CHAPTER II

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INTRODUCTION

Education, apart from being a basic human need, is also vital for raising the standard of life, providing gainful employment, removal of regional backwardness, ensuring overall development and wellbeing of a country. Government of India, and also the State government have implemented and continue to implement various policy interventions and affirmative actions in the pursuit of achieving universalisation of elementary education and also to reduce the rate of dropout. However, dropout and discontinuation of studies still persist at least among some segments of the population. Thus, many scholars have probed this problem of lack of enrolment and/or dropout in India and also in other countries. Some of the important studies are reviewed here in order to trace the research gap.

FACTORS INFLUENCING ENROLMENT AND DROPOUT

Research suggests that a range of interrelated demand and supply factors interact to influence how and why children enrol or dropout from school.

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 explicit and implicit. Explicit costs include school fees, while the more
implicit 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).\(^1\)

A number of studies highlight the link between poverty and dropping out from school (Birdsall et al, 2005;\(^2\) Boyle et al, 2002;\(^3\) Brown and Park, 2002;\(^4\) and UIS and UNICEF, 2005\(^5\)). Porteus et al (2000),\(^6\) while describing exclusions rather than dropout *per se*, indicate poverty as ‘the most common primary and contributory reason for students to be out of school’ and Hunter and May (2003)\(^7\) call poverty, ‘a plausible explanation of school disruption’. Dachi and Garrett (2003)\(^8\) asked a series of questions to parents/guardians about the financial circumstances surrounding children’s school enrolment in Tanzania. Virtually, all households responding said the main barrier to sending children to school was financial and their inability to pay. Hardly any cited a negative attitude towards school on the part of the children themselves, or that the school itself was unattractive.

Both statistical data and empirical research suggest that children from better off households are more likely to remain in school, while those who are poorer are more likely never to have attended, or to dropout once they have enrolled. For example, Ma’s research in rural China (2002)\(^9\) saw ‘poor and credit constrained children’ three times more likely than other children to drop out of primary school.
For children from poorer backgrounds in particular, the pressure on them to withdraw from school increases as they get older, mainly as the opportunity cost of their time increases. Work patterns of household members influence whether income is coming in, and the possible expenditures available. (Chugh, 2004) looking at patterns of access and non access in slums in Bangalore, 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. This is more apparent as children get older and the opportunity cost of their time increases.

The manner in which people regard schooling and the importance placed on it at times might shape interactions between schooling, household income and dropping out. Pryor and Ampiah’s (2003) research on schooling in a Ghanaian village talks about education as a ‘relative luxury’, since many villagers consider that education as not worthwhile. Chi and Rao’s (2003) research on rural China notes that children’s education is one of the main household priorities for parents. Even in this context, if rural parents are short of money, expenses on ancestral halls and gift giving are prioritised over educational spending. 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 (Swada, 2003).
Research indicates links with household income, gender and dropping out. Grant and Hallman, 2006)\textsuperscript{14} find 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)\textsuperscript{15} 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)\textsuperscript{16} research in Guinea states that when household income increases, there is greater investment in girls schooling, with no significant impact on boys. Colclough et al (2000)\textsuperscript{17} 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’.

**School Fees and Indirect Costs of Schooling**

Lafraniere (2005)\textsuperscript{18} carried out quantitative survey research and qualitative interview-based research with educational stakeholders (community members, parents, teachers, pupils, etc.) in sample 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 out most frequently citing a 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 enrol or were withdrawn from the first grade (Rose and Al Samarrai, 2001). Some described their children dropping 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), textbooks and uniform costs, were all indirect costs many parents in Guinea find difficult to meet.

Schooling costs may link with gendered patterns of access, with households in some cases less willing to pay fees for girls’ education. For example, Connelly and Zheng’s study (2003) on rural China indicates that an inability to pay school fees had led to the decision to drop out for 47 per cent of girls, but only 33 per cent boys in primary school; in junior secondary, high fees was cited for half the girls, but only 8 per cent 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 dropout 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).

**Income Shocks**

The way in which 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 (de Janvry et al, 2006). 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. It is difficult for the household to protect itself against external shocks where these possibilities are not present, indicating that children may be forced to leave school as part of a household coping strategy (Duryea, 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) and India (Jacoby and Skoufias, 1997). In these contexts, Edmonds (2005) talks about a vulnerable demand (for education), commensurate with the dynamics associated with poverty and the vulnerable household. Yet, research by Gubert and Robilliard (2006) 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 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. Poorer
households with fewer physical assets may increase their labour supply, with women and children often called upon (World Bank, 2002).  

