



DISTANCE MATTERS

DISTANCE BETWEEN A GIRL'S HOME AND
SCHOOL AS A KEY INFORMANT OF THE
CHILD'S ABILITY TO ATTEND SCHOOL -
BALOCHISTAN

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1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This is series of white papers dwelling into key challenges faced by girls, particularly of school going age, in education in the province of Balochistan. The intent is to understand the multi-faceted barriers, and to identify possible ways of addressing the barriers in consultation with the local community.

This is a five-part series, which each white paper focusing on one fundamental barrier, understanding its limitation in the local culture, value system, political context, availability/ positioning of resources and identifying its linkages to other barriers. The intent is to be able to delve deeper to capture everyday lives of the communities in the province, and seek their input into ways of addressing the longstanding challenges to girls' education.

This series of white papers will address the following supply and demand side barriers:

- I. Access: Non-availability of educational institutes
- II. Access: Distance to school matters**
- III. Retention: an ad hoc approach to school infrastructure
- IV. Shortage of female teachers: a recruitment and deployment lens, and
- V. Quality: prioritising student learning

This white paper focus on exploring the barriers faced by girls with respect to distance between home and the school. This whitepaper is essentially divided in two parts: (a) initial deep dive into the challenge of ‘distance to school’, and (b) chalks out possible pathways which can be adopted by the state and the community to facilitate girls’ access to schools, especially to post-primary schools.

2 PREMISE: WHAT EXISTING DATA TELLS US

Balochistan is the largest provincial territory in terms of landmass, with extremely low-population density, and significant majority of the population residing in rural settlements (72%).¹ Despite being rich in natural resources, the province has struggled with multiple issues including housing highest proportion of out of school children (47%),² high levels of poverty (MPI at 0.394),³ low degree of human development (HDI 0.421),⁴ and poor institutional capacity and performance with respect to provision of basic facilities to its residents.

The issue of weak institutional and human resource capacity can be reflected in the compromised service-delivery by the state structure, especially with respect to education. While there are small wins in the recent past, major supply-side issues hinder the quality and access to education, especially for girls. Existing literature and databases shows various reasons for children not enrolling in schools or dropping out. Distance to school remains the second-most reported reason for children dropping out of school (15%) or not enrolling in one in the first place (9%) in Balochistan.⁵

One plausible attempt by the state to reduce the distance children have to travel from home to school, was the notification of gender-free primary schools.⁶ This allowed parents / community members to enrol children of the school going age in the nearest government primary school, irrespective of the gender. The initiative reduced parents and students' effort and time, and increased operational efficiency and utilisation of existing primary schools. It allowed parents from the lowest income-quintile to give their child(ren) a chance to get education.

¹ Population and Housing Census. 2017. Pakistan Bureau of Statistics.

² Pak Alliance for Maths and Science.2021. The Missing Third: an OOS study of Pakistani 5-16 year olds

³ Multidimensional Poverty Index is prepared by UNDP. Balochistan has the highest MPI score among all provinces.

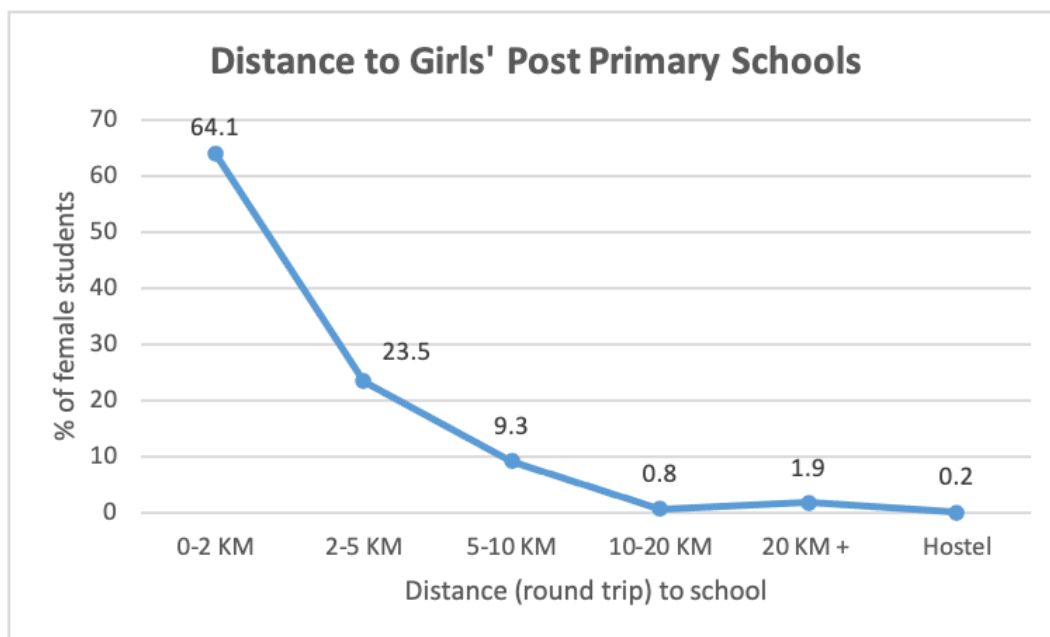
⁴ Human Development Index Report. UNDP. 2017.

