The Causes, Processes and Consequences of Student Drop-out from Junior Secondary School (JSS) in Ghana: the case of Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem (K.E.E.A.) district

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Abstract

Despite open access to both primary and junior secondary school (JSS), non-enrolment and drop-out have been countrywide problems in Ghana. This thesis investigates the nature of student drop-out from JSS in one district in the country, through four main questions. What is the relationship between drop-out rates and school characteristics of JSS in K.E.E.A. district? What are the factors causing students to drop out? What are the processes of dropping out? What are the consequences of dropping out?

The thesis investigates the above questions in two phases: the first on a macro level, by means of a school survey of all 39 schools in the district; and the second on a micro level, by means of an in-depth study of drop-outs from four schools. In the school survey, among the school factors included in the current study, few showed significant association with the drop-out rates. (However, in subsequent in-depth study, the school characteristics were found to exert some influence; for example, the schools with low drop-out rates had stronger teacher commitment). In the school survey, drop-out rates were clearly associated with gender. The in-depth study of 32 drop-outs from four schools suggested that the cause of drop-out was predominantly finance for males and pregnancy for females. In a comparison of 32 drop-outs and 32 stay-ins, where age, gender, academic achievement and economic status were matched, few differences were found in family composition and school experience. In the examination of matched pairs, drop-outs tended to display particular characteristics, such as belonging to a minority language/ethnic group, or having a slight physical handicap. Parental divorce was common among both drop-outs and stay-ins.

The investigation of the process of leaving school revealed that the problem was more complicated than the surface cause might suggest; there were often multiple causes leading drop-outs to abandon their education. When problems such as parents' divorce, belonging to a minority language/ethnic group, or having a slight physical handicap were coupled with poverty, the combination of these factors could cause students to leave school. Although a cause might not be serious enough to effect drop-out by itself, many students were already on the verge of dropping out; thus very little pressure was necessary to cause them to discontinue their schooling. Girls were more vulnerable than boys. Girls in general showed fewer risk factors yet more girls than boys dropped out. In some cases girls would not have dropped out if they had not become pregnant.

After leaving school, most drop-outs engaged in economic activities. Only a few drop-outs wished to go back to school, and almost all wished to undertake an apprenticeship to lead to self-employment. The occupational skills learned in apprenticeship were gender-specific, and women had fewer choices.

Inequality was evident at every step; girls were disadvantaged in enrolment, retention, examination results, and in economic activities after leaving school. Education can be an effective tool for empowering the disadvantaged population. However, schooling in rural Ghana was not always meeting the strategic needs of the disadvantaged. Drop-outs, therefore, searched for other alternatives in which they could be successful, such as self-employment in microenterprises.

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Abbreviations

AfDB	Africa Development Bank
BECE	Basic Education Certificate Examination
CIDA	Canadian International Development Assistance
EdSAC	Educational Sector Adjustment
EFA	Education for All
ERP	Economic Reform Programme
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
GAD	Gender and Development
GES	Ghana Education Service
GNAT	Ghana National Association of Teachers
JSS	Junior Secondary School
K.E.E.A.	Komenda-Edna-Eguafo-Abrem
MCH	Maternal Child Health
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
PREP	Primary Education Programme
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SSS	Senior Secondary School
SSSCE	Senior Secondary School Certificate Examinations
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WAD	Women and Development
WAEC	West African Examinations Council
WCEFA	World Conference on Education for All
WID	Women in Development

Preliminary Notes

1) In this thesis, all the terms in local languages (mainly Fanti) have been italicized. Their meanings are indicated in the parentheses following.

2) Verbal quotations from interviewees are attributed using a code, e.g. AD3M. Codes convey the following information:
   - The first letter indicates the code of the school, school A, B, C, or D.
   - The second letter or letters indicate(s) the category of the person interviewed; D for drop-outs, ST for stay-ins, DP for adult family members of drop-outs, DST for adult family members of stay-ins, C for community leaders, and T for teachers.
   - The third number indicates the ID number of the interviewee.
   - The last letter denotes male or female.

3) Amounts in cedis are stated in pounds sterling, at the rate of exchange in January 1994, viz. 1200 cedis to one pound sterling.

1 Introduction - Background and the Nature of the Study

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the issue of drop-out in the context of education and development will be discussed. The definition of terms used, the rationale for the research orientation, and the focus of the thesis will also be addressed.

1.2 The Problem

I became conscious of the problem of school drop-out while teaching in rural secondary schools in the western province in Kenya and in Mashonaland in Zimbabwe. In both countries, I taught General Science and Mathematics at schools which provided education for the disadvantaged population in the country. Many of my students were the first generation in their families to receive post-primary education. Most of the students at school were children of subsistence farmers. People sacrificed a great deal in order to send their children to school. Education was something which had been sought after for a long time. Especially in the case of Zimbabwe, people had been deprived of education under the colonial regime and it was one of the strong incentives for the liberation movement which led to independence in 1980. Working in these schools was an eye-opening experience for me, teaching me the value of education. Students had high aspirations and motivations. Schools had very little equipment and few resources, but students were eager to learn. One of the most difficult situations we encountered while teaching in these rural schools was the problem of drop-outs. We felt helpless when students stopped coming to school. The reasons varied. Whatever they were, in most cases we were unable to bring these students back to school.

Enrolment trends and projections by UNESCO (1993) verify impressive growth in enrolment made in the last three decades. In 1960, 437 million or 14% of the world's population were enrolled at first, second or third level of education and in 1991 the figure

increased to 990 million comprising 18% or the population. While in industrialised countries the increase is found in secondary and tertiary education, in developing countries the marked increase is in first level education. However, a close examination of the enrolment statistics of some countries indicate stagnant growth patterns in the more recent period. In sub-Saharan Africa, the momentum gained in the 1960s and 1970s was not maintained in the 1980s. In 19 countries, including Ghana, the gross enrolment ratio declined slightly, between 1980 and 1991.[1] One of the reasons for the stagnant growth is rapid population increase where school facilities cannot accommodate the growing school-age population. Another is school drop-out.

In the industrialised countries, school drop-outs are found at the secondary school and university levels (Dejnozka and Kapel 1991). A drop-out is described as a student who leaves the formal education system before completing studies required for a secondary school diploma or a university degree, thereby forfeiting graduation (Psacharopoulos and Loxley 1985). Most of the research into drop-out focuses on secondary schools and colleges.

On the other hand, the problem of drop-out is evident in all levels of education in developing countries. This is a reflection of the educational gap between the industrialised nations and developing countries. While a six year old child in North America can expect over 16 years of education on average, a six year old in some sub-Saharan African countries can expect less than three years of schooling (UNESCO 1995). School life expectancy[2] in Table 1-1 shows the disparity between developing countries and industrialised countries. Among developing countries, sub-Saharan Africa lags behind.

Table 1-1: School Life Expectancy in Selected Developing and Developed Countries*

		male	female
Developing Countries	sub-Saharan Africa	6.5	5.5
	Arab States	10.2	9.4
	Latin America/ Caribbean	10.7	10.8
	Asia/Oceania	9.7	8.5
Industrialised Countries		13.8	14.0

* Countries for which the relevant data are available to UNESCO

(from World Education Report 1995: Table 2.2)

One of the most critical concerns is the level of drop-out from primary education. The recent Mid-Decade Meeting of the International Consultative Forum on Education for All (Amman report) states that "drop-out continues to be a major problem in all developing regions, especially sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and South Asia, where less than four-fifths of all children who start Grade 1 reach Grade 4" (UNESCO 1996:19). Table 1-1 shows the percentage of pupils reaching grade 4, and reveals that sub-Saharan Africa is disadvantaged compared with other regions.

Table 1-2: Percentage of Pupils Reaching Grade 4 (1987 and 1993)

	sub-Saharan Africa	Arab States	Latin America/ Caribbean	East Asia/Pacific	South Asia	Developing Countries
1987	72.95	91.06	73.56	82.13	69.56	77.85
1993	75.13	94.44	80.00	84.00	77.00	82.11

(from UNESCO 1996 Mid-Decade Meeting of the International Consultative Forum on EFA: 20)

School drop-outs are the most likely candidates for unemployment. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) released a report calling attention to the current high unemployment rates worldwide. The report describes the current situation as the most serious crisis since the world recession in the 1930s (Samoff 1994). Over 40% of people

are unemployed or underemployed worldwide. The report suggests facilitating international trade, and making more effort in training and education. However, education itself does not create employment; rather, it can bring about a situation where education creates higher vocational aspirations and hence creates the educated but unemployed population (Saha 1992).

Drop-outs from post primary education have the potential for causing social unrest. They tend to join the unemployed in urban areas. In the political tension before the first majority rule election in the Republic of South Africa, the danger was clearly visible. In the 1980s, it was estimated that each year 150,000 secondary school students dropped out and a total of 400,000 completed school but without successful examination results. Hartshore (1992) observed that these school leavers were feared to have formed an explosive sector of society which could have disrupted the negotiation process. In the longer term these youths are one of the most dangerous challenges to the political life of a new representative government.

> (They) became disillusioned about the value of education, suffered from a sense of failure, became alienated from their communities and turned to violence and the disruption of the society which had rejected them. Little has been done to rescue them, to provide a second chance through various forms of further education and training (Hartshore, 1992:80).

In other countries too, unemployed urban youth pose a political and social threat. Drop-outs from secondary education are often the most disadvantaged in the job markets. Being educated, their occupational aspirations and expectations are high. They are often not satisfied with traditional occupations or engaging in production at subsistence level. Moreover, their family members expect them to engage in salaried work to bring returns to the investment that the family made (UNESCO 1984). While successful school leavers have difficulties in obtaining employment, these drop-outs have an even more difficult task in securing jobs. The unsatisfied and frustrated youths tend to come to urban areas for possible work. Some of them are absorbed in informal sectors while others continue to be unemployed and frustrated.

Therefore, it could be said that the drop-out is not only an economic or pedagogical issue, but also a social and political one. The issue of drop-out could also be referred to as an issue of human rights as states fail to provide these children with the educational opportunities to which they are entitled. There are eight international and five regional conventions in force dealing with education (UNESCO 1993). The Convention against Discrimination in Education was adopted in 1960 by international conferences of states convened under UNESCO's auspices. The Convention stresses access to education with quality. More recently, the Convention on the Rights of the Child was produced by UNICEF in 1989; this emphasises the need for free and compulsory primary education and development of secondary education.[3]

The problem of drop-out has often been discussed in the field of education and development in the last two decades. It was first publicly cited as a problem after the regional declaration for Universal Primary Education (UPE) made in each region in the early 1960s. In 1971, UNESCO published its first research on the problem of wastage. In *Wastage in Education, a World Problem,* UNESCO attempted to portray the problem by comparing and contrasting the situations among countries in different regions. This was the first attempt to depict the problem in a comparative perspective after recognising that the issue is a world-wide phenomenon. Similar attempts have been made in the 1980s to see the trends and patterns in repetition and drop-out (UNESCO 1984, 1987, 1990).

Many of these studies are motivated by economic considerations, such as the pursuit of efficiency of educational systems. The problem of drop-out is considered as one element of so-called 'wastage'. The issue is examined in aggregate and processed statistically. The problem has often been addressed collectively and not enough attention has been given to individual cases. Similarly, the problem has seldom been discussed from the point of view of the drop-outs themselves.

Economists introduced the concept of efficiency in education. For example, in calculating the cost per child for schooling, Psacharopoulos and Woodhall (1985:167) state, "where drop-out or repetition rates are high, the cost per graduate or school completer may be more relevant than average cost per student". In other words, the efficiency of education

is counted in terms of those who complete - in this formulation, a drop-out is counted as "a zero".

The World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990, confirmed the importance of basic education. Since then numerous studies on basic education in developing countries have been carried out. There has been a strong emphasis on the primary cycle and adult literacy, but few studies have been carried out at the post-primary level. Wastage is viewed as an obstacle to the realisation of Education for All (EFA). Moreover, the international donor communities which value the concept of efficiency keep a watchful eye on educational wastage. This applies especially to least developed countries where many of the educational activities are often donor initiated.

Education has been considered as one of the most important driving forces for development. This utilitarian view of education has placed a renewed emphasis on education in developing countries. Education, especially education for women, is recognised as one of the most effective tools to solve the problems of population and primary health care. The mother's education is frequently mentioned as the single most important factor for child survival. Female education has undeniable effects on fertility decline. In the World Population Conference in Cairo in 1994, education was treated as one of the most important factors for population decline. In the world conference on women in Beijing 1995, the importance of education was confirmed in the context of gender and development.

WCEFA succeeded in mobilising a global commitment to increased access to basic education. It renewed political commitment both by governments of developing countries and donor agencies. With increasing donor interventions in the promotion of basic education in developing countries, the problem of drop-out is likely to continue to be addressed as one of the obstacles militating against achieving the universal education.

1.3 Definition of Terms

In this section some of the major terms and concepts used in this research will be defined.

They are drop-out, drop-out rate, wastage, and junior secondary education. Then, some of the problems associated with these definitions will be discussed.

1.3.1 Definitions

a) Drop-out

Drop-out is defined as premature termination of an educational cycle. A general definition includes categories wider than formal education, including organised educational activities and courses.

> A term is used to describe individuals who leave an activity, a course, a programme, or a school, before completing its requirements (Dejnozka and Kapel 1991:185).

However, the term is more commonly used in formal education and in the first or second level, i.e. at primary or secondary schools. The term 'drop-out'

> most often designates an elementary or secondary school pupil who has been in membership during the regular school term and who withdraws or is dropped from membership (Good 1973:198).

The common definitions of drop-out agree in assuming the premature termination of a cycle or stage. Some describe this

> situation of pupils or students who leave school before completing a school year or a particular level of studies (Ortiz and Basile 1982:56).

More often a drop-out is defined as the pupil or student him/herself who drops out.

> A drop-out is generally defined as a pupil who leaves school before the end of the final year of the educational stage or cycle in which he/she is enrolled (UNESCO 1980:13, Brimer and Pauli 1971:15).
>
> A drop-out can be defined as a child who enrols in school but fails to complete the relevant level of the educational cycle. At the primary level this means that the drop-put fails to reach the final grade, usually grade V or VI (UNESCO 1987:2).

Morrow (1987) describes different kinds of early school leavers as follows:

1) pushouts - undesirable students;
2) disaffiliated - students no longer wishing to be associated with the schools;
3) educational mortalities - students failing to complete a program;
4) capable dropouts - students whose family socialization did not agree with school demands;
5) stopouts - dropouts who return to school, usually within the same academic year (Morrow 1987:39).

There are a number of ways of leaving school which are not considered dropping out. Death or transfer to another school is not regarded as drop-out (Good 1973). Some define drop-out as leaving an educational cycle voluntarily (Dejnozka and Kapel 1991).

It is considered as drop-out whether it occurs during or between regular school terms (Good 1973:198). Some studies point out that more drop-outs are observed during the school holidays than during the school terms (Prather 1993).

The concept of school drop-out does not include students who complete one cycle and do not enrol at the successive level of educational cycle. Brimer and Pauli (1971:15) observe that "leaving school after the completion of a compulsory cycle without going on to the succeeding cycle" does not constitute drop-out. After compulsory level education, most commonly, the number of schools and available places at successive levels of education decreases. It is not possible for all nations to retain all children throughout the total range of provisions. However, once a student is enrolled in a system, he/she should be able to complete. Brimer and Pauli (1971) suggest that the national aim should be to retain all children recruited into a cycle until the objectives of that cycle have been satisfied.

For the purpose of researching the problem of drop-out from JSS in Ghana, we will define drop-out in this study as follows: The phenomenon of drop-out occurs when a student who is once enrolled leaves the system before the end of the final year in the cycle. The

term does not include those who completed primary schooling but did not enrol at JSS. It does not include those leaving the school for transfer to another school or pupils who die. Those expelled or suspended are also excluded from dropping out, something greed upon by most authorities of drop-out.

b) Drop-out Rate

An index of drop-out is defined as the relation of premature leaving to the number of children who are recruited at the beginning of each cycle (Brimer and Pauli 1971). It does not consider the whole population of the age cohort, but the number of children who drop out is compared with the number of children enrolled initially in the educational cycle. A drop-out rate is defined as:

> the percentage of pupils or students who leave school before completing a grade or level. Also the percentage of students who leave a school year before moving to a higher grade (UNESCO 1982:56).

Commonly a drop-out rate is calculated in one school year for a particular grade or level.[4] On the other hand, the cohort drop-out rate is calculated as the number of pupils/students dropping out before completing one educational cycle or unit[5] In the school survey for the current study, both rates were used; the cohort drop-out rate for JSS was used for comparison of drop-out rates, and the drop-out rate for each school year was used for comparison of drop-out rates among different grades in JSS.

c) Wastage

Educational wastage is a term derived from the economics of education. The broader definition includes:

> 1) failure to provide universal education,
> 2) failure to recruit children into the system,
> 3) failure to hold children within the system,
> 4) failure to set appropriate objectives,
> 5) inefficiency in the achievement of objectives
>
> (Brimer and Pauli 1971: 10-11).

In the UNESCO study carried out on wastage in education in the countries of Asia and the Pacific, the concept of wastage was extended to include non-enrolment, absenteeism, under-utilisation of educational resources, and under-achievement of learning outcome. It asserts that education enhances the learning of children, and if a child stays at school without learning as much as he/she could have, it should also be considered as 'wasteful' (UNESCO/NIER 1989).

However, more commonly the concept of wastage includes only drop-out and repetition. It is defined as a combined effect of repetition and drop-out. The formula used is the total number of pupil-years spent by drop-outs before leaving school, and the total number of pupil-years repeated by repeaters (UNESCO 1980). For example, if a student drops out after year three with repetition at year two and three, this pupil has spent three years as a drop-out and two years as a repeater. Therefore the wastage is calculated as five pupil-years in total.

Some maintain that repetition is more wasteful than drop-out as it reduces the intake capacity of school, increases unit costs and often leads to drop-out as well as widens the gap in inequalities in the education system (Haddad 1979, Psacharopoulos and Woodhall 1985). On the other hand, numerous studies state the damaging effect of drop-out. UNESCO stresses the seriousness of the problem of drop-out among the different aspects of wastage. "Drop-out is perhaps the most critical form of wastage; that having enrolled a child in school, the school fails to retain the child" (UNESCO 1984:1). The current research recognises the seriousness of the problem and observes that drop-out is a major part of wastage and most damaging.

d) Junior Secondary School (JSS)

Junior secondary education is characterised as the first stage of the second level education which follows the completion of the first level educational stage or primary schooling. UNESCO *International Standard Classifications of Education* (1976) defines this stage to begin at age approximately 11 or 12 and it lasts for about three years.

The objectives of the junior secondary school education are described as follows:

1) to meet the individual and unique needs of early adolescents;
2) to provide pre-vocational training and opportunities for exploration;
3) to make counselling and guidance services available; and
4) to develop good citizenship through active participation in the school communities

(Dejnozka and Kapel 1991:302-303).

The concept of junior secondary (high) education was first developed in the USA after World War I to provide an alternative to the then-existing 8-4 educational plan. The junior high school was for the 7th to the 9th years of formal schooling. By 1940, in the U.S.A., the 6-3-3 organisational plan replaced the 8-4 plan.

In West Africa, Nigeria adopted this 6-3-3 plan in the 1970s and Ghana also followed the same path in 1987, although the country had planned it as early as in 1974. The number of countries which have the 6-3-3 plan is 32 out of the 170 countries which stated the duration of first and second level of education. However, 140 countries have their second level education divided into two stages.[6] Therefore, it could be said that the concept of JSS is widely used.

The content of education varies in different countries and systems. In the great majority of programmes in most countries, it continues the pattern of general education started at elementary schools. The subject specialisation occurs and most of the subjects are supposed to be taught by specialised teachers. However, subject specialisation on the students' part is merely a preliminary step in that general direction (UNESCO 1976). In some countries, practical subjects are introduced at this stage, such as commercial, agricultural, forestry, fishery, home economics, trade, craft, or industrial subjects from which students specialise. In a few countries, teacher education programmes for primary schools occur at this stage (UNESCO 1976). However, this kind of arrangement has become less common and teacher training has become more usual at post secondary level education.

JSS in Ghana is the second stage of the 6-3-3 plan of education and is considered as the latter part of the basic education, replacing the position held by middle school. The 1961

Education Act specified 'primary education', consisting of primary and middle school education, to be compulsory and free. Therefore JSS is categorised as an educational stage with open access. This stage starts on completion of six years of primary schooling and lasts for three years.

1.3.2 Problems Associated with these Definitions

a) Drop-out

Natriello et al. (1990) observes that universally agreed-upon definitions of dropping out do not exist because standards of classifying drop-outs vary across context. While the concept of drop-out itself is clear and unambiguous, the actual application of the concept to the reality can pose a number of problems. One can argue that drop-out students do not necessarily remain drop-outs forever. Sometimes students return to school the next term or after a number of years. For example, students who could not continue their schooling for economic reasons might resume their education after working for a few years to save sufficient funds. Another example is of female students who become pregnant during the course of a school year. They are often expelled from school. While some countries never allow them to come back, others let them continue their education after child-birth. These students resume their interrupted education often at different schools. A study carried out in Botswana where the major reason for female students' drop-out in secondary school is pregnancy, found that students tend to continue their education at 'downgraded' schools. This means that if a student was learning at a government school before being expelled, she would be enrolled at a community school or night school where the academic standard is not so high but where it is easier to be accepted even during the middle of a term (Duncan 1988). These students could appear as drop-outs as long as they stay away from school, but as soon as they return, they should be considered as repeaters if they repeat the grade they had left. Therefore, it could be argued that all drop-outs are potential repeaters. Others might take up a correspondence course to complete the educational cycle. These students do appear as drop-outs in official statistics as they never return to schools. However, they apparently succeed in completing the educational cycle in which they were initially enrolled.

Drop-outs are not the same in all cases. Some students do choose to leave school on their own initiative, though the number is small. They might choose to work, comparing the benefit of education with their immediate earnings. On the other hand, others do not wish to stop their education, but are forced to abandon their schooling for various social reasons including economic difficulties, conflict between schooling and religious or customary beliefs, and family pressure. Some describe these drop-outs as "push-outs" (Haddad 1979). There are students who discontinue their education as they are expelled from school. These students might have already abandoned their education by acting as being expelled, but this is different from the two groups of drop-outs already described.

There are exceedingly derogatory connotations associated with the term "drop-out". Whatever the reasons for dropping out, the term carries an implication of failure or lack of success. Some studies point out that more appropriate words should be used to describe the phenomenon or a person. This research will continue using the term drop-out, although it is aware of the inadequacy of the term.

b) Drop-out Rate

Further problems arise in the computing of drop-out rates. Most of the problems stem from the absence of well-managed registry systems.

Transferred students are sometimes considered as drop-outs at their former schools, when students seek places in better-established schools, when their family move from one place to another, or when students move from prestigious private school to less prestigious schools for various reasons, such as failing to pay expensive school fees. At the school receiving such students, there are cases where the enrolment figure does not specify transfer-in students. This might result in over-reporting the number of drop-outs in former school and under-reporting the number of drop-outs in the schools which receive transfer students, as one transfer student into school could cancel one drop-out. If a school registry system is well equipped, a student who transfers will be recorded. However, in most rural schools, the system is not managed sufficiently well.

The school-wise drop-out rates pose problems when the record of transfer is not kept well. However, such problems could be solved when the figure is taken for a larger entity including schools which students transfer to and from. However, in a study in Ghana, Coleman (1994) states the problem of calculating accurate drop-out rates at regional levels where drop-out rates might be inflated when students transfer from one region to another.

It is a common practice in some countries for the initial enrolment to decide the government resources made available to the schools. In such a case, there is a tendency to over-report the enrolment at the beginning of the year. Then the drop-out rates could be inflated if the number of drop-outs are calculated from the difference between the initial enrolment and the actual enrolment at the end of the year.

In some countries, enrolment statistics are collected yearly but not accumulated during the educational cycle. The number of students attending school at the end of the year is compared with the number enrolled at the beginning of the year. This leaves students who drop out during the holidays between school years uncounted. This leads, therefore, to under-reporting the number of drop-outs.

