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PRIMARY EDUCATION AND POVERTY: GOING BEYOND THE NUMBERS¹

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After decades of slow economic growth, South Asian countries are entering a developmental era marked by high growth rates and increased levels of integration into the globalised world economy. India and Pakistan have high growth rates in the last decade. Despite these achievements, however, South Asia lags behind in tackling the problem of poverty. The number of poor people in the region is in millions. The impact of this prevalence of poverty, among other areas, is apparent in the education sector. Literacy levels in South Asian states remain low. Effectively, economic growth is being paralleled by continuing incidence of poverty and the perpetuation of ‘knowledge deficit’ in one of the most populated areas of the world. The question arises as to how this trend can be arrested so as to benefit from the demographic dividend as well as ensure that right to education and freedom from poverty are realised for the people living in South Asia? This paper attempts to answer this question with reference to developments in Pakistan.

The paper argues that the educational policies in Pakistan have gradually come to be linked with strategies to counter poverty. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) and a host of other initiatives are indicative of this changing approach. Although these initiatives, supported by local and international agencies, have shown some signs of success, the overall picture remains grim. Inequalities abound in the system with an impact on the *quality* of education provided to poor strata of the society. Drawing upon experiences in educational institutions in close proximity to Islamabad, this paper identifies a set of structural and societal factors that limit the extent to which the quality of education provided to poor people is improved in reality. It argues that dealing with these (and other) impediments require creative approaches which engage both local and international agencies in exploring possible solutions tailored-made to different areas.

Without such creativity, numbers may not match the quality of education with implications for continuing the incidence of poverty in the region. The argument is developed into three parts. The first part outlines the gradual linking of education with poverty reduction strategies and puts their claimed impact into perspective. The second part analyses the context in which knowledge deficit continues to exist in Pakistan. The third part uses the examples of the schools around Islamabad to identify the impediments to quality education. It suggests possible approaches that could improve the quality of primary education employing an integrated approach.

Education and Poverty: Accepting the Links

Accepting the link between education and poverty is a relatively recent phenomenon in Pakistan. For most part of its history, education has been treated as a separate issue requiring strategies and plans that could improve literacy and educational standards in the country. The scene for such an approach was set at the time of independence when Pakistan inherited a literacy rate of only 15 percent. In all 10,408 primary, middle and secondary schools catered for the educational needs of 1,058,000 students. The number of schools for girls stood at only 1764 with a total enrolment of 137,000 at all levels.² The task of improving access to education and increasing the level of literacy was addressed in the National Education Conference in 1947. The conference planned to achieve the goal of Universal Primary Education by 1967. This was followed by a series of Five Year Plans and special conferences and commissions dealing with education that shifted the targets of UPE. A general trend existed of new deadlines being identified with each new regime. This created a situation where the goal of universal primary education for girls and boys should have been completed at various stages in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s and later. For instance, the Sixth Five Year Plan (1983-88) identified 1988 as the target date for ensuring that all primary school age students would be enrolled. The Seventh Five Year Plan (1988-93) shifted the deadline to 1993. Even before the targeted date, the National Education Policy of 1992 had shifted the date to 2002.³

The definition of 'literacy' also continued to change with each attempt to deal with the question of education at all levels in Pakistan. While in 1961, it was defined as 'ability to read with understanding in any language', it had shifted to 'ability to read a newspaper and write a simple letter in any language'. These changing definitions created

the space for often-misplaced assessments of educational standards in Pakistan. While funds were allocated (albeit at less than satisfactory levels) to improving the access to education, they did not contribute to improving the situation in the country.