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 dropout. 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) by Gertler and Glewwe (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 schools 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 (2005) indicate 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 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.
Child Work

There is a substantial research 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.

It is important to note the difficulties in trying to pinpoint causal determinants around such complex and household-specific decisions and attributes, particularly where factors interact with each other. Research indicates that poverty, gender, location, household education levels, household income levels, and season often interact with child labour to influence a child’s access to education. For example, rural children are more likely to work than urban or peri-urban children (Blunch and Verner, 2000).32

In many cases, girls have more duties than boys (Kane, 2004);33 yet some studies indicate that in particular contexts, boys from poor urban household have particular pressures on them to work (Brock and Cammish, 1997).34 And children in rural households are more likely to juggle work with school, whereas in urban households, it is more likely to be either/or (Andvig et al, 2014).35 The way in which child labour is defined is also important. 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), with children frequently combining household/agricultural duties with some schooling. Having said this, studies indicate 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 or increased instances of lateness (Harma, 2009). While still having educational access, low attendance in particular is seen as a precursor to dropping out. 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. 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 (PROBE Team, 1999).

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 showed that because of the tasks they did like selling firewood, boys were better placed to provide income to share the cost of their education than girls. Studies show some children migrating to take up posts where there is some chance of gaining or continuing their education (ILO/IPEC, 2004).
Studies also indicate that girl children frequently drop out of school to look after younger siblings. 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). Lloyd et al’s study (2005) 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 some respondents described how changes in household circumstances like death of a parent; abandonment by a parent had forced them to leave school and earn some sort of a living. Bennell’s study (2005) of children and work indicated that maternal 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. In many contexts, girls take on a heavier workload within domestic/household settings like 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. The type of work 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 (Kotwal et al, 2007).43

**Migration**

Child migration can be linked to both increased and decreased educational opportunities. Children may move into urban areas to access education; but also may migrate to gain paid employment, which may limit educational chances; children living in slum areas or without permanent residence may move frequently, often leaving school as a result (Mugisha, 2006).44

Migration patterns of communities and labour market expectations may influence demand for schooling and therefore dropping out. For example, Ping and Pieke’s (2003)45 review of rural-urban migration in China suggests that there is little incentive to acquire an education beyond elementary literacy in their case study community, due to labour market demands. Thus, in villages where there is a lot of rural-urban migration, pupils frequently drop out of school before the completion of compulsory education to migrate to cities. In other cases, an education might be the means by which young people can leave communities in order to find better work elsewhere and as such there is an external incentive to remain in school.

Colclough and Lewin (1993)46 highlight the experiences of girls migrating to work as housemaids in Guinea and Ethiopia, but rather than income is being used to contribute to schooling expenses, they are usually obliged to give their income to their parents. In terms of adult migration,
where remittances are generally transferred back to communities, there is some research in relation to retention and drop out. In poor rural Pakistan, where economic migration is usually undertaken by men leaving female-headed households, evidence (Mansuri, 2006) suggests that children in migrant households are more likely to attend school and remain in school, accumulating more years of schooling compared to those in non-migrant households. Yet, girls in migrant-households headed by women are still significantly more likely to dropout than boys, and both boys and girls in these households tend to work more.

Platero et al (2006) conclude that while educational benefits of migration relate to the increased income flows into the household, traditional household structures and social patterns remain. Cordova (2006) highlights the positive relationship between migration, remittances and schooling retention. The research makes the following claims: In El Salvador, US$100 of remittance income lowers the probability of children leaving school by 54 per cent in urban areas; and in the Philippines, a 10 per cent rise in household income through remittances leads to a proportional increase in enrolment rates among children aged 17 to 21.