⁵ Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey. 2019-2020.

⁶ Notification by Secondary Education Department declaring primary schools to be gender-free. Available at:<http://emis.gov.pk/Uploads/gender%20free%20primary%20education.pdf>

While there is no denying that there are still islands of isolation in the province i.e. communities which do not have a single school (public or private) in the vicinity, the issue of distance has seemingly become more pronounced for post-primary schools. Culturally and historically, mobility has remained a barrier for women (Zulfiqar, 2020;⁷ Fiaz et. Al, 2019;⁸ Aqeel, 2016).⁹ Thereby, adding complexity to the long list of barriers to girl’s education.

According to the Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey 2019-2020, 64.1% of the female population enrolled in post-primary schools in Balochistan travels between 0-2 kilometre from home to school, 23.5% travel between 2 and 5 kilometre of distance between home and school, 9.3% young girls travel between 5 and 10 kilometres to access a post-primary school.



⁷ PIDE, (2020). Public Transportation System and Female Mobility in Pakistan

⁸ Permeating the Barriers Between the Individual and Policy Designers in Pakistan: A cross-cultural study of women’s mobility

⁹ LSE, (2016). Gender inequality in mobility and mode choice in Pakistan.

In order to understand the nature of ‘distance to school’ as a challenge or barrier to girls’ education, it is important be able to comprehend (visualise) what each kilometre travelled by an adolescent girl looks like in the context of Balochistan’s demography. For a tough and/or mountainous region, 1 kilometre translates into on average 30 - 40 minutes of walk for an adolescent girl.¹⁰ For ease-of-analysis, we are categorizing different settlement-scenarios:

Settlement A

Population density is high in a restricted geographical space i.e. urban/city-center settlements

Settlement B

Population density is high in a widespread geographical space i.e. land area is huge and widely spread (e.g. peri-urban)

Settlement C

Population density is low and restricted geographical space i.e. small settlements within restricted space (e.g. close-knit cluster of rural communities)

Settlement D

Population density is low with a huge geographic space i.e. land area is widely spread with small settlement very far from each other (e.g. delinked far off rural settlements by small clans)

The intent of this classification of settlements is to understand what 1 kilometer of walking distance in a mountainous region means verses 1 kilometer of travel on a rather flat landscape versus 1 kilometer of travel in rocky-pathways among sparsely settled communities with no means of transport. Each of these have a time-opportunity cost related with them alongside other cultural and security related issues.

¹⁰The approximation has shared based on estimated average time taken by girls in the community areas covered during primary data collection.

The premise here is to get a sense of the settlement types across the province to be able to detangle the intertwined challenges related to commute/transport faced by household and explore type(s) of service delivery required.

