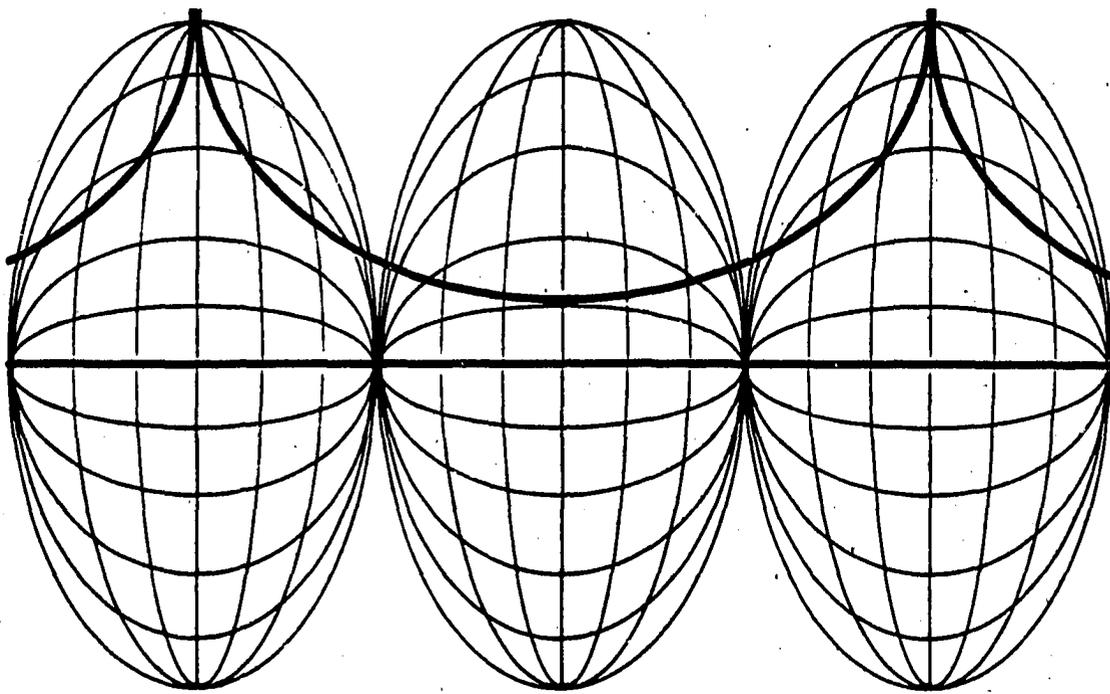


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**THE IMPACT OF THE MOSQUE SCHOOLS POLICY
ON GIRLS' ACCESS TO EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN**

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THE IMPACT OF THE MOSQUE SCHOOLS POLICY
ON GIRLS' ACCESS TO EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

by Mary B. Anderson and Nuzhat Parveen Chaudhry¹

INTRODUCTION

The Research Issue.

In many countries, girls' participation in schooling still lags behind that of boys though the gap has, in general, been closing since 1960.² While about one-fourth of all school aged children in the developing countries are not in school, about 40% of primary age girls and almost 60% of girls aged 15 to 19 are out of school.³ In 1980, for example, across Africa for ages six to eleven years, the enrollment rates for boys were 69% and only 56.5% for girls. In Asia, the rates were 77.4% for boys and 59.3% for girls. In Latin America, the rates at the primary level were about even for males and females. In all continents, the enrollment differentials between males and females increase at the higher grades.⁴

Governments are increasingly aware of the many costs associated with low rates of female education. These costs are both economic, in terms of low human capital for production and reproduction, and political, in terms of low political awareness and involvement, especially as this affects women's roles in raising future generations of citizens. Thus, Ministries of Education have enacted policies to overcome barriers to female education.

The research on which this paper reports was carried out in

Pakistan between late 1987 through March 1989 and was focussed on examining one such government policy designed to increase children's access to education. In particular, this study examined the extent to which a policy--the Mosque Schools Policy--which was intended to increase access for all rural children who were not in school, affected the participation of rural girls. The policy and the research methodology are described below.

The findings from the study are important and interesting in their simplicity. While researchers began with a series of hypotheses about why families in Pakistan are reluctant to send their daughters to school, and the research tested these among the families and schools sampled, only one variable was found to have a significant effect on girls' enrollments. This was the simple availability of a school within what was perceived as a "safe" distance for girls to travel. While, as is almost always the case, there were flaws in several of the research instruments and in some of the field interviewing and data analysis procedures, these results seem so clear that we cannot escape their policy import.

To increase girls' enrollments in primary schools which is an objective of the government of Pakistan, the most potent policy option is one of opening schools, either newly constructed or in existing institutions such as the Mosque, which girls can attend within easy reach of all families. Below we shall discuss what we mean by "schools which girls can attend" and "within easy reach" because, from community to community, these factors differ somewhat. But, the basic message that family demand for girls'

education exceeds the current supply, demystifies the task that the MOE faces. Government does not need to explore or experiment with a range of policy options, so often proposed, such as providing monetary incentives to parents to encourage them to send daughters to school, or launching widespread educational campaigns to overcome a cultural prejudice against schooling for girls. Were schools available everywhere, it is highly likely that there would continue to be "pockets" of resistance to the education of females that would ultimately require such innovations, though on a small and local scale. However, so many girls could be brought into school immediately by making schools available that this clearly presents the most direct policy option for education officials.

Researchers involved in this effort at times were concerned that our sizable and meticulous research effort was producing very limited findings. However, it should be noted that a finding of "no correlation" is as important as a finding of a positive correlation between variables because this, too, helps policy-makers focus on what is truly important and on areas that have the best chance of being effective in achieving the policy goal they have identified. The significance of the findings of this study cannot, we therefore feel, be underestimated.

Background: The Mosque Schools Policy.

In Pakistan, girls' access to and participation in education remains low relative to the rates for boys as well as relative to girls' rates in many other countries. The Ministry of Education

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and the Government of Pakistan continue to explore, and undertake, policy initiatives to improve girls' access. One such initiative, the Mosque Schools Policy, was introduced in 1978-79 with the stated intent "to revitalize this institution which has immense potential of educating the masses" using it "as a place of learning for the children, for out-of-school youth and for adults."⁵

As noted, the Mosque Schools were not normally to provide more than three years and this would ensure that the years spent in a Mosque School resulted in a valuable and effective basic education.

