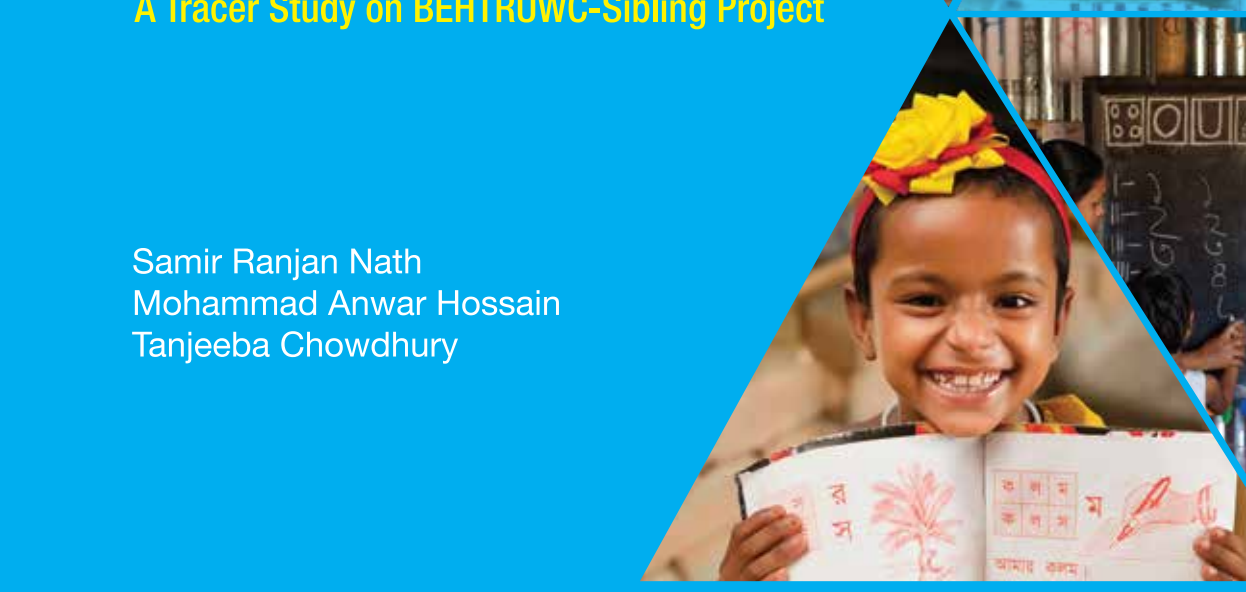
SLUM PRE-PRIMARY GRADUATES IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

A Tracer Study on BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project



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ACRONYMS

BANBEIS	Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics
BEHTRUWC	Basic Education for Hard to Reach Urban Working Children
BEP	BRAC Education Programme
BNFE	Bureau of Non-Formal Education
BPPS	BRAC Pre-Primary School
BPS	BRAC Primary School
BRAC	an NGO, formerly Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
BSA	Bangladesh Shishu Academy
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DPE	Directorate of Primary Education
ECCE	Early Childhood Care and Education
ECD	Early Childhood Development
EFA	Education for All
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GNP	Gross National Product
GoB	Government of Bangladesh
GPA	Grade Point Average
LMIC	Low-and-Middle Income Country
MoPME	Ministry of Primary and Mass Education
MoWCA	Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs
NCTB	National Curriculum and Textbook Board
NGO	Non-government Organisation
PECE	Primary Education Completion Examination
PO	Programme Organiser (of BEP)
PPE	Pre-Primary Education
RA	Research Assistant
RED	Research and Evaluation Division (of BRAC)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

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A number of RED colleagues were involved in publication process of this report. Mr AM Shamsuddula and Ms Sadaf Sazz Siddiqi edited the manuscript, Mr Altamas Pasha and Mr Abdur Razzaque did copy editing, corrections and layout designing. We acknowledge all of the contributions with due respect.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND

The importance of early childhood care and education in life is well documented. Education during early-years has been emphasised in many international documents. The second target of the fourth Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) called for ensuring quality early-years care and education for preparing children for primary education. Literature shows that a large proportion of the children in developing countries including slums are exposed to multiple risks, which detrimentally affect their cognitive, motor and socio-emotional development. Therefore, high quality early-years care, education and development is suggested for them. With a few exceptions, the duration of pre-primary education (PPE) is one year in Bangladesh, which is provided by the government and non-government schools and NGOs. A national curriculum has been prepared to implement such education.

Slums are common in the low-and-middle income countries (LMICs), along with growing urbanisation. In Bangladesh, the number of slums are increasing over time, along with the inhabitants. Slum dwellers in Bangladesh are lagging much behind the non-slum urban dwellers with regard to housing structure, toilet facilities and availability of pure drinking water; however, they are still more likely to get better facilities than their rural counterparts. In terms of access to education and achieving literacy, the slum population is lagging behind both their urban and rural counterparts.

Partnering with the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education through the Bureau of Non-Formal Education, UNICEF Bangladesh launched a project called *Basic Education for Hard to Reach Urban Working Children* (BEHTRUWC) in 1997 to provide non-formal basic education to the working children living in slums. As a complement to this, the *Prevention of Child Labour* project was launched in 2011

to provide access to PPE to the siblings (of aged 5-6 years) of the beneficiaries of the earlier project. The duration of this new project was six years – from 2011 to 2016. The aim of the new project was to promote PPE opportunities to ensure children's preparedness to enter and complete primary school, while reducing the incidence of child labour. With financial assistance from the Swedish National Committee, UNICEF Bangladesh built a partnership with the Bangladesh Shishu Academy under the Ministry of Children and Women Affairs and BRAC to carry out this project. BRAC was given the responsibility of implementing the project at the field level. BRAC Education Programme (BEP) established 150 community-based pre-primary schools in the slums of Dhaka, Narayanganj and Gazipur cities and their peripheries. The schools were located in 14 thanas under 16 BEP branch offices. In total, 26,440 children were admitted in these schools; 60.4% of which were girls. A total of 26,232 children completed the course. Course completion rate was 99.2%. This study aims to assess the achievements of the BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project.

METHODS

A tracer study was conducted along with some qualitative investigations. Out of 16 branch offices, 15 were randomly selected. Two schools were selected randomly from each of these branch offices, totalling 30 for each cohort (year of getting PPE). Thus, total number of student groups in the sample was 180 (30 x 6). The branch offices provided the lists of graduating students. Out of 5,189 pre-primary graduates found in the lists, 3,356 could be traced (64.7%). Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were carried out with six groups of the parents of the graduates of six cohorts and in-depth interviews with six Programme Organisers (POs). Fieldwork was carried out after one year of completion of the project.

FINDINGS

A tendency to admit over-aged children in PPE was apparent. The age bracket fixed for admitting children in PPE included the first year of official age for primary education in Bangladesh. The findings reveal that age of 35.2% of the admitted children was seven years or more. It was six or more years for 70% of the students. Such a tendency has increased over time. This may because parents were less aware about the age of school admission or the importance of pre-primary education.

The pre-primary students under this project had a similar profile to the other pre-primary students in Bangladesh with regard to some socioeconomic indicators; however, they were lagging behind in some indicators. They were ahead with regard to parental education, having electricity and television at home and

parents having cellular phones, but behind with regard to labour-selling status and food security status of households.

Overall, 97.6% of the pre-primary completers enrolled in the first grade of primary education or were admitted into school the following year. The enrolment rate in school in the following year of graduation was 93.3% – of which 15.1% were admitted into pre-primary education again. Those who were admitted later mostly took a year's break, The majority of those who were admitted again chose another BRAC school, followed by government primary schools and the kindergartens, respectively. Children of age four years at the time of getting PPE were most likely to take the same education for the second time, followed by those aged five years. A wide variation by branch and school persisted in this.

The BRAC staff (POs or teachers) helped with admissions of the pre-primary graduates to primary education. They also visited them after they had started primary education to see their progress. A half of the graduates received such support from the BRAC staff. Parental support included school visits as per need, providing supplementary tutoring support at home, and providing private tutors. A good proportion of the students were visited at their homes by the teachers of respective primary schools.

The first two cohorts of pre-primary students had adequate years to complete primary education after graduation from BRAC pre-primary schools under BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project. Progress of these students in primary education was satisfactory, and therefore, a good proportion of them completed primary level or were well on their way to complete it. Progress of the other cohorts of students at primary level was also satisfactory. Over 85% of the 2011 and two-thirds of the 2012 cohort of students already completed primary education. It was estimated that approximately 90% of the first two cohorts of students would ultimately complete primary education. This figure was much higher than the primary education completion rate at the national level.

Students' achievement in the Primary Education Completion Education (PECE) was comparatively better than that at the national level. The overall pass figures were mostly similar, whereby the PECE pass rate of the students under the project was 98.4% in 2016 and 96% in 2017 compared with 98.5% and 95.2%, respectively at the national level. However, when the proportion of students attaining GPA 3.5 or more was compared, a difference was observed. In 2017, 58.4% of the pre-primary graduates under the project achieved GPA 3.5 or more, compared to 50.6% at the national level.

The parents reported that the major reason for pre-primary students' dropout from primary education was the students' lack of interest to continue education. They blamed primary school's lack of attention to students' well-being. The second major reason of dropout was scarcity of money. The parents were often

unwilling to send children to school and involved them in household chores, which was another reason for dropping out.

The number of socioeconomic factors predicting school enrolment in the year following pre-primary graduation was much less than that in a recent year. This means that inequalities in school enrolment in various social and economic grounds have increased over time. There seemed to be less probability of children who were too young (aged four years) being enrolled in the following year, and high probability of older children's (seven years and above) early dropout from education. This finding strongly indicates the need for admission in pre-primary education at the right age – five years, as per the National Education Policy 2010.

Both parents and BRAC staff were of the opinion that there was much more awareness of the value of an education. Mothers genuinely wanted to educate their children up to a certain level if they were able to manage the basic cost of food and accommodation. Migrant groups placed a higher value on education it seemed; however, they sometimes had to choose food over education due to poor income. BRAC staff observed that if both the parents were busy spending less time with their children, they were seen to lose interest in getting an education. The majority of the parents wanted their children to complete secondary education, as it was the minimum requirement for availing a decent job. Parents perceived education as a pre-requisite of better life, not just giving one the ability to earn a higher wage.

The parents of the graduates, in general, didn't favour 'child labour', unless it was absolutely necessary. Except for 2011 and 2012, children of other cohorts were still very young and unfit for paid work. Overall, a fifth of the graduates were found working in or outside of the home. Girls worked mostly as domestic help. A significantly negative relationship was observed between participation in child labour and school enrolment. The practice of sending young children, especially the girls to work as housemaids, was observed. The boys were found to be involved in jobs in the informal sector of urban economy. They worked in small factories, shops, restaurants etc. The earnings were mostly used towards household expenses.

Both negative and positive attitudes towards BRAC PPE were found in the community. Schooling before grade I was relatively new to the parents, and some preferred kindergartens to BRAC schools. However, according to the parents, the teaching materials, the sharing of the curriculum with parents, the demonstration of learning outcomes, and home visits from teachers and staff were the major strengths of BRAC PPE. The parents felt that their children had become more social, followed a regular school routine, were active in classrooms and co-curricular activities, and as a result became confident and courageous. The parents appreciated the learning process and environment in the PPE classrooms under the project.

Finally, it can be said that the BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project was successful in terms of providing low cost PPE to the poor children in the slums, admission of these children in primary education and its completion. The parents were found very much supportive to the education of their children through providing various educational help. Their aspiration to the children's education was satisfactorily high. The parents learned to discourage child labour too. The pre-primary graduates did satisfactorily well in the PECE. The BRAC staff and the teachers of the primary schools were also supportive to some extent in this journey.

The above results were possible to achieve because the project staff (POs and teachers) kept an eye on the pre-primary graduates in primary education. This may not be possible to continue after the project is over, if BEP has no other activities in the project areas. BEP's presence in some form may therefore be required for continuation of education of the latter cohorts of pre-primary graduates in primary schools.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATION

The positive role of early-years education is well documented (Blakemore and Frith 2005, Shonkoff and Phillips 2000, Sylva and Pugh 2005). Such education does not only help children to do better throughout their education life, it also creates space for healthy and safe adolescent, youth and adult life (Ou and Reynolds 2004, Siraj-Blatchford *et al.* 2007, Sylva *et al.* 2004, UNESCO 2007). Therefore, early-years education has received serious emphasis in the developed countries. Taking evidence from England, Sylva *et al.* (2011) highlighted the importance of high quality pre-school education, by showing that low quality has little benefits. Developing countries are also trying to get benefits from such education through increasing access. The gross pre-primary enrolment ratio increased from 11% in 1999 to 21% in 2015 in the low-income countries and from 23% in 1999 to 32% in 2015 in the lower-middle income countries (UNESCO 2015 2017). Thai children's enhanced skills in reading, mathematics and science, the decrease of school dropout and increase of test scores in Latin America, reduction of crime in Mauritius, and enhanced cognitive abilities of Chinese students, are some of the examples that have resulted due to pre-school interventions in those countries (Pholphirul 2016, Berlinski *et al.* 2006, Raine *et al.* 2003, Zhang 2017).

Global leaders have also emphasised early-years education as a fundamental step for improving quality of life. Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) is also recognised as a right in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (United Nations 1989). Of the six Education for All (EFA) goals, the first one was on care and education at early-years

(UNESCO 2000). Finally, the second target of the fourth Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) emphasises quality Early Childhood Development (ECD) and Pre-primary Education (PPE) for preparing children for primary education. The target reads,

> By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education (United Nations 2015a).

The first target of the fourth SDG also emphasises quality primary and secondary education for all children leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes.

Pre-primary education is a part of overall early-years education. In Bangladesh, for example, it is an education in between early childhood care and the first three years of primary education. The curriculum as well as the duration of pre-primary education varies from one country to another, as does the quality of education. In a majority of the countries (51.4%) it is an education of a three-year duration (UNESCO 2016).

Bangladesh officially started pre-primary education in 2013, though the process had started in 2010. The Directorate of Primary Education (DPE) under the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME) is officially responsible for such education. All government and non-government primary schools started to open their pre-primary sections, and the process is near completion. According to the latest school census in 2017, about 36.7 million children enrolled in 106,283 educational institutions for pre-primary education (DPE 2017). Nearly 91% of the primary first graders of the same year entered through pre-primary education. However, this was not a new phenomenon in Bangladesh. Such education had been initiated in Bangladesh a few decades back, albeit in a smaller scale. BRAC, the largest Non-government Organisation (NGO) in the world, started its pre-primary education programme in Bangladesh in 1997. Over 6.1 million children received pre-primary education from BRAC schools till 2015 (Nath 2016). There are many other small-scale examples too. According to the National Education Policy 2010, Bangladesh aimed to provide pre-primary education of one year duration to the children of age five years in order to get them prepared for quality primary education (Government of Bangladesh 2010). The Policy outlined the pre-primary curriculum in the following two sentences.

1. Activities aimed at inspiring children to learn and to go to the school and cultivating their finer senses;

2. Grooming them to be tolerant to others and to infuse in them the ideas about discipline necessary for their subsequent formal education

1.2 EDUCATION OF SLUM CHILDREN

The existence of slums has been observed in the literature since the time of documentation of the cities (Booth 1903; cited in Mahabir *et al.* 2016). In the literature, the word 'slum' has mainly been used to describe the people living under substandard conditions in the urban areas. Tremendous growth of the urban population has occurred over the past century (United Nations 2015b). In 2018, 55% of the world's population are residing in urban areas, which was 30% in 1950 and has been projected to be 68% by 2050 (United Nations 2018). Urbanisation occurred unevenly throughout the globe. At present, whereas, more than four-fifths of the population in the North America, Latin America and the Caribbean are living in urban areas. This figure is 74% in Europe, 68% in Oceania, approximately 50% in Asia, and 43% in Africa.

The urban-based economic activities, in general, contribute more to the Gross National Product (GNP) of the countries than the rural-based such activities (UN-Habitat 2010). For instance, this contribution is 55% in the low-income countries, 73% in the middle-income countries, and 85% in the high-income countries. However, it is also a fact that the cities contribute up to 70% of the total greenhouse gas emissions.

