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AMONG RURAL HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN PAKISTAN

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ATTITUDES TOWARD RURAL COMMUNITY LIFE AMONG RURAL HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN PAKISTAN

By

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ABSTRACT

ATTITUDES TOWARD RURAL COMMUNITY LIFE AMONG
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By

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This study investigates the attitudes of rural Pakistani high school students toward rural community life. My thesis holds that students have different attitudes about their communities and these attitudes vary by sex and community size. Social class, socio-economic status, eagerness to migrate, community preference and grades are taken into account. Data were collected through self-administered questionnaire from 486 high school students in ten high schools of District Gujranwala, Pakistan.

Level of community satisfaction is treated as dependent variable. Social class, socio-economic status, eagerness to migrate, community preference and grades are treated as independent variables. Sex and community size are introduced as control variables.

To observe the relationship between independent and dependent variables, percentage differences in contingency tables are used. These relationships are further explored through correlation and multiple regression techniques.

Eagerness to migrate and grades were found to be negatively associated with level of communitu satisfaction and they proved to be good predictors of level of community

satisfaction. Social class and socio-economic status were positively associated with level of community satisfaction, that was not anticipated. Community preference proved to be a very weak predictor of level of community satisfaction. Females were found to be less satisfied than males with their home communities. Difference in attitudes toward rural community life among males and females was found when social class, socio-economic status, eagerness to migrate and grades were correlated with level of community satisfaction. The explanatory power of all the predictor variables was reasonably high only in the case of females from large communities. Social class, eagerness to migrate and grades were significantly correlated with level of community satisfaction.

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE MOST MERCIFUL

AND THE MOST BENIFICENT

To my mother Rabia (may her soul rest in peace!)

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CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION

A pervasive pattern in the developing world is the migration of villagers to urban centers. Typically, young adults, those in prime economically-productive ages, are selectively drawn to the burgeoning cities. In many instances, agricultural productivity falls due to labor shortages. Organized community structures often suffer in the absence of young, energetic leaders. Severe urban problems may also be encountered in the areas of destination. It is not uncommon for migrants to find few opportunities for employment due to lack of skills as well as the slow rate of economic growth.

The present study fits into the typical scenario just described. It is assumed that rural and urban communities differ in many ways, but particularly in terms of style of life, residential amenities and occupational opportunities. These differences serve to make urban areas attractive to young people and to bring about high rates of rural to urban migration.

My study focuses on the level of community satisfaction on the part of high school seniors from rural communities in Pakistan. It is assumed that rural communities would tend to hold, i.e., prevent out-migration if they possessed amenities and employment opportunities

comparable to those of urban areas. It is expected that attitudes toward community will differ on the part of males and females, in relation to residence in small and large rural communities, and by social class and status background.

Two essential characteristics of Pakistan are its massive size and its rapid growth of population. Pakistan's population in 1985 was estimated at 99.2 million (Population Reference Bureau, 1985), and its rate of growth consistently averaged 3% per year for the last two decades. If this rate of growth continues, the total population will double soon after the turn of this century. Recent data indicate that the high rate of population increase is the result of a significant reduction in mortality and persistently high fertility (Government of Pakistan, 1983).

The vital rates just mentioned are transmitted directly to the age structure of the population. Forty four percent of the Pakistani population is under 15 years of age. Comparable proportions are about 22% in the United States and 20% in Western Europe. It is obvious that the school age population (about 38% aged 5-21) represents a major burden on the educational system of Pakistan.

When population is growing very rapidly, a large part of the capital accumulation has to be used just to maintain the growing population at a constant standard of living, leaving little margin for improvement. Although national wealth, as measured by conventional economic indicators,

has risen appreciably in Pakistan as a whole (per capita income rose from $200 in 1970 to $390 in 1985), it is far from clear that added income has accrued to all segments of society, particularly those in the greatest need. The limited information available seems rather to suggest that in some respects certain socio-economic inequalities (notably those between social classes) may have widened (UNESCO, 1965).

The Pakistani educational system does not permit equality of opportunity for all students to receive a quality education (or even a mediocre education). To receive formal education is not deemed a birthright of the child. If one resides in a small village, he or she will go without education or will receive a poor quality of education in a distant village school where experienced teachers can rarely be found. If a child is from well-to-do parents, that student will likely receive a quality education, however, incongruent with national ideology (Alvi, 1970). The distribution of educational facilities is highly irregular, reflecting widespread urban-rural imbalance within the country. In addition, a negative attitude is found in Pakistan toward the education of females.

Education in Pakistan and elsewhere plays a major role in social mobility. The chances of upward mobility are directly related to education (Blau and Duncan, 1967). In their classic study, The American Occupational Structure, Blau and Duncan found that the proportion of men who

experience upward mobility increases steadily with education, from a low of 12% for those reporting no schooling to a high of 76% for those who have gone beyond. Using their model, they tested the assumption that occupational attainment of males depends on their education and that education depends on their father's socio-economic status. They found that a combination of education and father's status does not interact in affecting occupational mobility. In other words, the mobility experienced by men is simply a function of their education and their social class origin. College education is found to be the vehicle of social mobility in an open society like the U.S.A that rewards the ablest and not the inept (Eckland, 1965).

Blau and Duncan revealed in their study that the superior opportunities available in large cities prompt males of rural origins to move to these cities in large numbers (Blau and Duncan, 1967). To them 8.5% of the sample, representing 3.5 million males, have done so. These rural migrants to large cities achieve higher occupational status than their counterparts who remain in the rural areas, even though their inferior qualifications force them to accept jobs that rank low in the urban occupational structure. Given the poor occupational opportunities in rural areas, particularly on farms, rural migrants to cities tend to experience upward mobility although they initially occupy relatively low postions in the urban occupational hierarchy. According to Blau and Duncan, most migration

from farms is due to two facts: 1) that the demand for agricultural products is relatively inelastic with respect to income, and 2) that the mechanization of agriculture leads to increased capital input, improvement in crops, and in the techniques of cultivation. Both factors operate to reduce the demand for farm employment and thus to engender movement off-farm. They also found that nonwhite males leave farms at a somewhat higher rate than white males. They show that the highest migration rates to urban areas do not necessarily occur on the part of the very lowest income levels. A strong inverse relationship was found between migration rate and socio-economic status when measured in occupational terms. Also, migration rates are high for the poorly educated. This pattern holds for age and color subgroups.

The 1962 OCG (Occupational Changes in a Generation) data and analysis by Blau and Duncan in The American Occupational Structure encouraged Featherman and Hauser to look at whether the opportunities of American males have changed since that benchmark study. Their analyses are based on data drawn from the Blau and Duncan study and the replicated data carried out after one decade in 1973 (Featherman and Hauser, 1978). Their analyses show that schooling had grown in importance as a vehicle for occupational achievement over the 10 year period. Education accounted for more of the absolute differences in earnings for all but the young workers, but the impact of

this achieved characteristic on relative earnings may have weakened for males. They conclude that the rising supply of skilled labor has not diluted the value of education for most workers when seen against the intercohort pattern of higher status occupations and earnings at nearly all levels of schooling. When race and social mobility were examined, they found that the level of schooling is the major means of sorting blacks for differential occupational achievement at each stage in their socio-economic careers. The authors found that education helps white and nonwhite males to raise their chances of attaining higher occupations. In addition, migration helped white as well as black migrants from the south to the north, substantially improving their average occupational level. Black southerners who moved into the northern labor market were, like their white migratory counterparts, able to improve their economic lot in comparison with southern blacks, who remained in the region of their birth in 1962.

Pakistani rural communities are steeped in poverty, ignorance and unsanitary living environment. The literacy rate is very low nationally, specially in the rural areas. In 1981, the literacy rates were : National, 26.2%; rural, 17.3% and urban, 47% (Government of Pakistan, 1984). The land and roadways in rural areas are mostly non-metallic, without any worthwhile drainage system for the outlet of dirty water. In the rainy season, these non-metallic paths become quagmires of mud and filth. Refuse is

dumped haphazardly in residential areas to the detriment of health and sanitation. Facilities for the cure of diseases in humans as well as animals are inadequate, leaving a virgin field for quacks to flourish. By any international standard, the agricultural productivity is low and the agricultural practices on the whole are not progressive. Average landlords possess barely sufficient land to eke out a subsistence living. Neither they nor the tillers of the soil have the will, the energy and the wherewithal to face the great challenge of modern agriculture and to organize supplementary agricultural industries (Alvi,1971). In a nutshell, rural areas in general are so backward that the moment an urban dweller, say from Karachi, steps into a typical village he steps into an earlier century. There is neither light in the streets nor light of education in the minds. Intelligence and understanding are there in abundance but these have not been nurtured and channelled through an all-pervasive educational process.

The foregone gloomy picture of the countryside is pushing young people, especially students, the cream of our countryside out of their local communities. The reasons include very few jobs, poor educational, medical and public services as well as inadequate sports and recreational facilities in rural as compared with urban areas of Pakistan. The economic infrastructure is, no doubt, being improved in some rural areas at a slow and steady pace. However, the overall task of rural development as a part of the national

plan is colossal and requires thourogh planning and execution.

In rural communities of Pakistan, the following social classes may be distinguished: professional (physicians, engineers, bank managers, college teachers etc.); upper white-collar (high school teachers, small business owners, managers of small business, landlord, etc.); lower white-collar (clerical staff, sales agents, primary school teachers, etc.); and laborers (agricultural laborers and small landowners). Treiman points out that the division of labor gives rise to differences among occupations with respect to knowledge, skills, economic control, and authority (Treiman, 1977). He argues that these differences derive from the definition of occupational roles and that they will be relatively invariant across societies. He expects that in all societies intellectuals or professional roles require the greatest skill and knowledge and achieve the greatest monopoly of crucial expertise, that owners and managers of land or capital will exercise the greatest economic power and that political officials, together with managers of other enterprises, will exercise the greatest direct authority over the actions of others. As a consequence, in all societies these positions enjoy the greatest privilege.

Both motivation to advance to high positions and motivation to obtain the training which is instrumental in achieving such positions are reduced in lower class indivi-

duals (Hyman, 1953). Hyman found in the data collected by the National Opinion Research Center in a nationwide survey in 1947, that the lower class placed less value on higher education and that this constitutes an aspect of a larger value system that is detrimental to advancement. He found that whatever measure of stratification is employed, the lower group emphasizes education less. These findings are close to Max Weber's concept of life chances of different classes (McKee, 1981).

In short, students from different social classes carry different feelings toward educational and occupational attainment. The high school students under study belong to different social classes and we expect to find that they possess different feelings toward their home communities. In these communities there are very few employment opportunities and educational, medical, recreational, and public facilities are sub-standard. Students who have high aspirations for a college education, for good jobs, and who wish to rise in social status find little chance of achieving these aspirations in their home communities. The level of community satisfaction is expected to be very low for the students just described. Some students, however, feel that the education they have received in their home communities is sufficient to get a job locally. They are expected to have a high level of community satisfaction and low aspirations to rise in social status. Females are likely to exhibit a low level of community satis-

faction since migration planning is more common among females than males (Bohlen and Wakley, 1950; Anderson and Loomis, 1929; Schwarzweller and Brown, 1967; Rieger, Beegle and Fulton, 1978; Lyson, 1978; PIDE, Aug.1977; Sept.1977). The chief reasons are marriage and few job opportunities for females in the villages.

This study, then, is an exploratory case study in which an attempt will be made to study the attitudes of rural high school seniors from various social class levels toward their local communities. Students' attitudes toward their home communities will also be examined in relation to their socio-economic status, community preference, eagerness to migrate, and grades. Both males and females participated in this research. Hence, level of community satisfaction will be explored for males and females and for students from larger and smaller communities. That is, sex and community size will be used as control variables.

Importance of this Study

This study of the attitudes toward community by rural high school seniors is the first of its type in Pakistan. In the past, some researchers did attempt to study factors influencing the migration of Pakistani households to urban areas by using census and survey data (PIDE, Aug. 1977; Sept. 1977); some others studied the causes and effects of rural-urban migration as well as patterns of

migration (Khan, 1969; Matin, 1971). It is hoped that this study will contribute to an understanding of the desired qualities of rural Pakistani communities as related to migration intentions of young people from rural areas. The literature contains few studies in which decision making hypotheses are tested in a developing country, in this case Pakistan. Other researchers inside Pakistan and in other developing countries should benefit from this research, which examines youth's attitudes toward community at the point of moving away from their home communites. Educators and policy makers also can utilize the findings to design syllabi and courses adapted to the needs of rural young people and to formulate new policies designed to aid rural youth in their migration related decisions. Rural development administrators can benefit from the findings to design policies to provide facilities in rural communities. This may help in retaining and involving youths (both students and dropouts) in the local communities and thus foster rural development.

