# ANALYSIS OF FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO GIRLS' DROPOUT FROM SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN RURAL SINDH, PAKISTAN

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#### Abstract

Even though girls' education ensures socio-economic development, it is not accessible to many girls living in less privileged areas. A significant number of girls in South Asia reportedly discontinue their secondary level education due to several cultural and economic factors. This study was carried out to investigate the factors that cause hurdles in the way of girls' secondary education. A total of 200 households were randomly surveyed from district Khairpur, Sindh to record men's opinions about social, cultural, economic and geographical dimensions influencing girls' secondary education. The findings of this study indicate that girls' secondary education is not favoured in rural communities in a bid that the primary responsibility of girls is to look after the household. Parents want to see their daughters as good wives and mothers, and this has a consequential impact on their education. Results highlight that early marriage, patriarchy, cultural values and school distance deter girls' secondary level schooling in rural Sindh. We suggest to address socioeconomic, cultural and geographical barriers to ensure girls' participation in secondary schools otherwise girls' limited access to education and gender-based discrimination will persist, which is likely to result in socioeconomic retardation.

**Keyword:** Girls' education, school dropout, early marriage, patriarchy, Pakistan

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#### INTRODUCTION

Girls' education has a significant relationship with their empowerment as it promotes smaller, healthier, and more sustainable families (Sperling & Winthrop, 2015). Basic education for individuals is necessary as it is affirmed that education enables men and women to strengthen their personal development, widen their understanding, build friendship and tolerance and can effectively participate in a free society (Craissati et al., 2007). Girls with secondary education enjoy better health, contribute significantly to the formal labor market, have higher earnings, do not marry too early, have fewer children and tend to impart better health care and education to the next generation. All these factors jointly help in getting households, communities and nations out of poverty (World Bank, 2017). This further helps to uplift households, societies, communities and nations to come out of poverty (The World Bank, 2017). Education helps poor girls to come out of the acute poverty which they have been facing from generation to generation (Myers & Harvey, 2011). It also ensures girls' empowerment in the life to come; it has been studied that women's status improves and they attain a comparatively better position in the family with equal prospects in education and employment (Agha & Tarar, 2018).

Despite the importance of girls' education, it is not accessible to the girls living in remote and less privileged areas in Pakistan. Low income families consider that girls' education beyond primary school is not necessary. Therefore, several girls are forced to discontinue their education after primary level education due to the economic conditions of their parents (Khan et al., 2011). The World Economic Forum (2018), in its Gender Equality Report, maintains Pakistan as one of the worst performers. Gender inequality is so deep in Pakistan that only 19.3% of girls succeed to get through secondary education in contrast to 46.6% of boys (Kazim, 2016). According to the Global Gender Gap (2020) report, Pakistan is the third worst country in maintaining gender equality. The country

ranked 151 out of 153 countries on the global gender parity index in terms of gender gap (World Economic Forum, 2020).

There are various factors influencing girls' education; the mindset for instance, "shall I feed my daughter or educate her" is one of the important obstacles in the way of girls' education (Human Rights Watch, 2018a). Engagement with domestic work also has consequences on girls' schooling; they are made to carry out gender-specific roles such as house cleaning, water fetching, cooking, laundry work, babies care, toiling in agriculture, feeding and milking, or making butter or cheese (Assaad et al., 2010). Such negative social attitudes and cultural practices restrict girls' schooling as it is believed that educating a woman is a waste of resources as they are mainly for domestic use and reproduction (Lifanda, 2005).

In order to tackle the issue of girls' dropout from secondary schools and to maintain girls' equal school participation, the government of Pakistan initiated various pragmatic measures. For instance, Pakistan signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Committee on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), UN Sustainable Development Goals, Beijing Declaration and, so on. Despite all levels of regional and global measures, the prevailing situation of girls' education is not up to par in the country. Gender discrimination in education will not be eradicated unless government successfully implements the above mentioned treaties. The situation raises some questions like why is girls' education least focused and why are they prevented from seeking education? What are the feasible interventions and strategies which will help to eliminate barriers in the way of girls' education? This paper takes into account parents' roles in girls' dropout from secondary schools in rural Sindh, Pakistan. We are interested to find out the factors associated with girls' dropout as well as what influences parents' willingness to discontinue their daughters' secondary level schooling. The present study is based upon investigating the abysmal status of girls' education and suggests doable interventions, strategies to control girls' increasing dropout from secondary schools. The first part of the paper highlights the state of girls' education in Pakistan and explains why many girls discontinue their education. We then describe the research design adopted for this study followed by the analysis of variables and discussion sections. We then conclude the paper with a brief summary of the study and give a way forward.