Another issue is the number of students enrolled at the beginning of the cycle. It is possible for the repeaters from the previous year to be included as new intake. Some students enrol with different names, and it becomes more difficult to identify repeaters.

The only way of obtaining accurate information on drop-out rate in education involves the collection of information for individual students (Deble 1980). By tracing individual students, one can avoid most of the problems mentioned above. However, this conscientious method requires considerable financial and human resources. Therefore, such information is rarely available.

c) Wastage

The problem of the concept of wastage is its "depersonalising of what is essentially an

individual growth process" (Brimer and Pauli 1971:9). Its numeric orientation fails to recognise each pupil but equates schooling to industry where the 'product' is being counted. Its focus is superficial and often fails to depict the nature of education.

UNESCO (1980) also questions the crude view which disregards the educational benefit gained by drop-outs and repeaters. Brimer and Pauli (1971) argue that wastage ignores both the educational benefits received by repeaters and drop-outs. Spending an extra year in school as an repeater might benefit a child's future more than being promoted to the next grade as a low-achiever. Repetition can be seen as depriving another child of a chance learning. However, it is difficult to compare the benefits of these alternatives. Similarly, schooling that a drop-out student received before leaving the school should not be considered as a total wastage. It is likely that these students have had a certain amount of learning before leaving and the learning is likely to be an asset to them.

An extended concept of wastage, though more reasonable in its interpretation of wastage, is difficult to measure. Concepts such as non-enrolment, absenteeism, under-achievement, and under-utilisation of educational resources could be considered more accurate representation of the wastage concept than a rather crude definition of a combination of repetition and drop-out. However, these aspects are difficult to measure and to quantify.

Some warn of a simplistic understanding that 'drop-out' is more wasteful:

> Yet whether their 'drop-out' is indeed more wasteful than that of children leaving at one of the established exit points is debatable. It is only so if the benefits of schooling accrue not on a pro rata basis for each year attended, but if they are more than proportionately bunched at the end of each particular cycle (Colclough with Lewin 1993:148).

d) Junior Secondary School (JSS)

While the definition of junior secondary education is unambiguous, slight differences in the system of schooling pose problems when international comparisons are made. The

definition of JSS in the Ghanaian education system is clear but it poses problems in comparison with other countries with different educational systems. In Ghana, JSS is the latter part of the open access basic education cycle. On the other hand, it is included in the second level education together with Senior Secondary Schools (SSS) when comparisons with other countries are made, as for example, in the *World Educational Development Report*. In its nature of free, compulsory and open access, JSS is closer to primary education, but it is classified as a second level when the enrolment age is concerned.

In comparing the internal efficiency of first level education, the survival rate of the first four years is commonly used. In most countries, the age for starting primary schooling is not very different. The duration of the first level education varies from four to nine years, but as long as the survival rate for four years is taken, the data are relatively appropriate for comparison.

On the other hand, comparison at the first stage of the second level education, equivalent to junior secondary education, has problems. Due to the difference in duration of the first level education, the age of students who are starting the schooling varies from country to country. Although the majority of countries have their second level education in two stages, the duration for the first stage of the level varies from two to six years.[7] It is difficult to compare the internal efficiency of systems when their duration is not identical. Even if one takes the survival rate of the first two years, it does not necessarily represent the same educational level, as the previous level has a different number of years.

Both UNESCO and World Bank publications aggregate enrolment figures of the first and second stages of second level education. Therefore, it is often difficult to separate the enrolment, efficiency and other statistical data of junior secondary education from the senior secondary cycle.

Junior secondary education under different systems and in different countries do not share the same educational objectives and functions. Although, most of them are general-education oriented, some others also have specialised vocational and practical

aspects. Again, it is disputable whether these schools can be compared.

1.4 Rationale

In this section, the rationale of this research will be discussed. It will be examined from the following four aspects, a) drop-out from JSS, b) drop-out in Ghana, and c) macro and micro analyses of drop-out, and d) gender and drop-out.

1.4.1 Drop-outs from JSS

To date many studies have been carried out on the problem of school drop-out in developing countries. The majority of these studies focus on drop-outs in primary schools and relatively few studies focus on post-primary educational levels.

JSS follows immediately after completion of primary schooling in Ghana. It is the latter part of the compulsory education and is considered as part of the basic education as described in the previous section. Most industrialised countries and an increasing number of developing countries have junior secondary schools as the latter part of compulsory education.[8] As we have seen, Nigeria shifted from its previous GCE system to 6-3-3-4 in the 1970s and Ghana followed a decade later.

When the primary education system reaches a universal enrolment and high efficiency, then the issue of drop-out is likely to shift to the next level of the educational system, as observed in countries in Asia and the Pacific (UNESCO/NIER 1989). Once the enrolment of children in primary schools becomes universal and the completion rate is high, the concern becomes maintaining the achieved efficiency as well as preventing wastage at the next level of education. But efficiency and wastage are not the only concerns. While drop-out from primary education can perpetuate a non-literate and a functionally non-literate population, drop-out from junior secondary education can generate a population which has failed to attain the power to absorb new skills and technologies.

1.4.2 Drop-out in Ghana

The rationale for research on drop-out in Ghana lies in its historical and current experience in development of education. Ghana's experience of initial development and subsequent decline of its education system is not uncommon among other developing countries. Ghana has a long history of a western type of school education, though it had been directed at a small proportion of the population until the latter half of this century.

The country was the first colony in sub-Saharan Africa to gain its independence in 1957, and to establish a mass education system. Strong demand for education was recognised and independence brought political commitment to increased access to education. Then the country and its education system went through hardships due to political instability and economic decline in the 1970s. Economic recovery with the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) included rehabilitation of social infrastructure. Education reform which started in 1987 streamlined the previous system and aimed at increasing efficiency. The reform has received financial and technical support from a number of donor agencies. A number of characteristics in Ghana's experience are likely to be shared by other developing countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, as the country shows nemerous characteristics observed in the study of education in sub-Sharan Africa (World Bank 1988).

Education in developing countries has increasingly been discussed in a wider context of development, such as education's role in facilitating economic and social development as well as equity. Ghana is recognised to have achieved an initial stage of economic recovery in the early 1990s. The Ghanaian economy between 1982 and 1991 grew at an average rate of approximately 5 to 6 per cent, while the rest of Africa excluding Nigeria averaged only 2.3 per cent between 1982 to 1991 (Herbst 1993:154). The country has been praised as one of the most successful cases of countries accepting the prescriptions of SAP. Therefore, it seems appropriate to investigate the issues of education in this country as a similar economic recovery process is likely to be followed by a number of other developing countries. The country's education reform is one of the vital elements of the second phase of the Economic Reform Programme(ERP). JSS is the centre of the education reform, where a number of innovative activities have been initiated. This will

be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

A study on drop-out in primary education in Ghana was carried out by the Ministry of Education and UNICEF, which will be discussed in Chapter 3. However, to date, such research studies have not been done on drop-out from JSS.

1.4.3 Macro and Micro Analyses of Drop-out

Most research on the problem of drop-out in the context of education and development is macro in its orientation, as Chapter 3 will show. Due to in part their policy- and implementation-oriented nature, these studies tend to use quantifiable data in order to produce strategies for interventions at the national level. While macro analysis is extremely important in describing the magnitude of the problem, micro analyses can generate insights about underlying causes not always uncovered by large-scale surveys. This thesis combines macro and micro perspectives.

The macro aspect of the research in this thesis is based on the analysis of data derived from a school survey where the drop-out rates were calculated, school characteristics were examined, and the association between the two examined. The micro aspect of the research in this thesis comprises an in-depth study of drop-outs and stay-ins from four schools, especially subjective accounts provided by the drop-outs themselves. In obtaining the subjective accounts, the micro-sociological aspect was emphasised and the data were drawn from unstructured interviews and naturalistic observation.

1.4.4 Gender and Drop-out

The concept of gender has increasingly been recognised as a valid subject in development discourse. Education has long been considered as one of the key components for facilitating sustainable development. However, education and gender have complicated interactive relations. Schooling can be perceived both as the tool for enhancing gender equality and also as the source of gender imbalance.

While the beneficial effect of female education, not only for females themselves but for their families and society as a whole, has been widely recognised, the educational reality is that women and girls remain disadvantaged. A gender gap in education at first instance is apparent in access to education, especially in economically disadvantaged communities. At home girls tend to bear more responsibilities in household chores. The limited resources at home give priority to educating boys rather than girls as profitable investment for the future. At school, both the content of education as well as the instruction are male-oriented and the general school culture is described as even hostile to girls. As a result, girls' participation in education tends to diminish as educational level rises. These issues will further be discussed in Chapter 4.

The gender gap in access to education is the direct outcome of non-enrolment and drop-out. Therefore the analysis of the data from a gender perspective is useful. This study originally did not intend to incorporate gender. However, the data collected in a school survey indicated a strong gender gap in enrolment, drop-out rates and academic achievement. It was then decided to incorporate gender as one of the main aspects. The study attempts to incorporate the issue of gender in the context of schools and rural societies.

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study

1.5.1 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The thesis focuses on the problem of drop-out from junior secondary education. It focuses on conventional JSS and does not include non-formal education which might provide the equivalent content of education. The thesis is based on fieldwork which was carried out in K.E.E.A. district in Ghana. As such it does not attempt to draw conclusions generalisable to Ghana as a whole.

The study emphasises the micro-sociological aspects of the phenomena rather than more macro-level factors, such as economics, politics and educational reforms. The study does not ignore these factors, but rather recognises their importance when they are internalised

and influence people's perspectives.

1.5.2 Aims and Objectives

The study aims at disclosing the nature of drop-outs in JSS in a surveyed area. It concentrated on one district in Ghana for data collection. It attempted to acquire accurate enrolment statistics for the two cohorts in all schools in order to acquire accurate drop-out rates of all schools in the district. As a distinct case study, it examines the characteristics of JSS. It then examines the relationship between the drop-out rates and school characteristics. The survey was also used in order to select schools for further study. Four schools were selected from which 32 student drop-outs and 32 stay-ins were chosen to examine student factors and home factors on drop-out. The process of dropping out, drop-outs' subsequent activities and future prospects were further explored through interviews and observations.

The thesis does not attempt to generalise findings from one district to Ghana as a whole. Rather it aims to provide a new perspective in examining the phenomena of drop-outs by combining the objective and subjective accounts and by looking at the process of dropping out rather than its causes. For this purpose, the research attempted to carry out a systematic inquiry in the limited geographical area.

The thesis is not policy-led. The results might have some bearing on policies of the current education reform, but it is not the initial aim of the study. The thesis inevitably addresses the influence of the policy of the education reform at the micro level, or how the new education system affected the people in the researched area in rural Ghana, but the orientation is not to focus on the policy itself.

1.5.3 Research Questions

In order to address the above mentioned aims and objectives, the following broad questions were considered.

a) What is the relationship between drop-out rates and the characteristics of JSS in

K.E.E.A. district?

b) What are the factors causing students to drop out?

c) What are the processes of dropping out?

d) What are the consequences of dropping out?

These questions are developed with the literature review of Chapter 3 and 4, and are presented in more detail in Chapter 5.

1.6 Methods Adopted

The study aims at examining the research questions by means of a case study. The majority of studies reviewed conducted their analyses at macro-level as will be reviewed in Chapter 3. The current thesis focuses on the issue at micro level. The first part of the study concentrates on all the JSS in K.E.E.A. district which existed in 1987, when the education reform started in Ghana. This comprises 0.81 per cent of all the existing public JSS in Ghana. Within the district, the school survey led to the selection of four schools for the in-depth study. In these four schools, a total of 32 drop-outs and 32 matching stay-ins with similar academic and socio-economic background were chosen for the study. The original proposition reads as follows:

> School drop-out is associated with both school factors and socio-economic factors and the latter are expected to have a more prominent influence on school drop-out. The problem of student drop-out from junior secondary education in K.E.E.A. district is closely associated with socio-economic factors.
>
> The issue of drop-out is perceived differently by students, teachers, educational administrators, parents and community leaders.

The fieldwork was planned in two stages to collect data on school factors as well as student/home factors, as follows:

1) The purpose of the first phase was twofold. First, to investigate school factors and some of the student/home factors through a school survey. Second, four schools for the in-depth study were identified from the results of the survey.

2) The second phase examined some of the student/home factors from an in-depth study of drop-outs in the selected four schools, as well as the processes of dropping out, and examined the variety of opinions about drop-out among the different people.

The initial plan was to examine the relationship between school factors and school drop-out rates in the school survey and the student/home factors in the in-depth study. The results of the school survey were intended to be used in the selection of the schools for the second part of the study. The school survey was expected to show strong association between drop-out rates and some of the school characteristics, from which a linear association would be formed between the combination of these factors and the drop-out rates. From there two schools with high drop-out rates and two with low drop-out rates were to be selected. Within the two high drop-out rate schools, one school (A) would have a number of school characteristics associated with high drop-out rates and another school (D) would not have many of such characteristics. Thus School A would have an expectedly high drop-out rate while School D an unexpectedly high drop-out rate. Within the two low drop-out rate schools, one school (C) would have few school characteristics which are associated with high drop-out rates and another school (D) would have a number of such characteristics (B). Therefore, School C has an expectedly low drop-out rate while School B has an unexpectedly low drop-out rate (see Figure 1-1).

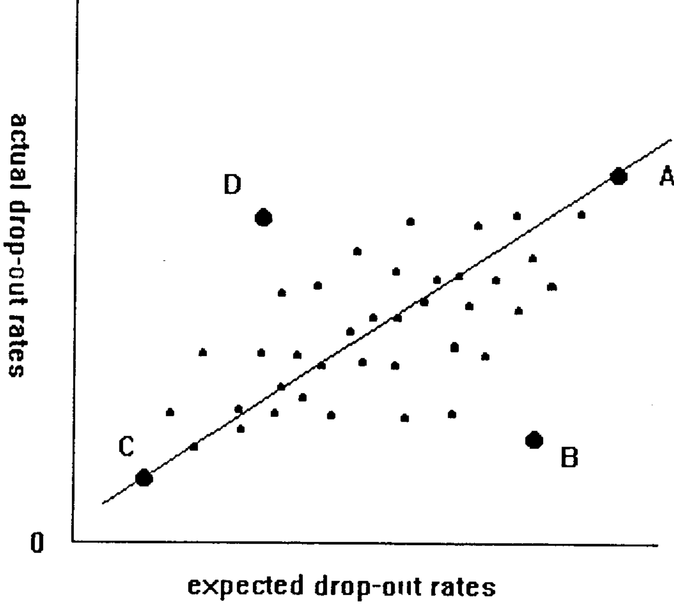

Figure 1-1: Association between School Characteristics and Drop-out Rates

However, the collected data did not show enough significant association between the school characteristics and the rate of drop-out of each school although there was a variation in the rates of drop-out among schools.

Instead, a marked gender gap was observed in the rates of drop-out. Gender disparity was evident not only in drop-out rates but also in enrolment and examination results. Average drop-out rates among girls were significantly higher than among boys. All schools except two had girls' drop-out rates higher than boys'. Moreover, gender disparities were evident in initial enrolment in JSS as well as in the examination results. The initial enrolment showed a significant difference between male and female students. The enrolment and retention among female students showed an acute disadvantage; while a smaller number of girls enrolled in JSS, a larger number of them dropped out. The examination results also showed a gender disparity where girls scored significantly lower than boys. It seemed appropriate for the analysis in the second phase of the intensive fieldwork to focus on gender. In preparation for this, a review of studies in gender in education and development was undertaken in order to revise the research propositions which provided the focus for the detailed field study. These revised research propositions will be presented in Chapter 5.

1.7 Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is organised in the following way. Chapter 1 presents the nature of the study and its orientation. Chapters 2 to 5 place the study in perspective by presenting literature survey and the formulation of research questions and propositions. Chapters 6 to 9 are based on the fieldwork in the K.E.E.A. district in Ghana. The synthesis and conclusion will be presented in Chapter 10.

Chapter 2 discusses the educational development in Ghana. The development of formal schooling is outlined in order to illustrate its influence on the current educational status of the country. The nature of indigenous education and systems of apprenticeship are also discussed. Chapter 3 discusses research studies done on the problem of drop-out. Chapter 4 investigates the issue of gender in education and development. Chapter 5

presents a set of research questions and propositions, and then analyses the issue of research methods. Then it presents the field methods adopted in the fieldwork carried out in the study.

Chapter 6 analyses the result of the first phase of data collection, during which all the JSS in the district were surveyed. From the survey, four schools were selected for the in-depth study of drop-outs. The issues derived from the comparison of the drop-outs and stay-ins in these schools are discussed in Chapter 7. Chapters 8 and 9 compile the narrative accounts given by drop-outs. These two chapters depict the process of dropping out and the subsequent activities and aspirations of the drop-outs. Chapter 10 presents a synthesis and conclusion drawn from the case study and the review of literature.

The Study in Perspective
- Literature Review and Formation of Research Propositions

2 The Development of Education in Ghana

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the development of education in Ghana will be discussed in order to understand current education in its historical context. Western-style school education was introduced by European traders and missionaries from the 1500s, and subsequently developed by missionaries and the colonial government. The recent educational reform was carried out within the framework of an economic recovery programme requested by donors. On the other hand, non-formal indigenous education existed long before the introduction of school education, and has continued as formal education has developed. There are two main types of indigenous education - traditional and apprenticeship. Indigenous education plays a significant role in a contemporary society by providing vocational and technical skills to youths.

2.2 Indigenous Education

2.2.1 Traditional Education

In the discussion of the development of education, traditional education has not always been recognised as a legitimate educational process. A prime example of this is the way in which the history of education in Africa is examined. As Hilliard (1957) states, education is considered to have started with the arrival of Europeans in the late fifteenth century. However, this view of an educational vacuum prior to European contact has since been challenged, and traditional education has begun to be recognised as a vital element of the socialisation process for a child. Antwi (1992) points out that the use of the word 'education' in a restricted sense to equate it with formal instruction in European-type schools is no longer accepted. This change of view seems to have occurred with the rise of nationalism in the 1960s. Significantly, the new edition of *The Development of Education in Ghana* by McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, published in 1975, added a

chapter discussing informal education in the traditional society, which was not in the original 1959 edition.

Foster (1965a) characterises traditional education as education in a homogeneous society. "The pre-eminent function of the informal pattern of indigenous education was the transmission of an essentially common culture and the maintenance of social cohesion" (Foster 1965a:33). Dr. Aggrey, one of the early Ghanaian educationalists, maintains that traditional education played an important role in "handing on to the fresh generation the accumulated experiences of the past" (Smith 1929:30). Evidence of traditional education is extensive throughout the country, although relatively little is formally documented. There are few documents available on the southern part of the country, but J.Aggrey provides an exception by presenting detailed accounts and analyses of the regimental training given in *asafo* companies, local youth groups in coastal Fanti speaking areas (Aggrey 1982).

Traditional education is characterised as an integrated way of education which emphasises the social and cultural dimensions. McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh (1975) describes traditional education as the transmission of culturally bound professional knowledge, skills and techniques for character building, all of which is set informally. The content of education includes character building, promotion of health, knowledge of the nation's history, beliefs and culture, and professional training for priests, chiefs, hunters, state drummers and craftsmen. It takes place at home and in communities where the young can obtain training for the future from the old.

The methods of this traditional education vary but it always takes place in an everyday setting. Educational activities which take place through interaction between members of the communities and children are described as follows:

> The learning and teaching of history or rudimentary geography, of customs and the various beliefs of the community, were usually done through the conversational method. The cool and pleasant atmosphere of a moonlit evening around the village fire provided the best forum. The children would usually gather in the compound with one or two old men

> or women answering the various questions put to them (McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh 1975:4)

In addition to the transmission of culture and heritage, 'moral education' is an important component of traditional education. "Traditional education had and still has the sole purpose of introducing society with all its institutions, taboos, mores and functions to the individual and of making the individual a part of the totality of the social consciousness" (Antwi 1992:23).

Traditional education once met the economic, political, social and cultural objectives of traditional societies by satisfying all the needs of individuals in the society. There was no need for additional fora for education. However, some maintain that this could not remain sufficient for the continuing development of the country. McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh (1975) claim that the weakness of traditional education is its inability to adapt to a changing society. For example, traditional education did not provide literacy and numeracy which were essential tools for young people to develop their careers in modern westernised society. However, it should also be noted that some scholars claim the opposite. For instance Fafunwa (1988) asserts that traditional education had succeeded in changing to accommodate social and political changes in the past. He stresses that there is much that the current educational system can learn from traditional education. That it has been undervalued is due to the bias of western educational culture.

Traditional education provided moral, practical, cultural and social orientation which is one of the major objectives that the current education reform aims to achieve. Policy makers are aware of this, and the reform policy states the importance of cultural identity (Ghana 1992). If these values had been incorporated into western education from the outset, education in Ghana would have been more adaptable and sustainable. While elements of traditional education survive in formal education, a more original form of traditional education is found in apprenticeship. The following section will analyze apprenticeship, one type of indigenous education sustained and developed by meeting changing needs arising from the changing society.

2.2.2 Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship is a common system of learning skills in West Africa. "An apprentice is defined as someone bound by an agreement to serve an employer for a specific period in order to learn a trade or business" (Fluitman 1994:221). It is described as "a remarkable blend of work, practical training and moral upbringing" and "a main avenue to self-employment in micro-enterprises and thus a cornerstone of informal sector development" (Fluitman 1992:1). The modern apprenticeship is differentiated from family/kinship based training in family business, and has emerged and continued in the urban centres of coastal West Africa (Goody 1982).

Apprenticeship was a common way of learning skills in guilds and guild-like organisations in Europe and elsewhere for centuries before governments initiated vocational training. In developing countries, however, the original form of apprenticeship has remained until today since government interventions were limited both in the scope and the number of recipients (Birks et al. 1994, King 1977). The reasons for the lack of development of vocational education in developing countries are also related to consumers' preference. Foster (1965b) presented the "fallacy" of vocational schools by claiming that vocational schools are considered as a second-rate education, that those who enrolled tend to aspire to go back to the academic stream, and that, in general, graduates from the vocational schools do not engage in the work they are trained for in school. The academic curriculum is much preferred, due to employment prospects in the modern industrialised sector. Therefore, practical skills and craftsmanship have been learned through the system of apprenticeship.

Crafts taught through a traditional apprenticeship were mat-making, wood-carving, building, leatherwork, blacksmithing, goldsmithing, jewellery making, weaving, and pottery making, with different varieties in different geographical areas (Callaway 1964, 1983). More recent activities include photography, radio and TV repair, car mechanics and different kinds of trade, including small scale import businesses (Callaway 1973, Fluitman 1992).

Numerous studies have been compiled on these modern forms of apprenticeship in urban centres in West Africa. Earlier studies in Nigeria include Lloyd (1953) and Callaway (1964, 1973). Peil's (1970) study of apprenticeship in Accra was followed by McLaughlin (1989), who documented the skills acquisition of wayside mechanics. Callaway (1973) further asserted the profitable nature of small-scale enterprises in his study of micro-enterprises in Ibadan. Bas (1988) examined jewellery workshops in the Cote d'Ivoire. Fluitman and Sangere (1989), Fluitman and Oudin (1992) and Fluitman 1992) examined apprenticeships in small scale businesses in Francophone African countries. It is often believed that apprenticeship is very characteristic of West Africa. Fluitman (1992) argues that this could be the result of the abundant documentation, and that equivalent systems exist in other developing countries. King (1977) confirms this by documenting similar, though less formally organised, activities in Kenya. Apprenticeship as developed in these areas is based on the extension of family/kinship instruction in business. It is also characterised by the private nature of its development. In its history, governments seldom intervened but, on the contrary, these training initiatives were started by entrepreneurs and supported by apprentices and their family members. Fluitman (1992:1) recounts that numerous young people are trained "without any involvement of government and at no cost but to themselves or their parents". It is quite remarkable that this system has been sustained with little government cost.

The system of apprenticeship has many advantages such as clear educational objectives, culturally congruent learning environment, and the direct connection between skills acquisition and jobs. Among the disadvantages is the fact the cost of education is borne solely by learners and the state does not contribute enough. There is no standardization of the instruction and the quality of instruction varies from one master craftsman to another. Another disadvantage could be a smaller range of kinds of apprenticeship available for girls. These points will be further developed in Chapter 9 in the context of drop-outs' subsequent activities.

