

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS LEADING TO GIRL-CHILD DROP-OUT IN
PUBLIC MIXED SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN KISUMU WEST DISTRICT,
KISUMU COUNTY

BY

ESTHER A. OCHIENG

REG NO: N50/P/8269/2005

A PROJECT PAPER SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE OF
ANTHROPOLOGY, GENDER AND AFRICAN STUDIES IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR DEGREE OF MASTER OF
ARTS IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
NAIROBI



OCTOBER, 2012

DECLARATION

This is my original work and has not been presented to any other university or institution for the award of a degree.

Sign

Date. 11U 2-

Esther Akinyi Ochieng

This project paper has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

Sign.

Date...**4**

DR. W. SUBBO

DEDICATION

To my unsung champion and patriarch, my husband, your pride in my pursuit for higher education was unmistakable and unmatched; your spirit has truly inspired such unquenchable thirst in me to clear my studies. For all your support and motivation, this work is my jewel of honour for you. To all women and men who have made it their obligation to help girls pursue their educational goals and improve their welfare, you are the champions of the century.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to express my sincere and unreserved gratitude to my university supervisor, Dr. W. Subbo, for his unmatched academic guidance and brilliant theoretical input in the entire research process. His consistent re-direction helped to shape this study to a great success; I humbly salute all your efforts to see this process through.

I wish to convey my special thanks to the entire teaching staff of the Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African Studies who gave me an insight into the study topic, the Chairman of the Faculty Post-graduate Studies Committee and the entire staff who critiqued my work to shape my ideological build up. I am indebted to your candid and unreserved inputs to see me through the proposal and project development stages.

My unrivalled gratitude goes to the Department of Education in Kisumu West District for their insurmountable input of information into this study. Your ideas were such an asset to me and the broad academia; thank you so much and be blessed. To all my study subjects, thank you and be blessed for the cooperation throughout the study period.

m

I am extremely grateful to my dear family especially my husband Mr. Joseph Ochieng' and my children Gertrude, Collins and Alvin for their unquenchable thirst to see me succeed in life and for the emotional and moral support they have given me. Be blessed. I am also grateful to 'The Young Couples Fellowship' that has been an inspiration for me to complete this project. Your enthusiasm for success and hard work has been such a motivation for me to complete this project despite the social problems that I have encountered to warrant delay.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	i"
ACKNOWLEDGMENT.....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	ix
ABSTRACT.....	x
CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Problem statement.....	4
1.3 Study objectives.....	4
1.3.1 Overall Objective.....	4
1.3.2 Specific objectives.....	5
1.4 Justification of the study.....	5
1.5 Scope and limitations of the study.....	6
1.6 Definition of key terms.....	6
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
2.1 Introduction.....	7
2.2 Social contributors to girl-"child drop-out.....	7
2.2.1 Household Contexts.....	7
2.2.2 Bereavement and Orphanhood.....	11
2.2.3 Education of Household Members.....	15
2.2.4 Household Perceived Benefits of Schooling.....	17
2.2.5 Household Income and Financial Circumstances.....	19
2.3 Economic contributors top girl-child drop-out.....	22
2.3.1 School Fees and Indirect Costs of Schooling.....	22
2.3.2 Income Shocks.....	24
2.3.3 Child Work.....	26

2.4 Theoretical Framework.....	34
2.4.1 Social exclusion theory	34
2.4.2 Relevance to the study.....	35
2.5 Assumptions.....	36
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY.....	37
3.1 Introduction.....	37
3.2 Study Site.....	37
3.3 Study Design.....	38
3.4 Study Population.....	38
3.5 Sample size and sampling procedure.....	38
3.6 Data Collection Methods.....	38
3.6.1 In-depth interviews.....	38
3.6.2 Case narratives.....	39
3.6.3 Key informant interviews.....	39
3.7 Data Processing and analysis.....	39
3.8 Ethical considerations.....	40
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION.....	42
4.1 Introduction.....	42
4.2 Demographic characteristics of the respondents.....	42
4.2.1 Age of the respondents.....	42
4.2.2 Marital status of the respondents.....	43
4.2.3 Education level attained.....	44
4.2.4 Income level of the respondents.....	44
4.3 Socio-cultural factors leading to girl-child drop-out.....	45
4.3.1 Bereavement as causal factor.....	46
4.3.2 Early marriages.....	47
4.3.3. Education of Household Members.....	49
4.3.4 Funeral Discos and Others.....	50
4.3.5 Discouragement due to persistent poor performance	51

4.4 Economic causes of drop-out.....	52
4.4.1 Extreme Poverty.....	52
4.4.2 School Fees and Indirect Costs of Schooling.....	53
4.4.3 Income Shocks.....	54
4.4.4 Child work.....	54
4.5 Case narrative.....	55
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	57
5.1 Introduction.....	57
5.2 Discussion.....	57
5.3 Conclusions.....	63
5.4 Recommendations.....	64
REFERENCES.....	66
Appendix I: in-depth interview guide.....	74
Appendix II: A case narrative guide.....	75
Appendix III: Key informant interview guide.....	76

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1: Map of Kisumu West District.

Figure 4.1: Age of the respondents.

Figure 4.2: Marital status of the respondents 43

Figure 4.3: Educational levels of the respondents 44

Figure 4.4: Income levels of the respondents 45

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
DEO	District Education Officer
EFA	Education for All
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	International Labour Organization
KWHDSS	Kisumu West District Health Demographic and Surveillance System
LSE	London School of Economics
NCST	National Council for Science and Technology
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Education Fund
WEF	World Education Forum

ABSTRACT

This was a cross sectional exploratory study on socio-economic factors leading to girl-child drop out from public mixed day secondary schools in Kisumu West district. Specifically, the study sought to find the social and economic factors leading to drop out. The study was guided by social exclusion theory developed by the British Social Exclusion Unit study (2003).

The study purposively sampled 20 drop outs from public mixed secondary schools in Kisumu west district. Similarly, purposive sampling was used to identify key informants and case narrative informants. Data collection was conducted through case narratives, in-depth interviews and key informant interviews. Data was analyzed thematically and verbatim approach amplifying the informants' voices used to strengthen thematic arguments.

The study findings indicate that social contributors cut across early marriage, lack of mentorship by teachers and parents, teenage pregnancies, poor performance, distance to school and bereavement that transfer responsibility to the girl-child. Economically, poverty was established to be major cause of girl-child drop-out. The study concludes that social and economic factors have a mutually reinforcing and/or feed off mechanism that leads to high drop out of the girls.

The study recommends government support of the district initiatives that focus on the plight of top performing girls without economic backings. This will help motivate and create opportunity for girl-child growth and that schools should initiate and network on motivational talks are organized for girls' schools within the district to boost their self confidence and interest in the academics. This will ensure that girls improve their performance in school and are motivated across the board.

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The Universal Declaration on Human Rights in 1948 by the United Nations Organization embraces education as a basic human right. Kenya subscribes to this declaration. She is also a signatory to the international protocol that established Education for All (EFA) agenda in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990. In addition, Kenya is a signatory to the World Educational Forum (WEF), which was established in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000. Consequently, Kenya is committed to: (a) Elimination of poverty as a hindrance to educational development; (b) Promotion of human rights through provision of Education; and (c) Attainment of sustainable development by the provision of quality basic education for all (Republic of Kenya, 2003, 1998).

The secondary school educational cycle in Kenya lasts 4 years. It is recognized as the springboard to tertiary and/or higher education and training. For this matter, therefore it is a significant juncture in national and educational development. Some of the objectives of this sector of education are to: (1) Promote experience and growth of the whole person through integrated development of mental, physical and emotive attributes and abilities; (2) Promote communication skills, numeracy, scientific concepts and skills; and (3) Promote social equity through provision of education to all Kenyans including those from disadvantaged communities and households, the girl - child and the handicapped (Republic of Kenya, 2003, 1998, 1980).

However, the secondary school cycle in Kenya faces some challenges such as low transition rates between primary and secondary schools and high dropout rates (Republic of Kenya, 2003, 1998). It has been established that some of the perennial causes of secondary school education dropouts are: early girl-child marriages; inability to pay school fees due to poverty; hazards of HIV/AIDS pandemic; violence; and drug abuse (Achoka, 2007, 2006; Republic of Kenya, 2003).

A high girl-child participation rate in education is crucial to a modern society. This is because education is one of the most effective instruments a nation has at its disposal for promoting sustainable social and economic development (Republic of Kenya, 1999). It leads to increased productivity of the educated as a means of human resource development for communal benefit (Republic of Kenya, 2002). Girl-child education raises economic productivity, reduces poverty and fertility rates, lowers infant and maternal mortality, and improves health, nutrition and environmental management (World Bank, 2002).

Several factors influence girl-child participation in education. These include proximity to schools, the degree of motivation within schools, aspiration of the pupils themselves, their employment prospects and their level of achievement. In Zimbabwe, for example, the enrolment figures in secondary school for girls have continued to decline in relation to those of boys (Graham, 2002). Thus, in 1987 Matabeleland South had 45.5% girls in form one compared to the national average of 43.6%, but by form four, they were 36.6% against the national mean of 38.9%.

In Kenya, the primary school average net enrolment rate between 2000 and 2006 was 82.36% against a completion rate of 68.33% for girls in comparison with net enrolment rate of 82.26% for boys, and completion of 76.06% over the same period. The fact that in secondary schools the national gross enrolment rate was 29.9% for girls and 34.6% for boys indicated lower transition rates for girls than for boys at secondary level and eventually low participation rates. The mean enrolment rate in Nyanza Province in Kenya was at 28.7% for girls and 35.7% boys while Kisumu Municipality had a rate of 32.3% for boys and 22.7% for girls, much lower than both the national and provincial average rates (Republic of Kenya, 2006).

While there is a range of literature which covers the subject of drop-outs, only a little has drop-out as a central theme. More frequently, drop-out is embedded within studies, with messages around drop-outs set alongside others on access more generally. Few studies account for the complexities of access and the interactive, dynamic nature of factors which may contribute to dropping out. Rather, much of the available literature identifies one factor (or possibly more) leading to drop-out, which is identified as then final push in or pull out of school. What is less often seen in the literature are the processes around dropping out, the personal stories of the children, household members and teachers, their social contexts and the competing demands on them. These processes happen over a period of time, with factors interacting in different ways to influence both drop-out and retention.

1.2 Problem statement

Considerable evidence show that nationally, there were more girls than boys at the on-set of **schooling** yet as they moved up the academic ladder, the number kept declining **creating** a notable gender disparity with regard to access, retention, and completion of the **secondary** school cycle (World Bank, 1995). Moreover, previous studies by Chi and Rao (2003) Dunne and Leach (2005) and Liu (2004) have concentrated on drop-out causal factors amongst girls who have dropped out of primary schools creating a dearth of **knowledge** on experiences of girls who drop-out of secondary schools, especially the lived experiences of girls within the public secondary schools in the rural areas. This is **despite** of the fact that secondary education is critical given that it prepares both boys and **girls** for tertiary education, career choice, and for overall effective community roles, survival and development. Thus, drop-out factors that may undermine the growth need to be articulated across different levels of schooling. This study sought to explore factors contributing to girl child drop-out public mixed secondary schools in Kisumu West district. It therefore sought to answer the following questions:

- i. What are the social contributors to girls' drop-out from public mixed secondary schools in Kisumu West district?
- n. What are the economic contributors to girls' drop-out from public mixed secondary schools in Kisumu West district?

1.3 Study objectives

1.3.1 Overall Objective

To explore social and economic factors leading to girl-child drop-out from public mixed **secondary** schools in Kisumu West district.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

- i To find out the social contributors to girls' drop-out from public mixed secondary schools in Kisumu West district.
- ii To determine the economic contributors to girls' drop-out from public mixed secondary schools in Kisumu West district.

1.4 Justification of the study

The findings of this study are significant to policy makers in the ministry of education in designing strategic intervention policies aimed at reducing drop-out of girl-children from secondary schools. The findings have flagged out the socio-economic contributors to the girl-child drop-out and the mitigation strategies that can be used by civil societies such as Girl Child Network (GCN) in designing interventions at the grassroots level to increase the retention of girls in secondary schools.

The findings of this study serve to add to the existing literature on causes of girl-child drop-out that can be used by scholars in drawing references. Specifically, the findings have explored the dynamic factors across socio-economic divides within the public mixed secondary schools situated in the rural areas.

Kisumu West district was purposively chosen for the study. Comparatively, Kisumu West District stands out as a hot spot area for the girl-child drop out cases within the county. The mere fact that it is difficult to find young girls/women who have

successfully completed the 4 year secondary school cycle within the district aroused my curiosity and interest to conduct this study there.