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

### Patriarchy and Girls' Education

Patriarchy is defined as 'a kinship-ordered social structure with strictly defined sex roles in which women are subordinated to men' (Moghadam 1992, p. 35). In other words, patriarchy is a social order in which women are controlled, oppressed, and exploited by men (Walby, 1989). It is a social pattern which prevails in many societies. Basically, the concept of patriarchy was used to indicate a particular type of male-dominated family likewise a huge household of patriarch involving men, women, children, slaves and domestic servants whose lives are controlled by a dominant male (Sultana, 2010).

In South Asia, patriarchy is the major barrier in the way of women's advancement. It is the manifestation and institutionalization of male control over women or male supremacy in the private as well as in the social domain (Mohanraj, 2010). Patriarchal notion like "women are mere service-providers and men are breadwinners" categorically strengthens men's influence in the society (Agha, 2018, p. 36). This considerably lowers women's status and discourages parents to invest in their education, which further paves way for gender discrimination. Women in Pakistan have a restricted lifestyle with meager chances of accessing education and health facilities

(Tusińska, 2020).

In the South Asian context, a girl is a temporary family member at her parents' house because she leaves this house upon her marriage (Dube, 2001). Parents are reluctant to invest in girls' education as it is believed that girls would leave their parents' home after marriage. Thus, parents do not find any return from educating their daughters (Herz & Unicef, 2006). Both girls and boys face troubles in seeking education, but these barriers are incredibly greater and sophisticated for girls because of their gender. This inequitable social pattern impacts girls' social, economic and educational uplift. Page (2005) finds that the perception that the final owner of girls is husbands' family, limits girls' school enrollment. This discourages families from sending their daughters to schools.

# Girls' Education and Early Marriage

According to a United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) report (2015), the practice of early marriage is increasingly pervasive with more than 700 million child bride survivors found in the world. The World Health Organization's report (2013) reveals that approximately 39,000 early marriages occur every day in the world. In addition to this, about 30 percent girls are wedded-off before they reach 18 while 14% girls are married off when they turn just 15 (United Nations Population Fund, 2012).

In South Asia, early marriages are widespread: according to Chitrakar's study (2009), 58% girls in the region marry before they reach 18. Bangladesh has the highest proportion of child marriages in the world with 66% girls marrying before they turn 18. This is followed by Afghanistan where 57% girls are married before they are 16. Main challenge lies with India where poverty and traditional practices have fueled the problem of child marriages. It is estimated that 40% of the world's child marriages take place in India, with 65% prevalence in rural and 29% in urban areas (International Centre for Research on Women, 2012). Pakistan has the sixth highest number of

child brides in the world with 1.9 million child marriages (The News, 2020).

Early marriage continues to be a reality for many girls around the world due to many factors such as poverty, limited literacy and job opportunities, vulnerabilities like war and conflict or traditional values and norms (Malhotra, 2010). The perception that women's actual place belongs to their husbands and that their parents' house is not their permanent place contributes greatly to the rise of early marriage in South Asian communities (Dube, 2001). In poverty ridden communities, a girl's marriage ensures economic security for the family when they are sold into marriage. Women's status as a commodity also ensures economic benefit for the family, which has strong association with early marriage (Khan, 2006).

Besides, there is growing concern over protecting girls' chastity and safety. Parents incline to marry off their daughters too early owing to the fear of sexual abuse or that girls might be involved in illicit affairs before marriage (Verma et al., 2013). The factor of security and chastity is important in terms of girls' drop out; the fear of sexual abuse can discourage parents to send their daughters to schools. For example, a research study in Bolivia found that as much as 50% of women faced psychological, physical and sexual harassment perpetuated by male members in the community. It was found in the study that schools for Bolivian girls are not safe and about one hundred cases of sexual abuse take place against children every day. This has an adverse impact on girls' education (CEDAW, 2012). Parents intend to prevent their daughters' schooling owing to the fear of sexual abuse at school or when they are on the way to school (International Planned Parenthood Federation, 2006).