Obviously apprenticeship does not necessarily cover all kinds of skills. Certain trades are much better acquired through training in formal vocational institutions. The distinct

shortcomings of apprenticeship stem from its mechanism. Birks et al. (1994) summarise the shortcomings as 1) its closed nature, 2) the passive learning system, and 3) the limited nature of skills. Craftsmen/women are not necessarily good teachers and the instruction might not be effective. Callaway (1973) also points out that training is limited by the skills known to the master. As the work is taught during production, one cannot always expect systematic instruction. Hence it may require much longer duration than formal vocational schooling. In addition, most 'masters' attempt to keep apprentices as long as possible as obedient cheap labour. Goody (1982) reports that a number of apprentices had difficulty when they wished to move out to become independent. He cites the example of one barber who continued carrying out his chores for the master and surrendered half of his earnings. Goody (1982) claims that this was a more serious problem when the master was a kinsman. What are perceived as shortcomings in the apprenticeship system could justify governmental intervention in training (McLaughlin 1989), but such intervention should be delicate and carefully targeted (Birks et al.1994) in order not to lose the existing advantages.

Despite these shortcomings, in certain skills, apprenticeship compares favourably to formal vocational schooling, not only with regard to the cost incurred by both learners and the country, but also in ensuring employment after training. Bas (1988) compared apprenticeship and formal vocational training in West Africa; the round table of young jewellers trained in the informal sector and their vocational school graduate colleagues held in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, summarised some of the advantages of the system. Training through an apprenticeship can include all aspects of the profession and offer a better chance of getting work. In addition to learning skills, it also enables apprentices to form useful contacts with customers and to acquire management skills in the course of training.

One can recognise the influence of formal schooling on apprenticeship. Callaway (1973) found that unschooled youth tend to engage in more traditional occupations such as blacksmithing, stripweaving or designing batik, while school leavers are found in more progressive and new trades, such as transport, building and printing. Reflecting an

increased enrolment in basic education, recent apprentices have been increasingly more educated. Bas (1988) observes that it is becoming the norm for apprentices to have more years of formal schooling than their master craftsmen. As a result younger craftsmen are likely to be more educated, and they show the effects of their school education in the way they carry on their business and instruction. More systematic instruction is observed in such situations. It is noted, however, that even the less educated master craftsmen are still highly respected by the more educated apprentices; a high degree of discipline and obedience is not affected by the imbalance of schooling between the craftsmen and their apprentices.

The importance of apprenticeship is likely to increase in future. In the 1960s Callaway (1964) reported that over two million youths were working as apprentices in Nigeria, which was four times more than those employed in the formal sector. The trend has been sustained and is expected to continue in the future, especially in West Africa.[1] The annual employment growth rate in microenterprises is projected to be 6.0% between 1990 and 2020, much higher than agriculture and modern waged sectors, as it is shown in Table 2-1. It is clear that only a fraction of the new workers would be able to find wage employment in the modern sector. 206 million people are projected to be engaged in the sector, while only 32 million are estimated to be engaged in the modern waged sector in the year 2020.

Table 2-1: Indicative Projections of Employment in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1985-2020
(millions of persons unless other wise specified)

	1985	1990	2000	2020	Annual growth rate, 1990-2020
Agricultural sector	131	148	190	311	2.5%
Modern wage sector	10	12	17	32	3.4%
Small and microenterprise	27	39	73	206	6.0%

(Source: World Bank 1989, *Sub-Saharan Africa, From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*, p.41)

2.3 Early Education (1500s - 1700s): Castle Schools

Western-style school education started with schools in the castle forts built by European traders. The first fort was erected in Elmina in 1482 by the Portuguese. This was followed by Dutch, Danes, Swedes and British forts. In some of these castles, small schools were created. Although various attempts were made towards their permanence, these schools proved to be short lived since they were dependent on the personal interest of individual officials and merchants (McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh 1975). Antwi (1992:29) explains that because these schools were started for the purpose of evangelism and did not respond to any "pre-existing demand for education" they therefore had less chance for long term survival and development. Most of the schools did not have much direct influence on the development of school education in the following centuries. However, these first attempts at schooling produced some prominent local educationalists such as Philip Quaque (McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh 1975).

The first school was founded by the Portuguese in Elmina Castle in 1529 with the aim of converting the people of Elmina to the Catholic faith (Graham 1971, McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh 1975, Antwi 1992). The Portuguese teacher was well paid but his salary depended on the number of pupils enrolled:

> The teacher was to be paid 240 grains of gold a year for each pupil he taught, up to a maximum of fifteen. If the enrolment rose above that number he was to receive no higher remuneration, but if a pupil died or cut short his schooling, then the teacher was to receive a corresponding reduction in salary. (R.M.Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Missionary History, 1571-1880*:14-17 quoted by Graham 1971:1, also quoted by McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh 1975:17).

The school provided education mainly for mulatto children and remained small in size. The Protestant Dutch seized Elmina Castle in 1637 and they also continued education of youth (McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, 1975).

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Danes established their trading activities eastward of Accra and since 1722 they too had schools for mulatto children to "bring them up in the Christian way of life" (McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh 1975:19). Around

the same time the British set up their trading headquarters in Cape Coast. The first missionaries were sent and a school was started in the Castle (Hilliard 1956, McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh 1975).

Graham (1971) points out that the Cape Coast Castle school took in both mulatto and African children, both boys and girls, contrary to the belief that castle schools had provided education for mulatto children exclusively. In 1740, for instance, the school in Elmina Castle had 45 pupils, of whom four were mulatto boys, seven were mulatto girls, 29 were African boys and five were African girls (The Hague Archives, Letters and Despatches to and from the Dutch West Indian Company 15.2.1743, quoted by Graham 1971:6). Graham notes that "in Cape Castle area African and mulatto children were given equal education opportunities at this time. Equally revealing is the fact that girls' education was in no way lagging behind" (Graham 1971:7). It is worth noting that while education in Castle schools was not exclusively for mulatto boys, there was still a discrepancy between the number of boys and girls at the school.

Castle schools, the first western schools, were limited in their numbers and size, and they were often run at the whim of merchants and missionaries. These schools could serve only limited areas along the coast, and therefore their efforts did not benefit the wider population in the country. However, current school education in Ghana is influenced strongly by missionary education which started in the 19th century.

2.4 Missionaries (1800s)

In the nineteenth century, Christian missionaries intensified their evangelical activities which included the 'education of indigenous people'. The Basel missionaries and Wesleyan Methodists as well as Breman missionaries and Catholics established many schools. In the middle of the century, the majority of schools were run by missionaries, as shown in Table 2-2. The British government also had a few schools such as the Colonial School in Cape Coast, but the number was small. The total enrolment at the time was estimated to be 5,000 (Antwi 1992:32).

Table 2-2: Schools in the Colony in 1880-81

Controlling body	Number of schools	Enrolment	Number of teachers
Colonial government	3	507	16
Basel Mission	47	1285	79
Wesleyan Methodist	84	3057	106
Breman Mission	4	not available	not available
Roman Catholic	1	150	3

(from Graham 1971:103)

Mission schools laid the foundation for the later development of schools in Ghana and had a significant influence on the development of education. There is no doubt that the devotion of these missionaries facilitated their development. On the other hand, some seeds of problems in education were sown by these missionaries, such as the schools' detachment from local culture. Moreover, the existence of a western-educated minority in the urban areas affected the status of traditional rulers (Foster 1965a). Most missionaries at the time were not sympathetic to the traditional African way of life. It was considered to be a 'pagan' influence which should be kept away from Christian communities. Missionaries recognised that African religion, art, music and other social activities were closely linked with one another, and banned African dancing and music from the school curriculum (McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh 1975). They tried to create a different world in schools, a so-called ideal Christian community. This alienated schools from communities and created two separate worlds which children had to straddle. The discrepancy between schools and communities created by these missionaries continued to pose problems in the education system for subsequent generations.

The medium of instruction was another issue on which missionaries had quite different views from contemporary educationalists. Although some missionaries, such as the Basel missionaries, attempted to teach in the vernacular or indigenous language, the majority of schools used English as the medium of instruction from the initial stage of schooling. The educational value of the use of the local language was seldom recognised at that time.

McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh (1975:31) describe these schools as "An English Kingdom of God". Some Wesleyan missionaries learned Fanti, the local language spoken in the Cape Coast area and created a Fanti-English dictionary in 1886, as well as translating some books into Fanti. However, there were criticisms of these attempts even by their own Wesleyan missionaries who were "calling for a greater use of English and the abandonment of Fanti in school and church" (Graham 1971:127).

While the attitudes of the providers of education changed, those of the consumers also changed. In the first half of the nineteenth century, missionaries made a great deal of effort to persuade some chiefs to appreciate the need for schools. However, in some areas, the demand for education was already high. Graham (1971) suggests that the demand exceeded the available resources in some areas by citing the report made after visiting a number of villages in 1841 which says that "...the chiefs and peoples all around have expressed the desire of getting teachers. Delay in answering this call is dangerous" (de Graft to Secretaries Nov. 1841, cited Graham 1971:56).

The expansion of education by missionaries was facilitated by the colonial government's sharing of similar interests. "British political expansion helped in clearing the way for missionary activities, which in their turn gave a filip to educational expansion" (Graham 1971:48). Responding to the notion of agricultural activities as the key to economic development in the region, the Basel Mission developed agricultural and technical education. The attempt was "unrivalled in any other time in Africa" (Foster 1965a:145). Until the time of the nationalist government, missionaries continued running the majority of schools. Missionary education continues to the present day. Churches still run a number of schools, especially highly regarded secondary schools, throughout the country, which are assisted by the government and conform to government rules and regulations. Schooling continues to be considered an effective means of evangelism and also a service to the people. It should be noted that the education of girls was mentioned as an effective means of increasing the welfare of family and community (All Africa Conference of Churches 1963).

2.5 Colonial Government Education (1852 - 1950)

The colonial government facilitated education because they saw in it an effective tool for colonial administration. "As British political interest widened, an attempt was made at enroling some of the chiefs into schools so that on completion of their course they might look after British interests" (Graham 1971:43). The Dutch also sent some African youths of royal origins to study in Holland for similar reasons (Graham 1971).

The colonial administration introduced the first Education Ordinance in 1852 so that education in Ghana would follow the British system. Another ordinance of 1882 was introduced and amended two years later which continued until the governorship of Guggisberg in 1925. The latter ordinance detailed the management of schools so that all schools in the colony were run under one set of rules. The rules stated that the schools "should be open to all children, regardless of race or religion, that they should have an average attendance of at least twenty pupils, that the teachers should hold the board's certificate (either honorary or by examination) and that the subjects taught had to include, 'Reading and Writing of the English Language, Arithmetic and, in case of females, Plain Needlework'" (McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh 1975:40). Optional subjects included English grammar, English history and geography (Antwi 1992).

Efforts to establish an administrative system for education were made by the colonial government. A Director of Education was appointed in 1890, and the Directorate later became the Education Department, which became the Ministry of Education in 1956 (Antwi 1992).

In 1901, Asante came under British control after the Asante war. Around the same time, the Northern Territories also came under British rule as the Northern Territories Protectorate. This tripled the population under the Governor of the Gold Coast, but the resources for education did not increase correspondingly (McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh 1975). A large section of Ghana's education was still dependent on missionaries. At that time, the colonial government had seven schools of its own and was assisting 117, and the education budget was 1.75% of the total government expenditure (Fage 1959:106, quoted in Antwi 1992:33).

The Wesleyan church developed its education activities in Asante region. At the end of the First World War, the region had four government schools and 19 assisted schools attended by 2,500 children which comprised 10% of the total enrolment of 25,000 in the country at that time. Roman Catholics and Muslims worked for education in Northern territories (McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh 1975).

Guggisberg, the governor of the Gold Coast from 1919 to 1927, who was probably the most active in developing education, attempted an educational reform. He recognised the importance of education in implementing government policy and set up an Educationalists' Committee in 1921 to investigate past educational efforts (Graham 1971). The report recommended the provision of more government middle schools, secondary boarding schools, training colleges and increased financial provision. In 1923, he increased the education budget to £120,000, 12% over the previous year's budget (Antwi 1992). He emphasised character-building as an important element of education, in order to produce good citizens who are industrious, punctual, obedient and honest. Boarding schools with a prefectorial system were viewed as a place for students to learn the virtues of civic responsibility, and respect for law and order (Antwi 1992). His aim was clearly to produce personnel who would facilitate colonial administration, and education was considered an effective means to achieve his goal.

In Guggisberg's time, the majority of schools were run by missionaries, with a few being administered by the government as shown in Table 2-3. The enrolment of government and assisted schools was just under 30,000 (Antwi 1992). The enrolment was stable and there was no increase between the years 1925 and 1927. Despite the increase in the education budget, the number of schools did not increase. Antwi (1992) explains that this was due to Guggisberg's emphasis on the quality of education. During his term of office, he closed down 150 schools which were considered to be failing to achieve the government specified standard.

Table 2-3: Government and Assisted Schools in the Gold Coast 1925-27

Types of schools	1925	1926	1927
Government	17	17	18
Anglican	6	6	7
Presbyterian* (former Basel missionaries)	98	96	99
Ewe Presbyterian** (former Breman missionaries)	22	31	36
Wesleyan	47	48	49
Roman Catholic	29	29	32
Non-denominational	1	1	1
AME Zion	7	7	7
Muslim	--	1	1
Secondary	2	2	2
Total assisted schools	212	221	234
Total	229	238	252

* Currently called Ghana Presbyterian. **Currently called Evangelical Presbyterian.

(Gold Coast, Report on the Education Department 1928 quoted in Antwi 1992)

During this time, teacher training was a matter of serious concern to both government and missionaries (Graham 1971). In 1927, teacher training was done in three teacher training colleges, Akropong Presbyterian, Wesley College in Kumasi and the government-run Achimota College. The three teacher training institutes produced around 120 teachers each year. Moreover, these colleges were only for male students. Only the Roman Catholics provided training for 12 female teachers annually at the School of Our Lady of the Apostles at Cape Coast (Antwi 1992).

The world recession in the 1930s followed by the Second World War affected the economy of the Gold Coast, including its activities in education (Graham 1971). However, the financial constraints did not slow down the process of expansion of education. Although the policy restraining the expansion of education at all levels existed, it could not stop the increasing demand for education. A number of individuals established schools, and a spirit of self-reliance was generated. Secondary education

showed marked progress despite the negative financial situation. This spirit of self-reliance influenced the production of teaching materials so that textbooks in geography and history with local background materials were produced for the first time in the 1930s (Antwi 1992).

Ghanaian elements in education at this time also included the use of Ghanaian languages as part of the secondary school curricula. In 1932, Twi and Fanti were accepted by the Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate as examination subjects. In 1935, Ewe and Ga were added.

In 1937, an education committee was appointed to conduct research into the development of education. Responding to the recommendations made by the Education Committee Report of 1937-41, several grants were dispensed for the improvement of schools and provision of scholarships. A Central Advisory Committee on Education was established to advise the government, and it continued formulating proposals until its abolition in 1959 (Antwi 1992).

In 1950, 10% of the total colonial budget was spent on education. The total enrolment in primary schools was 271,954 in 2,904 schools, of which 41 were government and 1,551 were assisted. The number of secondary schools also increased to 57, of which two were government and 11 assisted (Nimako 1976). In the same year, 19 teacher training colleges were training 1,800 students. In 1948, the University College of Gold Coast was established to provide degrees in humanities and sciences. Then in 1951, the College of Arts, Science and Technology was founded in Kumasi.

Educational facilities continued expanding, although access to education was still limited to a relatively small proportion of the population. It should be noted that promoters of education at this time, namely missionaries and the colonial government, were both interested in education to pursue their own objectives. Missionaries saw schools as one of the most effective means for evangelisation. The colonial government aimed at producing educated young people who would be beneficial for the colonial government. Education was not perceived as a right for the people, nor as an end in itself, but as a

means to achieve the political aims of the outsiders. At this time, the base for the demand for more western academic-type schools was created, as Foster (1965a) points out. More jobs were available in the clerical and commercial fields, and technically trained people had less chance of formal employment.

2.6 Nationalist Governments (1951- present)

2.6.1 First Nationalist Governments

In 1951, the nationalist government took over from the colonial government prior to independence in 1957. After that came a series of governments, most of them short-lived. Due to the short duration of each regime, the education system suffered from lack of continuity, although all the regimes, both military and civilian recognised the importance of education.

The school system in Ghana, then, is described as comprising "a relatively small group of highly selective secondary schools superimposed upon an expanding but still limited primary school sector" (Foster 1965a:182). There were rural-urban disparities as well as regional inequalities in availability of educational facilities. Moreover, there was a difference in access of various ethnic groups to the system.

Kwame Nkrumah assumed office in 1951. It is noted that "one of the most outstanding features of African leadership in the newly independent states has been the overwhelming emphasis placed upon programmes of educational expansion" (Foster 1965a:183). Nkrumah was the first African leader to recognise and proclaim the importance of education for the development of an independent country and to set an example for other nations. He introduced the Accelerated Development Plan for Education, the implementation of which started in January 1952. The plan aimed at the quantitative expansion of education at all levels, and basic education was particularly emphasised. Free primary education of six-year primary school plus four-year middle school was introduced. The old four-year senior primary schools were transformed into middle schools which were originally designed to provide non-academic courses in addition to

the academic curriculum. This was in order to benefit the majority of students who terminated schooling at this stage. Foster describes the position of the middle schools as 'ambiguous' because they were supposed to provide terminal courses for the majority of students while acting as feeder schools to the secondary schools (Foster 1965a). Figure 2-1 illustrates the education system at the time. This shows that middle school education was a transitory stage to secondary school education for those who continued their education.

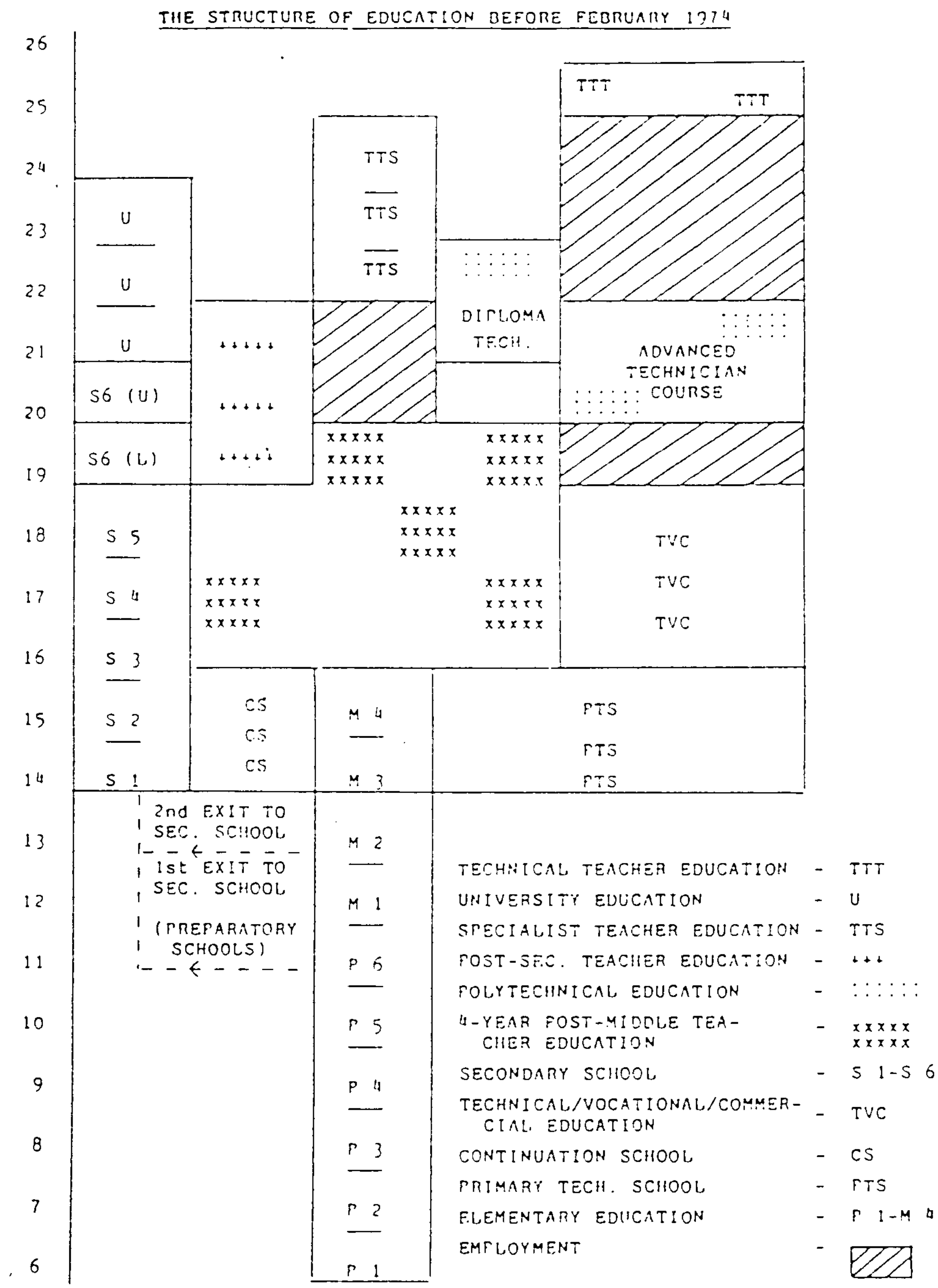

Figure 2-1: Old System of Education in Ghana (prior to 1974)

(Source: GES 1984)

Over the years, these middle schools evolved into something more academically-biased than the original objectives had suggested. Although there had been a number of attempts to incorporate vocational/technical subjects, these attempts did not achieve full recognition. It should be noted that the current JSS have the same dual objectives of catering for both continuing and terminating students.

The government continued to assist mission schools. Both missions and local councils were encouraged to establish new schools to meet the demand for education. Within the period from 1952 to 1957, primary and middle school enrolment tripled (Antwi 1992). The expansion created a critical shortage of teachers. Many of the primary school classes were taught by 'pupil teachers' who were untrained. In 1953, an Emergency Training College was opened in Saltpond to conduct six week training courses for these 'pupil-teachers'. Based on this experience, ten centres started in various parts of the country and each ran six courses a year. After two years, they gradually closed as the need passed (McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh 1975).

The Education Act of 1961 introduced free and compulsory primary education which included education at primary and middle schools. The enrolment ratio for the first level of education for the age group between six and 15 rose from 38% in 1960 to 69% in 1965 (Antwi 1992). This was the foundation of the present education system. This act is still in force today and in theory makes primary and junior secondary education free and compulsory.

The expansion of education affected its function. From the initially single-track structure for basic education, a classical 'dual' system emerged when the government decided not to allow fourth year middle-school pupils to sit the Common Entrance Examination,[2] which was the entry to secondary school. While a larger proportion of students entered secondary schools from the lower forms, those who completed four years of middle schools were considered a group of "non-successful students" (Foster 1965a:195). Teacher training was one of the few forms of continuing education that these middle school completers could succeed to.

In 1969, a pilot scheme of continuation classes started. This comprised a two year course to provide vocational skills for those who terminated their education at middle school. As shown in Figure 2-1, it started after the second or third year in middle school. The practical courses taught included agriculture, woodwork, home science, tailoring and dressmaking, masonry, leather work, metalwork and pottery. The government and donor agencies such as UNICEF provided grants. The initial pilot scheme had eighteen schools and the number kept growing. In 1984, over 1,200 schools took up the scheme. However, the government decided not to develop this scheme any further as it was evaluated and found not to benefit pupils proceeding to jobs (Boakye 1986).

The expansion of the primary and middle schools system "created an expanding demand for secondary education and enhanced the role of the latter as one of the most crucial components in the whole process of social mobility" (Foster 1965a:198). The number of secondary schools rose from 38 in 1957 to 59 in 1960. The rapid quantitative expansion produced a fall in the standard of education, which was most apparent in primary and secondary education. There was a critical shortage of trained teachers. Although the government introduced a free textbook scheme, there were problems in implementation as many schools did not have a sufficient number of textbooks (Antwi 1992).