	Pre-departure / Planning	Journey	Arrival / Plan for return	Return and Arrival
Options / Process	What options available? Depending on whom? Money? Time consuming & limiting	Stress and anxiety because of road barriers. Constant feeling of insecurity and fear	Late night stay difficult. Time dependent mobility. What options available? Needs pre-planning	Constant stress, fear and anxiety. At your own risk. Lack of support if technical problems with car
Barriers	<p>Public transport, rickshaws: Fear, insecurity, unavailability, unreliable</p> <p>Walking: Fear, disconnected routes, no walkways, signal free roads without pedestrian crossing</p> <p>Family car: Dependence, availability</p> <p>Own car: Expense, which route safer</p>	<p>Public transport, rickshaws: Unsafe, risk of kidnapping, harassment, fear</p> <p>Walking: Kidnapping, harassment, accidents</p> <p>Car: Road discrimination, men chasing on bikes/cards, people not following traffic rules</p>	<p>Public transport, rickshaws: No waiting areas, fear, insecurity, unavailability, unreliable</p> <p>Walking: Fear, disconnected routes, no walkways, roads without pedestrian crossing</p> <p>Car: Late night stay difficult because unsafe</p> <p>Taxi: Unsafe</p>	<p>Public transport, rickshaws: Unsafe, risk of kidnapping, harassment, fear</p> <p>Walking: Kidnapping, harassment, accidents</p> <p>Car: Road discrimination, men chasing on bikes/cards, people not following traffic rules</p>

Illustration titled 'Phases of Journey' from Fiaz et al. 2020

The illustration above is a quick snapshot of the stages of 'the journey for females' where concerns/barriers start with the pre-departure planning phase, the journey itself, arrival and plan for return, and actual return and arrival.

3 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The conceptual underpinning of this white paper is based on insights from an extensive review of literature comprising of existing frameworks addressing girls' challenges to education, policy and practice from across the globe. It also includes an in-depth analysis of the existing data plus research available in context of Balochistan.

The white paper builds on existing publicly available datasets informing the existence of in-school and outside-the-school barriers to girls' education in Balochistan. Findings from these datasets and research studies are used as inputs to design the framework of primary data collection from selected districts in Balochistan. Primary data was collected with the objective of understanding local populations' thought-process regarding challenges identified in the desk review.

3.1 Secondary literature source and data sets' review

This section comprises of two types of analysis: theoretical underpinning and exploring existing datasets.

Through the literature review, barriers which exist at the individual, household, community, school or policy levels were identified. These were drawn from the work of UNICEF, UNESCO, the Global Partnership for Education and the United Nations Girls' Education Initiative and the Malala Funds' barriers to girls' education reports and frameworks to collate a longlist of barriers that exist (UNICEF, 2002;¹¹ Albright, 2016;¹² Antoninis et al., 2018;¹³ UNESCO 2018;¹⁴ Malala Fund, 2020).¹⁵

¹¹Barriers to Girls' Education: Strategies and Interventions. (2002). Teachers Talking about Learning

¹²Albright, A. (2016). Five Barriers That Keep Girls Out of School – Women Deliver

¹³Antoninis, et al. (2018). Meeting our commitments to gender equality in education

¹⁴UNESCO (2018). Meeting commitments to gender equality in education, Global Education Monitoring Report

¹⁵Malala Fund. (2020). Building back equal: girls back to school guide

In addition to the theoretical literature review, three datasets have been extensively explored to identify indicators and contributors to major barriers outlined in the first section. Below is a snapshot of the datasets explored:

- Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey (PSLM) is conducted once every two years by the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, with analysis at the provincial and at the district levels in each alternate iteration
- Balochistan Education Management Information System (BEMIS) manages the monitoring and real time data collection for government schools and colleges in Balochistan. It also conducts private school census
- Population & Housing Census 2017 provides us with the exact number of children in each age cohort at the tehsil level

3.2 Primary data collection








Pak Alliance for Maths and Science collected primary data from five districts: Pishin, Killa Abdullah, Chaghai, Kharan and Nushki. The framework and design of the data collection tools¹⁶ was structured to understand the reason(s) behind commonly reported symptoms of barriers, and recording community's input on how to address them.

The team deployed a mix-methods approach to collect qualitative and quantitative information from each district.




¹⁶Note on primary data collection and tools is provided separately

Below is a snapshot of the stakeholders' engagement matrix.