# Inadequate Facilities at Schools

Girls are especially vulnerable and are often forced to discontinue their education owing to safety issues following puberty, particularly when schools are located far from their residence (Singh & Mukherjee, 2017). Poor sanitation facilities in schools have a huge influence on girls' dropout as inadequate sanitation facilities are viewed in a way that schools are not safe for girls. There are many chances of girls to continue their education when schools contain all necessary sanitary facilities. Availability of sanitary services in schools improves girls' school enrolment. Facilities in schools for instance, bathrooms, boundary walls, security and so on encourage parents to send their daughters to schools (Shah et al., 2020).

The role of WASH (water, sanitation and hygiene) under Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) can be significant. Pakistan Council for Research in Water Resources and Provincial Bureau of statistics monitor the coverage and quality of WASH service. The United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals determined to ensure access to water and sanitation and hygiene (WASH) for all but a few studies have assessed an effective school WASH service in Pakistan (Ahmed et al., 2022). Significant progress has been observed regarding water and sanitation services within schools, particularly, in Punjab and KP provinces whereas Sindh and Baluchistan are lagging behind (UNICEF, 2020). The education sectors oversee four provinces to implement school WASH facilities but there is greater need to pursue, develop and implement school WASH standard keeping in view the number of WASH facilities for per pupil, information and practices of hygiene and periodic review of WASH services (Water Aid, 2016). To ensure girls' school participation, sanitation service through WASH needs to be implemented in Sindh so that a large number of female students can be brought back to the schools. Girls' absenteeism is unprecedentedly persistent when the school environment is not girl-friendly and sanitary facilities are inappropriately managed.

#### **METHODOLOGY**

## Research Design

In this study, the researchers used descriptive research design to find out major factors causing girls' dropout from secondary schools. This type of research design is used in quantitative research in which a small group of people as a sample are interviewed through questionnaire to investigate trends in attitudes, behaviors, opinions or characteristics of a large cluster of people known as population (Creswell, 2008). Data was collected from Khairpur district as the female literacy rate is comparatively lower in the district, according to Rural Development Policy Institute (2010), the female literacy rate of district Khairpur is only 22% against 62% of their male counterparts. Thus, we were interested in exploring the factors which cause such a huge gender disparity in education such as early marriage, school distance, familial roles and so on. Intermediaries and personal contacts were used to reach the participants. We obtained informed consent before conducting interviews with the participants.

# Sampling Technique

The samples were selected from Taluka Kotdiji in district Khairpur. The taluka is divided into 10 union councils (UC) and each UC has several villages. The researchers randomly chose 2 villages from each UC and 20 households from those villages to make the sample size of 200. Male heads from the households were selected to record their opinion about female education. Men are the main decision-making authority in the family; they exercise control over the decisions regarding women's education, marriage and mobility. Therefore, recording their views on education was important in understanding the barriers to female education.

### Tools of Research

A well-structured closed-ended questionnaire was prepared to collect data from the participants. The questionnaire was divided into two parts: the first part had demographic questions and the second part had five points Likert Scale consisting of 4 categories i.e. yes, no, to some extent, any other. The researchers met all the participants in person and administered all questionnaires themselves. Since the majority of the participants had limited education, the researchers recorded the data with their verbal consent.

### Data analysis procedure

Quantitative approach was used in this study. Association of variables was measured in SPSS to test the validity of hypotheses. Four variables for instance, early marriage, parents' income level, school proximity and absence of female teachers were measured with girls' dropout from secondary schools. Data and sampling are analyzed effectively in minimum time through SPSS, a statistical software (Connolly, 2007).

Pearson's chi-square test was performed to know the affiliation between two variables (Diener-West, 2008). This test is broadly used in statistical studies due to its precision, reliability and accuracy (Neuman, 2014). To present data, a descriptive approach has been applied to analyze data and relevant frequencies. Chi-square test was used to test the hypotheses and the result of the test was presented using contingency tables and frequencies.