1.5 Scope and limitations of the study

This study was carried out in Kisumu West district and examined the social and economic contributors to girl-child drop-out from secondary school within the public mixed secondary schools.

Being qualitative in nature, however; the study has not captured the quantitative trends and patterns of girl-child drop-out in the approved area of study. However, data collection methods have been triangulated to produce rich data that effectively addressed the study objectives.

1.6 Definition of key terms

Girl-child: this refers to a female student once enrolled in a public mixed secondary schools in Kisumu West district.

m

Public schools: these are learning institutions that are directly under the government funding and direction in terms of management.

Mixed-secondary schools: the learning institutions without boarding facilities where boys and girls learn together.

Drop-out: this is the discontinuation of learning due to social or economic barriers.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on factors contributing to girl-child drop-out from **secondary** schools. The review is done using social and economic contributors to drop-out. The chapter finally presents the theoretical framework and the assumptions that will guide the study.

2.2 Social contributors to girl-child drop-out

2.2.1 Household Contexts

Who makes up the household seems to have an influence on educational access and retention, particularly in poorer communities. Grant and Hallman's (2006) research on education access in South Africa shows that children living with mothers were significantly less likely to have dropped out of school relative to those whose mothers were living elsewhere or whose mothers were dead. In another work on South Africa, Hunter and May (2003) describe a 'particularly notable' relationship between family background and dropping out. Here, youths from poor families, from single-parent families, the children of poorly educated parents and children with fewer role models in higher education, were more likely to drop-out. This same interlocking of household related factors appeared in research on female drop-outs in Ethiopia.

In research by Al Samarrai and Peasgood (1998) female-headed households in Tanzania appear to put a higher priority on their children's education. How many children are within the household is important in many cases and can be a 'significant determinant' of

access (Boyle et al. 2002: 4), but research differs on the impact of household size on access and drop-out. Some studies indicate that with larger household sizes (and in particular numbers of children) the financial burden/potential workload is greater; children are less likely to attend school, and often drop-out. However, with more children in the household, jobs can be spread between them and siblings more likely to attend, e.g. in Ethiopia (Colclough *et al*, 2000).

Research in Pakistan indicates that while an increase in family size reduces a girl child's household work, the presence of younger children appears to increase their workload (Hakzira & Bedi, 2003). As in other studies, the number of siblings under 5 years of age has a strongly negative impact on older girls' schooling and leads to drop-out, while the number of sisters aged 13-20 have a positive impact on girls' grade attainment (Glick and Sahn, 2000). Household size and composition interact with other factors to influence drop-out, for example, late enrolments, large families, low educational levels, gender and birth order (Leka and Dessie, 1994 cited in Nekatibeb, 2002; Odaga and Heneveld, 1995, cited in Nekatibeb, 2002).

m

Al Samarrai and Peasgood (1998) used multivariate regression techniques to analyse household survey data collected in rural Tanzania in 1992, focusing on how household and individual characteristics affect whether or not a child goes to primary school, completes primary and attends secondary. In terms of household contexts, a number of factors affect educational access and the potential to drop-out. Where a child is born in relation to other siblings may affect schooling decisions: on the one hand, children born

into the family early, when resources are stretched over fewer members of the household, may be more likely to go to school. On the other hand, a child born into the family later may have lower opportunity costs than an older sibling because the need to look after other siblings would be reduced (Al Samarrai and Peasgood, 1998: 4).

While more children in a household increases the financial burden, an increased number of children potentially reduces the work burden on individual children (although this is possibly less the case for older children who might more readily be pushed to work or help more with household chores). Birth order slightly reduced the probability of boys completing (0.8 %) and raised the probability of girls completing (3.4 %), with younger girls standing more of a chance than older girls of completing (Al Samarrai and Peasgood, 1998).

Al Samarrai and Peasgood (1998) contend that education may be treated as an investment for some children, but not for others; and that the educational experiences of one child can affect the probability of younger siblings attending school, either positively or negatively. Yet, they also conclude that 'it remains unclear exactly how siblings influence education decisions' (1998: 20). Their research also indicates that the working contexts of families (and their income group) can influence the probability of access, with children from households involved in trade more likely to be in school than farming households, but this not having a significant effect on the probability of completion.

In many societies, in Africa in particular, a large number of children are fostered, estimated to be 25% of children by Zimmerman (2003). There can be both positive and negative effects of fostering on educational access. In many cases children are fostered in order to allow them greater educational opportunities. At other times the focus is on foster children providing forms of child labour in households', e.g., domestic duties, with less focus on education. Based on an analysis of 8,627 'black' South African children, Zimmerman (2003) claims that foster children were no less likely than non-orphans to attend school. In fact, they tended to move from schools that had difficulty in enrolling them to homes nearer to schools that were more able to do so. School attendance is highest for fostered children in Burundi (Guarcello *et al.*, 2004), compared to children living with their immediate family. This suggests that children are often being fostered in order to get better educational opportunities.

Anderson (2005) carried out multivariate analysis on a random sample of children from 11,211 'black' households in South Africa, looking at the genetic relatedness of one child from each household with other household members. Results suggested that households invested more in children who were more closely related. Glick and Sahn (2000) look at the complexities of households where there are polygynous relationships, with a male household head having several wives, and households often including individuals from the extended family. Thus, children might be related to each other in multiple ways in the household. Unlike siblings, the presence of other children in such households has few effects on educational attainment, even for girls.

Konate et al. (2003) looked at which children's households in Mali chose to send to **school** using data from a nationwide survey of migration and urbanisation in 1992-3 and **a survey of family patterns and children's education in Mali (1999-2000)**. Children of the **head of** the household were usually favoured over others in the household (i.e., those **fostered**, entrusted to the family and those living in it with parents other than the heads of **household**). Taking place of residence into account, the percentage of children without **parents** present was much higher in towns than in the countryside, with rural children migrating into towns for both work and/or education.

Living away from both parents, 'does seem to seriously affect a child's educational opportunities' (Konate *et al.*, 2003: 7). Indeed, 'the family system that enables these children to be taken in does not lead to them performing as well in school or staying there' (Konate *et al.* 2003: 7). In large households, i.e., those with over 16 people, the percentages of children attending school dropped. The study suggests that three factors assisted with retention: the presence of a lamp or table at home; help with homework; and not having to do domestic chores after school. Yet it could be argued that these are actually proxies for income and household education levels.

2.2.2 Bereavement and Orphanhood

Bereavement amongst family members and in particular parents, often makes children **more** vulnerable to drop-out, non-enrolment, late enrolment and slow progress (Case and **Ardington** 2004; Evan and Miguel, 2004; Bicego et al. 2002 cited in Hunter and May, **2003**; **Lloyd** and Blanc, 1996 cited in Ainsworth et al. 2005). Whilst being orphaned is

often linked to an increased likelihood of childhood poverty, this is dependent on the household context and who then becomes the child's carer. Orphanhood often exacerbates financial constraints for poorer households and increases the demands for child labour and drop-out (Bennell et al. 2002; Yamano and Jayne, 2002, cited in Ainsworth et al. 2005).

There is a body of work which looks at HIV/AIDS, bereavement and drop-out (Gillborn *et al.*, 2001). Chipfakacha's research on Uganda has shown that deaths from AIDS are associated with reduced schooling for children. Indeed a UNICEF's (2000: 30) report on twenty countries shows that the average difference between enrolment rates for orphans and non-orphans is 19 percentage points. Ainsworth et al. (2005) highlight reasons why adult morbidity and mortality as a result of AIDS (although many of these factors need not be linked to AIDS) may adversely affect demand for schooling. For example, children may be required to care for an ill household member or carry out economic inputs; households with terminally ill prime-age adults are likely to have reduced income and more costs, e.g., medical and funeral bills, reducing the amount available for schooling; two parent orphans' often miss out on educational opportunities compared to children living with parents in the same household; and teacher shortages may increase if numbers of teachers contracting HIV/AIDS increases.

In regard to drop-outs, research from Malawi suggests that 9.1% of children were found to drop-out of school the year following the death of one parent, but numbers rose to 17-1% for two parents (Harris and Schubert, 2001, cited in Jukes, 2006). In Zimbabwe,

orphanhood was found to decrease the likelihood of school completion. However, school completion was sustained, particularly for female orphans, where orphanhood resulted in a female-headed household and greater access to external resources (Nyamukapa and Gregson, 2005, cited in Jukes, 2006).

Access to schooling after bereavement seems to be linked to who died, who children live with afterwards and the age of the child/level of education at bereavement. Case and Ardington's (2004) quantitative research on parental bereavement in Kwa Zulu Natal, South Africa shows differences between maternal and paternal death. Maternal orphans were significantly less likely to be enrolled in school and have completed fewer years than a child whose mother was alive. Households whose father died were generally poor prior to the father's death and continued to be so after, as a result poor educational access was put down to poverty rather than orphanhood.

Similarly, there was no significant difference between losing mothers alone, and losing both parents (Case and Ardington, 2004: 17). While 55% of children whose fathers had died lived with their mothers, "only 10% of children whose mothers had died lived with their fathers, rendering maternal orphans virtual double orphans. Guarcello et al. (2004), researching on Burundi, observed that orphans faced a higher risk of lost schooling and non-attendance. In Burundi, attendance rates varied by category of orphan (Guarcello et al. 2004). Paternal orphans attended schools in greater proportions than maternal orphans; male orphans were more likely to attend school than female orphans. Double orphans were 14 percentage points less likely to attend school full-time and eight percentage

points less likely to attend school in combination with work, than non-orphans. Being a **single** orphan reduced the probability of attending school full-time by **11 percentage points**, and of attending school in combination with work by four percentage points. The **death** of a parent made it six percentage points more likely that a child worked full-time.

A household surveys in north-west Tanzania in 1991-4 (Ainsworth *et al.*, 2005) attempted to measure the impact of adult deaths and orphan status on primary school attendance and hours spent at school. There was no statistically significant difference in attendance rates by orphan status. The study showed that there was no evidence that children 7-14 dropped out of primary school due to orphan status or adult deaths. But among school children, school hours were significantly lower in the months prior to an adult death in the household and seemed to recover following the death. The attendance of younger children was more vulnerable to adult mortality than older children, with young children in poor households with a recent adult death having a 10 percentage point lower attendance rate than children in poor households without an adult death. This was not the same for orphans in non-poor households; indeed children in non-poor households with an adult death had even higher attendance than those in non-poor households without an adult death.

Girls often reduced their attendance in school immediately after losing a parent, but this tended to reduce after some months. Children living with close family members had higher attendance ratings than those living outside the family or with more distant family members. There was no evidence that the older children were dropping out of primary

school because of orphanhood or deaths, which seems to counter the suggestion that **children drop-out** as a coping strategy. Similarly, Bennell et al. (2002) research on AIDS **orphans** in Botswana suggests that rates of permanent drop-out are not substantial **because** of support given by the government and relatively little overt discrimination of **orphans** by teaching staff and students.

There are often gender dimensions to vulnerability of schooling after parental bereavement. Girls often drop-out of school to be caregivers to siblings and research suggests that girls who have lost mothers may be especially vulnerable with respect to schooling (Giese et al. 2003; World Bank, 2002; UNAIDS, 2002 cited in Case and Arlington, 2004). Research by UNICEF (2006, cited in Pridmore, 2007) highlights reports from East Africa that girls orphaned by AIDS are increasingly being steered towards early marriage by their caregivers, which would likely lead to drop-out. Often, children dealing with bereavement have to move into foster care. Not only are they dealing with the trauma of this bereavement, but they often have to move households and schools. This disrupts schooling patterns and can be linked to periods of absenteeism.

m

2.2.3 Education of Household Members

Research indicates that the educational level of household members is particularly **influential** in determining whether and for how long children access schooling. Ersado (2005: 469) talks of 'the widely accepted notion that parental education is the most **consistent** determinant of child education (and employment decisions)'. Higher **Parental**/household head's level of education is associated with increased access to

education, higher attendance rates and lower drop-out rates (Ainsworth et al. 2005; Al Samarrai and Peasgood, 1998; Ersado, 2005).

A number of reasons have been put forward for the link between parental education and retention in school. Some researchers indicate that non-educated parents cannot provide the support or often do not appreciate the benefits of schooling (Juneja, 2001; Pryor and Ampiah, 2003). There is evidence that the gender and educational level of the parent can influence which child is more likely to access and remain in school for long. Often it is the mother's educational level in particular which is seen to have an effect on access (e.g. Ainsworth et al. 2005). But this varies in certain contexts. Brown and Park's (2002: 533) research in China indicates that for each additional year of a father's education, the probability of his child dropping out of school falls by 12-14%. And Cardoso and Verner's (2007: 15) research in Brazil claims that the 'schooling level of the mother does not have a significant impact on the probability that the teenager will drop-out of school'.