Consequently, while Pakistan claimed a total literacy rate of 40% in 1998, the actual conditions on ground were less than satisfactory. As argued by Aziz, ‘the net primary enrolment countrywide was 51 percent in 1998, with large rural-urban (67%-45%) and male-female (57%-44%) gaps.’⁴

The stagnation in the educational sector coincided with a gradual downturn in Pakistan’s economy. The seeds of this downturn had been sown during the Zia-ul-Haq’s military regime when influx of foreign assistance was not properly channelled into projects that could sustain the economy in the long-term. The democratic phase (1988-99), however, further contributed to the problem. Guided by the need to stay in power at any cost, and against the background of rampant corruption, Pakistan’s economy suffered as regimes frequently changed with Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif each getting the chance to be the Prime Minister twice in a decade. The GDP growth rate for the country declined, for example, from 6.1% in the 1980s to 5.1% during 1990-95 and then to 4% during the 1995-99 period. Total and fixed investment rates also declined from an average of 18.6% and 16.8% respectively during the 1980s to 17.1% and 15.3% during the 1995-99 period. The macroeconomic imbalances and the deceleration of the economy reduced employment opportunities for citizens while inflation rose from 7.3% in the 1980s to 11.5% in 1990-95 and 9% during the 1995-99 periods respectively. This, in turn, contributed to an increased incidence of poverty in Pakistan from 19-20% in the 1980s to more than 30% in the 1990s.⁵

The link between lack of access to educational facilities and real literacy on the one hand and poverty on the other was increasingly apparent in the 1990s. High levels of illiteracy contributed to citizens’ inability to gain employment in an already weak economy. The resulting poverty further eroded the access to education, including primary education, for Pakistani youth. However, it was only at the turn of the new millennium that the Pakistan Government formally acknowledged this relationship and came to address the twin issues of poverty and access to primary education simultaneously. International developments, particularly the terrorist attacks on the US in September 2001 and the attention given to madaris contributed to this process. Interested in arresting the

spread of Islamic militancy, the Musharraf regime embarked upon a process of controlling both poverty and knowledge deficit. The Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy paper (I-PRSP) was adopted in November 2001, followed by the Poverty Reduction Strategy paper in December 2003 (PRSP).

The I-PRSP acknowledged a direct relationship between poverty and lack of access to education. Guided by a commitment to reverse the economic downturn, it focused on Education Sector Reforms (ESR). As part of these reforms, the I-PRSP identified the goal of universal primary education and quality Education for All (EFA) by 2015. As part of this plan, the Pakistan Government embarked on a process of providing additional facilities and support to marginalised groups. The government opted for providing free textbooks, uniforms and stipend to poor students at primary level.⁶ The PSRP of December 2003 further developed these ideas. The paper adopted a four-pillar strategy with a focus on high and broad-based economic growth, improved governance and consolidated devolution, increased investment in human capital and bringing the poor and vulnerable into the mainstream of development. The emphasis on devolution with increased role for provincial and local level service providers was paralleled by an acceptance of a role played by civil society. In fact, the paper was keen to emphasise the need to build alliances between different interest groups.

The PSRP finally led to the PRSP-II launched in April 2007. The PRSP is more focused on modifying instead of initiating policies in various sectors. It assumes that falling population growth rates would enable Pakistani society to achieve a balance where women would be healthier, child mortality rate would be reduced, and adult labour force would have less pressure as providers for the families. As part of 'harnessing potential of the people, the PSRP-II focuses on strengthening education provision through initiatives like EFA incentive package for enrolment and curbing drop outs. It also addresses the issues of gender inequality in all areas including education.⁷

Together, these series of papers enshrine a different approach to education than the one adopted previously and provide the context in which the Pakistan Government has undertaken a reform of the education sector. Primary education has received special attention in this context with alliances being built between the federal, provincial and local government as well as international and civil society groups. For the first time in Pakistan's history, the Government has conducted an Education Census to develop a base

for comparing future progress in various areas of primary education. The Government has also undertaken Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement (PSLM) Surveys to assess the progress achieved to date on the criteria identified in the I-PRSP and PRSP.