#### **RESULTS**

The participants of this study were socially deprived people who lacked basic education and economic resources. The sample comprised men from different age groups. The table below shows the ages of the participants:

**Table 1: Age of the respondents** 

Age of the	Frequency	Percent	Valid	Cumulative
respondents			Percent	Percent
20-29	18	9.0	9.0	9.0
30-39	70	35.0	35.0	44.0
40-49	72	36.0	36.0	80.0
50-59	22	11.0	11.0	91.0
60 & above	18	9.0	9.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

In terms of monthly earnings, the majority of the respondents earned a meager amount to live on. For example, 80 men earned between 10,000 to 15,000 PKR per month. Table 2 shows the monthly income of all participants:

Table 2: Monthly income of the respondents

	Income level				
	of the			Valid	Cumulative
	respondents	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Percent
Valid	10000-15000	80	40.0	40.0	40.0
	16000-2000	24	12.0	12.0	52.0
	21000-25000	37	18.5	18.5	70.5
	26000-30000	21	10.5	10.5	81.0
	31000-35000	19	9.5	9.5	90.5
	36000-40000	14	7.0	7.0	97.5
	41000 & above	5	2.5	2.5	100.0
	Total	200	100.0	100.0	

The majority of the respondents we interviewed had limited literacy; 23% respondents were uneducated and only 8% respondents had post graduate qualification. Respondents' spouse education level was also surveyed and the study found that as much as 38% spouses of the respondents were not educated. Table 3 and 4 show literacy level of men and their spouses:

**Education level** Valid Cumulative Percent Percent of respondents Frequency Percent Uneducated 45 22.5 22.5 22.5 23 11.5 11.5 34.0 **Primary** Matric 41 20.5 20.5 54.5 **FSC** 50 25.5 25.5 80.0 Graduate 24 12.0 12.0 91.5.0 Post Graduate 17 8.5.0 8.5.0 100.0 Total 200 100.0 100.0

**Table 3: Education level of the repondents** 

Table 4: Education level of the spouses

Spouses'			Valid	Cumulative
education	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Percent
	Uneducated	77	38.5	38.5
	Primary	55	27.5	27.5
	Matric	23	11.5	11.5
	FSC	25	12.5	12.5
	Graduate	9	4.5	4.5
	Post	11	5.5	5.5
	Graduate			

# Cross Tabulation and frequencies of variables

Formula for testing chi-square test is:.= degree of freedom, *E*= summation, O= observed value, E= expected value

#### **HYPOTHESIS**

# H<sub>1</sub>: Early marriage is likely to be associated with girls' dropout.

The results of hypothesis 1 highlight that girls' dropout from secondary schools and early marriage are associated with each other. It indicates that girls' dropout increases from secondary schools due to early marriage. The value of the chi-square test

calculated from data is 200 with 6 degrees of freedom. The significant value of both sides is 0.000 and 0.000 respectively. This shows that there is a strong relationship between the two variables. Thus, the null hypothesis was rejected, as the two variables greatly matched, and it was concluded that there is strong relationship between early marriage and girls' dropout from secondary schools. The result shows that maximum number of the respondents for instance, 48.8% participants pointed out that early marriage bars girls to continue their education, 27.4% did not show their consent, and 18.4% respondents revealed that to some extent early marriage restrains girls' schooling, whereas only 5% respondents gave mixed responses. This shows that the maximum percentage of respondents i.e. 48.8% consented with the view that early marriage is one of the main hurdles for girls to continue their education.

# H<sub>2</sub>: Low economic status and girls' dropout from secondary schools are significantly associated.

This study also confirms that poverty or low economic status is one of the important factors causing many girls pull out of secondary schools. The result of hypothesis 2 demonstrates that the two variables i.e. low economic status and girls' dropout from secondary schools interacted with each other. The value of chi-square Pearson was 26.687<sup>a</sup> having degree of freedom 09. The significant value of both sides was 0.002 and 0.002 respectively which manifests that both variables showed an association. The calculated value of the chi-square test was less than the level of significance (0.05).

Thus, it can be concluded that low economic status and girls' dropout are considerably associated and that the lack of resources restricts families to educate their daughters. The respondents were asked whether girls' quit schooling because of the lack of financial resources; majority of the respondents asserted that low economic status was the major reason for girls' to dropout from secondary schools: 54.2% respondents were of the view that they were unable

to give education to their daughters due to the lack of finances, 28.9% respondents showed their consent in negative, 3% gave mixed responses, whereas 13.4% partly consented with the view.