District level stakeholders

Stakeholders	Data collection instrument	
	Focus group discussion	Key informant interview
Out of school adolescent girls		
Parents/ community members		
Head Teacher of government girls school		
Teacher of girls' community school		
Local leader / Head of Jirgah		
Local activist / social mobiliser		
District Education Officer or Deputy		

Provincial level stakeholders

Stakeholders	Data collection instrument	
	Focus group discussion	Key informant interview
Secondary Education Department, Government of Balochistan		
Social Welfare Department, Government of Balochistan		
Donors and civil society players: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • JICA • UNICEF • SCSPPEB 		

The table below gives summary states of the field outreach in five districts:

Primary data collection – Focus group discussions

Stakeholders	Participants
Adolescent out of school girls (age 10-20 years)	72
Parents/community members	115

Primary data collection – Key informant interviews

Stakeholders	Participants
District	36
Province	11

3.3 Frame of analysis

Balochistan’s data collection regime in education has significantly improved in the last 7 years. However, it continues to largely focus on collecting quantitative information in a consistent manner. While it is utmost important to be collecting consistent data, it is equally crucial to deconstruct what is being reported.

This series of white papers intend to take a deep dive at the key barriers reported and attempts to understand the local area-specific challenges and thought-process of the communities, which is currently missing from the statistical year on year reporting.

This series of white papers follow the below mentioned method to analyse the existing and primary data collected from the field:

01

Desk review

Utilising existing knowledge/data to narrow down *fundamental* barriers to girls education in Balochistan

Primary data collection Developing tools for direct engagement with key stakeholders in specific districts (of Balochistan), to understand the reasons behind already-known barriers

02

Triangulating the response

Develop a nexus of understanding the local needs, correlating evidence and best practices, and preparing a menu/combination of recommended pathways to address specific *fundamental* barriers in each of the white paper

03

Once the data from the field and the desk review is triangulated, common themes are identified. These themes are cross analyzed to answer some of the gaps identified in the desk review.

The preliminary findings of the triangulated barriers are then used to prepare for specific key informant interviews seeking ways to address the challenge at hand.

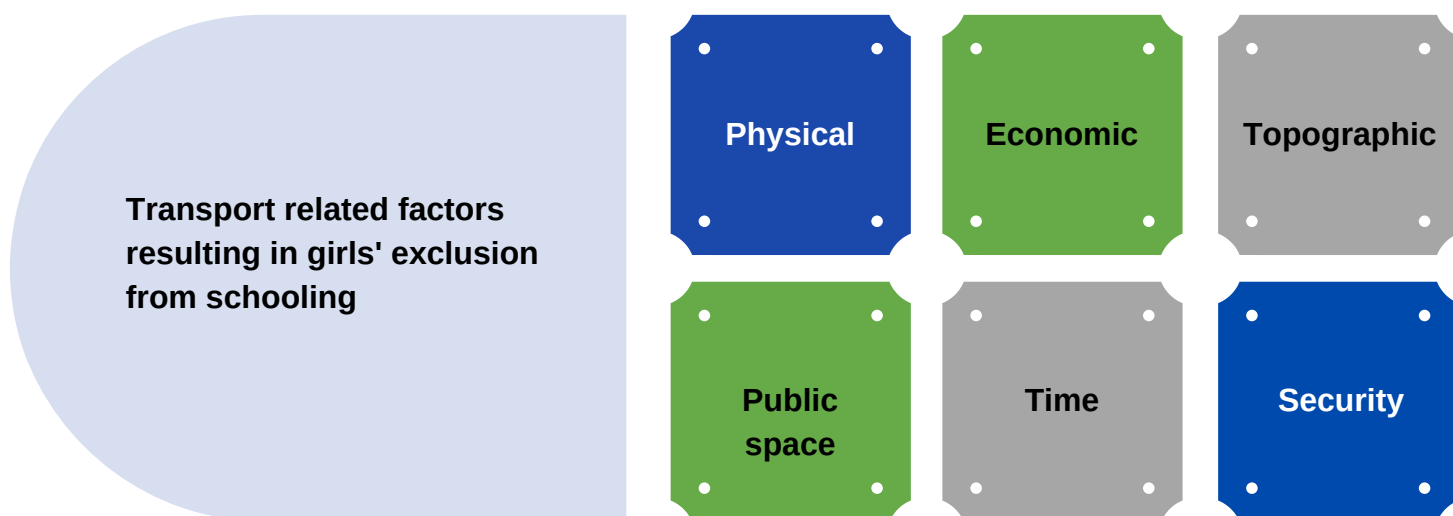
4 BARRIERS DUE TO DISTANCE

Plethora of global and national research exists elaborating the connection between distance to school and its negative impact on girls' access to school. This section draws on the types of barriers shared by parents, students, community members, head teachers and education managers during primary data collection.