Organization of the Dissertation

The study is presented in five chapters. Following this introduction to the study, Chapter Two will be devoted to a literature review related to the concept of community satisfaction as well as factors related to community satisfaction, such as sex, community size, social class, socio-economic status, eagerness to migrate, community prefe-

rence, and students' grades. Research hypotheses are also included. Chapter Three contains a description of Pakistani villages and the people who live in them. Chapter also contains the design, methodology, and a description of the area under study. Chapter Four contains the research findings and analysis, while the summary, conclusions and recommendations are found in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER TWO. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Typically researchers view community satisfaction as satisfaction with services: respondents are asked to express their concern in terms of too few or too many services. Satisfaction with services has generally been an integral part of community studies. Davies in his article "Development of a Scale to Rate Attitudes of Community Satisfaction", developed a multi-item index to rate the degree of satisfaction held by residents of a village trade center toward their community. He concluded that community satisfaction was unrelated to sex, moderately related to intelligence, but strongly related to size of village (Davies, 1945).

Jesser examined the level of community satisfaction among professionals in rural areas (Jesser, 1967). He found that "social helping" professionals (teachers and clergymen) had lower levels of community satisfaction as compared to "technical helping" professionals (physicians, engineers). The degree of participation in a community, migration plans and community size bear some relationship with community satisfaction. Johnson and Knop found community satisfaction to be a multi-dimensional variable (Johnson and Knop, 1970). They suggest that urban areas provide employment and facilities such as medical and shopping services, and are attractive to urban residents, whereas rural residents are satisfied with local democratic proces-

ses and the community's general geographical milieu. Marans and Rodgers presented a conceptual model of community satisfaction where objective attitudes about the environment are linked to the subjective experiences of individuals in that environment (Marans and Rodgers, 1975). Satisfaction with a particular environment, therefore, depends on an assessment of two fundamental attributes of the environment: 1) the manner in which the attributes are perceived, and 2) the standard or reference against which the attribute is judged. To test for systematic biases in the perceived environmental attribute, Marans and Rodgers introduced a set of variables referred to as "person characteristics" suggesting that variables such as age, income, or race may have an effect on the evaluation of the environment. The results of their analysis revealed that person characteristics had an extremely important effect on community satisfaction. At the same time, the assessment of perceived environment attributes (public schools, climate, streets, police-community relations, parks, and local taxes) strongly influences the respondent's sense of community satisfaction.

Rojek, Clemente and Summers discussed community satisfaction based on provision of services in their brief article "Community Satisfction: A Study of Contentment with Local Services" (Rojek, Clemente and Summers, 1975). They used a scale of 15 items to represent the level of community satisfaction. When correlated with community size their results only partially support the belief that the level of

satisfaction with community services is related to the size of place of residence.

The concept of community satisfaction can be thought of as a fairly broad concept including a variety of subconcepts such as satisfaction with physical community, satisfaction with social environment of the community, ethnocentrism, and other related factors (Schulze, Artis and Beegle, 1963). When correlating community satisfaction with desire to migrate, occupational aspirations, and educational aspirations of 545 high school seniors in Michigan, they found a high degree of association between community satisfaction and desire to migrate. For the other two variables the association was not significant (association between community satisfaction and educational aspiration was even found positive instead of negative). When sex groups were analysed separately, females had a higher level of association between community satisfaction and these variables than did males. Thus, the hypotheses fit females to a greater degree than males.

Factors-Related to Community Satisfaction

Sex

Most studies of career planning have treated sex as a control variable. Boys and girls are trained and taught differently and each has access to different sets of opport-

unities (Schwarzweller, 1960; Kuder 1960). They differ in terms of status goals as well as the types of the jobs to which they aspire.

Kuder studied the preferences of 3,418 boys and girls and found that more boys than girls expressed an interest in outdoor, scientific, and mechanical pursuits. Greater interest in musical, social services, and clerical pursuits was expressed by girls than boys (Kudder, 1960). Females are often found in jobs such as nursing and teaching which reflect the motherhood role. In the developing world, where females usually are restricted to the housewife role, they are likely to prefer to live where better medical, educational, and shopping facilities are available. On the other hand, males in rural areas can often assume a role in farming and possess the freedom to take part in community activities and organization.

Since sex roles, particularly in developing societies such as Pakistan, are highly differentiated, one would expect males and females to hold different attitudes and opinions about their community. In rural areas of Pakistan, the female role is rigidly defined and is largly confined to duties related to the household. In contrast, males are expected to be the breadwinner and their movements and activities are much less constrained. In such a socio-cultural context, it is logical to expect that females would exhibit lower levels of community satisfaction than males.

Community size

Johnson and Knop collected data from 495 male households living in seven urban communities and fourteen rural communities in North Dakota during the fall of 1966 (Johnson and Knop, 1970). They used 17 different community satisfaction items to test their hypothesis that a positive relationship exists between community satisfaction and community size. Using the Gamma test of association, they found that urban residents are more satisfied with shopping and medical facilities, teacher ability, employment opportunities and entertainment-recreation potentials. Rural residents, on the other hand, are more satisfied with local democratic processes and their general geographic surroundings. The finding by Rojek, Clemente and Summers only partially supports the belief that level of community satisfaction/community services is related to the size of place of residence (Rojek, Clemente and Summers, 1975). The authors argue that there is no support for an argument that community satisfaction increases as a simple linear function of the availability of services, indexed by population size of the place of residence.

As far as educational and occupational aspirations of youths from small and large communites are concerned, there is some consensus that educational and occupational aspirations are higher among youths from large as compared with small communities (Sewell, 1964; Sewell and Orenstein,

1965; Boyles, 1966; Burchinal, 1961; Lipset, 1955). Community of residence and career choice of German youths was explored by Schwarzweller (Schwarzweller, 1968). He found that the degree of rurality does not appear to have any discernible effect on the educational choice of either secondary or elementary school pupils. That aspect of his hypothesis which stipulates this relationship must be tentatively rejected in the German case. The pattern of findings suggests that the influence of climate at least in nonmetropolitian areas of Germany is nominal, and at this point in the schooling process educational opportunities are equitably distributed.

Small communities in rural areas of Pakistan are considered to have fewer job opportunities and less developed educational, medical, recreational and public facilities than larger communities. Large communities, then, will have some of these facilities but fewer than those found in urban areas. Residents of large communities are seen as having more exposure to mass media and to receive more information about outside world as compared to their counterparts in small rural communities. It is expected, then, that youths from small rural communities are less satisfied with their communities as compared to youths living in larger rural communities.

Social Class Origin, Education and Migration

It can be stated that professionals and upper white collar occupational groups are generally well-settled and have many conveniences in their homes. Differences in level of community satisfaction, however, still exist among professionals of different types (Jesser, 1967). Children from such families are more satisfied than from others with respect to their home environment. As far as job opportunities and educational, recreational and public facilities are concerned, they tend to feel less satisfied. They generally place a high value on higher education and on migration, since both factors help to move up in the social class hierarchy.

It is clear from literature that lower class students place less value on higher education, even though they are capable of doing good work in college (Kahl, 1953). The motivation to advance in the economic structure is often very low. In Wisconsin, Sewell, Haller and Strauss studied level of educational and occupational aspiration associated with social class on the part of 4167 randomly selected non-farm seniors in 1947-48 (Sewell, Haller and Strauss, 1957). They found that at all intelligence levels, students from high status families are more likely to have a higher level of educational aspirations than those from lower status families. They found this to be true for both sexes.

In another study, Sewell and Shaw studied social

class, parental encouragement and educational aspirations of 10,318 seniors in Wisconsin (Sewell and Shah, 1968). Using zero-order correlation, they found a high positive correlation between social class and college plans for both males and females. However, this relationship was found stronger for females than males. They attribute this finding to the different patterns of role expectations from adult males and females in American society.

In a follow up study, Sewell, Haller and Portes studied 929 male subjects who were available both in 1957 and 1964 and whose fathers were farmers in 1957 (Sewell, Haller and Portes, 1969). They used zero-order correlation and path analysis to examine the social psychological as well as social structural antecedents of educational and occupational attainment. Their results show that SOI (Significant Other's Influence) has direct effects on levels of educational and occupational aspirations and educational attainment. Looking at antecedents, they note that theory and data again agree that SOI is affected directly by SES and indirectly by measured mental ability. The SOI index was a simple summated score of three variables namely, parent's encouragement for college, teacher's encouragement, and friend's college plans. To see whether the results obtained are comparable if students belong to diverse residential backgrounds, Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf studied 4,388 males for whom data were available at the time of the 1957 cohort sample (Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf, 1970). They used the same variables

and applied the same method of analysis. They were more successful than Sewell, Haller and Portes in accounting for variance in both key dependent variables. They found that most of this effect is probably due to the use of an expanded measure of educational attainment variance explained and allowed for increased correlations between educational attainment and all of the antecedent variables. Analysis of their article confirmed the critical role of significant other's influence (SOI) in status attainment.

In regard to migration from local communities, because of fewer job opportunities and less chance of rising in the social status hierarchy, it is the higher social class students who more frequently have migration plans. They tend to feel less satisfied with their local communities and eager to migrate somewhere else to fulfill their desires.

Schwarzweller and Brown studied social class origin and economic life chances of 271 migrants from Beech Creek, Eastern Kentucky (Schwarzweller and Brown, 1967). The pattern from upper class families was either to move entirely out of the region or to remain in the Beech Creek; for the lower class families, intervening opportunities merely afforded additional alternatives which for many resulted in a two stage pattern of migration. The authors found good reasons for that. Compared with their lower class neighbors, upper-class families were already in the advantageous positions in the rural low income area and consequently,

perceived that little could be gained through residential and occupational shifts within the region.

Morrison, in a report "Migration from Distressed Areas: Its Meaning and Policy", wrote that since out-migration usually draws away more highly qualified members of the labor force (the young, the educated and the skilled), the labor left behind tends to be over-aged, under-educated and unskilled. This effect often is further accentuated by in-migration of persons similiar to those who have remained behind (Morrison, 1973). White-collar jobs in the U.S. are expected to increase faster than national average in future years. For operatives, employment will grow more slowly than average and for laborers not at all. In other words, precisely those occupations facing the bleakest employment future nationally tend to accumulate at the origin of outmigration (Klietsch et al, 1964).

Beshers and Nishiura, in their article "A Theory of Internal Migration", hypothesized that when change of locale is involved, the amount of migration within the professional categories will be greater than the amount of migration within other occupational categories (Besher and Nishiura, 1961). From Indiana data, they found that the professional category ranked first among the six occupational groups. They also found the farmers and farm managers to be less migratory than most other occupational groups. The reason is that this group plans its life on a long range basis.

In a U.S. population survey, it was discovered that professionals and managers among the young are much more likely to move than the lower occupational groups, but among the older population, over twice as many in service occupations move than those in white-collar occupations (Goldscheider, 1971). Pryor conducted a survey (called Seleng or Mobilty Survey) in Malaysia to investigate the social and economic elements of internal migration (Pryor, 1975). He found some indirect evidence that migration is supported by social and cultural norms and that continuity of social interaction between area of origin and area of destination may limit the negative impact of migration on the individual. As far as the occupation of migrants is concerned, he argued that Malaysia does not match the expectation for a country in the early stages of economic development and modernization. For the country as a whole, migrants tend to be in service or laboring occupations (as the professional, technical and clerical occupations are numerous in Selenger). Using a five point scale, Pryor found that migrants tend to be of middle, upper middle or upper class and non-migrants tend to be of lower middle or lower class. This pattern of mobility closely approximates the mobility pattern of the so-called developed world.

In the developing countries including Pakistan, there is not much difference among higher and lower classes in regard to migration planning (PIDE, Aug.1977; Sept.1977; Connel et al,1976). In the study done in Aug.1977 in the

city of Gujranwala, it was found that out of all migrants from rural areas, 35.1% were in the labor force (a majority were laborers). The remainder, 64.9% were not in the labor force, about half being housewives, about 26% children below ten years old and not going to school, about 21% were students, and less than 2% were aged. The other study conducted in the city of Peshawar in Sept. 1977 found essentially the same results.

Socio-economic Status

Standard of living is used to represent the socio-economic status of students. In social class, however, there is an implicit element of prestige. The higher the prestige of an occupation the higher the social class position. By the same token, economic level is implicit in the standard of living (SES). It is expected that students from high standard of living families feel more satisfied at home as compared to students from low SES families. But insofar as level of community satisfaction is concerned, it is expected that students from high SES families have low levels of community satisfaction as compared to their counterparts from lower SES families. It would seem obvious that lower aspirations for high education and occupation exist among students from low as compared to students from high SES families (Schwarzweller, 1967; Lyson, 1978; Bordua, 1960; Christiansen et al, 1962). On the question of migration,

students from high SES families tend to be more migratory than students from low SES families. Rieger in his study "Geographical Mobility and Occupational Attainment of Rural Youths: A Longitudinal Evaluation", found that fathers with superior socio-economic status, income and education and with higher occupational expectations for their children are more favorably oriented toward their children's leaving the community (Rieger, 1972). Scudder and Anderson worked on a sample of 1,500 white households in Kentucky and found that half of the sons left the community. The likelihood that a son would migrate increased when the father's general social status was high. The authors reported a positive relationship between family's socio-economic status and migration of rural young people (Scudder and Anderson, 1954).