The Mosque Schools Policy was a creative effort to extend schooling to children not yet reached by the normal government schools while, at the same time, keeping costs relatively low by using an existing institutional structure. The Policy spelled out the rationale for the Mosque Schools and made the following important stipulations about how they would fit within the formal schooling system of Pakistan:

1. Mosque Schools would be opened in those villages where normal primary schools did not exist.
2. Backward areas of the country were to be favored.
3. Actual decisions about where schools would be opened were to be put in the hands of the Provincial Governments, with a few "model" schools to be opened entirely at the initiative of the national government.
4. School timing would be arranged so as not to conflict with prayer times in the Mosque and would involve a shorter

day (4 hours) than regular school so that children would also have time to carry out their work functions at home.

5. Each Mosque School was to have one PFC teacher assigned to it who would be responsible for teaching the regular, government prescribed primary school curriculum. These teachers would be given a two to three week's pre-service orientation course prior to their assignments.

6. In addition, the Imams of the Mosques would be paid a stipend for teaching the Quran Nazira and Islamiat lessons.

7. Schools were to follow the regular government curriculum, be allocated free text books, and be supervised through the normal District Education Office channels. (As it was implemented, this policy was changed in Sind Province. In that province, a special administrative structure was set up for the promotion, establishment and continuing support of Mosque Schools.)

8. Students qualifying through the Mosque Schools would be eligible for admission to the formal school system at any stage.

9. Mosque Schools would normally provide only three years of schooling.

Barriers to Access.

The literature on access to schooling makes a distinction between those barriers to access that arise from a restricted supply of education and those barriers that result from constraints on the demand for education. The Mosque Schools Policy addressed both supply and demand constraints.

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By opening schools within the existing Mosques, the MOE could increase the supply of schools in communities where they had not formerly been without incurring the costs of school construction. Policy makers noted that, in general, mosques are clean, with sufficient enclosed rooms for classes, floor mats, some appropriate furniture, and arrangements for drinking water. Providing such accommodations through building new schools in each village was clearly beyond the budget of the MOE. Using existing institutions and infrastructure offered an opportunity for opening additional schools at relatively low cost.

In addition, by relying on the Imam to teach some of the classes, the MOE was able to open "two teacher" schools by hiring only one PTC teacher and paying a small stipend to the Imam.

On the demand side, the Mosque Schools Policy explicitly addressed several of the issues commonly found to restrict the demand for female education in Pakistan. While noting that, "(t)he people in rural areas are showing...considerable interest in education...(and) they keep on demanding opening of primary schools in the village," the policy-makers knew that, in some areas, there exist special considerations for increasing the village-level demand for education for girls. These include: a safe and clean environment, including enclosed space; female teachers; close proximity to home; and a flexible schedule that allows girls to carry out their work activities in the home. By locating the school inside the village mosque, the safe and clean environment and the close proximity requirements were met. The presence of the trusted Imam could, they thought, meet the same

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concerns that were expressed through a preference for female teachers. The schedule of instruction in the schools was designed to allow girls to continue to perform their required domestic functions.

THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The primary question to which this research effort was addressed was: To what extent have the Mosque Schools increased access to schooling for girls who would not otherwise have been in school?

Other studies have examined participation in Mosque Schools and found that they do enroll an impressive number of students, including girls. These studies have not, however, determined whether these students would or could have gone to some other school had the Mosque School not existed. It would be incorrect to assume that all enrollments in Mosque Schools are new enrollments. It is more likely that some represent transfers from other schools.

Therefore, the study reported here undertook a series of household surveys through which the educational histories of all children in sampled families were gathered. From these, and data gathered about the Mosque Schools, we expected to be able to ascertain the numbers of children brought into schooling, for the first time, by the opening of Mosque Schools.

This leads to the secondary research question: What factors influence the relative success or lack of success of Mosque Schools in actually increasing access for girls who would not

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otherwise be in school?

It seemed likely that the study would reveal differences in the degree to which Mosque Schools increased girls' access among the Provinces, Districts, and schools. For understanding why the policy would be more effective in some areas and less so in others, a number of hypotheses were generated about the factors that affect the successful implementation of the policy.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Design and Instruments.

The Research Design hypothesized that a number of independent supply and demand variables affect the dependent variable, access. Supply variables included the schools and their features (facilities and locations) and the attitudes, experiences and characteristics of the Educational Personnel (District Education Officers, the Mosque School Supervisors, the teachers in the Mosque Schools, and the Imams). Demand variables included community factors (economic and educational levels and family attitudes). The research team hypothesized that these variables would affect the relative success, or failure, of the Mosque Schools to increase girls' access to education. Below we shall specify each of the hypotheses and discuss the findings about the influence of each of these variables.

Seven research instruments were developed to conduct the field interviews and survey. They included: a) household survey instrument; b) questionnaire for District Education Officers; c) questionnaire for Mosque School Supervisors; d) questionnaire for

school teachers; e) questionnaire for Imams; f) questionnaire for community leaders; and g) fact sheet on Mosque School facilities.

Sampling Techniques.

For this study, forty Mosque Schools were selected according to the following criteria:

1. From 10 Percent of the Districts across Provinces as follows:

	Total # of Districts	Districts Selected
Punjab	31	4
Sind	15	2
NWFP	15	2
Baluchistan	18	2

2. Four schools were selected in each District.
3. All schools were selected in rural areas.
4. In each District, two schools were selected in communities having fewer than 100 households and two schools were selected in communities having 175-225 households.
5. Schools represented a geographical spread, in that Districts were chosen from north, south, east and west of Provinces and, within Districts, schools were chosen which were spread across the District.
6. Cultural differences within Provinces were represented insofar as possible.

In the communities of these Mosque Schools, a sample of households for the household survey was selected as follows:

1. With the intention of sampling approximately 10% of households, in communities under 100 households, a minimum of ten households was selected and in communities having between 175-225 households, twenty households were sampled.
2. Households were chosen by the two teams of researchers (see below) setting out in opposite directions from the Mosque School and simply counting off every "xth" house ("x" determined by dividing the number of households in the community by 10). This sampling technique probably resulted in the over-representation of Mosque School participation because, by starting from the school, researchers visited more houses in close proximity to the mosque.

Field Research Team.