Globally, the slum population has been increasing in number, but the proportion of slum dwellers has been decreasing (UN-Habitat 2010). For instance, in 1990, 46% of the urban population lived in the slums which has declined to an estimated 32% in 2010. The projected slum population by the year 2020 is estimated to reach 889 million. Moving out of slum conditions has also occurred. Between the year 2000 and 2010, an estimated 227 million people moved out of slum conditions in the developing countries.

Bangladesh has been lagging behind the global average with regard to urbanisation. In the first census after the independence, the urban population was counted as 8.9% of the total population in 1974, which has increased to 23.4% as observed in the latest census in 2011 (BBS 2015a). The number of slums and the population therein have been increasing in Bangladesh with the increase of urbanisation. Whereas, the annual national population growth rate was 1.8% during this period, it was 4.7% in the urban areas. This rate was 3.4% in the slums during 1997-2014 (BBS 2015b). Two reasons can be identified for faster

increase of urban, as well as the slum population – expansion of urban locations and migration of people from rural to urban areas including the slums.

The Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics carried out a slum census in 1997 and another in 2014 (BBS 2015b). The first census was carried out in the then four city corporation areas (Dhaka, Chattogram, Khulna and Rajshahi) and in the municipalities. A total of 2,991 slums were found where 334,431 people lived. The 2014 census observed 10,205 slums with 464,521 people in the same areas. This means that the number of slums became 3.4 fold and population 1.4 fold over a period of 17 years. Due to expansion of urban locations (newly established six city corporations, increase in the number of municipalities and other urban areas), the 2014 census observed a total of 13,935 slums in the country with 594,861 population. The Chattogram city corporation and the municipalities had the greatest increase in the slum population.

The people living in the urban areas enjoy increased access to some facilities compared to their counterparts living in the rural areas. Housing, health, nutrition, education, and communication are some of the areas where 'urban advantage' is much visible. In the case of education, urban schools are usually larger, enjoy greater resource allocation, are less likely to experience staff shortage, more likely to have a higher proportion of qualified teachers and have a higher student-teacher ratio than the schools in rural areas (OECD 2013). All these are associated to better performance in tests and public examinations. However, this situation is not reflected evenly throughout the urban settlements or the cities. A section of the urban population do not benefit from the 'urban advantage'; specifically those live in the slums.

Comparing the data generated by the national census of 2011 and the slum census of 2014, it can be said that in Bangladesh, slum dwellers are lagging way behind their non-slum urban dwellers with regard to housing structure, toilet facilities, and availability of pure drinking water (BBS 2015a, 2015b). However, slum dwellers are more likely to get better facilities in these areas than their rural counterparts. On the other hand, in terms of literacy, the slum population are not only lagging behind the national average, but also their urban and rural counterparts separately. The same was observed in primary net enrolment rate too – 77.2% in the slums, 94.1% in rural areas and 97.7% nationally (Chowdhury *et al.* 2018; DPE 2017; Nath *et al.* 2014). However, there has been a significant improvement in all the aforementioned areas from the year 1997 to 2014 (BBS 2015b).

A Kenyan study observed that the parents who live in the slums have aspirations for a higher level of educational attainments for their children than their own level of education; however, such aspirations were lower compared to those who live in non-slum urban areas (Oketch, Mutisya and Sagwe 2012). School enrolment rate is, in general, higher among urban children than their rural counterparts with a large gap between non-slum and slum children (Mugisha 2006). Slum children are more likely to enrol in schools than their rural counterparts.

Studying both slum and middle-class urban students in Dhaka city, Cameron (2017) observed that the slum children enrol in schools which are relatively cheap and fully private in nature, while the middle-class children attend in government or government-aided private schools. Progress to the higher levels of education is governed by failure of institutional provisions, which favour some students over others. The slum parents have less ability to provide support for private supplementary tutoring and coaching, which certainly plays important role in students' learning and examination results, leading very different probabilities of success between the two groups. Local power relations cross the boundary of schools and shape teacher-student relationship in ways that adversely affect slum students.

Analysing survey data of 1,600 slum households in Dhaka city, Cameron (2011) found the primary net enrolment rate to be 70% – three-fourths of which was admitted in the government or the NGO-run non-formal schools. Out-of-pocket expenditure for a primary student of Dhaka slums was estimated as 14% of their total household expenditure. Nearly a half of the primary level slum students avail private supplementary tutoring costing 73% of out-of-pocket expenditure for education or 10.3% of household expenditure. In comparison, nationally, the households spend 5.4% of total expenditure for education – 4.9% among rural households and 6.3% among urban households (BBS 2017). A quarter of expenditure for primary education is spent for private supplementary tutoring (Chowdhury *et al.* 2002). An evaluation of a BRAC initiated project found that poverty and frequent migration were some of the challenges that slum children faced in completion of primary education and achieving competencies (Yasmin, Nath and Hossain 2017).

Many children of the developing world including those in slums, are exposed to multiple risks which include poverty, malnutrition, poor health and unstimulating home environments. These detrimentally affect the cognitive, motor and socio-emotional development of the children (NICHD Early Child Care Research Network 2001, Bradley and Corwyn 2002, Mistry *et al.* 2004). Moreover, the delivery of early childhood care and education programmes is weakened by low qualifications of

teachers and inadequate allocation of resources. The children of this part of the world are not fulfilling their developmental potential. They are more likely to do poorly in schools. Consequently, they have low incomes, high fertility, and provide poor care of their children. All these contribute in intergenerational transmission of poverty (Grantham-McGregor et al. 2007). Therefore, a high quality early childhood care, education and development is required to break the cycle.

1.3 THE BEHTRUWC-SIBLING PROJECT

Partnering with the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME) through the Bureau of Non-Formal Education (BNFE), UNICEF Bangladesh launched a project called *Basic Education for Hard to Reach Urban Working Children* (BEHTRUWC) in 1997. Under this project non-formal basic education was provided to the urban working children of age 8-14 years. In 2011, the *Prevention of Child Labour* project was launched as a complement to the above. This new project focused on providing access to Pre-primary Education (PPE) to 22,500 children of age 5-6 years over a period of six years (from 2011 to 2016). With financial support from the Swedish National Committee, UNICEF Bangladesh has partnered with Bangladesh Shishu Academy (BSA) under the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs (MoWCA), and BRAC to provide PPE to the siblings of the learners covered by the BEHTRUWC project. Hence, the project is known as BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project. The new project's aim was to promote pre-primary education opportunities to ensure children's preparedness to enter and complete primary school, while reducing the incidence of child labour. BRAC was given the responsibility of implementing the project at the field level. The BRAC Education Programme (BEP), on behalf of BRAC, implemented the project.

In order to implement the project, BRAC Education Programme (BEP) established 150 community-based pre-primary schools in the slums of Dhaka city, and its peripheries. The schools were distributed under 16 BEP branch offices located in 14 thanas (government's lowest administrative unit). The thanas are Jatrabari, Khilgaon, Keraniganj, Gulshan, Badda, Mirpur, Mohammadpur, Turag, Lalbagh, Shyampur under Dhaka city; Demra, Rupgonj and Fatulla under Narayangonj city; and Tongi under Gazipur city corporation. The initial plan was to admit 25 children in each of the 150 schools every year, totalling 3,750, and therefore, 22,500 (3,750 x 6) children throughout the project period. As reported by BRAC to UNICEF Bangladesh, 26,440 children were admitted in pre-primary education under this project; with girls making up 60.4%. However, 26,232 children completed the course. The course completion rate was

therefore 99.2%. The students of the first two cohorts were supposed to participate in Primary Education Completion Examination (PECE) in 2016 and 2017, and those of the first cohort were to be in grade VI in 2017, and the others in various grades of primary education.

The pre-primary schools followed the curriculum of the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB). The textbook prepared by NCTB was also used in these schools. In addition, co-curricular activities, parents' meetings, regular supervision of schools etc. were done as in the BRAC school model. Various teaching techniques and methods were used to make the classrooms more interesting, enjoyable and child-centred. For instance, engage of children in singing, dancing, story-telling, role playing, drawing, arts and crafts, play, performing outdoor activities, and science activities were additional components.

On completion of the project, the partner institutions (BSA-MoWCA, UNICEF Bangladesh and BRAC) needed an assessment of the project outcomes in terms of the transition of pre-primary graduates to primary education, the level of educational performance of the graduates in Primary Education Completion Examination (PECE) of the respective cohort of children, and parental attitudes to education and child labour etc. This study was therefore commissioned. The BRAC Research and Evaluation Division (RED) was given the responsibility to carry out the study.

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CHAPTER TWO

OBJECTIVES

The specific objectives of the study were as follows:

1. To explore the present status of the pre-primary graduates in terms of continuation of education since the beginning of the project. How does it vary in terms of pre-primary cohort and gender?

2. To find the extent of family support that was available to continue education, based on educational level of the parents and economic status of the families.

3. To analyse educational performance of pre-primary graduates of eligible cohorts in Primary Education Completion Examination (PECE).

4. To explore attitudinal changes of parents, guardians, and the community, towards enhancement of education and prevention of child labour.

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CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

A mixed method was utilised. This included a tracer study of the pre-primary graduates of each of the years, collection of Primary Education Completion Examination (PECE) results of the students of respective batches, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with the parents, and in-depth interviews with the Programme Organisers (POs). The instruments included a questionnaire and a checklist.

3.1 Sampling

Out of 16 locations (BEP branches) under three city corporation areas mentioned in the introduction section, 15 were selected randomly. Year-wise, two schools were selected randomly from each selected location. Therefore, the number of schools in the sample stood at 180 (30 x 6), out of total 900 (150 x 6) schools. The plan was to trace all pre-primary graduates of these selected schools and collect information on their transition to primary education, education at each successive year, and child labour status. Therefore, the size of sample of the pre-primary graduates was expected to be approximately 870 (29 x 30) per batch/year and 5,220 for the whole study. It was thought that some sample graduates would not be available in the areas for interview due to migration of families or unknown reasons. Therefore, the actual size of the sample would be less than the above.

The lists of the pre-primary completers of the sampled schools were collected from the field offices of BRAC Education Programme (BEP). It was observed that in 2011, the number of students completing pre-primary education ranged from 20 to 30; however, it was 23 to 30 in other years. The 180 lists, in total, contained 5,189 pre-primary graduates. On

an average, the number of students per school was 26.1 in 2011 and more than 29 in the following years; and therefore, overall 28.8. Of them, 59% were girls. Eventually 3,356 graduates or 64.7% of the graduates, could be traced. Of those, 59.3% were girls. Table 3.1 provides the number of pre-primary graduates which the study had planned to trace, along with those actually traced by year and gender. It was thought that the proportion of traced students would increase by year, but this was not the case. The number of traced students was lowest in 2011 and highest in 2015 – 509 and 599, respectively.

Table 3.1 Number of pre-primary graduates in sampled schools and the number of them traced by year and gender

Year of pre-primary (cohorts)	Number of school	Total students			Traced students		
		Boys	Girls	All	Boys	Girls	All
2011	30	332	452	784	214	295	509
2012	30	358	515	873	213	334	547
2013	30	364	521	885	229	334	563
2014	30	347	535	882	243	320	563
2015	30	379	503	882	255	344	599
2016	30	346	537	883	213	362	575
Total	180	2,126	3,063	5,189	1,367	1,989	3,356

Along with the above, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted with six groups of parents covering each cohort of pre-primary graduates. Each group contained 6-8 parents. Six POs were brought under in-depth interviews.

3.2 INSTRUMENTS

Two instruments were used – a questionnaire and a checklist. The questionnaire was used at the household level when a pre-primary graduate was traced. The checklist was used for FGD and in-depth interviews.

The following are the major issues covered in the questionnaire and the checklist:

Questionnaire

Continuation of education after completion of pre-primary education under this project, support received in continuation of education, information on dropout, PECE results, child labour, and background information of the students and their families.

Checklist

Attitude towards education as a whole, pre-primary education, BRAC pre-primary school, and child labour.

3.3 FIELD OPERATIONS

Forty Research Assistants (RAs) worked for the quantitative part of the study and four Research Assistants (RAs) for the qualitative part. In addition, five were engaged as field supervisors. Training was provided to all of them during 5-6 December 2017. Note that RAs of qualitative and quantitative parts received separate training. In each case, two RAs worked together.

The Programme Organisers of the respective branch offices helped the Research Assistants to find out the locations of the schools. The RAs first found the teachers of those schools and then with the help of the teachers they found the students. In many cases the students played a significant role in finding their fellow students. The Programme Organisers also helped in some cases. Therefore, tracing the pre-primary graduates was a collective effort of the teachers, students and the RAs, with some support of the POs. They together tried their best to trace the listed pre-primary graduates.

The actual fieldwork was carried out during 7-28 December 2017. Data coding took three days, data entry into computers took two weeks, and data cleaning five days. Therefore, the data were made ready for analysis by 20 January 2018.

The study was carried out in the RED of BRAC. The fieldwork was carried out with support from RED's Field Operations Unit. Data entry was done by the BRAC Computer Centre. The research team was responsible for instrument development, training of RAs, random visit of study locations, data cleaning and analysis, and writing of this report.

3.4 STUDY LIMITATIONS

Tracer study in an urban or semi-urban location is difficult due to high migration of population. This study was also affected by this. This study could not trace 35.3% of the intended graduates of pre-primary education. This occurred because the study was done at the end of the project. An initiative of continuous tracing of the children under project might produce stronger findings.

No comparable group of students was possible to consider because of the time of fieldwork for this study. The fieldwork for this study was carried out in December when the formal schools were closed after annual examinations. This hampered analysis of relative performance of the children under the project with the children who received pre-primary education from other institutions. Views and opinions of the teachers of the primary schools at which the children under the project admitted for primary education are also missing.

Although it was not included in the study objective, insights on why parents admitted their children to pre-primary education and other available options in the vicinity was not focused on in the quantitative section. However, qualitative investigation gave some insights on this.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

4.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDENTS

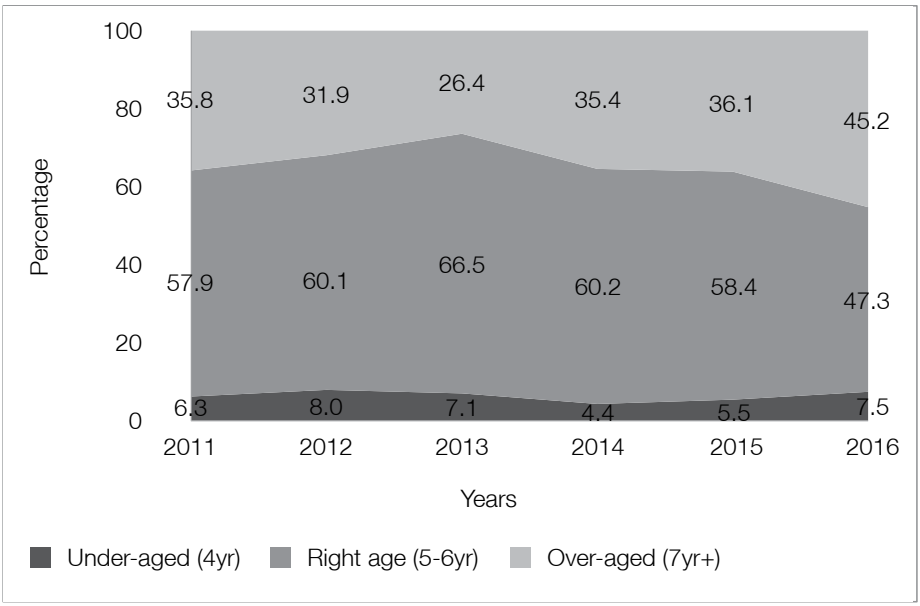
Age at admission

The BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project intended to provide pre-primary education of one-year duration to the children of age 5-6 years. This created a clash with two important policy documents of the Government of Bangladesh; the Primary Education (Compulsory) Act 1990 and the National Education Policy 2010. It is clearly mentioned in the Act of 1990 that the primary schooling age in Bangladesh is 6-10 years which was iterated in the National Education Policy (Government of Bangladesh 1990, 2010). The Policy, in addition, said that in Bangladesh, the pre-primary education of one-year duration is for those aged five years. However, if one looks at the age of the majority children admitting in the first grade of primary education in Bangladesh, determination of age-group for this particular project may seem to be practical. Majority of the first graders of primary education are of age 7-8 years (Nath, Chowdhury and Ahmed 2015).