There is no denying that distance to school (and home) increases as a result of lack of schooling options available to girls within community's vicinity (defined as considered safe space). Distance to school is an issue for boys as well, however, the nature and extent of issue is dominantly different considering the local value system, cultural norm, traditional beliefs, and concerns for security related to adolescent girls.

With post-primary girls' schools at a significant distance from home, parents/ child/ community member harness different fear(s) which often lead to either of the following form of exclusion of girls from school (and in some cases a combination of these exclusions result in the adolescent girl not enrolling in a school).

Below is a list of barriers identified by community members. These have been further tagged against two types of exclusions: (i) transport related exclusions, which are marked with **(T)**; whereby the exclusion is occurring as result of use of a/any mode of transportation, and (ii) commute related exclusions, which are marked with **(W)**; which are inducted as a result of commuting by foot.



01 Physical exclusion: **(T)** where the design of the vehicle inhibits the accessibility of transport for an adolescent girl e.g. a motor bike or any other uncovered vehicle, and/or no marked seats for females in public transport.

The primary data collected from five districts informs us about the general mode of transport available in each district:

Common modes of transport				
Chaghai	Kharan	Killa Abdullah	Nushki	Pishin
Personal transport	Motorcycle	Personal transport	Qingqi (a semi-covered cart/carrier at the back of a motorcycle)	Rental car
No public transport in rural areas		Public bus service operating in city-center only	Motorcycle	Private transport
Rickshaw as a common public medium in urban areas		No public transport in remote areas	Personal transport	Local bus service, which operates from main road only, twice a day on fixed timing
			Rental services	

02 Economic exclusion: (T) where high monetary cost of travelling via any means of transport prevents or limits females' access, without having a significant impact on household's monthly income.

03 Demographic exclusion: (T) (W) whereby nearest spot of availability of transport or the walking distance between the school and home is marked by a mountain, hill, water stream, etc. that an adolescent girl cannot cover on her own.

04 Security and fear-based exclusion: (T) (W) where a female/adolescent girl's concern of safety and security while commuting to the nearest available transport facility limits its use e.g. adolescent girls often have to be accompanied by a male family member to be dropped off to the bus stop/any other pick up point, thereby increasing the dependency on a male member of the household.

Fear for personal safety preclude the use of transport service(s) or commuting via foot. For instance, lack of presence of any other female in the vehicle, or a deserted path/street on way to the school/home while on foot.

05 Time-based exclusion: (T) (W) other demands on time such as household chores and/or childcare duties reduce the time available for travel/ commute (also commonly referred to as time-poverty in the literature)¹⁷

06 Public-space exclusion: (T) where public space management, by design, prevents women's access to public space(s) e.g. bus stop, sideways of a main road etc.

MalikYar, Pishin

The only mode of public transport in MalikYar village in Pishin is a local bus which operates from the main road. Most of the village settlements are at a 20-minute walking distance from the main road.

The street(s) which connect the main road to the village settlements are dominated by hillocks, creating pockets of deserted pathway along the street.

Women and girls residing in these villages are discouraged to walk alone to catch the public bus.

Each of the above mentioned distance related barrier to school for girls translates into higher chance for girls to not be able to access education. Depending on local, specific to each settlement's circumstances, girls face multiple issues described above in order to cover the distance to school each day. This seemingly simple, yet complex due to diversity of the barrier, contributes significantly to the 53% girls not enrolled in schools.

¹⁷Hirway, I. (2017). Mainstreaming unpaid work: time-use data in developing policies.

5 LEVERAGING EVIDENCE

This section analyses initiatives which have facilitated student, especially girls' access to school via transportation solutions. Providing commute support to students who live far from the nearest state-school is a common practice in developed countries. For example, the United States of America, Australia, and New Zealand. Each of these countries has a dedicated school-bus system for school going children. However, in case where school bus is not available or a child lives far away from the bus-route, they are given a subsidy or allowance to access alternate transportation modes.

The grid below elaborates on the type of commute related support available to children in developed and developing countries, followed by examples of initiatives undertaken in Punjab, Pakistan.

