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**GENDER DISPARITY IN PRIMARY AND
SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT IN
RURAL AND TRIBAL PAKISTAN**

(BARRIERS IN THE WAY OF RURAL AND TRIBAL GIRLS' ENROLMENT IN SCHOOLS)

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Map of Pakistan



Source, (Google, 2009)

Abstract

The purpose of this paper was to explore the obstacles in the way of girls' enrolment in primary and secondary schools in rural and tribal Pakistan. Here the study explored the main cultural and financial barriers, which have increased a gender disparity in the enrolment of rural and tribal schools. The focus of the thesis was main barriers in the way of enrolment and the role of theoretical concepts such as patriarchy, public private division and poverty in rural and tribal families of Pakistan.

This paper proceeded mainly under the qualitative method with the supplementary touch of quantitative method, where statistics regarding enrolment were presented in the shape of data matrix. The data from books, articles, newspapers and different websites was used and analyzed under theoretical concepts. The results explored that there were many cultural and financial obstacles such as patriarchal mind set of parents, their fears regarding girls' rape, hidden unpaid labor by girls, poverty and insufficient fund allocation for education in the way of girls' enrolment ratio in the rural and tribal schools of Pakistan. Furthermore the concepts of patriarchy, public/private division and poverty had their significant role in maintaining the gender disparity in schools' enrolment.

Key words: Rural Tribal Pakistan, Disparity, Enrolment, Patriarchy, Primary schools, Secondary schools, Poverty, Culture, Traditions, Girls, Women. Parents.

Foreword

Here, I would like to thank Almighty Allah and his beloved Prophet Muhammad Peace Be Upon Him, whose guidelines encouraged me to write this thesis.

I am thankful to my supervisor, Annika Pissin, whose encouragement and guidance support me to complete this thesis.

At the end I would like to offer my kind regards to my parents who never forgot me in their prayers.

ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All kinds of Discriminations Against Women
EFA	Education For All
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HRCP	Human Rights Commission Pakistan
KPK	Khybar Pakhtoon Kha. (A Province of Pakistan)
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoWD	Ministry of Women Development
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NPA	National Plan of Action
PWHRO	Pakistan Women's Human Rights Organization
PIHS	Pakistan Integrated Household Survey
TTP	Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Programme
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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Chapter 1- Introduction

This chapter presents the introduction of my research essay. Here I started generally, while talking about the significant of studies for women and then I move forward describing a gist of international and national initiatives regarding women education and hurdles in the way of women's education in Pakistan. Further this part brings the statistical secondary data to formulate the research question. Then I mention how I proceed for this study. It means design of study is also presented.

“If you educate a man you simply educate an individual, but if you educate a woman you educate a family” (Tembon and Fort, 2008 p xvii).

Gender disparity is not only a women's issue but also a development issue. Contemporary economic development and poverty reduction are incentives for women's empowerment in economic and political realm. Educating girls and women is significant in economic development (Tembon and Fort, 2008 p xvii). It is good engine for a person's personal development, happiness, self-satisfaction and emotional wellbeing when he or she learns to read and write, due to changes in the brain (Heron, 1998 p 3, 6). The girls' and women's education can create the reduction of poverty. It paves the way to increased economic productivity, higher earnings more robust labor markets, and improved societal health and well-being (Tembon and Fort, 2008 p xvii). There are convincing benefits associated with females' education. These consist of the reduction of child mortality, lower fertility rate, good health, enhancement of women's domestic role and their political participation, improvement of the economic productivity and growth, and protection of abuses and exploitation by family and society. Girls' education gives the way to some of the highest returns of all investments (World Bank, 2009).

Pakistan is located in West and South Asian region bordering Afghanistan, Iran, India and Arabian Sea. Estimated population is more than 170 million in 2010. Almost 64 percent live in rural areas, which is the two third of the total population. Men and women are with the ratio of

108 males per 100 females. It consists of four provinces such as Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK). Tribes are found in each province of Pakistan mostly in rural areas; however in KPK and Baluchistan many areas are considered tribal areas consists of seven agencies (parts) along with the border of Afghanistan. These areas are federally administrated by the government of Pakistan (UNESCO, 2010 p 1).

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1979. This document describes what comprises discrimination against women and makes an agenda for national action to eradicate such discrimination. Article 10 talks about the gender education. It urges to give women and men equal access to education. Pakistan ratified this Convention in 1996. By accepting the Convention, Pakistan committed to undertake a series of measures to end discrimination against women in all forms including education (Ian et al. 2006 p 22-25).

The international community's promises for universal education were also made in the 1984 Universal Declaration of Human rights. Along with this, Pakistan is a signatory of the world declaration 1990 on education for all. This international commitment calls for asserting basic education as a human right. In the same decade, the government of Pakistan launched National Education Policy 1992-2002, which aimed to be a special initiative to enroll and retain girls in schools and offers them distance education to improve women's education rate in the country. In the end of 20th century, the government of Pakistan brought a new National education policy 1998-2010, where free and compulsory education act was introduced in all the provinces (Farah and Shera, 2007 p 4, 8).

Pakistani society is connected with some traditional norms and customs. Rural and tribal areas of Pakistan are much more linked with cultural and traditional practices based on male dominance and women submission. Violence against girls and women exists in forms of physical, sexual and economical shapes and mostly happen with domestic spheres. These practices occur in the shape of beating girls and women, marital rape, killings of women in the name of honour in Pakistani patriarchal society (Kay, 2007 p 2). Traditionally, girls receive less food and health care than boys by the parents and even culture calls for girls and women to eat last (Mulims, 2010).

Rape and harassments in schools and workplaces are the issue of this society. According to HRCP report 2008, 80% wives are harassed by their husbands and 50% of wives admitted that

they are the victim of their husband torture at home. Recently in 2010 a father stabbed his daughter for visiting the hospital alone, because girls and women alone visits are consider against their customs and traditional norms in Pakistani rural and tribal societies. These violent practices show that Pakistani male especially rural and tribal men are concerned to keep girls and women under their domain and control (PWHRO, 2010).

The status of Pakistani female is regarded as a lower than that of women in other South Asian countries. Girls in poor families and in rural areas are taught and forced to live inferior to the boys. Women in rural areas, who account for 70% of the total rural population, have educational level lower than that of men. They have insufficient food, less provisions of health and medical care services. Along with this educational and training opportunities are not provided to females and their lives are being exploited and discriminated (Contry Wid Profile, 1999 p 3).

Women in Pakistan, particularly in rural and tribal areas are living at the bottom end in educational sector as compare to the males. Traditionally, it is considered that females are limited to their homes and males are the earners for the family (Noureen and Awan, 2011 p 79).

The World Bank made its dedications to reduce poverty and helping poor and developing countries by investing in their education systems. In this way, it will meet the achievement of the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) as its main priority of World Bank, “eliminating gender disparity in primary¹ and secondary² education”. The World Bank has perceived that there is no effectual and successful investment more than education girls to achieve development goals (World Bank, 2009).

Millennium Development Goal 2 is to accomplish universal primary education, “with the target of ensuring that all boys and girls complete a full course of primary schooling by 2005” (not achieved by Pakistan). MDG 3 aims to “promote gender equality and empower women, with the target of eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 in all levels of education by 2015” Education is everybody’s human right. This simple fact is at the central to UNICEF’s commitment to girls’ education. It says that no girl is to be barred from school irrespective of their country’s situation. They are doing to achieve the goal with their full

¹ Primary school level is from class 1 to 5 in Pakistan.

² Secondary education level is till class 10. Here in my thesis higher secondary education level is not under discussion.

potential and capacity. Despite decades of attentions to this crucial matter, gender disparity is on its climax in Pakistani rural areas (Noureen and Awan, 2011 p 80).

Gender disparity in education hits mostly in poor and developing countries. A considerable gender disparity in gender education has been reported in last two decades. Gender inequality is now thought as a vital concept for the alleviation of poverty because of its negative impacts on education particularly on women education. Same is the case with the Pakistan, where females' access to education is influenced by poverty in Pakistan (Rahman and Chaudry, 2009 p 175).

Most of rural families do not allow their daughters to go to school in order to take part in household chores. In Male dominant societies, families give priority to boys for education only. Some parents send their daughters to nearby schools but they hesitate to send them to the distant schools. Urban areas are exceptional, where rich families are less reluctant to send them to distant. Cultural customs such as purdah (veil) and early marriages stay in poor houses, which represent the majority of population and become the central factors for generating gender gap in enrolment and blocking girl's education (Country Wid Profile, 1999 p 9).

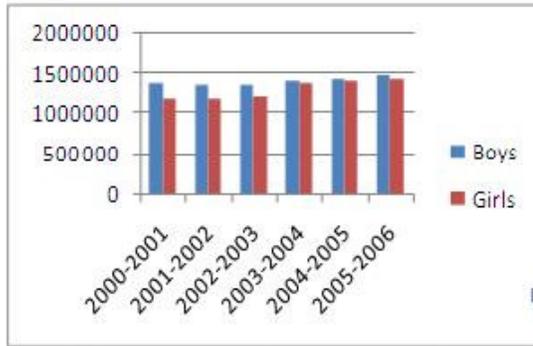
The literacy rate was 45% to 54% in the years of 2002 to 2006 and primary enrolment was 42% to 52% for both boys and girls. However these rates remained lowest in South Asian countries with the wide gender rural-urban disparities (World Bank, 2006).