Cumulatively, the data has been used by the Pakistan Government to claim that the state of primary education in the country has registered a definite improvement. It argues that the gross enrolment rate at the primary level rose to 86 percent in 2004-2005 compared to 72 percent in 2001-02.⁸ By 2005-2006, the GER for the primary school (age 5-9 years) had increased by another percentage point to 87%— a total increase of 15% during the last five years. The data, it is argued, indicates that primary education for girls has been the main driver for the increase with female GER increasing from 61% to 80% in five years. Accordingly, the total number of students enrolled in primary schools has risen to 16.8 million in 2005-06. Of these, 7,287,788 or 43% are girls.⁹ The Net Enrolment Rate (NER) for the primary schools has also risen from 42% in 2001-02 to 52% in 2005-06, with both the sexes recording a 10 percentage point increase during the same period. The number of children who left before completing primary level education has decreased with greater access to education by Pakistan's young citizens. The data is also used to argue that the strategies devised focus specifically on the poorer sections of the society and those living in rural areas.¹⁰ Effectively, the argument centres round a commitment in the government to provide better education (including at primary level) as part of the larger strategy to improve the economic conditions of the country.

The claims of progress, however, hide the reality of education at primary level in Pakistan. The progress is paralleled by inbuilt imbalances and inequalities that do not necessarily result in substantive improvement in the quality of education at primary level. To being with, although the number of students enrolled has increased, as pointed out by the World Bank, 'almost half of the primary school age cohort is currently out of school'. In a similar vein, while the GER for girls in primary schools has increased, it still lags behind those for boys in the same age group. The gender gap is most pronounced in rural areas where 'only 22% of girls above age 10 have completed primary level or higher schooling as compared to 47% boys. ...NER for rural girls at 42% trails behind rural boys' NER of 53%'.¹¹ This suggests that the goal of achieving universal primary education by 2015 is not likely to be achieved.

Inequalities also exist at provincial level. As can be seen from Table 1.1 included in Pakistan Economic Survey 2006-2007, while increased GER and NER were recorded for all four provinces, the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan trailed behind Punjab and Sindh. Importantly, despite the number of girls' enrolment increasing, the Gender Parity Index for Baluchistan and NWFP was lower than the other two provinces. The inequalities are also evident in the number of institutions providing primary school education across the country. The data provided by the Ministry of Education, for instance, indicates that the governmental primary schools in Punjab and Sindh outnumber those in NWFP and Baluchistan (Table 1.2).

The problem is further magnified by the fact that the *quality* of education and educational environment does not meet satisfactory standards. A number of schools lack basic facilities. The problem is neither ignored nor denied by the Pakistan Government: it accepts that a number of schools do not have buildings, water, electricity and toilet facilities. It also acknowledges that the quality of teachers and their training lags behind acceptable standards.¹² However, the acknowledgement does not change the fact that the less than satisfactory quality of education impacts upon the willingness of parents to send their children to primary schools. Anecdotal evidence exists that teachers in rural areas either do not turn up at schools or are not well trained to simultaneously teach often more than one class.

Table 1.1: Literacy Rate 10+, GER and NER Trends in Pakistan & Gender Parity Index (GPI)

