas. Both, the potential and resources are exploited by the feudal lords, politicians and influential people.

In the developed community, social values related to female agency and education were favourable to women therefore, the overall situation was exceptionally different in this village. This community acquired it with broader educational canvas that allowed the joint efforts of all concerned in the community to make collective and practical decisions for the benefit of the people. Gradual progress toward social change was the natural outcome. The social change embodied evolutionary process that helped in moving ahead optimistically has improved the economic situation of individuals and community as a whole.

Pragmatic utilization of social capital and girl's education in *Basti Rasool Pur* was living example of self-improvement at community level. The inhabitants were well-educated, self-motivated, socially mentored and mission-oriented. The community itself has established a schooling system since the early days after independence. Community bridging, passion for helping each other, collaboration between various stakeholders and the mobilization of youth were the main factors playing role in *Basti Rasool Pur*. The participation rate in education from primary to tertiary, gender free attitudes, female autonomy within communal system, positive reinforcement to girl's education were all observable in *Basti Rasool Pur*. The data supported the evidence that sustainable development is strongly linked with bottom up approach, community ownership and social capital formation through enhancement in education. Findings supported the triangular concept of development.

There was abundant potential in social and human capital across all communities, but it was either misused or underestimated. On the other hand, in the developed community, girls' education in particular supplemented social and human capital. Equally, it acknowledges those studies that debate on bringing positive changes

in capacity building and capabilities, by showing positive social, economic, communal and political (heterogeneous) influence over generations. However, this influence will have the same effect on future generations particularly girls. Chapter six focused on the formation of social capital in the community by unfolding how parents and communities benefited from social capital. They have achieved their social, economic, cultural advances by virtue of social change, through the instrument of education.

The bottom up approach of development adopted by *Basti Rasool Pur* is an indigenous model of advancement that to reach out to unexplored horizons of growth and expansion. Hence they have brought about a transformation in the capabilities of their people irrespective of gender. The social capital harvested by families and communities holds immense significance in the growth and development of the community. (Israel *et al.*, 2001). These resources are crucial to compete in the global marketplace.

7.6 Study's Contribution to Knowledge

Despite the close focus of the world, the issue of low education and gender bias in developing countries on a stupendous scale and its context at empirical and theoretical concerns is abysmal. The present study is an in-depth probing of grass roots factors affecting gender bias in education therefore, it can be seen as one steps forward in the domain of gender and education. As far as Pakistan is concerned studies based on self-improvements at community level in support of girls' education are quite rare. The study presented here reviews extensive examination of girls' education both within communities and across communities through their participatory approach. The theoretical discourse of social capital helped address multiple issues underpinning education, gender and development discourse in a relatively developed community under study. Resultantly the present study has made initial contributions to the existing literature on social capital in Pakistan. The findings of the study have amply explained various social, economic and cultural factors responsible for gender discrimination. The contribution of the study is therefore, two-fold: theoretical and practical in nature.

On one hand, the aim of the study was not to introduce a new theory but to develop a theoretical framework based on existing literature and theories. The

critical engagement of review of literature and theoretical framework helped me clarify the education related aspects connected to gender gap at micro level in the existing literature. Much has been studied about girls' education however, there has been a gap in terms of the qualitative analysis of the grass roots realities existing in close societies and in a progressive community like *Basti Rasool Pur*. Critical discussion on alternative theories presented the basis for various aspects related to girls' education, agency and empowerment. The contextualization of education in varying socio-economic and cultural settings makes it entirely difficult for girls to respond to various conflicting communities embedded in different socio-economic and socio-cultural values.

On the one hand, the empirical findings of the study have widened the concept of discrimination based on the cultural constructs of patriarchy on girls' education while on the other hand social capital formation and employment resulted in social change, self-improvement and linear educational trends irrespective of gender. For instance, the present study has revealed factors involved in shaping gender and preferences for girls' education. For better results, improved interventions and community ownership these factors need to be critically rethought in the rural scenario particularly.

For research purposes, there is no limitation in the application of theories pertaining to gender and education. However, keeping in mind the specific context and multiplicity of issues pertaining to girl's education a hybrid model of theories was applied. This study employed and reaffirmed the theoretical relevance of culture in shaping gender based inequalities. Moreover, these inequalities adversely affect social, human and cultural capital of the society. The developed community (Chapter 6 for details) revealed the positive influence of education in building social, human capital towards enhancing the capacities of both genders particularly towards female empowerment and agency.

Precisely, this study contributes to the existing hub of knowledge in a number of ways. First of all, the study has presented some multiple theoretical and practical debates in the socio-economic and socio-cultural context of girls' education taking it beyond surface knowledge to a deeper level of applications at grass roots level. Secondly, it has enhanced our understanding about multiple spheres of networks, trust, reciprocity and cooperation at family and household level within

which girls' education takes place. At present it forms one of the under researched area of study pertaining to gender and education in Pakistan.