The current age of the former students of BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project was collected and then their age at enrolment in pre-primary education was calculated. It was observed that the children's age at admission in pre-primary education under this project varied from four to 11 years. The proportion of children in the age-range 10-11 years was negligible (1.6%). The majority of them were of age six years, followed by those aged five years and seven years, respectively. Overall, 58.3% of the children were of age 5-6 years at the time of admission, 6.5% were under-aged (four years), and 35.2% were over-aged (seven years or

above). Year-wise variation was noticed in this case. The proportion of students aged 5-6 years increased from 57.9% in 2011 to 66.5% in 2013, and then declined gradually until reaching 47.3% in 2016 (Figure 4.1). The proportion of over-aged students was 35.8% in 2011, which decreased to 26.4% in 2013, and then gradually increased up to 45.2% in 2016. A similar trend was observed in both when data were analysed by gender. There was an increasing trend in the admission of over-aged children. Of the enrolled children, about 70% were of age six years or more who were suitable for primary education in terms of age. Overall, less than a quarter of the students (23.4%) were of age five years, which did not go beyond 25% in any of the cohorts of students.

Figure 4.1 Percentage distribution of various cohorts of pre-primary students by age-group

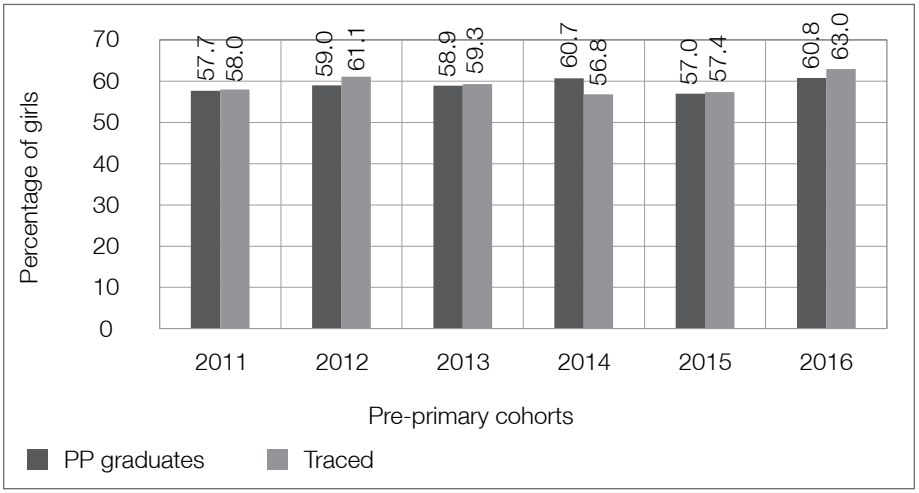


Gender

The proportion of girls completing pre-primary education under this project was higher than that of the boys in every year. The same was also true for those who were traced. On an average, 59% of the pre-primary completers and 59.3% of the traced students were girls. However, some

variations were noticed from one year to another which can be seen in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2 Percentage of girls among the pre-primary graduates and among those who were traced by year



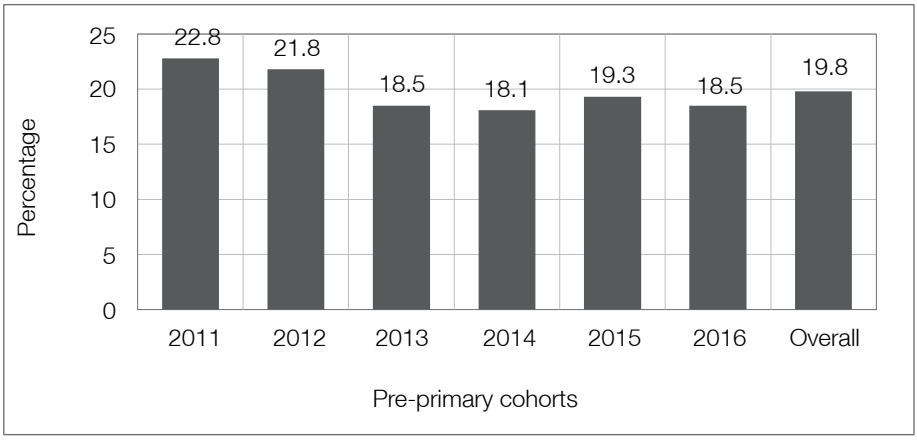
Parental education

Information on the highest educational qualifications of the parents was collected. The mothers were ahead of the fathers in terms of educational qualifications. Overall, 38.6% of the fathers and 31.4% of the mothers had no schooling (Annexes 1 and 2). Again, 37.1% of the fathers completed primary education or had more education, which was found to be 43.3% among the mothers. Over a quarter of the mothers and a similar proportion of the fathers had been admitted to school, but left school before completing primary education. Although not much variation was observed in the proportion of fathers without schooling in the cohort of 2011 and 2016; a smooth decrease of those who had not been to school, was observed for mothers. Whereas, 38% of the mothers of the cohort of 2011 had no schooling, the rate decreased to 29.3% by 2016.

The proportion of first generation learners in the pre-primary centres was calculated. Students with both the parents having no schooling were identified as first generation learners. Overall, nearly a fifth of all students fell into this category (Figure 4.3). The proportion was 22.8% among the

students of 2011, which gradually decreased to 18.5% in 2016. Such a decrease in the proportion of the first generation learners was due to an increase of mothers with schooling.

Figure 4.3 Percentage of first generation learners in pre-primary schools by year



Some social issues

Nearly one-tenth of all the students were non-Muslim (Table 4.1). The proportion of non-Muslims was lower than the average among the students of four cohorts (around 7%), but in 2014 and 2015 the proportions were approximately double – 13.3% and 14.5%, respectively. The majority of the households of the students were temporary residents; about 61.6%. An up-and-down trend of this was observed up to 2014, showing an increasing trend afterwards. For instance, 53.1% of the households were temporary residents in 2014, which increased to 61.8% in 2015, and 73.7% in 2016. After completing pre-primary education under the project, 30.4% of the households had moved residence at least once. They were mostly the temporary residents. The proportion of households which had shifted their residence decreased over time. The rate was 41.5% among those who did pre-primary in 2011; this decreased to 21.9% among those who did pre-primary in 2016. This may be due to the time-factor. Most of the households (99.6%) had electricity facility at home, with no difference seen by year. Television was available in about 80% of the households, with no variation by year.

Table 4.1 Percentage of households of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by selected social indicators

Selected social indicators	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Non-Muslim households	6.9	7.3	7.1	13.3	14.5	7.7	9.6	p<0.001
Temporary residence	64.6	56.5	59.5	53.1	61.8	73.7	61.6	p<0.001
HH shifted after completing PP	41.5	35.6	33.4	27.7	24.2	21.9	30.4	p<0.001
Having electricity at home	98.8	99.8	99.6	99.5	99.7	99.8	99.6	ns
Having TV at home	81.7	83.2	76.9	80.5	78.6	77.6	79.7	ns
Sell labour 100 days a year	44.2	43.9	50.4	47.1	49.6	49.9	47.6	ns
HHs with NGO member	42.4	39.5	42.3	42.3	39.6	36.5	40.4	ns
Father having cell phone	86.3	90.5	87.0	91.1	89.7	88.2	88.8	ns
Mother having cell phone	54.1	54.1	53.9	53.0	52.7	47.6	52.5	ns

Note: ns = not significant at p=0.05

On an average, 40.4% of the households had at least one NGO *samity* member. The rate was the lowest in households of the students from the 2016 cohort (36.5%), and the highest in households of the students from the 2011 cohort (42.4%). Information on whether the parents of the students had cellular phones was collected. No statistically significant variation was observed by year. However, more fathers than mothers had phones. On an average, 88.8% of the fathers and 52.5% of the mothers had cellular phones.

Occupation, income and household food security

Information on parental occupation was collected. On an average, 28% of the fathers had small businesses, 24.5% were day labourers, and 16.4% had salaried jobs. The other professions included rickshaw/van puller (8.8%), skilled/unskilled self-employed (7.9%), driver (6%), and others (3%) (Annex 3). Over 56% of the mothers was not involved in any income generating activities, 22.9% had salaried jobs, and 8% were maid servants (Annex 4). The year-wise variation was minimal.

Information on whether at least one person of the households did manual labour at least 100 days a year was collected, and such households were identified as labour-selling households. On an average, 47.6% of the households were identified as labour-selling (Table 4.2). Around a

half of the households of the students of 2013, 2015 and 2016 cohorts fell into this category. The proportion was lower than this in other years.

Self-perceived household food security status was collected from the respondents. The respondents rated their households considering income and expenditure of the households over the past year. This was categorised using a four point scale. The points in the scale were: *always in deficit, sometimes in deficit, breakeven* and *surplus*. The majority of the households rated themselves as *breakeven*, irrespective of the year, followed by *surplus*, *sometimes in deficit* and *always in deficit*, respectively (Table 4.2). On an average, 6.4% of the households rated themselves as *always in deficit*, 22.3% as *sometimes in deficit,* 46.8% as *breakeven*, and 24.5% as *surplus*. The proportion of *deficit* households decreased over time. For instance, a third of the households was in *deficit* in 2011, but this decreased to 26.3% in 2016, though this was not statistically significant.

Table 4.2 Percentage distribution of households of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by self-perceived food security status

Food security status	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	
Always in deficit	6.7	6.2	7.5	6.9	5.7	5.6	6.4
Sometimes in deficit	26.7	22.9	21.0	21.8	21.2	20.7	22.3
Breakeven	43.6	47.0	49.3	44.8	47.6	48.1	46.8
Surplus	23.0	23.9	22.2	26.5	25.5	25.6	24.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The monthly income of the households taking into account of all income sources was collected. The households were divided into four groups in terms of their income. Overall, monthly income of 12.6% of the households was below BDT 10,000, 30.1% of the households had an income of BDT 10,000 up to BDT 15,000, 27.7% of the households had an income of BDT 15,000 up to BDT 20,000, and for 29.6% of the households had an income of above BDT 20,000 (Annex 5). The mean monthly household income was mostly similar during the first four years, but this decreased afterwards.

4.2 PRE-PRIMARY GRADUATES' CONTINUATION OF STUDY

After receiving pre-primary education under BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project, most of the children enrolled in schools for further education. On an average, the proportion of such students was 97.6%. This was more than 99% among those who had pursued pre-primary education during 2011-12, more than 98% but less than 99% among those who received pre-primary education during 2013-15, and 92.5% among those who received pre-primary education in 2016 (Table 4.3). Overall, 96.9% of the boys and 98.1% of the girls had enrolled in schools ($p<0.001$). A gender difference was observed among the students of two cohorts (2014 and 2016). The girls were ahead of the boys in both. Of the 2014 cohort of students, 96.7% of the boys and 99.4% of the girls were enrolled in schools ($p<0.05$). This figure was 89.2% among the boys and 94.5% among the girls in the cohort of 2016 ($p<0.05$). It should be noted that more students of 2016 cohort may admit into schools in coming years.

Table 4.3 Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates ever enrolled in schools for further education by gender

Pre-primary cohorts (year)	Gender		All	Level of significance
	Boys	Girls		
2011	99.5	99.7	99.6	ns
2012	99.1	99.1	99.1	ns
2013	97.8	99.1	98.6	ns
2014	96.7	99.4	98.2	p<0.05
2015	98.8	97.7	98.2	ns
2016	89.2	94.5	92.5	p<0.05
Total	96.9	98.1	97.6	p<0.05
Level of significance	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Not all the above students were admitted in schools the following year of graduation or admitted in the first grade of primary education. Different behaviour was observed among the children in pursuing education after completing pre-primary education under the project. On completion of pre-primary education, 15.1% of the students further enrolled into pre-primary class the following year, 73.9% enrolled in grade I of primary education, 2.4% were admitted in grades II or III, and 1.9% were admitted in *kawmi* or *hafizia* madrasas, and 6.7% did not take admission to school anywhere (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Percentage distribution of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by grade of admission the following year of graduation

Grade of admission	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	
Pre-primary	11.6	11.3	13.0	19.7	19.4	15.1	15.1
One	77.1	75.7	75.5	73.4	70.1	72.1	73.9
Two-Three	1.4	2.2	1.4	2.7	4.0	2.3	2.4
Religious study[1]	2.0	1.1	2.5	0.5	2.3	3.0	1.9
Sub-total	92.1	90.3	92.4	96.3	95.8	92.5	93.3
Not enrolled	7.9	9.7	7.6	3.7	4.2	7.5	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1]*Kawmi* or *hafizia* madrasa

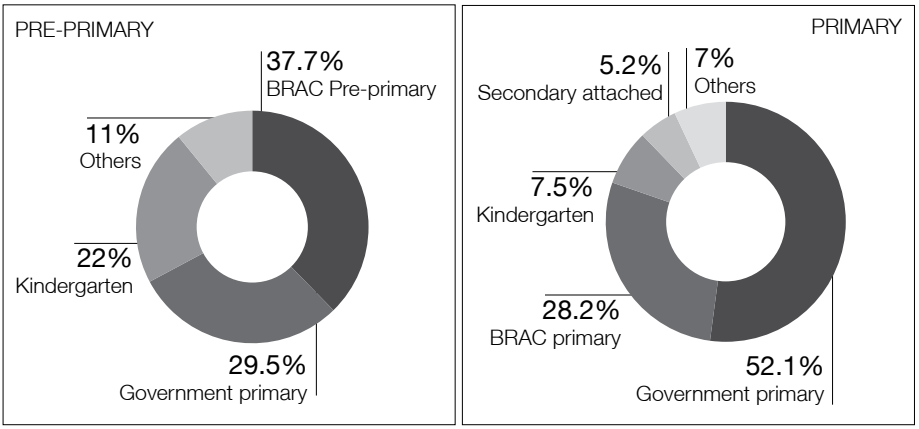
Nearly a fifth of the pre-primary graduates of 2014-15 were admitted into pre-primary class again. This was 15.1% among those graduated in 2016, 13% among those graduated in 2013, and over 11% among those graduated during 2011-12 (Table 4.4). The proportion of pre-primary graduates who did not get admitted into school the following year was highest among those of 2012 cohort (9.7%) and lowest among those of 2014 cohort (3.7%). The proportion of pre-primary graduates who were admitted in primary classes was highest among those of 2011 cohort (78.5%). This slightly decreased every year and reached 74.4% among the pre-primary students of 2016 cohort.

Among the pre-primary graduates who were admitted into pre-primary class again, 37.7% were admitted in BRAC pre-primary schools, 29.5% were admitted in government primary schools, 21.9% took admission in kindergartens, and the remainder many other schools (Figure 4.4). Over a half of those who were admitted into primary classes were enrolled in government primary schools, 28.2% were admitted in BRAC primary schools, 7.5% were admitted in kindergartens, and the rest in many other schools (Figure 4.4). A small section of these students were admitted in madrasas – 3.5% in pre-primary and 3.2% in primary classes.

A negative relationship between age of the student at the time of admission into pre-primary education, and the possibility of taking pre-primary education for the second time was noticed. Nearly two-fifths of the students who were four years old during pre-primary education under BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project enrolled into pre-primary education

again. This rate was 25.8% among those who were five years old at the time of pre-primary admission, 14.3% among those aged six years, 8.6% among those aged seven years, and 6.8% among those aged eight years or above.