Al Samarrai and Peasgood's (1998) research in Tanzania suggests that the father's education has a greater influence on boys' primary schooling, and the mother's on girls'.

m

While a married mother's primary education can increase the probability of girls enrolling in primary school by 9.7% and secondary by 17.6%, respectively, it has no significant effect on the enrolment of boys. They claim that educated mothers giving preference to girls' schooling implies that 'mothers have a relatively stronger preference for their daughters' education and that their education affords them either increased household decision-making power or increased economic status' (Al Samarrai and Peasgood, 1998: 395). Glick and Sahn's (2000) results (taken from research in an urban

poor environment in West Africa) offer some similar outcomes to Al Samarrai and Peasgood's (1998). The two found that improvement in fathers' education raises the schooling of both sons and daughters (favouring the latter), but mothers' education has significant impact only on daughters' schooling.

Ersado (2005) suggests that provision of adult education programmes to counter the educational deficit facing many households would be useful in bolstering sustained access to education for many children. Yet, this might not be enough. Al Samarrai and Peasgood (1998) also contend that while education of the household head increases the probability of completion, the basic literacy of the household head does not improve completion chance; rather it is the heads having attended primary school that does.

2.2.4 Household Perceived Benefits of Schooling

Research indicates that the importance household members place on education is an important factor in whether children gain access to schooling and for how long, but there is less research on how this may attribute to dropping out. Research suggests that the perceived returns from education play an important part in whether and for how long children receive education. In some areas children are seen as household assets whose education could, to varying extents, benefit the household unit. Thus, perceptions of how education affects future prospects appears important to retention. Al Samarrai and Peasgood (1998) state that the perceived benefits to the household from education will depend on a range of factors including: prospective remittances the family can expect from their children; the likelihood of obtaining paid work; the way individual children can translate education into improved productivity; and the time preferences of the

household. Literature indicates that many poor households see a child's education as a way out of poverty (Chi and Rao, 2003; Hunter and May, 2003).

In Chi and Rao's research in China (2003), an educated child is often expected to leave the household (moving from rural to urban) to find work. In this way the child becomes an asset and judging for how long to educate children becomes a strategy for the long term prospects of the family.

Studies also describe a lack of understanding and misinterpretations of parental/household motivations around schooling. The PROBE (1999) report talked of a 'myth of parental indifference' towards children's schooling. In addition, research by Boyle et al. (2002: 45) indicates that teachers and community leaders often expressed the view that the poorest parents (who they believe to be uneducated) have little or no understanding of the benefits of education and many children do not attend school (or attend irregularly) because their parents do not value education.

However, their research (which looked at barriers to education for the poorest households in Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Uganda and Zambia) demonstrated that, on the whole, the poorest parents and their children do indeed value education and usually have clear and rational reasons for not participating, or participating infrequently ... (Indeed)

- one of the clearest threads running through (the country reports) is the strong sense that the poorest income groups, as much as the richest, are making very reasoned

judgments about schooling children based on assessments of the quality of education **available**, value for money, and investment potential (Boyle et al. 2002: 16).

Some studies indicate a reluctance and lack of support towards a child's education by parents and household members. This lack of interest in child's schooling is cited as an important factor in dropping out or infrequent attendance (Municipal Corporation of Mumbai, 1990, cited in Juneja, 2001; Pryor and Ampiah, 2003). Pryor and Ampiah (2003) researching in a rural Ghanaian village, describe how households make rational decisions not to invest in their child's education. For these villagers schooling is considered not worthwhile as they suspect it is irrelevant to future prospects (often as farmers).

Many question whether there are any returns to education for children who do not leave the village and gain post-basic education. Many are also contemptuous of those who 'waste' education by returning to engage in farming (Pryor and Ampiah, 2003: 9). Similarly, in Boyle et al. (2002) research, respondents (in Sri Lanka, Zambia, Uganda and Kenya in particular) often did not send their children to school because they thought there would be no job at the end of it and, as such, limited returns to their investment. There seems some evidence that children are being withdrawn from primary school when access to secondary is problematic.

2.2.5 Household Income and Financial Circumstances

Household income is found to be an important factor in determining access to education as schooling potentially incurs a range of costs, both upfront and hidden. Upfront costs

include school fees, while the more hidden costs include uniforms, travel, equipment and the opportunity costs of sending a child to school. Household income is linked to a range of factors: when children start school, how often they attend, whether they have to temporarily withdraw and also when and if they drop-out (Croft, 2002: 87-88). There are some research studies which look at how household income interacts with dropping out of school in particular.

A number of studies highlight the link between poverty and dropping out from school (Birdsall et al. 2005; Brown and Park, 2002; UIS/UNICEF, 2005). Porteus et al. (2000: 10), whilst describing exclusions rather than drop-out per se, paint poverty as 'the most common primary and contributory reason for students to be out of school', while Hunter and May (2003: 5) call poverty, 'a plausible explanation of school disruption'. Both statistical data and empirical research suggest that children from better off households are more likely to remain in school, whilst those who are poorer are more likely never to have attended, or to drop-out once they have enrolled. For example, Brown and Park's (2002) research in rural China saw 'poor and credit constrained children' three times more likely than other children to drop-out of primary school. Colclough et al. (2000) describe the links between wealth and school retention in more detail, "... amongst those out-of-school, the mean wealth index for school drop-out was generally higher than for those who had never enrolled ... children at school were, on average, from better-off households than those who had dropped out, who were, in turn, from richer backgrounds than school-age children who had never enrolled "(Colclough et al. 2000: 16)."Poor households tend to have lower demand for schooling than richer households: whatever

the benefits of schooling, the costs, for them, are more difficult to meet than is the case for richer households (Colclough et al. 2000)

Work patterns of household members influences whether income is coming in or not, and the possible expenditures available. Seetharamu's (1984 cited in Chugh, 2004: 86) study on patterns of access and non access in slums in Bangalore, India, indicated that the income of the father was linked to the continuity or discontinuity of the child in school, with the fathers of most drop-outs not employed. If income levels are low, children may be called on to supplement the household's income, either through wage-earning employment themselves or taking on additional tasks to free up other household members for work.

How people regard schooling and the importance placed on it at times might shape interactions between schooling, household income and dropping out. For example, Pryor and Ampiah's (2003) research on schooling in a Ghanaian village, talks about education being regarded as a 'relative luxury', with many villagers considering education not worthwhile. Chi and Rao's (2003) research in rural China sees things slightly differently, with children's education as one of the main household priorities. Yet, even in this context if rural parents are short of money, expenses on ancestral halls and gift giving are prioritised over educational spending. Another body of work indicates that withdrawal from school is a last resort for many families (Sogaula *et al*, 2002 cited in Hunter and May, 2003: 10). And there is research that shows households often do not want to remove children from school as they see it as an investment for the future.

Research indicates links with household income, gender and dropping out. For example, **Fuller** and Laing (1999 cited in Grant and Hallman, 2006: 6) found an association with a family's financial strength, measured by level of household expenditure and access to **credit**, and the likelihood a daughter will remain in school in South Africa. **Kadzamira and Rose** (2003) indicate that when the cost of schooling is too high for households in Malawi, it is often girls from poorest households who are less likely to attend. Conversely, Glick and Sahn's (2000) research in Guinea indicates that when household income increases, there is greater investment in girls' schooling, with no significant impact on that of boys. Colclough et al. (2000: 1) are keen to point out that while poverty is associated with under-enrolment, 'the gendered outcomes of such under-enrolment are the product of cultural practice, rather than of poverty per se'.

2.3 Economic contributors to girl-child drop-out

2.3.1 School Fees and Indirect Costs of Schooling

Research indicates that direct and indirect schooling costs are important factors in whether children enroll in and attend school or not (Dachi and Garrett, 2003: 16; Fentiman, et al., 1999; Rose and Al Samarrai, 2001). While research on this often relates to access per se, there is also some research which indicates that the costs of schooling, including fees, are a central reason for dropping out (Brock and Cammish, 1997: 27; Brown and Park, 2002; Colclough et al. 2000; Hunter and May, 2003; Liu, 2004; May et al. 1998 cited in Hunter and May, 2003; Mukudi, 2004; Rose and Al Samarrai, 2001). Colclough et al (2000) carried out quantitative survey research and qualitative interview-based research with educational stakeholders (community members, parents, teachers, pupils, etc.) in sampled communities in Ethiopia and Guinea in order to identify

information about the constraints affecting the participation and performance of girls and boys in school, particularly in rural areas.

In the field surveys, an inability to pay the direct costs of schooling was found to be one **of** the 'most important causes' of non-attendance in both countries, with those dropping **outmost** frequently citing lack of money to pay for school expenses as an important **reason** for dropping out. In interviews, parents in Ethiopia often talked about difficulties **in** paying school fees, especially prior to harvest (when they became due); the ability to buy exercise books, pens and the necessary clothing for school also influenced whether children could enroll or were withdrawn from the first grade (Rose and Al Samarrai, 2001). Some stated that their children dropped out after enrolment because they could not **meet** the direct costs of schooling. Additional costs e.g. registration payments, gaining copies of birth certificates (for registration), as well as textbooks and uniform costs, were **all** indirect costs many parents in Guinea found difficult to meet.

Not only do school fees lead to under-enrolment and drop-out, they also limit attendance at school (Mukudi, 2004) and lead to temporary withdrawals. Research indicates that children may be locked out of schools if they cannot pay schooling fees (Obasi, 2000; Ackers et al. 2001 cited in Mukudi, 2004). In Boyle et al.'s (2002) research in some areas of Uganda and Zambia, the inability to pay school fees meant children withdrawing from school for periods of time, however temporarily. Schooling costs may link with gendered patterns of access, with households in some cases less willing to pay fees for girls' education. For example, Brown and Park's (2002) research in rural China indicates that ^ inability to pay school fees had led to the decision to dropout for 47% of girls, but

only 33% boys in primary school; in junior secondary high fees were cited for half the girls, but only 8% of the boys.

While many educational systems require children to pay fees to attend school, some countries have adopted fee-free systems. While this may ease problems of drop-out resulting from schooling costs, indirect costs and quality issues may increase. South Africa has recently introduced a system where schools in the lowest quintile are allowed to become 'fee-free'. By 2005, 3 million pupils at 7,000 primary and secondary schools had already or were in the process of becoming fee-free (Pandor, 2005). There is as yet there is little research into the impact of this policy on access and retention.

2.3.2 Income Shocks

How households deal with income shocks is also an important factor in maintaining schooling access. Research indicates that vulnerable households can withdraw children from school as part of their coping strategy to deal with shocks to income, often in order to work, save on costs or to free other household members up to work (Boyle et al. 2002; de Janvry et al. 2006; Jacoby and Skoufias, 1997; Gubert and Robilliard, 2006; Sawada and Lokshin, 1999, cited in Ersado, 2005). At what stage children are withdrawn from school within this coping mechanism might differ.

Households are likely to draw on a number of other coping strategies, e.g., using household assets, taking out loans, and asking for assistance. Whether households have access to these is likely to influence their decision-making processes. Where these Possibilities are not present, it is difficult for the household to protect itself against

external shocks, meaning children may be forced to leave school as part of a household coping strategy (Becker, 1975, cited in Duryea, 2003; Hunter and May, 2003).

This vulnerability is more apparent in certain contexts and poor, rural communities seem to be particularly at risk. Research points to this being the case in rural Pakistan (Sawada and Lokshin, 1999, cited in Ersado, 2005) and India (Jacoby and Skoufias, 1997). In these contexts, Boyle et al. (2002:6) talk about 'a vulnerable demand (for education), commensurate with the dynamics associated with poverty and the vulnerable household'. Yet, research by Hunter and May (2003: 17) in South Africa claims that shocks to a household do not seem to be a strong predictor to school disruption, with poor households attempting to defend the education of their children in the face of a range of shocks.

In communities where income shocks do occur, literature suggests there is often a sequence as to how households employ coping strategies. Strategies which have little long-term cost are adopted first while strategies with long-term costs that are difficult to reverse are adopted later (Deyereux, 1999, cited in Hunter and May, 2003). Poorer households with fewer physical assets may increase their labour supply, with women and children often called upon to contribute (World Bank, 2000 cited in Hunter and May, 2003).