Dunne and Leach (2005) indicated an increased vulnerability to early withdrawal for child educational migrants in Ghana and Botswana. Liu (2004) describes the difficult conditions in boarding schools in China with poor food and dormitories and how this had led a small sample of children to dropout. Research on rural-urban individual child and household migration indicates that around three times more migrant children are out of
school, than non-migrant children i.e. long term residents, with migrant children four times more likely to drop out (Batbaatar et al, 2006). The main reason given for dropping out was that urban schools would not accept the children when they moved. These urban schools were often overcrowded, but with achieving decent attainment results, were keen not to let standards slip with the influx of rural children with perceived weaker educational levels. Other factors raised included poverty levels of migrant families, with some not being able to pay school fees and related costs, a lack of available support structures and a lack of influence/standing within their new communities which might have enabled access to schooling.

HOUSEHOLD CONTEXTS

The members who make up the household have an influence over educational access and retention, particularly in poorer communities. Fuller and Liang’s study (2006) on education access in South Africa shows 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 other work on South Africa, Anderson (2005) describes a ‘particularly notable’ relationship between family background and dropping out. 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.

The number of children within the household is important in many cases and can be a ‘significant determinant’ of access (Chaurd and Mingat, 2002), but research differs on the impact of household size on access and dropout. Some studies indicate that with larger household sizes and in particular number of children, the financial burden/potential workload is greater; children are less likely to attend school, and often dropout. However, with more children in the household, jobs can be spread between them and siblings more likely to attend (Bregman and Muhammad, 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 (Alderman et al, 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. 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 (Nekatibeb, 2002).

The educational level of household members is particularly influential in determining whether and for how long children access schooling. Fentiman et al (2009) talks of ‘the widely accepted notion that parental education is the most consistent determinant of child education and employment decisions’. Higher parental/household head level of education
is associated with increased access to education, higher attendance rates and lower dropout rates (Ainsworth et al., 2005). A number of reasons are 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; Mpesha, 2003).

Hazarika and Bedi (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. Maharaj et al (2000) 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 chances, rather heads having attended primary school does.

A growing body of literature shows that girls’ dropout rates are higher compared to boys’ in most parts of the world. For instance, according to UNESCO (2012), the dropout rate is higher for girls in 49 countries compared to boys. Chimombo (1999) observes that though the enrolment in school is almost same for girls and boys, the latter have a higher likelihood of continuing school compared to girls. Holmes (2003) also find that girls overall attain less education and tend to dropout earlier as compared to boys.

When dropout rate varies by gender and if girls tend to dropout earlier compared to boys, it manifests that there are some unique factors
contributing to the increase in the dropout rate, particularly for girls. In other words, there are some factors which extensively contribute to an increase in girls’ dropout though those factors also impact dropout rate for boys. In this respect, the findings of Holcamp (2009)\textsuperscript{69} also support the argument when the author find that some socio-cultural factors highly impact girls’ dropout rate, though those factors also contribute to boys’ dropout rate, but to a lesser extent. Therefore, some particular factors produce poor educational outcome which consequently increase the dropout rate for girls.

Fuller and Liang (1999)\textsuperscript{70} argue that the advantage of having females as household heads may be the result of increased autonomy of the females when males are absent in the decision-making process. Shahidul (2013)\textsuperscript{71} examines data in Bangladesh and find that if a mother participates in the household's decision-making process, the dropout rate of girls is decreased. Though female headship eventually gives advantage to girls, studies sometimes show controversial results. This is because, many studies find that single-female headed households face greater financial and time constraints than two-parent households in general which may impact differently on children's academic achievement (Guo and Harris, 2000;\textsuperscript{72} Pong et al., 2003\textsuperscript{73}). In fact, children in households headed by married women have higher educational attainment while children of widows are more likely to work.

**ECONOMIC FACTORS**

Parental investment for children's well-being can sometimes become gender biased. Although parents are altruistic to the gender of their children,
they do not invest in education equally for all. In this regard, there are considerable evidences in the literature (Kingdon, 2005) supporting this view whereby that, there is gender bias or pro-male bias in case of parental investment in children. In addition, Leung and Zhang (2008) find that parents' preference for sons encourage more of them to invest for in their sons' well-being to take care of parents in the future. In fact, parental gender bias investment occurs particularly when parents have limited/lower income and resource, causing girls to leave school earlier than boys. Leach et al (2006) find an association between a family's financial strength and the likelihood of the daughter's dropout in South Africa.

From the families' perspective, Hill et al (2014) observe that in poor households in India, the costs of schooling for girls are likely to be higher, while the benefits more tenuous for them than the boys. The authors also observe that though direct costs are similar for boys and girls, parents are less willing to spend on girls. Lloyd et al (2005) also finds that in Kenya, higher school fees increases the likelihood of dropping out for girls but not for boys.