Primary Net Enrolment Rate in Pakistan 2000-2008

Year	Male NER	Female NER
2000-01	67.5	45.8
2004-05	73.2	55.7
2005-06	56	48
2006-07	60	51
2007-08	59	52
2008-09	61	54

Table 1, (UNESCO, 2010 p 10)

Primary Enrolment By Gender in Pakistan
Urban Areas



Rural Areas

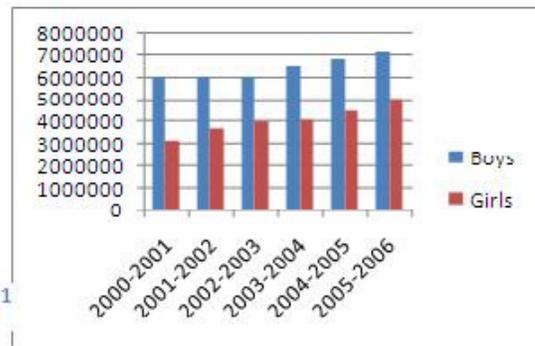
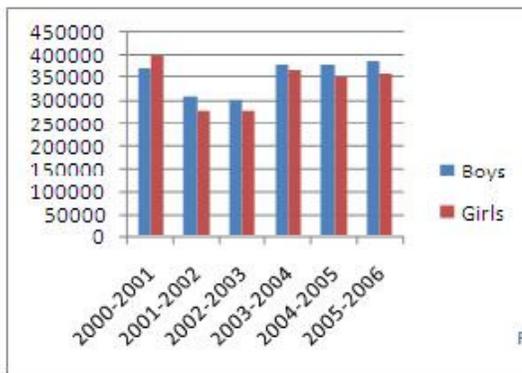


Figure 1

Secondary Enrolment by Gender in Pakistan

Urban Areas



Rural Areas

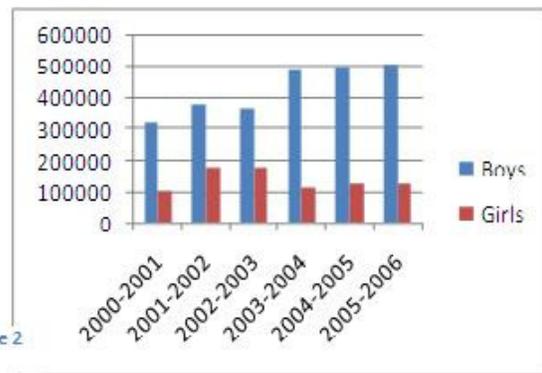


Figure 2

Statistical Data is taken from secondary source (Chaudry & Rahman, 2009, 178-180).

Table 1 (page 4) shows the overall situation of primary education in Pakistan. This statistic shows the improvement in overall gender parity on primary level from 2000 to 2008. In 2000-01 female NER was 45.5% and increased to 54% in 2008-09. Along with this, statistical data in above mentioned figures from 2000-2006 also shows increase and improvement took place in overall enrolment rate across the genders. Rural girls' enrolment increased from 3 million to 5 million (see figure 1) and on secondary level, rural girls' trends of enrolment looks same except in the years of 2002 and 2003 (See figure 2). Gender parity Index in primary school enrolment is 0.63 in Sindh, 0.72 in Punjab, 0.38 in Baluchistan and 0.42 in Khyber Pakhtoon Kha province (Buzdar and Ali, 2011 p, 17).

Figure 1 and 2 shows that boys of urban areas have almost the same enrolment rate as the girls have in their primary and secondary levels. However there is a huge gender gap in rural areas at primary and secondary level. Gender disparity is more broadened at secondary level

education. Although women are the 70% of the rural population yet they have sometime less than half of the boys' enrolment rates. In rural areas, girls' enrolment rate increased generally on primary level, however gap also maintained in gender through the years of 2000-2006. In the year of 2000-01, 6 million boys enrolled in rural areas school on primary level. In the same time, only 3 million girls were enrolled. In 2005-06, more than 7 million boys were enrolled in comparison to the 4.7 million girls in primary level. In secondary level, the gender disparity is huge. In the year of 2005-06, only 0.1 million girls were enrolled whereas half million boys were enrolled in the rural areas of Pakistan (Rahman and Chaudry, 2009 p 178). Human Rights commission of Pakistan also agreed by saying "Gender disparities were also higher in rural areas as compared to urban areas at all levels" (HRC Report, 2008 p 169).

1.1- Purpose of the Paper and Statement of the Problem

Efforts by international commitments and national government policies were fine to reduce gender disparity in education; however these did not work significantly in rural areas of Pakistan. And as say that Pakistan have failed to achieve MDG goal of gender equality by 2005. The above discussion explores that the last two decades manifests many endeavors in shape of governmental policies such as National Education Policy 1992-2002 and National Education Policy 1998-2010, and international commitments such as CEDAW 1979 and EFA declaration 1990. Policies and practices show the consistent acknowledgement of girls' education and intentions to meet the gender parity and equality in primary and secondary levels under the MDG goals, however despite free primary and secondary education, gender gap is persisted today particularly in rural, tribal and areas of Pakistan (Rahman and Chaudry, 2009 p 178).

Above policies and initiatives discussion about education and statistics about gender disparity bring some key points that there could be some obstacles in the way of girls' education, either they are cultural or financial, faced by rural and tribal³ girls.

In this paper, I intend to explore and discuss these obstacles named Cultural and financial constraints with deep and theoretical understandings.

³ Tribal areas are dealt here as a part of rural areas, because, tribes are mostly the part of rural areas in whole Pakistan, however in the provinces of Baluchistan and KPK, they are in large number.

1.2- Design of Study

1.2.1- Case Study

I focus on Pakistan as a single case study to analyze girls' enrolment situation and explore the basic reasons for their less enrolment rate on primary and secondary level. A case study can be defined as a research strategy, an inquiry based on empirical evidence that investigates a problem within its real-life contexts (Robert K 2009). So, gender gap in rural and tribal education is a problem within our real life context, when girls and women are discriminated in the field of receiving education. This thesis consists of detailed analysis of single case regarding rural and tribal girls' discrimination in the field of education in Pakistan (Bryman, 2008 p 52, 53). I analyze rural and tribal areas of Pakistan as a whole, because in future I intend to work on Pakistani women's right. So it is a base of my future work.

1.2.2- Time

This research focus the period of 2000 to 2008 mainly, because it's the start of 21st century, the climax of globalization age, when women have better knowledge about their rights futher international community is emphasizing on women education. It is also the period of military dictatorship in Pakistan. In that era, Military forces were fighting against terrorism in mostly tribal and rural areas of Khyber Pakhtun kha (KPK) province. In the meanwhile the extremists were destroying the infrastructure of those areas along with girls' school. So I intend to see this duration in my paper regarding rural tribal girls' enrolment and main obstacles for their lesser enrolment rate.

1.2.3- Education Level and Age

This thesis deals with primary and secondary education particularly, because in mostly rural areas girls are discriminated and forbidden to get even primary education, because in the early childhood ages they have been taught to help their mothers in the house hold chores. If they had been received primary education fortunately, their parents are reluctant to send them for the secondary education in order to save family's chastity and honour, If they send their young girls to the schools they feel the fear of rape with the girls. Parents also consider that there is no benefit for them of girls' secondary education, because after all they have to move their husband's house after marriage to serve her husband and his family. On the other hand, MDG 3 aims to "promote gender equality and empower women, with the target of eliminating gender

disparities in primary and secondary education (Noureen and Awan, 2011 p 80). So MDG goal 3 is also a reason to choose the education levels for this paper. As I discuss the primary and secondary education of rural girls in my paper, so girls from the age of 5 to 10/11 (Primary level) and 10 to 15/16 (Secondary level) are my focus.

1.2.4- Qualitative Method

In this paper, mainly qualitative method is adopted. Here I explore deeply the reasons for the girls lesser enrolment rate in rural and tribal schools. Qualitative research method would be a helping method for scientific research, where I would investigate some questions to produce findings by the collection of evidence. I use this method because qualitative method has the advantages such as, it generates the rich and detailed data in words and I intend to have detailed and rich data to make my research reliable and understandable to the readers. It is also a method of theory emergent from the data collection, where theories can be generated or modified. I apply some theories here such as (Bryman, 2008 p 391) patriarchy, public private division and concept of poverty.

