

A Comparison of Child Labour & School Dropout Rates in District Haripur

By SPARC



Research Team (Haripur)

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Acknowledgements

SPARC would like thank Mr Faiz Ullah Khan, Deputy Director Labour Department, Haripur and the Labour Department of District Haripur for supporting an impartial initiative for analyzing the situation tied to the prevalence of Child Labour in Haripur District.

SPARC would also like the acknowledge the cooperation and effort of Child Rights Committee (CRC) Haripur in facilitating the data collection process.

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Acronyms

AEPAM (Academy of Educational Planning and Management)

CSC (Center for Street Children)

CRC (Child Rights Committee)

FGD (Focus Group Discussion)

ILO (International Labor Organization)

NFE (Non-formal Education)

NGO (Non-Governmental Organization)

OOSC (Out of School Children)

PKR (Pakistani Rupee Rates)

SPARC (Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Child)

UCW (Understanding Children's Work)

UNCRC (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child)

Introduction

Pakistan is among the countries with the highest prevalence of child labour, with an alarmingly high number (22.6 million)¹ of out of school children. The ratio of out of school girls is higher than males, further endangering their chances for economic empowerment. The last Child Labour Survey in Pakistan

¹ http://library.aepam.edu.pk/Books/Pakistan%20Education%20Statistics%202015-16.pdf

was conducted back in 1996, which estimated child labour to be at 3.3 million². Since then, there has been no nationwide child labour survey.

Based on the national Labour Force Survey 2010-2011, a publication titled Understanding Children's Work (UCW) in South Asia by ILO, UNICEF and World Bank indicated that 5.7 million 10-17-year-olds, representing almost 20% of all children in the age group are involved in labour in Pakistan³. Among these children, more than two-thirds of those engaged within the agricultural sector in Pakistan. A similar proportion were estimated to be doing unpaid family work.

Of the 15-17 year age group, 13.5% were estimated to be engaged in hazardous work. Article 11 (3) of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan prohibits the employment of children below the age of 14 years in any factory or mine or any other hazardous employment. Federal and Provincial child labour prohibition laws set the age bar at 14 years, with the exception of Punjab (15 years), while The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Prohibition of Employment of Children Act allows 'light work' at the age of 12.

Haripur with its large employment opportunities, burgeoning population and the availability of multiple industries, particularly in Hattar, attracts a large pool of labour. This is one of the contributing factors for the prevalence of child labor in Haripur, since the availability of jobs and acceptance of child labour makes it a hotspot for child labour.

In year 2015, Provincial Child Labour Unit (PCLU) Khyber Pakhtunkhwa conducted a rapid assessment survey. The report of the assessment ranked District Haripur number 2 in the prevalence of children engaged in the worst forms of child labour. In 2016 the Education department conducted OSCS (Out of School Children Survey) which indicated that around 9,787 children of the district from different age groups were out of school.

In order to assess the level of prevalence of child labour in District Haripur and to assess its correlation with school dropout rates, SPARC conducted a survey across District Haripur, with special focus on the industrial area of Hattar and Central Haripur.

Research Methodology

Methodology

The research was conducted using survey questionnaires, FGDs and interviews from children engaged in child labour in District Haripur, their parents and employers.

The survey data was collected using both qualitative and quantitative methods. There were 3 survey forms created for data collection, one for children engaged in labour, the other for parents and the third for employers in areas with high concentration of child labour.

The methodology included using questionnaires, In-depth interviews and FGDs with children, parents, employers and government officials from the Labour Department of District Haripur.

²http://kpcode.kp.gov.pk/uploads/2015_19_THE_KHYBER_PAKHTUNKHWA_PROHIBITION_OF_EMPLOYMENT_OF_CHILDREN_ACT_2015.pdf

³http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---sro-new_delhi/documents/publication/wcms_440164.pdf

Key Research Questions

- 1. Is there a correlation between school dropout rates and child labour?
- 2. Is child labour resulting in a substitute for education for children engaged in labour?
- 3. What constraints result in children's engagement in labour?