The Research Group was divided into three teams for the field data collection. One man (Islamuddin Baloch) administered questionnaires to the DEO, the Imam, the Mosque School Supervisor and the Mosque School teacher(s). He also filled out a report on the physical conditions of the school and interviewed two or more community leaders.

The two women (Dr. Nuzhat Parveen Chaudhry and Miss Fahmida), each joined by one local woman (usually a teacher) who spoke the local language and was familiar with, and known to, the community, headed two teams to conduct the household surveys. Later, a third woman (Qurut ul An) joined the household survey teams when Dr. Nuzhat had other responsibilities which prevented her travel.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Households/School-age Population.

A total of 593 households was interviewed, with the breakdown by Provinces as follows (see Appendix B for list of Mosque Schools, villages, tehsils, districts and provinces). In Sind and Baluchistan Provinces, the number fell below the intended 120 households; the sample is seven households fewer than intended.

Punjab	240 households
Sind	119 households
NWFP	120 households
Baluchistan	114 households

Included in the sample were 3,070 children (1,548 or 50.42% female and 1,513 or 49.28% male; 9 cases missing gender identification) of the "third generation" in the families, ranging in age from 0 to 35 years of age. The mean age was approximately 8.5 years. Thirty-six percent (1,106) of the children were five years of age or below, i.e. under school age; 52.4% (1,608) were of school age between 6 and 15; and the remaining 11.6% (356) between 16 and 35. This latter group, while listed by parents in the interviews as among "their children," clearly include people of ages who were, in other households, being considered the parents, i.e. "second generation." In some instances, this group is included in the analysis below; in others the sample is restricted to the 1,608 children of current school age.

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Of the 1,964 children over six years of age (1,608+356), 1,261 were currently in school and 180 had previously been in school. Table I shows the breakdown of school participation among our sample by gender.

Table I: School participation by gender in all sampled schools

	Male		Female	
	No.	%-age	No.	%-age
Currently in school	816	53.93%	445	28.75%
Previously in school	113	7.47%	67	4.32%
Never in school	584	38.60%	1036	66.92%

Overall, our sample reflects the relatively lower educational participation of females than males, with 67% of girls having never been in school as compared to only 39% of boys having never attended. Almost twice as many boys as girls were currently in school.

Table II shows the relative distribution of the children in school across grades.

Table II: Percentage distribution of children in sampled schools by grade

Grade	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Male	32.0	15.0	16.1	10.0	7.4	7.1	3.5	3.6	2.7	2.6
Female	42.8	17.1	16.0	9.0	7.7	3.2	2.3	1.1	.7	.2

Thus, our sample also reflects the general situation in Pakistan in which the smaller number of girls who actually go to school also achieve fewer years of schooling than boys.

QUESTION #1:

DID THE MOSQUE SCHOOLS INCREASE GIRLS' ACCESS TO EDUCATION?

As noted above, the central question which the research was intended to answer was "to what extent did the Mosque Schools increase access to schooling for girls who would not otherwise have gone to any school?"

This question is difficult to answer because it is hypothetical in nature. The research looks at what is and attempts to compare it to what might have been if conditions were different. Because answers to hypothetical questions are often unreliable, the household survey did not include a question about whether, if the Mosque School had not existed, the child would have been sent to another school. Instead, the effect of the Mosque Schools on girls' access was assessed through a) looking at girls' enrollments in the Mosque Schools and b) looking at patterns of schooling of girls in the families in the sample to see if these changed with the opening of Mosque Schools.

Girls' Enrollments in Mosque Schools.

In the forty Mosque Schools in our sample, 15 enrolled only boys, 23 had mixed boys and girls enrollment, and 2 were for girls only. Table III shows the breakdown of these schools by Province.

Table III: Mosque Schools by gender of students enrolled

	Boys only		Mixed		Girls only	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Punjab	6	37.5%	9	56.2%	1	6.3%

Sind	0	0.0	7	87.5	1	12.5
NWFP	4	50.0	4	50.0	0	0.0
Baluchistan	5	62.5	3	37.5	0	0.0
	15		23		2	

Thus, twenty-five, or 62.5% of the sample of schools, had girls enrolled.

Table IV shows the totals of boys and girls enrolled in the Mosque Schools in the sample (information from the teachers' questionnaires).

Table IV: Male and female enrollments in sampled Mosque Schools-Teachers Questionnaire

	Males		Females	
	No.	As % of Total	No.	As % of Total
Punjab	557	76.7%	169	23.3%
Sind	383	51.3	363	48.7
NWFP	468	95.5%	22	.5
Baluchistan	354	91.5	33	8.5
Total	1762	75.01	587	24.98

Female enrollments were highest in Sind but significant, also, in Punjab. They were quite low in NWFP and Baluchistan. In NWFP, female enrollment as a percent of total enrollments was very low.

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Table V shows the numbers and proportion of boys and girls in Mosque Schools reported by the households surveyed in the sample.

Table V: Male and female enrollees in Mosque Schools sampled

	Males No.	%-age	Females No.	%-age	Total
Punjab	119	61.0%	76	38.9%	195
Sind	83	53.9	71	46.1	154
NWFP	54	90.0	6	10.0	60
Baluchistan	73	83.0	15	17.0	88
Total	329	66.2%	168	33.8%	497

As can be seen by comparing the two data sets, the household survey shows a higher percentage of girls enrolled in Mosque Schools than appeared in the schools sampled (gained through interviews with the teachers and examination of the enrollment records.) From the teachers' questionnaires, 75.01% of Mosque School enrollees are male and 24.98% are female whereas, in the households sampled, the proportion of girls enrolled goes up to almost 34%.

If the household sampling technique had truly sampled 10% of households in the villages, it would be possible to multiply the household attendance figures by ten to find the actual Mosque School enrollments. Because doing so would result in a total Mosque School enrollment of 4,970 instead of the 2,349 shown on the school enrollment records, it is clear that the random selection of houses resulted in over-sampling of the villages.