1.2.5- Data Collection and Documents

The main data is collected through documents, as Bryman (2008) referred that qualitative research generates a large data in the shapes of media, transcripts and documents. Documents are in the shape of journals, articles, books. Along with book and online articles, there is an attempt to consult some organizational websites such as Human rights Commission Pakistan (HRCP), UNICEF, The World Bank reports of 2000, 2006, 2009 and 2010, and UNESCO reports 2000 and 2010. Human Rights Commission Pakistan report 2008 is also the part of the data sources.

1.2.6- Quantitative Method

Some times in academic research numbers are dealt as quantitative method. Here in my thesis quantitative method would be selected to some extent “to infer from one case to larger population”. It means to get information about the connected and relevant aspects of the population of the society. (Silverman, 2005 p 128) Here this paper brings the statistical secondary data about the gender enrolment rate particularly about rural women from the year of 2000 to onwards in Pakistan to analyze the case properly. This mixture of quantitative and qualitative evidence .single problem research provides the statistical involvement from

quantitative data. (Robert K, 2009), whilst I use the statistical data from the articles and websites Here I take secondary statistical data from article (Rahman and Chaudry, 2009 p 178-180), annual reports of The World Bank and present that data in the shape of data matrix.

1.2.7- Triangulation and Theoretical Model

In academic research triangulation is used to increase the validity and credibility of results, where researcher tries to explain something by more than one way (Cohen and Manion, 2000 p 254). Here, in my thesis, I use the text to explore the barriers in the way of girls' enrolment in rural and tribal schools of Pakistan. Meanwhile I also use some theoretical concepts such as poverty, patriarchy, and public/private division for analysis. Furthermore, Pakistan is a developing country connected with the traditions and cultural phenomena, so these concepts are related to the situation of less enrolment of girls in rural and tribal schools.

1.2.8- Abductive Approach.

I apply the abductive approach here. Abductive approach has different meanings. Mostly it is called as "systematic combining" of deductive and inductive approach. Where I start from theories and test the data under these theories. Here I run some time back and forth between data and theories. I mean, while studying the data if I find anything important to add in theoretical part of my thesis I put that concept in my theoretical part of my thesis. So it means to run back and forth between data and theories, so that I could get some new concepts or reasons in rural and tribal areas regarding lesser enrolment in primary and secondary education (Dubios and Gadde, 2002 p 559).

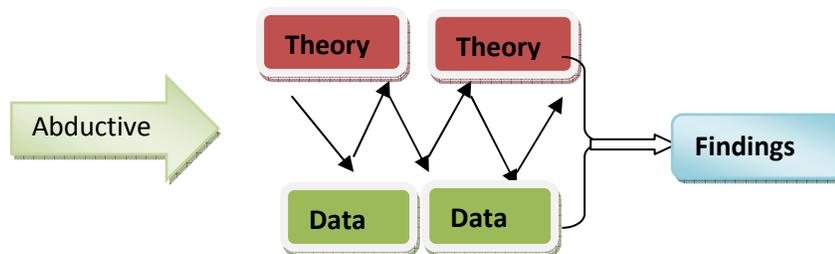


Figure 1

Made Under the Abductive Theory

1.2.9- Validity, Reliability and Ethics

In academic writings the validity and reliability of the data are the prominent questions. Reliability means that either the outcomes of the conducted study are repeatable or not. Are the results consistent? Meanwhile validity is defined to test the degree of results and findings are comprehensive and general in social world (Bryman, 2008 p 149, 151). Here in my thesis, research is with the help of text of world, found in the shape of book, articles, human right and educational websites about the female child enrolment in rural and tribal areas, because I did not conduct field work in those areas in person. I use the text of other researchers and latest material available to me. So here in my thesis, I consult the secondary data (Neuman, 1999). My endeavors do best that other researchers find the same results and outcomes, when they research the same topic under secondary material. If, however, I aim at conducting fieldwork within the topic in hand, ethical consideration is of very important as the topic has to be regarded as very sensitive and informants may put themselves at severe risks if identified here.

1.2.10- Delimitations of the Research

This research has some limitation intend to narrow down the focus of the paper and to control the vastness of the research topic. This study focuses on girls' school enrolment on primary and secondary level in rural and tribal Pakistan. So this thesis does not deal much with boys and urban aspects under the gender disparity in school enrolment. There are many other aspects of gender disparity and violence faced by females in Pakistan in both rural and urban areas. However, other gender disparities and urban areas are not the part of discussion here, only primary and secondary levels are under discussion. Because, on primary level mostly a daughter is often a helping hand in house hold chores with her mother and on secondary level she often gets puberty and parents think about her marriage in most rural and tribal areas. Furthermore, this study is limited to the secondary data as I am not conducting field work due to the insufficient time and money. However, I am aware that conducting field work by other researcher in the area of discussion lead to the other results.

2- Literature Review

This section presents the literature review regarding girls' education and gender gap in the enrolment ratio in rural and tribal areas of Pakistan. Here the work of the other authors will be described in short. This part of my paper also discusses about the previous work regarding the hurdles and obstacles in the way of girls' enrolment in rural and tribal areas of Pakistan.

2.1- Gender Disparity In Education

Today female education in Pakistan faces countless hurdles including traditional limitations and poverty. The government of Pakistan sets in its policies the target to accomplish Universal Primary Education, but unfortunately the target has not been achieved yet. The gender gap in rural primary education is higher than in urban areas of Pakistan. As for the primary net enrolment rate in urban areas of Pakistan was 1.6 million for males and 1.5 million for girls in 2005-06. In the same period, primary enrolment in rural areas was 7 million for males and about 4.5 million for girls. In secondary level, girls' gross enrolment rate is almost same to the male in urban areas but in rural areas it is less than half of the boys' enrolment (Rahman and Chaudry 2009 p 178).

Pakistan was on 112th number out of 115 countries in overall gender gap according to the World Economic forum survey 2006 and downed its rank to 128 out of 130 in the World Economic Forum survey 2009 (Global gender gap report, 2008).

2.2- Governmental and Non Governmental Initiatives for Girls' Education

During the last two decades 1990-2010, several policy initiatives were taken by the Government of Pakistan, each with ensuring step for improving girls' education in the country. Educational policies, particularly, the National Education Policy 1992, offered special incentives to enroll and retain girls in schools, particularly in rural areas and the National Education Policy 1998-2010, committed to establish women universities in all provinces and to the construction of girls' schools preferably. Besides this in 1993-4 the Government of Pakistan launched a plan named Social Action Programme (SAP). The focal point was to improve the social indicators for

girls and women. In 1995, as an immediate response to United Nations Fourth Conference on Women (UNFCW) held in Beijing (1995), the Ministry of Women's Development (MoWD) of the Government of Pakistan launched a National Plan of Action, which also focused on girls' education. This initiative was taken to reduce the gender gap in education and to promote girls' education by forming public/private partnerships in the community to build and run schools (Khalid and Mukhtar, 2002 p xvii).

The Government of Pakistan made the National Plan of Action (NPA) on Education for All 2001–2015 under the international commitment by signing the Education for All in Dakar April 2000. The main objectives of this plan are to make possible and ensure access to education for disadvantaged rural female groups. In September 2009, a new National Education Policy of Pakistan was approved by the Government. It pointed out that Pakistan had persistent gender and rural-urban disparities in access to education. It (policy) also aims to revive the existing education system and enable Pakistan to meet its promises and commitments to the Education for All objectives and the Millennium Development Goals relating to education (UNESCO, 2010 p 2). However, regardless the Government's tremendous efforts commitments for providing basic education to all, Pakistan have one of the highest rates of illiteracy in the world (ibid, p 16).

One of the major obstacles to girls' education is the cost of schooling, which affects girls' disproportionately. Girls from poor households enroll less in primary level in rural and underdeveloped areas. In Pakistan the FFE programme was started in 1998. It encouraged poverty-stricken parents to end cultural and economic obstacles placed on the way of attaining education by their children. In WFP's Country Program (2005-2009), school feeding benefited more than 400,000 girls on primary level in more than 30 backward districts all over the country. Each girl received a monthly 'take home' ration of a 4 liter tin of vegetable oil, snacks and meal by attending 20 days at least to school (Lambeis 2008). Ahmad et al. (2007) also mentioned that FFE programmes lead to the improvement of enrolment and attendance of girls in particular, reduced "failure particularly in the lower primary school grades, and for on-site meals or snacks programmes improved student learning capacity" (ibid, 4).

Along with the other assistance, the Non Government Organizations (NGOs) are a significant part of promoting education in Pakistan. These organizations are considered as the lifeline in the development of education in Pakistan. Many of these organizations have objectives such as promoting issues of literacy, sponsor education, construct school buildings especially for

the girls' schools (National Foundation of Education, unknown). Some of local NGOs collect money from community, some receive foreign aid. NGOs working in rural and urban areas of Pakistan are several. Some of them are Rural Development Organization Kot Addu, Women Development Organization, Sir Sayyad Welfare society Jampur in Punjab and Alam Education society, Youth Education Societies, Health Economy Literacy Promoters, and Villagers Welfare Organization etc in Sindh. In Baluchistan, NGOs such as Rural Community Development Organization, Voice for Poor and Needy, Movement for Restoration for Women rights Baluchistan are taking initiatives for girls' education, meanwhile NGOs such as Kyber Welfare Organization. Rural Development Organization and Tribal Women Welfare Organization are working in KPK province. However disparity in gender enrolment still persists in those areas (ibid).