Northern Ghana lagged behind in its access to education (Bening 1990). The Nkrumah Administration set up a special scholarship scheme for northerners to proceed to secondary and higher education. This scheme continued until 1980. People in the northern areas perceived this as "compensation for past deprivation" (Antwi 1992:53).

The educational expansion also took place in higher education. Teacher training colleges developed and the enrolment in universities increased. Government as well as the Cocoa Marketing Board awarded scholarships for tertiary education, and many of these students studied in Western Europe (Antwi 1992). Two existing universities were granted full university status: the University of Ghana in Legon and the University of Science and Technology in Kumasi both in 1961. In addition the University of Cape Coast was established in 1962 in order to train graduate teachers for secondary schools, teacher training colleges and polytechnic institutions.

It was in this context that Foster pointed to the fallacy of vocational education. What the policy makers intended and what the schools actually achieved were different. The government was the "largest single employer of skilled labour" offering nearly half of employment, i.e. 42% in 1951 and 51% in 1957 (Foster 1965a:156). Such work was predominantly clerical and administrative. Menial vocational skills learned at school did not help students obtain such jobs; academic education did. Vocational education did not lead to a career as much as conventional academic education did.

In 1966, the Nkrumah regime was overthrown and the new military regime of the National Liberation Council assumed power. Under this regime, the management of secondary schools and teacher training colleges shifted from the Ministry of Education to the regional and district authorities.

After the fall of Busia Administration (1969 - 1971), the National Redemption Council of Colonel I.K. Acheampong took over. The regime established a number of foundations for the subsequent development of education in the country. In 1972, a committee under the chairmanship of Rev. Dr. N.K. Dzobo of the University of Cape Coast was appointed to consider the Ministry's proposals for the betterment of education. The then existing structure was complicated and uneconomical because of its lengthy pre-tertiary education. The report of the Dzobo committee was then compared with the views of the Ministry of Education and the general public. The final report, *The New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana* was approved by the government and published in 1974. Although the suggested reform did not materialise, the report became the backbone of the present educational reform, whose content will be further discussed in 2.6.2.

The report suggested streamlining pre-university education from the existing 17 years to 13 years. The proposed new structure (see Figure 2-2) consisted of six years of primary school, three years of JSS and four years of SSS, a total of thirteen years of education at pre-university level . It also emphasised vocational, practical and technical subjects throughout the pre-university course. The proposed curricula for the junior secondary course included a number of practical subjects, such as woodwork, masonry, metalwork,

pottery, crafts, dressmaking, etc. Each pupil was supposed to do at least two of the proposed technical subjects. In 1976, nine experimental JSS were launched and the number later increased. In 1985, shortly before the launching of the national reform, the number of experimental JSS increased to 110, one school in each district, with a total enrolment of 18,372 (Antwi 1992).

In 1974, the Ghana Education Service was established as the implementing agency for educational activities. It was announced that all teachers at pre-university educational institutions and supporting staff were to be civil servants in the Ministry of Education under the Ghana Education Service.

Following two short-lived military regimes, the civilian administration of Hilla Limann took over and started examining the cost of education. One of the targets was secondary schools. User charges were introduced and more cost-effective non-boarding secondary schools were introduced to replace boarding schools (Antwi 1992).

In this post-colonial era, education was recognised for the first time as a right for citizens. The idea of free and compulsory education was introduced and quantitative expansion was emphasized. Some efforts were made to reduce ethnic and regional inequality in access to education. However, in view of the decline in the quality of education, it was during this time that the needs for educational reform were recognised. The implementation itself, however, had to wait for another decade for political stability, and internal and external support. The external support was both financial and technical.

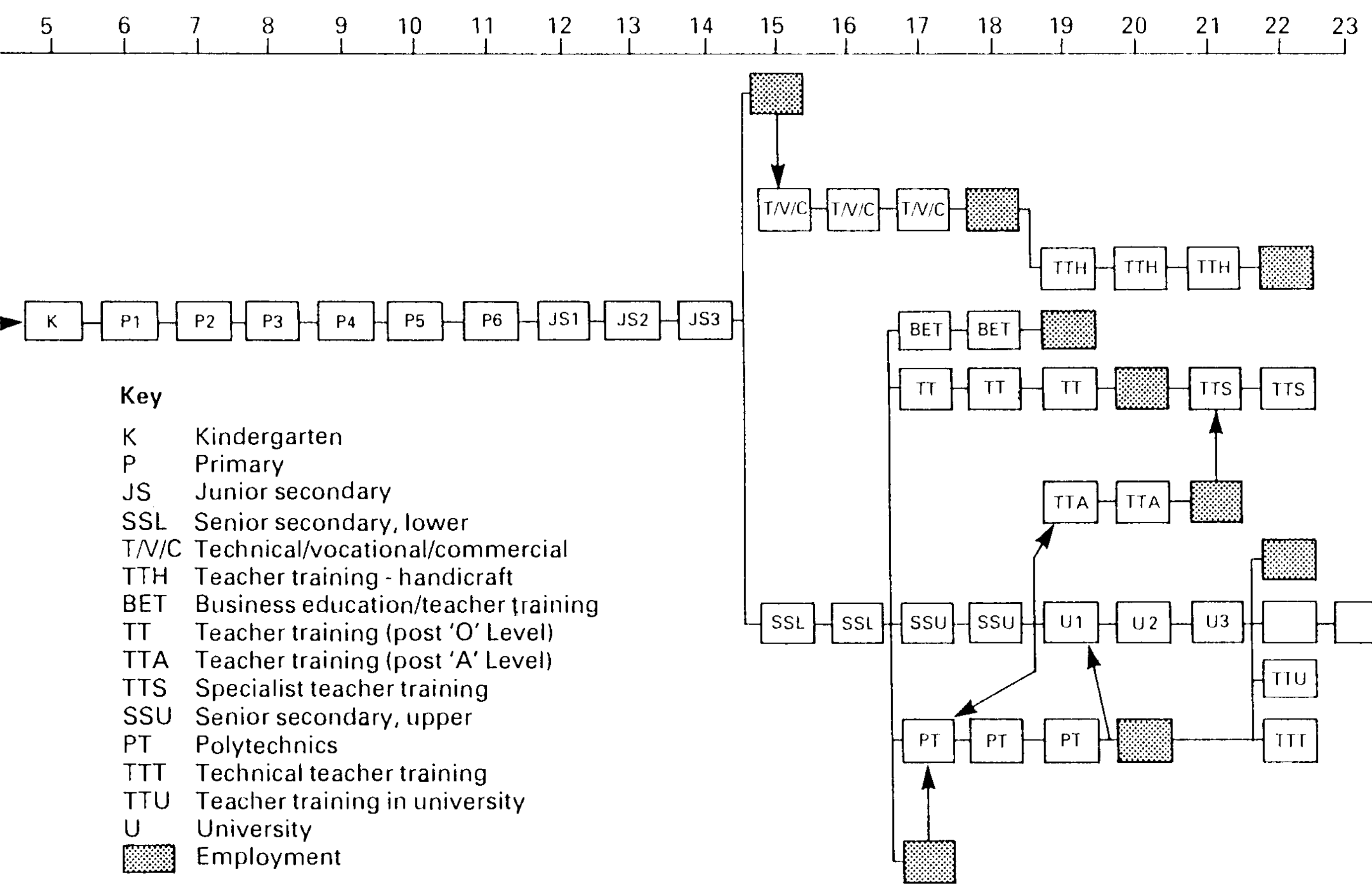

Figure 2-2: Structure of Education in Ghana Proposed in *The New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana* in 1974

2.6.2 Education under the Rawlings Administration - the 1987 Education Reform (1981 - present)

In 1981, the PNDC (Provisional National Defence Council) led by Flight-Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings assumed power. The implementation of the education reform was one of the most important tasks on the agenda of the new regime. By 1983, the quality of Ghana's education system had deteriorated. A mass exodus of well-trained teachers in the 1970s and 1980s left half the country's teaching posts filled by untrained teachers. Increases in enrolment at primary schools declined. From 1976 to 1983, gross enrolment in primary education rose by only 1.5% annually (Ntumi 1993), which was considerably lower than the population growth rate of school age children. The proportion of GDP spent on education fell from over 6% to just 1% between 1976 and 1983. Most school children did not have any learning materials and school buildings and furniture had deteriorated. Most importantly, the education sector did not have reliable statistics or planning capacity (Yeboah 1988). In 1983, the PNDC decided to take strong action and instigated more focused discussions on policy and budget.

The education reform was considered a vital part of the second phase of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) since the success of ERP depended on the type and quality of human resources available for originating, implementing and managing economic development programmes. Therefore education reform was perceived as one of the most important elements of the comprehensive economic reform.

In October 1986, outlines for the education reform were announced by the Ministry of Education. Firstly, it aimed at providing increased access to education especially in areas where access to basic education lagged behind, such as the northern areas. The reform was designed to provide nine years of basic education (six years of primary education and three years of junior secondary education) to all children, to make senior secondary education available for 50% of JSS leavers, and to provide tertiary education for 25% of the SSS leavers. Secondly, the reform aimed at increasing the relevance and efficiency of the educational system. The curriculum for basic education was expanded to provide academic, cultural, technical, vocational and commercial subjects. Thirdly, the reform

aimed at improving cost-effectiveness and cost-recovery within the educational system. Subsidies to government boarding senior secondary schools and grants for university students were cut. Salaries for non-teaching staff in schools were also reduced.

The major elements of the reform are derived from the Dzobo report presented in 1974 which encompassed all forms of learning including non-formal education. In formal education the new structure proposed was as follows:

1) Basic First Cycle Education: This includes six years primary plus three years junior secondary education. This cycle is compulsory and free, though there are user charges to recover part of the costs. In the Dzobo report plan, JSS were to offer thirteen practical subjects of which each student was supposed to choose two subjects. The revised curricula still emphasise the vocational and technical aspects of education; they focus on providing basic technical skills but do not offer an extensive selection of technical subjects.

2) Secondary Cycle Education: The three years of secondary education are intended to build on the basic education to develop "qualities of responsible leadership capable of fitting into a scientific and technological world and able to contribute to the socio-economic development of their own areas and the country as a whole" (Ghana, GES 1992). In the original Dzobo report proposals, the senior secondary stage was planned for four years but the implementation plan shortened it to three years.

3) Tertiary Education: Tertiary education starts on completion of senior secondary education. This includes university degree programmes, teacher training, polytechnic and other training schools for the duration of two to four years.

The current reform includes fundamental changes in both the structure and content of education. The country adopted the 6-3-3-4 system comprising nine years of basic education; pre-university education was reduced from 17 years to 12 years; and the content of education was reconstructed to be more relevant and consistent with the development needs of the country.

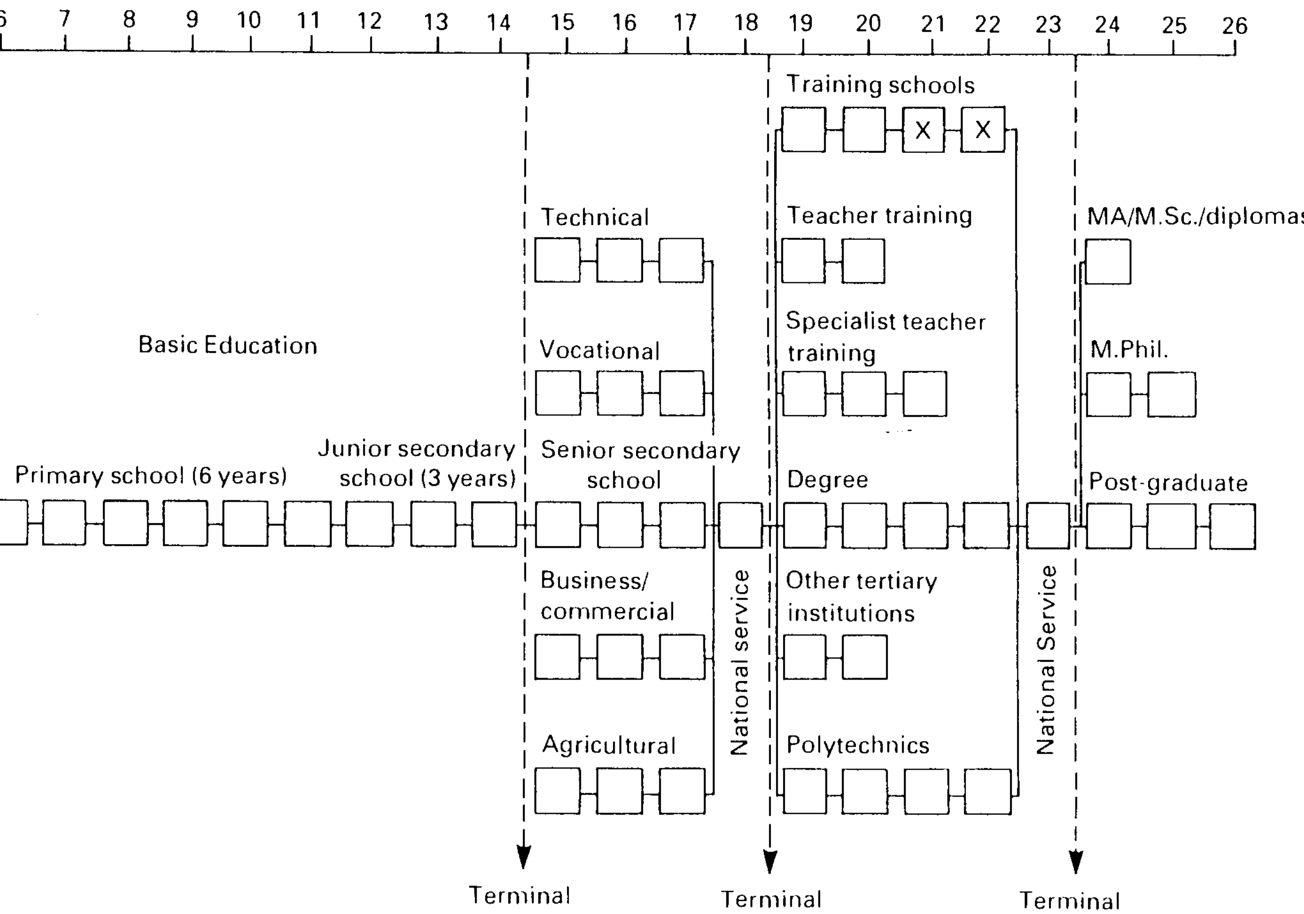

Figure 2-3: Structure of Education in Ghana Implemented at the National Level since 1987

The reform streamlined and simplified the pre-existing educational system. Figure 2-3 illustrates the new system. For example, the former system had teacher training starting after middle school as well as after secondary school. The programmes ran either for two or three years. With the new system all teacher training starts on completion of senior secondary school and lasts for three years. This is an even more simplified structure than the teacher training programmes proposed in 1974. The Dzobo report had two year programmes for teacher training and specialist teacher training, and a three year programme for handicraft teacher training. The entry points for teacher training varied. There were post 'O' level which started after two years of secondary education, post 'A' level which started after two years of the upper sixth course, and handicraft teacher training which started after technical/vocational/commercial school (Ghana 1974). The new system has determined the entry point for all tertiary education to be on completion of senior secondary education.

Table 2-4 illustrates the differences between the structure proposed in 1974 and the actual plan adopted in 1987. The changes are observed in JSS, SSS and teacher education. The new plan is further unified and simplified in structure.

Table 2-4: Comparison of the Structure of Education in Ghana Presented by the Dzobo Report (1974) and the Education Reform (1987)

		Dzobo Report (1974)	Education Reform (1987)
JSS		3 years with elective technical/ vocational subjects being taught	3 years with compulsory pre-vocational subjects being taught
SSS		4 years with 'O' level and 'A' level examinations	3 years with SSSCE aiming at the level between 'O' level and 'A' level
Teacher training	entry	post 'O' level, post 'A' level post technical institutes and university	post SSS
	duration	3 years for technical subjects 2 years for academic subjects	3 years for all subjects

Central government's expenditure on education has been over 20% since the reform started (*World Development Report* 1987-1994, *Human Resources Development Report* 1993, 1994). However, over 95% of this has been consumed as recurrent cost such as teachers' salaries. The need for operational costs for the reform was obvious. The reform has been supported by a number of donor agencies. The World Bank provided two Educational Sector Adjustment (EdSAC) credits, US$ 38 million for 1987-89 and US$ 50 million for 1990-1992 as well as US$ 45 million for tertiary education. The World Bank, UNICEF and ODA collaborated on a six-year project on literacy and functional skills and allocated a total of US$ 32 million. UNICEF supported pre-school activities and life skills curricula for primary schools to a total of US$ 1.8 million. CIDA allocated US$ 8 million for technical institutes. ODA allocated US$ 4.1 million for the period 1989-1993 to support JSS teacher education. The AfDB provided US$ 20 million for the development of three universities and polytechnics for the period 1991 to 1997 (Ntumi 1993). USAID pledged US$ 35 million for the Primary Education Programme (PREP) to complement the government's effort at improving the quality of primary education. The programme included the Equity Improvement Programme and the Criterion Referenced Test (Manu 1993).

Gross enrolment at primary education increased slightly (see Table 2-5) although the increase was uneven and there was a slight decrease in enrolment in 1988/89. The gross enrolment rate increased from 73% in 1987/88 to 77% in 1989/90 (UNESCO 1991, 1993). At the JSS level, enrolment was steadily on the increase.

Table 2-5: Enrolment in Basic Education

	Enrolment in primary school			Enrolment in JSS*		
year	total	males	females	total	males	females
1987/88	1,625,137	899,675	725,462	180,855	105,138	75,717
1988/89	1,598,443	887,261	711,182	359,186	209,241	149,945
1989/90	1,803,074	939,010	764,064	521,288	304,971	216,317
1990/91	1,803,148	991,877	811,271	569,343	337,108	232,235
1991/92	1,796,490	979,985	816,505	591,301	348,263	243,038

*The enrolment in JSS does not include students enrolled at the old middle schools which were phased out in 1990/91. Therefore the large increases between the years 1987/88 and 1988/89, as well as between 1988/89 and 1989/90, are due to the fact that the 1987/88 figure includes only JSS1 class, and the 1988/89 figure includes only JSS1/JSS2 classes.

(calculated from Ghana, Ministry of Education 1994b)

The move towards greater equity is, however, not as satisfactory as the increase in enrolment figures. Female enrolment at the primary and JSS levels showed only a modest increase. In 1988/89, the proportion of female pupils was 44.5% in primary education which increased to 45.5% in 1991/92. In JSS, the discrepancy was even larger and so far no improvement has taken place. In 1988/89 the proportion of girls in JSS was 41.7% and was 41.1% in 1991/92 (Ghana Ministry of Education 1994b).

Rural-urban disparities are observed both in enrolment and completion rates. In rural areas, only 54 % of children of school age are enrolled in primary school and only 87 % of those who start school complete grade six. The figure is much lower than in urban areas (Ntumi 1993). Regional difference is another issue in the problem of equity. Three regions in the north, the Northern, Upper West and Upper East regions, are disadvantaged in access to education.

Improvement in quality of education is difficult to measure. Ntumi (1993) attempts to appraise the quality of the following factors: teachers, school physical facilities and

instructional materials. According to Ntumi (1993), teacher quality is not satisfactory.

In 1988/89, only 51.1% of primary school teachers were trained, while in JSS, 67.3% of teachers were trained. Gender balance is another issue for concern. In primary schools female teachers comprise 39.8%, and in JSS the figure is even lower at 25.2%. These imbalances are more acute in rural areas; the ratio of trained teachers is lower and the proportion of female teachers is smaller. Regional differences are also observed. In Greater Accra, the rates of trained primary school teachers are 74.7% for males and 93.6% for females while in the Northern region, they are 20.5% and 19.9% respectively.

However, trained teachers did not receive training in the new system. Orientation courses for primary schools teachers have been organised but it is reported that "the orientation provided valuable instruction on the education reform but did not give them the substantive subject training they require to perform efficiently in their classes" (Ntumi 1993:24).

Teachers' working conditions are said to be inadequate. Their salary is considered to be low relative to other workers with the same level of education. Numerous teachers are engaged in second or third jobs. In addition, rural teachers often do not have adequate housing. More incentives both monetary and in kind are required to improve teachers' performance.

Many teachers, especially in rural areas, do not have adequate professional guidance and supervision. There are schools which have not had any inspection for the last fifteen years (*Spectator* 20/11/94). Moreover, many teachers feel that they lack opportunities for professional development (*Spectator* 20/11/94). Consequently, teacher mobility is high, which reflects on teacher morale especially in remote rural areas.

Development and maintenance of schools' physical facilities are the responsibility of District Assemblies. Community involvement is encouraged and monitored by District Assemblies. It is noted that many of the rural schools do not have adequate facilities for educational activities. Many of the classrooms are poorly built and badly maintained.

There is not enough furniture, and in many schools children are required to provide their own furniture .

There have been attempts to improve supply of instructional materials. The Ministry of Education reported that 50% of pupils had a full set of core textbooks in 1992. This is a remarkable improvement from only 21% in the previous year. However, there is a strong rural-urban imbalance in the availability of textbooks. In JSS, the supply of textbooks is said to be more problematic. The government released a plan for printing JSS textbooks in Ghanaian languages after a workshop coordinated by the Ministry of Education *(People's Daily Graphic* 23/7/94). However the demands overwhelmed supply.

One of the key elements of the reform was diversification of school curricula to introduce practical subjects in JSS. It aimed to predispose students to technical/vocational skills and provide the necessary foundation for further training and orientation to manual work. It was hoped to prepare and orient them toward agriculture and other informal sectors, as the formal sector does not have a large enough capacity to absorb all the youth who terminate their formal education at JSS. There are two problems in the instruction of practical subjects. First, effective delivery of such courses requires specifically trained staff and a well-equipped learning environment. Even the present curricula which were simplified into technical/ vocational subjects from the original proposal are said not to be cost-effective. Secondly, these courses in basic education have little direct influence on the labour market. Therefore, the skills learned at school are not likely to help them find the jobs the curricula intended.

The reform also brought strict measures to rectify financial irregularities which had been commonly observed in the previous years. The reform is described as having succeeded in solving the problem of large-scale fraud involved in the resource allocation to educational institutions (Antwi 1992). One of these measures was the creation of the new post of inspectors. Monitoring assistants were placed in districts to inspect educational facilities and report directly to the Ministry of Education. These inspectors' responsibilities included monitoring the implementation of classroom pavilion construction

of the PAMSCAD programme. The programme aims to compensate for the difficulties caused by implementing the structural adjustment programme. It provides various means to supplement welfare and benefits as well as to supplement reduced income for the 'victims' of the measures taken for structural adjustment. Construction of classroom pavilions for rural schools was one of the activities initiated under this scheme.

Unit costs on education have been reduced drastically through various measures. Government subsidies on secondary and tertiary education were cut. In basic education, community involvement in financing primary and junior secondary schools was recommended and promoted. User charges such as textbook fees, sports fees and cultural fees are paid by pupils. In each district, the District Assembly specifies the education development fees to be paid and how they are to be utilised in improving educational facilities.

In May 1994, the West African Examinations Council (WAEC) released the detailed results of the 1993 Senior Secondary School Certificate Examinations (SSSCE), the results of the first group of students since education reform started. The pass rate was very low (see Table 2-6). Over half of the candidates passed 2 subjects or less. Less than 4% of the candidates qualified to take the university entrance examination.

Table 2-6: 1993 SSSCE Results

No of subjects	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
% passed	4.0	4.0	4.8	5.8	7.4	9.4	11.1	12.9	19.5	21.1

(calculated from data obtained from the data from WAEC)

One of the indicators used by the mass media was the qualification for university entrance examinations. There are discrepancies between various newspapers and government documents. Out of 42,121 candidates who sat for the first-ever SSSCE, 1,130 qualified to take the university entrance examinations (*People's Daily Graphic* 12/5/94). The low

pass rate attracted much public criticism of the education reforms These criticisms, when spelled out, focused on the rushed implementation of the reforms. The duration of the programme was said to be inadequate (*Ghanaian Times* 21/5/94, 9/6/94), and the automatic promotion was also questioned (*Ghanaian Times* 25/6/94). Issues relating to the implementation of the programme, such as inadequate facilities, lack of teachers, inadequacy of teacher training to meet the needs required in the new system and lack of textbooks were also raised.