Thirdly, with the 18th amendment in the constitution of Pakistan, the powers of the provinces have been more enlarged authorizing them to plan their programs strategically with a particular focus on under privileged groups to improve the quality of life. Thus, this study could provide a baseline knowledge and the findings can be generalized in the context of rural Pakistan. It may be substantiated that the three communities represent the general rural culture of South Punjab. However, the characteristics of disadvantaged groups (out of school girls and situational analysis of females of South Punjab) are by and large like other under developed areas of province of Punjab as well as rural areas of Pakistan as a whole. This can be evidenced through the researches done on girls' education.

Fourthly, for wholesome development the finding of the study has vital implications for strategic policy planning, bottom (community) up (province/nation) approach with focus on gender equity in education.

This study in particular increases our understanding of how the socio-economic and cultural forces influence girls' education and how such limitations could be minimised through community involvement as well as community ownership.

7.7 Suggestions for Further Studies

Several areas of further researches may be formed from the findings that have emerged from this study. First of all, the study focused on socio-economic and cultural factors associated with gender and education and focuses across selected rural sites of district Rajanpur. Moreover, it is imperative to mention that one of the developed community under study was exceptionally different from the rest of South Punjab in terms of its overall development conditions including socio-economic condition, gender and education. Therefore, separate studies are required to draw a comparison between rural and urban areas (even within the study area) and comparisons between public and private schools in terms of quality of education, physical facilities, teachers' role towards various factors associated with quality education (capabilities, personality and effectiveness) and harassment.

Gender is a broader term and therefore, it needs independent researches to unveil other facets of girls' education beyond the school level and likewise other issues. There are several factors when studying gender, such as religion, development, power dynamics, women health and child labour to name a few. For example, the parents' role in education is necessary to maintain the gender relationship between community and schools, and to evaluate the bridging of education between schools and communities. All of them require independent discrete studies of their own.

The present study has employed a qualitative nature of investigation to probe the socio-economic factors and socio-cultural norms affecting gender, education, and social capital formation in the selected communities. It is suggested that future studies may employ a mix method approach to improve the research outcome on a broader level. Moreover, social capital formation in education and other developmental aspects need to be studied at the household, community and national levels in both the rural and urban context which is associated with sustainable development.

Qualitative studies in the areas of social exclusion, female agency and social capital at household, community level and parental involvement towards the education of their children should be performed and studied individually in the local context.

7.8 Recommendations

There is a dire need for an effective mobilization for girls education. There should be information sources in rural areas to sensitize parents and community members about bringing changes in the traditional norms and values that subjugate women and hold back girls from education. Data from the study has revealed the involvement of primary school teachers as un-trained community mobilizers in the study areas. Instead of this, there is a need to involve trained/professional male and female community mobilizers to persuade parents to provide support to their children education particularly for girls. This can be done either by bringing in outside professionals or by training the teachers to the necessary level of capability. This endeavour demands a high level of commitment from the government and donor agencies.

Until the constraints are fully addressed there are other methods to solve a lot of issues such as his skill development, small scale entrepreneurship through the structure of village/community workshops (run by a trained female of the locality, as envisaged in 1979 Education Policy of Pakistan).

Government and donor agencies should ensure financial support to the dropouts who cannot manage education and its related expenses.

Children being involved in household and agriculture/livestock related work significantly affects the child performance and retention at schools. Key stakeholders like the Ministry of Education, INGOs and NGOs should identify and address such culturally borne limitations of children in general and girls in particular for developing inclusive policies and action plans to promote girls education in particular. Moreover, there should be transparent check on the indices of child labour causing dropouts.

Pakistan has certain laws regarding child labour, age of marriage, property rights, violence against women etc. but all of these steps require a serious program of implementation and ownership by the government as well as the communities to minimise gender discrimination.

To enhance human capabilities, there is a strong need to let girls have access to knowledge through informal and distance education, technology, vocational and skill development. Awareness campaigns, gender sensitive programs and donor assisted projects are required to bridge the gap. The state has to restate its positive, powerful and reinforced vision and act on trying to deliver a high quality of education across all genders.

The number of girls secondary schools need to be raised in the rural areas to retain girls' education. This cycle may be revised from the post primary to tertiary level. Female schooling needs to be substantially subsidised. The provision of safe travel from home to schools and back home go a long way to promote girls' education.

The religious platform, if patronised can serve in an accumulation of social and human capital as well as the promotion of girls' education in a positive way.

Panchayat system (village courtship) needs a major transformation and patronization by the State. A high accountability of the panchayat system,

embodied through political institutions, and self-governance needs to be reflected in the political manifesto. This can be built through community involvement and more gender responsive attitude. Moreover, to address gender specific issues including girls' education, the absence of any female representation in the Panchayat system should be revived through involving effective females and exclusive CBOs.

The legal standing of the *panchayat* system has existed in Pakistan since the 1970s. Yet there is a serious lag on its implementation aspect. Power needs to be decentralized in terms of top-down approach from planning to implementation at community level. The institution of *panchayat* system is to be refined, re-structured (through the improved political role of *wadera* (feudal) and religious leaders) and institutionalized under the umbrella of local government system.

Revitalizing the *panchayat* political power relationship in education and socio-economic development, community involvement for transformation, gender responsive institutionalization under local government system formed the key recommendations leading to sustainable women empowerment in general, through the ladder of girls' education in particular in the areas of education.