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This may be explained, in part, by the fact that the field researchers started their surveys from the schools and, therefore, sampled households in closer proximity to them, thus visiting those families most likely to have children in the Mosque School. The much higher representation of girls in Mosque Schools as portrayed in the household sample is not so easily explained, except by the fact that families may have wished to please the interviewers who were clearly interested in girls' attendance in Mosque Schools. Even if this distortion occurred, the impact on the research findings is not likely to be significant because the data are analyzed within, rather than across, the research instruments. That is, the household survey is analyzed internally to find the relationships that explain the Mosque School attendance from within these households. Explanations about the effectiveness of the Mosque Schools in increasing girls' school participation as reflected in the Mosque School enrollments are sought by examining the questionnaires from those involved with the Mosque Schools; namely, the Imams, the DOE's, the Supervisors, the teachers and the community leaders.

From both data sets, there is evidence that girls attend Mosque Schools, sometimes in significant numbers. The question remains, however, about the extent to which this participation represents new enrollments. As noted, these enrollments could represent transfers from other schools or, in the first grade, a decision to send the child to the Mosque School rather than to another school.

Evidence from Household Surveys:

By looking, village by village, at the enrollment ratios of girls before and after the opening of the Mosque Schools, one should be able to detect the degree to which these schools increased girls' educational participation. The evidence from the household survey shows a very interesting picture in this regard. For schools opening before 1983, the villages sampled did not include enough children in the category of those who would have been of school age prior to the opening of the Mosque school for the comparison. However, twenty-two schools which included girls had opened since 1983 and these villages had enough children in the sample for comparison of girls' participation rates before and after the school opened. These are shown in the Table VI below.

Table VI: Female Participation Rates in Villages with Mixed Schools

Year opened	Part.Rate after MS	Part.Rate before MS
1983	8.3%	0
	71.8	60%
	77.2	72.7
	11.0	0
	61.0	0*
	56.0	42.8
	81.8	28.6
	83.3	100.0*
	27.8	0
1984	36.0	17.6
1985	78.0	50.0
1986	100.0	70.0
	100.0	79.0
	100.0	100.0
	91.0	45.0
	67.0	17.0
	30.0	12.5
	70.0	14.3
	0**	25.0
	25.0	26.1
27.2	11.8	
83.0	50.0	

* Only one child in sample

** This sample included eight girls

These figures suggest that the opening of the Mosque Schools has had a positive impact on girls' school participation rates. In all but three cases, participation rates are higher after the opening of the school than before. One of the three exceptions is not reliable since it includes only one student in the sample and another shows a very slight change from 26.1% to 25%. However, we also know from the household surveys that there is, in general, a trend over time of increasing female school

enrollments. Therefore, it is difficult to know exactly how much the opening of the Mosque Schools influenced this increase in participation rates and how much it was occurring over time in any case. Data concerning educational attainment of first and second generation females in households sampled was too variable and uneven for precise analysis from which this overall trend could have been specified. This was because often the women being interviewed knew neither their own ages nor were they clear on how many years of schooling they, or their daughters, had. Because of the imprecision of these answers, even though the trend of increasing female education was clear, it is impossible to measure the exact extent of the increased female enrollment after the opening of Mosque Schools which is due to these schools per se. We do conclude, however, that the opening of the Mosque Schools did have an overall positive impact on girls' access to education.

Ranking the Mosque Schools Sampled According to Girls' Access:

For comparison, it is useful to rank the Mosque Schools in the sample according to their rates of enrollment of girls as a proportion of total students. Table VII below shows that one-half of the schools (20) had fewer than 5% girls enrolled; four schools had from 5% up to 20% girls; six schools had between 20% and up to 35% enrolled; and ten schools had girls' enrollment of above 35%.

Summary.

Overall, the Mosque Schools appear to have increased access of girls to schooling in rural areas. There is a great deal of variation in the degree to which this is true. Below we examine the factors that affect the degree to which the Mosque Schools increased girls' school enrollments.

QUESTION II:

WHAT FACTORS ACCOUNT FOR THE RELATIVE SUCCESS, OR FAILURE, OF THE MOSQUE SCHOOLS IN INCREASING GIRLS' ACCESS TO EDUCATION?

The researchers hypothesized that a number of factors might influence the variations among Provinces, and among villages, in the effectiveness of Mosque Schools in attracting girls as students. These factors, and the hypotheses that were tested regarding their impact on girls' enrollments, are discussed here.

The Imam

The Imam, both as the central figure in the Mosque and as an important and trusted community leader, could be assumed to exert an influence on the community's response to a Mosque School.

Hypothesis #1:

The researchers hypothesized that the attitudes of the Imams toward girls' education and toward coeducation would be important variables affecting girls' attendance in Mosque Schools.

Findings:

When asked about their position with regard to the attendance of girls at the Mosque Schools, seven (17.5%) of the forty Imams were opposed to their participation and nineteen (47.5%) favored it. Five (12.5%) indicated that they favored

girls attendance up to age eight or through grade five. Others did not answer this question. Thus, a total of 60% of the Imams favored girls' attendance in the Mosque Schools.

Six of the seven who opposed girls' participation were from Punjab, and four of them presided over boys-only Mosque Schools. The other of the seven who opposed girls' attendance was, surprisingly, from Sind where girls are very active in these schools.

Of the twenty-four who favored girls' attendance, eight were in Mosques where only boys attended.

Table IX shows the percentage distribution of Imams' attitudes toward coeducation in the categories of Mosque Schools for boys only, mixed and for girls only.

Table IX: Distribution of Imam's attitudes toward coeducation in different types of schools

	Boys only	Mixed	Girls only
In favor	7.1%	17.4%	50.0%*
Against	42.9	21.7	0.0
Favor up to age 12	7.1	17.4	0.0
Favor up to age 8	42.9	30.4	0.0

* Have only one answer for girls' schools Imams; other value is missing.

More Imams in the coed and boys-only schools are against coeducation than in favor of it. Among those who preside over mixed schools, more favor coeducation than among those who preside over boys-only schools. In both instances, if schools

Hypothesis #2:

The researchers hypothesized that the DEOs attitudes toward Mosque Schools, in general, and towards girls' participation, in particular, could make a difference in the success or failure of these schools to attract both boys and girls.

Findings:

The DEOs were interviewed in the ten Districts covered by our sample. Table X shows the results of these interviews with respect to their attitudes toward the Mosque Schools.