The Minister of Education made a statement saying that the Ministry would organise remedial courses for those who wished to resit SSSCE in November/December 1994 and that these remedial courses and examinations would be free. He said that textbooks would also be supplied on free loan to these students (*People's Daily Graphic* 28/5/94, *Ghanaian Times* 28/5/94). The measure was generally welcomed, but some criticised it for the cost involved (*Ghanaian Chronicle* 23-25/6/94). The Ministry also placed a ban on new SSS so that efforts could be concentrated on improving the existing schools (*People's Daily Graphic* 28/5/94, *Ghanaian Times* 28/5/94)

The release of the examination results opened up critical public discussions on the problems of the new education reforms. The Ministry of Education has been active in incorporating public opinion on the issue. In June and July 1994, a special forum focusing on students' views and another forum with donor agencies were held, and the Education Reform Review Committee was formed. The Ministry organised a special one-day forum on 20 June, 1994 for SSS students to express their views where students who were "shocked and disappointed by their performance and bitter for having to contend with the generally poor implementation of the programme, forthrightly attributed the causes to the late supply of textbooks, inadequate teaching facilities and overloaded curricula" (*People's Daily Graphic* 21/6/94). In mid July, a four-day forum was held where Ministry and donor agencies assisting the education reform programme were to prepare the medium term programme to ensure effective educational activities at the basic education level (*Ghanaian Times* 20/7/94, *People's Daily Graphic* 21/7/94). The Education Reform Review Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Professor A.N. de Heer-Amissah. The first plenary meeting was held on 28 July 1994. The

committee submitted a final report in October, 1994.

The SSSCE results were described as very poor and this brought considerable debate about the education reform in the country. Criticisms were not confined to the SSS, but first cycle education was also targetted. The Ministry of Education seems to be active in considering the suggestions made for improving the reform programme, and this could be described as a turning point for the whole education reform.

Many criticisms were targeted towards teachers' performance and the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT) decided to hold a week-long strike in June 1994. Grievances included the re-establishment of the Ghana Education Service Council, an official negotiating body for teachers, and financial benefits for the teachers[3] (*Ghanaian Times* 1/6/94, 2/6/94, *People's Daily Graphic* 27/5/94, 2/6/94). During the strike, the Minister of Education appealed to teachers to resume work and sent his resignation to the President (*People's Daily Graphic* 6/6/94), which was rejected and he stayed on.

The completion rates in JSS are shown in Table 2-7. The rates were calculated from the 1987 intake and the number of students are those who completed JSS by sitting the Basic Education Certificate Examinations (BECE). This accounts for those who drop out and repeat during the final year in JSS. It shows the improved completion rates over the years.

Table 2-7: Completion Rates in JSS for the Cohorts of 1987/88 to 1990/91

cohort of	intake in JSS1	the number who sat BECE	completion rate
1987/88	180,855	127,553	70.5%
1988/89	193,079	147,061	76.2%
1989/90	200,541	164,953	82.3%
1990/91	218,455	181,758	83.2%

(calculated from enrolment statistics from the Ministry of Education and WAEC)

A gender gap is observed in enrolment and achievement. The enrolment figures can be analyzed on the scores of entry and retention. Enrolment statistics in basic education illustrate girls' lower entry to primary education and lower retention. As a result the gap widens as the grades increase, reflecting higher drop-out rates among females. Gender imbalance is also observed in the enrolment in tertiary education. In 1994, 1,232 pioneer SSS graduates were offered admission to the country's three universities. The largest number went to the University of Ghana, the most highly regarded and oldest university. Out of 866 SSS graduates who gained admission to the University of Ghana, only 168 were female, comprising a mere 19.4% of the total (*Ghanaian Times* 19/11/94, *People's Daily Graphic* 25/10/94).

2.7 Conclusion

Colonialists and missionaries first developed the formal education system. Then the nationalist government achieved the expansion of education. Access to education was extended from a small elite to the masses. Subsequent regimes, both military and civilian, set store on improving the education system but, due to political instability, education suffered from lack of continuity. The need for radical changes in the existing education system was recognised by successive nationalist governments and the reform has been carried out under the current Rawlings' administration.

The most recent education reform is characterised as a reform both in structure and content. It is an innovative and ambitious plan requiring both internal and external support. Six years after the reform started, the release of the first SSSCE results attracted renewed public attention to the reforms. The 'poor results' led to criticism of not only SSS but the entire education system. The reform must sustain public support by meeting the needs expressed by the public. The tasks are many and difficult. However this could be viewed as a rare chance for education reform in Ghana to reap the fruits of constructive criticism.

Alongside the development of formal schooling, indigenous education has gone through development and changes, but in a more subtle manner. Apprenticeship is a common way of acquiring skills and the system is extensive both in its number and kind in West Africa. The system has its origin in indigenous education which had existed prior to the introduction of school education. Although its history is long, the nature of apprenticeship has changed in response to social and economic changes. Modern apprenticeship added new skills responding to the needs arising in society. Micro-enterprises are likely to provide the largest number of employment opportunities in 21st century sub-Saharan Africa, excluding farming.

The origin of the current gender gap in education can be traced through in the history of educational development. The gender gap in formal education has continued to widen as the education system develops. The introduction of a European type of schooling did not include girls on an equal basis. In the last century when the education system developed, it was also influenced by a Victorian concept of female roles; on average, girls received less education than boys, and the emphasis was placed on becoming good mothers and wives rather than professionals. The colonial social system also valued the comparative usefulness of educating males as clerks and translators for the colonial administration, hence emphasising education and training of men. Although some of the mission schools for girls did produce highly qualified women and the tradition still continues, the number is small and access is limited to a relatively wealthy sector of the population.

In traditional education which developed in a society where the division of labour was

clearly defined, women have less choice of professional training, although the situation could be considered less unequal than in the colonial era. In traditional education both boys and girls follow the same general curriculum but later boys have a wider choice of work-related training and education.

In contemporary formal education, inequalities are observed both in the enrolment and the outcome of the education system. The enrolment of male students continues to outnumber that of females. The trend becomes even stronger as the educational level proceeds. The examination results also show a wide gap, indicating the limited opportunities of females for further education.

3 Research Studies on the Problem of School Drop-out

3.1 Introduction

Studies on drop-out have been carried out in both industrialised and developing countries, and most of them have been published since the 1960s. Studies in industrialised countries focus mainly on post-primary educational levels, while those in developing countries concentrate on primary education. This reflects their educational circumstances; while student drop-out from primary school is not very frequent in industrialised countries, the problem is universal in all school systems and all age phases in developing countries. A number of studies describe the problem in developing countries as being the largest in volume and causing most damaging consequences at the primary level.

The current study focuses on the problem of drop-out in JSS in Ghana. Chapter 1 discussed locating JSS within the different levels of the educational system. Although JSS is considered to be the second level education as regards its enrolment age, the nature of JSS education differs from that of the senior secondary school, the latter half of second level education. In Ghana, JSS is part of the nine-year basic education with open access, and a majority of the primary completers enrol in JSS. It is closer to primary school in its administrative nature. Considering this mixed nature of JSS, research studies of drop-out in second level education as well as first level education will be reviewed, with an emphasis on studies from developing countries.

3.2 Research Inspirations and the extent of the Problem

3.2.1 Introduction

Drop-out research has a relatively recent history. First studies were carried out on drop-outs from secondary education in the 1960s in the USA. Studies in an international context, focusing on developing countries, started a decade later. Both cases were

inspired by awareness of the problem following an expansion of educational systems. A rapid expansion of the school system might be responsible for high drop-out and repetition rates by drawing students from a 'vulnerable population' (UNESCO ROEPA 1984). Similar assertions are also made by observing secondary school drop-out in industrialised countries. Natriello et al. (1987) observes that when the universalisation of the school system is established and regular attendance to a certain level of schooling becomes the norm, the problem of drop-out becomes visible.

An increase in drop-out was observed under increased enrolment in a number of countries. For example, after the introduction of the new Compulsory Education Law in China, the drop-out rate had a sharp increase (UNESCO ROEAP 1984). Omari et al. (1982) also observed that the introduction of UPE brought in factors which accounted for many drop-outs, and the study attributed this to the inclusion of the 'marginal group' into the school population. Zimbabwe witnessed an impressive expansion of secondary education in its post-independence years, which brought a sharp increase in the gross enrolment as well as high drop-out rates, according to the analysis of the data between 1982 and 1987 (Zimbabwe 1993).

3.2.2 USA and Other Industrialised Countries

Studies on drop-out from secondary education in the USA describe the phenomenon as a threat to democratic society (Lichter et al. 1962 and Natriello et al. 1987:168). Lichter et al. (1962) studied youths in Chicago secondary schools who were on the verge of dropping out. The study was inspired by the fact that at that time 40% of all children in the USA failed to complete secondary school. A more recent study states that about 25% of students drop out of high school (Rumberger 1990).

The US General Accounting Office (1990) examines the high drop-out rates in high schools in the USA and observes the need to compare the American high school education with second level education in other industrialised countries. The study concludes that other industrialised countries prepare the young people who do not proceed to universities for employment, facilitating a smoother transition from study to working life. A number

of studies are found in other countries, such as Denmark (Dohn 1991), the Netherlands (Bos et al. 1990), Canada (Gedge 1991) and the UK (Stevenson and Ellsworth 1991).

3.2.3 Regional Educational Conferences on UPE and Developing Countries

In the 1970s drop-out studies in the international context started with UNESCO initiatives. The first efforts were made in order to improve the statistical evaluation of wastage in education in order to assess the progress of the regional educational goals of UPE. Wastage, mainly drop-out and repetition, was considered as a serious obstacle to the achievement of the ambitious educational plans followed by the regional educational conferences in the early 1960s. UNESCO (1972) stresses the importance of an efficient organisation of national educational statistics as an essential requirement for realistic national planning. The study presents different types of cohort methods to show student flow and to measure educational wastage.

Coombs (1968) shows concern about the high drop-out rates at the primary level in developing countries and the lack of reliable statistical data. The 1970 IBE Conference promoted collection of statistics on enrolment, enabling the rates of promotion, repetition and drop-out to be calculated and to be compared regionally and internationally. The UNESCO Office of Statistics published a number of reports specifically dealing with wastage as well as organising regional seminars on collecting statistical data (UNESCO 1970, 1972, Brimer and Pauli 1971). The focus of these studies was primary education. The quantitative analysis worldwide in these reports revealed the magnitude of the problems, and patterns of repetition and drop-out.

Brimer and Pauli (1971) claim that drop-out is more damaging than repetition since it results in the larger number of illiterate or semi-literate individuals. Their study stresses high drop-out rates in developing countries and observed the highest drop-out rates in grade one. Wastage in secondary education was not high and the differences between the regions were not very evident, though much of this may be "the result of a ruthless selection by wastage at the primary level" (Brimer and Pauli 1971:54). Gender disparity and regional differences were also recognised; in Asia and Africa, statistics showed high

drop-out rates among girls, while no difference was observed in Europe and Latin America.

Statistical data show the disparity in enrolment in primary education between developing countries and industrialised countries (UNESCO 1984). This 1984 study observes ineffectiveness of action to address the problem of educational wastage in developing countries since the mid-1960s. Whilst educational budgets increased, the benefit did not justify the input in a number of developing countries. Even when the rates of repetition and drop-out remained stable, the number of pupils in absolute terms who dropped out or repeated grades was reported to be higher than ever before, due to the increase in school-age population.

A number of regional studies on wastage were also published with UNESCO initiative (e.g. UNESCO 1975 for sub-Saharan Africa, UNESCO ROEAP 1984, 1987 for Asia) In these reports, the significance of the problem at primary school level is emphasised. While earlier studies focused on the magnitude of the wastage, the studies carried out later attempted to emphasise factors relating to teachers and schools in order to identify possible interventions.

Many sub-Saharan and South Asian countries have acute problems, where the rates of drop-out for the entire primary cycle exceed 50%. Even with lower drop-out rates, the problem cannot be underestimated, especially in populous countries. The grade-wise drop-out rate for 1989 in China was around 5%, which suggests that as many as four million pupils dropped out from primary school. The report confirmed the continuing nature of the problem of wastage.

In this era, the achievement was the improvement in statistical information on enrolment and wastage, and also the standardisation of the methods for obtaining drop-out rates, enabling international comparison to a certain extent. These comparative studies are useful in forming an overall view on the enrolment trend. However, local differences within a country are not fully reflected in these studies. Other differences such as variations between types of school and rural-urban disparities are not investigated. These

analyses could be carried out in more focused studies both with regard to research objectives and to geographical areas.

A number of UNESCO reports have emphasised the continuing nature of the problem, defining its causes and offering a number of suggestions how to overcome the problems. However, in the early 1980s, it became clear that the regional UPE targets made in the 1960s were not being attained (UNESCO 1983). This second wave of concern brought about the World Conference on Educatin for ALL (WCEFA) in 1990, where basic education, especially its relation to development and human rights, attracted renewed interest.

3.2.4 More Recent Work prior to and after WCEFA

Thirty years after the regional declarations for UPE, WCEFA brought about a renewed interest in basic education worldwide. The educational gap between industrialised and developing countries became pronounced and the wastage in primary and general secondary education, especially in LDCs, started to be recognised as a global issue.

Low internal efficiency in primary education is observed in Africa, Latin America and South Asia, whereas over 95% internal efficiency is observed in industrialised nations as well as in some Asian countries around the Pacific rim (UNESCO 1991). In first level education, only 27 countries out of 52 in Sub-Saharan Africa have over 50% of the cohort reaching the final grade (UNESCO 1991).

The high drop-out rate in primary education is mostly due to the excessive drop-out rates in the early grades. The highest drop-out rates are reported from the first grade by authors of a number of studies (e.g. Davico 1990, Shiefelbein 1992, Patrinos and Psachalopoulos 1992). In the countries with high drop-out rates, more than one-fifth of grade one pupils leave school within one year. Drop-outs can also be high in the last grade of the primary cycle, due to failure in examinations and inability to continue to the next cycle (UNESCO 1984, UNESCO ROEAP 1987). In most countries, the degree of drop-out in post-primary education is reported to be smaller, but only when seen in

relation to the high drop-out rate in primary education, and the drop-out from secondary schools is still problematic (UNESCO 1980).

Rates of drop-out are not uniform. There are rural-urban disparity and local differences (Khan et al. 1986, Martin 1994, Carr-Hill 1984, Davison 1993), differences in types of school (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos 1992), and gender disparity (Ndubisi et al. 1983, Duncan 1988, Ekstrand 1992, Davison 1993, Davison and Kanyuka 1993).

Repetition leads to drop-out. A related pattern of drop-out and repetition was observed. The aggregation of the data showed that 68.8% of drop-outs were former repeaters (UNESCO 1987). The UNESCO ROEAP report (1984) suggested that drop-out rates among pupils who were non-repeaters, one-time repeaters and those who repeated more than once were 21.6%, 31.6% and 82.8% respectively.

3.2.5 Conclusion

The problem of drop-out exists worldwide, but is more significant in developing countries. Studies on drop-out show educational disparities between the North and the South, as well as a number of inequalities within countries. In LDCs the first years in primary school have the highest drop-out rates in general. In secondary schools, drop-out rates improve, but the problem does exist.

3.3 Causes of Drop-out

3.3.1 Introduction

This section will introduce causes of drop-out examined in numerous studies to date. Drop-out is associated with a number of causes and these causes can be categorised under a number of headings, such as student-related and school-related, socioeconomic, and educational.

3.3.2 Research Orientations

Kelly (1994) describes how the problem of drop-out is viewed from two schools of thought; one considers dropping out as an individual act due to student, family or cultural reasons, while the other suggests that the education system makes schooling difficult for some children and claims that drop-out is more accurately termed as 'push-out'. The latter claims that certain schooling practices "stigmatize, discourage and exclude children", and are "functional to the reproduction of the capitalist order" by excluding a certain group of children (Kelly 1994:5224). The former view is connected to sociology and neoclassical economics, while the latter is associated with critical theorists such as Bowles and Gintis (1976). These two views differ by attributing causes to individuals or institutions respectively. Table 3:1 summarises the contrasting two views.

Table 3-1: Two Schools of Thought on Early Leaving of School

Term	Drop-out	Push-out
Causes of Dropping Out	individual, family, cultural reasons	school practices exclude children
Responsibility	individual	school and society
Social theory attached	social psychology, behavioral psychology, neoclassical economics	critical theorists, Marxist economics

A majority of studies focus on student/family factors in their search for drop-out causes. These studies focus on drop-outs' individual characteristics as causes of dropping out. The notion of at-risk children and vulnerable population indicate that the attributed causes are retained by children, their families and communities.

On the other hand, Virshine and de Melo (1988) support 'push-out' in their study on Brazilian schools, where they find that schools were largely responsible for children's early leaving. Similarly, Trueba et al. (1989) focus on society in the analysis of the drop-out problem, and present a critical view of the "within-child deficit model", which attributes the problem to a lack of motivation, skills discipline, attitude or intelligence. The

anthropological view of Trueba and his colleagues attempts to portray people's behaviour as a result of how they understand their own context, and therefore it places the focus on school and society. Similarly Spindler (1989:150) focuses on schools in their relation to a society which influences both school and children.

> Schools exist within, and depend upon larger social, cultural, economic and political environments that influence, often determine, whether children stay in school or drop out.

The weakness of Spindler's study might be the lack of systematic attention given to school factors. Since social factors are well examined, the school factors could have been discussed in relation to the social factors. However, the study does not present such an examination.

While the categorisation of drop-out and 'push-out' as distinct concepts is theoretically possible, in reality the two cannot be totally distinct. In the real situation, it is often the combination of both factors, where individuals are "at risk" in schools which do not provide for the needs of the pupils or are even hostile to them. A number of studies recognise the interaction between student factors and school factors.

Natriello (1987) approached the problem with a framework incorporating both student characteristics and school process, as well as a reciprocal relationship between the two (see Figure 3-1). Minority students and students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds are identified as more likely to drop out.

Figure 3-1: Key Elements for a Renewed Research Agenda on Dropping Out (Natriello et al. 1986:169)

A number of studies recognise the interdependent relationship between student characteristics and school processes. African-American and Hispanic-American youths drop out from New York City high schools, as they are "keenly aware of the contradiction between their academic learning and lived experience" (Fine and Rosenbert 1983:259). Stevenson and Ellsworth (1991:282) illustrate the situation as a "complex web in which personal and social characteristics of the individual student interact with characteristics of school".

Wehlage et al. (1989) summarise the characteristics of at-risk youth who are likely to drop out of school (see Table 3-2). Although the analysis is based on the situation in the USA, there are some aspects which apply to other countries. These characteristics are not independent of one another but are interrelated. Some characteristics may be caused by other ones; school problems can be caused by family and social background and personal problems. In addition, personal and school problems influence each other. Moreover, children do not drop out because of these factors, but, in the authors' opinion, it is the school and the system which are responsible. "They fail, in part, because schools are not responsive to the conditions and problems accompanying these personal and socioeconomic characteristics" (Wehlage et al. 1989:51). Fine (1990) concludes that students drop out as a result of mutual process of rejection.

Table 3-2: General Characteristics of At-risk Youth

Family and social background	**Personal problems**	**School problems**
Low socioeconomic status Minority race/ethnicity Single-parent home Low parental support Family crisis Community stress/conflict Family mobility Limited experience of dominant culture	Substance abuse Pregnancy/parent Learning problems Legal problems Low aspirations Low self-esteem Alienation Rejects authority Mental/physical health problems	Course failure Truancy Passive/bored Disciplinary problems Credit deficient Retained in grade

(Wehlage et al. 1989:50)

A number of studies attempt to examine causes of student drop-out. UNESCO ROEAP's workshop on drop-out (1987) grouped the causes in the five clusters of 1) pupil and home-related, 2) teacher-related, 3) school-related, 4) community-related, and 5) management-related (see Table 3-3). These factors and causes were derived from its study in seven countries in Asia.

Table 3-3: Factors/Causes of Drop-out
(from India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Viet Nam)

Categories	Factors/causes
Pupil and home-related	Pupil ability and readiness Pupil's age Language at home Pupil's sex Family's financial status Parents lack awareness of the value of education Parents' literacy Attitudes of parents Distance of home from school
Teacher-related	Unqualified/untrained teachers Low teacher motivation Teacher's attitudes toward pupils and teaching Male/female teacher ratio Inability to adapt the curriculum to pupil's needs Lack of understanding of pupil's needs Inadequate knowledge of teaching principles Over-use of teacher-centred methods Poor relations with pupils Inability to relate with parents/community
School-related	Poor/inadequate resources Location (distance) of school Teacher-pupil ratio Multiple grades in one class Relevance of the curriculum School schedules and calendar unsuitable to economic activities of community Ability/competence of school head to lead teachers Lack of learning aids (books and equipment, etc.)
Community-related	Lack of community support Community attitude toward education Seasonal activities Topographic characteristics (mountainous areas, swollen rivers, snowy peaks, etc.) Climatic conditions Cultural minorities (hill tribes, slum areas, caste, etc.) Multilingual settings Migration/mobility Socioeconomic level
Management-related	Poor supervision of teachers Examination and evaluation policies

(UNESCO ROEAP 1987:25-26)

Although quite extensive, this summary does not include some other common causes cited in other studies, such as educational expenses, uniform, shoes and other necessary items.

Repetition is also omitted from the list although it is thought to be a leading cause of drop-out in some studies (UNESCO 1984, Patrinos and Psacharopoulos 1992). Paid or unpaid work at home and outside the home are also common causes associated with absenteeism, repetition and dropping out, but are not included in the list.

The study observed that factors/causes prevalent in all countries are the family's financial status, topographic characteristics, belonging to a cultural minority and particular socio-economic level. Although the country-wide approach is helpful, it should not lead to a simplistic understanding that the whole country has the characteristics shown in this study. As discussed in the previous section, drop-out rates and patterns are not uniform within a country. Often, a marked difference is observed at local levels.

Drop-out characteristics and drop-out factors/causes presented above can be re-classified into 'student- and home-related' and 'school- and school-system-related' as shown in Table 3-4. In the following section, causes of dropping out will be discussed in terms of this twofold division.

Table 3-4: Drop-out Characteristics and Factors/Causes

	Drop-out characteristics (Wehlage 1989)	Drop-out Factors/Causes (UNESCO ROEAP 1987)
Student- and home-related	-family and social background -personal problems	-pupil- and home-related -community-related
School- and school-system-related	-school problems	-teacher-related -school-related -Management-related

3.3.3 Student- and Home-related Causes

a) Financial Causes

The most common factor reported is financial. A number of studies state the relationship between the rates of drop-out and financial problems, such as, poverty, low income, or irregular/seasonal pattern of income as a major cause of drop-out (Brimer and Pauli 1971, Schiefelbein and Farrell 1978, Rumberger 1987, Singh 1989, Taylor 1989, Wechsler and

Oakland 1990, Kirui 1982, Patrinos and Psacharopoulos 1992, Palmer 1993, Martin 1994, Ghana UNICEF/MOE 1994 and others).

The study in China revealed that the drop-out rate was inversely proportional to the average per capita annual income of the area (UNESCO ROEAP 1984, 1990). Davison (1993), in his analysis of drop-out in Kenya and Malawi, observes that 90% of drop-out is for financial reasons. Financial reasons are linked with the educational expenses incurred. Many children drop out of school because they themselves or their parents are not able to meet the necessary expenses. Kortering et al. (1992) found that children from welfare-receiving families were at risk. A number of studies show that low income group are more likely to drop out both in industrialised and developing countries (Davio 1990, Wechsler and Oakland 1990).

On the other hand, some studies show that school attendance does not necessarily correspond to income level (Ghana 1989). Hanushek and Lavy (1994) also point out that it is parents' inability to pay but not low income itself which leads to children leaving school. A closer examination of studies reveals the difference between income and parents' ability or willingness to pay. Therefore, low income could be compensated for by parents' positive attitude towards schooling and willingness to pay. Financial causes can be related to parental attitudes in order to measure the effect more accurately.