While these coping strategies often attend to short term shocks, the consequences of withdrawing children from school can have longer term implications, because these temporary withdrawals often lead to more permanent drop-out. Access to some form of

credit during times of income shock appears to limit its effect on withdrawals from **school**. For example, research on conditional cash transfer programmes (where school attendance is a requirement) in Mexico by de Janvry et al. (2006) reveals that they can protect enrolments in times of income shock and act as some sort of safety-net to schooling. The study, which looked at household survey data in 506 rural localities, also showed that while children were retained in school during times of income shock, their workloads were also increased in order to cope with increased financial pressure.

Similarly, research by Ersado (2005) on patterns of child labour and schooling decisions, showed that in rural Nepal and Zimbabwe access to a commercial bank had a positive effect on child schooling and a negative impact on child labour. Guarcello et al. (2003, cited in de Janvry et al. 2006) suggests that parents' access to credit and to medical insurance provides risk-coping instruments that help protect children from dropping out of school. Access to credit in these conditions tends to be sought to manage shocks, rather than as long-term schooling strategies. In cases where access to this credit is not available, in times of income shock there will be more pressure on households to withdraw children from school!

2.3.3 Child Work

There is substantial literature on various aspects of child labour and educational access, including the relationships between child labour and poverty; the types of work children are carrying out (paid, household-unpaid, agricultural); household structure, educational access and work; whether child work hinders or helps access to schooling; the gendered

and locational aspect of working and access, etc. While conclusions made should be embedded within the contexts of the research, a number of studies have produced similar findings which are drawn upon here. There are some studies which look specifically at the relationships between schooling dropout and child labour specifically, and how child labour might contribute to both the processes of dropping out and in some cases to enabling retention.

The most prevalent types of child labour appear to be domestic and household-related duties (girls) and agricultural labour (boys), which are for the most part unpaid, under-recognised, and take up substantial amounts of time. Labour of this sort does not necessarily impede educational access (Admassie, 2003; Canagarajah and Coulombe, 1997; Moser, 1996; Ravallion and Wodon, 1999; the PROBE Team, 1999), with children frequently combining household/agricultural duties with some schooling. Having said this, studies indicate that forms of child labour create pressure on a child's time. For example, children who combine work with school, depending on the nature and volume of work, can have erratic school attendance, regular school absences (e.g., Croft, 2002; Brock and Cammish, 1997: -34; Ersado, 2005; Guarcello et al. 2005) or increased instances of lateness (Guarcello et al. 2005).

Similarly, agricultural work is often seasonal with clashes with schooling timetables, leading to seasonal withdrawals from school. While these withdrawals are 'temporary', research suggests they may lead to more permanent withdrawals from school (Boyle et al. 2002: ix; Brock and Cammish, 1997). While still in school, children who are falling behind due to regular absences, temporary withdrawals and heavy out-of-school

workloads, could be members of the silently excluded, those who attend but fail to **engage** adequately in teaching and learning processes.

In some household contexts child labour is enabling, i.e., it allows children to gain access to school. Children may earn money, or their work may free up other household members to go to school. Research from Ethiopia (Rose and Al Samarrai, 2001) showed that because of the tasks they did (e.g., sell firewood), boys were better placed to provide income to share the cost of their education than girls. Studies also show some children migrating to take up posts where there is some chance of gaining or continuing their education (ILO/IPEC, 2004).

In some cases, employers do allow the child to attend school or vocational classes, although almost always this is allowed only after the domestic tasks have been completed, with the result that children in domestic service are often reported by their teachers as arriving late, attending irregularly or being distracted from their work (ILO/IPEC, 2004: 34). Similarly, some children enter domestic service with the idea of earning enough money to enable them return to school. In other cases child labour can be disabling, and an active factor leading to drop-out. Specific work-related tasks, for example, full-time child care and work in peak agricultural times, are less easy to reconcile with schooling. Child labour is seen as: the prime reason for non-enrolment and drop-out in Ghana (Fentiman et al., 1999); a cause of 50% of drop-outs in Delhi (Municipal Corporation of Delhi, 1999, cited in Juneja, 2001); and a 'prime cause for absenteeism, repetition and most particularly drop-out rates' in Tanzania (Dachi and Garrett, 2003: 10).

While poverty is often promoted as a driving factor pushing child labour (Blunch and Verner, 2000; Duryea, 2003) and leading to drop-out, other studies read it differently. The PROBE (1999) report suggests that children work because they are unable to go to **school**, as opposed to dropping out of school in order to work. In South Africa, Hunter and May (2003: 11) describe how the depressed job market might act as a deterrent to dropping out, and may encourage children to stay in school longer. A number of researchers indicate that a buoyant job market and the ability to earn good money is a motivating force behind decisions to leave school (Dachi and Garrett, 2003; Duryea, 2003).

Duryea (2003) highlights the pull of the labour market (as opposed to the push of poverty) as a main factor in children dropping out of school in urban Brazil. The study of 14-16-year old boys and girls, saw children more likely to leave school as local labour market conditions became more favourable. Children were more likely to be working in areas with thriving labour markets, meaning child labour was higher in these areas, rather than those cities with the highest poverty rates. The labour market was 'competing' for children's time. Conversely, The paper suggests that labour market downturns in this context did not tend to push children into the labour market because there were actually fewer opportunities for work for children. Cardoso and Verner (2007), in their exploration retention and child labour in urban Brazil, noted a higher retention for girls than boys, with girls largely remaining in school till around 18, but boys starting to drop-out around the age of 13. The implication here is that the pull of the labour market took boys away from school.

Similarly, Ersado (2005) does not see the link between poverty and child employment as crucial in urban areas (although it is in rural areas). She states that the evidence from Nepal, Peru, and Zimbabwe indicates that the impact of poverty on a child depends on the location. While there is strong evidence that poverty drives child labour in rural areas, there is a general lack of support for the poverty hypothesis in urban areas (Ersado, 2005: 477). Hazarika and Bedi (2003) analysed data from the 1991 Pakistan Integrated Household Survey (covering 4,800 households in 300 rural and urban communities) and specifically focused on a sample of 1,900 10-14 year-olds. The aim was to look at the relationships between schooling costs, child labour and schooling access. Their results found that extra-household child labour and schooling costs were positively related, so if schooling costs were lowered then there was less likelihood of children working outside the household. However, intra-household child labour was insensitive to changes in the costs of schooling. This suggests that reducing school costs had no affect on the amount of work children had to do within the household.

In terms of age, as children grows older, the opportunity cost of their time often increases, leading many to drop-out (Admassie, 2003; Blunch and Verner, 2000; Canagarahaj and Coulombe, 1997; Ersado, 2005; Glewwe and Jacoby, 1995, cited in Fentiman, 1999: 340). This can be seen, for example, in the migration habits of children (often from economically poorer communities) for employment and domestic support, which increases after the age of 13. With some children starting school late (often children from poorer households, some in weaker health), the years they have in school are further restricted.

Household work patterns and structure can also influence whether children drop-out. Al **Samarrai** and Peasgood (1998: 18) explore the 'unclear' effect a mother going to work **might** have on her daughter's schooling chances. While the income effect will have a **positive** effect on girls' schooling chances through a general increase in resources **available** for schooling ... daughters may have to take on more of the household chores in place of the mother, implying that they will have less time to go to school. Other research indicates that if a mother participates in the formal wage economy, it can be associated **with** their daughter's 'suppressed' school attainment, perhaps because of increased household demands placed on girls (often the eldest daughter) (Fuller and Liang, 1999). In this case, girl children take on some of the domestic duties the mother may have previously carried out. Yet, research by Ersado (2005) in Nepal suggests the opposite, with a mother working outside the home having a positive effect on child schooling.

Studies also indicate that girl-children frequently drop-out of school to look after younger siblings (e.g., Brock and Cammish, 1997). The presence of children less than 6 years old in the household tends to increase the probability of older siblings working and not schooling in Ghana, and the presence of female adults within the household increased the probability of girls schooling and not working (Canagarajah and Coulombe, 1997). A Lloyd and Brandon study (1994, cited in Andvig et al. n.d.) on fertility and schooling in Ghana showed that each additional younger sibling significantly increased the probability that an elder girl would drop-out of school.

In interviews with street children in Tanzania (Dachi and Garrett, 2003) some **respondents** described how changes in household circumstances (e.g., death of a parent, **abandonment** by a parent) had forced **them** to leave school and earn some sort of a living. **Guarcello** et al.'s (2004) study of **children** and work in Burundi indicated that maternal (**but** not paternal, nor double) orphans and foster children were more involved in **economic** activity than non-orphans. Orphans living without their surviving parent were more involved in work and less in school than orphans not separated from their surviving **parent**. Linkages between educational access and child labour are also gendered, and **frequently** it is the girl child who is most affected (Andvig et al. **n.d.**; Blunch and Verner, 2000; Boyle et al. 2002; Canagarahaj and Coulombe, 1997; Colclough et al. 2000; Ersado, 2005; Kane, 2004; Rose and Al Samarrai, 2001). In many contexts, girls take on a heavier workload within domestic/household settings (e.g., water and fuel collection, younger sibling care, and general domestic tasks), whereas boys might be more likely to **be** involved (often to a lesser extent) in agricultural duties/the formal labour market (Canagarahaj and Coulombe, 1997).

The type of duties carried out has implications for both initial and sustained access to schooling, and rural girls seem more likely to be affected than urban girls (Ersado, 2005). Yet, in some contexts the labour of boys tends to be higher than that of girls (e.g., research by Ravallion and Wodon (1999) showed that in rural areas in Bangladesh the boy-child worked an average of 26 hours per week, as opposed to 20 hours for the girl-child, with increased pressure on boys to drop-out.

Boys are more likely to be involved in more physical forms of labour and as they grow older, changes to their physical growth make them more marketable/usable. Some tasks boys might be more likely to carry out, e.g., farming, may be seasonal rather than permanent, and while seasonal absentees are most often able to return to school, their temporary withdrawal increases the likelihood of drop-out. In some urban areas there are also substantial numbers of boys, in particular, who have entered the informal working economy, many of whom are regular absentees from school or drop-outs, e.g. Cote D'Ivoire, Jamaica and South Africa (Appleton, 1991, cited in Bredie and Beeharry, 1998; Brock and Cammish, 1997; Hunter and May, 2003). Hunter and May (2003) draw on research by Tanner et al. (1995) which indicates a higher number of boys (than girls) leave school in South Africa because earning money and attaining adult status is more attractive to them. In rural areas in Cote D'Ivoire, higher child wages have the effect of increasing the probability of boys dropping out, and decreasing the likelihood that girls will drop-out (Appleton, 1991 cited, in Bredie and Beeharry, 1998).

Rose and Al Samarrai (2001) state that, in the case of Ethiopia, while boys may be the first to be enrolled in school? in times of economic crisis, when wage employment is available, they may also be the first to be withdrawn. A number of factors seem to interact to influence whether children become vulnerable to drop-out or actually drop-out of school because of child labour. These include the location (urban/rural); gender; type of work; opportunity cost; household contexts and income; length of work commitments; and age. On many occasions child labour is part of a household's risk management

strategy, with access to credit/assets influencing whether a child can stay in school. Without these assets, children might be more vulnerable to dropping out.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

2.4.1 Social exclusion theory

This study will be guided by the social exclusion theory. The concept of social exclusion is considered to facilitate a broader understanding of the multiple dimensions of poverty. Social exclusion has been described as the existence of barriers which make it difficult or impossible for people to participate fully in society (Social Exclusion Unit, 2003). This is more evident in the education sector where income poverty interacts with other barriers such as disability, inadequate housing, unemployment, overdependence, and lack of sustainable resources to infringe on one's access to education (Starrin *et al*, 1999). The UK's Social Exclusion Unit (SEU, 2001) states that social exclusion includes poverty and low income, but is broader and addresses some of the wider causes and consequences of poverty which are more often a hindrance to people's access to services such as education.

m

Social exclusion refers to processes in which individuals and entire communities of people are systematically blocked from rights, opportunities and resources that are normally available to members of society and which are key to social integration. Social exclusion attempts to make sense out of multiple deprivations and inequities experienced by people and areas, and the reinforcing effects of reduced participation, consumption, mobility, access, integration, influence and recognition. The concept has been applied by the Victorian communities (Victorian Government, 2005) in Australia with regard to

social policies that sought to address the disadvantages amongst its citizens in access to education.

Researchers from the London School of Economics (LSE) argue that an individual is socially excluded if s/he does not participate to a reasonable degree over time in certain activities of his or her society for reasons beyond his or her control but would in essence like to participate fully (Burchardt, 2000:388 cited in Saunders, 2003).

Access and participation can be perceived as key elements in the process of social exclusion/inclusion. The extent to which different societal groups have access to the relevant economic, socio-cultural and educational resources and structures as well (as decision-making) processes will influence their possibilities for participation and with that their inclusion/exclusion. However, full (social) participation also requires mutual trust. Where such trust is lacking, social bonding is being disrupted. It can be assumed that it is the lack of equitable access to economic, socio-cultural and educational resources that undermines this bonding and trust.