FGDs with Children

There were 2 FGDs conducted with children aged 10-12. These 2 FGDs included 21 children. The FGDs discussed the following key aspects from children engaged in labour:

- Why are children involved in child labour?
- What issues do children face during their job?
- What are the views of children engaged in labour regarding education?
- What do children understand by abuse?

FGDs with Parents

There were 2 FGDs conducted with 17 males, The FGDs discussed the following key questions from parents of children engaged in labour:

- What are the reasons that lead parents to engage their children in labour?
- What are the views of parents of children engaged in labour regarding education?
- What would it take to encourage parents to send their children to school instead of engaging them in labour?
- How prevalent is child abuse for children engaged in labour?

FGDs with Employers

There were 2 FGDs conducted with 16 male employers who had children employed at their establishments. The FGDs discussed the following key questions:

- Why do people employ children?
- What are the views of employers engaging children in labour?
- What are the views of employers regarding educating children engaged in labour?
- What is the prevalence of violence and abuse against children employed in labour?

FGDs with Labour Department, Haripur

To get an overview about the child labor situation in District Haripur SPARC decided to conduct a Focus Group Discussion with Labour Department, Haripur. The following questions were covered during the FDGs.

- What is the status of Child Labour in District Haripur?
- What strategies has the Labour Department adopted to curb child labour in the district?
- What are the key hurdles to control child labor?
- What are the key factor/reasons behind the promotion of child labour in the District?
- What are the recommendations at departmental level to improve the efficiency of labor department?

Target Area

The targeted area for the survey included Haripur District, with special focus on the industrial zone of Hattar and Central Haripur. The survey included children engaged in labour, parents and employers from business establishments across the targeted area.

Children

Among the respondents, 35% children who responded to the survey were from Central Haripur, 31% from Hattar and 34% from other parts of Haripur District.

Parents

Among the parents responding to the survey, 51% belonged to Central Haripur and 49% from Hattar.

Employers

Among the employers responding to the survey, 55% belonged to Central Haripur, 23% from Hattar and 22% from other parts of District Haripur.

Limitations

The children interviewed during the survey mainly included children from business establishments. This excludes the non-formal sector which employs a number of children in labour in District Haripur. Furthermore, the parents and vendors interviewed included males. This is because female vendors are virtually non-existent in the district or work in segregated conditions. It was also not possible to reach out to female headed households, single mothers or women who had children employed in labour.

The children interviewed during the survey also included only 2% females and 1 transgender, limiting the views of children engaged in labour to mainly male children. This is because the industrial area of Hattar and Central Haripur have a large male (child) population engaged in business establishments.

Another limitation of the survey is that it is limited to a few zones in District Haripur, hence the dynamics of other parts of Haripur might differ from the targeted areas.

Children Engaged in Labour

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Employment of Children Act 2015 sets the age bar for children in work at 14, with the possibility of engaging children in 'light work' from the age of 12. However, the working hours and conditions defined in the law are not being followed in the province.

Chapter 3, section 7 of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Prohibition of Employment of Children Act states that the period of work for adolescents shall not exceed three hours and that no adolescent shall work for more than three hours before he has an interval of at least one hour for rest. Furthermore, it states that no adolescent shall be permitted or required to work between 7.00 p.m. to 8.00 a.m. of the following day, with no provision for making adolescents to work over time. The law also limits work in any other establishment for the adolescent in case he/she has already worked in another establishment on the same day.

Household Level Constraints Leading to Child Labour

During the survey the household level constraints leading to child labour that the SPARC team identified included deceased parents, early marriages, and a high dependency ratio.

The survey included 'approximately' 2% female, 98% male students and 1 transgender. 10% children were found to be married or engaged; out of which 7% Engaged and 3% Married. 15% Children had at least 1 deceased parent.

14% Fathers and 90% Mothers were found to be unemployed, with the latter being more of a matter of choice.