Low income has more serious effect on girls (Floro and Wolf 1990, Tietjen 1991, Chamie 1983, Ilon 1991 and others). Davison and Kanyuka (1993) found that school fees were more problematic for girls than boys in southern Malawi.

Financial difficulties are also related to a government's educational policies, such as introduction of user charges. Samaroo (1991) considers that lack of political will is responsible for causing drop-outs by making school attendance too expensive for the economically disadvantaged groups in society.

b) Parental Attitude

Parental attitudes are also reported to have a link with drop-out (Jamison and Lockheed

1987, Omari et al. 1982, Safilios-Rothchild and Whyte 1986, Davison 1993) and parents' education is similarly linked (Ilon and Moock 1991, Jamison and Lockheed 1987). These studies explain that parental education has a significant influence in their attitudes towards schooling, as educated parents are likely to value education more than parents with little or no formal education.

Parents themselves recognise their responsibilities and blame themselves. In a survey in rural Malawi, 38.6% of fathers and 27.0% of mothers responded that negative and uninterested attitude of parents towards educating girls is the most significant cause of dropping out (Davison and Kanyuka 1993). A number of studies cite 'parental ignorance' or 'parents' disinterest in school', but the same studies give little attention to parents' observations on the quality of education. It might not always be the lack of understanding of education, but their accurate evaluation of the schooling on offer which makes them lose interest in available education.

c) Work and Household Chores

Work and household chores can be causes of drop-out (Mbunda 1983, Omari et al. 1982, Cann 1982, Palmer 1993). In a household with low income, children's earnings are also necessary and this hinders school attendance. Some children are expected to provide labour in the family business (Omari et al. 1982) as well as helping farming (UNESCO ROEAP 1984, 1987).

Household chores tend to affect girls more than boys, reflecting parental attitudes. In addition to working for the family business, girls are expected to carry out household chores and child rearing. A study in Ghana shows that a large sibling size has a negative impact on girl's education, since elder sisters are expected to rear the younger siblings (Lloyd and Gage-Brandon 1994).

d) Gender

Gender is one of the significant factors in drop-out. In most countries rates of drop-out

among girls are higher than those among boys. However, the pattern is not uniform. In Bangladesh the average drop-out rate among girls was considerably higher than that among boys throughout primary and secondary education. In China, the drop-out rate of girls was higher than that of boys in primary school, but the pattern was reversed in junior secondary school. Sri Lanka showed a slightly different pattern of drop-out from other countries. It had an average grade-wise drop-out rate of girls (1.7%) lower than for boys (2.1%), although the difference is rather small. When the gross enrolment rates are high the gender disparity decreases (UNESCO ROEAP 1984, 1987). However, in Zimbabwe, despite its high enrolment rates, girls' drop-out rates are high both in primary and secondary education (Atkinson et al. 1993).

Pregnancy and early marriage are gender-related dominant causes of drop-out from second level education and the later stage of primary education (Obe 1980, Alhassan 1991, Kirui 1982, Ciano 1982, Mbunda 1983, Duncan 1988, Davison 1993). In Zimbabwe, upper primary drop-outs due to pregnancy are reported to have been increasing in recent years (Zimbabwe 1993, 1994). Alhassan (1991) in his study in Nigeria observes that Muslim girls' drop-out rate is high due to early marriage.

As has been seen, other factors, such as low income, household chores, and large sibling size, have more negative effect on girls' education than on boys'. The issue of gender and education will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

e) Over-age

A number of studies state that over-aged pupils/students are more likely to drop out than those who enrolled in appropriate age (UNESCO ROEPA 1987, Ilon and Moock 1991). Over-aged pupils tend to have difficulties in adjustment. The problem is less evident in junior grades, where being over-age could be an advantage. On the other hand, in senior grades over-aged students are more likely to have difficulties in adjusting to peers and the schooling process.

Age/grade distortion is greater in rural areas in developing countries; over-age and low

family income are also strongly related (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos 1992, Ilon 1991). Over-age is a result of late-entry, repetition or interruption of schooling. In a study carried out in Peru, enrolment in appropriate age was positively associated with family income and negatively associated with school costs (Ilon and Moock 1991). Glewwe and Jaccoby (1992) found that over-age was associated with a number of negative factors such as increased opportunity cost, lack of school places and malnutrition.

f) Learning Difficulties

A number of studies state students' low academic achievement (Singh 1989, Kirui 1982) as causes of dropping out. Abilities in reading (Kortering et al 1992) and mathematics (Singh 1989), as well as learning style (Svec 1990), are said to be associated with drop-out. These factors may result from the children's ability and readiness to learn as well as from other factors related to the education process and environment. Verhine and Melo (1988) and Schiefelbein (1992) also found that students with learning difficulties are also at risk of leaving school early.

Students' loss of interest in school (Bray 1984, Ciano 1982) or lack of motivation and achievement (Dohn 1990) are all associated with lower academic achievement and dropping out.

While it seems rational to connect low academic achievement and drop-out, some studies are more careful. Low academic achievement can be the result of loss of interest through inappropriate learning content, ineffective teaching style, or other school factors. Low income can bring about school absenteeism from the need to work, which could also result in students' low academic performance. When socioeconomic backgrounds are controlled, significant difference in cognitive functioning is not observed among students (Fine 1986, Svec 1990).

g) Ethnicity/Cultural Minority

Student drop-out in multi-racial/cultural societies has a strong relationship with ethnicity.

A number of studies emphasise the high drop-out rates among the minority groups in the USA (Rumberger 1990, Committee for Economic Development 1987, Wehlage et al. 1989).

Svec (1990) observed that the high rate of drop-out was associated with ethnicity and poverty much more than academic performance, suggesting that the link between the high drop-out rate and ethnic affiliation should be treated carefully. Suareq-Otrozco (1989) presents empirical data illustrating lower drop-out rates among the recent immigrant minorities than the long-staying minorities of Hispanic origin. The association of ethnicity and drop-out is reported in studies in other countries, such as Asian immigrants in Danish schools (Bos et al. 1990), the indigenous population in Guatemala and Bolivia (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos 1992), and Maori in New Zealand (Meijl 1994).

Medium of instruction is an important factor affecting earlier drop-out (UNESCO ROEAP 1987, Ilon 1991 and others). Young children might not be able to learn through an unfamiliar language and this could lead them to lose interest in schooling or to lower their academic performance, eventually leading them to abandon schooling.

h) Some Problems Associated with these Causes

In reviewing the literature on drop-out problems, it becomes clear that researchers' perspectives tend to be closer to those of educational administrators. Very few studies consider the problem from the students' perspectives, as Bray (1984) and Trueba (1989) point out. Drop-out is wastage and problematic from a government's perspective, but for a child and his/her family, going to school might be a problem. Bray (1984:2) observes that dropping out might be "a very sensible response to particular situations" for both students and teachers.

> If children drop out because they are bored, because they needed to look after their sisters and brothers, or because the teaches are harsh, to them dropping out is a solution rather than a problem. Similarly, from many teacher's viewpoints, the term 'throw-out' might be more appropriate than drop-out. Sending children away reduces the size of classes. It may also be a way to get rid of troublesome pupils and raise the average academic achievement of classes.

This observation does not necessarily justify dropping out, however. The situation where dropping out is an answer should be recognised.

Expressions such as 'parental ignorance' of the value of education (Kirui 1982), leave little room for the parents' way of thinking. They might not see benefit in the particular school education available for their children even when they fully acknowledge the value of education.

3.3.4 School- and School-system-related Causes

a) Teachers

The teachers' role is identified as a strong factor linked to drop-out (Odebunmi 1983, Verhine and Melo 1988, Davico 1990, Davison and Kanyuka 1992). Teachers play a significant role in raising students' academic motivation (Davison 1993). Teaching quality is often questioned. A lack of trained teachers results in low level performance of students (UNESCO 1982). Verhine and Melo (1988) focused on teacher qualification and their teaching. They concluded that in rural schools teachers were often less qualified than in urban schools and they often did not follow the specified curriculum. In a study in Liberia, half of the teachers in rural primary and secondary schools had only a high school education or less (Coleman and Elman 1983).

Teachers' morale is another problem. Carr-Hill (1984) observes in a study of primary and secondary schools in Tanzania that teachers' working and living conditions were quite unfavourable; a considerable number of them had to supplement their income with other work. Carranza (1984) focus on the role of teachers in retention of students in high schools; teachers' social adjustment as well as their recent experience, their performance and mobility, were found to be associated with the retention rates.

Student/teacher ratio also matters. Many schools in developing countries are overcrowded and numerous rural primary schools are one-teacher schools of multiple grades (UNESCO 1984, 1987). Martin (1994) condemns the educational efficiency approach which causes financial cuts to education in developing countries. Teacher

performance and teacher-student relations suffer under constrained economic conditions and in turn can lead to high drop-out rates. Bray (1984) introduces a teacher's perspective which might prefer academically disadvantaged students to leave his/her class in order to raise the academic standard of the class, or simply to reduce the number of students from an overcrowded class.

Teachers' negative attitudes and performance can have adverse effects on students. Punishment (Ghana Ministry of Education 1993) is cited as a cause for drop-out. On the other hand, lack of discipline (Ciano 1982) is also reported to cause drop-out. Davico (1990), in an analysis of teachers and their relations with drop-outs in Brazilian secondary schools, notes that teachers often expect low income students to fail and in turn produce failure through inattention and biased attitudes towards these children.

Female teachers are a role model for female students to continue schooling, and lack of female teachers discourages girls from continuing their schooling (UNESCO 1986). Moreover, under certain religious and cultural circumstances, instruction by male teachers can cause female students to leave school. Some parents may refuse to have their adolescent daughters taught by male teachers (Safilios-Rothchild and Whyte.1986).

b) Educational Facilities

Inadequate educational facilities are also reasons why many children do not learn effectively (Omari 1982, Cann 1982) and they lead to grade repetition and dropping out. Hanushek and Lavy (1994) assert that school quality matters. When students' ability is constant, low quality schools tend to have higher repetition and drop-out.

c) Curriculum/Educational System

The irrelevant content of education is also a problem causing drop-out. Perera (1981) observes that developing countries are struggling to maintain and expand imported systems of education sometimes unrelated to their cultures and unresponsive to their needs. Rural populations are further disadvantaged. Often the curriculum is not

appropriate for the majority of the rural population. Education is predominantly urban biased and rural children suffer from this bias (UNESCO 1982).

Arnova (1984) also criticises a foreign model of educational system which is elitist and examination-oriented and does not necessarily meet the economic needs of the population. On the other hand, the demand is higher for academic education than for indigenous/vocational education (Foster 1965b).

d) School/Community Gap

The gap between the school and community is recognised as a source of the failure for children from these communities. The high drop-out rate in the early grades in primary school can be attributed to the inadequate orientation of the school towards the community and the community towards the school (Brimer and Pauli 1971). Incompatibility between school and home environment is one of the major causes of drop-out which is evident in early grades (UNESCO 1988, UNESCO 1993). For example, if the medium of instruction differs from the language used at home, children have a great burden to adjust at school.

e) Lack of Employment

Lack of employment can cause students to leave school early when they realise that their aspired occupation does not materialise as a result of schooling (Mbunda 1983). Schooling does not guarantee employment in the formal sector. The sight of many unemployed school graduates may discourage students from continuing schooling. Education is considered as a road out of poverty (Weis 1985), but the low income group may not wish to invest in education when they realise the return is uncertain.

Lack of connection between jobs and schooling is a cause; semi-skilled jobs common in rural areas do not necessarily require academic education and people lose interest in school (Gedge 1991).

f) Distance from School

Physical access to school can also hinder a child's enrolment, especially girls' and younger children's. The excessive distance to the school and no provision of transport may result in irregular attendance (Bray 1984, Cann 1982). Infrastructure, especially in rural areas, and the number of schools available, are often blamed. Lavy (1991) observes that the distance to the school has a strong effect on the initial decision to attend school but do not have any effect on school continuation on the survey of primary schools in Ghana.

In addition to topographic characteristics (UNESCO ROEAP 1987), natural disasters and political situations can affect communities and prevent children continuing their schooling. In Zimbabwe severe drought experienced in 1992 increased the number of drop-outs, especially in rural areas (Zimbabwe 1994). The drop-out rates also increased in security-sensitive areas (Zimbabwe 1991).

g) School Fees and other Expenses

One of the most frequently described causes is school determined expenses. Various fees, and expenses for uniforms and books are a burden for families with low income and can cause drop-out (e.g. Davison and Kanyuka 1993, Ilon and Moock 1991, Kirui 1982, Odebunmi 1983, Duncan 1988).

3.3.5 Conclusion

The causes of drop-out are numerous and diverse. These causes are not static. They change with time and according to context. In Malawi, financial reasons are predominant in standard 1 and 2 but in standard 8 pregnancy was the major reason for dropping out (Davison 1993). Sudden change in the social and environmental situation, such as drought or social/political unrest, can cause drop-outs over a short period.

The factors which have been discussed here are not independent of each other. As has been seen, gender amplifies the negative effect of low income, child labour, and large sibling size. Pupils' ability and readiness might be affected by teacher-related and school-

related factors. Poor supervision of teachers, one of the management-related factors, can influence a teacher's attitudes and performance. Improvement in one factor might lead to improvement in other factors, such as improvement of teachers' performance to enhance students' learning. On the other hand, improvement in one factor could influence other factors negatively. For example, encouraging community participation and payment of user charges might make schooling access more difficult for financially disadvantaged people.

Figure 3-2 shows the association among factors reviewed, synthesizing various factors and their links with dropping out. Although research studies state numerous causes, they do not necessarily affect drop-out in the same way. Some factors are more directly related to students' dropping out than others; some factors could be considered as a result of other more distant factors. For example, loss of interest in schooling could be a direct cause of dropping out after being subjected to an irrelevant curriculum and an ineffective teaching style. A number of factors classified as student- and school-related often cause students to lose their interest in school, to absent themselves from school, and to lower their academic achievement, all of which can lead them to abandon schooling. Among all factors, financial reasons and gender are dominant.

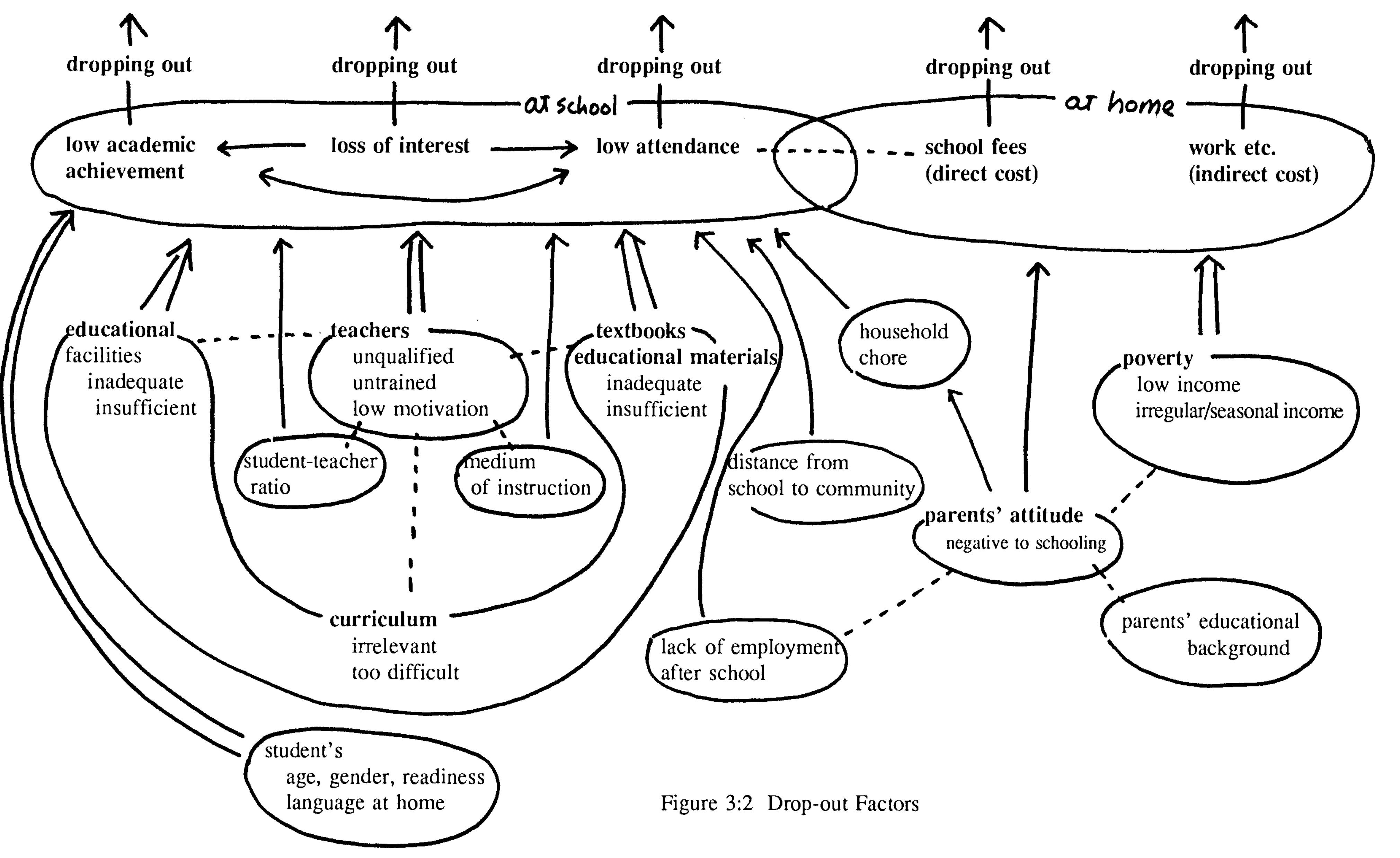

Figure 3:2 Drop-out Factors

3.4 Consequences and Remedial Approaches

3.4.1 Introduction

The majority of studies suggest negative consequences of drop-out both at societal and individual levels. A number of preventive and remedial approaches have been suggested and implemented.

3.4.2 Consequences of Student Drop-out

Drop-out in primary schools, especially in the early grades before literacy is established, may increase the non-literate population (Giere et al. 1990, Tedesco 1990, Odebunmi 1983). As has been seen, a majority of primary school drop-out occurs within one year of enrolment, and they are likely to be trapped in poverty:

> An early school drop-out soon lapses to illiteracy. Re-entry to the formal school system is closed off in most cases . . . The primary school drop-out will remain locked into the closed world of the illiterate and they have further restriction placed upon a background of poverty and ignorance (UNESCO ROEAP 1984:2).

Economic-oriented perspectives consider high drop-out rates harmful because they can make the unit cost of education high (e.g. Psachalopoulos 1993). Many studies equate the problem of drop-out with loss of potential human resources. In most cases the issue is discussed in terms of productivity and human resources development rather than literacy and empowerment. However, Shiandu (1988) asserts that knowledge and skills acquired from even a few years' schooling could benefit drop-outs, although he admits that the benefit is not as great as for those who complete the cycle. A similar argument has been presented in terms of a definition of wastage, and Brimer and Pauli (1971) and UNESCO (1981) questioned its value because of its crudeness.

The problem of school drop-out can also cause social problems. As early as the 1960s in Ibadan 20,000 young men with five to nine years of formal education were unemployed, comprising a substantial proportion of the unemployed population (Callaway 1966). More recently high drop-out rates in primary and secondary schools in urban Liberia

generated numerous unemployed youths and constituted one of the causes of social unrest (Coleman and Elman 1983). In some cases drop-outs in cities are closely linked with criminal activities (Odebunmi 1983). School drop-outs who have had some education still have high aspirations, but their chances of realising them are very small (Begum 1984, Mbunda 1983, Saha 1992).

Many drop-outs are said to leave school without constructive plans and they tend to be unemployed or underemployed (Lichter 1962, Ogionwo 1972 and others). They prefer occupations within easy reach; when asked about hypothetical occupational choice, a significantly lower percentage of them choose a scientific career, and show lower confidence than stay-ins (Ogionwo 1972). Their careers suggest that they have benefitted little from their three or four years of secondary education and they tend to change employers frequently. Drop-outs display significantly lower cognitive skills than stay-ins (Wehlage et al. 1989, Natriello et al. 1987).

From a study of secondary school drop-outs in Nairobi, Ciano (1982) observes that drop-outs tend to blame themselves for dropping out and consider themselves failures and losers. Schooling brings high aspirations and expectations, but a lack of educational qualification among youths prevents them from getting the jobs to which they aspire. On the other hand, some argue that dropping out is a solution for the drop-outs themselves (Trueba 1989, Bray 1984). They are solving their problems by dropping out when in fact going to school is a problem.

From the planners' point of view, drop-outs can be considered 'less harmful' than repeaters (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos 1992). They claim that repeaters take up the limited places available and can deny educational access to others. However, an idea of 'educational efficiency' which equates students with products from a factory should be challenged. The educational process is not totally equivalent to factory production. Economic concepts such as unit cost can be utilised as a useful indicator in planning but should not dominate the discussion.

Few studies investigate the drop-outs' subsequent activities in a systematic follow-up

research. A longitudinal tracer study of drop-outs' occupational development is likely to contribute to remedial approaches for early school leavers. On the other hand, the cost restricts such a study.

3.4.3 Preventive and Remedial Approaches

Remedial approaches to drop out can be categorised as targeting 1) potential dropouts and at-risk children, and 2) those who have already dropped out. The first aims at preventing drop out while the latter attempts either to provide a second chance in education or to provide vocational training and/or work. In the first category, many are school-based strategies, such as reducing and abolishing school fees (Oxenham 1980, Colclough with Lewin 1993, Odebunmi 1983), the introduction of family planning instruction (Kirui 1980, Duncan 1988), the improvement of teacher training and teachers' working conditions, (Odebunmi 1983, Schiefelbein 1992, Davison 1993), curriculum development to cater for individual differences and to provide practical skills (Shiundu 1988, Ciano 1982, Bray 1984), the introduction of school psychologists (Wechsler and Oakland 1990), strengthening cooperation between teachers and home (Martin 1994), school readiness training such as pre-primary education (Taylor 1989), and mandatory promotion (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos 1992). Bray (1984) suggests improving rural infrastructure in order to improve access to schools.

There is no easy solution in this matter. Automatic promotion is likely to result in creating another problem, that of under-achievement. Therefore, policies to increase retention and completion rates should be accompanied by measures to improve the quality of learning. Lack of reliable statistical information in developing countries also constitutes a barrier to grasping the extent and characteristics of the problem. UNESCO (1980) makes a number of suggestions for using inexpensive methods of collecting accurate information, such as well designed sample surveys.

Alternative forms of education to meet the educational needs of drop-outs are suggested, such as non-formal classes (de-Armengor 1990), and distance education (Tate 1991, Asian Development Bank 1987). Inbar (1991) suggests an alternative form of education

which can provide flexible and individualised instruction given by trained and sympathetic staff in a non-threatening environment. Wehlage et al. (1989) also propose alternative schools which could respond to individual needs directly and personally. These strategies aim at raising students' self-esteem and confidence through more suitable educational processes.

In addition, it is suggested that the school system be reorganised so that those who have dropped out because of pregnancy could come back after child birth (Duncan 1988, Ciano 1982). Other remedies aim at providing work for drop-outs. Such strategies include involving out-of-school facilities and resources, for example, providing alternative employment such as cooperatives (Oxenham 1980) and apprenticeships (Fluitman 1992, 1994). Provision of these alternative forms of employment could help drop-outs benefit from some schooling received prior to their leaving.

Studies agree with a targeted approach for at-risk groups, in most cases the financially disadvantaged. Investment and improvement in the quality of schooling in rural areas would improve internal efficiency and in the long run result in savings (Harbison and Hanushek 1992, Hanushek and Levy 1994). The implementation of these strategies requires much consideration. The problem of poverty, one of the most crucial causes of drop-out, cannot be resolved by educational reform alone (Colclough with Lewin 1993). Some of the factors cannot be dealt with directly, such as socioeconomic structure and people's attitudes (Davison and Kanyuka 1993). Some remedies might conflict with each other; abolishing user charges might militate against raising the quality of education, or automatic promotion may adversely affect efforts to raise standards. Many problems are related to external factors over which the education policy may not necessarily have any control. Virshine and Melo (1988) are critical of such remedies as many of the concrete recommendations affect in-school changes while the principal causes are of extra-school character.