2.4.2 Relevance to the study •

Social exclusion captures the various socio-economic factors that influence girl-child's drop-out from school. The theory explains how poverty that is an economic aspect interacts with other dimensions to deny the girls effective participation i.e. completion of secondary schools within the rural mixed public secondary schools.

Concerning social exclusion, this will be interpreted both in terms of a (dynamic) process and a 'state', with the latter referring to a state of denial of participation in important



societal, cultural and economic spheres, due to a lack of resources to enable such participation.

In the context of 'education, equality and social exclusion' this means a denial to participate in any kind of learning activities, which may be caused by a lack of financial means or by institutional, situational, psycho-social or personal factors or by a lack of means and resources to obtain the information needed.

Social exclusion is problematic both at the societal and the individual level. At the individual level, since it denies individuals to participate in societal spheres in the way they would prefer. At societal level, since it bears costs (social/unemployment benefits, waste of human resources, health problems, crime rates, etc.) the society has to pay for.

2.5 Assumptions

- i. There are social contributors to girls' drop-out from public mixed secondary schools in Kisumu West district.
- ii. There are the economic contributors to girls' drop-out from public mixed secondary schools in Kisumu West district.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the study site, study design, study population, sample size and sampling, data collection methods and analysis. The chapter finally presents the ethical considerations that will guide this study.

3.2 Study Site

This study was conducted in Kisumu west district (figure 3.1) located on the North Eastern shores of Lake Victoria. The district covers an area of 369km² with monitored population of 120, 436 (KWHDDSS, 2011). Females comprise 53% while males comprise 43%. The population is rural and has sparse educational facilities as well as healthcare.

Figure 3.1: Map of Kisumu West District

Kisumu West District



C VICTORIA

rsi
A

1 cm • 6

Source: KWDDHS (2011).

3.3 Study Design

This was a cross-sectional exploratory study using qualitative data collection methods. In-depth interviews, case narratives and key informant interviews were used. Data collected was analysed thematically and descriptive approach has been used where **statements** amplifying thematic arguments have been presented in verbatim.

3.4 Study Population

The population consists of girls who have dropped out of public mixed secondary schools situated in Kisumu West district. The unit of analysis was the individual girl-child who had dropped out of secondary school and resides within Kisumu West district.

3.5 Sample size and sampling procedure

The sample comprised twenty girls who have dropped out of secondary school in the district that were selected purposively. Similarly, purposive sampling was used to select key informants for expert interviews and case narrative informants.

3.6 Data Collection Methods •

3.6.1 In-depth interviews

This was conducted with 20 girls drawn from the locations across Kisumu West district. The method was yielded data on social as well as economic barriers faced by girls in secondary schooling Kisumu West district. This method has helped in the understanding the informant's perspectives on their lives, experiences with obstacles and situations as

expressed in their own lives. In depth interview guide (Appendix I) was used to collect data.

3.6.2 Case narratives

This was conducted with three girls who have dropped out from school but re-integrated through sponsorship. This method collected data on individuals' lives, the mode of life and activities performed out-of-school environment, efforts toward re-integration into school and the nature of challenges encountered. A case narrative guide (Appendix II) was used to collect data.

3.6.3 Key informant interviews

This was conducted with six persons selected on the basis of their professionalism. One District Education Officer (DEO), a representative from a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) working on girl-child education, one head teacher and one area chief were interviewed as experts in the study. The method was important in yielding information on the various social challenges, community-driven challenges and interventions toward re-integrating the girl-child drop-outs in school. A key informant interview guide (Appendix III) was used to collect data.

3.7 Data Processing and analysis

Qualitative data collected through in-depth interviews, case narratives and key informant interviews have been thematically analysed. A descriptive approach has been used where

direct quotations and selected comments from informants have been used to reinforce arguments within the themes.

3.8 Ethical considerations

The researcher sought the required approvals from the relevant bodies before the field work began. The Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African Studies approved the research proposal while a research permit was sought from the Ministry of Higher Education through the National Council for Science and Technology (NCST). The provincial administration such as the chiefs and district officers were requested to authorize the research in their areas of jurisdiction during fieldwork, informants were briefed on the purpose, duration and potential use of the research results beyond academic purposes; and any other research related information that was of interest to the informants was clarified before any data was collected. Recruitments were based on informed consent and informants were duly informed of their right to disqualify themselves or withdraw at any stage of the study.

During the interviews, the informants' consent was sought to allow for taping of discussions that were later transcribed; and they were assured that no piece of information gathered in the course of the study would be used to jeopardize their welfare. The study subjects were assured of their anonymity during publication of the research findings through the use of pseudonyms.

the community members were assured of receiving the study outcomes through dialogue series at the location levels. Moreover, the study results will be availed to the wider **scientific** community through publication to be made in a refereed journals and gray literature at the Africana section of the University of Nairobi library.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents data on the socio-economic factors contributing to girl-child drop out from public mixed secondary schools in Kisumu West District, Kisumu County. The chapter begins by presenting the demographic characteristics and then discusses the rest of the findings along the study objectives.

4.2 Demographic characteristics of the respondents

4.2.1 Age of the respondents

In this study, half (50%) of the respondents in this study were aged between 16 and 17, 30% were aged between 13 and 14, while those aged 18 years comprised 20% as summarized in figure 4.1 below. The findings therefore indicate a bare minimum age of secondary school attendance within Kisumu West District to be at thirteen years where as the mode of secondary school drop- out age is between 16 and 17 years. This translates into a high number of girls dropping out at their second or third grade of secondary schooling.

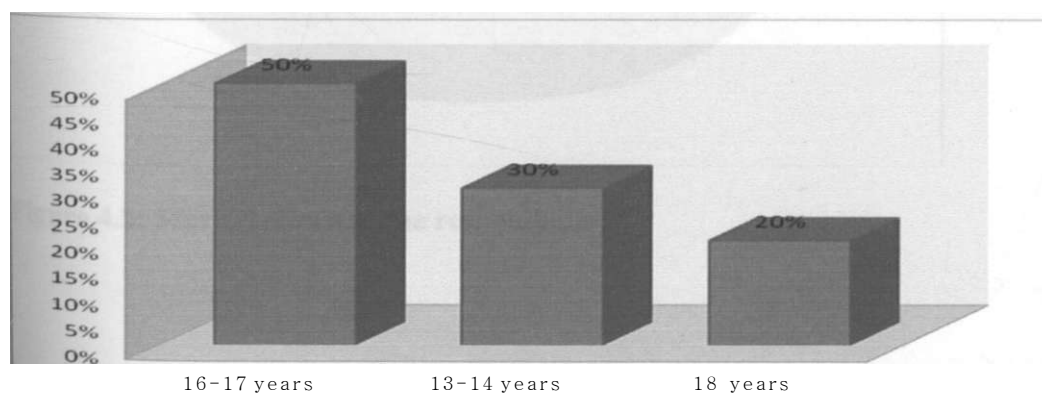


Figure 4.1: Age of the respondents

4.2.2 Marital status of the respondents

The study sought to know the marital status of the respondents who had dropped out of school. This was important in assessing the correlation between school drop-out and early marriage within Kisumu West district. The findings indicate that 35% were single girls, 55% were married and 10% had been married but separated as summarized in figure 4.2 below. From the findings, it can be deduced that school drop-out amongst girls in Kisumu West District predisposes them to early or child marriages hence curtailing on their education opportunities. Moreover, those who had been married but later separated reported being battered, mistreated and going into unplanned marriages that are unsustainable, consequently, this exposes the girl-child to risks of psychological torture and other health-risk factors like contracting STIs as one changes partners.

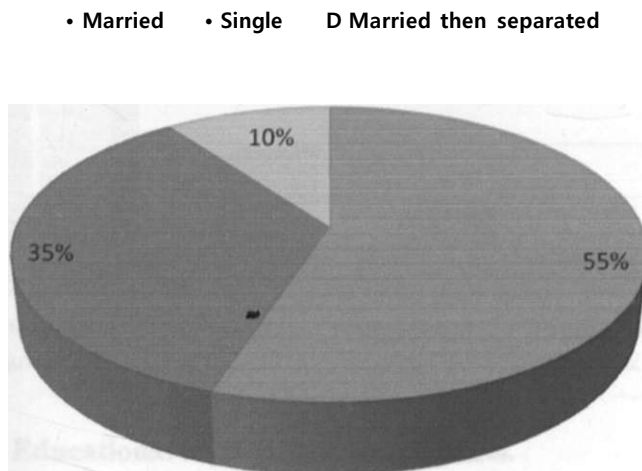


figure 4.2: Marital status of the respondents

4.2.3 Education level attained

The study sought to know the level of secondary schooling where girls tended to drop out most within Kisumu West District. This was important in assessing the most affected secondary school education cycle level. The findings indicate that most (62%) of the respondents had dropped out at form two (grade 10), 24% had dropped at form three (grade 11), 12% had dropped out at form one (grade 9) while a paltry 2% had dropped out at form four (grade 12) of the secondary school cycle. It can thus be concluded from the findings that the mid-years of secondary schooling cycle is the most affected by girl-child drop out from secondary school in Kisumu West District.

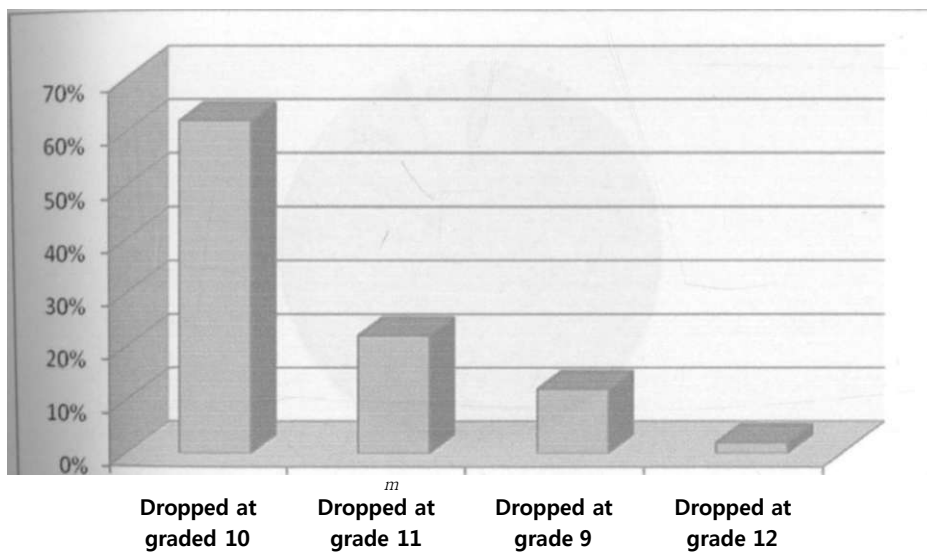


Figure 4.3: Educational levels of the respondents.

4.2.4 Income level of the respondents

The study sought to establish the income level of the girl-child that had dropped out from Public mixed secondary schools in Kisumu West district. This was deemed important in recognizing the ability of the school drop-outs to fundraise and regain admission in

schools in case the drop-out was occasioned by lack of finances. This question was **assessed** on the average cumulative income that a drop out had received the last six months prior to the study. The findings indicate that, **84%** of the respondents earned below **KES 2,000** a month, **10%** earned between **2001** and **3000** while the remaining **6%** earned above earned between **KES 3001** a month as summarized in figure 4.4 below. By implication, the study concludes that none of the drop outs had the ability to fund herself back to school given the relative income that they reported Vis a vis the secondary school fee in the district.

y Less than 2000 Shillings y Between 2001 & 3000 u Above 3000

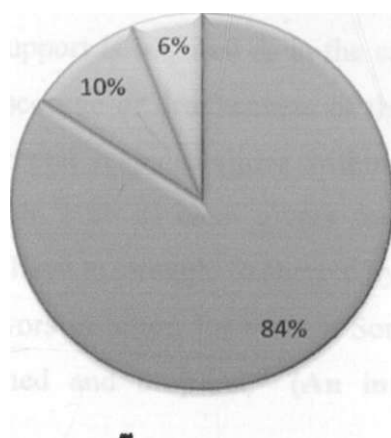


Figure 4.4: Income levels of the respondents

4.3 Socio-cultural factors leading to girl-child drop-out

The first objective of this study was to determine the social factors contributing to girl-child drop out in Kisumu West district. The findings have been presented along the following thematic areas: bereavement, household context, domestic work and gender divide, education background of family members, the perceived benefit of schooling, child motivation to go to school and proximity of the school to the homes.