Eagerness to Migrate and Level of Community Satisfaction

It is common that people migrate to other communities when they are less satisfied with local situations, for example, job opportunities, and educational and public facilities. In a follow up study in Ontonagon county (Michigan), Rieger, Beegle and Fulton found the factors that motivate 30% of the young people to leave are neither frivolous nor accidental. Departure is causally linked to fundamental characteristics of the rural community, namely its lack of critical resources and opportunities needed by young people (Rieger, Beegle and Fulton, 1978). To them, leaving

the community is often mandatory in order to pursue further education, to find work, to complete military service and to marry. Goldsmith worked on the same data collected in Ontonagan county and investigated the desire to migrate and level of community satisfaction (Goldsmith, 1961). He found that desire to migrate and community satisfaction were negatively related in a study of 269 juniors and seniors in six Ontonagan county high schools. Further, in regard to expectation of additional training after high school and consideration of migration, he found that a large fraction of the study population did not expect to be in their home communities six months after graduation. Cowhig, Beegle and Goldsmith, in their study of high school seniors in four rural counties of Michigan, found that students are leaving their communities because they are not satisfied with educational facilities in their communities (Cowhig, Beegle and Goldsmith, 1960).

In another study Schulze, Artis and Beegle examined the relationship between decision to migrate and community satisfaction. Using chi-square analysis, they found that an inverse relationship exists between desire to migrate and level of community satisfaction. That is, the higher the desire to migrate, the lower the level of community satisfaction (Schulze, Artis and Beegle, 1963). In case of females they found a higher level of association between desire to migrate and level of community satisfaction. They found that their hypothesis fits females to a greater degree than

males.

In a follow up study of young men who at the time of field work in 1960 had been 10 years out of 8th grade, Schwarzweller found that in terms of aspirations to migrate a considerably larger proportion of nonmigrants (72%) than migrants (45%) expressed a negative response (Schwarzweller, 1963). This suggests a greater degree of satisfaction by nonmigrants. Further he stated that the newly recruited migrants to the labor force were attracted by the economic and material opportunities available outside Eastern Kentucky.

Bel-Hag studied migration plans as related to level of community satisfaction of 491 high school boys in Libya (Bel-Hag, 1982). He found that 81% with a low level of community satisfaction plan to migrate as compared to only 12.5% for those with a high level of community satisfaction. If the educational aspirations can be fulfilled within the community, according to Bel-Hag, it reinforces the satisfaction with the community and confirms a decision not to migrate.

Community Preference

Community preference refers to the place where the respondents would eventually like to live after graduation. If community preference is other than rural communities, it means that they are less satisfied with their home communi-

ties and have intention to move. Heaten and others explored the role of size of place as future residence preference in the evolution of intention to move out of the present community. Using data from the March 1974 NORC Amalgam Survey (Heaten et al, 1979), they found that people who prefer to live in a community having different size or location characteristics than their present residence are five times more likely to intend to move than those who have attained their preferred types of residence. The same kind of views are offered by Zuiches (Zuiches, 1982).

Grades

It is to be expected that students with higher grades in the matriculation examination will have higher aspirations for further education and for migration. As there are no facilities for higher education and there exist few job opportunities in the rural areas, students with high grades should be less satisfied with their home communities. They usually select other communities which have many of the desired facilities.

Many researchers in various parts of the United States tested this hypothesis. Lindstrom studied 2326 juniors and seniors in 24 high schools in eight counties of Illinois. After analysing these data, he found that 60% of these students did not plan to go to college while 40% planned to do so (Lindstrom, 1964). To determine whether

there are significant differences in capability between those who plan to go to college and those who do not, statistical analyses were made using mean scores on tests of abstract and verbal reasoning. He found that such differences do exist and that differences were significant. There were statistically significant differences in the means on all tests between those who planned to go to college and those who did not plan to do so. The differences favored those who planned to attend college.

Grade performance is a reliable predictive factor in Kahl's study, a finding that helps to explain the ambition of high school graduates to attend college (Kahl, 1963). Kahl's study of 24 boys drawn from a large sample of 3971 found that most boys, 52% of total, with high grades planned a college career, whereas most boys with low grades did not aspire to higher education. He concluded that if a boy had done well in earlier years and had built up a self-conception in which good school performance was vital, he would work hard to keep his record.

In another study by Lyson, grade rank and career plans were explored. He studied 2987 high school seniors in five areas of Kentucky, West Virginia and Michigan and found that low scholastic performance was especially detrimental for Appalachian youth and that less than 20% of the poor achieving seniors plan to go to college (Lyson, 1976). In contrast, for upper Michigan and Western Kentucky boys, a low academic placement does not manifest the same

consequences, since about 40% of the senior boys plan on college even though they rank in the bottom half of their graduating class. He further argued that academic placement appears to be contingent to some extent on the nature of the regional environments or milieus. That is, the meaning and importance of a specified grade rank vis-a-vis youth's academic ambition is interpreted and mediated in relation to his/her place in the regional social structure. It is true that students with high grade rank are likely to attend college. But according to Lyson's study, it seems that there are certain factors other than high grade rank that help in explaining the ambition to attend college, e.g. high socio-economic status, parental encouragement, and educational facilities.

Scholastic performance was found to be an important determinant of educational plans and subsequent career mobility in three nations --- U.S., Norway, and Germany (Schwarzweller, 1976). The effect of scholastic performance was found to be very strong in Norway, relatively substantial in the United States, and moderately strong in Germany.

Philblad and Gregory tested the hypothesis that rural urban migration tends to be disproportionately selective of those with higher intelligence and proficiency scores as measured by school achievement. The data for their study consist of the records of 5,011 members of the senior high school class in 116 Missouri communities during the years 1939-40 and 1940-41 (Pihlblad and Gregory, 1954). The

researchers found that three-fifths of the former high school seniors were residing in a county different from that of their residence while in school. They also found that there is a consistent tendency for mean test scores to increase with the size of the community in which subjects resided at the time of the report (1952). They also found a consistent tendency for mean test scores to increase with distance of migration from the point of origin. Hence, this study and others tend to show that persons with superior intelligence and scholastic aptitude must necessarily seek opportunities for its development in educational institutions found largely outside their home communities (Gist and Clark, 1938; Mauldin, 1940).

Hypotheses

Based on literature reviewed, as well as knowledge of the Pakistan situation, it is expected that:

H.1 Level of community satisfaction will be lower among females than males.

H.2 Level of community satisfaction will be lower among high school students from small rural communities than students from large rural communities.

H.3 A difference in attitudes toward home communities exists among students from different social classes. It is expected that youths from

higher social class families will have lower level of community satisfaction than youths from lower social class families.

H.4 A difference in attitudes toward home communities exists among students from different sicio-economic status families. It is expected that youths from higher status will have lower level of community satisfaction than youths from lower status families.

H.5 A difference in attutudes toward home communties exists among students eager to migrate. It is expected that students showing a high degree of eagerness to migrate will have a lower level of comunity satisfaction than students showing a low degree of eagerness to migrate.

H.6 A difference in attitudes toward home communities exists among students who prefer to live in other than their home communties. It is expected that students who prefer larger communities in which to live will have a lower level of community satisfaction than students who prefer to live in small community.

H.7 A difference in attitudes toward home communities exists among students obtaining different grades. It is expected that students with high grades will have lower level of community satisfaction than students with lower grades.

The relationships in hypotheses 3 to 7 are expected to hold for both males and females and for small and large communities.

CHAPTER THREE

STUDY SETTING AND OPERATIONALIZATION OF VARIABLES

This chapter is devoted to a description of Pakistani villages and the people who live in them. We also identify the population under study and the statistical procedures, together with the analytical strategies used.

The Village Setting in Pakistan

In some ways village life anywhere in Pakistan is the same, that is, rather simple, backward, often lonely and cut off from the rest of the world. The people of the villages have to work hard for a livelihood and life offers little in the way of luxury. Most of the village folks work as cultivators, either as tenant farmers or as owners of a small piece of land. Few villages have electricity, hospitals, schools, or metalled roads connecting them with the main towns (Feldman, 1958). Though some efforts have been made in the past to extend to the rural areas the benefits of electricity, schools, hospitals and all season roads, much more needs to be done to accelerate this process. Out of about 45,000 villages listed in the census of 1972, only 16,400 villages have been electrified in the past thirty five years. Half of these have been electrified during five years from 1977 to 1982 (Government of Pakistan, 1983). At

present only 8% of the Pakistani rural population has access to electricity.

Medical facilites are very poor in rural areas. One can easily feel a maldistribution of doctors due in part to the neglect of rural areas, which have not been provided roads, communication facilities, electricity, schools or potable water. There are less than 1,000 posts for doctors in rural areas as against 6,000 in urban areas, even though rural areas contain approximately 70% of the total population. In rural areas, a very large number of posts for female doctors are vacant. Very few girls are being trained as paramedics. Most of the medical, nursing and paramedical personnel belong to urban areas where they prefer to serve.

In rural areas, housing of satisfactory standard is in very short supply. However, the rural population has generally been able to accommodate itself to sub-standard houses, that is, with mudwalls, thatched roofs and lacking proper ventilation. The basic major problem faced by the village population is the unavailability of any credit facility for house construction. Presently, the activities of the House Building Finance Corporation are largely limited to the urban areas.

The deficiency of the rural roads can be judged by the fact that in relation to the minimum requirement of .64km per square kilometer of the area, there is hardly .12km per square kilometer available. The deficiency is particularly large in the case of tertiary rural roads. Only 16% of the

villages are situated on all weather roads and less than 30% have connections with all weather roads. The remaining villages are either totally cut off from the rest of the country or depend on fair weather connections to the outside world situated on all weather roads.

Education is the most vital investment for any program of socio-economic development. Its neglect can cost generations. No uneducated society has ever achieved a high level of economic and political power. Thirty eight years after independence, Pakistan has a literacy rate of 26.2% and less than half of the primary school aged children are in schools. These indices place Pakistan among the least developed nations, far below the average rank on many other criteria, including the aggregate measure of per capita income.

The literacy ratio differs widely between rural and urban areas. The urban areas have a ratio of 47.0% whereas it is only 17.3% in rural areas. For male and female populations, it is 51.5% and 23.1%, respectively. The ratio is as low as 5.5% for the female population of rural areas as compared with 37.7% for urban areas. The low literacy ratio in rural areas is due to comparatively few educational facilities and because the children start helping the heads of family at a very early age and thus are deprived of education (Government of Pakistan, 1982-83). The spread of education in the country is not a matter of financial allocations alone. A number of other obstacles have also to be

faced and satisfactorily overcome. The first of these is the issue of education of girls, particularly in the rural areas. Participation rate in primary education ranges from almost 70% for urban boys to 20% for rural girls. As a matter of fact, the situation is probably worse, due to the high drop-out rate (75% after the fifth grade). The literacy rate amongst rural females has yet to cross the 6% level. Amongst the major obstacles are the indifference of communities and parents to education in general and for girls in particular. The demand for girls to help mothers with household chores, and the frequent need for separate schooling for girls even at the primary level, exacerbates the situation.

A major problem that affects the quality of education and results in a high dropout rate is the curriculum in primary schools. It is not a curriculum designed to serve the needs of the average student in the country where one teacher instructs five classes seated in two rooms, or all classes together out in the open. The curriculum is too demanding and as such fails to fulfill even the most basic needs.

Secondary education is of vital significance for the consolidation of the gains of primary education and for making them permanent. It is also important because it is the terminal stage of education for a large number of boys and girls in Pakistan and because it is on completion of secondary education the students are channelled to courses

in various fields. In Pakistan, the curriculum of secondary education prepares students to attend college, not to locate or to work in rural areas. At present, there are over 60,000 primary schools in rural areas while the secondary schools, most of which go up to the 8th grade, number only about 6,000. This means that only one out of ten students who completes class 5 in rural areas has any chance of studying beyond that class, unless they leave their home communities and stay in the hostels.

In view of the prevalent situation, in which there are unsatisfactory educational, medical, housing, shopping, sports, recreational and communication facilities in the rural areas of Pakistan, it is not surprising that young people are pushed out into urban areas.

Pakistan is one of many Asian countries experiencing a high rate of population growth as well as rapid urban growth. The growth of urban population is indicated by the increasing number of urban centers and also by the concentration of population in the big cities. The excessive growth of urban population is a consequence of a drop in mortality rates, persistent high fertility rates, rural to urban migration, and to some extent reclassification of some rural areas (see Table 3.1). Cities offer a variety of opportunities for employment.

Table 3.1: Growth of Selected Large Cities in Pakistan from 1951 to 1981

City	1951	1961	1972	1981
		(In Thousands)		
Peshawar	151	219	273	555
Lahore	849	1296	2170	2922
Rawalpindi	237	340	615	806
Multan	190	340	539	730
Faisalabad	179	425	823	1092
Gujranwala	121	196	360	654
Karachi	1068	1913	3515	5103
Hyderabad	242	435	629	795

Source: Pakistan Statistical Year Book, 1984.