Region/ Province		Literacy Rates (10 years & older)			GER Primary			NER Primary		
		PIHS 2001-02	PSLM 2004-05	PSLM 2005-06	PIHS 2001-02	PIHS 2004-05	PSLM 2004-05	PIHS 2001-02	PIHS 2004-05	PSLM 2005-06
Pakistan	Male	58	65	65	83	94	94	46	56	56
	Female	32	40	42	61	77	80	38	48	48
	Total	45	53	54	72	86	87	42	52	52
	GPI	0.55	0.61	0.64	0.73	0.81	0.85	0.82	0.85	0.85
Punjab	Male	57	65	66	84	100	98	47	60	60
	Female	36	44	47	69	89	89	43	55	53
	Total	47	55	56	76	95	94	45	58	57
	GPI	0.63	0.67	0.71	0.82	0.89	0.90	0.91	0.92	0.88
Sindh	Male	60	68	67	76	84	88	46	53	54
	Female	31	41	42	51	65	71	34	42	47
	Total	46	56	55	63	75	80	40	48	50
	GPI	0.51	0.60	0.89	0.67	0.77	0.80	0.73	0.79	0.87
NWFP	Male	57	64	64	97	93	93	48	53	54
	Female	20	26	30	56	65	70	33	40	42
	Total	38	45	46	77	80	83	41	47	49
	GPI	0.35	0.40	0.46	0.57	0.69	0.75	0.68	0.75	0.77
Balochista n	Male	53	52	54	77	83	79	39	44	39
	Female	15	19	20	44	49	50	24	29	27
	Total	36	37	38	62	67	65	32	37	34
	GPI	0.28	0.36	0.37	0.57	0.59	0.63	0.61	0.65	0.69

Source: Derived from data contained in PIHS 2001-02, PSLM Survey 2004-05 & PSLM 2005-06

Table 1.2: Primary School Institutions (Public Sector) By Province and Gender

Province	Total Number	Girls	Boys
Punjab	44,331	22,821	21,510
Sindh	43,018	7116	18,259
NWFP	19,752	7850	11,902
Baluchistan	9,851	2,886	6,965

Source: Derived from Institutions (Public Sector) by Province, Level, Gender and Location 2005-2006, Education Statistics, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, <http://www.moe.gov.pk/>

The relevance of these problems has been highlighted in independent studies that point out that, despite the improvement in the numbers, the quality of education judged according the criteria of availability, access, acceptability and adaptability remains unsatisfactory. A study conducted for Save the Children UK, for instance, pointed that

the access to appropriate education was denied to marginalised children, and those from religious minority.¹³

The Knowledge Deficit: Context and Causes

The reality of imbalance in access to primary education raises the question as to how the problem can be tackled so as assist Pakistan in realizing the goal of poverty reduction and benefiting from the demographic dividend?

Any attempt to answer this question must start from an appreciation of the context in which education is being provided to youth in Pakistan at primary (and other) levels. The context is marked by a combination of structural inequalities embedded in Pakistan's socio-economic system, and decades of neglect and mismanagement of the educational sector. Since its independence in August 1947, Pakistani society has essentially remained an unequal society. In a pattern resembling the global situation, the rich control disproportionately high percentage of the total resources, while the access by poor to these resources is equally disproportionately restricted. These inequalities have provided the context in which Pakistanis have experienced and manifested their social and political relationships. They have also determined the limits to which the privileged class(es) have been willing to address the needs of those less privileged in the society. Education is no exception.

From the outset, class structures have determined the nature of educational opportunities available to citizens. The rich have been guaranteed access to high quality education while the poor have relied upon government as the main provider of education. Religious schools (deeni madaris) have provided an alternative to the government-sponsored educational facilities. For a large part of Pakistan's history, this has effectively been translated into a system where private service providers have coexisted with governmental schools. In the past, this enabled the elite to send their children to private schools where English language was used as the medium of instruction. In some cases, they also chose to send children to schools that used Urdu as the medium of instruction *provided* the quality of education was perceptibly superior to other schools. Public schools, commonly known as government schools, were often chosen by the middle and less privileged classes. Those from the middle class chose 'better government schools' while the poor were taught in schools that did not often come up to the criteria

of being called a school. Religious schools (deeni madaris) provided another option to the less privileged people, particularly those unable to send their children to governmental schools. Alternatively, those interested in their children following a religious path also opted for madrassahs.