Percentage of Children Married	3%
Percentage of Children Engaged	7%
Children with at least One Deceased Parent	15%
Percentage of Fathers Unemployed	14%
Percentage of Mothers Unemployed	90%

Outrageously Long Working Hours for Children

During the survey conducted by SPARC, children as young as 5-8 year olds were found to be engaged in labour, whereas, the prescribed working hours, rest interval and safety guidelines were being ignored by employers. The working hours of children engaged in labour in Haripur was an average of 12 hours. The average age of children engaged in some type of work was 14, with each child required to work for at least 6 days at an average. This is clearly a violation of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Prohibition of Employment of Children Act.

Youngest age group of Children in Labour	5-8 Years
Average age of children	14 years
Average number of working hours per child	12 hours
Average number of working days per week per	
child	6 days

Family Size and Monthly Income

The average number of people per household were found to be 5, with 2 economically active individuals per household. This mostly included at least 1 child employed in labour.

The immediate family members per household included an average of 7, with the exception of extended families. Additional data collected from adult male heads of the households showed that a large number of families had between 4-9 children (64%). It is worth mentioning here that since many of these include young couples, the average family size is likely to rise in future.

Average Family size	7
Average number of dependents per household	5
Average number of family members engaged in	
some kind of work	2

The average monthly income of parents of children engaged in labour was estimated at PKR 13,904, which is insufficient for a family size of 7 people or more, with an average of 5 dependents per household. Moreover, since the bread winners of these families are usually male heads of the house, it is only natural for such families to engage children (especially male children) in labour. The average monthly contribution of children working at establishments in District Haripur was estimated at PKR 2,989 per child.

Average Monthly Income of Parents	PKR 13, 904
Average Monthly contribution of children to	PKR 2,989
household income	

Literacy and School Dropout Rates

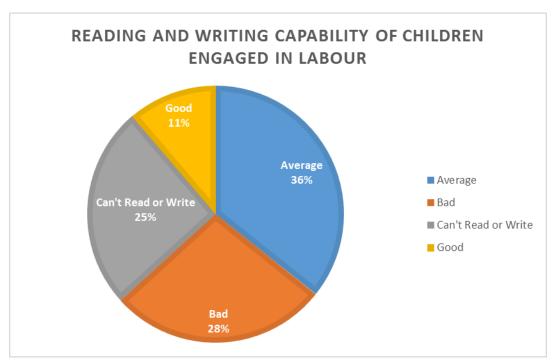
The ability to read and write determines the avenues an individual is able to explore when considering future job prospects. Furthermore, deprivation from basic education can lead to a hard life, where one finds it difficult to understand sign boards to basic transactions conducted on a daily basis. Even if these basic requirements are met, illiteracy can result in a lack of understanding of essential health and hygiene, financial management, access to better earning opportunities, and the like.

During the survey the ability of children to read and write was found to be quite weak. While it is easy to shift the blame on the government, what the SPARC team found was a more sinister cause for deprivation of children from basic education, and the fault lies directly at the household level and social fabric of society. 4% children had never been to school, whereas 89% children were found to be school dropouts, whereas 11% children were still going to either school or a madrassa.

Children never been to school	4%
School dropouts engaged in labour	89%
Children engaged in labour but also enrolled in	
School or Madrassa	11%

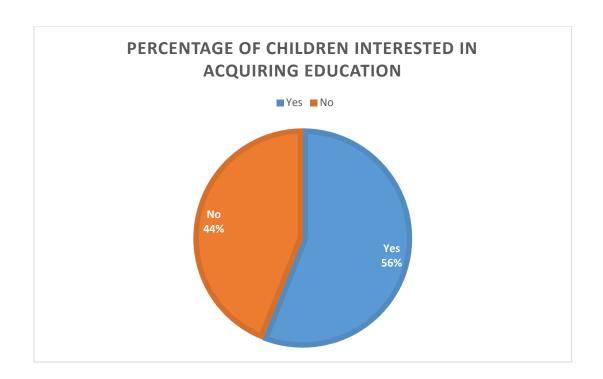
Reading and Writing Capability of Children Engaged in Labour

Only 10% children among the sample group were found to be proficient in reading and writing in at least one language. 36% children could read and write in at least one language with some efficiency, whereas 54% children could not properly read or write, including 26% children who had no capability to read or write in any language.