Figure 4.4 Percentage distribution of pre-primary graduates by level of education they admitted after graduation and school type



Out of 180 pre-primary schools under study, 39.4% had no students who were admitted to pre-primary education for the second time. Again, 1-10% of the students of 10.6% of the schools, 11-20% of the students of 18.9% of the schools, 21-30% of the students of 9.4% of the schools, 31-50% of the students of 14.4% of the schools, and more than half of the students of 7.2% of the schools had the same. Branch-wise analysis also showed a wide variation in this though. About a third of pre-primary students of two branches, over a quarter of the students of two branches, about a fifth of the students of two branches, and 16-17% of the students of three branches took admission in pre-primary education for the second time. Less than 7% of the students of four branches were admitted to pre-primary education for the second time.

The flow of students in other schools after completing pre-primary education under the project can better be seen in Table 4.5. The enrolment rate at the initial year was more than 90% for each cohort of students with over 95% for the cohorts 2014 and 2015. Among those who received pre-primary education in 2011, 92.1% of them were admitted into other schools the following year. The rate increased to 99.2% the next year. This means that 7.1% of the students waited for a year for further education. Among the 2012 cohort of students, 90.3%

were admitted into school the next year, which increased to 97.1% the following year. Therefore, 6.8% of the second batch of pre-primary graduates waited for a year for further education. The rates started to decrease after two years of graduation. A separate analysis for boys and girls was done; though no variation was observed.

Table 4.5 Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in school in subsequent years

Pre-primary cohorts (year)	Subsequent years					
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
2011	92.1	99.2	99.2	97.8	93.5	79.8
2012		90.3	97.1	96.9	95.2	92.0
2013			92.4	96.6	95.9	95.2
2014				96.3	95.9	94.8
2015					95.8	95.8
2016						92.5

The survival rate at the beginning of 2017 was 91.9% (Table 4.6). The rate was 90.9% among the boys and 92.8% among the girls ($p<0.05$). Gender difference was observed in two cohorts of students – 2014 and 2016 ($p<0.01$ and $p<0.05$, respectively). More girls than boys survived in both. Nearly 80% of those who received pre-primary education in 2011 stayed in school, and this figure increased over the years. This is logical as the gap between year of receiving pre-primary education and the year of tracing them reduced over time. The survival rate was more than 92% among the students of other cohorts.

Table 4.6 Survival rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates at the beginning of 2017 by gender

Pre-primary cohorts (year)	Gender		Both	Level of significance
	Boys	Girls		
2011	81.8	78.3	79.8	ns
2012	89.2	93.7	92.0	ns
2013	95.2	95.2	95.2	ns
2014	91.4	97.5	94.8	$p<0.01$
2015	95.7	95.9	95.8	ns
2016	89.2	94.5	92.5	$p<0.05$
Total	90.9	92.8	91.9	$p<0.05$

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Current enrolment rate

The current enrolment rate of the pre-primary graduates at the end of 2017 is provided in Table 4.7. On an average, the rate was 90.9%; 89.4% among the boys and 92% among the girls ($p<0.05$). Comparing the survival rate at the beginning of 2017 and the current enrolment rate at the end of 2017, it can be said that 1% of the students dropped out during 2017. The highest dropout in 2017 was observed among the 2016 cohort of students. In addition to the aggregated level, gender difference in current enrolment rate was also observed in three cohorts of students' viz., 2012, 2014 and 2016. The girls were ahead of the boys in each. The difference was more in 2014 cohort.

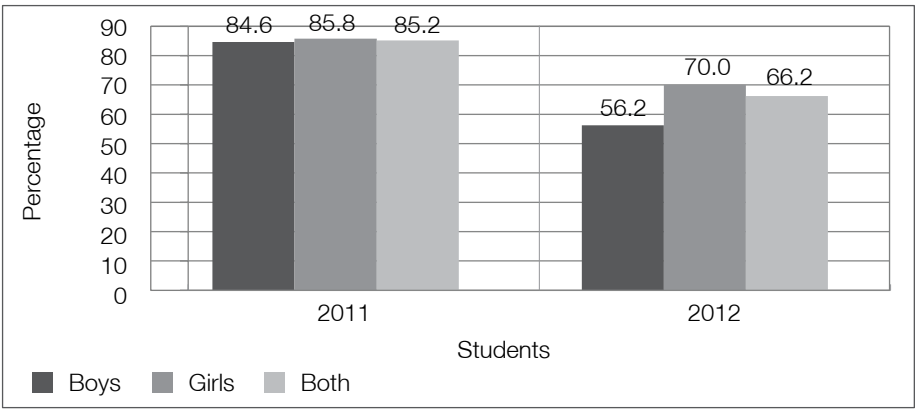
Table 4.7 Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by gender

Pre-primary cohorts (year)	Gender		Both	Level of significance
	Boys	Girls		
2011	80.4	76.3	78.0	ns
2012	88.7	93.7	91.8	p<0.05
2013	93.4	95.2	94.5	ns
2014	90.9	97.5	94.7	p<0.01
2015	94.9	94.8	94.8	ns
2016	86.4	92.8	90.4	p<0.05
Total	89.4	92.0	90.9	p<0.05
Level of significance	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Children who received pre-primary education in 2011 were supposed to be in grade VI in 2017 if they continued education without repetition in any grade. Similarly, those who received pre-primary education in 2012 should have completed their primary education in 2017. The analysis shows that of the 2011 cohort, 85.2% completed primary education – 84.6% of the boys and 85.8% of the girls (Figure 4.5). In comparison, two-thirds of the 2012 cohort completed primary education. Although no gender difference was observed in the previous cohort, the girls of this cohort were much ahead of the boys of the same cohort in completing primary education. Over 70% of the girls and 56.2% of the boys of 2012 cohort completed primary education ($p<0.01$).

Figure 4.5 Percentage of pre-primary graduates completed primary education by pre-primary year and gender



It was observed that 9.8% of the students of 2011 cohort completed the fourth grade of primary education, of which 5.1% had already dropped out. Therefore, the remaining 4.7% could complete primary education if they continue their education in 2018. Among the primary completers (85.2%) of this cohort, 15% had already dropped out with 78.2% currently in school. The latter have the possibility of studying more if they do not dropout. In fact, approximately 90% of the students of 2011 cohort are likely to complete primary education, and the majority of them continue their studies beyond this.

Table 4.8 Percentage distribution of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by grades completed by 2017

Completed Grade	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	
Pre-primary	0.8	1.5	3.6	3.2	7.8	26.2	7.4
One	0.6	0.5	2.1	7.5	29.2	71.1	19.2
Two	1.0	4.2	9.1	28.1	58.7	1.7	17.8
Three	2.6	9.9	20.8	52.9	2.7	1.0	15.0
Four	9.8	17.7	59.5	7.8	0.8	0.0	15.8
Five	25.9	61.8	4.4	0.5	0.8	0.0	15.0
Six	56.5	4.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.3
Seven	2.8	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Corresponding grades of underlined figures are the expected grades to be completed by the respective pre-primary cohorts

Let us now take a look on the 2012 cohort of students. Of the 66.2% of the students of this cohort who completed primary education, 65.1% were in school up to the end of 2017. Among others, 17.7% completed grade IV and 9.9% completed grade III by 2017. A large portion of these two groups of students were in school up to the end of 2017. They were 22.8% of the total students of this cohort –15.7% in grade IV and 7.1% in grade III. If these students carry on their schooling until grade V, approximately 88% of the students of the 2012 cohort could complete primary education. See Annex 6 for details.

Of the 2013 cohort of students, 64.4% were in grade IV or above in 2017 and 18.3% was in grade III. Of the 2004 cohort of students, 60.8% were in grade III or above in 2017 and 24% were in grade II. Of the 2015 cohort of students, 63.1% were in grade II or above and 26.9% were in grade I. Of the 2016 cohort of students, three-quarters were in grade I or above and there was a good chance that many of them would continue in 2018.

Further analysis of the data on the first two cohorts of pre-primary graduates shows that the temporary residents were more likely to complete their education than the permanent residents.

Students in the madrasas

In the year following graduation from pre-primary education, 5.2% of the students enrolled in madrasas – 3.2% in general madrasas and 2% in *kawmi/hafizia* madrasas (Table 4.9). These figures increased over time. In 2017, 5.3% of the pre-primary graduates were admitted in general madrasas and 3% in *kawmi/hafizia* madrasas – making this a total of 8.3%. The overall increase was 3.1 percentage points – 2.1 percentage points in general madrasas and one percentage point in *kawmi/hafizia* madrasas.

Table 4.9 Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates admitted in madrasas by type of madrasa

Pre-primary cohorts (year)	Following year of pre-primary graduation			Year 2017		
	General madrasa	*Kawmi/ Hafizia*	Total	General madrasa	*Kawmi/ Hafizia*	Total
2011	0.9	2.1	3.0	4.2	4.7	8.9
2012	3.2	1.2	4.4	4.8	2.4	7.2
2013	2.5	2.7	5.2	5.6	3.2	8.8

[Table 4.9 conted...]

[...Table 4.9 conted]

Pre-primary cohorts (year)	Following year of pre-primary graduation			Year 2017		
	General madrasa	*Kawmi/ Hafizia*	Total	General madrasa	*Kawmi/ Hafizia*	Total
2014	4.6	0.6	5.2	6.9	2.8	9.7
2015	4.2	2.4	6.6	6.3	2.4	8.7
2016	3.4	3.2	6.6	3.4	3.2	6.6
Total	3.2	2.0	5.2	5.3	3.0	8.3

Increase in the proportion of madrasa students was highest among the first cohort of pre-primary students – 5.9 percentage points. The figure halved the following year, but then increased again over time. The boys were ahead of the girls in admission in the madrasas during the initial year, a trend which continued till 2017. In the year following pre-primary graduation, 6.9% of the boys and 4.1% of the girls were admitted in madrasas (Table 4.10). These figures increased to 10.1% and 7%, respectively in 2017.

Table 4.10 Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates admitted in madrasas by type of madrasa, year and gender

Type of madrasa	Following year of pre-primary graduation			Year 2017		
	Boys	Girls	Both	Boys	Girls	Both
General madrasa	3.8	2.8	3.2	5.3	5.2	5.3
Kawmi/Hafizia	3.1	1.3	2.0	4.8	1.8	3.0
Total	6.9	4.1	5.2	10.1	7.0	8.3

Reasons for dropout

The parents of pre-primary graduates were asked to elaborate on the reasons for students dropping out from education. Although the parents cited many reasons, a few seemed particularly prominent. Four reasons can be considered major (Table 4.11). According to 30.6% of the parents, children dropped out from schools as they had lost interest in education. In 15% of the cases, parents were not willing to send their children to school. Saying education as an expensive commodity, 29.2% of the parents mentioned that they were unable to send their

children to schools due to financial inability of them. Another 9.4% of the students dropped out of school in order to work outside home to meet their family needs. These four reasons of dropping out accounted for 85% of students who dropped out of school.

Table 4.11 Percentage distribution of primary dropouts by reasons behind dropout and gender

Reasons of dropout	Gender		All
	Boys	Girls	
Scarcity of money/expensive education	20.4	36.7	29.2
Unwillingness of parents	21.5	11.0	15.8
Unwillingness of students	44.0	19.3	30.6
Involved in work for household chores	7.5	11.0	9.4
Marriage of student	0.0	7.3	4.0
Others	6.6	14.7	11.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

A gender difference was noticeable. Proportionately more boys dropped out than girls due to losing interest in education, and their parents' unwillingness to send them to schools. In addition, a small section of the girls (7.3%) dropped out due to marriage. The other reasons for drop out included, which were of a frequency of less than 2% – school was far from the home, transportation problems, illness of students, schools refused to admit, under-age students, failure in examinations, engagement in household work, and social insecurity.

Socioeconomic background and enrolment

Two attempts were made. Firstly, to see the relationship of students enrolment in school immediately after completion of pre-primary education, with their background characteristics. Secondly, to see the relationship of their present enrolment status (at the end of 2017), with their background characteristics.

On completion of pre-primary education, the students equally enrolled in schools in the following year, with regard to majority of the selected socioeconomic background characteristics (Table 4.12). For instance, no statistically significant difference was observed in enrolment rate with

regard to religion, residence, having electricity at home, having television at home, labour-selling status of household, NGO membership, food security status of household, and household income. Although no variation in enrolment was observed with regard to fathers' education, the enrolment rate significantly increased with the increase in mothers' education ($p<0.001$). Moreover, the first generation learners were significantly less likely to be admitted to schools in the following year than those who were not the first generation learners ($p<0.01$). Parents having cellular phones were more likely to send their children to schools than those without. Children were involved in work (child labour) were less likely to be admitted to school in the following year than those who were not engaged in work. The enrolment rate was significantly higher for those who were admitted into pre-primary education at age five years or more than those admitted at age four years ($p<0.05$). Cohort-wise analysis of the above is provided in the Annexes 7-21.

Table 4.12 Percentage of pre-primary graduates admitted in school the following year of graduation by socioeconomic background characteristics

Characteristics	%
Age at admission	
4 years	88.5
5-6 years	93.4
7-11 years	94.0
Significance	p<0.05
Religion	
Muslim	93.1
Non-Muslim	95.3
Significance	ns
Residence	
Permanent	94.0
Temporary	92.9
Significance	ns
Electricity at home	
Available	93.3
Not available	86.7
Significance	ns

Characteristics	%
Mothers' cellular phone	
Have	94.4
Have not	92.4
Significance	p<0.05
Fathers' cellular phone	
Have	93.8
Have not	90.0
Significance	p<0.01
Fathers' education	
Nil	92.0
≤ Class 4	94.2
Classes 5–9	93.7
Classes 10+	95.6
Significance	ns
Mothers' education	
Nil	90.4
≤ Class 4	93.5

[Table 4.12 conted...]

[...Table 4.12 conted]

Characteristics	%
Having television	
Have	93.7
Don't have	91.8
Significance	ns
Labour-selling status	
Sell labour	93.6
Don't sell	93.1
Significance	ns
NGO membership	
Member	93.1
Non-member	93.5
Significance	ns
HH food security status	
Always in deficit	93.0
Sometimes in deficit	93.2
Breakeven	93.1
Surplus	93.8
Significance	ns

Characteristics	%
Classes 5–9	94.9
Classes 10+	97.4
Significance	p<0.001
First generation status	
First generation	90.7
Not first generation	93.9
Significance	p<0.01
Child labour status	
Working	90.9
Not working	93.9
Significance	p<0.01
Monthly HH income (Tk.)	
<10,000	92.9
10,000 – <15,000	93.5
15,000 – <20,000	93.9
≥20,000	92.7
Significance	ns

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

The current enrolment rate (at the end of 2017) of the students with regard to their socioeconomic background is provided in Table 4.13. The relationships were similar to the above results put in Table 4.12 with majority of the background characteristics. Here too, no significant difference in enrolment rate was observed with regard to religion, availability of electricity at home, NGO membership, and household income. The current enrolment rate significantly varied with the above findings (in Table 4.12) with regard to parents having cellular phones, mothers' education, first generation learner status, and child labour status of students. A different result was observed with five characteristics. In each, no significant difference was observed in enrolment rate in the following year of having pre-primary education, but the difference grew over time. The characteristics include residence, having television at home, labour-selling status of household, fathers' education, and

household food security status. The permanent residents, those who had television at home and who did not belong to labour-selling households were more likely to admit in schools than those who were temporary residents, had no television at home and belonging to labour-selling households, respectively. The current enrolment rate significantly increased with the increase of fathers' education and food security status of the households as well ($p<0.001$ in both the cases). The current enrolment rate was significantly lower for those who admitted in pre-primary education at age seven years or more than those admitted before ($p<0.001$). Cohort-wise analysis of the above is provided in the Annexes 22-36.

Table 4.13 Current enrolment rate (%) of pre-primary graduates by socioeconomic background characteristics

Characteristics	Enrolment rate (%)
Age at admission	
4 years	93.5
5-6 years	94.2
7-11 years	85.1
Significance	p<0.001
Religion	
Muslim	90.7
Non-Muslim	93.1
Significance	ns
Residence	
Permanent	95.3
Temporary	88.2
Significance	p<0.001
Electricity at home	
Available	91.0
Not available	80.0
Significance	ns
Having television	
Have	91.5
Don't have	88.6

Characteristics	Enrolment rate (%)
Mothers' cellular phone	
Have	93.1
Have not	88.7
Significance	p<0.001
Fathers' cellular phone	
Have	91.9
Have not	83.6
Significance	p<0.001
Fathers' education	
Nil	86.4
≤ Class 4	91.6
Classes 5–9	95.2
Classes 10+	95.6
Significance	p<0.001
Mothers' education	
Nil	85.5
≤ Class 4	89.4
Classes 5–9	95.5
Classes 10+	100.0
Significance	p<0.001

[Table 4.13 conted...]