2.3- Main Hurdles in the Way of Girls' Education

Education is value added ability to the females, Education increases girls' productivity and make them less vulnerable to harassment and violence. Poor families allocate scarce resources to their sons' education, expecting higher economic returns. However some cultural limitations discourage parents from sending their daughters to mixed gender schools (Hassan Aly, 2006).

In rural areas, there are few schools with female teachers and less separate schools for girls due to the "inveterate custom" (Country WID Profile, 1999, 9). Mostly parents do not send their girls to schools, because they are very much concerned about the safety of their girls' chastity (ibid). Memon (2007, 48) points out that enrolment is higher in urban areas and in the provinces of Sindh and Punjab, among the higher income group, and in males.

Khalid and Muthtar (2002 p viii) mention that girls' education in Pakistan is one of the great needs to be exercised while painting the future of girls. In Pakistan, girls' education is subjected to the many forces such as barriers of poverty, female's lower status in male dominating society and their security and chastity concern related to the family and society.

When Jejeeboy and Sather (2001 p 701) discuss the customs and cultures in Pakistan, they perceive that cultural traditions and norms in many rural parts of Pakistan insist that females should stay at home and they need permission if they want to go outside. If it is permitted to leave, they "must always be accompanied by a male household member or other women and children". Shaukat (2009 p 7) agrees and mentions that the most disparity is found in rural

education in Pakistan where girls' enrolment rates are very much below that of boys in rural areas. These illiterate parents keep their female children away from the school due to the cultural constraints and traditional bindings for girls.

There are many factors related to traditional beliefs cultural norms, and practices can have a strong negative impact on girls' enrolment, persistence and performance in schools. In Pakistani societies, where the pregnancy of unmarried daughters is regarded as culturally and traditionally shameful for family and society, parents, in most rural areas, give their daughters in marriage as soon as their daughters reach the age of puberty and some time before puberty. Parents arrange early marriages mainly to avoid embarrassment (Colclough. et al. 2000 p 22). Early marriages are also the consequences of poverty. Parents some time manage their daughters' marriage to diminish the number of mouths to feed in large families, because it is difficult for an earner of family to feed many member of his family due to poor income (Adams, 2011).

In Pakistan, there is an obvious division of gender roles in society. Women and girls are responsible for housework and men and boys are responsible for supporting the family. Thus boys are directed by the families to go to school. Instead of this, girls are not allowed to even leave the premises of home. Parents perceive that there is little incentive or no use of educating girls in household chores (UNESCO, 2010 p 19).

Lloyd and Sathar (1994 p 5) discuss the results of government's low outlays on education lead to poor quality schools, Low outcomes in primary education in Pakistan had (has) been due to the inadequate supply of separate school for females and the insufficient supply and distribution of schools particularly in rural areas.

The Education Sector in Pakistan suffers from insufficient financial support (Human Development Centre, 1998). Allocation of insufficient finance and resources is the one of the great obstacle in increasing enrolment rate in Pakistan. Pakistan committed many times to raise education budget up to 4% but it remained under 2% due to the scarcity of resources and finance Pakistan has been allocating insufficient financial resources for education to construct girls' school and providing missing facilities to the already constructed schools. Allocation of low education budget is another factor to deprive children particularly girls in rural areas of Pakistan. There is good incentive for girls offered by World Food Programme in rural and underdeveloped

areas. This led to significant development in the enrolment and retention of girls in schools (UNESCO, 2010 p 18).

Today the ongoing clash between various groups in many parts of Pakistan has made a complex issue, which is affecting girls and their access to education. In those areas in poor security situation parents are much reluctant to send their daughters to the schools. In those areas militants often destroy the girls' schools deliberately, which further restricts the girls movements to the schools. In the conflicted areas female teachers are also reluctant to go to school due to the threats; they receive from the extremists and militants. So when there are no female teachers to teach girls, no girl students in schools (UNESCO, 2010 p 20).

Chapter 3- Theoretical Framework

This section of the paper outlines the set of concepts or theories. These concepts will be used to analyze the rural and tribal girls' education situation in Pakistan. Here these set of ideas such as patriarchy with its created division of public/private has been discussed in a gist. The conceptual understanding of poverty is also briefly included in this chapter.

3.1- Patriarchy and Divisions within Society.

In recent discourses, patriarchy is often referred to the rule and control of men over women (Maseno and Kilonzo, 2010 p 45). Patriarchy is a social system in which men appropriate all social roles and keep female in subordinate status. It is generally considered in patriarchal societies that women need supervision of men (Kambarami, 2006 p 3). In patriarchal societies men are automatically taken as the head of the family who control, and take care of their sisters and occasionally mothers. In this situation, girls face violence from mother in laws and their husbands under the new family after their marriages. Girls face physical violence in shape of kicking and punching, and humiliation and emotional violence by their husbands. Meanwhile boys are considered necessary for the survival of the family by bringing in new women into the family, who give birth to children and do the child care and care of her in-laws (ibid).

On domestic level, patriarchy is regenerated in sons by a father's ability to bequeath to his sons the power and authority to command over wives, sisters and children (Kalabamu, 2006, 238). It is also perceived as hierarchy, "where a few at the top have the most control, the people in the middle have medium, and the majority on the bottom have very little" (Elias, 2008 p 5). The top peoples control values, systems, law, institutions and lands. Top ones keep their control by threat, fear and force (ibid).

Patriarchal societies can be found historically in different forms in Asia and Europe, where residence, descent and property proceeded by the male line. In today's patriarchy, the elder or senior man has control and authority over everyone else in the domestic sphere including women and other younger men (Valintine M and Moghadam, 1992 p 6). They (women and other men) are subject to and under the control of the senior men. The key to the reproduction of

today's patriarchy lies in the household, which is also commonly associated with the peasantry in agrarian societies, where girls and women are assimilate into the meaning of patriarch property (ibid). Young girls are the property of parents, where mother order her to do this or that about household chores and father supervise them. She is a property in the hand of her husband after marriage, where she faces brutality and violence in the hands of her husband same as a commodity is used by the owner (Okin, 2000).

In patriarchal societies, male privileges are promoted through male dominated and male centered. Patriarchy is male dominated in the sense of authority on political economic, religious, legal, domestic and educational sphere. Privileges in these spheres are mostly reserved for boys and men. Head of state, religious leaders, member of legislation even in domestic level household heads are men. Patriarchy is male centered in the sense, that focus of attention is primarily considered to men. Newspaper stories and movies are usually focusing men (Johnson, 2005 p 2-8). In school, while boys are sent by the families to the school, girls are not allowed to even leave the premises of the home. Parents mostly pay attention on boys for education as parents perceive that there is no use of educating girls in household chores. After all girls have to move to another home after their marriages (UNESCO, 2010 p 19). Boys and men are the center of attention while girls and women occupy the margin. This phenomenon can be seen in the early stage in domestic and family sphere, when the female child is considered inferior to the male child. Male children are often perceived superior even if they are born after the female child. Parents focus on boy's health, leads to the neglect of girl child in health care and education (Kambarami, 2006 p 3).

Despite these feathers in patriarchal societies, however that does not mean that all men are powerful or all women are powerless. Many of men spend their time under the order of other men order in patriarchies. Simultaneously many powerful women who occupy political posts and are judges, but they (powerless men and powerful women) in all spheres stand out as exceptions (Johnson, 2005 p 2-8).

The patriarchal society is where control and power are held by male heads of the family. Men also have their control publically outside the family Therefore one can easily find two spheres named private and public spheres under the men control. In the private side in the household, the patriarch enjoys from his power over all females, other males and all children. In the public sphere, power is split between many male patriarchs. In that sphere, no female holds

any public position of political, economic or ideological power. In fact in patriarchal societies females are not allowed into this realm to share the power publically (Valentine M and Moghadam, 1992 p 7). It means that patriarchal societies have differentiated the public from the private; in public sphere power relations are between male heads and in private sphere mostly one patriarch ruled formally (ibid p 8). Kalambamu considers it outdated. He says that today's public sphere has female participation. We should not marginalize women completely, because today's women have reduced their dependency on men. They do their jobs in public sphere and share powers in the offices side by side with men. This is all due to the development of modernity, awareness of rights (Kalambamu, 2006 p 238).