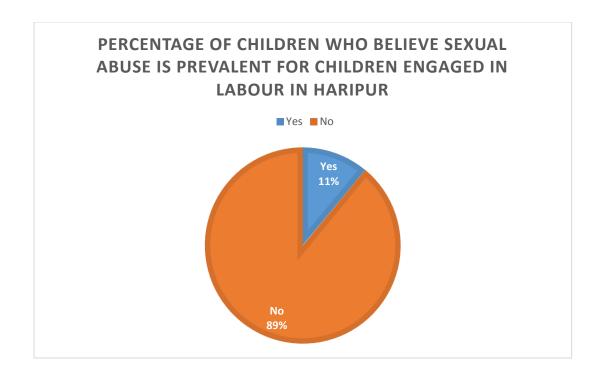
Decline in Children Interested in Acquiring Education

When children engaged in labour were asked about their aspirations for acquiring education, a mammoth 44% did not show any interest in taking the academic path. While 56% of children responded affirmatively, however, these stats point towards a nationwide trend that has been observed by SPARC over the years. While the availability of facilities for public schools have gradually improved, the interest of children to substitute education with labour has declined.



Prevalence of Violence and Abuse

During the survey 11% of children reported the prevalence of violence and sexual abuse among children engaged in labour. During FGDs with employers and parents, sexual abuse and violence was identified as one of the major threats to children engaged in labour, especially children who face scorn and neglect at the household level. A more comprehensive assessment is needed to truly judge the true extent of prevalence of violence and sexual abuse among children employed in the district.



School Dropouts Engaged in Child Labour Don't Want to Return to School

During FGDs conducted with children the SPARC team tried to assess the reason children are engaged in child labour in the district. One of the major reason cited was their lack of interest in education. The children mostly complained about corporal punishment, and other inadequacies of the education system that repelled them from education, such as; weak infrastructure, verbal abuse and corporal punishment.

Physical Punishment and Abusive Language is Common in Public Schools

During FGDs conducted with school dropouts engaged in child labour, one of the primary reasons for leaving school for these children was the physical and verbal abuse they had to face day in and day out. Instead, these children are now working for a mere PKR 20 to 30 (\$ 0.20 to \$0.30) for 10-12 hour shifts. Despite the low wage, 98% of children during FGDs did not want to resume education.

Muhammad Amir, an automobile worker shared his experience that led him to leaving school. He was once beaten by his school teacher for being a few minutes late from school. This led to him abandoning his studies, as the embarrassment and physical punishment he experienced was unbearable for him.

Children See no Economic Prospects in Acquiring Education

Corporal punishment and lack of facilities aren't the only factors discouraging children from schools. Many children during the FGDs claimed that education for them didn't seem to have any long-term financial gains, since many of their elder cousins with Bachelor's and Master's degrees were still unemployed. It appears that these children, as little as they were, could realize the need to earn money due to their poverty stricken circumstances. Since they have an understanding that public school

students cannot compete with children educated from private schools providing better quality education, acquiring education isn't simply worth the effort.

Parents, Child Labour & Out of School Children

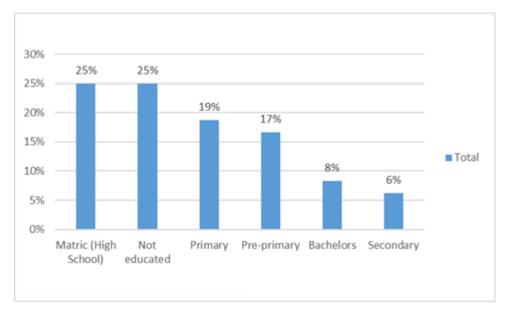
In order to instill a sense of responsibility in parents to educate their children, it is essential for them to be educated as well. Unfortunately, the lack of quality education in the country often results in a large pool of a potential workforce that is unable to tap into highly paid jobs. This creates resentment among individuals who have acquired higher education but no skill to enter the type of profession they intend to. Furthermore, the lack of quality training centers and emphasis on English language in offices makes it even harder for people from marginalized groups to excel in their professional career.