		Global evidence		
		Key features	Successes	Lessons learnt
Australia (multiple states)	School Student Transport Scheme, New South Wales		A dedicated school bus system	Need for better routes to include rural areas
	School Transport Assistance Scheme, Queensland		If school buses don't exist, or are not on the students' route to/from school, they are entitled to Term Bus Pass for public transport (subsidized travel)	Overcrowding in school bus in urban/central locations
	School Transport Assistance, Western Australia		If no public transport exists, subsidy for private vehicle is allowed Pre-defined criteria by each state for allowance/subsidy i.e. >1.5 km for primary school students, >1.9 km for secondary school students, Student must make 2 or more visits via the same mode of transport	

Global evidence

	Key features	Successes	Lessons learnt
India (multiple states)	<p>State: Bihar (2006)¹⁸ Beneficiaries: girls enrolled in grade 9 Conditional-Kind-Transfer: each eligible girl was given INR 2,000</p>	<p>Bihar Increased girls' age-appropriate enrollment in secondary school by 32%</p>	<p>Karnataka: Students get bicycles much later in the academic year due to operational procedures involved</p>
	<p>State: Karnataka (2006-18)¹⁹ Beneficiaries: girls enrolled in grade 8</p>	<p>18% increase in the number of girls who appeared for high-stakes secondary school certificate exam</p>	<p>32% of the students walked to the school despite the bicycle</p>
	<p>State: Punjab (2019)²⁰ Beneficiaries: Girls enrolled in Grade 11 and 12 Outreach: 138,000 students Financial allocation: INR 400,000,000</p>	<p>12% increase in number of girls who passed the high stakes secondary school exam</p> <p>Karnataka: Bicycles distributed in hilly and plain areas</p> <p>The program resulted in 'improvement' in enrollment and retention</p>	<p>72% of the students in hilly areas find it difficult to use bicycle because of the terrain and poor roads</p> <p>Maintenance and repairs gets costly (after 2 years' time)</p>

Evidence from Pakistan: Federal / Punjab

	Key features	Successes	Lessons learnt
Insaf Afternoon School Program ²¹ School Education Department, Government of Punjab	<p>577 government schools in 21 districts enrolling 20,000 students in post-primary schools</p> <p>In addition to increasing access via second shift schools, SED included transport facilitation as a key element to improve transition to higher-grades and retention in post-primary schools</p>	<p>Financial allocations in Annual Development Plan for the project</p> <p>Gender sensitive provision of transportation for students</p> <p>Bicycles for male students</p> <p>Transport vouchers for girls (worth PKR 1,500 per month)</p> <p>Allocated funds for the transport provision to be provided via the School Councils</p>	<p>First year of implementation hence no evaluation so far</p> <p>Procurement of bicycles</p> <p>Maintenance of bicycles</p> <p>Disbursement of transport vouchers needs to be time-sensitive</p>

¹⁸ Cycling to School: Increasing Secondary School Enrollment for Girls in India.

¹⁹ Government bicycle scheme improved student retention and performance. Times of India. 2021

²⁰ India Today, 2019, 1-38 lakh bicycles to be given to girl students

²¹ Insaf Afternoon School Program. 2021. PMIU, SED, GoPb.

²² Reviewing the status of inclusive education in Pakistan. Global Education Monitoring Report Background paper. 2020.

Evidence from Pakistan: Federal / Punjab

	Key features	Successes	Lessons learnt
Punjab School Transport Program, School Education Department, Punjab	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The New Deal 2023 District: Bahawalpur 62 government schools 1800 students 700 bicycles for male students Transport cards (van and rickshaw) for female students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender sensitive provision of transportation for students Bicycles for male students Transport vouchers for girls (worth PKR 1,500 per month) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No evaluation report is yet public for this intervention
Prime Minister's Education Reform Program, Islamabad	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 200 school buses to be procured under PM's Education Reform Program 170 buses assigned to colleges run by FDE 30 buses secured for schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political will and push prior to the end of the tenure Government funds earmarked for transportation of school students at federal level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No funds were allocated for fuel, drivers, and helping staff A significant number of buses remained parked (unutilized) for an extended duration