Generally, children who receive more resources and are focus of concern by their families and communities perform better than those who do not have any parental or societal support. Public policies regarding education can be profited by involving local communities and by strengthening their involvement in the education system. Donor agencies can generate necessary funds for communities that have brought about a sanguine change, promoted community initiatives and involved them toward achieving positive objectives.

Each community has a certain potential. They are either underestimated or under-utilized or disconnected. This latent potential needs to be exploited in a progressive way with the positive and pro-active approach of the community as in case of *Basti Rasool Pur*. This may be strongly connected with girls' education, female agency at household and community level. Such form of social capital can have a wide effect on the overall state of education of the country.

The MGDs, SDGs, EFA and vision 2030 of Pakistan along with similar initiatives demanded a dedicated level of community ownership and strategic local planning

with political commitment leading to sustainability and equality. Sustainable development calls for a bottom up approach that includes all members of the community. Education is an area that has a direct relation with development, and the role of women in this development cannot be not be ignored.

A body of research in the area of family education suggests an evolutionary change in educating parents (focus on mothers) to motivate them to take interest in education of their children with equal priority for girls.

Glossary

Abba	General term of address for a male
Ada	Elder brother
Addi	Elder sister
Allah	God
Amarat	Building
Amma	Mother, also used as a term of address to a female
Baji	Female teacher is addressed as <i>Baji</i> in an informal setting. That means sister. Word Baji shows reverence, personalized feeling and proximity to the relationship. Secondly children are given the feeling as if they are studying from their elder sister instead of a teacher. Psychologically this is less bothering for a child. Similarly the teacher holds the role of pseudo sister instead of a formal teacher. <i>Baji</i> is also used for a female teacher who does coaching at their home in the evening as a tuition center/class and in this situation she is referred as a <i>Tuition Wali Baji</i> (female tutor)
Bal	Unisex word used to refer to both male and female child
Balochgi	Traditional way of thinking showing reverence to Baloch Caste
Balochi	Name of a language
Balochi Topi	Handmade cap. A handicraft from province <i>Balochistan</i> , Pakistan

Basti	Community
Bhen	Sister
Biradri	Clan
Bochhan	A long scarf. In <i>Urdu</i> it is called <i>Dupatta</i> and A <i>chadar</i> .a long piece of cotton cloth put on over the head and trail along the ground, in the modern context educated females cover their face with it while moving outside instead of wearing a <i>burqa</i> to hide their body and face.
Bunvashaa	Name of a herb
Burqa	Loosely Stitched attire covering from head to toe meant to be wear in public or moving out of home for market or visiting someone.
Chaddar	Long piece of cloth with a longer breath and width covering major body and face.
Chappati	Flatbread made of whole wheat flour in a particular way and afterwards cooked on a flat skillet
Chohar	Boy
Chohir	Girl
Chohray da School	School for boys
Chohri da School	School for girls
Choti Ilaichi	Green cardamom
Daakhla	Admission

Darabha	Women use these sticks after drying for <i>bohari</i> broom and making decorative handicraft like <i>Chabri</i> baskets and <i>pkhay</i> handfans for their family members and as a special gift to their friends and relatives. These handicrafts were sold on a very small scale.
Dedhi	Long unstitched cloth wrapped around the waist.
Dhee	Daughter
Gustaan	Graveyard
Haqoomat	Government
Harrer	Haritaki tree
Jawaan	Unmarried Males after eighteen years of age
Juaan	A woman calls her husband Juaan in public instead of calling his name.
Juga	House
Kala Kali	Honor Killing
Kath	Collection of people
Khaji	Dried date leaves use for making handicrafts for small kids. <i>Bohara</i> of the date tree were used as <i>bohari</i> broom.
Khusa	Hand crafted footwear having finest hand embroidery on leather.
Konndr	Used for weaved handicrafts.
Kurta	Another style of male's sometime having hand embroidery

Language at School	<p>Majority of the teachers prefer to speak <i>Saraiki</i> language with their students at public schools irrespective of the fact that official medium of instruction is Urdu. Similarly students speak <i>saraiki</i> while interacting with their peers and teachers both at school and off school. Colleagues and administrative staff behaves in the same fashion. As a result of this practice students face two big challenges in future. Firstly learning and adapting languages other than their mother tongue is relatively poor among them. Secondly, speaking other language particularly English language becomes a constant fear for them. Thirdly student's basics regarding learning, reading and writing are not clear to them. At local level these practices work for them but when a student enter in the mainstream competition then they are face with multiple challenges pertaining to manners, etiquates and learning in an urban environment particularly.</p> <p>Private schools somehow discourage this practice, a teacher speak <i>Urdu</i> in the class (this tendency greatly vary). Students prefer to speak <i>Saraiki</i> with their peers and class mates. Generally students struggle to be fluent in languages other than their native language.</p>
Madam	<p>Madam is a term is used by female students to call head mistress/Principle of the school to differentiate from other teachers. There are also another reason to give more respect to a teacher than called her <i>Madam</i>.</p>
Madrassa	Religious institution