The statistics given below provide an overview of the economic condition and social views of parents in district Haripur, which includes mostly parents of children engaged in child labour or suffering from poverty.

Note: All individuals for this section of the survey included males, usually heads of the family.

Highiest Academic Qualification of Parents of Children in Labour

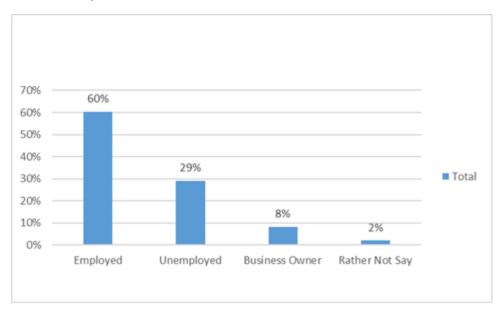
It is no surprise that the majority of parents of children engaged in labour had not completed highier education. Only 8% had completed Bachelors, 6% had completed Secondary education and only 25% had acquired a degree equivalent to high school education. A similar numer of individuals were found to be uneducated, whereas a small number of parents had completed pre-primary (17%), and primary (19%) education.



Employment Status of Parents of Children in Labour

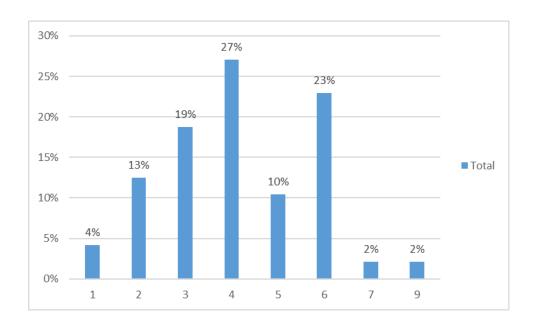
While 60% of the interviewed parents were employed, majority of them were found to be engaged in menial jobs. 8% owned some type of business, 2% declined to comment, and 30% of the respondents

were found to be unemployed. The latter points towards another major point to be pondered over. The lack of availability of jobs for adults often leads to parents engaging children in labour, since there is a high demand for child labour, since children are paid less than adults and are more docile to mould for harsh working conditions.



Number of Children

There are a number of factors that add to a generational cycle of poverty and one of them is a lack of emphasis on family planning. The average household size for families (mainly poor families) was found to be 4. Whereas 64% of people had between 4-9 children. This exponentially increases the rate of dependets per household, making it inevitable to enagge children in labour to make up for the shortfall in monthly income. This is especially true considering a vast majority fo women in the area are economically inactive.



Parents Resent Public Schools

During the FGDs conducted with parents, 60% deemed the existing government run education system redundant, citing it as one of the major reasons for them substitution education with labour for their children. On the contrary, 40% parents wanted their children to acquire education but cited poverty as a constraint.

The Opportunity Cost is too Obvious for Many Parents

A majority of the parents who joined the Focus Group Discussions deemed education as futile, as they had not observed any long-term gains for people around them who acquired education. Many of the parents had a distinct bias against educating their children, since they deemed it more 'productive' to engage their children in labour.

Hard Labour "Pays Off", Unlike Education

During the FGDs parents of children engaged in labour cited examples of education not paying off for their children. One individual lamented his 27 year toil as a laborer in Saudi Arabia. He explained that despite working 17 hours a day, and educating his children with the hard earned money from his work in the middle east, his children were still unemployed. Similar stories were shared by other parents who explained that there are many such examples of people with educated children who didn't find employment, hence, the idea of engaging children in labour from an early age seems more "rational" instead of educating them.

Parents Admit to the Existential Threat of Child Abuse for Children Engaged in Labour

Many of the parents deemed the threat of child abuse, more specifically sexual abuse of children engaged in labour as an existential threat. They deemed the more neglected and

scorned children (at the household level) to be vulnerable to sexual abuse at the workplace or on the streets.