Table X: Attitudes of DEOs in sample toward Mosque Schools

District	How feel re M.S. Policy?	How feel re girls in M.S.?	M.S. in your area successful or not?
Attock	very positive	very positive	successful
Gujrat	very positive	very positive	successful
Faisalabad	somewhat neg.	neutral	unsuccessful
Muzaffargarh	v. positive	very positive	successful
Sukkur	very positive	very positive	successful
Hyderabad	very positive	very positive	successful
Bannu	very negative	neutral	unsuccessful
Mardan	very negative	very positive	successful
Quetta	very positive	neutral	successful
Kalat	very positive	very positive	successful

In the Punjab, only in Faisalabad does the DEO give a negative response. Three of the four Mosque Schools in his District are small, but one, for girls only, is among the largest, enrolling 99 students. In terms of enrollments in

Mosque Schools, the District of Muzaffargarh is lower than Faisalabad.

The two "very negative" responses toward Mosque Schools in Bannu and Mardan are both in NWFP Province. They are matched by a "neutral" attitude toward girls' participation and an evaluation of the schools as "unsuccessful" in Bannu while the other indicators in Mardan are both positive. Only one girl in Bannu is enrolled in any Mosque School in our sample.

The Quetta DEO's "neutral" attitude toward girls' participation is not related to lower girls' involvement in Mosque Schools when compared to the other Baluchistan District, Kalat. Girls' participation in this Province is low, in general, but there is no difference between the two Districts in percentages of girls enrolled. In fact, two schools in Quetta District are mixed in enrollments while only one in Kalat is coed.

Overall, while the attitudes of the DEOs may make some difference to the functioning of the Mosque Schools, there does not seem to be any strong relationship between these attitudes and the enrollments of girls in Mosque Schools.

Supervisors.

Special Mosque School Supervisors were appointed as a part of the Mosque Schools Policy in order: a) to ensure the quality of the education offered by the schools and b) not to overburden the regular government school supervisors in the areas where Mosque Schools were opened.

Hypothesis #3:

Assuming that the attitudes of supervisors toward the Mosque

Findings:

Teachers' responses to the questionnaire show a similar pattern to that of the supervisors--namely, overwhelmingly positive responses with only one (Bannu) responding "somewhat positive" (rather than "very positive") and one (Gujrat) giving a "neutral" response.

However, in 32 of the 40 schools (80%), teachers said that they "did not believe that girls should go to Mosque Schools." Of these, thirteen (41%) taught in schools where only boys were enrolled, but, surprisingly, eighteen (56.2%) taught in mixed schools and one taught in a girls-only school. On the other hand, in the remaining two schools where only boys were enrolled, the teachers said they thought that girls should be encouraged to attend Mosque Schools.

Thus, there is no evidence that teachers' attitudes toward the Mosque Schools and toward girls' participation have any discernible effect on girls' enrollments.

Hypothesis #4:

The researchers hypothesized that the age of the teachers would affect parental willingness to send their daughters to a Mosque School; older teachers would be seen as "safer" by the parents.

Findings:

Mosque School teachers in the sampled schools ranged in age from nineteen to forty-five years of age, with the average being 27.5 years. All but two of the twelve teachers in the Sind Province school were below the average, and these schools were

consistently among the highest in terms of girls' enrollment rates. Over half (9) of the teachers over thirty years of age (total in the group was 16) taught in schools which are ranked as low or medium-low in terms of girls' access.

It would appear that the hypothesis is proved wrong by the findings. Older teachers did not teach in schools where girls' attendance rates were higher.

Hypothesis #5:

The researchers hypothesized that better trained or qualified teachers tend to attract students and this may have an impact on the decisions of parents to send their daughters to school.

Findings:

Thirty of the forty-four teachers had PTC training. One teacher had a bachelors of education and another was classified as "other." Twelve teachers were untrained. Of the twelve who were untrained, six taught in schools in the Sind which were ranked as high among those in which girls are enrolled. In each of these cases, the untrained teacher taught with another, trained teacher. However, of the other six untrained teachers scattered among the other Provinces, two also taught in schools in which more girls were enrolled while four taught in schools with a low ranking of girls' enrollments.

The evidence shows no relationship between higher teacher training and higher girls' enrollments.

Hypothesis #6:

The researchers hypothesized that teachers who had taught at

a school longer, and were hence better known by the community, would enjoy higher community trust and that parents would be more apt to send girls to such a school.

Findings:

Teachers in the sample ranged in their time in the schools from one month up to six years and one month. Average time in school service equalled two years and seven months (with one missing variable). Of the schools in which teachers had served longer than average (over two years, seven months), eight of these were ranked as among the group with high female enrollment rates and only three among those with low female enrollment. This may indicate that there is some relationship between length of teacher service and the enrollment of girls. However, the results are taken cautiously because among the other schools in which teacher service was below the average duration, exactly half were among those ranked high and half among those ranked low in terms of girls' participation (eighteen in each group). The relationship between teacher's experience in a given school and girls' enrollment is, at best, tenuous.

Hypothesis #7:

Researchers hypothesized that teacher satisfaction can make a difference in the quality of the teaching and that this, in turn, may influence reluctant parents to send their children to school; teacher satisfaction may thus have an impact on parents' decisions to send their daughters to school.

Findings:

Teachers were asked what they saw as differences between

teaching in a Mosque School and teaching in a government primary school.

Table XI shows the frequency of answers given to the choices presented by Province.

Table XI: Teachers ideas of differences between teaching in MS vs. Gov. Primary Schools

Pro- vince	MS has better super- vision	Ms gives better education	No Diff.	Ms has less faci- lities	GPS has better trained teachers	MS has more respon- sive stud.
Punj.	0	0	7	2	3	2
Sind	2	4	0	0	0	0
NWFP	0	0	4	2	2	0
Baluch.	0	0	4	0	2	0

Differences appear between the responses from the Sind and those from the other provinces. Teachers in the Sind who answered this question noted both that Mosque Schools are better supervised and that they provide a better education than government primary schools, while no teachers from any of the other provinces who answered this question named these two advantages of Mosque Schools. In general, teachers from the other provinces thought government primary schools were preferable to Mosque Schools. This difference reflects, in part, the fact that the Sind's organization of the Mosque Schools was, as noted above, different from the other provinces. By setting up a special system for Mosque Schools, including its own administrative and supervisory apparatus, Sind took an aggressive

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approach to establishing very good rural schools under this policy. All but one school in the Sind fell into the two upper categories of girls' participation as well. Teachers in this province showed, in their interviews, a higher satisfaction with their jobs than those in other provinces where the percentage of schools with high girls' enrollments is quite a bit lower. Whether the explanation lies in the fact of the difference of administration, or whether higher girls' enrollments result from higher teacher satisfaction, is impossible to say.