In this social world, public sphere is defined as a sphere within life where people discuss or identify some issues or problems and cause to create political action. The public realm includes societal groups and individuals for their common interests. However the private sphere is where any individual can enjoy the control and authority without any interference of governmental or public side, As Elshtain (1993) describes about the two spheres of society. That private world is "familial" while the public world is that of "politics". Elshtain also mentions that the private or familial realm is actually the part of public sphere, because existence of private world depends only on public sphere in this social world (Elshtain, 1993 p 10, 12). Segal (1991 p 351) quotes Walby's saying that these two spheres are different kinds of patriarchy. Walby explains that private kind of patriarchy as a household product, where women are controlled by individual patriarch. In the public realm, women are under the supervision of public patriarch. In both kind of patriarchy, men derive their power from culturally and traditionally constructed rules in marriage, work, income earned, social status and participation in politics, political positions, education attained and other domestic activities (Kalabamu, 2006 p 238). Male dominance exists undoubtedly in Pakistani societies in both domestic and political spheres. So Patriarchy and public private spheres are quite relevant to the society where girls have less enrolment rate despite having almost fifty percent of the whole population of the country.

3.2- Conceptual Understanding of Poverty

Poverty is not a statistical concept but ethical. The term does not mean only the absence of food, cloth and shelter; however it has many dimensions such as lack of capability to overcome hunger, illness, violence, injustice and ignorance. The World Bank also says that

poverty lies in absence of empowerment, security and opportunity, and it does not mean only just the lack or absence of food on the table (Wall, 2006).

The word poverty does not merely involve low levels of income or expenditure. It has many dimensions. Amartya Sen's work has made broaden our understanding of poverty. He defines it as a state or condition which "results in an absence of the freedom to choose arising from a lack of what he refers to as the capability to function effectively in society" (Berg, 2008 p 1). This multidimensional definition goes beyond the other notions of poverty, where it was perceived as only the lack of financial resources (ibid).

When poverty is linked to the lack of sufficient and proper financial resources, it is essential to talk about its two different components name 'Absolute poverty' and 'Relative poverty'. Absolute poverty refers to the absence of financial resources required to uphold a certain minimum standard of living. The component of poverty line can be adjusted, based on many factors. The commonly used poverty line is set by the World Bank for making international comparisons is US\$1 or US\$2 per person per day. This kind of absolute poverty line presents a fixed yardstick by which change can be measured in regions or states. It is to know that either concerning region or country is making progress by reducing poverty or not. 'Relative poverty' is measurement, by which one society or country's poor standard of living or low income is relative to the rest of societies or countries (Berg, 2008 p 2). Unlike absolute poverty, relative poverty suggests that the lack of access to many of goods and services, expected by the other contemporary societies. A person who may not be considered as a poor man in Bangladesh under the same financial condition and recourses might be regarded as poor in Sweden (Berg, 2008 p 1).

Both these kinds of poverty are very much relevant to education. Less financial resources may limit school attendance among the poor in developing countries. It is widely accepted that there is a vital relationship between education and poverty, which runs in two different directions. Poor people are often unable to get access to education and some time adequate education, and without education people are often limited to a life of poverty. Same is the case here with the poor rural and tribal people of the Pakistan (Berg, 2008 p 1). So, in the following I will analyze this concept of the poverty to rural and tribal girls' enrolment in Pakistan and study the role of poverty in rural and tribal girl's enrolment in schools.

Chapter 4- Cultural and Financial Factors for the Less rates of Girls' Enrolment in Rural and Tribal Schools in Pakistan

This chapter consists of two parts. First part will present the cultural and financial factors and barriers in the way of rural and tribal girls' education in Pakistan. Here in most factors, I will try to include girls' story regarding the concerning barrier, so that my reader could understand easily.

4.1- Cultural and Financial Constraints

It is again culture because parents prefer sons. Parents used to think that their old age security is attached to the better income of their sons. Parents during their old age have to live with their sons. If son is educated and earn more they have a better future (Noureen and Awan, 2011, 83).

Girls' participation in education is higher in cities than in rural areas. In rural and tribal areas, people who encourage their girls to go to school against prevailing traditions and customs are in the minority. Socio-cultural conditions don't allow common villagers to spare enough courage for the education of their girls. Cultural and traditional pressures do not promote girls' education particularly in rural areas. Parents find that it is a waste of time and money, because mostly girls are not considered as wage earning hands after their marriages in the next family (Shahzad et al. 2011 p 971).

Parents consider that a school attending girl is a great risk for their honour especially when the girl has to walk a distance to attend school. More over family thinks after all she has to serve her next family after marriage. These kind of cultural thoughts discourage girls to attend schools (Farah and Shera, 2007 p, 20).

The traditional and cultural norms in rural Pakistan have created a situation in which men and women have become stigmatized into different family duties, where girls and women accept the most of family responsibly at home and boys and men are the money earner for the family. Under their household responsibilities, females have lack of time to confront these cultural barriers which are in the way of their education (Ali et al. 2010 p 153).

The economic structure of urban-rural areas differs to each other in developing countries. High poverty is the main feature of rural and tribal Pakistan, where people survive under poor conditions. They have less education and health facilities compared to the people of urban Pakistan. Poor conditions of rural Pakistan also affect child welfare (Khan et al. 2010 p 139).

4.2- Parents' Bias for Sons

In some communities, gender bias starts from birth, where a son's birth brings happiness to the parents and girls are seen as stigma for the family. In the younger age girls are taught to be submissive and not to disagree to her parents and brothers. Girls have to warm food and iron clothes for their brothers. In contrast, boys are guided to be an assertive and have control over their sisters by giving them tasks to make food and bring it to the fields (Zafar, 2007 p 1998).

Although Pakistan has not been ratified the Convention against Discrimination in Education yet all citizens are equal before the law and in the constitution of Pakistan yet in practice discrimination is found in various areas including education. On family level daughters are neglected for the education (Hassan Aly, 2007 p 28).

Son preference or bias for boys is a well known fact in many Asian countries. In Pakistan, boys increase the status of family. In the meanwhile daughters are thought a liability, because they are less valuable and less profitable for the parents in a family. They are not permitted to join workforce and earn money out side of the home, as this may put the honour of family on stake by involving with some co-workers. So daughters are expected to one day marry under the decision of the family and leave the parents house. In case of boys, they are considered profitable and are seen as a better investment. Educating daughters is seen only as monetary loss. So parents prefer to educate their sons more likely to educate their girls (UNESCO, 2010 p 19). This bias for the sons' education is under the idea of economic returns, where sons are money makers for the family (Groot, 2007 p 50).

As girls have to go to the other family after marriage, sometime parents have to decide between the education and dowry money. Mostly parents save money for her dowry instead of investing on her education (Groot, 2007 p 50). Domestic work also leads to the gender bias, where mothers prefer to keep her daughters at home as they will help her unpaid in household work and take care of her siblings. In this way, mothers teach their daughters how to keep a household. This is also an explanation for the dropout of girls from the school especially after primary education (Zafar, 2007 p 1998). In rural areas, mostly girls at younger age are required

to work with her mother. Beside above mentioned tasks, rural girls collect firewood, fetch water from the outside ponds, and deliver food in field to their parents (Shahzad et al. 2011 p 971).

Pakistan household survey (2001-02) manifests that common reason for not attending girls' school is the lack of parents permission to the girls in all provinces both urban and rural areas. However frequency of this reason in urban areas is lower than the frequency in rural areas. Parents' attitude is stronger in rural areas. The situation is somewhat better in urban areas, because traditional thoughts are weakened in towns and cities. In above mentioned survey, it is notable that boys do not need any permission to attend the school (Farah and Shera, 2007 p 19).

4.3- Distance, Cultural Social Norms and Girls' Mobility to Schools.

A mother from the of southern Punjab province, Pakistan told the reason to not send her daughter to the school. She said:

"Our village elder, my father, said that if our daughter goes outside the village to study, it will become a problem of our honor" (World Bank, 2006).

Many parents argue that due to the large distance they cannot check their children, whether they will reach the school saved or not. Groot (2007) mentions that only distance is not the main reason for less enrolment of girls in schools, traditional norms are the main reasons, which restrict girls to their homes (Gtoot, 2007 p ix).

Both distance and norms are barriers in the way of girls' attendance in schools. PIHS reports also agree that distance is a frequent reason for girls not attending schools. Parents perceive potential threats to their girls' security on the way to school. This is a critical issue of drop-out rate of girls particularly in tribal and rural areas. Jeena, a primary student describes that her mother and father say that I should not go to the school, because I am growing up. My school is far and it's not good for a girl to attend a distance school (Farah and Shera, 2007 p 20).

In district Badin in Sindh province, children have to go to another village on the other side of the main road to attend school. This distance is a significant barrier, especially for girls to attend the school. Local buses are the cheapest way to go to school. However many parents are reluctant to send their daughter to school, because the girls have to wait sometime on the bus stop and sometimes buses are crowded with men and boys. Accordingly parents feel the fear of sexual harassment of their daughters on the way to the schools (Gtoot, 2007 p 37). As VAG Conference Report (2006, 3) concludes that violence on the route to school prevent parents to send their daughter so schools. It is also thought that due to the physical distance small children

cannot go to school on foot, because they are scared of dogs, kidnappers and traffic as well (ibid).