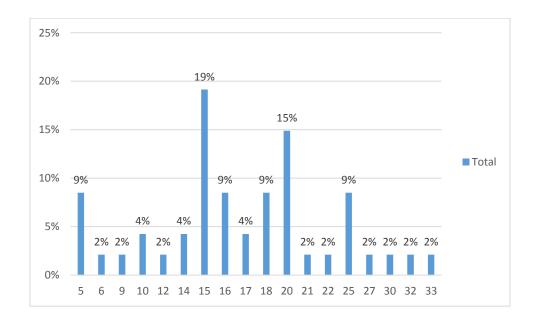
The views of parents regarding child protection institutes was quite resentful. The overwhelming majority of parents interviewed during the survey deemed child protection mechanisms in the country, let alone the province as redundant. It was observed by the SPARC team that none of the parents seemed interested in seeking the help of any child protection units or institutions, should the need ever arise.

Employers & Business Establishments Employing Child Labour

In order to dwell into the psyche of people who employ children, we conducted a survey across various types of employers engaged in the industrial zone of Hattar, Central Haripur and other parts of the district. The aim was to gather the views of people heading the workforce in district Haripur, in order to understand if there is a culture promoting child labour and its substitution in district Haripur.

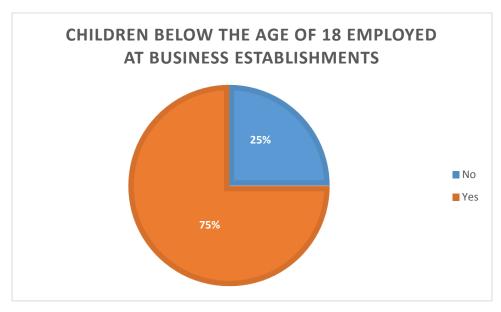
Age of Employment

One of the patterns worth noticing is the age when many vendors and business owners begin working. The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Employment of Children Act allows children to engage in 'light work' from the age of 12, however, during the survey it was revealed that many vendors and current business owners themselves began their careers at a very early age. In fact, 9% of vendors began working at the tender age of 5, whereas 2-4% began working between ages 6-12. Moreover, the children that enter the labour force at 14.



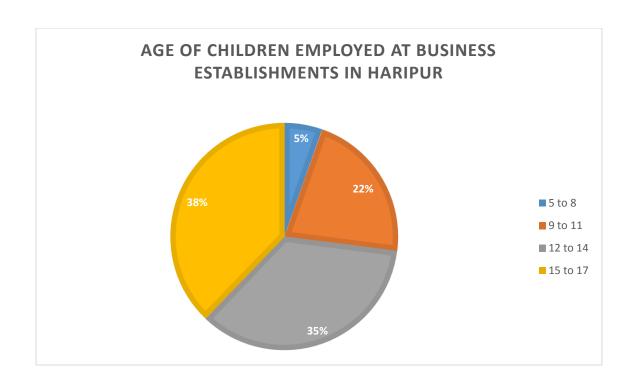
Percentage of Children Employed at Establishments

When asked if anyone below the age of 18 was employed at the establishment of an employer, 75% respondents accepted to employing children below the age of 18. The working conditions at these establishments neither confirmed to standards of 'Light Work' nor 'Child Work' prescribed for adolescents in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Prohibition of Employment of Children Act.



Age of Children Currently Employed at Business Establishments

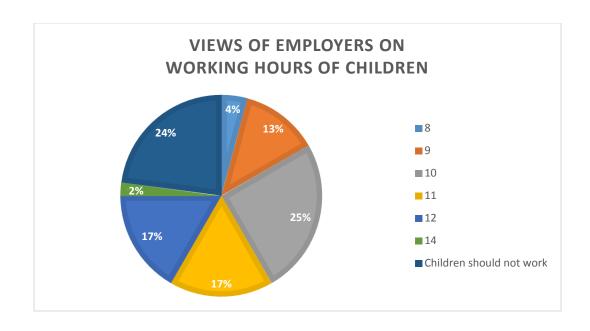
The age range of children employed at business establishments was found to be well below the age bar set by the government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Children as young as 5-8 years were found engaged in child labour (5%), whereas there was a disturbingly high number of children between 9-11 years also found engaged in some type of work (22%). The second largest age group of children employed were between the age of 12-14, considering the nature of work in an industrial zone required slightly older children. While the largest age group consisted of adolescents between the age of 15-17 (38%).