Mosque Factors.

The Mosque Schools Policy had been explicit about the fact that, because Mosques are clean and respected buildings in communities, they would provide a suitable environment for schooling, especially for girls whose parents were reluctant to send them to government schools.

Hypothesis # 7:

The researchers hypothesized that the facilities of the Mosque Schools would affect whether or not girls would attend school there.

Findings:

In the sample of forty schools, thirty-two (80%) were actually outside of the mosques while only eight (20%) were inside.

Most schools did not have latrines or water facilities nearby. Many were missing equipment such as desks, charts, benches, tables, etc. None of these factors seemed to have any systematic effect on participation of either girls or boys.

Similarly, in 85% of the cases, communities reported that parents, rather than government, provided textbooks for students in Mosque Schools. In 22.5% of cases, books were provided by the MOE and in 7.5% by the teacher. "Others" provided them in the remaining 5% of cases (such as a community leader, etc.). Again, these factors seemed to have no consistent effect on school participation.

Community and Family Factors.

Hypothesis # 8:

The researchers hypothesized that attitudes toward education of girls as these differed among communities and families would affect the participation of girls in schools, including in the Mosque Schools.

Findings:

One hundred percent of communities felt that education for boys was "very important." However, there was greater variation in attitudes regarding education for girls. Only 15% felt education for girls was "very important;" 73% felt it was "somewhat important;" and 2.5% felt it was "not important" (4 values missing). The "not important" response was from one village in Baluchistan. But, surprisingly, one half of the "very important" responses were also from Baluchistan (3 cases) and the others were all from Punjab. In two of the villages which answered that education for girls is "very important," there were no girls enrolled in the local Mosque School and there were no other schools for girls in those areas.

When asked whether people feel differently about education

for girls and for boys, 87.5% of the sample answered that such differences are important. Three villages indicated that there were no differences. These three were the same communities in Baluchistan that registered education for girls as "very important."

This evidence indicates that stated community attitudes about education cannot be relied on as predictors of educational participation for girls.

Hypothesis # 9:

Researchers hypothesized that communities, and families, with higher economic standing would be more apt to send their daughters to school, including Mosque Schools.

Findings:

Economic levels of communities do seem to have some relationship to girls' participation in Mosque Schools. Table XII shows the distribution of Mosque Schools by community wealth levels.

Table XII: Types of Mosque Schools in communities of different wealth levels

<u>Ec. Status</u>	<u>Boys only</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Girls Only</u>
Above average	100.0%	0%	0%
Average	43.7	50.0	6.2
Somewhat poor	0	100.0	0
Poor	33.3	61.9	4.8

The hypothesis failed to differentiate between choices made by parents of different wealth about which type of school in which

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to enroll their daughters. While it may be true that better-off families are more apt to send their daughters to school overall, it also appears that girls of somewhat poorer communities are more apt to go to Mosque Schools than girls of better-off communities.

However, considering family decision-making about sending their children to school, the household surveys showed that poverty does not seem to have a differential effect on the decision to enroll boys as compared to girls. Table XIII shows the distribution, by gender, of parental reasons for not sending children to school.

Table XIII: Distribution of parents reasons for not sending child-
ren to school.

	No school	Poverty	Not allow	Too young	Other
Boys	2.7%	11.1%	.9%	80.4%	3.2%
Girls	17.8	10.9	13.0	54.8	2.3

There are significant differences in the reasons that parents give for not sending boys and girls to school. However, the proportion of children not sent because of poverty is remarkably close between the sexes. (The reason most often given for girls, other than that they are too young, is the lack of a school.)

Thus, while poverty is a consideration for some families in their decisions to send their children to school, it seems to be no more of a barrier for girls' access than for that of boys.

Schooling Options and Proximity

While the Mosque Schools Policy explicitly stated that the

schools were to be opened in communities where there were no other primary schools, in only fourteen of our sample of forty communities was this the case. Twenty-six communities in the sample had one or more government girls primary schools.

Hypothesis #10:

The researchers hypothesized that the existence of other schooling options for girls, especially the existence of a nearby government primary school for girls, would negatively affect the degree to which the opening of a Mosque School would increase girls' access to school.

Findings:

Table XIV shows the numbers of Mosque Schools in our sample which were located in communities with other government girls primary schools, by Province. The second column also indicates whether the Mosque Schools, in those communities where only these schools existed, were for boys only, for girls only or included both boys and girls.

Table XIV: Sampled Mosque Schools and their location relative to girls' government primary schools

	Communities with other girls' schools	Communities without other girls' schools
Punjab	18	2 (1 g-only;1 mixed)
Sind	0	8 (1 g-only;7 mixed)
NWFP	8	0
Baluchistan	4	4 (3 b-only;1 mixed)

Sind is the only Province in which all Mosque Schools were located in communities not having other government schools for

girls. As noted above, all but one Mosque School in Sind falls within the categories of high or medium high for girls' enrollment rates. The data indicate that, in the Sind, the Mosque Schools policy did increase access for girls to gain schooling who would not otherwise have been in school.

In Baluchistan, half of the communities sampled followed the policy for locating Mosque Schools where others did not exist, and the other half did not. Of the four communities without other schooling options for girls, however, three of the Mosque Schools enroll only boys and one is a mixed school (enrolling 16 boys and 13 girls). The question, here, would be: is there no demand for girls' education among the parents in the three schools with boys-only Mosque Schools, or do these schools limit girls' access for some other reason? These data show, however, that, in Baluchistan villages sampled, the Mosque Schools did very little to increase girls' access to schooling even in the communities that did not have other girls schools.

In the two communities in Punjab where Mosque Schools were located in communities that did not have other schools for girls, one of the Mosque Schools is mixed and the other is for girls only. These would appear to represent clear cut examples of Mosque Schools that have opened girls' access and that met a demand for girls' education. However, in the mixed school, only two girls are enrolled (and only seven boys). On the other hand, in the girls-only school, 99 girls are enrolled.

In NWFP, all Mosque Schools were in communities with other options for girls, and girls' participation rates in Mosque

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Schools were found to be very low.

The evidence would seem to support the hypothesis that the existence of schooling options for girls has lowered the demand among parents for their girls to attend Mosque Schools.