Reviewing the drop-out studies, one cannot help recognising the difference in remedial activities utilised in industrialised and developing countries. In industrialised countries, specialised and individualised activities are carried out with considerable investment of

resources. Meanwhile, in most developing countries the cost prohibits such intervention. The economic gap is reflected in the educational gap. The average public recurrent expenditure per pupil/student in primary and secondary education in industrialised countries is US$2,419 per annum, while the figure for south Asia is US$104 and that for sub-Saharan Africa is US$58 (UNESCO 1993:58).

"School process" (Natriello et al. 1987:169) indicates the response and preventative action taken towards those students who are at risk of dropping out. These are 1) smaller size of schools and programmes, 2) greater individualisation of curricula and instructional strategies, and 3) consistency with cultural and community conditions.

In the West African context, Ogionwo (1972:366) recommends a more flexible school curriculum to make a smooth transition to work after graduation. Vocational education is not considered to have the same prestige as academic, and therefore is described as a "dubious solution to the problem".

A number of critical comments should be made on these approaches. Rumberger (1990) raises the point that there are programmes to help potential drop-outs but very few such activities exist to provide a second chance for those who have already left school. Individualised and specialised remedial activities can be useful in analysing students' difficulties at home and at school with a sympathetic understanding. However, they could fail to place the problem of school drop-out in a wider context of school and society. Although a number of socio-economic factors are identified, efforts made in developing countries tend to focus on improvement in school without enough consideration on the social context of education.

3.4.5 Conclusion

The consequences of dropping out, especially in primary education are serious both for individuals and also for society. Non-literate people can be consigned to a life of poverty and are excluded from access to functional knowledge by being non-literate.

Preventive and remedial approaches are diverse. They can be categorised 'within school' and 'out-of school' interventions. Although a number of drop-out causes are socio-economic nature, very few interventions focus on them.

3.5 Drop-out Research Studies in Ghana

The National Programme of Action, presenting major goals for the well-being of women and children, states its aim in education as "universal access to basic education and completion of primary education by at least 80 percent of children in the relevant age group (6-11 years) by the year 2002" (Ghana 1992:38). This set goal is accompanied by more specific objectives to reduce the wastage rate by 25% and to eliminate gender disparities. A few studies have been carried out on the problem of school drop-out and these studies show high drop-out rates, gender disparities in retention, and strong influence of economic factors on student drop-out.

Coleman (1994) provides drop-out and repetition rates in basic education compiled from Ministry statistics. The data show regional differences as well as gender differences in the rates of drop-out. The drop-out rate in primary school is highest in the first grade throughout the country for both boys and girls. The study shows a substantial rate of repetition in basic education despite the Ministry's policy of automatic promotion. The average number of years for completing six year primary education is 7.77, and 3.82 for the three year JSS course.

A study initiated by the Ministry of Education (FAWE 1994) shows the magnitude of the problem. As shown in Table 3-5, the drop-out rates are high in P1 to P2, P5 to P6, and JSS2 to JSS3. Less than half of the children enrolled in primary school complete JSS3. A gender gap is observed in the pattern of retention; girls' drop-out rates are higher throughout the nine years of basic education.

Table 3-5: Retention in Basic Education (Primary 1 to JSS3) 1983/4 to 1991/92 in Ghana

Class	Total		Boys		Girls	
	Retention Cohort	Drop-out Rate	Retention Cohort	Drop-out Rate	Retention Cohort	Drop-out Rate
P 1	1 000	11.9	1000	10.8	1000	13.2
P 2	881	6.8	892	6.3	868	7.5
P 3	813	4.8	830	4.4	793	5.2
P 4	765	5.0	785	4.3	741	5.8
P 5	715	8.0	742	6.4	684	10.0
P 6	635	1.9	678	2.5	584	1.2
JSS 1	616	3.4	652	1.8	573	5.3
JSS 2	582	6.8	635	6.2	520	7.4
JSS 3	515	----	572	----	446	----
Total drop-out rates		48.5		42.8		55.5

(source: FAWE Annex 3E, MOE/PBME, 1994)

Financial causes are reported to be most influential in a number of studies (Ankomah 1990, Twumasi 1986, Ghana Education Trust 1989, Ministry of Education/UNICEF 1994, FAWE 1994 and others). The user charge in basic education introduced in the 1987 education reform as well as purchase of school uniform are a burden for the low income group. Earlier studies claim, on the other hand, that decisions to withhold children were not dependent upon household income. Rather they were related to parental values symbolised by an attachment to traditional religion rather than Christianity (Blakemore 1975).

To date the most comprehensive study is a survey carried out by the Ministry of Education and UNICEF (1994) into the reasons for non-enrolment and drop-out in primary schools in rural Ghana. Twenty-two schools, mainly in rural areas, from seven districts across the country, were chosen, and teachers, community leaders, children and adults were interviewed. Table 3-6 shows the reasons given by the parents and guardians of the drop-outs. Respondents all agree that 'money' is a major cause for children's

discontinuation of primary school education.

Table 3-6: Reasons for Dropping out - Given by Guardians

Reasons given	money	broken family	child truant	ill health	child labour	other
father	44	4	25	3	6	19
other males	44	29	10	0	0	17
mother	34	20	19	4	1	22
other females	27	27	24	3	4	16
mixed / unclear	25	25	6	14	0	31
total	174 (34.7%)	105 (20.9%)	84 (16.7%)	23 (4.6%)	11 (2.2%)	105 (20.9%)

(Ghana, Ministry of Education/UNICEF 1994: Table 3.2.6)

The study stresses student/home causes, especially parental responsibilities. Important reasons include 1) parents' inability to provide children's educational needs, 2) lack of parental care, 3) parents' having too many children to send all to school, 4) children's desire to earn money, and 5) peer influence (FAWE 1994).

In a case study of three rural schools in the coast region, PBME of the Ministry of Education (1994) attempted to investigate the relation between economic activities and school attendance. The majority of upper primary and JSS students are quite heavily engaged in fishing, farming or household chores. The main reason for absenteeism is to help their families, especially during the harvest season. Adult family members are indifferent about their children's absence from school. Many are aware of the fact that children must earn money on their own to continue schooling, but do not support them. The study recommends: 1) awareness raising among adults, 2) rescheduling the school calendar, and 3) abolition of user fees for the needy families.

Some other studies, carried out focusing on smaller units, agree with the studies carried out at the national level and stress financial and parental factors. High drop-out rates in rural schools are associated with financial difficulties and parental neglect (Ofori Asante

1991, Ankomah 1990, Twumasi 1986). Early exposure to money through trading is one of the major causes of rural girls' dropping out of school (Ofori-dua 1994). Household chores also prevent children from attending school (Ofori-dua 1994, Affari 1991).

Andoh (1994) interviewed school teachers and found that factors influencing drop-out include 1) lack of teaching materials, 2) the learning environment and 3) the performance of teachers. Andoh states that school conditions and the learning environment do not motivate children to finish schooling, and solving the problem of school drop-out is difficult unless such conditions are improved. Teachers suffer from inconsistencies in promotions and unfair allocation of responsibilities by educational authorities, which affects their lack of motivation, mismanagement of classes and harsh treatment of students; frustrated and disappointed teachers tend to be lazy, absent or late, and tend to punish children frequently and unnecessarily.

High drop-out rates among girls, especially between 15 and 17 years of age, has become a concern (Amedome 1991). Pregnancy is reported to be the major cause for dropping out in JSS and upper primary school (Ofori-dua 1994, Amedome 1991, Ofori-Asante 1991). Causes of student pregnancy are identified as 1) curiosity, 2) influence of peer groups, 3) lack of proper parental care, 4) early independent living (where youths live in a different house from their father or mother), 5) unavailability of contraceptives, and 7) low academic achievement of girls (Frank 1992). Like studies carried out in other countries, these studies in Ghana also indicate that pregnancy is a major cause of drop-out. However, some claim that pregnancy is not the major cause. From the interviews with drop-outs in Tema, a coastal urban area near the capital, Twumasi (1986) reports that a surprisingly small ratio of girls responded that they left school due to pregnancy. While almost all boys stated financial reasons, girls state 'other' 48%, 'financial' 32%, 'academic' 17% ,and 'pregnancy' 4%. However, these responses might not have been very truthful, especially in a personal matter to which stigma is still attached.

Buabeng (1994) observes the sensitive emotional state of adolescent girls and the unfortunate consequence of harsh treatment of these female students. Many teenage girls, especially in rural areas, have their first menstruation without any thorough understanding

of it, and experience the first few years of menstruation with excessive fear, shame and pain. Punishment during this time could give them considerable emotional strain and this could cause them to decide to terminate school completely. Afranie (1994) also reports the reduced attendance of girls during menstruation periods.

A number of studies done in Ghana indicate the low enrolment and high drop-out rates among girls. After reviewing surveys and reports on educational access in Ghana, Griffith and Parker-Jenkins (1992:8) observe "the universal under-representation of females in schools and the fact that educational systems are a reflection of the societies in which they function".

3.6 Conclusion

The problem of drop-out is an issue at different levels, viz. individual, community, classroom, school, national, international and the level of the educational system. Therefore, it is not surprising that research studies have diverse objectives and also stem from different academic disciplines like sociology, psychology, economics, anthropology and others. In recent years, the economics approach has been dominant, especially in educational policy formation in developing countries. This approach by way of economics tends to deal with the problem of drop-out statistically and collectively. Analysis of data obtained at a national level may benefit policy formation. On the other hand, these approaches might overlook the vast regional differences that can exist within each country.

Concepts derived from economics are evident in drop-out studies in developing countries. Studies of the internal efficiency of an educational system and its impact on the national economy are more common in developing countries than in industrialised countries. With limited resources available for social services, and education consuming a major part, it is inevitable that efficiency becomes a vital issue. Similarly, research in developing countries is likely to focus on returns to education, where the economic and non-economic benefits of education are discussed in order to justify expense on education. However studies carried out in industrialised countries tend to have their focus on classrooms and

individuals rather than on collective concepts such as efficiency and rates of return. These studies tend to discuss psychological concerns which reflect the work of school psychologists and counsellors.

The problem of school drop-out is common among disadvantaged social groups both in developing and industrialised countries. Students who leave school early tend to be associated with low socioeconomic backgrounds, difficult family circumstances, ethnic minorities and other situations which are explained as underlying factors in over-age and low academic achievement. In developing countries, financial factors are more strongly associated with drop-out than other factors. Gender was a strong factor influencing drop-out.

Factors associated with drop-out are diverse and inter-related. A number of studies categorise them differently, but they could be broadly grouped into 1)student- and home-related and 2)school- and school-system-related. In the first category, financial factors and gender are dominant in numerous studies. Additional factors responsible for students' dropping out are academic performance and over-age.

In order to identify causes of drop-out, the current study conducts a comparison between drop-outs and stay-ins. Stay-ins were chosen with the above categories controlled against drop-outs. This was in order to see whether any further factors were present. For each drop-out, a stay-in was selected with the gender, age, academic performance and socio-economic background carefully matched. The research procedure will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

These categories are not always mutually independent; rather, they tend to influence one another. Schools exist within a society, of which they are usually an important component, and an individual exists within a school and in a society. Student drop-out could be recognised as a result of such a dynamic and reciprocal process between the individual and school, the individual and society, and the school and society. In many cases each drop-out is affected by a number of factors/causes, often one factor leading to another and finally to dropping out.

Remedial attempts can be categorised into two approaches: 1) targeting risk students, and 2) targeting students who have already dropped out. For each approach, individualised activities and the creation of a special institution as well as overall improvement of the existing schools are suggested. Studies in industrialised countries focus on alternative schools and other capital-intensive interventions, while such attempts are not found in developing countries. This can be attributed to the vast difference in the cost of education per student between the industrialised and developing countries.

In order to grasp the nature of dropping out, close examination of subsequent activities and future prospects for drop-outs should be examined, although relatively few studies deal with such concerns. Above all, the opinions and observations of drop-outs themselves should be considered. However, only a few studies take such an approach, especially in developing countries.

4 Gender in Education and Development

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the issue of gender in the context of education and development will be discussed with an emphasis on the evidence in sub-Saharan Africa. Gender is defined as a social phenomenon and a social construct, as distinguished from sex which is biologically determined (Momsen 1989, Mbilinyi 1992 and others). The concept incorporates power, unequal divisions of labour, power and domination (Mbilinyi 1992). Gender has been developed into a substantive issue in social science in this century. Recently gender has been recognised as an important element in the discourse of development and education, reflecting the importance of the issue in the field of education as well as in development in general. Although theories of gender and development, as well as of gender and education, share some common roots with theories of feminism, their treatment of the gender concept orientation is not identical.

The issue of gender in education and development will be discussed from three perspectives. The first is the feminist perspective which was articulated first in industrialised countries in the 1960s. This development was reflected in the international debate in 1975 at the beginning of the UN decade for women 1975-1985. The second is human capital theory, which attempts to demonstrate direct and indirect benefits of education in general, and which has provided powerful arguments for the outstanding social benefits of women's education. This argument has been strengthened by evidence associating education with improved health and productivity and benefits which go beyond education. The third is gender framework in development. This framework is currently being utilised in various facets of developmental work, and in such constructs as Women in Development (WID), Woman and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD). The approach emphasises empowerment as the key concept, a concept born out of criticism levelled against different approaches adopted in the past, such as welfare, equity, anti-poverty and efficiency. This framework distinguishes strategic gender needs

from practical gender needs, and it can be utilised as an effective tool in examining female education in the larger context of development.

4.2 Feminist Perspectives on Education

4.2.1 Introduction

The contemporary feminist theoretical framework can be classified into three different approaches, namely liberal, socialist and radical. These approaches are closely associated with the perspectives of existing social theories: liberal feminism with functionalism, human capital and modernisation theories; socialist feminism with conflict and Marxist theories; and finally radical feminism with liberation theory. In terms of their orientation, liberal feminism has economic force, radical feminism has ideological force, and socialist feminism is the interconnection between ideological and economic force (Stromquist 1990a:146).

4.2.2 Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism is the oldest and probably the most conventional perspective of the three. It stems from the idea that women must obtain equal opportunities and equal rights in society (Acker 1987, Stromquist 1990a, Phillips 1987, and others). Stereotyping and discrimination have created a situation where women have less chance of education, fewer career opportunities, and other social disparities. It argues for better allocation of resources so that women can obtain a fair share of educational opportunities. The three major points of focus in the discourse of liberal feminism are 1) equal opportunities; 2) socialisation and sexual stereotyping; and 3) sexual discrimination (Acker 1987:423).

This functionalist view enforces the idea that schooling is meritocratic and that success in it depends primarily on the motivation and the intellectual ability of the individual. Therefore this feminist view does not aspire to change society; rather it aims at improving the situation within the present system, i.e. western industrialised society (Stromquist 1990a). School and education are considered to be positive and good; improvements are

to be made within the existing system. Strategies include attempts to increase access, such as promotion of 'good practice', e.g. the Equal Opportunities Commission (Acker 1987) and training to change attitudes of teachers and pupils/students (Weiner 1986). Liberal feminism is based on the assumption that schooling is positive and improves women's welfare. Social evolution is assumed and the state is perceived as a benevolent actor which provides services and goods for the benefit of the people (Stromquist 1990a).

Liberal feminism is criticised for ignoring patriarchy, power and the systematic subordination of women (O'Brien 1983, Weiner 1986, Acker 1987) as well as the effects of race and class (Arnot 1982, Acker 1987). Socialist feminism attempts to address some of these problems.

4.2.3 Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminism is closely associated with neo-Marxist theory. The concept poses questions about society and power, issues which liberal feminism does not raise. The state is viewed as an agent which "acts jointly and closely with economic interests to keep women in a subordinate position" (Stromquist 1990a:146). Unlike liberal feminism, socialist feminism does not consider education as positive. Instead, school is considered to reproduce the current unfair situation. Education is viewed as a regressive organisation rather than progressive, and as fostering a sexist culture. According to socialist feminists, the school curriculum incorporates sexist assumptions, and sexual divisions of labour are built into the context of education. In addition, sexism is seen as "the salient factor in the theory and methods in the specific academic discipline" (Barrett 1980:148).

Socialist Feminist theory presents an argument of gender imbalance which they claim is parallel to the argument of class struggle. Bowles and Gintis (1976) and others argue that school does not provide a unitary system but aims at reproducing two main social classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In a gender context, schooling serves to perpetuate gender inequalities (Jayaweera 1987, Acker 1987, Stromquist 1990a). Thus the parallel analysis of class struggle with gender provides a theoretical framework.

The strength of a socialist-feminist perspective is that it incorporates other factors of inequality. Race and class are seen to interact with gender in education (Acker 1987, Brah and Deem 1986, Brah and Minhas 1985). In developing countries, however, gender imbalance is often amplified by rural-urban disparities and income differentials (Tilak 1993, Hyde 1993, Weis 1981, Abraha 1991, Akande 1987). Furthermore, other factors also affect gender imbalance, such as ethnic affiliation and religion.

Some criticism focuses on the research methods of socialist feminism, saying that they do not necessarily address the issue directly. Despite the fact that socialist feminist discourse has a macro-sociological nature, most of the empirical data are derived from school-based observation at the micro-sociological level (Acker 1987). Lack of empirical analysis is also a source of criticism. Much of the socialist feminist work in education emphasises theoretical arguments, historical research or policy analysis, but relatively little research is done using empirical analysis. Furthermore, it is criticised for being more theoretical than implementation oriented (Weiner 1986, Acker 1987).

4.2.4 Radical Feminism

Radical feminism is concerned with male monopolisation of culture and knowledge and the sexual politics of everyday life in school. Its focus on education is with curriculum, women teachers' and girls' access to power, and policy formulation in schools (Acker 1987:429). Radical feminism accepts that education is a tool to release women from subordination, but argues that existing formal schooling cannot be trusted to serve the purpose. Rather, radical feminism supports an alternative non-formal type of education

A radical feminist perspective has similarities with socialist feminism in the way it views the role of the state and schools. The state acts as "a key agent in the perpetuation of women's subordination via its strong defense of the family as the core unit of society" (Stromquist 1990a:145). Such a view stems from the theory of liberation developed in Latin America. In liberation theory, where the aim is the transformation of society, formal education/schooling is not considered to be the key agent, although the transformation itself is an educational process (Shor and Freire 1987). The existing school system is

criticised for maintaining a "banking concept of education" where students deposit knowledge given by teachers (Freire 1972:46).

Radical feminism emphasises patriarchy and power. Its focus on patriarchy and power facilitates an explanation of the oppression of women both within the school and also within the wider context of society in general. At the micro level, it addresses the issue of sexuality and sexual harassment in schools, which is not commonly discussed in other feminist perspectives (Weiner 1986, Acker 1987). Girls not only receive less teaching time, but their classroom contributions are often met with systematic ridicule and girls are exposed to verbal and non-verbal abuse (Mahoney 1985, Acker 1987). At the macro level, it argues that the higher non-literacy rates for women result from the state's reliance on women for biological reproductive tasks which require only a minimum of skills and knowledge and do not generate demands for schooling (Stromquist 1990a:145).

While liberal feminism aims at improving the existing system of education, both the socialist and radical feminist perspectives aim at much more fundamental transformation. They do not trust the existing formal education system to serve the needs of women because it is monopolised by the state.

> There has been a recent convergence in feminist thought toward the meshing of ideological and material elements in the explanation of women's subordination, bringing closer than ever the radical and socialist feminist perspectives. These perspectives detect severe limits in the state's ability to improve women's conditions while groups outside the state, particularly women-run organisations, are identified as the most likely source of significant educational change and thus social change, in the interests of women (Stromquist 1990a:137).

Radical feminism is criticised for being the least articulate of the three perspectives. Its research methods are also questioned as a number of studies adopt research methods which are considered 'unconventional'. It is also criticised for its generalisations which give little consideration to issues such as race (Middleton 1985, Connell 1985, Acker 1987).

4.2.5 Conclusion

Table 4-1 summarises liberal, socialist and radical feminism on education. The proximity between socialist and radical feminism are seen in a number of categories, especially in their observations on the role of the state and schools. While liberal feminism recognises the state and school can be a solution for equal opportunities and rights, both socialist and radical feminism conceives the state and school as the source of such discrimination. In the categories of 'intervention' and 'forces' the three can be understood on the scale in the order of liberal, socialist and radical. The liberal feminists' functionalist view accepts existing school and system based intervention to improve economic capacity of women, socialist feminism does use the existing school but aims at changing the content of education, and radical feminism does not accept the existing school but pursues alternative forms of education.

Despite their wide range of views, still all three current feminist perspectives fail to deal with the distinction between rural-urban and low-high income groups, extremes which exist in many developing countries. These feminist arguments are weak in terms of addressing the issues of female subordination in different contexts. Nevertheless, they provide a useful framework for the discussion of gender issues in education. Although gender issues in development are not identical with feminism, feminist theories as well as the debate within and between industrialised and developing countries are both necessary for analysing gender in education in developing countries. As Moser (1993) states, knowledge of feminist theories is essential in 'gender planning' which aspires to achieve gender equality.

Table 4-1: Feminist Perspectives on Education and Development

Feminist Theory	Liberal Feminism	Socialist Feminism	Radical Feminism
Related Social Theories	-functionalist theory -human capital theory -modernisation theory	-neo Marxist theory -conflict theory	-liberation theory
Key Concepts	-equal opportunities -socialisation and sex stereotyping -sex discrimination	-reproduction of gender and social division	-patriarchy -male monopolisation of knowledge and culture -sexual politics in schools
Forces	-economic force	-interconnection between ideological and economic forces	-ideological force
State viewed as:	-benevolent actor	-acts jointly and closely with economic interests to keep women in a subordinate position	-a key agent in the perpetuation of women's subordination
School viewed as:	-agent for social mobilisation	-agent for reproduction and perpetuation of existing social classes	-place where injustice and oppression of a certain category of people is done, such as sexual harassment.
Orientation	-implementation oriented	-theoretically oriented	-descriptive and reality oriented
Possible Intervention a) orientation	-existing school based -numerically (quantitatively) orientated	-existing school based -content of education oriented	-alternative forms of education -single sex schools
Possible Intervention b)methods	-better allocation of resources -increased access for women	-revision of curricula -consciousness raising	-awareness -conscientisation -prioritising female interests

4.3 Beneficial Effects of Female Education in Development

4.3.1 Recognition of the Beneficial Effects of Female Education in Development

Recent years have witnessed the recognition of female education as an important element in discourse on education and development. Strong associations between female education and economic development have been noted, as well as the desirable effects of female education on social welfare, e.g. the high correlation between the enrolment rate of girls in primary schools and GNP per capita, as well as life expectancy, infant mortality and total fertility rates. These have legitimised not only educationalists' but also development economists' focus on female education. Numerous publications from donor agencies have extensively documented these beneficial effects of female education (Floro and Wolf 1990, King and Hill 1993, King 1990, Schultz 1989, Herz et al. 1991, Subbarao and Raney 1992, Summers 1992, Hartnett and Heneveld 1993, Ogubo and Heneveld 1995). These studies employ evidence from econometric studies such as Hartnett and Heneveld (1993) to summarise the effects of schooling: each additional year of schooling is estimated to produce a 10 to 20 % increase in income for both males and females; disaggregated data show that female education has far greater social returns than male education as additional schooling creates substantial social benefits; educated women bring social benefits by having healthier, fewer and more educated children; and each additional year of schooling is estimated to decrease the mortality of the under five age group by 5 to 10 % and the fertility rate by 10 %. In addition, at the national level, female education seems to be related to development. Benavot (1989) shows from the analysis of cross-national data from 96 countries that long-term economic development in developing countries has been more strongly associated with the increase in enrolment among primary school girls than boys .