[...Table 4.13 conted]

Characteristics	Enrolment rate (%)
Significance	p<0.05
Labour-selling status	
Sell labour	88.2
Don't sell	93.5
Significance	p<0.001
NGO membership	
Member	89.9
Non-member	91.7
Significance	ns
HH food security status	
Always in deficit	83.7
Sometimes in deficit	88.2
Breakeven	92.0
Surplus	93.3
Significance	p<0.001

Characteristics	Enrolment rate (%)
First generation status	
First generation	84.0
Not first generation	92.7
Significance	p<0.001
Monthly HH income (Tk.)	
<10,000	91.0
10,000 – <15,000	89.3
15,000 – <20,000	90.6
≥20,000	92.8
Significance	ns
Child labour status	
Working	73.7
Not working	95.2
Significance	p<0.001

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Therefore, out of 15 background characteristics, statistically significant difference in enrolment in the following year of availing pre-primary education was observed in six which increased to 11 when current enrolment rate was observed. This may be an indication of increased inequity in school enrolment over time.

Logistic regression analysis

Two logistic regression models were built to explore the predictive characteristics of pre-primary graduates' enrolment – immediate after their graduation and current enrolment. The variables considered for this analysis were those, which were considered for the bivariate analysis presented above. Three variables significantly predicted pre-primary graduates' enrolment in schools in the following year of graduation. The variables include age at admission, mothers' education, and child labour status (Table 4.14). The enrolment rate increased with the increase of

age of admission of the children and educational qualifications of their mothers. Children who were not engaged in child labour were more likely to be admitted in schools after completing pre-primary education than those who were engaged in child labour. These three variables collectively explained only 1% (Cox and Snell R^2) and 3% (Nagelkerke R^2) of the variation in the enrolment status.

Table 4.14 Logistic regression analysis predicting enrolment of pre-primary graduates in the following year of graduation

Explanatory variables	Regression coefficients	Odds ratio	95% CI of odds ratio	
			Lower	Upper
Age at admission				
4 years	0	1.00		
5-6 years	0.76	2.13	1.33	3.41
7 years+	1.09	2.98	1.78	4.99
Mothers education				
Nil	0	1.00		
Classes I – IV	0.46	1.59	1.11	2.29
Classes V+	0.85	2.35	1.66	3.31
Child labour				
Yes	0	1.00		
No	0.42	1.52	1.09	2.12
Constant	1.10			
-2 Log likelihood	1464.73			
Cox & Snell R^2	0.01			
Nagelkerke R^2	0.03			

On the other hand, seven variables significantly predicted current enrolment status of the pre-primary graduates. The variables are age at admission, mothers' education, fathers' education, child labour status, residence, household food security status, and NGO membership of households. The current enrolment rate significantly increased with the increase of parental education of the students and food security status of their households. Children who admitted in pre-primary centres at age 5-6 years were more likely to continue education up to the end of 2017 than the other children. Children of the permanent residents and those who do not belong to the labour-selling households were more likely to

continue education than those who were from the temporary households and belong to the labour-selling households, respectively. Children belonging to the households having no NGO *samity* membership were more likely to continue education than those who came from NGO *samity* member households. These seven variables collectively explained only 11% (Cox and Snell R^2) and 23% (Nagelkerke R^2) of the variation in the current enrolment status of the pre-primary graduates.

Table 4.15 Logistic regression analysis predicting current enrolment of pre-primary graduates

Explanatory variables	Regression coefficients	Odds ratio	95% CI of odds ratio	
			Lower	Upper
Age at admission				
4 years	0	1.00		
5-6 years	0.46	1.58	1.86	2.92
7 years+	-0.15	0.87	0.47	1.59
Mothers education				
Nil	0	1.00		
Classes I – IV	0.19	1.20	0.87	1.67
Classes V+	0.77	2.17	1.51	3.11
Fathers education				
Nil	0	1.00		
Classes I – IV	0.29	1.34	0.96	1.88
Classes V+	0.63	1.87	1.31	2.68
Labour-selling status				
Yes	0	1.00		
No	1.75	5.78	4.41	7.57
Residence				
Temporary	0	1.00		
Permanent	0.62	1.86	1.34	2.57
Food security status				
Always in deficit	0	1.00		
Sometimes in deficit	0.54	1.73	1.05	2.84
Breakeven	0.90	2.47	1.53	3.97

[Table 4.15 conted...]

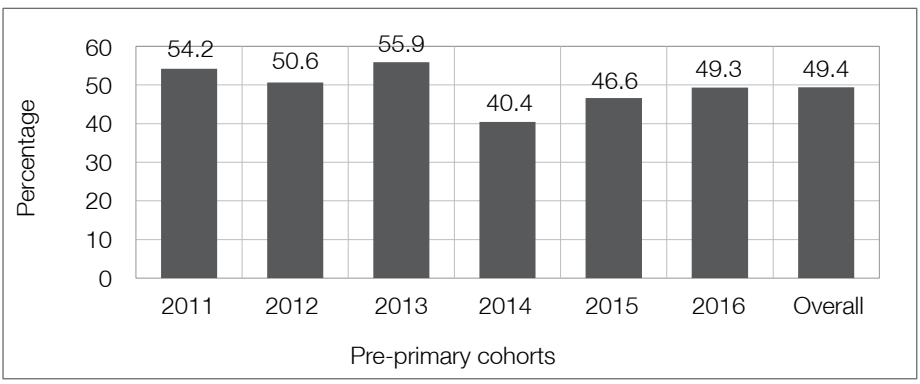
[...Table 4.15 conted]

Explanatory variables	Regression coefficients	Odds ratio	95% CI of odds ratio	
			Lower	Upper
Surplus	0.89	2.43	1.43	4.13
NGO membership				
Member	0	1.00		
Non member	0.30	1.35	1.03	1.77
Constant	-0.62			
-2 Log likelihood	1517.79			
Cox & Snell R^2	0.11			
Nagelkerke R^2	0.23			

4.3 SUPPORT FOR FURTHER EDUCATION

The parents were asked whether any staff of BRAC (say, POs) or the teachers of pre-primary schools provided any help in admission of the students in primary schools. This help actually means taking the students to the nearby primary schools for admission or establishing connection between the parents and the nearby primary schools. Overall, a half of the parents reported that they received help from BRAC staff or the teachers in admission in nearby primary schools (Figure 4.6). Year-wise variation was observed in this. It was highest in the 2013

Figure 4.6 Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates received help from BRAC staff or teachers to admit in primary schools



cohort of students – about 56% of the children got such support; and lowest in the 2014 cohort of students – 40.4% of the children got such support. More than a half of the students of the first three cohorts got such help from BRAC staff which dropped to 40.4% in the 2014 cohort, and gradually increased the following two years and reached nearly 50% in 2016 cohort.

The parents engaged private tutors to support a section of the pre-primary graduates in their studies at primary level. Some of the parents or other members of households also looked after studies at home for a section of graduates. Overall, two-thirds of the students availed private supplementary tutoring and 47.6% received help from household members. No gender difference was observed. Private supplementary tutoring was availed by 67.3% of the boys and 66.5% of the girls, and household support was received by 47.5% of the boys and 47.7% of the girls.

The pre-primary graduates under the project increasingly availed support from private tutors. Firstly, the proportion of availing private tutoring increased among the pre-primary graduates of various cohorts who enrolled in grade I the following years (Table 4.16). For instance, 29.2% of the 2011 cohort had private tutor which increased to over 37% in the 2012 and 2013 cohorts, 53.8% in the 2014 cohort, 61.2% in the 2015 cohort, and 62.6% in the 2016 cohort ($p<0.001$). Secondly, as the pre-primary graduates of the first two cohorts (2011 and 2012) proceeded with primary education, a proportion of them availing private supplementary tutoring increased significantly (Table 4.16). Of the 2011 cohort of students, 29.2% availed private tutoring in grade I, 35.4% in grade II, 46.3% in grade III, 57.6% in grade IV and nearly three-quarters in grade V. Again, of the 2012 cohort of students, 37.6% received private tutoring in grade I which gradually increased to 73.3% when they reached in grade V.

Table 4.16 Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates availed private tutoring by primary grade

Grade	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	
One	29.2	37.6	37.3	53.8	61.2	62.6	45.1
Two	35.4	43.5	46.3	63.8	63.2	69.2	49.8
Three	46.3	52.4	53.0	72.7	72.7	75.0	55.0
Four	57.6	60.7	51.8	57.4	100.0	na	57.4
Five	74.3	73.3	75.9	66.7	100.0	na	74.0

Note: na = not available

A similar trend was observed in the percentage of students of various cohorts receiving help from household members when they were in grade I (Table 4.17). In grade I, 29.8% of the 2011 cohort of students received help from household members. This figure gradually increased to 51.7% in the 2014 cohort and to 56.6% in the 2016 cohort. On the other hand, not much variation was observed by grade in any of the cohorts of students.

Table 4.17 Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates received help in studies at home from household members by primary grade

Grade	Various cohorts of pre-primary education						All
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	
One	29.8	37.6	40.9	51.7	47.8	56.6	43.8
Two	29.1	37.6	44.1	53.6	48.1	15.4	42.1
Three	32.8	41.5	46.6	53.6	45.5	25.0	42.8
Four	32.0	43.1	46.2	46.8	30.0	na	40.0
Five	30.9	42.1	41.4	0.0	60.0	na	36.2

Note: na = not available

In order to understand the support system in detail, the parents were asked three more questions. These were related to parental visit to school, teachers visit to students' home, and BRAC POs visit to the students at home. Not much variation was observed by cohort of students when the parents were asked whether they visited schools to know the progress of their students in schools (Table 4.18). On an average, 12.7% of the parents said that they never visited primary schools, three-quarters of the parents visited schools sometimes, and 12.3% often visited schools. While asked whether any teachers of the primary schools visited the students at their homes – more than a half of the parents reported negatively (55.2%). A quarter of the parents reported that the teachers had visited them previously, but not recently. Only a fifth of the parents said, primary school teachers often visited them. Regarding BRAC staff visit to students' homes, a half of the parents replied in the negaitve, 35.9% said that they visited earlier but not recently, and 14.1% said that the BRAC staff or the teachers had visited earlier as well as 'on and off' recently.

Table 4.18 Percentage distribution of pre-primary graduates admitted in primary education by frequency of communication

Frequency of visit	Parental visit to school	Teachers visit to students at home	BRAC staff/ teachers visit to students at home
Never	12.7	55.2	50.0
Earlier but not now/sometimes	75.0	24.3	35.9
Earlier as well as now	12.3	20.5	14.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The teachers of primary schools, SMC members, relatives or family members of the students, their neighbours, and BRAC staff all undertook initiatives to bring back students who had dropped out of schools. The parents reported that 78.2% of the dropped out students were approached to try and get them back into school – 80.6% of the boys and 76.2% of the girls (Table 4.19). A multiple response was observed. The relatives or family members attempted to bring 64% of the students back, the neighbours attempted to bring 48.9% of the students, the teachers 41.8% of the students, BRAC staff 22.2% of the students, and SMC members 11.1% of the students. A gender difference was observed in the attempt of the teachers only. They attempted to bring back 52.4% of the boys and 32.8% of the girls ($p<0.01$).

Table 4.19 Percentage of primary dropouts who were told to go back to school by initiators and gender

Initiators	Gender		All	Level of significance
	Boys	Girls		
School teachers	52.4	32.8	41.8	p<0.01
SMC members	13.6	9.0	11.1	ns
Relatives/family members	68.9	59.8	64.0	ns
Neighbours	53.4	45.1	48.9	ns
BRAC staff	23.3	21.3	22.2	ns
Any	80.6	76.2	78.2	ns

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05; multiple responses counted

An attempt was made to see whether the above support had any link with parental education and household economic situation. A statistically significant variation was observed with each of them with regard to fathers' education (Table 4.20). Students' receipt of private supplementary tutoring, household members' support of their studies, parental visits to school, and BRAC staff visit to households significantly increased with the increase in fathers' education. The level of significance was relatively higher for the first three indicators than the fourth one ($p<0.001$ and $p<0.01$, respectively). On the other hand, teachers' household visit was mostly equal to those who had never schooled father and who had fathers' with secondary or more education. However, a statistically significant increase was observed in the households with latter three groups of fathers' education ($p<0.05$).

Table 4.20 Percentage of pre-primary graduates admitting in primary education received various support by fathers' education

Father's educational level	Private tutoring	HH members support	Parents school visit	Teachers HH visit	BRAC Staff visit to HH
Nil	63.1	37.1	85.0	47.2	45.9
≤ class 4	64.7	45.2	85.6	40.9	51.9
Classes 5-9	71.9	57.2	91.1	45.1	52.3
Class 10+	72.3	75.9	93.3	47.7	56.9
Level of significance	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.05	p<0.01

Note: HH = Householsd

Likely to fathers' education, students receipt of private supplementary tutoring, household members support to their study, parental visits to school, and BRAC staff visits to the household significantly increased with the increase in mothers' education (Table 4.21). Here too, the level of significance was relatively higher for the first three indicators than the fourth one ($p<0.001$ and $p<0.01$, respectively). On the other hand, teachers' visited the students at their home irrespective of their mothers' education.

Table 4.21 Percentage of pre-primary graduates admitting in primary education received various support by mothers' education

Mother's educational level	Private tutoring	HH members support	Parents school visit	Teachers HH visit	BRAC Staff visit to HH
Nil	60.6	32.6	83.7	45.5	47.5
≤ class 4	65.7	42.1	87.3	43.3	48.7
Classes 5-9	72.2	59.8	89.3	45.1	51.7
Class 10+	70.6	79.7	97.9	49.3	62.2
Level of significance	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	ns	p<0.01

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

The first generation learners were significantly less likely to avail private supplementary tutoring and getting support from household members than those were second generation learners (p<0.001) (Table 4.22). They were also less likely to have less parental visits to school (p<0.01) and visit of BRAC staff to their homes (p<0.05). No difference was observed between first and second generation learners in primary teachers visit to their homes.

Table 4.22 Percentage of pre-primary graduates admitting in primary education received various support by first generation status

First generation status	Private tutoring	HH members support	Parents school visit	Teachers HH visit	BRAC Staff visit to HH
First generation learner	58.6	30.4	83.8	47.7	45.6
Not first generation	68.8	52.0	88.5	44.5	51.2
Level of significance	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.01	ns	p<0.05

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

The proportion of students availing private supplementary tutoring, receiving support from household members and primary teachers' visit to students' homes, significantly increased with the increase of self-perceived food security status of households (Table 4.23). The level of significance in the increase was higher in the first two cases than the third one. On the other hand, a negative relationship was noticed in the case of BRAC staff visit to students households (p<0.001). This

indicates that BRAC staff provided more visits to the *deficit* households than the *breakeven* or *surplus* households. No statistically significant variation was observed in parents' visit to school with regard to food security status of households.

Table 4.23 Percentage of pre-primary graduates admitting in primary education received various support by self-perceived food security status of household

Food security status	Private tutoring	HH members support	Parents school visit	Teachers HH visit	BRAC Staff visit to HH
Always in deficit	55.3	32.5	83.2	32.7	62.4
Sometimes in deficit	62.0	45.9	88.8	37.6	57.8
Breakeven	66.5	48.6	88.1	44.8	47.0
Surplus	74.9	51.2	85.4	45.3	45.3
Level of significance	p<0.001	p<0.001	ns	p<0.01	p<0.001

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

A similar result was observed in four of the five indicators when they were analysed by monthly income of households (Table 4.24). These are availing private supplementary tutoring, households' members support to studies, parents' school visit, and teachers' household visit. Here, the relationships were less strong than the above in the cases of private supplementary tutoring and teachers' household visit. A positive relationship (opposite to the previous analysis) was observed in between household income and BRAC staff visit to students at home (p<0.05).