There is no documented evidence on transport related support given to school-going children in Balochistan. However, through key informant interviews, a pilot was reported in Khuzdar where a community-driven transport solution was deployed for a cluster for schools/villages. The grid below details the enabling and hindering factors for the said pilot:

Evidence from Balochistan (pilot project)

	Key features	Successes	Lessons learnt
Undocumented pilot in District Khuzdar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A pilot in Khuzdar funded by UNICEF (early 2000s) Local transport arrangements made at village level Community members decide a 'safe' mode of transport for young girls A female teacher from the farthest village accompanies all the female students throughout the bus/van journey 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Engagement of community members in devising a transport-solution for adolescent girls PTSMC engaged in hiring of local transport and the driver assigned Safety features built-in due to presence of female teacher Invariably attracted qualified teachers from surrounding villages as well 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Donor facilitated, no transfer of assets or operational plan post-pilot funding Funds were not allocated from school budget hence only worked until donors' financial contribution was available

6 RECOMMENDATIONS - WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE

“The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law.” - Article 25-A of the Constitution

There is no ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach that can address the issue of long distance to school, especially with respect to post-primary schools for girls. The only way forward is to deploy a smart combination of solutions which are customized for each district. Below is a pool of recommendations based on evidence and research, which works best if considered in a combination (rather than standalone interventions).

6.1 Allocation of funds in the non-salary operational budget

Secondary Education Department should allocate a specific budget line as ‘commute related funds’ to be disbursed to each district, on need basis, to make locally acceptable arrangements to facilitate girls’ enrolment and retention in post-primary schools.

The allocation and responsibility of disbursement can flow through the existing hierarchy of school clusters, based on a criteria of x-km of distance from home and/or catchment area of the students enrolled.

6.2 Swari-scholarships for girls to enroll in post-primary schools

Secondary Education Department to advocate for transport/commute related specific scholarship under the Waseela-e-Taleem, where Balochistan is entitled to give ‘swari-scholarship’ to girls of post-primary-school-age who are unable to continue their education due to lack of (economic) resources.

The criteria of this scholarship can be mutually decided among the Waseela-e-Taleem and Secondary Education Department.

6.3 Transport allowance managed by DEO office

In order to ensure customized need-based solutions, transport allowance should be managed at the District Education Office level. The DEO office identifies and disburses ‘transport allowance’ to each school cluster or directly to identified beneficiaries.

The Balochistan Education Sector Plan also recommends implementing district level transport plans for girls in an attempt to improve girls’ access to post-primary schools.²³

6.4 Provision of (local) transport managed at school cluster level

In order to ensure that cost effective and culturally accepted pathways are derived to address the issue of distance to school for girls, transport funds should ideally be managed at the School Cluster level.

In this case, the school cluster would make ‘transport arrangements’ via the PTSMC members. This approach ensures engagement of local community, ownership of the community with the proposed mode/medium of transport, and embeds transparency and accountability through the local value system.

6.5 Second shift post-primary schools for girls

Drawing from the evidence grid, second shift post primary schools for girls should be initiated in communities/settlements where there is no post primary school for girls within 3-5 kilometer distance.

There is strong evidence available for upgrading existing schools, and/or initiating second shift post-primary schools within same buildings (elaborated in The Unserved).

²³ Balochistan Education Sector Reform Plan 2020-2025 is a document outlining province’s education roadmap for five years.

6.6 Assisted learning support

Assisted learning support is recommended for girls in communities where schools are at distance that cannot be covered on daily basis, especially post-primary schools. This is a hybrid model which includes remote learning for girls based on pre-developed technology modules which prepare students to sit for summative exams. In this model, female students will be given tech-based assisted-support, with teachers visiting them in-person on a fortnightly basis (frequency of visit and selection of teacher to be determined by the District Education Office) to ensure pedagogical support. The tech provided to students will preferably not be bound with internet to ensure internet availability doesn't become another barrier.

However, it needs to be noted that this is a cost-heavy model and can only work in limited communities where there is no medium for girls to travel on a daily basis and no substitute or alternate school is available. This model cannot be deployed at a large scale.

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DISTANCE MATTERS

**DISTANCE BETWEEN A GIRL'S HOME AND
SCHOOL AS A KEY INFORMANT OF THE
CHILD'S ABILITY TO ATTEND SCHOOL -
BALOCHISTAN**