**SCHOOL LEVEL FACTORS**

There are several evidences that show participation in extra-curricular activities varied by gender and girls are usually less participative than boys. Jacqueline and Sue (2012) investigated gender dynamics in the valuing of extra-curricular activities and their survey results show a significant difference in the proportion of participation in extra-curricular activities of male and female students. Results show that approximately 76
per cent of male students participate in extracurricular activities compared to only 48 per cent of female students. Sometime, girls’ participation in extra-curricular activities is constrained by the lack of facilities in schools. Harma (2013)\(^8\) observes that 90 per cent of the schools in the study area had extra-curricular facilities for the boys, but the facilities for the girls were either not available or were provided minimally. This occurs in schools in most developing countries, especially in the rural areas.

Another foremost constraint is that some societies consider sports as a male activity. In Senegal, participation in sports is socially and culturally prohibited for Muslim women (Hewett, 2010).\(^9\) In England, during the secondary school cycle, Muslim women face restrictions by their culture and religion to participate in sports activities in schools (Benn, 2002).\(^10\) In fact, Muslim culture does not permit some kit requirements of sports or outdoor games such as wearing short skirts, shorts and tee-shirts and public changing and showering.

Several studies examined the impact of female teachers on the educational achievement of girls. Solotaroff (2007)\(^11\) find that in Afghanistan, lack of female teachers is an obstacle to girls’ participation and enrolment in schools. Afghan people believe that girls should not be taught by male teachers; however, female teachers are not available in Afghan society which is the foremost reason for the low rate of female education. They also presented that in Pakistan, girls usually drop out early because of lacking of female teachers in schools. In these societies, parents tend to stop their daughters’ education before adulthood as female teachers are not
available in schools. Though parents are sometimes reluctant to send girls to schools based on their religious feelings, in fact female teachers are effective in achieving educational outcome for female students. In this respect, a number of studies have attempted to examine the effect of having female teachers in schools. Many studies find that having female teachers in the school has a positive impact on female students' academic achievement outcomes (Carrell et al., 2010; Hoffman and Nixon, 2009). Therefore, lack of female teachers in school negatively impacts on girls' dropout outcome.

Research also indicates that irregular attendance can be a precursor for dropping out from school regardless of the gender of the pupil. However, it can be argued that school absenteeism can be somewhat negatively more effective for early dropout from school female students. In this regard, Manacorda (2012) also argues that girls are at a greater risk of absenteeism, repetition and dropout, and have lower educational achievement than boys in upper primary school. There are some causes for girls' dropout because of absenteeism. This is because a good deal of literature on household work finds that girls do more household work than boys which may increase non-attendance in schools for girls. Moreover, availability of toilets and access to feminine hygiene supplies impact on girls' absenteeism. In this regard, Grant et al (2013) indicates that female students were more likely to be absent if their toilets at school were dirty. In addition, Ngales (2005) find that in Ethiopia, female students were often
absent in class during menstruation and frequent absence led them to drop out from school.

Inadequate sanitation facilities in schools massively affect girls’ dropout, because this inadequacy indicates that schools are not safe for girls. Lizettee (2000)\(^89\) observes that though lack of facilities and poor hygiene affect both girls and boys, sanitation in schools has a strong negative impact on girls. Parents expect safe and separate sanitation for their daughters in schools. In fact, especially for girls entering adulthood, they need to have separate and adequate facilities for their menstruation time in school; without proper facilities it would discourage them from being in school and consequently they tend to dropout. Kingdon (2005)\(^90\) argue that girls’ privacy issue in schools is foremost a factor which forces girls to dropout from schools.

UNICEF (2009)\(^91\) notices that separate hygienic toilets should be made available for boys and girls when designing the facilities of a school. In Africa, the lack of basic sanitation is the cause for decreasing enrolment of girls in secondary schools, but girls spend more time in schools when sanitation facilities are adequate. UNICEF (1998)\(^92\) further observes that if the toilets are shared by girls and boys or are closely located in schools, a significant number of girls dropout because of harassment and lack of privacy.