<i>Madrassa</i>	Mosque school
Maksad	Aim
Mard Ustaad	Male teacher
Marka	Group of people
Maseet	Mosque
Mela	Festival
Milithi de Kathi	Local herb called Liquorice
Miss	In the dictionary form an unmarried, young woman is address as Miss while communicating (Dictionary, 2005). Whereas in the cultural context, <i>Miss</i> is internalized as a term to denote and address a female teacher while communicating. This term is quiet commonly used to address a female school teacher. A female teacher will always be called as <i>miss</i> irrespective of her age, marital status, length of service and it continues to be used as a term of reference even after her life. This term has been adopted as a modern term in contrast to the local term <i>ustaani</i> . It is recognized as more formal, sophisticated and modern term used for a female teacher. In <i>Rasool Pur</i> there number of females associated with teaching was high. Interestingly the teaching as profession has become both term of reference and term of address in the community. One of the respondents was of the view that instead of calling her <i>mami</i> (wife of maternal uncle) with her relation to him, he calls her <i>Miss Najma</i> . Similarly his family also address her by this term of reference in gossip and routine

life at community level. *Miss* is refereed as *Miss* in all situations particularly in *Basti Rasool Pur*.

When a female teacher provides coaching facility at her home after the school then she will be addressed as Miss (Name X). Whereas the one who is not teaching at school will be addressed as Baji against the same services. This term is discussed in detail under a separate heading.

Mula	Religious clergy
Munakaa Darakh	Particular way Dried grapes in turns into Munakka
Nazim	Chairman of the Union Council
Nisri Marrqa	Crystallized sugar lumps
Panchayat	Assembly of locals chiefs
Patwari	Land revenue termed used to denote immediate supervisors of Patwaris (village land record keepers or village land registers.)
Private skool	Private school
Purdah	Covering body and face by long piece of cloth, No interaction with males particularly with strangers.
Qabeela	Tribe
Qoum	Caste
Quom	Caste
Ran	Wife
Sakool	School

Sarkari School	Government school
Sarkari <i>skool</i>	Government school
Seip	Embroidery
Shagird	Student
Shalwar Kameez	Shirt and trouser stitched in a particular fashion. <i>Shalwar Kammez</i> Stitching and designing/styles entirely different by gender. Female dresses are always more vibrant in colours and designs.
Sindhi Ajrak	Long piece of cloth having block printing on it. A handicraft from province <i>Sindh</i>
Sindhi Topi	Handmade cap, a handicraft from province <i>Sindh</i>
Sounf	Aniseed
Tabri	Family
Tabsheer	hard, whitish, substance used for medicinal purpose
Talib <i>e ilam</i>	Student
Taraqi	Progress
Tazeem	Respect
Terbiyat	Socialization
Tibb-e-Unani	Health system which was initially utilized by Greeks and was later on developed into the modern health systems.
Tremat	Female

Ustaad

There are three ways to address a male teacher by students, varying in different scenarios and levels of interactions. When a student need to address a male teacher in a face to face situation then he/she will call him sir or *ustaa gee* without mentioning teacher's name. Similarly in face to face situation *ustaad* is being pronounced as *ustaa gee* instead of *ustaad gee*, this is hasty style. Now the use of tem Sir is quiet common. In the second situation where a teacher is being addressed by the students in his absence then he will be addressed more specifically i.e. Sir (Name X) or *Ustaad* (name X)(Shah & Shah, 2012) were of the view (file on desktop). Sir is the title given to outstanding. Reference to present culture Sir culturally adopted local terms to substitute the word *ustaad* from common use. With the passage of time there are observable changes regarding the behaviour of people with respect to social status of the people and their professions. Similarly it is true in case of social standing of a teacher. High respect was paid to a teacher both at individual and societal level. Local students use to add term *Saien* (most respected) as suffix with the term *ustaad* hence the term of address was *Ustaad saieen*, which is obsolete now. Even when the teacher use to call the attendance of the students then they use to say *hazir Saeen* (most respected person I am present) now the students have comparatively less personalized feelings and respect of a teacher.

Ustaani	This term denote a female teacher. <i>Ustaani</i> holds a lots of respect in their respective communities. Teaching is culturally approved profession and most desired occupation for females. The use of this term was quiet frequent in public schools as compare to private school.
Ustani	Female teacher
Vanni	Women, also refers to a cultural practice depending on the contextualization
Zal	Wife