How many hours should children work?

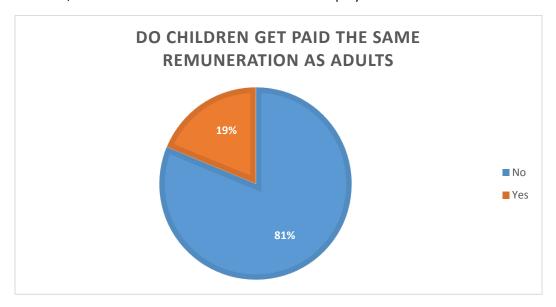
When asked about the number of hours deemed acceptable by employers for children to work, the vast majority of responded considered 10 hours per day to be acceptable (25%). However, a large number of employers (24%) did not prefer children to engage in labor. Most employers in fact cited poverty as a major reason for children in labour.

It is worth mentioning here that not all employers shared these sympathetic views, as 36% respondents considered between 11 to 14 hours a day as acceptable for children.



Remuneration of Children Vs Adults

During the survey 81% respondents claimed that they pay children the same remuneration as adults, however, the views of children differed from their employers.



Seasonal Vs Perpetual Engagement of Children in Labour

During the survey it was revealed that some child labour in the district was seasonal, as parents deemed it 'necessary' for their children to learn a new skill during seasonal vacations from schools. However, most children according to employers deemed poverty and lack of interest of both children and parents in education as the primary cause for child labour.

There is a Demand for Children for Menial Jobs

During FGDs with vendors and business owners, it was revealed that there is a demand for children in labour for menial jobs that adults do not wish to engage in. This includes low paid jobs at workshops, garages, service stations, hotels, shops, and industries.

Some employers quite heartlessly described a preference to hire small children as they could 'reach into smaller spaces' and their 'size' was handy in getting certain types of jobs done.

Children are Cheaper to Hire

While 81% of the employers during the survey claimed to pay children the same remuneration as adults, digging a little deeper allowed are team to acquire information that was quite the contrary. Not only the children but employers during FGDs accepted that children are cheaper to hire as they are ready to work for as low as PKR 30-50 (\$0.30 to \$0.50) per day for long working hours.

SPARC's Session with Labour Department, District Haripur

Since District Haripur ranked number 2 in the prevalence of children engaged in the worst forms of child labour in a 2015 rapid assessment by Provincial Child Labour Unit (PCLU) Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the SPARC team wanted to assess the challenges faced by the district labour department in tackling the prevalence of child labour in the District.

To get overview about the child labor situation in District Haripur SPARC decided to conduct the FGD with Labour Department Haripur. SPARC team visited Labour Department Haripur and met with Faiz Ullah Khan, Deputy Director Labour Department, Haripur and numerous other officials from the department.

Poverty and The Conundrum of Social Acceptance of Child Labour

During the session one of the major reasons for prevalence of child labour in Haripur District were cited as poverty, illiteracy, inflation, high rates of unemployment among adults, lack of quality education limiting future prospects of children and the high level of social acceptance of child labour. The latter is not only true for people engaging children in labour but also among parents and the district populace in general.

Scattered Boundaries Make Regulations Difficult to Impose

Talking to the SPARC team, Mr Faiz Ullah Khan explained that the district has scattered boundaries, as it is connected to Abbottabad, Mansehra, Rawalpindi and Islamabad. The labour Department currently does not have the resources to cover the entire scattered territory to regulate business establishments for curbing child labour. He further explained that District Haripur was also home to many Afghan refugees, who have settled in the district over the years. Many of the poverty stricken families,

(including these refugees) lack the skill and education for jobs with a higher remuneration. Hence, these families often engage children in labour to make ends meet.