Many scholars have examined how teachers’ attitudes toward female students are linked to dropout issue. Tilak and Sudarshan (2001)\(^93\) find that teachers in school more positively viewed boys than girls, because they
usually expect girls to quit school early. Teachers’ attitude and their teaching practices have foremost impact in sustaining girls in schools. According to Srivastava (2014), both female and male teachers believed that boys were academically better than girls. This study also finds that most teachers tend to pay more attention to boys in the classroom than girls. Research by Fawe (2001) shows that in the classroom, teachers were not conscious in using their language towards girls. They also viewed girls as less intelligent to boys and that girls are just there to marry early. According to Njau and Wamahiu (1994) in a study on dropout rates in Sub-Saharan Africa, it was found that the foremost cause of higher rate of girls’ dropout was the attitude of teachers towards girls in class. Teachers tend to favour to boys than girls in terms of academic performance and achievement which led to dropout.

School distance is an important determinant of school dropout for female students. Narayanan (2013) observes that if school distance is considered too far from home, young girls tend to drop out more due to for the vulnerability to sexual harassment. Parents are afraid for the safety of their children when they have to travel longer distances to school. Dostie and Jayaraman (2006) find that the likelihood of attending secondary school for girls decreases with the greater the distance compared to the nearer secondary schools. School distance can discourage girls from being educated for two major problems. One of them is the length of time and energy needed to cover the distance for children with empty stomachs.
Another is parental anxiety about sexual safeguard of their daughters. School distance gives the motivation to girls to stay in school.

**OTHER FACTORS**

Mehrotra (2015)\(^99\) examined the various dimensions of access and retention in District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) districts, and specifically focused on the structure and trends in enrolment for DPEP districts, and examined trends in district level performance indicators including retention. Data was collected from the DPEP states using District Information System for Education (DISE) formats. The study finds that significant gains in access and retention have been made, both under the formal as well as alternative systems of primary education. Despite considerable progress in enrolment and retention, it is becoming evident that additional efforts would be required before the overall objectives of DPEP can be fully realized. In order to improve the quality of data, steps and the community has to be strengthened, secondarily, periodic validation of data through scientifically designed sample surveys should be undertaken, and the margin of error should be estimated at the district level.

Mehrotra and Panchamukhi (2014)\(^100\) reveals that the reason for so many children not being in school had less to do with their families economic circumstances than with the school system's short comings. The inadequacy of the school system to attract and keep children is more crucial than households' economic conditions. School enrolment has risen dramatically in cities and villages, but the ability of the government school system to retain and adequately educate children has been less impressive.
Chudgar (2012)\textsuperscript{101} undertook the study related to quality education in Chamarajanagar district. According to the study, Chamarajanagar district of South Karnataka has low literacy levels and a large population of Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST). An intervention was undertaken to improve the quality of elementary education in Government schools and Ashramshalas (Govt. aided schools) by building the capacities of all stakeholders involved. It was observed that learning levels improved during tests conducted by the Government. Progress was made in efforts to involve and integrate the community with the school. Teachers learnt how to identify children whose learning levels were low and gave them special attention. Overall, teaching methods improved through use of drama, games and art activities conducted inside the classrooms.

Johnson and Bowles (2010)\textsuperscript{102} conducted a research study on externally aided projects in the field of elementary education in Rajasthan. Equipped with innovative strategies and active involvement of the people, these projects with specific focus on girls' participation in education, hope to pave the way for faster educational development. The innovations adopted include micro-planning, retention (and monitoring) register, low cost hostels for children of migrants, night classes, repairing school buildings with community involvement, minority education and teacher training. There is need to raise consciousness among rural women for educating their daughters, and also deal with the issue of child marriage, which is a stumbling block to girls' education.
Munshi and Rosenzweig (2006)\textsuperscript{103} opines that most child labour of Thane and Nashik districts work in the brick kiln industry. During the slump period, these children would stay at home and were unable to pick up their education. Keeping this in view, mobile schools, run by Vidhayak Sansad (constructive parliament) in association with Shramjeevi Sangathana, were set up at the site of brick kilns near bhongas (temporary huts built by migrant labourers). Examinations are conducted at the end of the session by the Zilla Parishad and certificates are given to these children who were unable to continue their education in regular schools due to the migratory nature of their parents' lifestyle. The teachers mainly reside in the bhonga schools, and besides education they also look after the hygiene of these children. The author also pointed out some problems faced by these schools.