# H<sub>3</sub>: Two variables i.e. school proximity and girls' dropout from secondary schools are associated.

The findings of this study indicate that school proximity affects girls who attend their schools on a daily basis. The result of hypothesis 3 shows that the two variables i.e. school proximity and girls' dropout from secondary schools are interlinked with each other. Chi-square test results showed that school distance has a greater influence on girls' education: the value of chi-square Pearson was 26.396a with 9 degrees of freedom. The significant value of two sides was 0.000 and 0.002 respectively which showed that both variables have an association. The Chi-square result is less than the value of significance i.e. 0.05% which concludes that two variables like school distance and girls' dropout considerably interacted with each other.

Geographical barrier is one of the major issues which causes hurdles in the way to girls' education. Parents are reluctant to send their girls too away to seek education. In our study, the majority of participants agreed that school location significantly influenced girls' education: 43.3% respondents consented with the view that girls' dropout increases when secondary schools are located at a larger distance, 18.4% participants indicated that girls' dropout is usual, 14.4 % girls leave schooling occasionally, whereas 23.4% did not consent with the view that school location has any association with girls' dropout from schools.

# H<sub>4</sub>: Girls' dropout and absence of female teachers do not interact with each other.

We also checked the association between the absence of female teachers in schools with girls' dropout in hypothesis 4. Interestingly, both variables manifested no considerable association. The

significance value of the chi-square test was 0.220, and this denotes that both variables are not dependent upon each other. The value of Pearson chi-square test was 14.276<sup>a</sup> having 16 degrees of freedom. The calculated value of chi-square was more than the level of significance (0.05). Therefore, null hypothesis was accepted concluding that female teachers' presence had no strong correlation with girls' dropout from secondary schools. In the study, it was found that the maximum number of the respondents i.e. 45.8% did not agree with the fact that absence of female teachers discourage girls' school attendance, 21.9% consented, 15.4% responded that availability of female teachers impacts girls' education to some extent.

#### **DISCUSSION**

This study is based upon investigating the major reasons for girls' dropout from schools in rural Sindh. It is found that girls' education at secondary schools is influenced by various factors; poverty, patriarchy, cultural values, and child marriage considerably disrupt the efforts to ensure girls' participation at large level. The impact of early marriage on girls' education was also surveyed to know how early marriage impacts girls' education.

The practice of early marriage prevents many girls from seeking education in rural areas of Pakistan. Majority of parents are reluctant to educate their daughters as they believe that education may limit the chances of their marriage (Agha, 2016). Agha maintains that a large number of girls leave schools when their inlaws and fiancé impede their education or when their marriage date is fixed. Child marriage is justified by parents on some valid reasons. The economic reasons are central which underscore that child marriage is directly associated with poverty and lack of economic opportunities for rural girls. Girls' are considered as an economic burden and, thus, many girls are married off before they attain maturity. Secondly, child marriage is also justified on

traditional, cultural and religious elements. Families take action of early marriage due to stigma and fear linked to premarital sex and having children beyond marriage, which is connected to the honor of family (International Planned Parenthood Federation, 2006). Child labor, gender biased attitude, early marriage, sexual abuse, security issues and safety concerns inside educational institutions are detrimental factors affecting girls' school participation (Human Rights Watch, 2018b).

The impact of early marriage on child brides is devastating. Girls' marrying too young hinders them to seek education and work on their personal development. Early marriage has a considerable adverse impact on education and it affects secondary education of those girls who are wedded off early (Nguyen and Wodon, 2014). One of the leading causes of death of girls aged 15-19 is childbirth and complications from pregnancy (WHO, 2013). Apart from this, due to early marriage, married girls face health related issues for instance, vesico vaginal fistulae, chances of being infected by HIV/AIDS, infant mortality and early pregnancies (Nguyen and Wodoni, 2012). A Girls' education helps to reduce fertility rate and contributes significantly to the economic growth of Pakistan (Hassan & Rafaz, 2017). Girls with education are likely to marry late and have lesser and healthier children.