Growing industrial sectors in which the newly established small industrial estates is a feature in some cities offer good opportunities for employment to both skilled and unskilled workers. Most cities are well-connected with each other through a well-developed network of roads and railways. Communication within the cities and with outside areas is fairly efficient. Cities have flourishing marketing centers where commercial activity is at a high level and offers many opportunities for work. These centers have a fairly good network of credit institutions. Almost all the

major banks of the country have their branches in every big city. These cities are well-supplied with educational and training institutions for both sexes. Big cities have fairly good number of reading rooms and libraries available to the general public. Also, they offer entertainment facilities in the form of theaters, opportunites for playing games, and clubs for men and women on a limited scale.

The Study Area: Gujranwala District

The selection of this District, for the purpose of study, was arbitrary, but typical of many other districts experiencing high population growth, particularly in the past two decades. As noted previously, the urban areas are growing at much faster rates than the rural areas. It is clear from Table 3.2 that the population of both urban and rural areas is changing. In 1961 the population of urban areas amounted to 26.2% while it rose to 28.7% in 1972 and 30.9% in 1981. In rural areas, the population decreased from 73.3% in 1961 to 69.1% in the year 1981. Not only is Gujranwala city experiencing rapid growth but also other towns in the district as well. Towns in the district

Table 3.2: Population of Gujranwala District, Pakistan by Urban and Rural Areas, 1961 to 1981

Urban and Rural Residence	Number			Percentage		
	1961	1972	1981	1961	1972	1981
	(In thousands)					
Gujranwala	1,292	2,060	3,025*	99.9	100	100
Urban areas	338	591	934	26.2	28.7	30.9
Rural areas	954	1,469	2,091	73.7	71.3	69.1

Source: Population Census of Pakistan, 1972.
* Author's estimated population.

are receiving large migration streams from the rural parts. If we examine the population of the villages in which the high schools under study are located, as well as other villages from which the students come to attend these schools, it is clear that except for two villages (Naushera Virkan and Kalaske) the annual growth rate is very low as compared to the growth rate of urban areas. The high growth of these two villages is due to the development of a rice market. Four study villages, including one in which a high school is located, experienced negative growth rates. In other words, these villages are losing population through out-migration (see Table 3.3). In rural areas, population

Table 3.3: Population of the Pakistan Villages Under Study

Village	1961	1972	1981	Annual Growth Rate (1961-1981)
			*	
Abdal	2,618	2,800	2,955	0.6%
Aroop	5,334	8,259	10,819	3.0
T.M.KHan	3,666	4,998	6,430	2.8
T.Rahwali	6,889	4,764	3,508	-3.4
Kalaske	1,461	2,737	4,572	5.7
Ahmad-a-Nagar	3,485	5,300	7,461	3.8
Naushera Virkan	4,898	10,862	20,395	7.0
Eminabad	9,526	12,066	14,576	2.1
Qila D.Singh	10,281	14,667	22,055	3.8

Source: Population Census of Pakistan, 1972.
* Author's estimated population.

growth rates ranges from negative 3.4% to positive 7.0%, whereas urban areas are growing from 3.8% to 6.0% annually. It is clear from Table 3.2 that overall population in the Gujranwala District, is growing at the rate of 4.2%. The population of rural areas is growing less rapidly than that of urban areas (3.9% and 5.1% respectively). These figures imply migration from rural to urban areas, a striking feature of many developing societies. This rural exodus is precipitated by the stagnant economic and

cultural life in the villages and the opportunities for a good standard of living in the urban areas (Khan, 1969). The migration from countryside to the towns, according to Khan, adversely affects agricultural output and ultimately leads to economic stagnation in the rural areas. As a result it floods the labor market, increases unemployment, creates slums, and leads to the break-up of family cohesiveness in the villages. If we go to the heart of the rural social structure of most societies of Asia and Africa, we find that the vital cause of rural to urban migration is the unequal distributions of land among the villagers. Another major cause is the land tenure system which provides limited opportunities for better living in the villages. A third cause which is vital in the sub-continent of Pakistan and India, is the fragmentation of small pieces of land owned by small land owners. Last but not least, is the high birth rate in the rural countryside. Researchers attribute it to low per capita income, high illiteracy, inadequacy of transportation and communication, inadequate educational facilities and the persistence of a fatalistic outlook toward life. It is true that migration from village to city in Pakistan has multi-dimensional causes. One of the significant factors is the dissatisfaction with rural life. Frustration, poverty and stalemate create tensions and the desire to seek more money, a better living and more satisfactory life. From every village of Pakistan quite a number of people leave their families and homes for better educa-

tion and jobs in order to save themselves from constant frustration and tension.

While many scholars favor migration as an instrument of social mobility, particularly where migration is from rural areas to urban areas, some researchers point out the impact of migration as dangerous and problematic both for the village and for the city (Khan, 1969; Matin, 1971). The exodus of able bodied young persons adversely affects agriculture and other subsidiary industries of the village. The dynamism and initiative that the migrant could have shown for modernizing agriculture is also lost due to his/her absence. A very damaging effect of migration on family organization which generally is noticed, is when a father leaves his family in the village and goes alone to the city. He may become capable of sending some money to his family when he gets work, but psychologically the migrant feels lonely and has no familiar sources of moral and ethical support. The absence of the migrant from the village also deprives the villagers of various important skills and knowledge which could have helped to improve their social and economic conditions. The main cause of slow progress of Pakistan's rural society is that the educated and dynamic persons of the villages go out for employment and better living in the city, leaving behind the relatively unchanging village society.

Another damaging effect of population migration from rural areas to the city, which is visible in every big city of Pakistan, is that the population has exceeded the capacity of the city to absorb it. Generally, when a city is established, civic amenities and employment opportunites for the present population are provided. When the optimum number is exceeded the standard of living falls, wages decrease and other types of social and economic problems emerge, including slums and many forms of corruption. Social and health facilities which are previously anticipated sufficient for the city population become inadequate due to immigration of excess persons. Many of the rural migrants who come to the city are unskilled. They do not contribute substantially to the economy of the city and thus become a burden to the city.

It is beyond doubt that as long as wages are higher in cities as compared with rural areas, cities will receive rural migrants. And migrants will be better off as opposed to those who do not migrate.

The Study Population

The study population consists of all seniors enrolled in ten high schools located in the rural areas of the District Gujranwala, Pakistan. These are the students, about 10% of their age group (14 to 17), remaining from cohort that started its education from the first grade. About 75% of the cohort dropped out after grade 5 (UNESCO, 1965) and some

unknown fraction after grade 8. If our school system better reflected student's educational needs, we would certainly have higher percentages of students studying in these high schools in rural areas. Since these students in all probability will be our future leaders both in and outside of the rural areas, a study of their attitudes toward their home communities has important development implications.

The names and locations of the high schools were obtained from the educational officer for both males and females. The selection of the district was arbitrary but it is typical of many districts where rural areas are deprived, with few jobs and inferior educational, medical, sports, recreational and public facilities. The district is typical of those having high out-migration rates.

Based on information taken from the educational officers, exploratory field work was conducted in November and December of 1983, and a comprehensive survey of the ten high schools in the district was carried out. First, a letter from the Principal of the Government Islamia College, Gujranwala (the college where I am employed) explaining the importance of the study was obtained to facilitate the field work. Upon receipt of this letter, the educational authorities were contacted and they agreed to assist and cooperate in the survey. Later, the ten schools were visited and the research purpose was explained to the headmasters and teachers who offered their full cooperation.

Following these preliminaries, all seniors in the ten high schools in the rural areas of the District Gujranwala constituted the test population. Of the 605 students in the senior classes, 486 or 80.2% completed the questionnaire for this study in November and December of 1983 (see Table 3.4). The remaining 119 (19.8%) who did not participate consist of those who were absent on the day of survey or were preparing for an examination.

Table 3.4: Numbers of Students Who Completed Questionnaire, from Ten High Schools in Gujranwala District, Pakistan

Location of School	Students Who Completed Questionnaire	
	Boys	Girls
Abdal	33	---
Ahmad-a-Nagar	---	32
Aroop	44	---
Eminabad	---	43
Kalaske	42	---
Naushera Virkan	---	35
Qila D.Singh	112	---
Qila D.Singh	---	51
T.Rahwali	74	---
T.Musa Khan	---	20
Total	305	181

During the exploratory field work, five high school seniors known to the author, were selected for a pre-test of the questionnaire. The questionnaire used for data collection was designed by rural sociologists and demographers from Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan. After the pre-test, some modifications were made to fit Pakistan conditions. The questionnaire was administered in the classroom situation by regular school personnel. The questionnaire was translated into the local language (Urdu) by the author with full care that the meaning of the words, phrases and questions did not lose the meaning in the translation process. Due to the complex nature of the questionnaire, the writer conducted and supervised all the field work to assure standardization and to avoid any misinterpretation of the questions by the students. Questions were repeated and explained whenever the students faced difficulties in understanding a question.

The questionnaire took about 100 minutes on average to complete. Information was obtained from each student covering the following areas:

1. Demographic, social and economic background data on the student and his/her family.
2. The student's level of community satisfaction.
3. The student's preferences of the community of future residence.
4. The student's migration intention.
5. The reasons student give for leaving community after

graduation.

6. The characteristics of student's ideal community.
7. The family's obligations to the student.
8. The student's educational and occuapational aspirations and the extent to which he/she believes that these aspirations can be fulfilled locally.

Data on grades (officially announced) were received in November, 1984 after the students appeared in the matriculation examination held in March, 1984.

Study Variables

Community Satisfaction

In operationalizing the dimension of community satisfaction (dependent variable) a question with 12 items is used, with some modification to fit the Pakistan situation. The items in the question read:

After graduation your community will be:

a. A good place to engage in farming.
b. A good place to get the job you would like to have.
c. A good place to find someone you would like to marry.
d. A good place to find people your own age.
e. A good place to live since there are facilities in town or close by for young adults to have a good time.
f. A good place to have fun with people your own age, like visiting, going to movie or other such places.

g. A good place to have fun with people your own age, like watching or playing volleyball, football or other such organized sports.

h. A good place to go for hunting, fishing or similiar outdoor activities.

i. A good place to enjoy being member of adult organizations like the Crescent Star club, the Mosque or women's club.

j. A good place to build a home and raise a family.

k. A good place to remain close to your friends.

l. A good place to remain close to your relatives.

Students were asked to rate each items as follows: Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree.

As all items are positively worded, the scoring for strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree,and strongly disagree are 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1, respectively. An item analysis of the responses was carried out on 486 high school seniors (boys and girls). Item scores were then correlated with total scores (the sum of item scores). The items that correlated highly with the total score were selected for the final scale. Here the items a to d showed low correlation with the total score. Therefore, it was decided to drop these items from the final scale. To do that a reliability program was used. The concept of reliability refers to how accurate, on the average, the estimate of the true score is in a population of objects to be measured.

A test of reliability using Cronbach's alpha and standardized alpha was carried out. This, in turn, tests the unidimensionality of the scale and how well the items were related. The standardized alpha is closely related to alpha. In essence, if the observations on each item are standardized by dividing them by the standard deviation of the item, alpha would have the value calculated by the program as standardized item alpha. The computational formula is as follows:

$$\alpha_s = \frac{k\bar{r}}{1 + (k - 1)\,\bar{r}}$$

where k is the number of items, and $\bar{r}$ is the average correlation between the items. When a reliability test was carried out, these 12 items gave Cronbach's alpha value of Ø.478, and the standardized alpha was Ø.471. Alpha for each of the four items (given weak correlation with total score) was high which indicated that it was worth dropping all four items. When these items from 1 to 4 were dropped, the value of alpha and standardized alpha increased tremendously, that is, to Ø.623 and Ø.62Ø respectively. The scale is scored from 8 to 24 as low level of community satisfaction, 25 to 28 as medium level, and 29 to 4Ø as a high level of community satisfaction. Distribution of students according to level of community satisfaction is given

Table 3.5: Distribution of Rural Pakistani High School Students According to Level of Community Satisfaction

Level of Community Satisfaction	Number of Males	Percentage	Number of Females	Percentage
15	1	Ø.3	Ø	Ø.Ø
16	1	Ø.3	2	1.1
18	2	Ø.7	1	Ø.6
19	2	Ø.7	13	7.2
2Ø	6	2.Ø	11	6.1
21	6	2.Ø	7	3.9
22	14	4.6	24	13.3
23	14	4.6	28	15.5
24	21	6.9	14	7.7
25	2Ø	6.6	19	1Ø.5
26	3Ø	9.8	18	9.9
27	19	6.2	12	6.6
28	29	9.5	16	8.8
29	22	7.2	6	3.3
3Ø	21	6.9	1	Ø.6
31	17	5.6	2	1.1
32	19	6.2	3	1.7
33	17	5.6	2	1.1
34	11	3.6	Ø	Ø.Ø
35	11	3.6	Ø	Ø.Ø
36	1Ø	3.3	Ø	Ø.Ø
37	4	1.3	2	1.1
38	4	1.3	Ø	Ø.Ø
39	1	Ø.3	Ø	Ø.Ø
4Ø	3	1.Ø	Ø	Ø.Ø
Total	3Ø5	1ØØ.Ø%	181	1ØØ.Ø%

in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 shows that the modal level of community satisfaction for males is 26 as compared with 23 for females. The range of the level of community satisfaction scores for males is from 15 to 40; for females, from 16 to 37. Thus, it is clear that the level of community satisfaction scores for male high school students are somewhat higher than for female high school students.