Muralidharan and Kremer (2006)\textsuperscript{104} highlight educational profile of the city of Indore. The problem of street children is the inevitable consequence of Education for All (Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan-SSA). According to authors identifying the role of educational authorities at the city level is the first step towards the setting up of mechanisms for periodic diagnosis of the situation. The present “shot in the dark” strategies cannot hold much hope for purposeful change for the future.

Pal (2010)\textsuperscript{105} undertook a study to assess the extent to which enrolment in Primary and secondary schools in the state of Orissa is determined by access to schools and quality of schooling. It reveals that there is no significant difference between the factors influencing girls and
boys enrolment at the primary and secondary stages of schooling. With regard to primary school enrolment, an economic variable represented by agricultural development plays a major role while in the secondary stage, educational factors like the number of schools and literacy rate becomes predominant. In educational system, the role of schools is instrumental in promoting secondary school education, but not in the case of primary school enrolment.

Sankar (2008) used a case study approach to study factors influencing enrolment in elementary schools. The study reveals that poverty was the main reason for children not being able to attend school. Teachers faced the problem of the student population migrating along with their parents looking for jobs. Girls' education was not given importance as compared to boys. Infrastructure facilities including toilet, drinking water, and playground were not satisfactory. Casual parental attitude towards schooling and poor resource planning were also responsible for poor enrolment of children. The study recommended that incentives should be provided to low income families to encourage them to spare their daughters for school. Provision of roads/transport, upgradation of lower primary schools into primary and higher primary school and good infrastructure was also recommended.

Joubish and Khurram (2011) note that illiteracy, poverty, low level of motivation, lack of understanding, child labour, corporal punishment, teacher behaviour and the school environment are such factors that
contribute to dropout at the primary level. This study covered factors affecting the dropout of boys and ignored girls’ dropout factors.

Farooq (2010)\textsuperscript{108} studied the dropout factors and listed a number of factors causing the dropout of students. Some of these factors included repeated failure of students, poverty, as students cannot afford to go to schools, lack of interest in studies as students cannot seek admission in their favourable subjects, low quality of teachers and teacher behaviour with students, and severe physical and mental punishment in schools.

Jamil et al (2010)\textsuperscript{109} describe that apart from poverty, other factors that influence dropout include distance to schools, large families, overcrowded classrooms, corporal punishment and grade retention. Girls’ enrolment is very low and the phenomenon of dropout is further deteriorating the literacy rate of girls. One of the factors that adding to the dropout of students at primary level is the work burden which children are sharing with their parents at home (Malik, 2002).\textsuperscript{110}

Stearns and Glennie (2006)\textsuperscript{111} studied public schools in North Carolina and argue that academic failure, disciplinary problems, employment opportunities, populated families, marriages, pregnancy reasons and caring children are factors which contributes to high school dropout of girls and boys. This shows that various societies have different social issues resulting for the dropout of children from the schools. Moreover, students’ ethnical background, minimum opportunities after education, climate of schools and parents perception towards education are
also influencing the enrolment and drop out of children from schools (Christle et al, 2007).

Blue and Cook (2004) conducted a study in the University of Taxas at Austin on high school dropouts. They identified income of the household, social and emotional factors, race and ethnicity, socioeconomic status, stress for achieving better grades and institutional factors as the factors affecting dropout.

According to a study of UNESCO and Center for Development Research, Bangladesh (CDRB) (2002), the girls are dropped out from school for two main reasons namely severe poverty and the early marriages. In this study, poverty is one of the most crucial factors of dropout from school in Bangladesh. Similarly, the early marriages of students are also the major reason for the dropout of students. The phenomenon of the early marriage is further linked with the cultural factors. These factors may also add to the dropout students from schools in Pakistan as the context of Pakistan and Bangladesh indicate similarities.

CONCLUSION

Review of the studies which have dealt with the factors influencing enrolment and dropout of students indicates that many attempts have been made to probe the same over the years. Efforts have been made to unravel the same in many countries including India. Studies have shown that economic factors, household factors, school related factors, individual factors and others all play a crucial role in influencing enrolment or dropout of students. However, there is no uniformity or similarity in the views of the
scholars, since most of the factors are region-specific and/or time specific. Hence, there is a necessity to investigate the factors that affect enrolment and dropout among the households, especially in Tamil Nadu, which is attempted in this study.
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