Relying on the Household Survey, we find the distribution of school enrollments of children in the sampled families, among different types of schools as shown in Tables XV and XVI.

Table XV: Percentage of males in sample attending different schools by District

	M.S.	Prim.	Mid.	H.S.	Col.	Priv.	N.R.*
Punjab							
Attock	21%	49%	5%	22%	1%	0	1%
Gujrat	61	11	2	24	1	0	0
Faisalabad	19	56	6	18	1	0	0
Musaffargarh	52	25	0	22	0	0	0
Sind							
Sukkur	49	32	2	9	5	0	0**
Hyderabad	67	1	10	10	1	0	4**
NWFP							
Bannu	26	43	4	23	4	.9	0
Mardan	32	47	4	15	2	0	0
Baluchistan							
Quetta	54	10	27	5	1	0	0**
Kalat	28	41	10	15	0	6	0

* M.S.=Mosque School; Prim=Primary School; Mid=Middle School; H.S.=High School; Col=College; Priv=Private School; N.R.=Nai Roshni School

**When totals do not add to 100%, this is because some values are missing.

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Table XVI shows the same schooling distribution for females.

Table XVI: Percentage of females in sample attending different schools by District

	M.S.	Prim.	Mid.	H.S.	Col.	Priv.	N.R.
Punjab							
Attock	4%	85%	0	10%	0	0	0
Gujrat	39	42	12	6	1	0	0
Faisalabad	48	23	21	5	0	0	3
Muzaffargarh	46	18	0	33	2	0	0
Sind							
Sukkur	66	18	4	4	0	0	0*
Hyderabad	63	5	0	3	2	10	10*
NWFP							
Bannu	8	67	8	12	0	0	0*
Mardan	11	58	21	8	0	0	0*
Baluchistan							
Quetta	23	53	23	0	0	0	0
Kalat	38	28	23	0	0	5	5

* When totals do not add up to 100%, this is because some values are missing.

The composite figures for girls and boys in Mosque Schools by Province follow in Table XVII.

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Table XVII: Percentage of males and females in Mosque and Primary

Schools by Province

	Males		Females	
	Mosque Schs	Prim. Schs	Mosque Schs	Prim.Schs.
Punjab	37.3%	36.4%	34.4%	42.5%
Sind	59.3	15.0	64.5	10.9
NWFP	28.4	44.7	9.7	61.3
Baluchistan	43.7	22.7	29.4	43.1

The picture emerges clearly from these figures that a relatively high proportion of female students in Sind Province attend Mosque Schools as compared to other schools, whereas in both NWFP and Baluchistan Provinces relatively more girls who attend school go to government primary schools (except in Kalat). The story is mixed in Punjab Province where, in two Districts, the proportion attending Mosque Schools is higher than any other type of schools and, in two others, government primary schools account for the greatest number of female school enrollees.

Again, to examine the degree to which the presence of other schooling options influences girls' enrollments in Mosque Schools, data on the percentage of all girls, now in school, who began school after the opening of the Mosque School in the area are depicted in Table XVIII. The figures are separated between those communities where there are no schooling options for girls other than the Mosque Schools and those where girls are enrolled in Mosque Schools but there are other schools available to them. For obvious reasons, Mosque Schools where only boys are enrolled

are not shown.

Table XVIII: Percentages of girls currently in school who have had their schooling since the opening of the Mosque School

No Options School	%-age of girls	Other Schools for Girls Exist School	%-age of girls
1321	100%	1212	68%
1322	96%	1213	63%
2111	100%	1214	82%
2112	100%	1311	67%
2121	100%	1411	100%
2122	100%	1421	91%
2211	100%	1422	100%
2221	100%	1423	100%
2231	100%	3114	50%
2241	86%	3211	100%
4113	83%	3212	100%
		3213	86%
		4114	100%
		4213	100%

In some cases, especially in situations where there are no other schooling options, the fact that 100% of the girls now in school have entered school since the opening of the Mosque School may indicate that they have gained access to education entirely through this school. Where fewer than 100% of those currently enrolled have started school since the opening of the Mosque School, it is likely that several, older children went elsewhere to school prior to their parents moving to this village or by living with some other relative in another village.

In those communities where there are options for girls other than the Mosque Schools, it is not surprising that in one half of the cases, girls have been in school prior to the opening of the Mosque School. It is surprising that in 50% of these communities, 100% of the children have begun their education since the time of these openings. However, this is explained in

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part by the fact that the majority of enrollments of girls are in the first three grades of school in any case; hence, we have fewer cases where girls have been in school over a period of 8 to 10 years. Where the Mosque School has existed for over three years, therefore, all girls may have begun school since its opening even though a small proportion of those sampled may actually be enrolled in the Mosque School.

Proximity.

While the existence of options of other schools appears to affect girl's enrollments in Mosque Schools, there is a further issue embedded in the "options" issue; namely, the proximity of the alternative school relative to the proximity of the Mosque School.

Hypothesis #11:

The researchers hypothesized that parental concern for their daughters' safety would mean that the proximity of either a Mosque School or a government primary school to their homes would be a strong determinant of their decisions about whether, and where, to send their daughters to school.

Findings:

Comparing the answers of DEOs, supervisors and teachers regarding the advantages and disadvantages of Mosque Schools provides support for this hypothesis.

Tables XIX and XX show the frequencies of answers given by these school personnel identifying the advantages and disadvantages of Mosque Schools.

Table XIX: Advantages of Mosque Schools according to DEOs, Supervisors and Teachers

	DEOs	Supervisors	Teachers
Offers religious training	21.2%	28.7%	31.8%
Provides free education	15.2	8.0	13.6
School is nearby	15.2	23.0	23.5
Increase # of places for students	15.2	17.2	17.4
Boys and girls can go to school together	15.2	13.8	12.1
There are no advantages	9.1	1.1	7.6
Other	9.1	8.0	0.0

Table XX: Disadvantages of Mosque Schools according to DEOs, supervisors and teachers

	DEOs	Supervisors	Teachers
Education is not as good	0.0%	2.1%	1.6%
Disturbs sanctity of Mosque	7.7	6.4	3.2
Only provides three years of study	15.4	8.5	12.9
Causes students to transfer from govt. schools	7.7	6.4	6.4
Cannot hang posters on Mosque walls	7.7	14.9	14.5
There are no disadvantages	46.2	51.1	61.3
Other	15.4	10.6	1.6

The majority of each of the three groups agrees that there are no disadvantages of Mosque Schools, and answers regarding disadvantages are scattered among the alternatives. While the offering of religious training receives the highest percentage of answers for advantages, the second highest responses note that proximity of the Mosque to peoples' homes is an advantage of schools in the Mosques.