Officials from the labour department deemed curbing child labour similar to the Gordian Knot. The officials explained that it was hard to curb child labour in the wake of extreme poverty and social acceptance of child labour. Not only do children work with the consent of their parents at business establishments but they too prefer work over education. Furthermore, whenever officials from the department took action against an employer, the children simply moved to another business establishment after a few days.

During the sessions it was revealed that the lack of coordination between the Social Welfare Department, Child Protection Units, Bait UI Mall and other relevant departments made it difficult for departments like theirs' to deliver in isolation.

In his recommendations, Mr Faiz Ullah Khan deemed it necessary to harmonize macro and micro economic policies and the functions of the various departments across the country to harmonize efforts to curb child labour, alleviate poverty, and develop human capital by improving government run educational and health facilities across the country. Furthermore, the need to sensitize the general public through massive campaigns geared towards substituting education with labour was also recommended by Mr Khan. He recommended a joint effort by the government, civil society organizations and print/electronic media to achieve this end.

Conclusion

During the survey it was revealed that the vast majority of children consider and even prefer some type of work as an opportunity cost for education. There are a number of reasons for this including; lack of quality education, corporal punishment at schools, inadequate facilities at public schools, poverty, and social views that are more geared towards short-term economic gains.

One of the most disturbing statistics gathered from the survey pointed towards the conundrum of a lack of interest of children in acquiring education. This is not only true for District Haripur but also other parts of Pakistan, as observed by SPARC's research team across the country. During a recent field trip to a slum area in Lahore our research team member came across children who were satisfied with earning a mere PKR 50 per day (\$ 0.5) at local business establishments. The children seemed to be marginally interested in learning skills like basic math to be able to better deal with customers, instead of acquiring proper education. In fact, their lack of interest in education was quite troubling.

Due to the lack of quality education and the deplorable conditions of schools across Pakistan, the generational cycle of poverty seems to have hardened the hearts and minds of not only parents but also many children who find it impossible to compete with individuals educated from private institutions in the hope of better job prospects. Hence, a life of earning a menial wage seems more attractive to them rather than losing their minor financial independence, or the sense of it, by going to school with no prospect to earn money for a few years.

Many of these children indulge in child labour due to either poverty or the temporary or permanent disability of an adult bread winner. Many children are also placed in establishments due to their lack of interest in education, as parents deem it necessary to make their children more 'productive' instead of

encouraging them to study. Once a child drops out of school, going back is not only hard due to economic reasons but also due to the sense of independence the child gains by working at an establishment. This feeling of 'manhood' and the mindset that encourages it is another issue. It is necessary at the household and community level to encourage children to acquire education, instead of dwelling into some false sense of manhood in hard labour at a tender age. Furthermore, the employment of little girls as domestic help and in other parts of the informal sector also needs to be addressed and brought under legal regulation by amending the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Employment of Children Act by including agriculture, and the informal sector, such as child domestic labour.

In order to reduce child labour, there needs to be a major focus on a multi-faceted approach geared towards poverty alleviation, improving the curriculum in public school to make it more engaging for children, improvement in basic facilities, ensuring better checks and balances on business establishments which engage children in labour, and to assess the working conditions defined in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Employment of Children Act 2015. However, this alone cannot be done by the government, as there is a need for civil society organizations to mobilize local communities to encourage education.

A recent endeavor by SPARC in collaboration with the financial support of KNH and the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) tried to address this issue by Promoting child friendly classroom environment in selected schools of KP, largely aims at improving quality of education and learning outcomes in target districts through provision of basic educational facilities and infrastructural support in Haripur and Abbottabad Districts. This is but a small step in acquiring meaningful outcomes and more needs to be done on a national scale.

It is necessary that civil society organizations step up and collaborate with the government and local communities' in designing sustainable projects that can improve learning outcomes and encourage out of school children to return to education. Similarly, both the provincial and national governments require making meaningful changes to the curriculum of schools and focus on poverty alleviation strategies that target the lowest quintile on the poverty line.