The 1980s marked a change in this relatively established pattern. The logic of Islamization in Pakistan and the jihad against the Soviet presence in Afghanistan prompted General Zia-ul-Haq to support the madrassah sector. The state-sponsorship for religious schools resulted in the proliferation of such institutions. By the end of the decade, deeni madaris had come to occupy a distinct place in Pakistani society. They essentially operated at the lower-income end of the spectrum: children from poor families enrolled in these schools with guaranteed access to food, shelter and education. The process continued in the 1990s as the military regime was replaced by a series of democratically elected governments. The economic mismanagement, rampant corruption and inflation contributed to an economic downturn. This, in turn, increased the incidence of poverty in Pakistan. The Madrassah sector emerged as an even more necessary choice for poor families—a trend that has continued to date. It is, however, important to note that different types of madaris have emerged in the last few decades: in addition to those catering to the needs of people living below the poverty line, some madaris combine ‘modern education’ with traditional madrassah curriculum. As such, their clientele extends also to some from the middle-income classes.

The process has been paralleled by proliferation of non-religious educational institutions: the total number of these institutions has risen from 36,096 in 1999-00 to 81103 in 2005, with an annual average increase of 25 percent. They vary in terms of their resource base and clientele. As evident from Table 1.3, while 126 British schools spent Rs.1363.8 million, a total of 16,007 primary schools reported Rs 2572 million in the corresponding period. This amounted to an average of Rs 10.8 million per British school, and Rs .016 million for primary schools. Such variation in economic capacity enables selected private schools to attract the most-qualified teachers, retain a lower staff-student ration and provide high quality education. Mostly relying upon English language as the medium of instruction, these schools provide education that exposes students to critical thinking, and introduces them to the ideas prevalent in a globalised world. To provide such service, they easily charge exorbitant fee for students ranging from more

than Rs3, 000 per month to sometimes even Rs 9,000 per month per child. In contrast, other private schools operate in lower-income areas and may consist of a limited number of unqualified teachers. In return for less than satisfactory education, these schools reportedly charge as little as Rs 100 per child. These schools predominantly rely on Urdu as the medium of instruction.

Table 1.3: Expenditure of Private Educational Institutions by Level

Level of Institutions	No of Institutions Covered	No of Institutions Reported Expenditure	Expenditure
Total	76047	73018	35914.0
Pre-Primary	794	738	210.1
Mosque School	88	87	12.4
Primary	16823	16,007	2572.0
Middle	24115	23,393	5724.5
Secondary	14540	14,100	16243.3
British System	270	126	1363.8
Inter. and Degree Colleges	857	826	1939.5
General Universities	18	17	525.0
Technical /Professional	898	858	3424.4
Vocational/Poly Technique	2143	2,042	811.7
NFBE	2823	2,727	61.1
Madrassa	11799	11,305	2723.5
Others	879	792	302.8

Source: Education Census 2006

These private educational institutions co-exist with government schools across the country: (33% private and 67% governmental schools). The government remains the main provider of education in rural areas despite the fact that these schools suffer from problems of unsatisfactory infrastructure and teachers' training levels. Effectively, therefore, Pakistan is currently experiencing an educational system where different institutions cater to the needs to specific economic classes. They become both the symbol and cause of economic hierarchy. Students enrolled in 'upper class private schools' tend to be better educated, more in tune with the demands of a globalised world and more employable. On the other hand, students enrolled in madaris or governmental schools generally come from middle and lower-income groups. In addition to being less well informed, they are less employable even after completing education.

This context determines the limits within which primary education is provided to Pakistan's children. Replicating the dominant trend, children from the elite classes

receive the best quality education. Those from the middle and lower income groups, in contrast, are forced into conditions of less than satisfactory educational facilities. This is not to deny that some success stories do exist where governmental and non-governmental partners have tried innovative schemes to deliver better quality education. However, the dominant trend remains one of unequal opportunities for children in Pakistan. This, in turn, continues to contribute to the prevalence of poverty.