4.3.1 Bereavement as causal factor

The study informants reported parental death as a major factor that contributes to girl child withdrawal from school and/or drop-out from Kisumu West district. More importantly, the informants observed that the rural setting of the district still carries on with the **traditional** practices where the girls are withdrawn from school to offer help to their **younger** siblings once the parents have passed on. This notion is supported by the **fragmented** extended family and societal support system that would originally support the cause of seeing other young siblings through life. Key informants opined that bereavement interacts with a number of social issues to deny the girl-child an opportunity to complete the secondary school cycle as exemplified in the interview below.

"There is a breakdown on social systems that used to hold the society in cases where social support is required as in the cases of sickness of the parents due to the HIV/AIDS scourge or drunkenness of the parents leading to their inability to carry their parental responsibilities within the home... The girls are therefore forced to step in both as care-givers and sometimes bread winners for such families. They have to struggle to survive by doing small odd jobs and sometimes give sexual favors in return for money. Some end up pregnant while others just get overwhelmed and drop-out." **(An interview with DEO Kisumu West District).** »

Bereavement and orphanhood in this study is seen to exacerbate financial constraint on the side of the girl-child and by extension result into dependency on other people. Hence, there is the tendency that many girls who feel obliged to take care of the family needs Specially amongst their younger siblings drop-out of school and pursue ways of earning **incomes.**

"I did not want to see my six year old brother's life wasted just because my parents had passed on" I had to get involved in fending for the two of us; School hours became primary business hours for me; Soon , I was not able to raise enough money to pay my school fee neither balance the two. I opted to quit in form two because I had no support. Even when I sought some, the people demanded sex or asked to marry me before any help would come my way...I had to drop out of school"(An interview with 17 year old school drop-out).

The phenomenon of child headed households and care giving have combined to pull the girls out of school within Kisumu West district; In a certain case, the informants reported that the HIV/AIDS epidemic has created a niche of care giving that traditionally falls within the domain of the girl-child. This makes many to take the lead role of physical and palliative care to the sick parents losing out on school.

"...In case of sickness of the parents/guardians within the family, the girl is in most cases is taken out of school to manage the home and/or give care to the sick while the boys continue with their education. The girls get disadvantaged and end up dropping out of school."(An interview with DSO- Kisumu West).

4.3.2 Early marriages

The study established a close correlation between the prevalent factor of early marriage and girl-child drop out from schools. Girls are always convinced by the male peers mostly in small scale businesses to drop out of school and help in making the money within the set businesses. This phenomenon is supported by the poor background of the girls enrolled within the public mixed secondary schools, thus, the lure of money plays a significant magnet to early marriage forcing a number of girls to cut off the full secondary school cycle. Given the fact that the practice seem to enjoy some degree of cultural sanctioning, the practice has been tolerated irrespective of the fact that it

threatens the good economic and health outcomes of girl-child education that are already documented. Early marriage is largely decried by the experts in Kisumu west district as a factor ripping the community of its bright children and as an issue needs to be urgently addressed on a multi stakeholder intervention.

"The girls give in to male seduction tricks and opt to just run away from home and school to get married. Some of them are bright in class but somehow end up being victims of these male gimmicks. There's case of a girl who run from home and got married at 16 years. She now has 3 children at 20 years. Another left school recently and got married despite the fact that she was very bright academically...the problem is that when the whole society lets the trend to thrive, we will be literally entrenching these girls into poverty." **(An interview with the area chief).**

The study findings further point to community tolerance of the girl-child abuse even if the risks of such actions pull the girls out of school and endanger their lives at the same time. Within Kisumu West, the informants reported a phenomenon where girls who have reached their puberty are considered mature and lack close supervision from parents. The consequence of this belief and neglect is lure of girls into the men's trap often resulting into unplanned and childhood pregnancies and eventual drop-out of school as in the interview below.

"Once at puberty girls are not allowed to spend the night within their parents' house. They seek alternative places to put up for the night sometimes in neighboring homes. Due to inadequate supervision, they fall prey to men's' seduction and fall pregnant. The same cultural practices deter them from giving birth and returning to their parents' premises so they are taken elsewhere to give birth. There was a case where one was taken to a distant preacher's home where

she stayed for awhile as the baby matured. The preacher ended up molesting the minor again and 'marrying' her having learnt that she got pregnant again." (**An interview with DEO Kisumu West**).

The study also established that sexual exploits from peers that arise due to peer pressure - also contribute to the girl child drop out from school to large extent. These girls attend mixed day secondary schools where they take long stretched walks to and from school with boys one of the boys particularly the ones in forms 3 and 4. In their bid to experiment with sex, take advantage of the naive form 1 and 2 girls particularly from poorer families. They engage in sexual exploits with these girls on the way leading to early pregnancies and subsequent dropout from school. Such boys are those normally from relatively rich families who entice the girls with a few goodies. The resultant effect has been massive drop out of the girls from the schools.

4.3.3. Education of Household Members

The level of education of the household members is seen both as a motivating factor and a direct influence on the level that girls enrolled within the public secondary schools can pursue their career to. In the study, the informants were of the opinion that a number of their families who have basic education but run successful small scale businesses in the district have more often discouraged them from pursuing higher education which is aversely seen as a waste of resources. Siblings who are less educated were also found to offer less support and advisory counsel to their sisters in schools. On a large scale, this has resulted into drop out and eventual uptake of the family line occupations, most Prominently, small scale businesses as in the interview below.

"I was told that the family does not have enough money to see me through school, I was given a chance to join in the Kiosk business and make my money, none of the people who advised me to do so had gone beyond primary level so they never could tell any importance of furthering my studies, I had to bow out because they were the sources of my school fee..."(An interview with 17 year old school dropout).

4.3.4 Funeral Discos and Others

The study established a cultural tradition of organized funeral dances as another hindrance to girls' retention at school and a cause for eventual drop-out in Kisumu West district. Dances are often organized after the burial of the deceased; this exposes quite a number of girls in their teenage hood to risky sexual encounters. The consequences have been the lure by men into marriage or conception upon which they are forced to drop out of schools. This cultural practice may serve to hurt the education of the girl child over a long period of time if not checked and acted upon by the local administration. As the informants observed, there is a feeling of cultural sanctioning of the practice which is **seen** to be a befitting send off for the dead.

"It has become a norm to organize funeral discos virtually after every burial in the region. These discos are seen as a way of giving a befitting send off to the deceased. Some sons in law are known to come in with huge bands and do their thing throughout the night in the name of 'mourning' their in-laws. These funeral discos have become such a big attraction to the school going girls. A lot of sexual activities take place during such events. There's also a tendency of men fighting over girls who sometimes end up getting injured themselves. Such activities contribute to the poor grades obtained by girls in schools, unwanted pregnancies and early marriages." (An interview with DSO Kisumu West).

Based on the findings of this study, it can be concluded that proximity to disco centres and the day-nature of school attendance by the girls serve to exacerbate the drop out situation in Kisumu west.

4.3.5 Discouragement due to persistent poor performance

The study established some of the informants had dropped out due to lack of mentorship on performance both at home and school. The study informants reported being subjected a lot of household chores, lack of mentorship at school on the subjects where they performed so weak, being dissuaded by members of the family from schooling and picking alternative livelihoods that are considered to be stress free. Teachers within the public mixed secondary schools are seen not to live up to their mentorship programs and instead were reported to create a rift between themselves and the girls that could not excel in their subjects. There are other factors such long distances to school that seem to discourage a lot of girls from going on regular basis as their male counterparts who would easily ride on bicycles. The key informants particularly pointed to lack of mentorship by both parents and teachers as the source of this dissuaded schooling spirit amongst the girls in Kisumu West district.

"As a result of the long distance to school, a lot of house chores and inadequate time for revision and personal study, most girls end up trailing their male counterparts in class. Frequent poor performance in particular subjects creates a rift between them and the subject teachers who always punish poor performers every time exams are done and are looked down upon by some students. This creates a lot of discouragements for them. There's a case of a girl who was always the last in class who ran away from school and got married to a battery charger at a local market place."**(An interview with the head teacher).**

In conclusion, social factors leading to girl-child dropout in Kisumu West district tend to find solace in the cultural or community sanctioning as a norm in the area. They cut across community based practices such as early marriages, individual factors within the domain of the family and school-based factors.

4.4 Economic causes of drop-out

The second objective of this study was to determine the economic causes of girl-child drop out from public mixed secondary schools in Kisumu west district. This objective has been answered along the following sub-themes based on the study findings: extreme household poverty, income shocks, child work, school fees and indirect costs.

4.4.1 Extreme Poverty

The study established poverty prevalent within the rural areas as a major cause of girl-child drop out. This variable was found to have a spill-over effect in terms of its consequences. For example, girls from poor households were found to drop out of school due to lack of school fees, inability to purchase personal effects necessary to facilitate smooth learning at school. On-the other hand, poverty drives a lot of girls into extreme situations where they are forced to partner with men from well off families in return for economic gains. In certain cases, the study established that girls dropped from schools to get married to men with better economic status than the girls' families. Similarly, the experts in the study argued that due to poverty the parents or guardians are completely unable to provide the numerous needs of the adolescent girl child. This is normally a very critical stage in the development of a child when they go through identity crisis and hence

want to do all within their powers to belong or fit in properly amongst their peers from well off families. Unfortunately because of their parents' poverty they are unable to dress like their peers and/or possess other things that are deemed to make them "fit in" properly.

"In an attempt to fill the economic gap, girls find themselves falling into sexual traps laid by men wanting sexual favors from them leading to unwanted pregnancies hence drop out of school. There was a case in point of a girl whose father was a herdsman and mother house help. The girl was very bright in school but ended up getting pregnant and falling out of school due to unmet needs." **(An interview with DEO Kisumu West district).**

4.4.2 School Fees and Indirect Costs of Schooling

The study established high school fees being levied by the local public mixed secondary schools to be an economic dimension that makes girls drop out. In the study, the informants reported that lack of sponsorship to the girls in rural areas and the families' inability to contribute effectively to school fees effectively affect the girls' retention at school. Indirect costs are mostly associated with the sanitary maintenance for the teenage girls in school as well as the* school meal feeding costs, pens and the clothing. The informants lamented that they had been forced out of school due to multiple material demands besides the regular fees paid.

"It is generally expensive to go to school because once you are able to raise some part of the school fees, there are always additional expenses that one has to incur in the process...girls like me require sanitary towels, better clothing and uniform alongside other pocket money for personal effects." **(An interview with 15 year old drop-out).**

4.4.3 Income Shocks

How households deal with income shocks is also an important factor in maintaining schooling access. The study findings indicate that vulnerable households can withdraw children from school as part of their coping strategy to deal with shocks to income, often in order to work, save on costs or to free other household members up to work. The key informants in this study observed that shocks to a household do not seem to be a strong predictor to school disruption, with poor households attempting to defend the education of their children in the face of a range of shocks, however, with relative pressure from overall high poverty index in the district, some parents have been forced to withdraw their children from schools.

"Sometimes parents tend to get into deep economic recessions especially when there is little yield from the agricultural produce or when the market values are seasonally affected by some fluctuations...if the situation lasts longer than expected, like in famine, parents tend to withdraw their children from school and instead ask them to help with the family fending needs".(**An interview with DSo Kisumu west district**).

4.4.4 Child work

m

In the study, the most prevalent types of child labour appear to be domestic and household-related duties (girls) and agricultural labour (boys), which are for the most part unpaid, under-recognized, and take up substantial amounts of time. Labour of this sort does not necessarily impede educational access but has direct interruption of the school activity calendar. In the study, it was established that forms of child labour create Pressure on a child's time. While agricultural work was reported to be seasonal, it had a direct bearing on girls' school attendance since it clashes with schooling timetables,

leading to seasonal withdrawals from school. In the study, some key informants observed that some the girls would permanently be withdrawn from school to help with family labour irrespective of the fact that amount to child labour.

"Many parents have decided to turn their children into domestic workers, there is a general trend where children are pulled out school to assist either in the family business or related works, this has a negative impact on the school-going lot who have to stop midway...we are trying to work with the local authorities and community at large to stop this vice." (**An interview with NGO representative in Kisumu West**).

Economic factors leading to girl-child drop are grounded in poverty. The study found a lot of linkages between girl-child's withdrawal from school and poverty in Kisumu west district. In essence, income shocks, child labour/work and inability to pay school fees are factors that feed into the poverty dimension of the economic standing of various families in Kisumu west district.