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Annexure 1

Comparison of Education policies in Pakistan from 1947 to 2009

MATRIX OF 9 DOCUMENTS RELATED TO EDUCATION POLICY MAKING 1947 to 2006	First Educational Conference 1947	National Educational Commission 1959	The Education Policy 1972	National Education Policy and Implementation Program 1979	National Education Policy 1992	National Education Policy 1998-2010
1. Vision / Objectives/aims /Civics sibility/historical perspective of istan movement/ dom gle/Pakistani onalism/culture & tage/minorities gious as well a s culture	Education should be based on the Islamic conception of universal brotherhood of man, social democracy, social justice, and the cultivation of democratic virtues, i.e. tolerance, self-help, self sacrifice, human kindness etc. and the consciousness of common citizenship as opposed to provincial exclusiveness, Envisioned integration of spiritual social and vocational elements education.	No references made to Islam or Islamic ideology .Clear & concise on concerns of national hood, quality of education & creation of welfare State. It declared, 'educational system is the instrument a society uses to equip its entire people to lead productive public lives and full personal lives. It must play a fundamental part in the preservation of the ideals which led to the creation of Pakistan and strengthen the concept of it as a unified nation. .the education system, must strive to create a sense of unity and of nationhood among the people of Pakistan and promote, the desire to create social welfare state	This policy adopted a muted and value natural position on Islam and ideology. Its envisioned promotion and preservation of 'Basic ideology for national and individual live. It called for building nation, cohesion by promoting social and cultural harmony compatible with our basic ideology through the conscious use of educational process	This policy was a watershed in the history of education & education policies in Pakistan. Building on the 1969 policy Islamic & ideological trust it advocated not only islamization of all education but also emphasize that Pakistan be seen in the context of Islamic ummah. It called for revision of all curricula in conformity with Islamic principals reorientation of teachers on the basis of Islamic ideology and advocated centrality of mosque & Madrassah education in the life of Pakistanis .education was to be driven by Islamic precepts & beliefs rather than universalistic principal of Islam that were emphasized by the Quaid-Azam and 1947 -66 policy	This policy is amplification of 1979 policy. It propounded not only Islamization of education but also Islamization of knowledge and Pakistan it declared for example, no other world view certainly not of science and technology, would standup to the social organization designed by the world view of Islam. The policy introduced such novel ideas as Islamic social sciences, Islamic sociology, and envisioned Pakistanis spreading the message of Islam across ummah.	Continuing on the 1979&1992 polices this policy make first, in 21 century it visualize Pakistan as an ideological state.it declares. Pakistan is not secular country...ideology of Islam from the genesis of the state of Pakistan the country cannot survive and advance without places the entire the system of education on a sound Islamic foundation., it goes on to say ,;the only justification of overs existence is over total commitment to Islam as our sole identity;. Second, education is perceived as an instrument to, build us a sound Islamic society, third ,Islam and Islamic values should not be part of Islamic studies alone but also all other disciplines .finally, recognizing the centrality of Islam the policy envisages Pakistan as an ideological stat.
2. Primary/secondary education and school management	Promised free & compulsory primary education up class V to be extended to class VIII. Trained female teachers for this level. Funding to be raised by provincial governments.	Emphasized compulsory primary education and introduced compulsory religious education at this level. Local bodies to manage all primary education. Secondary education divided into three stages: class VI-VIII (middle) class VIII to X (secondary) class X to XII (High secondary).	Announced free & universal education up to class X it was to be accomplished in two phases. In the first phase 1972 all public& private school to provide free education up to class VIII. Second phase starting 1974, free education extended up to class X. it anticipated	The policy launched of frontal attack on 'Westernized & colonial 'model of education 'attributing deterioration of both Islamic cultural values & quality of education. Therefore, laid emphasis on mosque & Mohala schools, called for using village mosques between Fajar and Zohar as primary schools.	The policy noted that despite promises & calls for universals primary education, the ground reality remained dismal. It pointed out that national dropout rate at primary level stood around 50%. It promised education of illiteracy by 2002. Like 1979 policy focused on teacher training & proposed	Continuing in the spirit of 1992 policy recognized the pitfalls of primary & secondary education system the policy purpose a few new initiatives like expanding the role of national education testing services (NETS). Districts Education Authorities to regulate the work education fo8ndation the districts .