However, Vishwanath claims that it is not truth to say that all parents are unwilling to send their girls to school. He said that when he asked parents about girls' education. They answered that they value the education. But they are also concerned with the girls' chastity when girls enter puberty. They feel reluctance to send them to secondary school especially when the school is at distance (World Bank, 2006).

4.4- Early Marriages and Rape, Crossing Myth and becoming Reality

In Pakistan marriages are arranged by both spouses' parents. Most of them are forced marriages according to the reports in daily newspapers. Practices of early age marriages of girls are continued despite the legal provisions for the age of marriage. Under the Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929, the minimum age of marriage for girls was sixteen; however it was changed under The Muslim Family Law Ordinance 1961. Under this ordinance eligibility for girls' marriage is between fourteen to sixteen years at least (Study Report, 2007 p 31). Early marriages of girls are the barrier in the way of their right to education. After marriages they have to stop their education, because a woman has to care for her husband's family and take care of their own children at that age (Zackvision, 2003).

The 12 year-old Chandni, had to stop her education after the 5th class, because her parents decided her marriage. According to Chandni's mother, she got enough education and they will not allow her to get more education, because "She will get married within one year. She is already engaged to someone in Mirpurkhas" (Groot, 2007 p 50). In many families in rural and tribal Pakistan, it is tradition to marry daughters at a very young age, As soon as their daughters are sexually mature, parents have to arranged their marriages, so girls cannot get trapped and get involved in so-called awful practices such as in free sexual relationships with someone and become pregnant before marriage. Along with this parents also feel fear from an educated girl, who knows her rights. An educated girl can decide her spouse based on her own decision and parents perceive it as a shameful act for the family (Groot, 2007 p 50).

These practices are more common in rural and tribal areas of Pakistan, where marriage at or shortly after puberty is common among those living under traditional lifestyle. Early age marriages of girls are not only considered as a shield for the girl from male sexual attention, but also the ultimate protection in the eyes of parents. Along with this, these practices are the one

way to ensure that a girl or woman is 'protected', or placed firmly under male control; that she is obedient to her husband and work hard for her household; Parents may genuinely feel that their girls will be in safer place with a regular male guardian. Thus, early marriages are arranged in order to avoid the shame, which is brought by the girl by involving herself or forcefully premarital sex with the school boys or teachers in school (Stephen H, 2001 p 6). Parents do this to avoid the shame, which is brought to the family by her rape. Only in Sindh province almost 0.1 million girls stopped their schooling by the shocking news about a student, who was gang raped and filmed (Iqbal, 2010). Thus, this reveals that girls' rapes are not just stories or myths reside only in the minds of parents. These are realities, which generate mass fear in reaction in parents' minds.

4.5- Tribal and Community Pressure on Girls education and the Advent of Militancy

In some areas of Pakistan, children and parents are forced by the community to not send their children to school, especially with girl child. Tazeem, a 13 years old girl visits the neighbouring village for her studies in Vehari (an undeveloped district of Punjab). People of the locality often tell her and her parents that she should end her studies, because they feel that it is unsafe and shameful for the community to send their girl daily to the neighbouring village. They urged that she should do domestic work and help her mother in household chores. However she continued her education, while people continue to put pressure on her parents by saying that primary education is enough for a girl and there is no need to send her for higher education. Similarly is the case in tribal areas, where most men consider school education as a Western intrigue, targeted at making their girls and women liberal. So they mostly do not allow their girls to receive school education (The State of Women Rights in Pakistan, 2009).

. Girls and women are more disadvantaged in the tribal and rural areas. For example districts of southern Punjab have a lower girls' education status than northern Punjab, because southern Punjab is rich in agriculture and have the fewer landlords' stronger hold. Women in KPK are in tribal and more conservative in north of the province. They have lower status as compare to the other districts of that province. Same is the case in Balochistan, tribal arranged districts have lower status of women than the other districts. In all these districts (tribal arranged) the overall situation of education is low and miserable (Shahzad et al. 2011 p 971). In those areas patriarchal situation left women seriously disadvantaged in the realm of schooling. Girls are

restricted there only to the household chores. Their education is also limited under the aftermath of 9/11 (Ahmad et al. 2010 p 57).

4.6- Taliban Threat to Girls' School

In Khyber Phuktun Kha (KPK) province more than 3 million people fled from their homes due to the military operation. The Pakistani military forces are making efforts to oust Taliban militancy from the area. However civilians are much paying in this war on terror as their houses, hospitals and girls' schools are targeted by militants (FSRN, 2011).

In the start of this year, Kanju Chowk Elementary School in Swat was targeted and destroyed by Taliban militants simply because the pupils were girls and the teachers were women in that school. More than 300 schools were destroyed by the militants in the areas of war in Pakistan (BBC, 2009).

A father of four girls, who was reacting on the news that Taliban banned on girls' education in war Swat valley, said that militants are savages and people are helpless before them. On the other hand, a spokesman of the Tehreek Taliban Pakistan (TTP) Muslim khan said. "We have nothing against girls going to school. What we are saying is that the education being given to our daughters in these schools is Western and not in keeping with the teachings of Islam. It is only making us wayward" (UNHCR, 2009). Thus, Taliban's threat stopped the girls' schooling in the area.

4.7- Poverty and Affordability of Education for Rural Girls

The poverty situation of the country is alarming. The circumstances are miserable and educational indicators are worst in South Asian countries. Regional countries such as Nepal and Bangladesh have significantly lower per-capita income than Pakistan. However both countries are ten to twenty percent higher in education. Pakistan government is spending nearly 2% of GDP on Education, which is significantly lower than the some other South Asian countries (Zafar, 2010).

Today Pakistan has more than 170 million people lining in the country and GDP per capita is only 925 dollar, further more than 40 million of people are below the national poverty line. The poverty situation is higher among females as compared to males in Pakistan. There is

huge gender gap in educational and health side in rural and tribal Pakistan (Rahman and Chaudry, 2009 p 175).

The Most significant barrier in the way of girls' schooling is the educational cost. In poor families decisions to enroll girls to school is effected by cost than that of boys, because in poor families, girls and women spent their lot of time on work particularly on household chores and agricultural labour in rural areas. The work either at home or fields benefits the parents and thus the opportunity cost is greater than the boys. Most of the parents consider that it is beneficial for them to keep girls at home instead of sending them schools, because in Pakistan particularly in rural areas this is the responsibility of girls to do domestic labour and take care of siblings. Furthermore girls need safe transportation and better cloths to look decent, so indirect cost for girls' education is higher sometime than that of boys (Ahmad et al. 2007 p 2). Aslam and Geeta (2010 p 2573) say that female receive less educational expenditure allocations than boys within the household. In rural-urban context, although poverty and household work is the phenomenon with the urban girls also; however it is much stronger in rural and tribal areas (Khan et al. 2010 p 149).

The Pakistani Government decided that education by public schools at primary and secondary levels would be free. There would be no school fees at all and uniforms would not be required. So Parents have pay for stationary, admission fee and exam fees and parents have to finance their children's transportations as well (Groot, 2007 p 41). However if girls receive primary education fortunately, they cannot continue their studies beyond the primary level due to the expenditures of secondary education and transportation (Lange, 2007 p vi). In all provinces, the primary and secondary education is free in public schools. In some provinces, books are also provided by the public school. UN world food prograame initiative is providing oil tin as food for home to the poor girls in rural and tribal areas of Pakistan. (South Asia One World, 2009). Cash money and scholarships are given to the primary female students in rural tribal girls' schools. Free text books are given in Punjab, Sindh and KPK provinces with the co-operation of World Bank (UNESCO Report, 2000 p 20).

Fareeda bibi a mother of a school going girl says:

"My husband earns Rs 5,000 [\$61] a month as a carpenter, so our budget is tight. Over Rs 1,000 [\$12.2] goes towards utility bills; we spend nearly 2,500 [\$30.5] on food and then there are new shoes" (South Asia One World, 2009). she said that oil tin under the World Food

Programme help them as bonus, Otherwise his husbands earning ends before the end of month (ibid). Thus here is the low income is significant barrier to not sending children (both boys and girls) to school, nonetheless figures 1 and 2 (page 5) show that girls are much victims of the scarcity of money than that of boys at household level.

4.8- Governmental Funding for Education

The main issue regarding education is the low financial investment in educational sphere. Although education is on high priority of the governments, the allocations of funds are insufficient and provided less than the requirements. It is very strange to know that federal and provincial investments have gradually declined in the last decades. In 1995-97 it was 2.7% of GDP and decreased to 1.8 percent of GDP in 2001-02 (Shami and Hussain, 2005 p ix). Later, Pakistan was committed to spend at least 4 percent of GDP, however budget for education had fallen 2.7 percent in 2006-07 to 2% of GDP in 2009-10 (Daily Times, 2011). Education Minister of Sindh Province Pir Mazharul Haq urged the federal government. He said: “It’s high time the government prioritized education and allocated more funds to this sector”. He also added. We should start campaigns at the grass-roots level, in rural areas in particular, to improve access and address barriers to education for girls” (Pakistan’s Future Linked to the Girls’ Education, 2011).