4.5 Case narrative

I was born and raised in this village, I did my primary education within Kisumu West district and I got enrolled in a public mixed secondary school for my secondary school; education. It was difficult to attend school given the long distance and having to trek to and from school every day, I found this to be tedious and tiresome given the number of books I had to carry for personal study at home. There is also the security threat where one is forced to leave home early in the morning and return after dusk. At one point, I almost got raped, and this scared me too. The school was so difficult to access during the rainy seasons due to swollen rivers and mud. Moreover, I was frequently rained on, on

my way to and/or from school. At home, there is too much work after school and the parents/guardians do not understand. After school, I had to fetch water from rivers, buy food from nearby evening markets to cook or go fetching vegetables from the shambas, prepare them and cook the family dinners. I had to wash the uniforms and those of my young siblings. These chores denied me time for study and for doing assignments which put me in conflict with teachers resulting into poor performance, I felt demotivated and opted to drop out of school" **(Case narrative interview with 18 year old drop out).**

The case narrative gives insight into how domestic work, the long distance to school and lack of motivation from the family members contribute to girl-child drop out from public mixed secondary schools in Kisumu West district. From the narrative, it can be concluded that a number of social and economic factors combine to pull girls out of school.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings in relation to the study objectives. Following the discussions, conclusions are drawn and recommendations made.

5.2 Discussion

The study established a great influence of the household context on girl child education in Kisumu west district. In the findings, the study alluded to people making up the household to have an influence on educational access and retention, particularly in poorer communities. In previous studies, Grant and Hallman's (2006) research on education access in South Africa shows that children living with mothers were significantly less likely to have dropped out of school relative to those whose mothers were living elsewhere or whose mothers were dead. Here, youths from poor families, from single-parent families, the children of poorly educated parents and children with fewer role models in higher education, were more likely to drop-out. Similarly, Al Samarrai and Peasgood (1998) female-headed households in Tanzania appear to put a higher priority

m

on their children's education. How many children are within the household is important **in many** cases and can be a 'significant determinant' of access (Boyle et al. 2002: 4).

Hence, both past and present evidence on the interaction between household context and **girl-child** education point to a converse relationship especially within the rural areas such

**** Kisumu** west district.

The study also established frequent withdrawal or assignment of the girl child sibling responsibility which tend to interrupt the girls' study hours and school inputs. In the end, poor performance tends to dissuade girls and force them to stop schooling as well. In a previous study in Pakistan, the findings on related topics indicates that while an increase in family size reduces a girl child's household work, the presence of younger children appears to increase their workload (Hakzira & Bedi, 2003). The findings of this study serve reinforce the proposition showing that it transcends cultural boundaries.

In the study, bereavement was established to transfer household chores and responsibilities to the girls'. More often, the girls in their teenagehood and at secondary school level were forced to withdraw from school. Bereavement amongst family members and in particular parents, often make children more vulnerable to drop-out, non-enrolment, late enrolment and slow progress. A study by Bennell et al. (2002) positis that orphanhood often exacerbates financial constraints for poorer households and increases the demands for child labour and drop-out. On the other hand, Chipfakacha's research on Uganda has shown that deaths from AIDS are associated with reduced schooling for children. Indeed a UNICEF's (2000: 30) report on twenty countries shows that the average difference between enrolment rates for orphans and non-orphans is 19 percentage points.

Bereavement within Kisumu West district has been closely associated with HIV/AIDS Pandemic which according to the study tends to pull so many girls into both invalid care and sibling responsibility. Ainsworth et al. (2005) highlight reasons why adult morbidity and mortality as a result of AIDS (although many of these factors need not be linked to

AIDS) may adversely affect demand for schooling. In regard to drop-outs, research from Malawi suggests that 9.1% of children were found to drop-out of school the year following the death of one parent, but numbers rose to 17.1% for two parents (Harris and Schubert, 2001, cited in Jukes, 2006). In Zimbabwe, orphanhood was found to decrease the likelihood of school completion. However, school completion was sustained, particularly for female orphans, where orphanhood resulted in a female-headed household and greater access to external resources (Nyamukapa and Gregson, 2005, cited in Jukes, 2006).

There are often gender dimensions to vulnerability of schooling after parental bereavement. Girls often drop-out of school to be caregivers to siblings and research suggests that girls who have lost mothers may be especially vulnerable with respect to schooling as evidenced in the study. A recent research by UNICEF (2006, cited in Pridmore, 2007) highlights reports from East Africa that girls orphaned by AIDS are increasingly being steered towards early marriage by their caregivers, which would likely lead to drop-out. Often, children dealing with bereavement have to move into foster care.

m

In the study, informants expressed being least motivated to continue with school given the pressure from their less knowledgeable siblings who had prowess in business activities. Education is seen to have no value addition to the lives of the girl-child. The study findings indicate that the educational level of household members is particularly influential in determining whether and for how long children access schooling. In similar studies, Ersado (2005: 469) talks of 'the widely accepted notion that parental education is

the most consistent determinant of child education (and employment decisions). Some researchers indicate that non-educated parents cannot provide the support or often do not appreciate the benefits of schooling (Juneja, 2001; Pryor and Ampiah, 2003). There is evidence that the gender and educational level of the parent can influence which child is more likely to access and remain in school for long. Often it is the mother's educational level in particular which is seen to have an effect on access (e.g. Ainsworth et al. 2005). They claim that educated mothers giving preference to girls' schooling implies that 'mothers have a relatively stronger preference for their daughters' education and that their education affords them either increased household decision-making power or increased economic status.

Perceived household educational benefit has been associated with motivation of the school going children. Research indicates that the importance household members place on education is an important factor in whether children gain access to schooling and for how long, but there is less research on how this may attribute to dropping out. Research suggests that the perceived returns from education play an important part in whether and for how long children receive "education. In some areas children are seen as household assets whose education could, to varying extents, benefit the household unit. Thus, perceptions of how education affects future prospects appears important to retention. Al Samarrai and Peasgood (1998) state that the perceived benefits to the household from education will depend on a range of factors including: prospective remittances the family can expect from their children; the likelihood of obtaining paid work; the way individual children can translate education into improved productivity; and the time preferences of

the household. Literature indicates that many poor households see a child's education as a way out of poverty (Chi and Rao, 2003; Hunter and May, 2003).

Many question whether there are any returns to education for children who do not leave the village and gain post-basic education. Many are also contemptuous of those who 'waste' education by returning to engage in farming (Pryor and Ampiah, 2003: 9).

In the study, poverty has come out as one of the factors pulling girls from secondary schools in Kisumu west district. Yet, they also conclude that 'it remains unclear exactly how siblings influence education decisions' (1998: 20). Their research also indicates that the working contexts of families (and their income group) can influence the probability of access, with children from households involved in trade more likely to be in school than farming households, but this not having a significant effect on the probability of completion. A number of studies highlight the link between poverty and dropping out from school (Birdsall et al. 2005; Brown and Park, 2002; UIS/UNICEF, 2005). Porteus et al. (2000: 10), whilst describing exclusions rather than drop-out per se, paint poverty as 'the most common primary arftl contributory reason for students to be out of school', while Hunter and May (2003: 5) call poverty, 'a plausible explanation of school disruption'.

Household income is found to be an important factor in determining access to education ^{as} schooling potentially incurs a range of costs, both upfront and hidden. Upfront costs delude school fees, while the more hidden costs include uniforms, travel, equipment and

the opportunity costs of sending a child to school. Household income is linked to a range of factors: when children start school, how often they attend, whether they have to temporarily withdraw and also when and if they drop-out. Work patterns of household members influences whether income is coming in or not, and the possible expenditures available. Seetharamu's study on patterns of access and non access in slums in Bangalore, India, indicated that the income of the father was linked to the continuity or discontinuity of the child in school, with the fathers of most drop-outs not employed. If income levels are low, children may be called on to supplement the household's income, either through wage-earning employment themselves or taking on additional tasks to free up other household members for work (1984 cited in Chugh, 2004: 86).

The study indicates that direct and indirect schooling costs are important factors in whether children enroll in and attend school or not. Inability to pay the direct costs of schooling was found to be one of the 'most important causes' of non-attendance in both countries, with those dropping out most frequently citing lack of money to pay for school expenses as an important reason for dropping out. In previous studies, in interviews, parents in Ethiopia often talked about difficulties in paying school fees, especially prior to harvest (when they became due); the ability to buy exercise books, pens and the necessary clothing for school also influenced whether children could enroll or were withdrawn from the first grade (Rose and Al Samarrai, 2001).

How households deal with income shocks is also an important factor in maintaining schooling access. Research indicates that vulnerable households can withdraw children

from school as part of their coping strategy to deal with shocks to income, often in order to work, save on costs or to free other household members up to work. A research by Hunter and May (2003: 17) in South Africa claims that shocks to a household do not seem to be a strong predictor to school disruption, with poor households attempting to defend the education of their children in the face of a range of shocks.

There is substantial literature on various aspects of child labour and educational access, including the relationships between child labour and poverty; the types of work children are carrying out (paid, household-unpaid, agricultural); household structure, educational access and work; whether child work hinders or helps access to schooling; the gendered and locational aspect of working and access. The most prevalent types of child labour appear to be domestic and household-related duties (girls) and agricultural labour (boys), which are for the most part unpaid, under-recognized, and take up substantial amounts of time. Labour of this sort does not necessarily impede educational access. Studies indicate that forms of child labour create pressure on a child's time. For example, children who combine work with school, depending on the nature and volume of work, can have erratic school attendance, regular school absences (Croft, 2002).

5.3 Conclusions

The subject of this study was to gain a deeper understanding in the social and economic factors contributing to girl-child drop out from public secondary schools in Kisumu West district. The study has established both community-based factors such as early marriage, educational background of the family, perceived educational benefits, discos and

reluctance by the parents to educate the girl-child as some of the major social factors. Similarly, there is lack of mentorship both at school and at home which tend to dissuade girls from schooling. Peer influence as factor was however least reported in the study though proximity to the school also plays a significant role in girl-child drop out from school in Kisumu west district. Economically, poverty, income shocks, inability to pay school fees are the major contributors to girl-child drop out. Economic factors are found to feed into social factors, thus, it can be concluded that the two forces have a feed-off system and/or platform under which they affect girl-child drop out from public mixed secondary school in Kisumu west district.

5.4 Recommendations

- The study recommends government support of the district initiatives that focus on the plight of top performing girls without economic backings. This will help motivate and create opportunity for girl-child growth;
- The schools should initiate and network on motivational talks are organized for girls' schools within the district to boost their self confidence and interest in the academics. This will ensure that girls improve their performance in school and are motivated across the board
- The local administration, the children's office and teachers should come up with community sensitization programs aimed at addressing value addition of girl-child education within Kisumu West district such as the NEWI-(Nyanza Education Women's Initiative). This is a group of women achievers, professionals and leaders

who've organized themselves to go around girls' schools giving motivational talks and mentoring the girls;

- There is need for increased funding on the education of the girl-child which should be decentralized to locations where vulnerable but bright girls in public secondary schools are identified and assisted.

5.5 Further Research

This study was restricted to Kisumu West District, Kisumu County and the problem affects the entire county and country. It is therefore of profound importance that similar studies be replicated in other parts of the county to determine other factors that contribute to the girl-child drop out from mixed day secondary schools.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, K.G. (2005) Relatedness and investment in children in South Africa. *Human Nature*, 16(1): 1-31.
- Achoka J.S.K (2007). Kenya's Management of Secondary School Education in the 21st Century: New Model for Excekebce. *J-STEM*, 1:2.
- Achoka J.S.K (2006). Female Gender Vulnerability and Challenges of HIV/AIDS to Health, Education and Development in Kenya. *International Journal of Disaster*, 14(6):34-57.
- Admassie, A. (2003). Child Labour and Schooling in the Context of a Subsistence Rural Economy: Can they be compatible? *International Journal of Educational Development*, 23(2): 167-185.
- Ainsworth, M. K. Beegle and G. Koda (2005). The Impact of Adult Mortality and Parental Deaths on Primary Schooling in North-Western Tanzania. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 41(3): 412-439.
- Al Samarrai, S. and Peasgood, T. (1998). Educational attainments and household characteristics in Tanzania. *Economics of Education Review*, 17(4): 395-417.
- m*
- Bennell, P., K.Hyde and N. Swainson (2002). The Impact of the HIV/AIDS Epidemic on the Education Sector in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Synthesis of the findings and recommendations of three country studies. Brighton: University of Sussex Press.
- Birdsall, N., R Levine and A Ibrahim (2005). Towards Universal Primary Education: Investments, Incentives, and Institutions. *European Journal of Education*, 40(3): 337-349.