3.	Medium of instructions	Proposed Urdu to be compulsory language, Est. Bengal opposed it. However, it called for growth of provincial language & culture, left it to the provinces to decide about the primary school teaching.	Examined the issue of language and medium of instruction in detail. Recognizing the discrepancies in the teaching at primary level in different provinces of Pakistan i.e. in Sindh up to class X instruction was Sindh, the policy called for making Urdu compulsory after class III. Urdu be taught as compulsory language up to class XII as is the case Bengali.	Policy adopted a position beings neglect on medium of instruction. Makes no references to language.	Urdu propounded as lingua France, an instruments of ideology national cohesion and symbol of Muslim culture called for strengthen Urdu has national language primary education, provinces may choose to instruct in Mother tongue / regional language. All English medium schools adopt Urdu. In madrassas, medium of instructions will be Urdu.	Recognizing Pakistan is a multilingual society, it proposed a flexible approach on medium of instruction: provinces make choose regional national language or English as medium of instruction. For higher education English may be continued as medium of instructions.	The policy started that Urdu was adopted as medium of instruction in 1979 but could not be fully implemented and lead to return of elite English medium schools.
4.	Gender and education	Gender awareness was relatively weak at that time, therefore, it was a non issue. Broad references to IBE slam that it does not differentiate in education the basis of sex. The policy allowed co-education at elementary level but called for separate girls and boys schools at secondary the policy made two announcement first for Adult literacy centers 50% of allocations are be given to women centers. Second, incurses the creation of industrial homes, were women could acquire vocational training to earn livelihood.	Again the issue does not cash the imagination of policy makers. However, policy makes three silent points: first girl's primary schools should have same facilities as of boys: second, up class III women be encouraged as primary schools as primary schools teachers: third, for girls department of home economics be creative in universities and colleges.	Like the previously three reports/ polices, this policy also recognized that girl child enrolment and co-education need some attioin and the silution. This policy asserts that ratio of female teacher at primary level is less than 30% therefore, it recommends that a proportionate increase in a number of female primary teachers will help increasing enrolment is only 20% and worsens as one moves to secondary leavel, therefore, it is proposed that more separate schools be created.	The policy launches a frontal attack on co-education it claims that in an Islamic society' male and female education should be separate at all levels. It also asserts that female education has been' glossary neglected' therefore, to improve enrolment and arrest drop out rat, sex, segregated education is imperative at all levels in separate it proposed the establishment of two women of universities one in Lahore and other in Karachi to begin with it climate that by 1992 universal primary female education would be achieved.	This policy treat gender in emergence way. It proposed that female education would be promoted through non formal and distance learning.	Like the previous policy does not address gender issue in education in a comprehensive manner. However, the policy is focused on improving & enhancing the quality of primary school female teachers. It start with the assumption that female teachers are betters & could increase and sustain girl child enrolment rate. Therefore, it proposed a three pronged approach: 70%of the newly established schools would have female teachers for both girls & boys schools: during summers pre-service training would be provided to female teachers: no upper age restrictions for female teachers who join primary schools.
5.	Private education, low pays, high profit & commercialization	Ambiguous on the role of private sector in education: considered education at all levels primarily government responsibility but recognizing the financial constraints encouraged private initiative in elementary education.	The commission encouraged the non-governmental educational institutions to assume leadership role and play their part in promoting education in Pakistan. However, it was not very forthcoming in defining the role of private sector in the educational development in the country.	This policy brought an end to over a decade's complaining about the private educational institutions as reflected in previous policies, it nationalized the entire private education, except for the religious educational institutions. This marked the beginning of an era of public sector education expansion and over lordship of ministry of education.	This policy departed from the previous ones as it aimed not only at reversing the 1972 policy but viewed privatization of education as a viable policy but also viewed privatization of education as a viable policy prescription for changing the direction of education in Pakistan. It announced that private sector would be allowed to open up educational institutions. Nationalization law would be suitably amended and assured no further nationalization would occur. Private sector to play an important.	Building on the 1979 policy this one aimed at institutionalizing the role of private sector in education. To attract the private sector to open up educational institution the policy promised, interest free loan: plots for constructing educational institutions in residential areas on special price and income tax rebate. Philanthropists were encouraged to invest in private education. National & provincial education foundations were to be set up to facilitate & coordinate.	Continued at the path adopted by the 1979 & 92 policies. Expended provisions of denationalization of educational institutions and strengthened privatization instruments. For example it encouraged the adoption of Punjab private educational institutions (promotion & Regulation) Ordinance 1984 NO II by other provinces to serve as a model for privatization. the policy reported that in 1972 the government had nationalized.

Source: Prepared by the Resercher

Annexure 2

Seraiki Nationalist Groups Following are the political parties working for the rights of Seraikis

Seraiki Nationalist Groups Following are the political parties working for the rights of seraikis and they demand the liberation of seraiki speaking areas from Punjab.

Pakistan Saraiki Qaumi Ittehad: Chairman Colonel (Retd) Abdul Jabbar Abbasi. Central Secretariat at Rahimyar Khan, Camp Office at Karachi.

Pakistan Saraiki Party: Its head office is at Multan. Thaj Muhamaad Khan Langah is its President. Taj langah also known as baba saraikistan.

Saraikistan Youth Parliament: Its head office is at Multan. Muhammad Faraz Noon is its Leader. Basic Demand of SYP is a separate province based on administrative distribution, not on language.

- Saraikistan qaumi council
- Saraiki Quomi Movement,
- Saraikistan Qaumi Movement:
- Saraiki National Party
- Saraikistan Qaumi Ithad

(Source: Youth Parliament Pakistan, Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT))

Annexure 3

List of some influential locals of *Basti Rasool Pur*

1	Molvi Musa Khan (late)	1929, author/ writer of <i>Adaab e Atfal</i>
2	Abdul Rasheed Arshad (late)	Poet
3	Naseer Baksh (late)	Astrologist, Writer (Urdu/Persian)
4	Gulzaar Ahmad Sagar (late)	Poet, writings on agriculture
5	Muhammad Safi Sajid (late)	Poet Urdu and Saraiki
6	Dr. Bashir Baloch (late)	Saraiki writer
7	Talat Mahmood (late)	Columnist
8	Nazar Muhammad Khan (late)	Teacher
9	Muhammad Aslam Khan <i>Rasool Puri</i>	Writer of many books in Saraiki, researcher and a renowned Advocate
10	Muhammad Ismail Khan Ahmadani	Wrote many books in Saraiki and received president award for his talent.
11	Jamsheed Ahmad Kamtar	Renowned poet, book writer of Saraiki Language and history, one of his saraiki book is taught as a syllabus book at masters level (MA <i>Saraiki</i>) at Bhawalpur and Multan University
12	Prof. Haq Nawaz	Former Assistant Professor of Government Degree College
13	Raza Salik	Poet Urdu and Saraiki
14	Molvi Naseer Bakhsh (Late)	Astrologist, teacher and author