We now treat the independent variables and how they are measured.

Community Size

There are approximately 90 small villages, in addition to the 10 villages in which the schools are located, from which students come to attend classes. All these small villages are located in the rural areas. The small villages differ from the large villages in which the high schools are located, in the provision of public, medical, shopping and recreational facilities. To measure and use this variable, these ten villages are treated as large rural communities and the remainder are taken as small rural communities. Distribution of students according to community size is given in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Distribution of Rural Pakistani High School Students According to Community size

Community Size	Number of Males	Percentage	Number of Females	Percentage
Small Community	145	47.5	57	31.5
Large Community	160	52.5	124	68.5
Total	305	100.0%	181	100.0%

This Table reflects approximately equal division of male high school students between small and large communities. While more than two-thirds of the females reside in large communities, only about one-third reside in small communities.

Social Class Origin

A number of researchers have shown that social class of a youngster's family of origin is a major determinant underlying level of community satisfaction. In this study, the variable social class origin of the student's family is based on father's occupation. Social class origin is classified into three levels as follows: Upper class (including physicians, engineers, college teachers, bank managers,

managers of big enterprises, high school teachers, army officers and, landowners with more than 30 acres of land), Middle class (including shopkeepers, sales agents, clerks, policemen, and landowners with 13 to 29 acres), and Lower class (including laborers, agricultural laborers, and landowners with less than 12 acres). This classification of social class is exactly the same as that found in Treiman's book on Pakistan (Treiman, 1977). The distribution of students according to social class is given in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7: Distribution of Rural Pakistani High School Students According to Social Class

Social Class	Number of Males	Percentage	Number of Females	Percentage
Low	124	40.8	43	23.8
Medium	110	36.2	75	41.4
High	70	23.0	63	34.8
Total	304	100.0%	181	100.0%

Based upon the data in this Table, the sample of male Pakistani high school students is drawn from lower social classes in larger proportions than females. About 41% of males are from the lower class while only about 24% of females come from the lower class.

Socio-economic Status

In operationalizing the dimension of socio-economic status 16 different questions, related to socio-economic status are used. They are as follows:

1. Your parents home is.
   a) ----- owned.
   b)------ rented.
   c)------ being bought.
2. The number of persons who live in your house is -------.
3. The number of rooms in your house is -------.
4. The construction of your house is
   a)-------brick.
   b)-------painted frame.
   c)-------unpainted frame.
   d)-------other
5. The lighting in your house is
   a)--------oil lamp.
   b)--------electricity.
   c)--------gas, mantle.
   d)--------other
6. What kind of refrigeration do you have?
   a)------ice.
   b)------mechanical.
   c)------other
7. Do you have deep freeze locker in your house?
   ------yes
   ------no

8. Do you have running water in your house?

   ------yes

   -------no

9. Do you have indoor toilet?

   -------yes

   -------no

10. Does your family take a daily newspaper?

    -------yes

    -------no

11. Does your family have a power washing machine ?

    --------yes

    --------no

12. Do you have radio in your home ?

    --------yes

    --------no

13. Does this radio work ?

    --------yes

    ---------no

14. Do you have TV set in your home?

    --------yes

    ---------no

15. Does your family have a car?

    --------yes

    -------no

16. Does your home have a telephone?

    --------yes

    --------no

Questions from 7 to 16 are scored as yes=1 and no=Ø. Question 1 was scored, owned=2, being bought=1, rented=Ø. In question 2 number of persons from 3 to 6 is scored as 5, from 7 to 8 as 4, from 9 to 1Ø as 3, from 11 to 14 as 2, and from 15 to 26 as 1. In question 3 on rooms, from 1 to 2 is scored as 1, from 3 to 4 as 2, from 5 to 8 as 3, from 9 to 27 as 4 and other is scores as Ø. In question 4, construction of house, brick and unpainted is scored as 2 and other as 1. In question 5 on lighting, elecricity is scored as 2, oil lamp and gas as 1 and other is scored as Ø. In question 6 on refrigeration, ice and other is scored as 1 and mechanical is scored as 1 and other as Ø. The same procedure, as is used for level of community satisfaction, is used and questions 1 and 2 are dropped from the final scale. Then the reliability test using Cronbach's alpha and standardized alpha was carried out. Cronbach's alpha for these 16 questions was .575 and standardized alpha was .688. After dropping question 1 and 2 the value of alpha and Standardized alpha increased to .743 and .748 respectively. The scale is scored from 4 to 9 as low socio-economic status, 1Ø to 12 as medium, and 13 to 19 as a high socio-economic status. Distribution of students according to status is given in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8: Distribution of Rural Pakistani High School Students According to Socio-economic Status

Status	Number of Males	Percentage	Number of Females	Percentage
4	3	1.0	1	0.6
5	10	3.3	1	0.6
6	18	5.9	3	1.7
7	23	7.5	5	2.8
8	35	11.5	10	5.5
9	42	13.8	24	13.3
10	44	14.4	25	13.8
11	36	11.8	15	8.3
12	26	8.5	20	11.0
13	26	8.5	18	9.9
14	20	6.6	26	14.4
15	9	3.3	18	9.9
16	9	3.3	6	3.3
17	4	1.3	5	2.8
18	0	0.0	3	1.7
19	0	0.0	1	0.6
Total	305	100.0%	181	100.0%

Table 3.8 reveals the status scores for male Pakistani high school students are somewhat lower than for females Pakistani high school students. The modal score for males is 10 as contrasted with a modal score of 14 for females.

Eagerness to Migrate

In this study, eagerness to migrate refers to a student's intention to move to another area, often but not always, with many job opportunities and public facilities as compared to the local community. This variable is based on the following question in the questionnaire:

How eager are you to stay or move from your community after graduation?

a) --------- eager to stay.

b) --------- probably stay, but not eager to stay.

c) --------- probably leave, but not eager to leave.

d) --------- eager to leave.

As we are focussing on eagerness to stay or move, statements a and c representing eagerness to stay, were scored as 1, and b and d, representing eagerness to move, were scored as 2. Distribution of students according to eagerness to stay or move is given in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9 Distribution of Rural Pakistani High School Students According to Eagerness to Migrate

Eagerness to Migrate	Number of Males	Percentage	Number of Females	Percentage
Eager to Stay	135	46.2	91	50.2
Eager to Leave	170	53.8	90	49.8
Total	305	100.0%	181	100.0%

It is clear from table 3.9 that there is difference in percentage of males and females who are eager to migrate. The percentage for males being 53.8 and for females it is 49.7. The differences, however, are not very large.

Community Preference

A single straightforward question is used in the questionnaire to measure community preference. The student's preference to live in a community is determined from the question which reads:

Which of the following best indicates kind of community in which you would prefer to live:

a)-------- in the open country.

b)-------- in a village, under 2,500 population.

c)-------- in a city of under 100,000 population.

d)-------- in a city over 100,000 population.

e)-------- in a suburb outside a large city.

a and b representing village residence, were scored as 1; c representing small city was scored 2, and d and e, representing large city, was scored 3. Distribution of students according to community preference is given in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10: Distribution of Rural Pakistani High School Students According to Community Preference

Community Preference	Number of Males	Percentage	Number of Females	Percentage
Village	43	14.6	25	14.8
Small City	62	21.1	74	43.8
Large City	189	64.3	70	41.4
Total	294	100.0%	169	100.0%

As shown in this Table, male Pakistani high school students prefer to live in large cities in much larger proportions than female Pakistani high school students. Females prefer small cities in much large proportions than males.

Grades

In Pakistan academic ability is assessed by a youth's grade rank, that is, total marks obtained in the matriculation examination (first examination being conducted by the Board/University). The marks used were obtained by the youths under study on an examination held in March, 1984 (three months after survey). The results were announced three months later and were published by the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education at Gujranwala. Data on students' marks were received in November, 1984 from the office of above said Board on request. Grades A, B, C, D, E, and F are put into three categories. Low grades include E and F grades, medium comprised C and D grades and high includes A and B grades. Students that fall in the low category are unable to get admission to college but are eligible to get admission to vocational institutes located in the main city. Others are eligible for college. Distribution of students according to grades is given in Table 3.11.

Table 3.11: Distribution of Rural Pakistani High School Students according to Grades

Grades	Number of Males	Percentage	Number of Females	Percentage
Low	152	49.8	98	54.1
Medium	88	28.9	39	21.5
High	65	21.3	44	24.3
Total	305	100.0%	181	100.0%

It seems that there are only small differences among males and females in the achievement of low and high grades. The proportion achieving both high and low grades, however, is greater for females than male students.

Statistical Procedure

For the purpose of analysis, percentages, proportions, frequency distribution and various other measures that characterize the distribution will be used. The use of the bivariate and multivariate contingency tables will be employed in an attempt to put the data collected into a format necessary to validate the hypotheses stated in this study. This technique is more appropriate one that would produce approximately equivalent information to that of variance. In our statistical design, data will be analysed for both males

and females, and for small and large rural communities.

To analyse these data, besides other above mentioned methods, we will use method of partial correlation and multiple regression and Gamma statistics. The reason we are using partial correlation is that we are dealing with two control variables, that is, sex and community size. Correlation will give us degree of association and its significance for every predictor variable and dependent variable when controlled for sex (males and females) and community size (small and large communities). Multiple regression will help us in investigating percentage variance in dependent variable explained by the predictor variables. The strength of the relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable will be measured by Goodman and Kruskal's Gamma. It is a symmetrical statistics, based on the same order pairs (Ns) and the number of different order pairs (Nd). Gamma can be calculated by using the following formula:

$$\gamma = \frac{Ns - Nd}{Ns + Nd}$$

When same order-pairs predominate, the value of Gamma is positive; when different order-pairs predominate, the coefficient is negative. When the ranking on both variables is identical, the number of same order-pairs will be equal to the total number of pairs because different order-pairs will be zero. Gamma will then be equal to 1.Ø. A coefficient

1.Ø indicates that the dependent variable can be predicted on the basis of independent variable without any error. When Ns=Ø, the coefficient will be negative, but the prediction is still accurate. A Gamma of zero (when Ns=Nd) reflects that there is nothing to be gained by using the independent variable to predict the dependent variable (Nachimias and Nachimias, 1981; Mueller et al, 197Ø; Nie et al, 1975; Davis, 1971).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSES

This chapter contains the research findings, including the decisions as to the extent to which they conform to the hypotheses stated in chapter 2. Before considering evidence concerning the hypotheses, it is necessary to present the percentages of rural Pakistani high school students who agree with reasons often given for leaving the home community following graduation and percentages of the students classified by the variables utilized in our study. Table 4.1 presents the percentages of students, by community and sex who agree with reasons often given for leaving the home community following graduation.

Data in Table 4.1 reveal that both males and females from small and large communities agree that their communities provide inadequate educational and cultural facilities, few jobs and few occasions to participate in activities that students consider important.

In addition to the main reasons just mentioned, both male and female students from small communities agree that there are insufficient shopping centers and sub-standard public services as reasons to leave the home community. The percentage of females giving these two reasons, is higher than the percentage of males. About 60% of females and 50% of males gave poor public services and 67% of females and

Table 4.1: Percentage of Rural Pakistani High School Students who Agree with Reasons Given for Leaving the Home Community Following Graduation, by Sex and Community Size

Statement	Community Size			
	Small Community		Large Community	
	Males N=145	Females N=47	Males N=160	Females N=124
Not enough facilities like colleges, libraries, museums etc.	85.5	91.2	81.3	83.9
Few jobs available.	76.6	70.2	65.6	51.6
Few occasions to engage in activities you consider important.	66.2	54.4	52.5	49.2
Few occasions to engage in outdoor sports.	59.3	1.8	45.6	0.8
Not enough shopping centers.	55.9	66.7	28.8	20.5
Public services are poor.	50.3	59.6	23.1	21.8
Unable to make a go of farming.	46.2	5.3	40.6	0.0
Community is not good to raise family.	44.1	21.1	31.9	20.5
Few people of own age.	40.0	15.8	30.0	12.1
Not enough night-life for adults.	39.3	10.5	46.2	7.3
Community has no future.	35.9	36.8	19.4	27.4
Little chance to marry.	33.8	17.5	32.5	33.1
Not good climate.	29.7	24.6	20.6	17.7
Location is poor.	22.8	31.6	23.1	18.5

56% of males gave not enough shopping centers as reasons to leave the home community. Males outnumber females in stating few available jobs and few occasions to engage in activities they consider important. More than 50% of males gave few occasions to engage in outdoor sports as a reason to leave home community, but this reason is given infrequently by females.

Large rural communities usually offer more services such as shopping centers and public services than small rural communities. These were important reasons for both males and females to leave the home community. The percentage of males is higher (66%) than the percentage of females (52%) who gave few available jobs as reason for leaving the home community. There is not much difference in percentage of males and females who indicate inadequate facilities like colleges, libraries, and museums, and few occasions to engage in activities they consider important.