Tackling the Knowledge Deficit: issues and considerations

Attempts to improve the quality of primary education, be it as part of realizing the demographic dividend or recognition of human right to education, therefore, need to adopt a twin-pronged approach. They need to accept the context of inequality yet combine it with efforts to improve the substantive quality of education provided to the poor. The process, however, is not an easy one. The experiences of HARC, a non-governmental organization operating in Islamabad, in supporting government schools in close vicinity to the city provide some insight into the obstacles that can be encountered.

HARC has been helping 12 schools for the last four years. It inherited the project after Begum Sarfraz Iqbal's death in 2003. She believed that concerned citizens could arrest the deterioration of educational facilities in governmental schools through concerted efforts. This conviction had led her to support poor students enrolled in select governmental schools in villages around Islamabad. In addition to providing books and uniforms to all students, she also helped repair some school buildings. After her death, HARC has continued the process.

Together, these experiences indicate that, emphasis on improving access to education notwithstanding, some schools in close proximity to the capital city continue to suffer from lack of essential facilities. These problems are essentially no different from those identified by the Pakistan Government: buildings in need of repair, lack of drinking water, poor sanitation facilities, and inadequately trained teachers. However, the process of devising plans to assist them in dealing with these problems indicates the limits of simple solutions.

Tackling the problem of water supply, for instance, is not just about installing water pumps. It also needs to take into account the condition of the surrounding areas so as to ensure that the water is not contaminated. At the same time, it is also a matter of

ensuring that the communities around the schools have a sense of ownership of these facilities. Similarly, addressing the problem of providing toilets for students is not about mere provision. Their use is governed by calculations of power and influence. This factor became apparent when staff in one school consistently denied children the use of toilets especially built for them in the school. This was despite the fact that separate toilets were built for teachers as well. It was only after a few visits that the reason for this denial became apparent: the toilet facilities for the children were better than those for the teachers. Probably offended at such discrepancy, they had remained passive in extending to the children the benefits of improvement in physical infrastructure.

The role of issues related to power and influence was also apparent in case of a school with no building. Upon inquiry it appeared that the community had made numerous attempts to get a permanent building for the school, but had failed. The failure was partly explained in terms of the local politician's lack of interest in the issue.

The experience of HARC has also demonstrated the relevance of commitment on part of the teachers. The teachers, who had worked closely with Begum Sarfraz Iqbal, remained committed to the agenda of improving the educational environment for children enrolled in their schools. However, if they were replaced, the new staff did not always exhibit same standard of commitment to students' education. But then again, teachers who had been transferred contacted HARC to initiate projects in the schools they had been transferred to.

The combination of these and other experiences suggests that adopting government primary schools within the context of an integrated approach may provide some avenues for improving the quality of education for poor in Pakistan. To suggest this is not to assume that these ideas have not been tried in some form in the past. But it is stress that provision of primary education cannot be isolated from the wider social and economic context in which knowledge is provided to the younger generations in Pakistan.

Translated into practical approaches, the idea could include the following:

Each adopted school is supported by a set of governmental representatives from the Ministry of Education, a group of concerned citizens living within the area and those from outside, and representatives of donor agencies.

The support groups help the teachers (not just the Principal) to develop a plan for three years identifying the improvements needed in the school. In addition to including

those related to physical infrastructure, these plans must also include ideas about how the training of teachers can be improved, and ways of engaging students in class and school activities.

Those who participate as ‘concerned citizens’ work together to raise funds or decide how the available funds could be spent over the identified period. This approach is necessary to counter the notion of an endless supply of resources from the state. The exercise of raising funds would also help them develop ownership of the plans instead of treating them as ‘handouts’.

The support group, drawing upon the expertise of local and international aid providers, would ensure that the plans are well integrated into the physical and social environment in which the schools are adopted. Such integration is particularly necessary in with respect to provision of drinking water and sanitation facilities. Our observations suggest that installing water pumps is often the beginning and not the end of the process. The lack of attention given to hygienic practices has sometimes created a situation where the water pump is located closely to the drains that can markedly affect the quality of water provided.¹⁴ Encouraging the school and community to think through these linkages would not only help the school but also ‘educate’ the community about good health practices.