15	Shamas Ud Shamas (Late)	Poet Urdu and sariaki
16	Najam Ud Din	Lawyer and writer
17	Dr. Muhammad Hassan	Researcher and poet
18	Sarmad Khan	Writer of three books
19	Sibghat Ullah Khan	Principle of High School
20	Haji Muhammad Bakhsh	Retired Deputy Commissioner
21	Hazoor Bano	Retired Assistant Professor of English
22	Sabiha Khanam	Lecturer of Political Sciences
23	Hashmat Sand	Principle of Commerce College
24	Rafi Naseer Khan	Head master
25	Shughfta	Lady doctor
26	Dr. Javeria Bano	Lady doctor
27	Basharat Ali Zafir	Saraiki poet
28	Ali Ahmad Aale	Saraiki poet
29	Muhammad Zaman Dilawaiz	Saraiki, Urdu poet
30	Muhammad Safiq Sabir	Saraiki poet
31	Karim Baksh Faizi	Saraiki poet
32	Muhammad Hashim Chaman	Saraiki poet, novel writer
33	Master Abdul Samad	Urdu poet
34	Younas Masood	Poet
35	Rafia Sarfraz	Novel writer of Afsany

36	Dr. Ghazala	Author of book in saraki, Aj de Marvi
37	Dr. Muhammad Imran	Veterinary Doctor
39	Shamsa Nisa (1926-to date)	First female teacher of the community

Annexure 4



Plate 1: Street name displayed in *Basti Rasool Pur*.



Plate 2: Drop out and out of school adolescent girls engaged in cotton picking along with their mothers.



Plate 3: Lack of transportation for school going children.



Plate 4: Out of school boys engaged in Child Labour.



Plate 5: Out of school girls involved in child labour.



Plate 6: An out of school girl, serving as domestic child labourer in *Basti Rasool Pur*.



Plate 7: Early marriage and early motherhood.



Plate 8: Brief History of Basti Rasool Pur and girls' school.

تاریخ مدرسہ

1935ء میں رسول پور قیام کے بعد ست لوگوں کی کاوش پر اتری
سکول قائم ہوا یہ پرائمری حصہ محمدی جامع مسجد رسول پور کے سامنے کام کرتا رہا
1964ء میں اس درسگاہ کی تین سو پور کے ایک بزرگ عبد العزیز خان کی
کاوش سے روشن ہوتی اور سکول کو مڈل درجہ ملا آج جس جگہ یہ سکول کی عمارت موجود ہے
یہ قیامی گل محمدی نے بطور عطیہ بنایا 1984ء میں اس ادارے کی تین سو کو مزید جلا
بختی گئی یہ تاریخ ساز دن تھا اس قصبہ کے طفل و پیر سیب پلاقی دیوار بنے اور
ایک ہی روز میں ہائی سیکشن کی عمارت کا بیشتر کام کر ڈالا اور علم دوست
ہونے کا ثبوت دیا یوں اس درسگاہ نے بطور ہائی سکول کام کا آغاز
کیا یہی وہ ہے اب ہمیں اس دار سے نکلی کریں دور دور تک دکھائی دیتی
ہیں آج ہم سب ہمہ کرس کہ ادارہ ہدائی ترویج و ترقی خلیتے کام کریں گے
رفع نصیر خان ہیڈ ماسٹر و جملہ سٹاف مدرسہ ہذا رسول پور

Plate 9: History of a school at Basti Rasool Pur.



Plate 10: Inauguration plate of Library in *Basti Rasool Pur*.



Plate 11: Announcement of events in *Basti Rasool Pur*.

چاہ

ہر سال وانگوں میں سال وی
سالانہ چاہ/مشاعرہ دا اہتمام کیتا ویتدہ پتے
طرح منصرے اسے بن

1. کیا حال ستاواں دل دا (خواجہ منہ فرین)
2. بڑے نام اللہ سے لسی (جمشید احمد کٹر)
3. میڈی رہی میڈا تفلڑا میڈا اومان کیا تھیسی (امتیاز فریدی)
4. لکدے اساقوں جیل گبریں (اعتراف علی)
5. دل سے ارمان آنتو میں بہہ آئے (اردو)
6. اچ وی ستر دن آون ستر دن (غلام)
7. دھبروت ولا ~~لا~~ دل آئے (شمارت لائق)

بجانب: R.D.S.
(مچل ونگٹ) سرپر

گوپا (لاہور ہرکارے اندر سکھڑے داساں پنجتانا جوں جہ تبدل اس)

تاریخ: 26/12/2012 بعد نماز عشا

پائیں یار پٹی اوین پیالیاں نال چٹی اوین

Plate 12: Announcement of poetic functions.