Data in Table 4.2 indicate the percentages of rural high school students, by community size and sex, who agree with statements about their communities after graduation. The percentage of females is less than that of males on every statement about their community. This shows that females feel less satisfied as compared to males with their home communities, regardless of whether their community is small or large.

In large communities there are facilities for entertainment, organized sports, clubs, and to raise families.

Table 4.2: Percentage of Rural Pakistani High School Students Who Agree with the Statement About Their Communities After Graduation, by Sex and Community Size

Statement	Community Size			
	Small Community		Large Community	
	Males N=145	Females N=57	Males N=160	Females N=124
A good place to live since there are facilities in town or close by for young adults to have a good time.	38.6	15.8	49.4	25.0
A good place to have fun with people your own age, like visiting, going to movies, or other such social activities.	41.4	33.3	42.5	35.5
A good place to have fun with people your own age -- like watching or playing voleyball, football or other such organized sports.	85.5	42.1	90.6	30.6
A good place to go hunting, fishing, hiking or other similar outdoor activites.	60.0	3.5	34.3	4.8
A good place to enjoy being member of adult organizations like, the Crescent Star, the mosque or the women's club.	95.2	33.4	91.9	36.3
A good place to build a home and raise family.	75.2	17.5	81.2	23.4
A good place to remain close to your friends.	68.3	40.9	67.4	47.6
A good place to remain close to your relatives.	75.8	50.9	71.9	52.4

On an average, percentages of males and female students are higher from large communities as opposed to small communities, except hunting, fishing and hiking facilities. This is true to some extent in Pakistan, as less organized social and cultural facilties are available in small communities and particualarly for females.

Table 4.3 presents the percentages of students, by sex and community size, having the following characteristics: high social class, high socio-economic status, eager to migrate, preference of a community other than their own, high grades, and very satisfied with home community. The reason for presenting these data is that we want to observe male and female difference in small and large communities.

Data in Table 4.3 reveal that percentages of high social class females exceed high social class males in both small and large communities. About 32% of the females and 20% of the males from small communities are found in the high social class. A comparable difference is found in the large communities --- the percentages of females and males in high social class are about 36% and 26%, respectively.

In the case of high social status, the pattern is similar to that described in the previous paragraph. High social status females are found in larger proportions than males in both small and large communities. For large communities, the percentages are about 56% and 33%, respectively.

The percentages of males who are eager to migrate is higher than of females from small communities, the percen-

Table 4.3: Percentages of Rural Pakistani High School Students, by Sex and Community Size, Having the Following Characteristics: High Social Class, High Social Status, Eager to Migrate, Preferring Community Other Than Home Community, High Grades, and Very Satisfied with Home Community

Variables	Small Community		Large Community	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
N=	145	57	157	124
% High Social Class	20.0	31.6	25.8	36.3
N=	145	57	160	124
% High Social Status	11.0	14.0	32.5	55.6
N=	145	57	160	124
% Eager to Migrate	62.1	54.4	46.2	47.6
N=	140	53	154	116
% Preferring Community other than their own	55.7	49.1	72.1	37.9
N=	145	57	160	124
% with High Grades	20.0	24.6	22.5	24.2
N=	145	57	160	124
% Very Satisfied with Community	50.3	12.3	41.9	7.3

tages being 62% and 54% respectively. While females from large communities exceed males from large communities in their eagerness to migrate, the differences are very small --- about 48% of females and about 46% of males.

Males from both small and large communities prefer a community other than their home community in larger proportions than females. The percentages for males and females from small communities are 56% and 49%; the percentages for males and females from large communities are 72% and 38%. These data indicate that males, especially those from large communities, differ greatly from females in preferring to live in cities rather than villages similar to those in which they now live.

Larger percentages of females than males from both small and large communities attain higher grades. The percentages of females and males from small communities with high grades are about 25% and 20%, respectively. The difference favoring females from large communities is not great, the percentages being about 24% and 23%.

The percentage of males who are very satisfied with their home community is higher than that of females in both small and large communities. About 50% of males and about 12% of females from small communities are very satisfied with their home communities; about 42 % of males and just about 7% of females from large communities are very satisfied with their home communities. Why males are more satisfied than females with their home communities will be discu-

ssed later in this chapter.

We now turn to a statement of hypotheses and summarization of the results obtained. We first present a statement of hypotheses and display the data that provide evidence to support or reject that hypothesis.

Level of Community Satisfaction and Sex

Hypothesis 1

> Level of community satisfaction will be lower among females than males in rural areas of Pakistan.

The data presented in Table 4.4 reveal that there is a high degree of association between sex and level of community satisfaction. Whereas 23% of males have a low level of community satisfaction, 55% of female have a low level of community satisfaction. The percentages of males and females having a medium level of community satisfaction do not differ greatly. However, about 46% of males have a high level of community satisfaction as contrasted with only 9% of females with a high level of community satisfaction. The value of Gamma is -.65.

Table 4.4: Percentage of Rural Pakistani High School Students Having Different Levels of Community Satisfaction, by Sex

Level of Community Satisfaction	Sex	
	Male N=305	Female N=181
Low	23.0	55.2
Medium	32.1	35.9
High	45.9	8.8

Gamma = -.65

Level of Community Satisfaction and Community Size

Hypothesis 2

Level of community satisfaction will be lower among students from small communities than large communities.

Data presented in Table 4.5 reveal that a larger percentage of students from large communities report a low level of community satisfaction than students from small communities, the percentages being about 37 and 31, respectively. A larger percentage of students from small communities than from large communities have a high level of commu-

nity satisfaction. The respective percentages are about 40% and 27%. Hence, there exists a negative relationship between community size and level of community satisfaction. This means that the larger the community the lower the level of community satisfaction. This is opposite to what we hypothesized. The reason for this negative association bet-

Table 4.5: Percentage of Rural Pakistani High School Students Having Different Levels of Community Satisfaction, by Community Size

Level of Community Satisfaction	Community Size	
	Small Community N=202	Large Community N=284
Low	30.7	37.0
Medium	29.7	36.3
High	39.6	26.8

Gamma = -.19

ween community size and level of community satisfaction may be that students from large communities, located on all weather roads, are more exposed to mass media and city life. They may know what kinds of facilities and services are provided by the cities. And it is clear that cities provide more social and cultural services in the shape of organized games, gathering in mosques, and men and women clubs.

Social Class and level of Community Satisfaction

Hypothesis 3

Students from higher social class families will have lower level of community satisfaction than those from lower social class families. This relationship is expected to hold true for both males and females and for small and large communities.

Data presented in Table 4.6 show correlations between predictor variables and the dependent variable, level of community satisfaction, when controlled for sex (males and females) and community size (small and large communities. The data reveal that a positive correlation exists between social class and level of community satisfaction for males in small communities and for both males and females in large communities. The relationship between social class and level of community satisfaction is negative in the case of females from small community but it is insignificant. Correlation between social class and level of community satisfaction is significant at .ØØ1 level in case of males and .Ø5 in case of females. It seems that males as well as females from high social class are more satisfied with home communities. When comparing community satisfaction among males and females, correlation between social class and level of community satisfaction is stronger in the case of males than females from large communities.

The degree of association is .26 for males and .15 for females. In the case of small community, the correlation between social class and level of community satiafaction is very weak. We may conclude that there is no correlation between independent variable and dependent variable. The positive association between social class and level of community satisfaction, when controlled for sex and community size, shows that we are unable to accept our hypothesis (see Table 2 in the Appendix).

Both small and large rural communities in Pakistan are similar in some respects, that is, most of the labor force is engaged in agriculture. They differ in some respects too. For example, larger acreages are attached to large communities. Besides, most of the large communities are located on all weather roads and residents can easily travel to nearby cities. They also offer some, not all, educational, medical, and recreational facilities.

Table 4.6: Correlation Between Community Satisfaction and Predictor Variables By Sex and Community Size of Respondents

Predictor Variables	Small Community		Large Community	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Social Class	.0702	-.0568	.2609***	.1544*
Socio-economic Status	.0276	-.0099	.1448*	.0990
Eagerness to Migrate	-.1571*	.1772+	.0922	-.3691***
Community Preference	-.0083	.0595	.0012	-.0256
Grades	.0609	-.0430	-.0310	-.1662*

\+ Significant at level .10

* Significant at level .05

** Significant at level .01

*** Significant at level .001

The reason for the positive correlation between social class and level of community satisfaction may be that students from high social class families possess many, if not all, of the social facilities that students desire to have. Above all, high social class farming families embrace those who own more than 30 acres of land, which if fertile, is considered a large acreage. This is very true in the case of large communities, where a larger area is attached, and correlation is positive and significant as well. The above mentioned families who are very satisfied with local communities are found in other studies to be least mobile (Beshers and Nishiura, 1961).

Socio-economic Status and Level of Community Satisfaction

Hypothesis 4

> Students from higher status families will have a lower level of community satisfaction than those from lower status families. This relationship is expected to hold true for both males and females and small and large communities.

Data in Table 4.6 reveal that socio-economic status is positively related with level of community satisfaction in the case of males and negatively related in the case of females from small communities. In both instances

the correlation is very weak and insignificant. In large communities, the correlation between status and level of community satisfaction is positive for both males and females. This correlation is only significant at level .Ø5 for males from large communities. The degree of association in this case is .1448. Overall, the data show that the correlation between status and level of community satisfaction is positive and weak, when controlled for sex and community size (see Table 4 in Appendix). This confirms that we are unable to accept hypothesis 4.

Looking at the correlation between status and level of community satisfaction for males and females, we can find a sex differential in large communities. The correlation is positive and stronger for males than females. This indicates that males are more satisfied with their home communities as compared to females. The degree of association for males is .144 and for females it is .Ø99.

The reason for this positive association between status and level of community satisfaction may be that high status families are economically better off and the situation at home may be quite appropriate for study and entertainment. Also, it is the landlords in rural areas (particularly in large communities) who are relatively rich and have incomes equivalent to other upper white-collar workers who can afford some luxury items inside their homes. Because of heavy investment and good reputation, these are the people who feel very satisfied. In large

community one can percieve the sex differential. Correlation between socio-economic status and level of community satisfaction for males and females is positive. Correlation between status and level of community satisfaction for males is stronger and significant as opposed to correlation between status and level of community satisfaction for females.

Eagerness to Migrate and Level of Community Satisfaction

Hypothesis 5

> Students showing high degree of eagerness to migrate will have a lower level of community satisfaction than students showing low degree of eagerness to migrate. This relationship is expected to hold true for both males and females and small and large communities.

Data in Table 4.6 reveal that there is a significant negative relationship between eagerness to migrate and level of community satisfaction in the case of males from small communities ($r = -.1571$) and in the case of females from large communities ($r = -.3691$). The degree of association between eagerness to migrate and level of community satisfaction is -.1571 for males and .1772 for females from small communities. On the other hand, this degree of association between eagerness to migrate and level of community satisfa-

ction is nonsignificant, i.e., .0922 for males from large communities. Correlation is very strong, that is, -.3691, and significant at level .001 in case of females from large communities. This negative association indicates that males from small communities and females from large communities who are eager to migrate may be less satisfied with their home communities. It seems logical because small communities offer fewer social and cultural facilities, and inadequate recreational, sports and medical facilities. And it is the males who are the breadwinners who move away from home communities to search for better jobs or to seek higher education unavailable in small rural communities. One reason for the high positive correlation in case of females may be that they are not supposed to work outside their home. One can imagine that in rural areas of Pakistan a majority of parents are not in favor of sending their daughters to school after the fifth grade (dropout rate is about 75% after the fifth grade). This situation is reversed in the case of large communities. Here the correlation between eagerness to migrate and level of community satisfaction is significantly negative in the case of females and is insignificantly positive in the case of males from large communities. The reasons for this sex differential in large communities may be the following:

1. Large communities as opposed to small communities, offer more services, such as educational, recreational and medical. There are some possibilities that some students, not

all, may be able to get a job in the large communities. Perhaps male students feel family obligation, that is, by living in home communities they can better serve their aging parents.

2. As most of the large rural communities are located on all weather roads, males may feel that they can easily commute daily between nearby cities and their home communities while they study or work.

3. Females, on the other hand, may feel that they are unable to commute between city and their home communities while they go to college or to work (a rare case) and therefore they stay in a hostel or with relatives in the city.

One thing may now be clear, namely, that females are less satisfied with their communities because they are very eager to migrate from their local communities. This is in accordance with what was found by Rieger, Beegle and Fulton in their Michigan study (Rieger, Beegle and Fulton, 1978).

When controlled for both sex and community size, the association between eagerness to migrate and level of community satisfaction is negative and significant (see Table 6 in Appendix). Therefore we are unable to reject our hypothesis.

Community Preference and Level of Community Satisfaction

Hypothesis 6

> Students who prefer larger communities in which to live will have a lower level of community satisfaction than students who prefer to live in small communities. This relationship is expected to hold true for both males and females and small and large communities.