The support group would also link the schools with other visiting international and national visitors who can provide new ideas to the children. Firing the children’s imagination can do more than the training programmes conducted in isolation from the school.

The whole agenda of improving primary education in Pakistan, however, must acknowledge that making teachers accountable requires improving their working conditions. The salaries provided to these teachers is a contributory factor to them merely turning up to get the pay cheques. The success of this approach has already been made apparent through the Higher Education Commission’s efforts to attract high calibre academics from around the world. Within Pakistan, the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) has enticed some academics away from state-sponsored universities by offering them higher salaries. Teachers in government schools are not immune to such incentives. In fact, the agenda of better quality education cannot be

complete without accepting the need to empower and honour the teachers. It would also enable the government and support groups to hold them more accountable.

The attempts to change the quality of primary education cannot be divorced from the experiences in later stages of education. Instead of treating primary education separately, they must be treated as part of the longer chain of education including at middle and secondary schools. Also a concerted attention would need to be given to vocational training so to enable the youth to be self-employed.

Finally, the hierarchical context of education in Pakistan requires an acceptance of the established power structures. The tendency to avoid dealing with local power-elites could be detrimental to the success of adopted schools' ability to really achieve success. Change will ultimately come from accepting the limits with a determined effort to overcome these limits.

¹ I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to my mother, Begum Sarfraz Iqbal, who made me appreciate the value of education, and my father Malik Iqbal and husband Professor James Trevelyan who have continued the work on her ideas. Professor Trevelyan also patiently debated ideas included in the paper!

² *Pakistan: Reforming the Education Sector*, International Crisis Group, Asia Report No. 84, 7 October 2004, p.3

³ Ahsan, p.263

⁴ Raja Ehsan Aziz, *The State of Children's Education and Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRSP) in Pakistan: A Review Paper*, Prepared for Save the Children (UK), Islamabad, March 2005, p.3

⁵ *Ensuring a Demographic Dividend-Unleashing Human Potential in a Globalized World, Draft Summary of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper-II, Islamabad [Hereafter cited as PRSP-II]*, Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan, 25 April 2007, pp.8-9

⁶ *Pakistan Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy paper (I-PRSP)*, Jointly prepared by Policy Wing, Finance Division Poverty Reduction Cell, Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, November 2001, pp.39-43, <http://www.finance.gov.pk/poverty/home.html>, accessed 20 September 2007.

⁷ *The Demographic Dividend-Unleashing the Human Capital: Pakistan Development Forum 2007*, 25-27 April 2007, Economic Affairs Division, Ministry of Economic Affairs and Statistics, pp.9-11.

⁸ PRSP-II, p.17

⁹ Pakistan Education Statistics 2005-2006T1, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, <http://www.moe.gov.pk/educationalstatistics.htm>, accessed 20 September 2007

¹⁰ The information draws upon the data provided in *Pakistan Economic Survey 2006-07*, June 2007, Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, <http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/survey.htm>, accessed 22 September 2007.

¹¹ The World Bank, Pakistan-Country Overview 2006, <http://www.worldbank.org.pk/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/SOUTHASIAEXT/PAKISTANEXTN/0,,contentMDK:20131431~menuPK:293057~pagePK:1497618~piPK:217854~theSitePK:293052,00.html>, accessed 23 September 2007.

¹² *Pakistan Economic Survey 2006-07*, p.166

¹³ Adnan Sattar, A Situation Analysis of Children's Access to Inclusive Quality Basic Education in Pakistan, Draft Report submitted to the Save the Children-UK in Pakistan, no date, pp.1-70.

¹⁴ For these ideas and other observations on water supply issues in Pakistan, see James Trevelyan, *Drinking Water Costs in Pakistan*, University of Western Australia, 2006.