People with marginalized economic backgrounds work the whole day to afford two square meals. They cannot manage to send their girls to the schools located in far flung areas. It was found in the study that people with limited resources are unable to educate their daughters. In this situation, parents often take their teenage girls and boys to work with them, so that they can feed themselves and stay alive. One of the major reasons causing many girls pull out of school is poverty, which undermines the struggle to bring unprivileged girls back to schools (UNICEF, 2005). In rural slum areas, local people face economic crisis therefore, men along with women folks leave their homes in the wee hours to find out

economic incentives and get back in late hours. According to Mohanraj (2010), when mothers leave households for work, girls perform domestic activities on their behalf, and this greatly inhibits girls' schooling. Domestic help by young girls within the household negatively affects their school going behavior (Assaad et al., 2010). This vicious circle goes along with them from generation to generation. In this situation, girls' lives are at the brink of collapse as they are unable to enjoy their childhood, dreams, wants and more importantly their right to access to education (Atim, 2017).

Home environment is significantly important as every decision including whether children would get education or not (Kabeer, 2003). Parents' background and their socio-economic status play a pivotal role because social and economic status of the family is largely associated with girls' education. Girls from low economic status are more likely to leave schools, and owing to this, families prefer to teach their daughters household skills than to send them to schools (Mohanraj, 2010; Martínez, 2001).

There are more chances of increasing girls' schools attendance when schools exist near to a village. Parents are concerned about the security of their children. According to Mohanraj (2010), proximity of school, incentives for girls in schools and societal demand to be literate have a greater impact on changing the standpoint of parents to send their daughters to schools. Some parents may be eager to educate daughters, but schools' location at the longer distance and security threats accompanied with this are the factors discouraging families to ensure girls' school participation. Resultantly, many girls discontinue their studies after primary education (Bolboacă, 2011).

This study further revealed that parents were not apprehensive about the absence of female teachers in school, but school location, school environment and safety issues of their girls were serious concerns of the parents. In less developed areas, schools lack adequate sanitary facilities and this negatively influences parents'

attitude. Therefore, they consider that schools are not safe for girls (Shahidul and Karim, 2015).

Education enables girls and women to understand their rights and responsibilities. It also enables them to be more useful citizens (Noureen and Awan, 2011). Women with sound literacy are more capable of giving education and healthcare facilities to themselves and their siblings and can maintain an ideal level of fertility (Balatchandirane, 2007). Despite the vital significance and the high return, many girls are deprived of education owing to gender-based discrimination. In Pakistan, male dominance greatly limits the lives of women and their mobility (Agha & Tarar, 2018). They are unable to make any decision for themselves, especially for education. This results in them to be more ignorant of their rights and responsibilities in society and thus they are more likely to be vulnerable to diverse challenges (Delavande, 2013).

Findings of this study suggest that the government must implement feasible interventions to bring back an unprecedented number of girls in schools. In this context, socio-economic and geographical barriers must be taken into account. Some practical interventions such as more investments in girls' education, arrangement of girls' schools in every village and provision of incentives to the parents who educate their daughters after primary education can play a vital role in controlling further dropout from schools (Dube & Dube, 2001).

#### **CONCLUSION**

Women's education ensures socio-economic development and leads to substantial growth in longevity. This paper emphasizes on the role of parents in educating their girls in rural areas of Sindh, Pakistan. Findings of the study suggest that the rigid patriarchal structure has constrained girls' lives. Several factors bar girls' schooling for instance, early marriage, culture and tradition, gender bias, economic backwardness and school distance. A large number

of respondents in our sample revealed that early marriage is one of the significant factors which adversely impacted girls' education. The notion that girls need to learn to be good wives and mothers rather than seeking education impacts girls' secondary schooling significantly.

The study shows that school location and its environment play a central role in the dropout. Therefore, girls' schools should be built nearby with all the sanitary facilities so that the safety of girls can be ensured. All available interventions must be put into practice to shape secondary schools girl-friendly. Possible measures such as establishing new secondary schools adjacent to villages with all sanitary facilities, investment in promoting girls' education and educating masses about the importance of girls' education are pragmatic measures to be taken at the earliest possible to bring back girls to schools and control further dropout.

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