Data presented in Table 4.4 reveal that there is a very weak degree of association between community preference and level of community satisfaction for both males and females from small and large communities. The degree of association is -.ØØ8 for males and .Ø595 for females in the case of small communities. The association is .ØØ12 for males and -.Ø256 for females in the case of large communities. The correlations in all cases are very weak and insignificant. This shows that when controlling for sex and community size we are unable to accept our hypothesis 6 (see Table 8 in Appendix).

The reason for this weak association between community preference and level of community satisfaction may be that students, from both small and large communities, are unaware of situations and conditions in the already swelling cities. Unfortunately, we do not have data concerning push

or pull factors in the communities where students would eventually like to live. This lack of information and uncertainty may be creating a weak degree of association between community preference and level of community satisfaction.

No sex differentiation can be drawn from the data presented in Table 4.4 in regard to community preference and level of community satisfaction. All correlations are insignificant.

Students' Grades and Level of Community Satisfaction

Hypothesis 7

> Students with high grades will have a lower level of community satisfaction than those with low grades. This relationship is expected to hold true for both males and females and small and large communities.

The data presented in Table 4.4 reveal that the degree of association between grades and level of community satisfaction is very weak for both sexes from small communities. It is .0609 for males and -.043 for females, indicating a very weak and insignificant relationship. In large communities the situation is somewhat different. The correlation between grades and level of community satisfaction is

significantly negative in the case of females. It is also negative in the case of males from large communities but the correlation is insignificant. Thus, the higher the grades the students obtain, the lower the level of community satisfaction in large communities. Our hypothesis is supported by the data in the case of females from large communities. The correlation between grades and level of community satisfaction is negative for males and females in the case of large community. The correlation for females, however, is significant and stronger than for males. Overall, when controlled for sex and community size, the association is negative but is very weak. Hence, we are unable to accept our hypothesis 7 (see Table 1Ø in Appendix).

In the folowing pages, we will present a multiple regression of the level of community satisfaction on predictor variables while sex (males and females) and community size (small and large communities) are controlled. The reason for presenting these regressions is to purge serious interaction (intercorrelation), if any, among independent variables. Analysis of Variance was attempted but it is inappropriate because we have more than five independent variables, including two control variables. The second alternative was to run multiple regression, controlling sex (males and females) and community size (small and large communities).

Table 4.7 presents a multiple regression of level of community satisfaction on social class, status, eagerness to

migrate, community preference and grades, controlling for males and small communities. All variables except eagerness to migrate have very low Beta and R square values. Only eagerness to migrate is negatively related with level of community satisfaction and it is significant at .1Ø level. This variable proves to be a strong predictor of the level of communnity satisfaction. The -.1488 value of Beta means that an increase of one unit in eagerness to migrate produces a decrease of about 15 units in level of community satisfaction. The Beta value for status and community preference is negative but very insignificant. In the case of social class and grades the value of Beta is positive but insignificant.

Table 4.7: Regression of Level of Community Satisfaction on Social Class, Socio-economic Status, Eagerness to Migrate, community Preference, and Grades Controlling for Sex (Males) and Community Size (Small Communities)

Independent Variables	Simple R	R^2	R^2 Change	Beta (Elasticity)
1. Social Class	.043	.0018	.0018	.0436
2. Socio-economic Status	-.0018	.0021	.0003	-.0190
3. Eagerness to Migrate	-.1489	.0238	.0217	-.1488 +
4. Community Preference	-.0083	.0242	.0004	-.0193
5. Grades	.0443	.0265	.0023	.0541

\+ Significant at level .10

R square = .027

F-value is insignificant

The value of R square is very weak and the F-value is insignificant as well. The value of R square is .027, which means that, controlling for males and small community, all the predictor variables produce only 2.7 percent variance in the level of community satisfaction.

Table 4.8 presents a regression of level of community satisfaction on social class, status, eagerness to migrate, community preference and grades, controlling for females and small communities. The data presented in Table 4.8 indicate that all variables from social class to grades show very weak relationships with level of community satisfaction. The value of Beta for status, eagerness to migrate and community preference are .022, .1868 and .0442, resectively, and are insignificant. The direction of Beta in the case of social class and grades is negative but insignificant. Based on these data, none of our hypotheses is supported.

The value of R square is only .042 which means that all independent variables explain 4.2 percent of the variance in level of community satisfaction. The F-value is insignificant.

Table 4.8: Regression of Level of Community Satisfaction on Social Class ,Socio-economic Status, Eagerness to Migrate, Community Preference and Grades When Controlling for Sex (Females) and Community (Small Communities)

Independent Variables	Simple R	R^2	R^2 Change	Beta (Elasticity)
1. Social Class	-.0627	.0039	.0039	-.1318
2. Socio-economic Status	.0595	.0043	.0004	.0220
3. Eagerness to Migrate	.1594	.0387	.0016	.1868
4. Community Preference	.0595	.0403	.0016	.0442
5. Grades	-.0343	.0415	.0012	-.0217

R square = .042

F-value is insignificant

Table 4.9 presents a regression of level of community satisfaction on other predictor variables when controlled for males and large communities. The results as shown in this Table are somewhat better than results shown in Table 4.5 and 4.6. The data presented in Table 4.7 reveal that the value of Beta for social class with level of community

satisfaction is significant. The Beta value of .2879, means that an increase of one unit in social class produces about 29 units in level of community satisfaction. The meaning of this direct relationship between social class and community satisfaction in the case of males from large communities has already been explained elsewhere. The Beta values are negative in case of community preference and grades but is insignificant. Based upon Table 4.9 data, we are again unable to accept our hypotheses. When we control males and large communities, the value of R square is .10, which means that our predictor variables are explaining only about 10% of the variance in level of community satisfaction.

Table 4.9: Regression of Level of community Satisfaction on Social Class, Socio-economic Status, Eagerness to Migrate, Community Preference and Grades when controlling for Sex (Males) and Community Size (Large Communities)

Independent Variables	Simple R	R^2	R^2 Change	Beta (Elasticity)
1. Social Class	.2990	.0894	.0894	.2879***
2. Socio-economic Status	.1340	.0899	.0005	.0256
3. Eagerness to Migrate	.0942	.0957	.0058	.0810
4. Community Preference	.0065	.0957	.0000	-.0036
5. Grades	.0942	.1013	.0056	-.0750

*** Significant at level .001

R square = .1013

F-value is siginificant at level .001

Finally, we controlled females and large communities, as shown in Table 4.10, to check the relationship between predictor variables and level of community satisfaction. Data presented in Table 4.10 reveal that three variables, social class, eagerness to migrate and grades are significantly related with level of community satisfaction. The value of Beta for social class is .1988, which indicates that an increase of one unit in social class produces about 20 units increase in level of community satisfaction. Again we are unable to accept our hypothesis 3. Eagerness to migrate is significant and negatively related with level of community satisfaction. The value of Beta is -.3887 which means that an increase of one unit in eagerness to migrate decreases about 39 units in level of community satisfaction. In case of females from large communities, we accept hypothesis 5 that eagerness to migrate is negatively related to level of community satisfaction.

The relationship between community preference with level of community satisfaction is very weak and insignificant. The value of Beta is -.0149, which means that an increase of one unit in community preference decreases about two units in level of community satisfaction. The direction of the relationship is negative but insignificant. This fails to support hypothesis 6.

Grades is another important predictor of level of community satisfaction. The value of Beta is -.1492, which

Table 4.10: Regression of Level of Community Satisfaction on Social Class, Socio-economic Status, Eagerness to Migrate, Community Preference and Grades Controlling for Sex (Females) and Community Size (Large Communities)

Independent Variables	Simple R	R^2	R^2 Change	Beta (Elasticity)
1. Social Class	.1900	.0361	.0361	.1988 *
2. Socio-economic Status	.0902	.0451	.0090	.1028
3. Eagerness to Migrate	-.3868	.2051	.1600	-.3887 ***
4. Community Preference	-.0256	.2062	.0011	-.0149
5. Grades	-.1786	.2243	.0181	-.1492 +

\+ Significant at level .10

* Significant at level .05

*** Significant at level .001

R square = .224

F-value is significant at level .001

means that an increase of one unit in grades decreases about 15 units in the level of community satisfaction. The value of Beta is significant at level .10. Grades proved a good predictor in explaining propensity to migrate (Pihlblad and Gregory, 1954; Mauldin, 1940; Lyson, 1976). The value of Beta for socio-economic status is positive and insignificant and thus fails to support hypothesis 4.

The value of R square is reasonably high, i.e., .224. This means that in case of females and large communities, social class, status, eagerness to migrate, community preference and grades explain 22.4 percent of level of community satisfaction. In other words, all the predictor variables explained 22.4 percent of the variance in level of community satisfaction.

In summary, among all the predictor variables, only eagerness to migrate and to some extent grades, proved to be good predictors of level of community satisfaction. The other two variables, social class and socio-economic status, proved to be weak variables and failed to confirm the direction hypothesized. Community preference proved to be the weakest predictor in this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In the developing world, more than 70 percent of the population lives in rural areas, and a large portion of the population is deprived of even basic services, such as elementary education, health facilities, electricity, and improved roads. Youth in particular aspire to a better life and their movement toward the ever swelling cities is a common pattern. This study was designed to investigate the attitudes of rural Pakistani high school seniors toward rural community life. The study focusses on attitudes toward their home communities in relation to social class, socio-economic status, eagerness to migrate, community preference and grades. Level of community satisfaction was explored for males and females and students from small and large communities.

The study population consists of all seniors enrolled in the high schools located in the rural areas of District Gujranwala. The selection of the district was arbitrary but it is typical of many districts where rural areas are deprived of jobs and sub-standard educational, medical, recreational and public facilities. The district is typical of those experiencing high outmigration rates from rural areas.

The survey of rural high school students was conducted in November and December of 1983. Of the 605 students in the senior class of the ten high schools, 486 or 80.2 percent completed questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered in the classroom situation by regular school personnel. The questionnaire was translated into the local language (Urdu) by the author with full care that the meaning of the words, phrases and questions did not lose the meaning in the translation process. The questionnaire took about 100 minutes on average to complete.

Information obtained from each student covers demographic, social and economic background of the student and his family. Data were obtained on the student's level of community satisfaction, the student's community preference, migration intention, reasons for leaving community, family obligations and educational and occupational aspirations. Data on student's grades were received in November, 1984 on request from the office of Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Gujranwala, Pakistan.

Scales were constructed for two study variables, community satisfaction and social status. Students who scored low on community satisfaction were categorized as having low level of community satisfaction. By the same token, students who scored medium and high on community satisfaction were categorized as having medium and high levels of community satisfaction, respectively. The scale for socio-economic status is constructed on the same pattern.

Seven hypotheses were investigated in this study. Level of community satisfaction was hypothesized to be negatively related with sex and positively with community size. In addition, level of community satisfaction was hypothesized to be negatively related with social class, social status, eagerness to migrate, community preference and grades. These relationships were expected to hold true for both males and females and for small and large communities.

In order to analyze these data, besides contingency tables, partial correlation, multiple regression and Gamma statistics were used. Partial correlation is appropriate when data contain one or more control variables. It gives us degree of association and level of siginificance for the predictor and dependent variables. Multiple regressions were run for all predictor variables and level of community satisfaction when controlled for sex (males and females) and community size (small and large communities). Multiple regression was employed to eliminate any implicit intercorrelation between independent variables. It also helped in estimating percent variance in dependent variable explained by all predictor variables. The Beta value explained the association between independent variable and dependent variable.

Eagerness to migrate and grades proved good predictors of level of community satisfaction, while social class and socio-economic status were positively related (opposite

to what was hypothesized). Community preference proved a very weak predictor of level of community satisfaction. Finally, the explanatory power of all the predictor variables of level of community satisfaction was low.

Conclusion

This study was designed to investigate attitudes of rural Pakistani high school seniors toward rural community life. Social class, status, eagerness to migrate, community preference, and grades were correlated with level of community satisfaction. Sex and community size were used as control variables.

When the sex variable was correlated with level of community satisfaction, sex was found to be highly correlated with level of community satisfaction. That is, a higher percentage of females than males exhibit a low level of community satisfaction. Rural Pakistani females are less satisfied than their males counterparts and is the most important finding of our study. Our findings counter to several studies done in the U.S. On one hand, Davies found no significant relationship between the respondent's sex and level of community satisfaction (Davies, 1945). On the other hand, Schulze, Artis Beegle in their Michigan study found level of community satisfaction to be high among females (Schulze, Artis, and Beegle, 1963). The explanation of the low level of community satisfaction on the part of young rural women in Pakistan is probably due to the culturally

imposed role restrictions placed upon them. Such restrictions tend to be enforced more rigorously in rural than urban communities. In essence, young rural women have limited freedom to move about and to participate in the organizational life and facilities offered by the community. Their interaction with others is restricted largely to their own age-grade and the family household. Young women are expected to help the husband's household and to marry, at which time she moves into her husband's house. There is little possibility that she can escape from this basic scenario. Her parents do not ordinarily condone a situation in which the daughter would work outside the home. If the young Pakistani women should leave the community for college, only a restricted number of occupations are viewed as being appropriate for her.