- Boyle, S., A Brock, J Mace and M Sibbons (2002). Reaching the Poor: The 'Costs' of Sending Children to School. Synthesis Report. London: DFID.
- Brock, C. and Cammish, N. (1997) .Factor Affecting Female Participation in Education in Seven Developing Countries, Education Research Paper No. 9, London: DFID.
- Brown, P.H. and Park A. (2002). Education and poverty in rural China. *Economics of Education Review*, 21: 523-541.
- Brown, P. and Park, A. (2002) Education and poverty in rural China. *Economics of Education Review*, 21(6): 523-541.
- Cameron, L.A. (2000) An analysis of the role of social safety net scholarships in reducing school drop-out during the Indonesian economic crisis. Florence, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.
- Case, A. and Ardington, C. (2004). The Impact of Parental Death on School Enrolment and Achievement: Longitudinal Evidence from South Africa. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Case, A., V Hosegood and F Lund (2005) The Reach And Impact Of Child Support Grants: evidence from Kwa Zulu-Natal. *Development Southern Africa*, 22(4): 467-482.
- Chi, J. and Rao, N. (2003) Parental Beliefs about School Learning and Children's Educational Attainment: Evidence from Rural China. *Ethos*, 31(3): 330-356.
- Cardoso, A.R. and Verner, D. (2007) School Drop-out and Push-out Factors in Brazil: The Role of Early Parenthood, Child Labor, and Poverty. IZA Discussion Paper No 2515.

Bonn: Institute for the Study and Labor (IZA).

Colclough, C., Rose, P. and Tembon, M. (2000). Gender Inequalities in Primary Schooling: The Roles of Poverty and Adverse Cultural practices. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 20: 5-27.

Colclough, C. and Lewin K.M. (1993). *Educating All the Children: Strategies for Primary Education in Developing Countries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chugh, S. (2004) *Why Children Dropout: Case Study of a Metropolitan City*. New Delhi: Bookwell.

Croft, A. (2002) *Pedagogy in School Context: An intercultural study of the quality of learning, teaching and teacher education in lower primary classes in Southern Malawi*. Unpublished DPhil thesis. Brighton: University of Sussex.

De Janvry, A., Finan, F., Sadoulet, E. and Vakis, R. (2006). Can conditional cash transfer programs serve as safety nets in keeping children at school and from working when exposed to shocks? *Journal of Development Economics*, 79:349-373.

Dunne, M., and Leach, F. (2005) *Gendered School Experiences: The Impact on Retention and Achievement*. London: DFID.

Duryea, S. (2003). School Attendance, Child Labour and Local Labour Market Fluctuations in Urban Brazil. *World Development*, 31(7): 1165-1178.

Ersado, L. (2005) *Child Labor and Schooling Decisions in Urban and Rural Areas: Comparative Evidence from Nepal, Peru, and Zimbabwe*. *World Development*, 33(3): 455-480.

- Glick, P. and Sahn, D.E. (2000). Schooling of Girls and Boys in a West African Country: The Effects of Parental Education, Income, and Household Structure. *Economics of Education Review*, 19: 63-87.
- Grant, M. and Hallman, K. (2006). Pregnancy Related School Dropout and Prior School Performance in South Africa. Policy Research Division Working Paper No 212. New York: Population Council.
- Guarcello, L., S Lyon and F Rosati (2004) Orphanhood and Child Vulnerability: Burundi. Understanding Children's Work Project.
- Guarcello, L., Lyon, S. and Rosati, F. (2005) Impact of Children's Work on School Attendance and Performance: A Review of School Survey Evidence from Five Countries. Understanding Children's Work Project.
- Gubert F. and Robilliard, A. (2006) Do Household Income Shocks Affect School Attendance in Rural Areas?: A case study of Madagascar. Working Paper.
- Ghuman, S. and Lloyd, C.B. (2007) Teacher Absence as a Factor in Gender Inequalities in Access to Primary Schooling in Rural Pakistan. Working Paper No 1. New York: Population Council.
- m*
- Graham B. (2002). *Education in the developing world; conflict and crisis*. London: Longman Publishers.
- Hazarika, G. and Bedi, A.S. (2003) Schooling costs and child work in rural Pakistan. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 39(5): 29-64.
- Hunter, N. and May, J. (2003) Poverty, Shocks and School Disruption Episodes Among Adolescents in South Africa. CSDS Working Paper, No. 35.

- ILO/IPEC (2004). *Helping Hands or Shackled Lives? Understanding Child Domestic Labour and Responses to It*. Geneva: ILO.
- Jacoby, H.G. and Skoufias, E. (1997) Risk, financial markets, and human capital in a developing country. *Review of Economic Studies*, 64(3): 311-335.
- Jukes, M. (2006). *Early Childhood Health, Nutrition and Education*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Kadzamira, E. and Rose, P. (2003). Can free primary education meet the needs of the poor? Evidence from Malawi. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 23:501-516.
- Jukes, M. (2006) *Early Childhood Health, Nutrition and Education*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Juneja, N. (2001) *Primary Education for All in the City of Mumbai, India: The Challenge Set by Local Actors: School Mapping and Local-Level Planning*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Kadzamira, E. and Rose, P. (2003) Can free primary education meet the needs of the poor? Evidence from Malawi, *International Journal of Educational Development*, 23.501-516.
- Kane, E. (2004). *Girls' Education in Africa: What Do We Know About Strategies That Work?* Washington DC: World Bank.
- Konate, M.K., M. Gueye and T. Nseka Vita (2003) *Enrolment in Mali: Types of Household and How to Keep Children at School*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Liu, F. (2004) Basic education in China's rural areas: a legal obligation or an individual choice? *International Journal of Educational Development*, 24: 5-21.

- Moser, C. (1996). *Confronting Crisis: A Comparative Study of Household Responses to Poverty and Vulnerability in Four Poor Urban Communities*. Environmentally Sustainable Development Studies and Monograph Series No. 8. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Mukudi, E. (2004). The Effects of User-Fee Policy on Attendance Rates among Kenyan Elementary School Children. *International Review of Education*, 50(5/6): 447-461.
- Nekatibeb, T. (2002) *Low Participation of Female Students in Primary Education: A Case Study of Drop-outs from the Amhara and Oromia Regional States in Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: UNESCO.
- Nyamukapa, C. and Gregson, S. (2005) Extended family's and women's roles in safeguarding orphans' education in AIDS-afflicted rural Zimbabwe. *Social Science and Medicine* 60(10):2155-2167.
- Pandor, N. (2005) Speech by Naledi Pandor, MP, Minister of Education, introducing the debate on the education budget, vote 15, National Assembly, South Africa, 19 May 2005. Available at: <http://www.kzneducation.gov.za/news/2006/19-05-2006.pdf>. Accessed on August 2007.
- m*
- Porteus, K., G. Clacherty, L. Mdiya, J. Pelo, K Matsai, S. Qwabe and D Donald (2000) 'Out of school' Children in South Africa: An Analysis of Causes in a Group of Marginalised, Urban 7 to 15 Year-olds. *Support for Learning*, 15(1): 8-12.
- The PROBE Team (1999) *Public Report on Basic Education in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Pryor, J. and Ampiah, J.G. (2003) *Understandings of Education in an African Village: The Impact of Information and Communication Technologies*. London: DFID.

Ravallion, M. and Wodon, Q. (1999) *Does Child Labour Displace Schooling?*
Washington DC: World Bank.

Rose, P. and Al Samarrai, S. (2001) Household Constraints on Schooling by Gender:
Empirical Evidence from Ethiopia. *Comparative Education Review*, 45(1): 36-63.

UNESCO (2003) *The Flagship on Education for All and the Right to education for Persons with Disabilities: Towards Inclusion.* Available from:
http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/know_sharing/flagship_initiatives/depliant_flagship.pdf

UNESCO Institute for Statistics UIS/UNICEF (2005) *Children Out of School: Measuring Exclusion from Primary Education.* Montreal: UNESCO UIS.

Vavrus, F. (2002) Making distinctions: privatisation and the (un)educated girl on Mount Kilimanjaro, Tanzania. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 22: 527-547.

Zimmerman, F.J. (2003) Cinderella goes to School: The Effects of Child Fostering on School Enrollment in South Africa. *Journal of Human Resources*, 38(3): 557-590.

Reduction. 1:29-33. June 2007. ISSN: 1992-2744 CDMHA, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology.

Skoufias, E., Suryahadi, A. and S. Sumarto (1999), "The Indonesian Crisis and its Impact on Household Welfare, Poverty Transitions, and Inequality: Evidence from Matched Households in 100 Village Survey", SMERU Working Paper, September, pp1-47.

Graham, B. (2002). *Education in the Developing World: Conflict and Crisis.*
London: Longman Publishers.

Republic of Kenya (1998) Master Plan on Education and Training, 1997-2010. Nairobi.:
Jomo Kenyatta Foundation.

Republic of Kenya (2003) Educational Sector Strategic Plan and implementation
Matrices, 2003-2007. Nairobi: Ministry of Education Science and Technology.

Republic of Kenya (1980) The Education Act CAP 211, Laws of Kenya. Nairobi:
Government Printers.

Republic of Kenya (2002) Kisumu District Development Plan, 2002-2008. Nairobi:
Government Printer.

Republic of Kenya (1999) Commission of inquiry into the education system of Kenya
(Koech Report), Nairobi: Government Printer.

World Bank (1995) Education Sector Policy Paper. Washington DC: The World Bank.

World Bank (2002) Integrating gender into World Bank's work: A strategy for action.
Washington DC: World Bank.

Appendix I: in-depth interview guide

Hello, my name is Esther Ochieng' a masters degree student in Gender and Development, UoN. I am conducting a study on factors contributing to girl-child drop-out in public mixed day secondary schools in Kisumu West district. You have been purposively chosen to participate in the study. I want to assure you that all of your answers will be kept strictly in secret. I will not keep a record of your name or address. You have the right to stop the interview at any time, or to skip any questions that you don't want to answer. There is no right or wrong answers in this research. Some of the topics may be difficult to discuss, but many survivors have found it useful to have the opportunity to talk. Your participation is completely voluntary but your experiences could be very helpful to other survivors in the country. The interview takes approximately 45 minutes to complete. Do you agree to be interviewed? Thank you for your cooperation.

- i. When was the last time you were in school?
- ii. What made you drop from school?
- iii. What are presently doing at home?
- iv. Are there any other siblings of yours that are out of school?
- v. Would you be interested in going back to school?
- vi. What are some of challenges that keep you from going back?
- vii. What would you want changed for you to go to school?
- viii. Are there any sources of support around you with respect to schooling?

Appendix II: A case narrative guide

Hello, my name is Esther Ochieng' a masters degree student in Gender and Development, UoN. I am conducting a study on factors contributing to girl-child drop-out in public secondary schools in Kisumu West district. You have been purposively chosen to participate in the study. I want to assure you that all of your answers will be kept strictly in secret. I will not keep a record of your name or address. You have the right to stop the interview at any time, or to skip any questions that you don't want to answer. There is no right or wrong answers in this research. Some of the topics may be difficult to discuss, but many survivors have found it useful to have the opportunity to talk. Your participation is completely voluntary but your experiences could be very helpful to other survivors in the country. The interview takes approximately 45 minutes to complete. Do you agree to be interviewed? Thank you for your cooperation.

- i. Please me tell some of the challenges girls face in going to school in Kisumu West district
- ii. What in your opinion has led to massive girl-child drop-out around this area?
- iii. Do you get enough support from the community while schooling?
- iv. How does the community treat girls who have dropped out of school in this area?
- v. Do you feel many girls who have dropped out from school would be interested in going back?
- vi. What are some suggestions that can help retain these girls in secondary schools?

Appendix III: Key informant interview guide

Hello, my name is Esther Ochieng' a masters degree student in Gender and Development, UoN. I am conducting a study on factors contributing to girl-child drop-out in Kisumu West district. You have been purposively chosen to participate in the study. I want to assure you that all of your answers will be kept strictly in secret. I will not keep a record of your name or address. You have the right to stop the interview at any time, or to skip any questions that you don't want to answer. There is no right or wrong answers in this research. Some of the topics may be difficult to discuss, but many survivors have found it useful to have the opportunity to talk. Your participation is completely voluntary but your experiences could be very helpful to other survivors in the country. The interview takes approximately 45 minutes to complete. Do you agree to be interviewed? Thank you for your cooperation.

- i. What has contributed to continued girl-child drop-out from public mixed day secondary schools in Kisumu west district?
- ii. Are there any home-based factors that may lead to girl-child drop-out?
- iii. How does the government and partners in education address this incident?
- iv. Are there community-based initiatives to address girl-child drop-out in Kisumu west district?
- v. What are some of the viable means of ensuring girl-child retention in school?