Table 4.24 Percentage of pre-primary graduates admitting in primary education received various support by household income

Household income (in BDT)	Private tutoring	HH members support	Parents school visit	Teachers HH visit	BRAC Staff visit to HH
<10,000	64.7	40.9	85.4	39.1	44.2
10,000 – <15,000	65.2	47.0	88.8	43.4	48.7
15,000 – <20,000	65.0	45.8	87.5	45.1	50.4
≥ 20,000	71.1	52.7	86.3	48.3	53.4
Level of significance	p<0.05	p<0.001	ns	p<0.05	p<0.05

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

4.4 PERFORMANCE IN PRIMARY EDUCATION COMPLETION EXAMINATION

The majority of pre-primary graduates of the first two cohorts participated in the Primary Education Completion Examination (PECE). The examinations were held in 2016 and 2017, respectively. This section analysed the pre-primary graduates who were in grade V in these two years. In 2016, number of students who continued up to grade V was 404; of them 97.5% participated in PECE with no gender difference. However, the PECE results of only 305 students were found. In 2017, number of students continuing up to grade V was 421; of them 97.9% participated in the examination (96% from schools and 1.9% from madrasas). Results of 399 students were found. In the case of the examinees of 2016, only the overall results are available, but for 2017, overall as well as subject-wise results are available.

Of the pre-primary graduates who participated in the PECE in two successive years, 3% failed in the examination and 5% achieved the full grade point average (GPA). The proportion of examinees failed was 1.6% in 2016 and 4% in 2017 (Table 4.25). On the other hand, 3.6% of the examinees in 2016 and 6% of those in 2017 achieved the full GPA. The majority of the examinees achieved GPA 3-<5 in both the years. In 2016, 47.3% of the examinees achieved GPA 3-3.99 and 33.1% achieved GPA 4-4.99. These rates were 33.6% and 35.6%, respectively for those who sat for PECE in 2017. When looking at the proportion of examinees who failed and proportion of examinees who received the full GPA, it was found both were higher among the boys than the girls in both the years.

Table 4.25 Percentage distribution of pre-primary graduates participated in PECE by Grade Point Average, year and gender

Grade Point Average	Year 2016			Year 2017		
	Gender		Both	Gender		Both
	Boys	Girls		Boys	Girls	
0	2.3	1.1	1.6	4.3	3.8	4.0
1-1.99	3.1	1.7	2.3	2.9	3.1	3.0
2-2.99	10.1	13.6	12.1	13.8	19.9	17.8
3-3.99	46.5	47.8	47.3	44.2	28.0	33.6
4-4.99	31.8	34.1	33.1	26.8	40.2	35.6
5	6.2	1.7	3.6	8.0	5.0	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

On an average, 59.2% of the examinees achieved GPA 3.5 or more; 59.2% among the boys and 59.3% among the girls (Table 4.26). This was 60.3% among those who sat for examination in 2016 and 58.4% among those who sat for examination in 2017. No statistically significant difference was observed by the year of examination or by gender of students.

Table 4.26 Percentage of pre-primary graduates achieved Grade Point Average 3.5 or above in PECE by year and gender

Year of PECE	Gender		All	Level of significance
	Boys	Girls		
2016	62.8	58.5	60.3	ns
2017	55.8	59.8	58.4	ns
All	59.2	59.3	59.2	ns
Level of significance	ns	ns	ns	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Subject-wise analysis of 2017 examination results show that majority of the students achieved the first three letter grades (A+, A or A-) in five of the six subjects. These are Bangla, Mathematics, Bangladesh & Global Studies, Primary Science, and Religion & Moral Education. On the other hand, majority of the students achieved the third to the fifth letter grades (A-, B or C) in English. A shorter version of this analysis is provided in Table 4.27. This provides the percentage of students achieving GPA 3.5 or more in various subjects by gender. The best performance was observed in Religion & Moral Education – 84.6% of the students achieved GPA 3.5 or more in this subject. This was followed by Primary Science and Bangla – about three-quarters of the students achieved GPA 3.5 or more in these two subjects. The students' performance in the following two subjects were a lot behind these. Over 65% of the students achieved GPA 3.5 or more in Mathematics and 61.5% did so in Bangladesh & Global Studies. The worst performance was observed in English. Only 38.1% of the students achieved GPA 3.5 or more in this subject. Subject-wise variation in performance as mentioned above was statistically significant ($p<0.001$). Such variation was also observed separately for the boys and the girls. However, no significant gender difference was observed in any of the subjects.

Table 4.27 Percentage of pre-primary graduates achieved Grade Point Average 3.5 or above in PECE by subject and gender, 2017

Subjects	Gender		Both	Level of significance
	Boys	Girls		
Bangla	71.8	75.5	74.2	ns
English	39.8	37.0	38.1	ns
Mathematics	64.5	65.3	65.1	ns
Bangladesh & Global Studies	59.4	62.6	61.5	ns
Primary Science	74.7	75.2	75.0	ns
Religion and Moral Education	87.0	83.4	84.6	ns
Level of significance	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

4.5 ATTITUDE TOWARDS EDUCATION, PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOUR

On education

Due to expansion of basic education (pre-primary and primary) throughout the country, a positive attitude towards education and related issues has been observed among the masses. The common people are gradually becoming interested in sending their children to educational institutions to a certain level.

The increasing interest of the general population in education was observed by all the Programme Organisers (POs) and almost all the guardians who participated in Focus Group Discussions (FGD) for this study. The guardians also showed interest in the education of their children. Some of them highlighted the increasing number of kindergartens at the village level, as evidence for the spread of education. Note that primary education in the kindergartens was not free as that the government and the newly nationalised schools. They were also aware of problems related to students' dropout from school. One of them showed his concern in the following way:

> It's true that school enrolment has increased. Now, children from almost all families are admitted in school, but the incidence

> of dropout is also happening. As I see it, the dropout rate has not decreased that much! Now-a-days, schools do not take adequate care of students. Government schools do not pay much attention to regular attendance and kindergarten schools focus mainly on money by collecting various fees. Keeping kids' interest in education is a hard work for all; for which nobody is paying much attention.

Comparing the permanent and temporary residents in an urban setting, from his fourteen years of experience, a Programme Organiser thought that permanent residents (local people – in his words) have inherited assets and therefore they do not have to think much about earning a living based on education. This tends to make them more reluctant towards education than those who have migrated (temporary residents). However, there are differences between educated and non-educated people. Educated people value education more than those who are not, although both of them are local/permanent by residence. On the other hand, another PO thought that these places hardly have any fixed characteristics because the majority of the households consist of those who have migrated. It's hard to understand a place that is constantly changing, he felt.

The POs' understanding was that most of the parents earnestly wanted to provide education to their children. They tried their best to do so up to a certain level, depending on their financial capability. Because of poverty, sometimes the parents had to prioritise their needs. Citing a parent who once said, 'we need to eat first, education comes afterwards' – a PO concluded that that's why they send their children to work after completing primary education. Some fathers took their sons with them to work. The children load/unload sand, work in saw-mills, tea-stalls, shops etc. there. Similarly, a parent in FGD claimed, 'It's true that we didn't put much importance to our children's education before, but now we are proactive as much as we can, so that our children do not have to deal with same deprivations that we are facing due to lack of education.' The parents pointed out financial insolvency as the prime reason for not sending children to school. However, 'we try as far as it is within our reach' – said a mother in a FGD.

Poverty triggered some social problems that hampered children's education. In most of the cases, both the parents were found engaged in full-time work as day labourers, so they had to stay out of the home from early morning to dusk. After returning home, daily household chores and tiredness did not allow them to look after children's education. The PO of BRAC Pre-Primary School (BPPS) added that often they found parents unreachable while conveying feedback about their child, as they were

not available at home. Growing up in such an environment, children indirectly learnt not to put much importance on education. Eventually this then played a significant role in their losing interest in education.

While exploring parental support to education, it was observed that the major contribution made by the parents was bearing the out-of-pocket expenditures for education, said one PO. The parents were not able to help in studies at home because they didn't have sufficient time and they themselves were not educated enough to do so. Due to their engagement in work as day labourers, they were also unavailable in school meetings. In FGDs, parents claimed that they asked their children to study every day, but they didn't know whether they did on a regular basis. Sometimes they asked their elder children to look after the younger ones' studies. Relatively well-off families tended to keep private tutors, or send children to coaching centres, with the hope of ensuring a better education.

Comparing education in schools and the madrasas, the majority of the parents preferred school education. According to them, students in the madrasas remain under lots of pressure and sometimes encounter physical punishment too. They didn't want their children to face these. An opposite understanding was also known. A few of the parents preferred madrasa education for their children, by saying that religious education is also needed for human life. Communities where people mainly worked as day labourers, farmers, garment workers sent their children to government primary schools after completing pre-primary education from BPPS. On the other hand, mostly the small businesspersons – majority of whom were migrants, sent their children to kindergartens.

Sharing her own experience, one of the mothers illustrated the significance of education in daily life. This mother underwent a gall bladder stone operation recently. According to her, her sons were unable to help her because of their lack of education. They did not know about hospitals, and were unable to talk to doctors and read prescriptions properly. However, her daughter, who studied in school more than her sons, helped her in this regard. This made her understand that education is not only important for livelihood, but also for living a proper life.

Another parent in a FGD said, 'there is no loss in education, only benefits.' He explained this with a story from his life. While visiting his eldest daughter at her in-law's house, he saw that she was helping her daughter with homework. He said, 'If I did not send my daughter to school, her daughter would have face the consequences too. So, education is always an investment.' All the parents in FGD agreed with him. Generally most of the parents were interested to educate their

children till secondary or higher secondary level, and only then sending letting them work to earn a living. One mother added that she will educate her daughter and prepare her to get a decent job, so that she does not need to depend on anybody else, and also does not have to pay dowry at her wedding.

Parental aspiration

The parents of the pre-primary graduates were asked to share their aspirations regarding their children's education. A very few of them (2.1%) said that they expected their children to have below secondary education. It was completion of secondary education for 38.2% of the graduates, completion of higher secondary education was for 14.6% of the graduates, and Bachelors or more education for 28.8% of the graduates (Table 4.28). Nearly 3% mentioned religious education in *kawmi* or *hafizia* madrasas and 13.4% of the parents did not think about it or had no response. Not much variation was observed among the students of the first four cohorts. A relatively lower level of educational aspiration was observed among the parents of the students of the cohorts of 2015 and 2016.

Table 4.28 Percentage distribution of pre-primary graduates by parental aspiration about their education and gender

Level of education	Gender		Both
	Boys	Girls	
Grade V	1.0	0.6	0.8
Grade VIII	1.3	1.3	1.3
Grade X	28.0	45.0	38.2
Grade XII	14.8	14.5	14.6
Bachelors or more	36.7	23.6	28.8
Religious education	4.9	1.6	2.9
Did not think/no idea/do not know	13.3	13.4	13.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Gender difference was observed in this. The parents tended to wish their sons have an education, rather than their daughters. The parents wished to see 28% of their sons and 45% of their daughters to complete secondary education ($p<0.001$). On the other hand, they wanted 36.7%

of their sons and 23.6% of their daughters to complete Bachelors or more level of education ($p<0.001$). The parents wished their sons have a religious education compared to their daughters (4.9% versus 1.6%). Comparing Table 4.28 with Annexes 1 and 2 it can be said that parental aspirations regarding their children's education were much higher than their own educational qualifications. Whereas, the fathers, on an average, had 3.5 and the mothers had 3.8 years of schooling; their aspiration was to have 12 years of schooling of their children. The latter was more than three times of the former.

On child labour

Based on his experiences working with the communities, a PO mentioned, 'The parents, in general, are not in favour of child labour, but they have a different definition of it.' He further explained, 'They do not find it wrong if their daughters work as maids in some urban houses to earn food for meeting family needs.' He observed a tendency of sending the children of age 7-9 years to work in the locality. The parents don't forcibly send their children to work always, but after seeing their disinterest in education or schooling, they find no other option but to engage these children in work. In this case, parents cannot force them to return back to school, fearing they might run away from home or get involved with harmful work under such pressure. Parents also reaffirmed this in FGDs. They said, these children mostly work in shops, hotels, cloth dyeing, sharee weaving, and bakery factories, or sometimes as housemaids. They earn BDT 500-3000 per month, depending on the work. Their wages increase after getting some experience in their respective informal sector. Some children start working willingly; nobody directly forces them to do so. It is assumed that due to the dire economic condition of their households, and continuous struggle with poverty at home, they feel it is the only option.

The parents of the children who completed pre-primary education under this project in 2014 said that they do not want to send their children to work because they are still very young and incapable of doing any work outside. They admitted that their children sometimes help in household chores like sweeping or mopping the floor etc. during school vacations. They strongly opposed the idea of involving children in income generating activities. 'Now we understand the value of education, being uneducated is a curse. We will suffer but give our children the education they need.' – said one mother. They also said, it is not fair to involve children in work when they are supposed to be in school. Eventually they would also work; however, as parents it's their duty to help building children's foundation in education that can shape their future. It is not possible to concentrate on learning after work. All the parents participating in FGDs

agreed that children need to start jobs only at least after completing secondary education, if not more. They also added that while studying at college they can start part-time work to bear their own expenses.

The parents of the 2011 cohort of pre-primary students said that they involved their children in household chores, like tiding-up rooms, helping with the cooking, fetching water etc. Sometimes children helped their fathers in small business, only skipping classes if it was emergency. The parents, however, claimed that they were aware about children's study, and as a proof of this they said, they were sincerely trying to create a good environment for study at home. In addition, most of them agreed that they can manage educational expenses till their children are of age 18-20 years. Only after this age, they should find out a suitable work – which may be part time, to support their studies. The parents of the 2012 cohort of students said, they took their children's help in several household activities that didn't collide with their study schedule. For instance, they took food to their fathers in the field, or brought supplies from grocery shops or went out to convey some important news to someone nearby etc. The parents of 2015 cohort of students felt that concentrating on only small increase in income at present would damage their children's future. Nobody should pay such a great price for short term gain. Some parents seemed okay with the idea of sending children to work after completing primary or junior secondary education (grades V or VIII). Some of them also proposed skills training for the students during their leisure time, so that they could use these skills in future.

According to the POs, fathers were more interested to send their children to work than the mothers. One mother who completed secondary education reported that her husband did not want to send their son to school, but it was she who strongly opposed him, and finally was able to send the son to school. This man did not study in school, but was earning a fortune in local leather business. He thought his son would also do fine just like him, without 'wasting' time in schooling. In FGDs, the parents also reported the incidences of early marriage of girls after reaching grade VIII or IX.

To make us understand the influence of poverty on child labour, one PO shared a case he handled. It is a story of Shakila, who is an 11-years old girl and was a former pre-primary graduate under BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project.

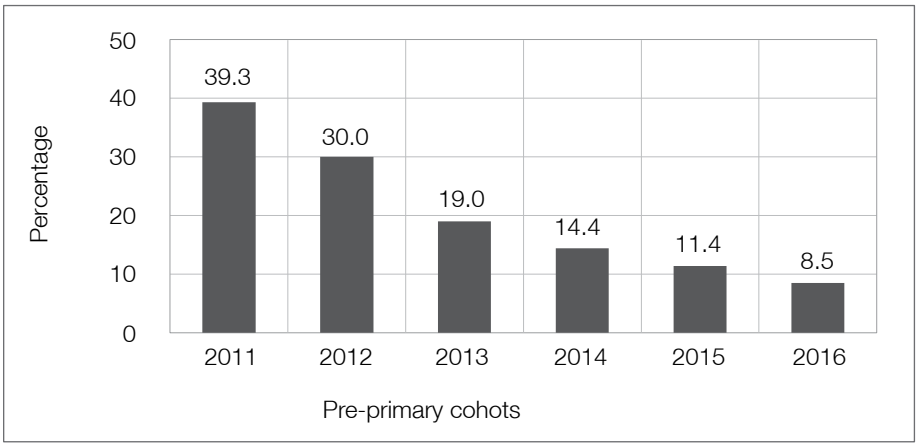
> Shakila was a regular student till grade IV. Her father worked as a day labourer and mother was a housewife. She started to be irregular in her classes from the beginning of grade V. A few months before her primary education completion

examination, she stopped going to school. When the teacher went to her home, she found that the girl was sent to work as a housemaid to meet the increased expenses of her family. At first to honour the teacher's effort, Shakila's mother agreed to send her back to school, but this did not last long. Shakila started skipping school again. This time her teacher was unable to bring her back to school. Hearing this, the respective PO went to her home to convince the parents to let their daughter to sit for the examination. Shakila's parents highlighted their financial difficulties and how she was helping their family by earning BDT 1000-1500 per month. The PO tried to make them understand that if she was given the chance of proper education she might earn more money doing a decent job than the present one. It seems that all her parents could think of was the current income she was bringing home. At last by explaining the importance of the government provided primary completion certificate, the PO managed to convince her parents to let her complete grade V.