Given the circumstances just described, it is not surprising that rural females in Pakistan have low level of community satisfaction -- much lower than rural males. In contrast to females, young men are free to participate in community activities, to take jobs in nearby cities, and to chose whatever lifetime career. Since many young males will remain in the home community, they may well "come to terms" with, and adjust to, what a given community has to offer.

When community size was correlated with level of community satisfaction, it was found that students from small communities are more satisfied with their home communities as compared with students from large communities.

This finding is contrary to what was hypothesized, and contrary to what Davies found in his study. He found that level of community satisfaction increased with the size of community (Davies, 1945). The reason for low satisfaction among students from large communities may be that students from large communities have easy access to the nearby cities and are well aware of city life, and the kinds of facilities cities offer. It is certain that facilities are much more frequently available in urban areas as opposed to rural areas of Pakistan. It is argued that the pull factors in the city life explain much of the dicontentment of the students with their home communities.

Social class was found to be positively correlated with level of community satisfaction, contrary to the direction hypothesized. Our hypothesis was based on the notion that students from high social class would have high educational and occupational aspirations. Upward social mobility can only be acquired through higher education and through migration. The positive relationship found in this study agreed with Bradburn's findings that income and occupational status are all positively related to many dimensions of satisfaction with life (Bradburn, 1969).

Socio-economic status measured as level of living, was chosen as one of the predictor variables, keeping in mind that status may give different results from social class. Status was found to be positively correlated with level of community satisfaction as was true for social

class. The direction is opposite to what was hypothesized in the study. Although status is positively related with level of community satisfaction, the relationship is insignificant.

Eagerness to migrate proved to be a strong predictor of level of community satisfaction. The correlation between eagerness to migrate and level of community satisfaction was negative and significant. This finding agrees with what was found in many previous studies (Schulze, Artis, and Beegle, 1963; Goldsmith, 1961; Bel-Hag, 1982). It is recognized that a case can be made for a reverse relationship, namely, that level of community satisfaction "causes" eagerness to migrate.

Community preference was found to be unrelated to level of community satisfaction. While the correlation between community preference was negative when controlled for sex and community size, the relationship is insignificant. Therefore, community preference and level of community satisfaction are unrelated. This finding is contrary to what Heaten, et al, found in their study (Heaten et al, 1979). Their study indicated that people who preferred to live in a community having different size or location characteristics than their present residence, have a low level of community satisfaction and are five times more likely to move than those who have attained their preferred types of residence. Furthermore, the same views are offered by Zuiches (Zuiches, 1982).

Grades, another predictor variable proved to be a good indicator of level of community satisfaction for females from large communities. Grades were significant and negatively related with level of community satisfaction for females in the case of large communities. Overall, grades were negatively related with level of community satisfaction (when controlled for sex and community size) but the relationships are insignificant. Hence, grades proved to be a weak predictor. Zuiches showed that dissatisfaction with one's community is an important antecedent to an individual's desire to move (Zuiches, 1982). Here, our findings agree with different researchers who found that grades are negatively related to migration plans (Lyson, 1976; Pihlblad and Gregory, 1954; Mauldin, 1940).

Male-female differences were found when social class, socio-economic status, eagerness to migrate and grades were correlated with level of community satisfaction. Social class was positively correlated with level of community satisfaction and was significant in the case of large communities. Degree of association between social class and level of community satisfaction is stronger for males than for females. This also means that males from high social class are more satisfied than females from large communities. But no sex differentiation can be derived for small communties.

The sex differential, as explained in the above paragraph, was found when status was correlated with level of community satisfaction. The degree of association is stron-

ger for males than females from large communities.

When eagerness to migrate was correlated with level of community satisfaction, some interesting results were obtained. The correlation between eagerness to migrate and level of community satisfaction was higher for males than females from small communities. This suggests a greater propensity to migrate on the part of males than females from small communities. In Pakistani society, males are the bread-winners and are forced to look for jobs which are often unavailable in small rural communities. Cottage industry, for example, has not been developed nor encouraged in rural areas. The case was found to be reversed for large communities. In this case, females are more eager to migrate than males, since eagerness to migrate was found to be highly correlated for females. In this case, males may be able to find reasonable jobs in larger rural communities, and work in local communities may allow them to better fulfill family obligations. Another reason may be that the larger communities are often located on all-weather roads and daily commuting to and from large cities.

The correlation between grades and level of community satisfaction was found to be negative for both males and females. The correlation for females, however, was stronger than for males.

Limitations of the study

In this study that aspires to help in understanding the attitudes of high school seniors toward rural community life in Pakistan, there are some limitations that must be mentioned. The population in this study comprised all seniors in ten high schools in rural areas of District Gujranwala, Pakistan. It would have been preferable if the study population could have consisted of a large cross-section sample of students from all rural areas of Pakistan. That is, ideally the population should have been selected from different parts of Pakistan so that the results could be generalized to the country as a whole. The first limitation of this study, then, is that it is limited to only one district within Pakistan.

When the scores were developed in order to classify the occupations of students' parents, we consulted the Treiman study (Treiman, 1977). In this study, land owners are given a score equivalent to upper white-collar workers. Probably due to the inclusion of these land owners in the upper class category, social class proved positive in relation to the level of community satisfaction. Had we treated farmers as a different class, the results might well have been different.

Variables including social class, socio-economic status, eagerness to migrate, community preference, and grades do not explain much of the variance in level of community satisfaction. That is, the percent variance ex-

plained by these variables is very small when controlled for sex (males and females) and for community size (small and large communities). Variables such as educational aspirations, occupational aspirations, and student's family obligations might well account for a substantial fraction of the variance. However, this was not possible in the present study and future researchers should be alerted to the necessity of including variables such as those just mentioned.

It is important to make clear that the present study considered only push and pull factors in rural areas, that is, at the point of origin. In order to understand migration decision making more fully the push and pull factors in the destination areas, that is, urban areas, need to be considered. Furthermore, intervening obstacles and personal characteristics, are very important variables in understanding migration (Lee, 1966). Thus, our study did not attempt to measure push and pull factors in the destination areas. In addition, our study did not attempt to understand the contribution of intervening obstacles or personal characteristics. All these variables need to be incorporated in a comprehensive migration research design.

Policy implications

The aim of this study was to investigate attitudes toward rural life among rural Pakistani high school stu-

dents. Students, particularly females, are quite dissatisfied with services provided by the rural communities and are eager to leave their home communities. There can be no doubt that urban areas provide better educational facilities, job opportunities, and recreational facilities. Young people who are in their prime economically-productive ages are selectively drawn to the rapidly growing urban centers. It would seem vitally important in terms of the development of Pakistani rural areas that many of these urban-oriented youth should be kept in their rural communities.

Our findings present policy makers with no clear-cut direction in which to move. If a goal is to improve the quality of life and retain promising young people in the rural areas of Pakistan, our study points to some dilemmas. On one hand, females are less satisfied than males with life in rural communities and there are major differences in the evaluation of community facilities by sex. This suggests that a single policy is inadequate to meet the differing likes and dislikes of males and females. On the other hand, while upper class youth exhibit higher level of community satisfaction, they also aspire to migrate in larger proportions than lower class youth. Thus, improvements in quality of life may result in even higher rates of out-migration.

Our study provides a clear-cut picture of what young Pakistani youths like and dislike about their communities. Well over 80 percent of both males and females agreed that insufficient facilities such as colleges, libraries and

museums was reason to leave. This high proportion held true of youth from small and large communities. Also, a high proportions cited the fact that few jobs are available and that there are few occassions to engage in activities considered important. Both reasons for leaving are mentioned more often by young people from small compared to large communities. Such views held by young people should indicate to policy makers the need to upgrade the infrastructure of rural areas. It points to critical need to make available educational and cultural facilities and to create jobs in the countryside.

Based on findings of the study, It is suggested that vocational education should be introduced to adequately serve the majority of those entering the labor market, especially since the great majority of the Pakistani population resides in rural areas. Special vocational training courses should be offered in the rural high schools for those wanting to become nurses, midwives, tailors, farmers, foresters, and rug makers, etc. By providing jobs in rural areas and by making rural areas more attractive, it may be possible to keep some of the youth in these areas.

It is anticipated that in the future more and more females will join the labor force. They could play the role of a son in conservative Pakistani society if females would be equipped with education and jobs are provided outside the home in the rural communities.

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APPENDIX

Table 1: Simple Partial Correlation Coefficients of Social class with Level of Community Satisfaction, Sex and Community Size

Variables	Community Satisfaction	Social class	Sex	Community size
Community Satisfaction	1.00	.045 (p=.162)	-.418 (p<.001)	-.129 (p=.002)
Social Class	---	1.00	.178 (p<.001)	.084 (p=.03)
Sex		---	1.00	.159 (p<.001)
Community Size			---	1.00

Table 2: First-order and Second-order Partial Correlation Coefficients of Social Class with Level of Community Satisfaction, When Controlling for Sex and Community Size

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable	Control Variable(s)	Partial r	Variance
Social Class	Level Of Com. Sat	Sex	.133 (p=.002)	.0169
Social Class	Level of Com. Sat	Community Size	.041 (p=.108)	.0017
Social Class	Level of Com.Sat	Sex and Community Size	.1207 (p<.001)	.0144

Table 3: Simple Partial Correlation Coefficients of Status with Level of Community Satisfaction, Sex and Community Size

Variables	Community Satisfaction	Status	Sex	Community Size
Community Satisfaction	1.ØØ	-.Ø66 (p=.Ø7)	-.415 (p<.ØØ1)	-.13Ø (p=.ØØ2)
Status	---	1.ØØ	.2655 (p<.ØØ1)	.376 (p<.ØØ1)
Sex		---	1.ØØ	.157 (p<.ØØ1)
Community Size			---	1.ØØ

Table 4: First-order and Second-order Partial Correlation Coefficients of Status with Level of Community Satisfaction When Controlling for Sex and Community Size

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable	Control Variable(s)	Partial r	Variance
Status	Level of Com.Sat	Sex	.Ø5 (p=.136)	.ØØØ3
Status	Level of Com. Sat	Community Size	.-Ø19 (p=.338)	.ØØØ4
Status	Level of Com. Sat	Sex and Community Size	.Ø81 (p=.Ø38)	.ØØ66

Table 5: Simple Partial Correlation Coefficients of Eagerness to Migrate with level of Community Satisfaction, sex and Community Size

Variables	Community Satisfaction	Eagerness to Migrate	Sex	Community Size
Community Satisfaction	1.00	-.056 (p=.10)	-.415 (p<.001)	-.130 (p=.002)
Eagerness to Migrate	---	1.00	-.039 (p=.199)	-.129 (p=.002)
Sex		---	1.00	.157 (p<.001)
Community Size			---	1.00

Table 6: First-order an second-order Partial Correlation Coefficients of Eagerness to Migrate with Level of Community Satisfaction When Controlling for Sex and Community Size

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable	Control Variable(s)	Partial r	Variance
Eagerness to Migrate	Level of Com. Sat	Sex	-.08 (p=.040)	.0064
Eagerness to Migrate	Level of Com. Sat	Community Size	-.0741 (p=.052)	.005
Eagerness to Migrate	Level of Com. Sat	Sex and Community Size	-.0895 (p=.025)	.0080

Table 7: Simple Partial Correlation Coefficients of Community Preference with Level of Community Satisfaction, Sex and Community Size

Variables	Community Satisfaction	Community Preference	Sex	Community Size
Community Satisfaction	1.00	.0499 (p<.001)	-.405 (p<.001)	-.130 (P=.003)
Community Preference	---	1.00	-.151 (p<.001)	.0336 (p=.235)
Sex		---	1.00	.1588 (p<.001)
Community Size			---	1.00

Table 8: First-order and second-order Partial Corelation Coefficients of Community Preference with Level of Community Satisfaction When Controlling for Sex and Community Size

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable	Control Variable(s)	Partial r	Variance
Community Preference	Level of Com. Sat	Sex	-.0126 (p=.393)	.0023
Community Prefernce	Level of Com. Sat	Community Size	.0548 (p=.120)	.003
Community Preference	Level of Com. Sat	Sex and Community size	-.008 (p=.429)	.00006

Table 9: Simple Partial Correlation coefficients of Grades with Level of Community Satisfaction, Sex and Community Size

Variables	Community Satisfaction	Grades	Sex	Community Size
Community Satisfaction	1.00	-.027 (P=.275)	-.4154 (p<.001)	-.130 (p=.002)
Grades	---	1.00	-.0078 (p=.43)	.064 (p=.08)
Sex		---	1.00	.1574 (p<.001)
Community size			---	1.00

Table 10: First-order and Second-order Partial Correlation Coefficients of Grades with Level of community Satisfaction When Controlling for Sex and Community Size

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable	Control Variable(s)	Partial r	Variance
Grades	Level of Com. Sat	Sex	-.033 (p=.232)	.0011
Grades	Level of Com. Sat	Community Size	-.019 (p=.338)	.0003
Grades	Level of com. Sat	Sex and Community size	-.0288 (p=.264)	.0006