This is echoed by the families in their expressions of preferences for schools. When parents were asked to name the reasons why they selected a particular school for a child, 75% responded that the reason was that the school was "nearby." The nearness of the school to homes seems to be of greater importance to girls'

access than to that for boys.

These findings are confirmed through examination of the results of the community surveys regarding options of government schools as these are related to the ranking of Mosque Schools according to girls' enrollments. Table XXI shows the importance of proximity for girls' participation rates.

Table XXI: Importance of Proximity for Girls' School Participation

Province	Proximity of Options		Ranking by Girls' Part.			
			Low	Med.Low	Med.High	High
Punjab						
	< 1 km	9 GPS	8	0	1	0
	2-3 km	4 GPS	1	1	1	1
	no options	2			1	1
Sind						
	no options	8	0	1	2	5
NWFP						
	< 1 km	7	7	0	0	0
	no options		0	0	0	1
Baluchistan						
	< 1 km	4	2	1	1	0
	no options	4	3	0	0	1

In the Punjab, of the nine communities that have government primary schools for girls within one kilometer of the village, eight Mosque Schools have low enrollments of girls. In the four communities with government school options from two to three kilometers distance, the Mosque Schools show variation across all categories of girls' participation rates. Where no options existed, both Mosque Schools fell within the higher girls'

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access rankings. Sind, as already noted, shows that where no options exist for girls to attend other schools, the Mosque Schools rank among the higher categories for girls' participation.

NWFP shows an exact correlation between the availability of an alternative schooling option within one kilometer and low utilization of Mosque Schools by girls. Where no option existed, the Mosque School ranked high in girls' enrollments.

Baluchistan shows less of a clear relationship between the proximity of schooling options and girls' enrollment rates in Mosque Schools, though three-quarters of the communities in which an option existed within one kilometer, show low girls' involvement in Mosque Schools. Among the communities where there were no schooling options, however, three-quarters also had low (or no) enrollment of girls in the Mosque Schools.

In spite of this example of low enrollments in Baluchistan, the evidence in the other three Provinces would seem to indicate that the one kilometer proximity of an option (especially a government primary school for girls) results in lower girls' attendance in Mosque Schools. This suggests that the one kilometer distance is seen by parents as a "safe" distance for their daughters to travel to school.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

1. To have the greatest impact on girls' school participation rates, the GOP should focus on providing schools, which girls can attend, in close proximity to the girls' homes.

Where Mosque Schools were opened, as the policy stipulates, in areas where other government primary schools do not exist, they were effective in increasing children's access. Because there are fewer girls government schools than boys, this effect was also found to be strong for girls' participations. The potential for increasing girls' access through Mosque Schools was very high when these schools were located where no options existed.

2. Schools, including Mosque Schools, should be located within a "safe" distance (evidence shows this to be within one kilometer) in order to attract girls effectively. The research showed that, in most areas, parents preferred to send their daughters to government primary schools when these were located within one kilometer of the villages. Where building schools in this proximity is impossible because of financial constraints, the option of utilizing Mosques to provide schooling is effective in attracting girls because the proximity issue appears to be of paramount importance to family decisions regarding female education.

3. The Imam is a central figure in making the Mosque Schools effective and, in particular, the Imam may play a vital role in determining whether girls attend Mosque Schools or not. Special

training and/or encouragement for Imams to take on the role of advocates for girls' education may provide an important avenue for increasing girls' access to education in Pakistan.

4. Factors that are often cited as having important effects on girls' school participation did not appear significant in the analysis of access in this study; hence, policy efforts to affect change in these areas may not be as useful as a) locating schools in communities near girls' homes and b) encouraging community leaders (particularly Imams) to take a leadership role in advocating girls' education, as noted above.

Factors which were not found to be of great importance for girls' participation include:

a. Attitudes or behavior of DEOs, supervisors or teachers. While these three figures may be of great importance in affecting the quality of education received in Mosque (or other schools), their attitudes toward Mosque Schools did not appear to make a significant difference to attendance of girls.

b. Poverty factors. Family poverty did not have a differential effect on parental decisions about sending boys or girls to school. The fact that, in most Mosque Schools, parents had to provide books did not have a differential impact on girls' and boys' attendance. Thus, efforts to compensate families for girls' school participation may not be central to increasing girls' access.

c. School facilities. At least in the protected environment of the Mosque Schools, the standards of equipment and buildings did not have a differential impact on girls' and boys' participa-

tion.

ENDNOTES

1. The research reported in this paper was carried out as part of the BRIDGES Project, a Cooperative Agreement between the Harvard Institute for International Development and the Office of Education, Bureau of Science and Technology, United States Agency for International Development. The study reported in this paper is a joint project of BRIDGES and the Academy of Educational Planning and Management, Ministry of Education, Pakistan. Comments made in this paper are the responsibility of the authors and not of USAID or the Government of Pakistan.

The actual field work was carried out by a team headed by Dr. Nuzhat Pareveen Chaudhry, and including Islamuddin Balouch, Fahmida, and Qurut ul An. Grateful acknowledgement is made to the many members of the Academy who supported the study in other ways, and to the many teachers, imams, parents and students who cooperated with our endeavors.

2. Anderson, Mary B. "Improving Access to Schooling in the Third World: An Overview," Bridges Research Report Series, No. 1, March 1988, Cambridge, Ma., p.10.

3. Sivard, Ruth Leger, "Women: A World Survey," World Priorities, Washington, D.C., 1985, p.18.

4. Kelly, Gail P., "Setting State Policy on Women's Education in the Third World: Perspectives from Comparative Research." Paper prepared for Nordic Symposium for Educational Research in Developing Countries, Jyvaskila, Finland, Sept. 1986, p. 5.

5. One should note that the Mosque Schools Policy was not initiated in isolation. Other policies were undertaken at the same time which were thought to be complementary with it. One such policy was a revision of the primary school curriculum which would make it possible for children to achieve literacy and numeracy within three years of schooling.

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