Shakila was luckier than Parul, who studied in the same class, but was sent to work as a housemaid, and never came back, even to sit for the Primary Education Completion Examination.

Of the pre-primary graduates traced, a fifth was found working at home or outside and four-fifths were not involved in any work in 2017. The majority of the child labour consisted of working at home (15.6%), followed by outside home (3.4%), and rest in both places (1%). Whereas, 10.3% of the boys were categorised as doing child labour, this figure was 26.5% among girls. This was because majority of the work at home was domestic help, and girls' domestic support to their parents was much higher than that of the boys. The proportion of child labour was highest among the graduates of the first cohort (39.3%) which gradually decreased and was lowest among the latest cohort of graduates (8.5%) (Figure 4.7). This was obvious because the graduates of the earlier cohorts were elder than those of the recent cohorts.

Figure 4.7 Percentage of child labour among various cohorts of pre-primary graduates



Those who were engaged in work outside home were involved in small business, as daily labour, work in garment factories, various paid jobs etc. The majority of them used their income towards family expenses; however, a small portion was used for their own study, study of siblings, as pocket money etc.

On pre-primary education

At the beginning of the project, parents didn't want to admit their 5-6 years old children to school because the idea of pre-primary education was not clear to most of them, as it was relatively a new concept. They also dreaded children getting lost on their way between home and school. According to the POs, it was very challenging for them to convince parents at the beginning of the project. However, at the end of 2017, the parents in FGDs, started speaking positively about the rationale of pre-primary education. Their thinking was that pre-primary education can make students confident and reduce fear and uneasiness about schooling. It helps children to socialise easily. Playful learning attracted spontaneous attention thus this helped to instil a positive attitude towards education, as well as habit formation for schooling. Before putting the pressure of official primary education on the children, joyful learning by playing-singing-reciting is must – the parents felt. This would then help the children adjust well in grade I. They also added that formal schools do not admit children till they are 6-7 years old. Little children tend to be chaotic and require constant care, which they cannot

always provide; pre-primary schools were a blessing from this point of view. They not only took care of little children, but also taught them some useful lessons.

On BRAC Pre-Primary Schools (BPPS)

Both positive and negative opinions were observed about BPPS in the communities where the schools were established. Some guardians felt that learning while playing at pre-primary schools helped the brain development properly. Others reported that children were able to overcome feelings of discomfort and fear regarding socialisation, and had increased confidence in dealing with their peers. Learning of dance and songs, and practice of recitation and other physical activities along with study were also thought to be important for children by another section of parents. They also added that these activities helped children grow an interest in school and education. Other parents thought that sending their children to BPPS was not a good option. Instead they sent their children to kindergartens. Kindergartens put pressure on students and taught them a lot, they felt. Many parents were of the opinion that BRAC education is not up to the mark because it was free of cost. Students not having to wear uniforms, and students of different social classes sitting at the same classroom, was also criticised by a small section of parents. Teaching with only one teacher, with no formal examination taken in classrooms, was also counted as a weakness.

Some parents in the FGDs reported that education in BRAC Schools was good and the schools also provided many services like free books and notebooks, promoted learning by doing, and didn't charge any tuition fees. In addition, they emphasised that they could not look after their children properly because they were working parents. They also were not able to keep track of what their children were doing, where they went, with whom they were mixing with etc. But the BRAC school teacher filled this gap and she took care of the children. Teachers' home visits and sending other students to the absentee students' homes were also appreciated by the parents. According to some of them, the BRAC school teacher plays the role of guardian to some extent. One parent said, 'The way BRAC teacher taught my child, it's exactly the way I would've done myself.' Another mother said that her child enjoyed BRAC pre-primary school. Going to school with friends and playing while learning was fun for her. Thus, she grew up with a special connection to school. Parents also highlighted the supervision system of BRAC school, describing it as 'significantly influencing'. Parents also appreciated the regular school visits of POs, and the refreshers training of teachers. The parents of 2014 cohort of students observed that the

BRAC schools built a very strong foundation for their children at an early age, which enabled them to do well at primary level in kindergartens.

Some of the parents said, because of studying in BPPS their children had a good grounds, so for example, their handwriting was good and clear. In primary schools, teachers do not pay attention to handwriting; however, in BRAC schools, they provided handwriting sheets and the students practiced regularly. They thought that BPPS graduates were able to concentrate on their education, and can memorise well. They could act, recite rhymes better than the other students in primary schools.

Another parent said that because of admitting in BRAC pre-primary school, his son learned the alphabets and hand-writing at an early age. She also added that other children of the same age in the locality cannot write like his son. Comparing BPPS with nearby government schools many parents noted that BRAC took good care of their children. One of them said, 'when I came to visit the school I found my child playing and learning with other students. Madam (the teacher) called us once a month to discuss about students' progress and conveyed many useful messages. I think my child certainly benefitted from BRAC pre-primary school.'

Another parent said that children at early age are restless. In BRAC pre-primary schools they learn while playing, which goes well with their nature. Normally children do not want to go to school, but going to a playful pre-school before starting regular schooling helps them become familiar with the schooling process. Children in BPPS learn how to write words and sentences and read rapidly as well. These children could be directly admitted to class one in primary schools, which was appreciated by the parents.

The parents appreciated a number of BPPS features; which includes teachers care to the students especially the slow learners, no pressure on students, no examination, and absent of corporal punishment. They also added that class size was also small in BPPS compared to other nearby schools. Setting schools nearby their homes and teachers home-visits, was also mentioned as strengths, by parents. Some parents mentioned that they could understood the pre-primary education in BPPS properly, because the POs and the teachers demonstrated the teaching methods and various teaching materials nicely.

Feedback on BRAC School graduates

The government primary school teachers' expressed a mixed feeling about BRAC pre-primary graduates to the Programme Organisers. Some of them said that BRAC school students are good because they learn quickly, and actively participate in classrooms and co-curricular activities. However, some of them reported some weak students among BRAC pre-primary graduates. They also identified some students who talk too much and ask a lot of questions in the primary classrooms. Asking the teacher questions in the classrooms was seen as very normal by the POs; however, irregular attendance of some students were also mentioned by some teachers of the primary schools.

To distinguish between the students of BPPS and other pre-primary education providers, one parent of a BPPS student said in a FGD that 'I don't know how meritorious my daughter is, but she learnt manners and knows how to talk to people, where I see other children mumbling.' The other parents agreed with him and said that children learned to greet elder people, talk freely when asked a question, and became more active and cooperative. At a glance the following points were identified by the parents as strengths of BRAC Pre-primary School (BPPS) graduates:

1. Students become more confident and courageous.
2. They are friendly and cooperative.
3. They act spontaneously and feel less awkward in any situation.
4. They are interested about studies.
5. They actively participate in co-curricular activities apart from studies.
6. Their handwriting is exemplary.

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CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this section the findings of this study were summarised and where applicable, other study findings were brought into discussion. The ultimate goal was to bring the findings together in line with the objectives of this study, and to make some conclusions.

There was a tendency to admit over-aged children in pre-primary education under BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project. The age bracket which was fixed for admitting the children in pre-primary education under this project (5-6 years), has considered the first year of official age for primary education in Bangladesh. The decision makers perhaps took into consideration that the majority of the children in Bangladesh are not admitted into primary education before their eighth or ninth birthday (Nath, Chowdhury and Ahmed 2015). The observation was that the children older than the age-range fixed for this project were also admitted in the pre-primary education under this project. The findings of this study revealed that age of 35.2% of the admitted children was seven years or more and 70% of the students were six years of age or more. This clearly shows a tendency to admit over-aged children in pre-primary education. Such a tendency has increased over time; for instance, age of 45.2% of the students of the 2016 cohort was seven years or more and about three-quarters was six years or above. These figures were much higher than those observed at the national level in the *Education Watch* study on pre-primary education (Nath *et al.* 2014). This may because of the fact that the slum parents were less aware about the age of school admission or the importance of pre-primary education at early-years.

The pre-primary students of the BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project were behind the pre-primary students in general in Bangladesh with regard to some socioeconomic indicators, but they were mostly similar in some other indicators. For instance, a higher proportion of the parents (both

father and mother) of the students under this project had never been to school or did not complete primary education, compared to the national average on this (Nath *et al.* 2014). The proportion of parents of pre-primary students completing primary or secondary education was much higher nationally than that observed in this study. This study shows that overall, a fifth of the pre-primary students were first generation learners, which was 18.3% nationally (Nath *et al.* 2014). The national figure on this also corresponds with that of the 2013 cohort of pre-primary students. However, the proportion of the first generation learners in the NGO operated pre-primary schools was much higher at national level than that in the schools under this project in 2013 (26.6% versus 18.3%). Household Food security status of the students of BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project was lower than that of the corresponding average national statistics. Whereas, 24.5% of the students of this project came from *surplus* households against 40.4% at the national level. Although less than a half of the households were dependent on labour-selling, but a much higher proportion of them had electricity and television at home, and their parents had cellular phones, which shows a better situation with urban convenience.

A very high proportion of the pre-primary completers took admission in schools for further education. However, not all of them enrolled in the first grade of primary education or were admitted in school in the following year of graduation. Although overall, 97.6% of the pre-primary graduates ultimately were admitted in schools, the enrolment rate in school in the year following graduation was 93.3% – of which 15.1% were admitted in pre-primary education again. Of those who admitted later, most took a one year break. Of those who were admitted in pre-primary education once again, the majority of them chose another BRAC school, followed by those preferred the government primary schools and the kindergartens, respectively. This study did not collect data on the reasons for taking pre-primary education twice by a section of children, or their further enrolment in BRAC pre-primary schools. Whatever the reasons were, it was nothing but wastage of resources. The project implementing organisation had to be careful of this. If a section of the students had the financial ability to be admitted into kindergartens (to have pre-primary education for the second time) then they did not need to avail BRAC's fee-free pre-primary schools under this project. A general impression was that children who were four years old at the time of receiving pre-primary education under BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project were most likely to take pre-primary education for the second time, followed by those aged five years. However, two-fifths of the schools under study had no such cases. A wide variation in this by branch and school was observed.

The BRAC staff, it may be the POs or the teachers, helped pre-primary graduates to enrol in primary education. Even after getting admitted into primary education, the POs and the teachers visited primary schools to see the progress of their education. Half of the graduates received this support from the BRAC staff. The parents continued their support to the students after their admission into primary education. Their support included, school visit as per need, providing tutoring support at home and providing private tutors. Tendency to avail private supplementary tutoring gradually increased with the progress of the students in primary education. A good portion of the students were visited in their homes by the teachers of respective primary schools. All these indicate that the pre-primary graduates of the BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project received various support (moral and financial) from BRAC staff, parents, and school teachers for the continuation of their primary education.

Two cohorts of pre-primary students have got adequate years to complete primary education after graduation from BRAC pre-primary schools. Progress of these students at primary level was satisfactory in the sense that a good portion of them completed their primary education, or were on the way to completing it. Progress of the other cohorts of students at primary level was also satisfactory. The findings reveal that 85.2% of the 2011 and two-thirds of the 2012 cohort of students already completed primary education by 2017. It was estimated that approximately 90% of the first two cohorts of students would ultimately complete primary education. This figure was much higher (about 10 percentage points) than the primary education completion rate at the national level (DPE 2017, BANBEIS 2017). This is a significant positive change in slum life.

Results of the students in the Primary Education Completion Examination (PECE) was comparatively better than that at the national level. For instance, whether the PECE pass rate of the students under the BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project was 98.4% in 2016 and 96% in 2017; these figures were 98.5% and 95.2%, respectively at the national level. The difference became clearer when proportion of students attaining GPA 3.5 or more was compared. In 2017, 58.4% of the pre-primary graduates under BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project achieved GPA 3.5 or more, which was higher than the national average of 50.6%.

The parents reported that the major reason for pre-primary students' dropout from primary education was loss of interest in education. As reported, the students gradually loose interest and eventually stop going to school. In the qualitative investigation, the parents blamed the primary school's lack of interest in students' well-being. The second prominent reason of dropout was scarcity of money. Perception of the parents was that education is an expensive good. Their unwillingness to send

children to school and the need of involving children in household chores were also cited by the parents as major causes of dropout. The students being unwilling to continue education was also observed while exploring the reasons of secondary students' dropout (Nath *et al.* 2017). This may be a common challenge throughout the education system. Very few background characteristics were found to be responsible in predicting school enrolment in the year following pre-primary graduation; the number of such characteristics increased over time indicating inequality in various grounds. Less probability of too young children's (aged four years) enrolment in the following year and high probability of elder children's (seven years and above) early dropout from education strongly upholds the need to admission in pre-primary education at the right age – five years as per the Primary (compulsory) Education Act 1990 and the National Education Policy 2010.

The parents in focus group discussions and the BRAC staff in in-depth interviews expressed that people in general are getting aware of education day by day. The parents, specifically the mothers, genuinely wanted to educate their children up to a certain level if they were able to manage the basic cost of food and accommodation. They also added that the relatively well-off families with inherited assets tended to put less emphasis on education. They are the permanent residents of an urban locality. The migrated people valued education more; however, they sometimes had to choose food over education, due to poor income. BRAC staff observed that if both the parents keep busy all day long and spend less time with their children, it contributes to their children's loss of interest in education, because of gradual absence of guidance and inspiration. Govinda (1995) explained this by saying that urban poor children face unkindness of living aimlessly in a world of dichotomy. On one hand, their world simultaneously present unrelieved poverty where the adult models are constantly inactive and frustrated; and on the other hand, they witness unimaginable level of affluence and comfort. As anticipated, these hurt the children's emotional and social adjustment leading to unwanted consequences. The majority of the parents wanted their children to study till completion of secondary education as it was the minimum requirement of availing a decent job. However, not only as a means of earning better wages, parents perceived education as a pre-requisite of better life too. Likely to a kenyan study by Oketch *et al.* (2012) this study observed a high level of parental aspirations regarding education of slum children.

The parents of the graduates, in general, were not found to be in favour of child labour unless it was absolutely necessary for their family. Except the 2011 and 2012, children of other cohorts were still very young and unfit for paid works. Overall, a fifth of the graduates were found

working in or outside of home. Girls were ahead of boys in this regard as the majority of the work was domestic help. Child labour status had a significant relationship with the current school enrolment rate. Children who were not involved in any kind of work had higher chance of being in schools up to the end of 2017 than those who were working. This finding corroborates with the result of another study carried out in rural Bangladesh by Nath and Hadi (2000). Note that practice of sending young children especially the girls to work as housemaids was present in study areas. The boys were found to get involved in informal sector of urban economy such as work in small factories, shops, restaurants etc. The earnings were mostly used to bear household expenses.

Both positive and negative attitudes were found in the community about BRAC pre-primary education. Schooling before grade I was relatively new to the parents, and some of them thought of kindergartens as a better option than BRAC schools. However, according to the parents of BPPS graduates under this project, the teaching materials, sharing the curriculum with parents, demonstrating learning outcomes and home visits of teachers and staff, were the major strengths of BRAC pre-primary education. They said that their children become more social, got used to a regular school routine, were active in classrooms and co-curricular activities, and thus became confident and courageous. The joyful learning process and environment in the BPPS classrooms were appreciated by the parents.