Thus historically allocation of funds is insufficient for education in Pakistan. The Allocation should have minimum 4% of GDP yet it remained nearly 2% of GDP in last two decades. Scarcity of Funds to invest in education sector was the major point for not providing facilities in school and offers insufficient focus on girls’ schools infrastructures (UNESCO, 2010 p 18).

4.9- Girls’ School Buildings and Their Separate Infrastructure

According to the survey of in some rural girls’ schools by Down News in Pakistani area of Taxila in April this year, “These schools lack proper infrastructure, drinking water, electricity, boundary walls and toilets, making it difficult for the students to continue education” (Iqbal, 2011).

According to the Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) report, more than one third of the girls’ schools are without proper buildings. Many of them are housed in dilapidated buildings. They have no proper arrangement for safe drinkable water for girls. Toilet facilities and boundary walls, which are very necessary to keep girls enroll in school are still in lack or in

bad conditions. It is not acceptable for the girls and parents to send girls (mostly adult) to the school, which are without female separate toilets. Having boundaries and walls in girls' school are considered as protection from the outsiders harassments and adhere to the traditional norms of the rural society where girls have veil either by the walls of homes or schools. In Sindh province, more than three thousand schools are without buildings and almost fifteen thousand schools are facing the scarcity of furniture and teaching materials (Education in Pakistan 2009). This issue is strong in tribal areas of Blochistan and KPK. In KPK many parents do not send their daughters to school because schools have been destroyed by the militants in ongoing conflicts (Marveickpakistanis, 2010).

In some tribal areas, the tribal people who have soft corner for the girls' education are willing to send their girls to schools only when there is no scarcity of resources such as school buildings, boundries and safe transportation for girls (The Education Watch Pakistan, 2011). Along with the scarcity of infrastructure there is also the lack of separate girls' school in tribal areas. A nine year old Palwasha from KPK said that her parents had to move to the Karachi city, because our village has no girls' separate school there and she was very eager to go to school. She adds that her parents did not allow her to attend co-education in school (Latif, 2010). Separate school for girls is in less quantity as compare to the boys' schools in Sindh, KPK and Baluchistan. For instance Baluchistan rural areas had 6419 school whilst rural areas had only 2611 according to the statistic of 2006 (UNESCO, 2010 p 7).

Chapter 5- Analytical Discussion

In this chapter, I will bring theoretical concepts and empirical data together. Here I will try to analyze the gender disparity situation in rural and tribal schools of Pakistan, and try to put some interesting ideas for the reader regarding the barriers in the way of girls' enrolment in primary and secondary schools.

5.1- Triple Disadvantages in the way of Rural and Tribal Girls

In the light of above chapters, it is obvious that poor females living in rural and tribal areas face triple disadvantages as are poverty, rural and tribal location and gender based disadvantages (Lloyd et al. internet p 99). These disadvantages are described under theoretical concepts in this part of the paper.

5.2- Poverty and Cost of Education Drop outs students ratio in Schools

Rural girl suffers from the educational disadvantages in Pakistan. Meanwhile girls in urban and developed areas, whose parents have high share in income distribution, are as likely as boys to have attended school, as figure 1 and 2 (page 5) explore the situation. However, in rural areas, only one third girls of the boys' strength attended the school under the same circumstance as boys face (Lloyd et al. internet p 99).

In rural areas, poor inhabitants are earning their livings from agriculture. They have small scale farms. They usually suffer from low productivity and just produce to meet their needs. Many of people are engaged in live stock sector. A number of poor inhabitant of rural areas are working as share cropping tenants and labourers in the field of others for very low wages or some time for crops sharing only (Chaudry et al. 2006 p 264). Poverty is given as a significant excuse for the drop out of the female learners in the rural and tribal Pakistan. However when we find that the primary and secondary education is free and pupil have not to pay monthly school fees in public schools, it will not be fair to single out only poverty and fees for blame as the particular barrier in way of girls' education. However in private schools there receive fees on both primary and secondary level, which have to pay by the parents of the children (Bacha Kahan Trust, 2009).

Average Monthly Rupees⁴ Expenditure and Percent of Income Spent on a Child's Education, by Income Group and School Type

Income Group	Government Schools	Private Schools
5000 to 70000	3.8	6.6
7000 to 10000	4.1	6.4

Table 2 (Alderman et al. 2001, 22)

The above table shows an overall expenditure percentage through some statistics on school education⁵. This Table shows that how much is spent on one child's education in Pakistan in both public and private schools per month. I analyze the monthly expenditures⁶ of the parents on one child's education to the minimum wages of a man, which are 7000 rupees as set by the government of Pakistan (Najam, 2010). When I change percentage to the amount in rupees, I get amount of 448 rupees per month in private schools expenditure and 287 Rs for public schools. So my point is here that many rural poor men who earn less or around this amount per month, how they can afford schools for their children if one have four children, because fertility rate is between three and four in the period of 2000 and 2008 in Pakistan (CIA Fact book, 2010). Thus, one has to pay utility bills, buy food and medicine and how can he afford to send all his children to school. I have taken the amount of minimum wages for an example. However in reality 40 million people are living under the absolute poverty line (Rahman and Chaudry, 2009 p 175), who earn less than one dollar per day in Pakistan. Most of these people belong to the rural and tribal areas as 65 to 70 percent population resides in rural areas of Pakistan. So share of absolute poverty is higher in rural areas than that of urban areas Furthermore these statistics (in table 2) are from 2001. Now the situation of poverty is much poor due to political instability in the country, war against terror and the flood in 2010, which demolished the remaining agriculture in many areas (UNESCO, 2010 p 1).

As we find in Freeda's family, where situation is very tight due to the poverty and they are living hand to mouth under the poor circumstances. World Bank 2002 report is also agreed

⁴ Currency Name of Pakistan is Rupee.

⁵ School education is considered till the 10th class in Pakistan. Further studies are acquired from colleges and Universities.

⁶ These expenditures include school fee if they have, uniform, stationary and pocket money etc.

by saying that the issue of enrolment is connected with household and income of the family. They measure detailed household consumptions through some aggregation of household, which manifests that income effects are larger for girls than boys (Lloyd et al. internet p 102). However poverty is not only the lack of financial resources. It is more than the monetary absence or lack.

5.3- Lack of Financial Recourses Increases the Lack of Capability and Opportunity

Lack of financial resources are adding fuel to fire as this lack is increasing the poverty in shape of drop out of children from rural and tribal schools. Under the poverty definition of Amartya Sen Education is a capability. So, here uneducated girls have less capability to overcome the injustice in the society, which can be got only by the education and education need some financial investment by the parents, which are less in rural and tribal areas. Further girls' disparity in rural and tribal Pakistan is also the absence of opportunity of education, as WB report says that poverty is the lack of opportunity (education) (World Bank, 2006). Although poverty affects both male and female children's education and resides in both urban and rural areas, however girls have to face more than boys due to some other reasons connected with rural and tribal areas.

5.4- Patriarchal Mindset, Discrimination and Division of Labour

The discussion on the bases of data in chapter 4 manifests that girls face much discriminatory treatment in the educational field in the rural and tribal Pakistan, because discrimination is found when someone is treated less favorably to the other in the same circumstances. This treatment happens often on the basis of ethnicity, religion, age, sex or gender. Thus, sons and daughters are treated differently in the matter of education in rural, tribal Pakistan. The definition of discrimination is interlinked with the definition of patriarchy, when girls are given less favour to send them school by the parents, because girls and women are perceived as lower returner for the parents of the economic investment in their schools. In this way parents excuse that she has to go to join other family by her marriage. In the case of Chandani, (in chapter 4.4) a patriarchal mind set of the parents stop her study beyond the primary schooling. They give the reason that she will get marry in next year. Parents think that there is no particular profit for them in girls' education whilst this is also against the law of Pakistan where

minimum age for girl's marriage is between fourteen and sixteen year (Study Report, 2007 p 31), but parents intended to arrange her marriage, when she is only thirteen years old.

Under the above mentioned empirical data in chapter 4, we can find the division of labour in a society. In Pakistan, particularly in rural and tribal areas gender is divided in two categories. One belongs to the labour of outside of family; meanwhile the other one is restricted within the household. Females' tasks are to help their mothers in preparing food, cleaning, washing cloths and take care of her siblings whilst men are responsible to sport their family through agricultural work or some wage employment outside the home (UNESCO 1009, 20). In the absence of public policies, the gender division of labour of last century is continued in rural and tribal areas of Pakistan even in the twenty first century (UNICEF, 2008 p 6).