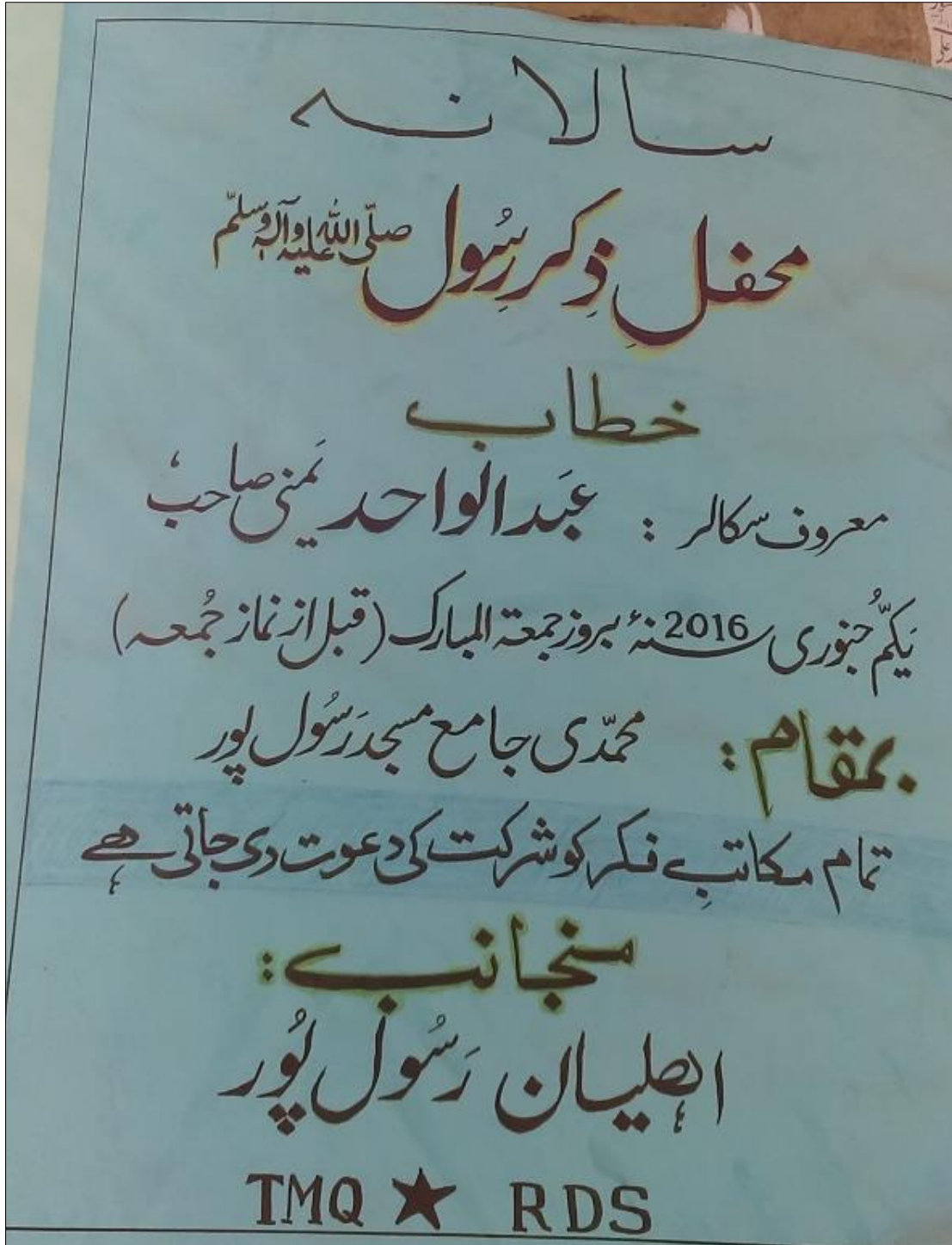


Plate 13: Announcement of religious events.



Plate 14: An empowered elderly teacher, a change agent from *Basti Rasool Pur*



Plate 15: Degree certificate of a female teacher of *Basti Rasool Pur*.



Plate 16: An educated hawker of *Basti Rasool Pur*.



Plate 17: A gardner of *Basti Rasool Pur* who maintains plants at graveyard and other communal places

نمبر	سال امتحان	نام طالبات	ماملوہ نمبر	نمبر شمار	سال امتحان	نام طالبات	ماملوہ نمبر
1	1984	ثاہین اختر	573	16	1999	سحرین گل	604
2	1985	یاسمین بیگم	475	17	2000	فریحہ گل	694
3	1986	مقصودہ بیگم	487	18	2001	عفت آراء	566
4	1987	عفت بی بی	490	19	2002	احقسی طقاریہ	613
5	1988	ممتاز پروین	414	20	2003	پریوش کٹر	652
6	1989	رابعہ بی بی	610	21	2004	حورین عینی	600
7	1990	سفیہ ناز	502	22	2005	طوبی انمول	569
8	1991	کبریٰ خانم	481	23	2006	میونہ اختر	795
9	1992	مہر جمین	570	24	2007	شبانہ فرید	604
10	1993	شاہدہ بی بی	637	25	2008	سمیہ یاسین	661
11	1994	سعدیہ زرگس	623	26	2009	ہالہ فاطمہ	756
12	1995	نسرین اختر	677	27			
13	1996	فریدہ پروین	663	28			
14	1997	کنول راتی	641	29			
15	1998	مہرین گل	587	30			

Plate 18: Outstanding educational performance of girls (students) in secondary exams at district level.



Plate 19: Girls at school in *Basti Rasool Pur*.