Finally, it can be said that the BEHTRUWC-Sibling Project was a successful one in terms of providing low cost pre-primary education to the poorer children in the urban community, admission of these children in primary education and completion of such education. The parents were found to be very supportive towards the education of their children, and provided various types of educational help. Their dreams for their children's education and success was satisfactorily high. Parents learned to discourage child labour too. Pre-primary graduates did satisfactorily well in the PECE. The BRAC staff and the teachers of the primary schools were also supportive to some extent in this journey.

This study was carried out after one year of ending the project. BEP was present in the project areas most of the time, therefore, it was possible for the project staff (POs and teachers) to keep an eye on the pre-primary graduates in primary education. Such a favour may stop after the end of the project if BEP has no other activities in those areas. This may hamper continuation of education of the latter cohorts of pre-primary graduates in primary schools. BEP's presence in some form may therefore be required for the betterment of these pre-primary graduates.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1. Percentage distribution of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by father's level of education

Father's educational level	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	
Nil	41.6	42.7	34.6	34.6	38.2	40.2	38.6
≤ class 4	23.5	20.6	26.7	23.3	25.0	26.3	24.3
Classes 5-9	30.4	30.7	31.0	34.0	29.1	29.9	30.8
Class 10+	4.5	6.0	7.7	8.1	7.7	3.6	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Annex 2. Percentage distribution of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by mother's level of education

Mother's educational level	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	
Nil	38.0	32.1	31.3	28.3	30.4	29.3	31.4
≤ class 4	29.2	25.6	23.6	20.7	26.1	27.2	25.3
Classes 5-9	29.8	37.9	39.3	44.4	39.1	40.0	38.7
Class 10+	3.0	4.4	5.8	6.6	4.4	3.5	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Annex 3. Percentage distribution of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by father's main occupation

Father's occupation	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	
Agriculture	3.8	4.0	4.7	4.6	2.5	1.5	3.5
Day labour	21.6	18.4	26.2	20.2	28.6	30.8	24.5
Salaried job	14.6	13.7	17.6	19.7	19.0	13.4	16.4
Small business	28.7	31.3	25.4	30.8	25.9	26.1	28.0
Driver	5.3	7.2	5.7	6.4	4.6	7.2	6.0
Rickshaw/van puller	8.6	9.9	9.1	5.2	8.5	11.3	8.8
Self employed	10.2	8.9	7.3	8.1	7.6	5.5	7.9
Others	4.6	4.3	2.0	4.0	1.3	2.3	3.0
Not involved in any income generating activities	2.6	2.3	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.9	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Annex 4. Percentage distribution of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by mother's main occupation

Mother's occupation	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	
Day labour	5.2	5.2	4.5	5.2	5.9	3.0	4.8
Salaried job	22.6	23.4	23.8	17.5	21.7	28.2	22.9
Small business	2.6	0.7	2.5	1.8	2.9	1.6	2.0
Handicrafts	5.2	3.0	2.5	4.3	2.4	2.9	3.3
Maid servant	8.1	6.5	5.2	4.7	9.5	13.9	8.0
Other	1.9	3.9	3.4	3.2	1.5	2.4	2.8
Not involved in any income generating activities	54.4	57.3	58.1	63.3	56.1	48.0	56.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Annex 5. Percentage distribution of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by level of household income

Level of household income (BDT)	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	
<10000	10.6	9.9	13.9	11.9	12.7	16.5	12.6
10000 – <15000	25.3	25.8	31.2	31.0	32.1	34.6	30.1
15000 – <20000	26.3	31.8	24.3	29.0	28.5	25.9	27.7
≥ 20000	37.8	32.5	30.6	28.1	26.7	23.0	29.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean income	17,905	17,971	17,458	17,114	16,341	15,447	17,008

Annex 6. Percentage distribution of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by enrolled grade (at present)

Enrolled Grade at present	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	
Pre-primary	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.7	3.5	15.1	3.4
One	0.2	0.2	1.8	6.6	26.9	72.1	18.6
Two	0.2	2.0	7.3	24.0	59.1	1.6	16.4
Three	1.2	7.1	18.3	52.5	2.3	0.7	13.8
Four	3.3	15.0	59.5	7.8	0.7	0.0	14.4
Five	10.6	61.1	4.4	0.5	0.8	0.0	12.5
Six	58.0	4.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.5
Seven	2.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.5
Religious study	3.7	2.2	3.0	2.7	2.3	3.0	2.8
Not enrolled	20.2	8.0	4.8	5.2	4.2	7.5	8.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Underlined figures are expected grade to be enrolled at present by the respective pre-primary cohorts

Annex 7. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by religion

Religion	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Muslim	92.4	89.5	92.0	96.5	95.9	92.3	93.1	p<0.001
Non-Muslim	88.6	100.0	97.5	94.7	95.4	95.5	95.3	ns
Significance	ns	p<0.05	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 8. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by residential status

Residence	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Permanent	90.6	87.4	95.2	98.1	97.8	93.4	94.0	p<0.001
Temporary	93.0	92.6	90.4	94.6	94.6	92.2	92.9	ns
Significance	ns	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	ns	ns	ns	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 9. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by availability of electricity at home

Having electricity	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Available	92.2	90.5	92.3	96.2	95.8	92.5	93.3	p<0.001
Not available	83.3	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	86.7	ns
Significance	ns	p<0.01	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 10. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by availability of television at home

Having television	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Have	92.5	89.9	92.8	96.2	96.6	93.7	93.7	p<0.001
Don't have	90.3	92.4	90.8	96.4	93.0	88.4	91.8	ns
Significance	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	p<0.05	ns	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 11. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by labour sell status

Labour sell status	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Sell labour	93.8	92.1	93.0	94.7	95.6	92.0	93.6	ns
Don't sell	90.8	88.9	91.8	97.7	96.0	93.1	93.1	p<0.001
Significance	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 12. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by NGO membership

NGO membership	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Having any NGO member	95.8	90.3	91.2	95.0	95.4	90.5	93.1	p<0.05
Not having	89.4	90.3	93.2	97.2	96.1	93.7	93.5	p<0.001
Significance	p<0.01	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 13. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by having cell phone of father

Father having cell phone	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Have	91.3	90.8	94.0	96.4	96.2	93.6	93.8	p<0.001
Have not	98.5	87.8	82.9	93.9	93.3	84.6	90.0	p<0.05
Significance	p<0.05	ns	p<0.01	ns	ns	p<0.01	p<0.01	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 14. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by having cell phone of mother

Mother having cell phone	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Have	93.4	87.8	96.7	96.0	97.5	94.8	94.4	p<0.001
Have not	90.9	93.2	88.3	96.6	94.3	90.6	92.4	p<0.01
Significance	ns	p<0.05	p<0.001	ns	ns	ns	p<0.05	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 15. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by father's level of education

Father's educational level	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Nil	94.1	90.0	87.8	92.7	95.5	91.5	92.0	ns
≤ class 4	91.4	90.0	95.2	96.1	96.6	94.5	94.2	ns
Classes 5-9	90.7	89.6	94.7	98.9	94.7	92.8	93.7	p<0.01
Class 10+	90.9	93.8	95.2	100.0	97.8	90.0	95.6	ns
Significance	ns	ns	p<0.05	p<0.01	ns	ns	ns	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 16. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by mother's level of education

Mother's educational level	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Nil	89.6	90.2	88.5	90.6	93.9	89.8	90.4	ns
≤ class 4	92.5	90.6	91.6	97.4	95.5	93.5	93.5	ns
Classes 5-9	94.0	89.3	95.0	99.2	97.4	93.4	94.9	p<0.01
Class 10+	100.0	95.8	96.9	97.3	96.2	100.0	97.4	ns
Significance	ns	ns	ns	p<0.001	ns	ns	p<0.001	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 17. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by first generation status

First generation status	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
First generation learner	90.2	91.4	87.0	89.0	95.5	90.2	90.7	p<0.001
Not first generation	92.9	89.7	93.7	97.8	95.7	93.1	93.9	ns
Significance	ns	ns	p<0.05	p<0.001	ns	ns	p<0.01	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 18. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by self-perceived food security status

Food security status	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Always in deficit	100.0	94.1	88.1	92.3	94.1	90.6	93.0	ns
Sometimes in deficit	91.2	92.0	89.8	96.7	95.3	94.1	93.2	ns
Breakeven	91.4	91.1	92.8	96.4	95.4	91.3	93.1	ns
Surplus	92.3	86.3	95.2	96.6	97.4	93.9	93.8	p<0.01
Significance	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 19. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by level of income of HH

Level of income of HH	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
<10000	87.0	88.9	93.6	100.0	96.1	90.5	92.9	p<0.05
10000 – <15000	96.1	92.9	92.6	95.4	94.3	90.5	93.5	ns
15000 – <20000	89.6	94.3	90.5	96.3	95.9	95.3	93.9	ns
≥ 20000	92.7	84.8	93.0	95.6	97.5	93.9	92.7	p<0.001
Significance	ns	p<0.05	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 20. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by child labour status

Child labour status	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Working	92.0	91.5	90.7	90.1	91.2	85.7	90.9	ns
Not working	92.2	89.8	92.8	97.3	96.4	93.2	93.9	p<0.001
Significance	ns	ns	ns	p<0.01	p<0.05	ns	p<0.01	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 21. Percentage of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates enrolled in the following year of graduation by age at pre-primary admission

Age at pre-primary admission	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
4 years	93.8	79.5	85.0	100.0	97.0	83.7	88.5	p<0.05
5-6 years	91.9	89.3	93.9	95.9	95.4	93.8	93.4	p<0.01
7-11 years	92.3	94.9	90.6	96.5	96.3	92.7	94.0	ns
Significance	ns	p<0.01	ns	ns	ns	ns	p<0.05	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 22. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by religion

Religion	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Muslim	77.4	91.3	94.5	95.1	94.7	90.4	90.7	p<0.001
Non-Muslim	85.7	97.5	95.0	92.0	95.4	90.9	93.1	ns
Significance	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 23. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by residential status

Residence	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of signifi-cance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Permanent	89.4	96.2	97.4	97.3	97.4	91.4	95.3	p<0.001
Temporary	71.7	88.3	92.5	92.3	93.2	90.1	88.2	p<0.001
Significance	p<0.001	p<0.01	p<0.05	p<0.01	p<0.05	ns	p<0.001	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 24. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by availability of electricity at home

Having electricity	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Available	78.3	91.8	94.5	94.6	94.8	90.4	91.0	p<0.001
Not available	50.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	80.0	ns
Significance	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 25. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by having television at home

Having television	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Available	78.8	91.6	94.5	96.2	95.1	91.9	91.5	p<0.001
Not available	74.2	92.4	94.6	88.2	93.8	85.3	88.6	p<0.001
Significance	ns	ns	ns	p<0.01	ns	p<0.05	p<0.05	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 26. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by labour sell status of household

Labour sell status	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Sell labour	70.7	87.5	91.9	92.8	93.3	89.2	88.2	p<0.001
Don't sell	83.8	95.1	97.1	96.3	96.4	91.7	93.5	p<0.001
Significance	p<0.001	p<0.01	p<0.01	ns	ns	ns	p<0.001	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 27. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by NGO membership

NGO membership	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Having any NGO member	80.1	90.3	91.6	93.7	95.8	86.7	89.9	p<0.001
Not having	76.5	92.7	96.6	95.4	94.2	92.6	91.7	p<0.001
Significance	ns	ns	p<0.05	ns	ns	p<0.05	ns	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 28. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by having cell phone of father

Father having cell phone	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Having	80.2	92.5	94.9	95.0	95.2	91.8	91.9	p<0.001
Not having	59.1	87.8	92.9	93.9	91.7	80.0	83.6	p<0.001
Significance	p<0.001	ns	ns	ns	ns	p<0.01	p<0.001	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 29. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by having cell phone of mother

Mother having cell phone	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Having	83.2	92.5	95.0	97.0	96.8	93.0	93.1	p<0.001
Not having	71.6	91.2	94.2	92.0	92.9	88.3	88.7	p<0.001
Significance	p<0.01	ns	ns	p<0.01	p<0.05	ns	p<0.001	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 30. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by self-perceived food security status of household

Food security status	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Always in deficit	58.8	94.1	88.1	76.9	97.1	87.5	83.7	p<0.001
Sometimes in deficit	68.4	86.4	93.2	97.6	92.9	93.3	88.2	p<0.001
Breakeven	81.5	94.2	95.3	94.8	95.4	88.8	92.0	p<0.001
Surplus	88.0	91.6	96.0	96.6	94.8	91.8	93.3	ns
Significance	p<0.001	ns	ns	p<0.001	ns	ns	p<0.001	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 31. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by household income

Household income (BDT)	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
<10000	77.8	85.2	97.4	97.0	94.7	89.5	91.0	p<0.001
10000–<15000	73.6	90.1	93.2	94.3	92.7	87.9	89.3	p<0.001
15000–<20000	76.1	93.1	93.4	90.8	95.9	91.9	90.6	p<0.001
≥20000	82.3	93.8	95.3	98.1	96.2	93.2	92.8	p<0.001
Significance	ns	ns	ns	p<0.05	ns	ns	ns	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 32. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by fathers' education

Father's educational level	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of significance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Nil	67.3	87.3	89.4	90.6	93.3	89.7	86.4	p<0.001
≤ class 4	75.9	96.4	93.8	95.3	94.5	91.8	91.6	p<0.001
Classes 5-9	92.7	94.5	98.8	97.3	95.9	91.6	95.2	p<0.05
Class 10+	86.4	93.8	100.0	97.8	97.8	90.0	95.6	ns
Significance	p<0.001	p<0.05	p<0.01	p<0.05	p<0.001	ns	p<0.001	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 33. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by mothers' education

Mother's educational level	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of signifi-cance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Nil	69.8	86.8	88.5	88.1	93.9	87.3	85.5	p<0.001
≤ class 4	78.9	88.5	93.1	93.1	91.6	92.2	89.4	p<0.001
Classes 5-9	84.7	97.1	99.5	99.2	97.0	91.6	95.5	p<0.001
Class 10+	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	na
Significance	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.001	p<0.001	ns	ns	p<0.001	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05; na = not applicable

Annex 34. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by first generation status

First generation status	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of signifi-cance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
First generation learner	65.2	85.3	85.0	87.0	93.8	88.2	84.0	p<0.001
Not first generation	81.6	93.5	96.6	96.5	94.9	91.5	92.7	p<0.001
Significance	p<0.001	p<0.01	p<0.001	p<0.001	ns	ns	p<0.001	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

Annex 35. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by child labour status

Child labour status	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of signifi-cance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
Working	54.0	79.3	85.0	84.0	83.8	79.6	73.7	p<0.001
Not working	93.5	97.1	96.7	96.5	96.2	91.4	95.2	p<0.001
Signifi-cance	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.01	p<0.001	

Annex 36. Current enrolment rate (%) of various cohorts of pre-primary graduates by age at pre-primary admission

Age at pre-primary admission	Pre-primary cohorts (year)						All	Level of signifi-cance
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016		
4y	90.6	95.5	97.5	96.0	100.0	83.7	93.5	p<0.05
5-6y	86.4	96.6	96.0	96.8	95.7	91.9	94.2	p<0.001
7-11y	62.1	81.7	89.9	91.0	92.6	90.0	85.1	p<0.001
Significance	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.05	p<0.05	ns	ns	p<0.001	

Note: ns = not significant at p = 0.05

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The Bangladesh Shishu Academy under the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs, UNICEF Bangladesh, and BRAC Education Programme (BEP) partnered to implement a pre-primary education programme for the slum children during 2011-16. The targeted children were the siblings of the beneficiaries of Basic Education for Hard to Reach Urban Working Children (BEHTRUWC) project. A total of 26,440 children received pre-primary education of one year duration from 150 non-formal pre-primary education centres located in 14 *thanas* of Dhaka city and its peripheries. This tracer study presents the story of continuation of these children in primary schools.

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