5.5- Hidden, Unpaid Labour and Its Implications

Boys are expected to find work outside the home and girls are perceived to carry out their own homes domestic work unpaid. Along with the other countries, this phenomenon exists in the Pakistani domestic sphere, however it is in high ratio in rural and urban areas, where girls' work is three time higher to the work of boys. In rural areas girls' tasks are cooking, cleaning, taking care of siblings or helping their mothers in these tasks. Further girls have to give helping hands in the fields as well. All these works are unpaid, assuming their responsibilities at domestic level (UNICEF, 2008 p 5, 6). A rural 8 year old girl from Pakhtune tribe says "I have always aspired for getting education. You know we girls are not allowed to go to schools as we suffer from a low status in the society. Our participation in schools is usually considered to neglect domestic responsibilities" (National Education Foundation, 2008).

Here men are paid in their work outside the homes and women and girls are unpaid within household. So here many patriarchal minded poor parents avoid to send their daughters to school to avail the opportunity of unpaid girls' work, because girls' education timings at schools often considered incompatible with the household work timings. In poor families, women roles are limited to the homes and it is believed that girls need no formal education. so an educated boy may lead to high earnings and better and sustain able old age support for the parents and parents expect the benefits of girls' education will be received by the husbands family not their own meanwhile the unpaid labour of girls help parents financially, because girls' help discourages them to hire any other for the household work under poor circumstances (UNFPA, 2002). This household labour causes the increase of the lack of capability. Amartya Sen defines

poverty as the lack of capability, which overcomes violence, injustice etc in the society (Berg, 2008 p 1). So, girls' unpaid labour at home stops the girls' education, which is a capability. In this way, girls' hidden unpaid work makes higher ratio of poverty in the society (Wall, 2006).

5.6- Parents' Fears in Patriarchal Societies and Girls' Education

The gender gap in education on primary and secondary level is linked to the parents' fear about their girls. Under the empirical studies, this fear is found stronger in rural, tribal and underdeveloped areas of Pakistan. Accessibility to the school is often influenced by geographical distance. In very early ages of five to ten (primary level) parents have the fear of dogs, transport and criminals in the way to the school. This distance discourages the parents to send their children especially girls to schools, because a large distance becomes a vital issue for girls under their sexual vulnerability. In this way, their accessibility is restricted due to social norms and traditional values of the society, where females chastity is considered the honour of family, As a mother told that it is against their family's honour to send their girls to the distance schools, because they are frightened by the opposite sex, who can harass or rape their girls on the way to the schools. So distance increases fear in the minds of parents and family (Gtoot, 2007 p ix).

Same is the case with Jeena (chapter 4.3) who was stopped to go to primary school as her father told her that she must reside at home because she is growing up (Farah and Shera, 2007 p 20). So here the authority is father (top patriarch) as the leader of family, As Okin (2000) said that girls are the property of the father. Parents can stop their girls to go to school in patriarchal society. These fears generate the bias for only boys' education in the mind of parents.

There is a kind of fear that resides among many rural and tribal parents that education in school is Western infected education, which would weaken girls' sense of modesty and propriety. Most of tribes in KPK and Baluchistan province are of this opinion. Taliban militants are destroying girls' school with this opinion (UNHCR, 2009). However here is the question mark on the attitude of the tribal parents and Taliban that why don't they take action against the boys schools. There are the same studies for boys as girls have in their schools. So here we can find the clear patriarchal behavior of tribal society and Talibans.

5.7- Strongly Connected to the Cultural Values and Double Standards for the Gender

The above chapters point out that rural and tribal Pakistani society is strongly linked with their traditional norms and customs based on male dominance and women submission. Violence against females exists in form of physical, sexual and economical shapes. Tribal heads or parents decide the future of their girls. The Education Watch of Pakistan describes that there is not any difference between tribal parents and the militants regarding girls' education opinions. A forty year old man told them that he will send his daughter to the religious school only to get education. When he was asked to send his daughter to the government established schools. He expressed his disagreement. Like this old man there are many people in tribal areas who focus on their traditions and cultures showing no concern for the modern education and its benefits for females (The Education Watch Pakistan, 2011).

Gender gap in education is also the cause of double standards within the household sphere, where girls and boys are treated with different strategies by the patriarchal heads of the family. A growing up male child is not asked to stop his education under the fear of being raped on the way to the school. I could not find any literature, where parents had stopped their male child due to the fear of his rape.

5.8- Inside and Outside Worlds in Rural and Tribal Societies of Pakistan

The cultural and social context of Pakistani rural and tribal societies is divided in two worlds. One world is the political world whilst the other one is domestic, where home is referred as the legitimate space for girls and women. This separation of spheres makes the way to the inequality and gender disparity in education. In the private sphere, where men or boys are thought as the "masters of the territory" influence on the other members especially on girls, when they were restricted to the homes by their family heads to avoid the fears of their rape and harassment and allocate them the household work. So here patriarchal societies of Pakistan, men cause the violations of rights in the private sphere regarding female gender by stopping their education, meanwhile public sector (outside world) is perceived as no authority and jurisdiction in family or domestic matters. Although public sector of Pakistan introduced many education policies and incentives in the shape of amount and food and scholarships for girls yet they could not compel many patriarch of the domestic or private areas to send their girls to schools, because

domestic heads are the masters of inside world (home), In fact men only hold all the control and authorities in family level, because government or public sphere don't pay attention or intervene in the private or in inside world (Okin, 2000).

Thus under above discussion, in rural and tribal Pakistan, when male makes decisions regarding their girls for their schoolings, here despite to stop the human rights violation, outside world (public sphere) does not often interfere in male's decision on domestic level at all. So, there is obvious role of patriarchy and public/private division to influence the less enrolment of girls then the boys in the rural and tribal areas of Pakistan (Rahman and Chaudry, 2009 p 178).

Chapter 6- Conclusion

This chapter of my paper concludes the discussion of the thesis. Here I try to sum up all the main things discussed in the thesis.

This thesis states that there is significant gender disparity in enrolment ratio in rural and tribal schools of Pakistan. The main barriers are the cultural and financial constraints in the way of girls' less enrolment than that of boys. There are some obstacles found on government level, and many on domestic level. On government level, low investment is the main factor for girls' enrolment, where almost 2% of GDP is invested for the overall education despite the commitment of 4% investment. Further the allocated budget does not fulfill the girls' needs such as separate school or separate school buildings and separate toilets. Although the government of Pakistan has announced the free primary and secondary education, however fees are collected in private schools. There are other indirect costs of schooling such as stationary costs, transportation cost increase the overall education expenditure on education in the country where more than forty million peoples are living under the national poverty line. Educational Investments in Baluchistan and KPK are very less, on domestic level and affordability power is less in rural and tribal areas on domestic level, where people earn very low money from agricultural field, because most of them are not the owner of the fields. They do work on very low wages. Poverty factor is a barrier in the way of both girls and boys; however cultural and traditional thoughts play vital role in girls' education.

On the domestic level, there are main obstacles mostly controlled by the traditional and customary norms of society. The mobility of the girls is restricted under the excuse of distance, where parents feel insecurity for their girls' puberty. Private schools which are often on the less distance in the rural and tribal areas are expensive for poor parents. In those areas, the tradition of girls' early marriages is also a factor to discontinue and stop their education because rural and tribal parents feel security in the early marriages of their girls, because husband is considered the protector of the girls honour. Parents are bias to their sons and send them school, because boys are thought the caretaker of their parent in their (parents) old age. Girls' education is considered

the loss of money for the parents, because after all she has to join the other home after her marriages. Further, mostly rural and tribal parent avail the opportunity of unpaid labour by the girls in their own homes. Gender division of labour, where girls do work at their own home and boys (those who don't attend schools) do outside, is the significant factor for less girls' enrolment in primary and secondary level schooling.

Patriarchy does play its vital role in rural and tribal societies, where priority is given to the male child for the schooling. Comparatively, boys are sent to school in rural areas more than the girls whilst girls are restricted in the domestic environment. Patriarchy creates gender division of labour, when patriarchal mind set (father or head of the home) allocate the different roles. Some boys are instructed to attend school whereas household works are allocated to the girls. This patriarchal behavior leads the way to the division of to spheres named public and private spheres. In private sphere, patriarchs of the family hold the control of family and instruct girls to stay at homes despite to go schools. Education is a human right bestowed by the international and national laws. So when patriarchs break the law (by not sending girls to school), public (political) sphere does not interfere, because patriarchs are the masters of private territory. So public/private division plays its negative role regarding girls' right of education.

There are some fears in the mind of parents which decrease the girls' enrolment in schools. Parents of primary school girls are reluctant to send their daughters to school under the fears of kidnapping on the way to the schools due to the school distance. Parents are also feel fear sexually harassment or rape or indulgent of girl in some sexual activities with their male class fellows or teachers in secondary schools. Fear of Western kind of education also resides in the mind of many parents especially in tribal areas of KPK and Baluchistan provinces. In those areas Taliban militants anti girls' education activities also increase the fear in the minds of parents.

I think these fears can be reduced through the government and NGOs initiatives by providing girls' separate schools, better infrastructure, save transportation, by involving private sector and providing female teachers to the girls' schools. Although I have mentioned a little bit about NGOs here in my thesis yet my future research would be to explore the role of NGOs in reducing parents' fears regarding their daughters' education in Pakistan.

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