4.3.2 Human Capital Theory

a) Human Capital Theory Applied to Female Education

The concept of 'human capital' refers to the fact that "human beings invest in themselves, by means of education, training, or other activities, which raises their future income by increasing their lifetime earnings" (Woodhall 1994:2643). Education and training are

considered the most important investment in human capital (Becker 1993). Once recognised as investment rather than consumption, human capital received broad recognition as being essential to economic and social development (Denison 1962, Schultz 1962, Becker 1993(1964)). The argument was strengthened by the empirical evidence that education was associated with improved health and productivity. Similarly, female education was given credit for creating social benefits even beyond those of education in general for both men and women. However, the awareness of the benefit of women's education came much later than the concept of human capital itself.

The current recognition of the beneficial effect of female education is a relatively recent shift in the human capital concept. In fact, early human capital analysis did not include women as a separate category of analysis. In the 1960s, Becker claimed that the gain to women from additional schooling could be determined by family earnings rather than by personal earnings as very few women participated in the labour force, especially after marriage (Becker 1975:178-179). The empirical analysis of the effects of education excluded wives "since their labour force behaviour is strongly influenced by their husbands' income and the number and age distribution of their children" (Chiswick 1970:172). In the analysis, the students and the elderly were also excluded. T.W. Schultz, a major figure in the economics of education at that time, cited women's education as one of the main omissions in the work of human capital theorists.

> If one were to judge from the work that is being done, the conclusion would be that human capital is the unique property of the male population. . .despite all the schooling of females and other expenditures on them, they appear to be of no account in the accounting of human capital (Schultz 1970:302, cited in Woodhall 1973:9).

This provocative statement might have been made with the intention of inviting attempts to remedy this deficiency by analysing the investment aspects of women's education in order to judge whether the concept of 'investment in women' is as valid as that of 'investment in man', as in the comparative study done by Woodhall (1973). In her analysis of seven countries, of which three were developing countries, private rates of returns to education among women were lower than those of men. She argues, however,

that the "indirect or spillover benefits and non-economic benefits" should not be ignored (Woodhall 1973:10). The data obtained from both industrialised and developing countries in the 1960s show lower private returns among women than men. However, the data from the 1970s and later show a higher rate of returns among women than men (Psacharopoulos 1993, Shultz 1993).

Becker (1993:18-19) states that changes in the education of women over the years demonstrate human capital investment's tendency to respond rationally to benefits and costs. The trend of change in women's education is reflected both in quantity and quality, i.e. in increased enrolment and labour force participation, and in increasing enrolment in non-traditional 'women's fields' such as law, medicine and engineering.

b) Returns to Female Education

Private returns to schooling have been shown to be substantial by numerous research studies carried out in the past two decades. Primary, secondary and higher education have different rates of returns and, in general, returns are highest in primary education, moderate for secondary education, and low for higher education (see for example, Psacharopoulos 1981,1993). Some authors claim that returns to secondary education are as high as those in primary education (Schultz 1989, Herz et al. 1991). It should be noted however, that the data used in these studies are derived from different years.[1] In addition, the level of labour participation should also be included to get a more accurate analysis of the private returns on education.

Private rates of returns to education are believed to be lower among women than among men. However, Schultz (1989) argues that the low private returns to education among women are a result of an underestimation whereby production outside the labour force in the formal sector is not included, since fewer women join the labour force. The market imperfections "limit women's options more than men's and so reduce women's earnings" (Herz et al. 1991:13). Similarly Schultz (1993) argues that labour force participation influences the returns, and the rates of returns differ across countries.

The limitations of conventional economic analysis are mentioned in a number of studies which question the calculation of returns. For example, they question the increased tax of both a direct and indirect nature (Schultz 1989, Schultz 1993). The social rate of returns to higher education in low income countries is another problem, where access to such education is extremely limited, and those who are admitted benefit from free tuition and living allowance stipends (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall 1985, Shultz 1993). The 'filtering' hypothesis is another argument against the rates of returns: education works as a screening process rather than increasing productive capacity. In other words, those who have potential to be productive are likely to be selected to receive education; education merely works as a filter to select the advantaged.

The importance of female education is more often discussed for its non-market returns where improvement of family welfare is expected. For child survival and health, female education is widely recognised to be effective. Female education is strongly linked with increased family welfare especially in low income countries (King and Hill 1993, Schultz 1993, Schultz 1989, Schultz 1984, Mensch, et al. 1986). Numerous UNICEF publications also document a positive association between the mothers' education and child survival and development (UNICEF 1992, 1993 and others).

The education of women and girls has been recognised as a vital input for the social development not only of women but also of their family members, especially their children. The benefit is more evident in low income countries or disadvantaged areas. In sub-Saharan Africa where various social services lag behind, female education attracts attention as a viable medium for social development.

> Female education can be one of the most powerful forces of development in low-income countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa where social welfare and economic improvement are constrained by dramatic population growth and a fragile human resources base (DAE 1993:1).

This view stems from empirical evidence illustrating an association between the gender differential in school enrolment in sub-Saharan Africa and the pronounced low social

development in the area. Although the view is widely accepted, it needs to be challenged for its top-down approach as well as for its view of women solely as tools for development (Moser 1989, 1993, Buvinić 1986, Kabeer 1992). Adolescent girls are encouraged to attend school in order to receive health education and other information to improve family welfare, but these initiatives all come from the schools than the girls themselves.

In West Africa, relation between mother's education and public health is complementary (Caldwell 1979). On the other hand, similar studies done in Latin America show mother's education alone to have a small impact on child mortality (Shultz 1993). The latter finding suggests that female education should be accompanied by the provision of a public health infrastructure rather than being considered a cheaper substitute for health services in attempts to improve maternal child-health.

Female education has been recognised as having a strong association with the decline in fertility rate. There has been ample discussion on the relation between female education and fertility decline. Together with other factors, such as increased employment, the rising legal and social status of women, and increased income in rural areas, female education is one of the key concepts for fertility decline (World Bank 1986, Moser 1993 and others). Schooling delays marriage, increases participation in the labour market, which in turn creates incentives for fertility control (Schultz 1989). In addition, education enables people to use health services effectively, including contraception.

Investment in the next generation is also a beneficial effect of mothers' education. Numerous studies observe that a mother's education increases children's schooling (King and Hill 1993, Tietjen 1991, Schultz 1989, 1993). Schultz (1993) observes that a mother's education influences allocation of private household resources more positively towards the benefit of children's nutrition and schooling. When women's economic capacity is enhanced by education, they have more influence in household decision-making. Blumberg (1989:21) summarises the multiple influences of women's education as follows:

> Women's education can increase the autonomy of women within the family by increased productivity. For example, empirical evidence from Mexico and Guatemala showed the link between women's relative economic power and their say in a desired number of children as well as the use of contraceptives.

The aggregate of social and private rate of returns shows that the rate for females is marginally higher than that for males (Psacharopoulos 1993). It should be noted that the pattern is not consistent. As Table 4-2 illustrates, the rate of returns to education among females is higher than among males in secondary school, while primary education continues to demonstrate much higher returns to males than to females.

Table 4-2: Returns to Education by Gender

Educational level	Men	Women
Primary	20.1	12.8
Secondary	13.9	18.4
higher	13.4	12.7
Overall	11.1	12.4

Psacharopoulos (1993:15)

4.3.3 The Reality of Female Education

a) The Reality of Female Education World-wide

While the importance of female education is widely recognised, the educational reality of women in developing countries is far from satisfactory. The educational situation is seen as the main obstacle preventing the full involvement of women in the development process. UNESCO's latest projection estimates the non-literate population in developing countries in 1990 to be 873.9 million people, which accounts for 96.5% of the illiterate population of the whole world, and in the year 2000 as 853.7 million, representing 98.2% (UNESCO 1993).[2] While the absolute number of non-literate people decreases, the ratio of non-literate people in developing countries in relation to the world total increases, thus widening the gap between the developing and industrialised worlds.

Table 4-3 shows the gender breakdown of the literacy rates by regions. Although the

gender gap in literacy continues to narrow, the gap still remains. Moreover, the gender gap in developing countries remains wider than that in industrialised countries. The gap in least developing countries remains the largest.

Table 4-3: Estimated Adult Literacy Rates (percentage)* by Gender; 1980-2000

	1980		1990		2000	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
World Total	74.9	59.5	82.2	67.3	85.3	74.2
Developing countries	66.5	43.6	77.0	56.2	81.3	66.4
Sub-Saharan Africa	43.2	22.3	59.5	35.6	70.2	49.6
Arab States	50.9	22.9	64.3	38.0	72.9	50.6
Latin America	82.1	76.9	86.4	83.4	89.7	87.3
Eastern Asia/Oceania	77.9	53.5	88.2	71.9	92.3	83.6
Southern Asia	51.7	24.0	59.1	32.2	66.2	41.0
Least developing countries	38.5	16.8	51.4	27.9	60.8	37.3
Industrialised countries	95.6	93.7	97.4	96.2	99.0	98.0

*It indicates the percentage of literate adults in the population aged 15 years and over. The population data utilised are those of the United Nations Population division database (1988 revision).

(from UNESCO 1993 *World Education Report*, p.100)

The result of the disaggregation by gender and regions indicates associations between low literacy rates and women, as well as low literacy rates and developing countries, especially the least developing countries. Within the developing countries, Southern Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab States have relatively low literacy. Moreover, where lower literacy rates are observed, the gender gap is more evident. The phenomenon is observed by Stromquist as "the manifestation of gender and poverty upon women's literacy" (1990b:100). Poverty, together with traditional beliefs and customs, can perpetuate child labour and early marriage which prevent schooling of girls. Stromquist (1992, 1990b) examines the gender disparity in literacy and explains it in terms of the sexual division of labour and men's control over women's sexuality. Both are related to states' implicit and explicit policies to ensure that women remain in their traditional social roles. Ballara

(1992) suspects that statistical representations may even underestimate female non-literacy as it is easier to conceal the non-literacy of women than that of men.

The enrolment ratios in different levels of education (see Table 4-4) show a similar trend to that of literacy. While there is less of a gender gap in industrialised countries, the gap in developing countries is larger. It is also a characteristic of developing countries that the gender gap widens the higher the educational level becomes. Although gender ratios have improved in the last ten years, the gap remains.

Table 4-4: Percentage of Female Enrolment by Level of Education 1960 - 2025

	first level				second level				third level			
	1960	1980	2000	2025	1960	1980	2000	2025	1960	1980	2000	2025
World Total	43	45	47	47	41	43	45	46	34	43	44	44
Developing countries	39	44	46	47	29	39	44	46	26	35	40	41
Sub-Saharan Africa	34	43	45	44	25	34	40	40	11	21	28	27
Arab States	34	41	45	46	26	37	45	46	17	31	40	42
Latin America	48	49	49	49	47	50	51	50	30	43	47	47
Eastern Asia	39	45	48	50	30	40	47	51	24	24	32	32
Southern Asia	36	42	45	46	25	36	41	44	26	33	39	41
Least developing countries	32	40	44	44	18	31	39	39	16	26	31	31
Industrialised countries	49	49	49	49	49	50	49	49	36	48	49	49

(from UNESCO 1993, *Trends and Projections of Enrolment by Level of Education by Age and by Sex* 1960-2025, p.15)

Herz et al. (1991) claim that demand-side factors have been important in primary and secondary enrolment, while in tertiary education Subbaro et al. (1994) claim that supply-side constraints have been critical in improving gender parity. This difference could be explained by the fact that in primary and secondary education, economic or cultural constraints on families and societies prevent schooling, while in higher education limited places and a limited choice of courses available prevent female students from continuing their education. Subbaro et al. (1994) have observed the complex mechanism of

restrictions which is influenced by various social factors and labour market constraints. They consider that restrictions are more complex in higher education where low secondary enrolment rate, high direct costs and cultural restrictions interact with one another. Their analysis concludes that educational statistics on enrolment, drop-outs and completion rates by gender at all levels of education are necessary for the effective implementation of gender related programmes.

i) Rural-urban Disparities

The gender gap in literacy is amplified by rural-urban disparities. From an analysis of youth in 14 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Ballara (1992) concludes that the rate of literate women is much lower in rural areas than urban areas. The gender gap in access to education is also strongly influenced by rural-urban disparities. Girls in rural areas are less likely to be enrolled in school and more likely to drop out than their counterparts in urban areas, which has been attributed to a number of rural-specific characteristics, such as traditional child rearing practices, economic roles and poverty (Ghana, NCWAD 1994).

Achievement in school also shows a gender gap, and this is further amplified by rural-urban disparities. Warwick and Jatoi (1994) show gender gap in mathematics scores in fourth and fifth grades in Pakistan. While boys do much better than girls in rural schools, in urban schools, girls score slightly above the boys.

ii) Attitude of Parents and Teachers

Female participation in education is influenced by parents' aspirations which are sometimes much higher for sons than for daughters. As a result, they tend to choose or prefer to educate their sons. At school, girls are expected to be shy and submissive. Davison and Kanyuka (1992:457) observe, "Attitudes that reflect the gender-structuring process are equally present at home and school, serving to circumscribe the opportunities that girls in comparison to boys have for education".

Fuller et al. (1994) observe that it is not really known whether teachers' treatment of girls is different from that of boys, because of the lack of empirical data such as classroom observation in the study of gender and education in developing countries. Initial research in North America found that girls receive unfavourable treatment through teachers' interaction in the classroom, i.e. girls tend to speak less frequently and be asked fewer questions, and tend to be interrupted more often while they are talking, but considerable variation is also reported.

b) Sub-Saharan Africa

Sub-Saharan Africa has lower female participation in education than other regions although there is a substantial variation among countries.[3] Since the 1960s, a remarkable growth in enrolment has been observed. Nevertheless, the significant gender gap in the enrolment ratio persists. Table 4-5 shows the aggregate female participation in education in the region.

Table 4-5: Female Participation in Education in Sub-Saharan Africa

Indicator	Female Rate	Gender Ratio
Primary Admission Rate	76%	0.88
Gross Primary Enrolment Ratio	63%	0.77
Persistence to Grade 4	83%	0.99
Primary Completion Rate	36%	0.81
Continuation Rate from Primary to Secondary	41%	0.92
Gross Secondary Enrolment Ratio	11%	0.50
Secondary Completion Rate	18%	0.64
Female Teachers as % of Total:		
Primary	34%	
Secondary	22%	
Mean Years of Schooling	0.8	0.40
Adult Literary Rate	30%	0.57
Labour Force Participation Rate	32%	0.63

(from Hartnett and Heneveld 1993)

The analysis by Hartnett and Heneveld (1993) shows disadvantaged participation throughout first and second level education. A close examination of the data reveals that the admission rate in primary school differs but, once enrolled, girls complete grade 4, the level of schooling presumed to have established literacy, at a comparable rate with boys (0.99). However, the primary school completion rate shows a greater difference (0.81). The continuation rate from primary to secondary has a relatively small difference (0.92) but the completion rate is much lower among female students than male students (0.64). The gender gap accelerates up the grades and at tertiary level, and the gross enrolment demonstrates the largest gap (0.22). These results are reflected in mean years of schooling, adult literacy rates and labour force participation in the formal sector.

Numerous studies show that girls are disadvantaged in terms of school retention. High rates of examination failure, repetition and drop-out are reported to be more evident among girls (Dorsey et al. 1989, Mbilinyi and Mbughuni 1991, Hyde 1993, Adams and Kruppenbach 1987). This leads to a smaller chance of participation in the labour market. In Cote d'Ivoire, the low level of labour participation among women used to be attributed to child-rearing and other family obligations. However, the recent survey data show that it is more closely related to low levels of education. Wages and choice of work are both limited for the less educated (Appleton et al. 1990), implying women are disadvantaged and less educated women are more disadvantaged. Even when women receive education, the benefit is not equal. Female students do not benefit from schooling as much as their male counterparts in terms of employment. In Zimbabwe, among secondary school graduates with the same number of passes in their examination results, a consistently higher percentage of male students were engaged in wage employment than female students (Bennell and Ncube 1994).

Enrolment statistics from Ghana show a strong gender imbalance. Figure 4-1 shows the retention of one cohort through the nine year basic education. The gradual decline in the number of students widens the gender gap. Girls' enrolment is constantly lower than boys' and the drop-out rate among girls is higher than the rate among boys.

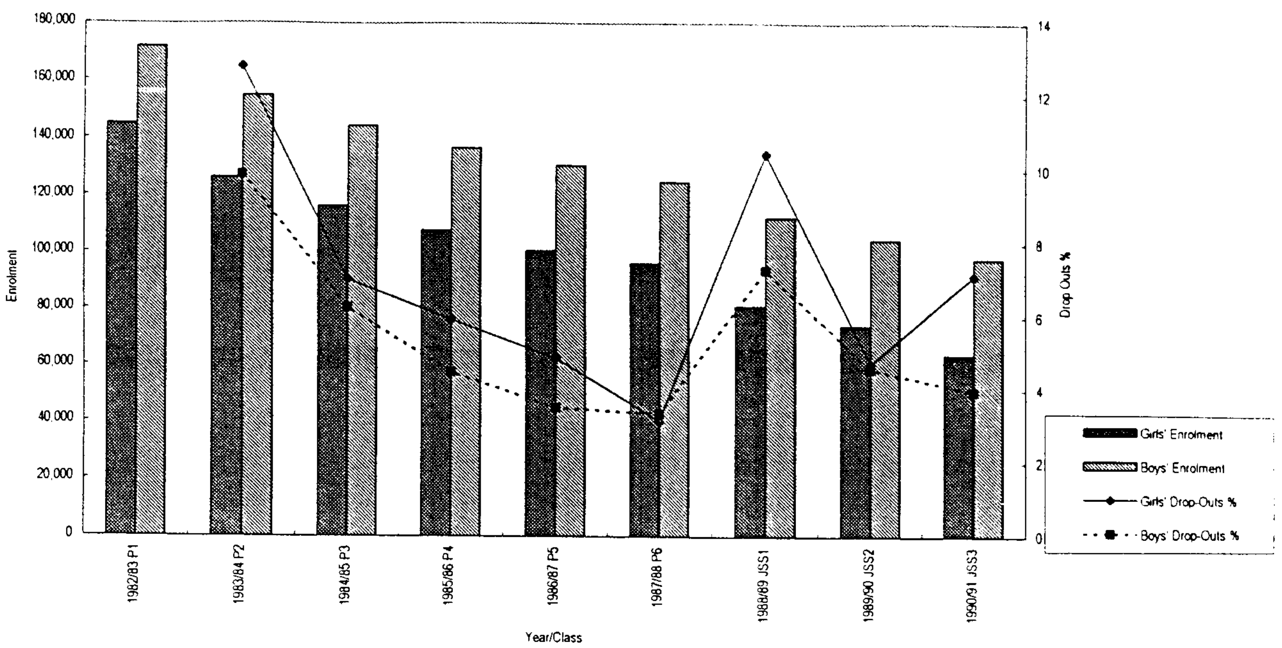

Figure 4-1: Retention in Basic Education: Primary and JSS by Gender 1982/83 - 1990/91 (Ghana NCWAD 1994)

Table 4-6 shows the completion rates in JSS for the cohorts of 1987/88 to 1990/91. This is a gender disaggregation from Table 2-7 in Chapter 2. Although the completion rates improve over the years, a gender gap still remains. A smaller number of girls than boys enter JSS1, and the completion rates among female students is lower.

Table 4-6: Completion Rates in JSS for the Cohorts of 1987/88 to 1990/91 by Gender

	sex	intake in JSS1	the number who sat BECE	completion rate
cohort of 1987/88	male	105,138	75,963	72.25%
	female	75,717	51,590	68.14%
cohort of 1988/89	male	112,239	88,799	79.12%
	female	80,840	58,262	72.07%
cohort of 1989/90	male	115,488	100,143	86.71%
	female	85,053	64,810	76.20%
cohort of 1990/91	male	127,132	108,980	85.72%
	female	91,323	72,778	79.69%

(calculated from: enrolment statistics from Ministry of Education and WAEC)

Table 4-7 shows the BECE results according to gender. It also shows a gender gap in educational performance. Although improving every year, the number of female students with high marks is lower than that of male students. Moreover, the actual number of passes shows vast differences. In 1993, the number of female students who received the best grade range (6-11) was 5,128 compared with 10,693 males. The female students thus numbered less than half of the male students in the same grade range. Duncan (1989) observes in her study in Botswana and elsewhere, the disparity is most evident in science subjects.

Table 4-7: BECE Results by Gender

grade range	1990		1991		1992		1993	
	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
6-11	8,216 (10.82%)	2,857 (5.54%)	8,132 (9.16%)	3,301 (5.67%)	9,969 (9.95%)	4,079 (6.29%)	10,693 (9.81%)	5,128 (8.70%)
12-17	12,290 (16.18%)	5,666 (10.98%)	12,592 (14.18%)	5,920 (10.16%)	14,868 (14.85%)	6,833 (10.54%)	14,815 (13.59%)	7,851 (12.47%)
18-23	15,984 (21.04%)	9,245 (17.92%)	17,822 (20.07%)	9,811 (16.94%)	20,042 (20.01%)	11,302 (17.44%)	20,767 (19.06%)	11,916 (17.98%)
24-35	27,846 (36.65%)	22,361 (43.34%)	34,889 (39.39%)	24,997 (42.90%)	39,392 (39.34%)	28,079 (43.33%)	45,454 (41.71%)	32,617 (42.95%)
over 36	11,627 (15.31%)	11,461 (22.22%)	15,364 (17.30%)	14,233 (24.43%)	15,872 (15.85%)	14,517 (22.40%)	17,251 (15.83%)	15,266 (17.89%)
total	75,963 (100.0%)	51,590 (100.0%)	88,799 (100.0%)	58,262 (100.0%)	100,143 (100.0%)	64,810 (100.0%)	108,980 (100.0%)	72,778 (100.0%)

(calculated from WAEC data)

4.3.4 International Intervention in Female Education

Recognition of the beneficial effects of female education and the existence of these gender gaps in low income countries has led to the intervention of development agencies. Publications from the World Bank in the 1980s show this recognition, and describe numerous projects where female education features either as a direct objective or as an incorporated element. Bilateral donors also have adopted a similar view. For example, an ODA document on Women in Development specifies four main objectives, namely enhancement of legal rights, access to planning public services, increased social status and

access to education. Access to education is vital for development, the document argues:

> Limited access to basic education and in particular to literacy not only lowers women's status but also hinders their effectiveness in achieving improvements in health, agriculture, family planning and nutrition for their own families and for the community. The ability to understand information is fundamental to development (ODA 1992:3).

The USAID programme responses recognised three strategies to be adopted:
1) innovative measures to increase access, 2) culturally appropriate schools, and
3) measures to facilitate girls' learning (Tietjen 1991).

At first, a 'gender-neutral' approach was taken in order to increase women's access to education. However, these gender-neutral approaches were questioned in terms of the recognition that access to education among women lags behind that of males even when overall access is increased. The gap continues to exist even when the overall access is increased. This situation has led to gender specific and gender related projects and programmes.

> After actively discriminating policies have set inequalities in motion, sex-neutral policies are sufficient to maintain established patterns. Thus the educational gap continues, as does the clustering of women in low-paid service occupations (Kelly and Elliot 1982:336).

The argument here is that, once the disparities exist, only specific women-focused projects are able to improve the situation. This idea promoted a large number of 'women's projects' to help the disadvantaged women in developing countries in the 1970s and 1980s. "But little substantive change occurred," Blumberg (1989:170) observes, "despite the fact that all the major development 'donor agencies' soon adopted policies proclaiming their commitment to what soon became known (least controversially) as 'Women in Development'". These projects typically concentrated on increasing women's income by additional economic activities. The criticisms are that these activities placed an added burden on already overworked rural women.

> Women in the Third World were already integrated into development; they were integrated too much. WID projects added more work onto their shoulders, without alleviating their other responsibilities in production (Mbilinyi 1992:48).

Some argue that access alone is not enough. The situation must be "understood as clusters of economic, institutional, and ideological relations that shape and are shaped by power relations in the national and international sphere" (Bourque and Warren 1990:100).

Buvinić (1986:653) critically analyses the failure of women-specific projects by asserting that "project misbehaviour and the prevalence of welfare intervention" were evident in many of these projects. These projects typically adopted welfare-related activities, and activities which are conventionally viewed as women's, such as soap making. These marginal activities were not as effective as promoting the participation of women in mainstream economic activities.

Currently, functional adult literacy learning materials are typically drawn up in such a way that women can acquire knowledge on Maternal Child Health (MCH) and family hygiene. Although these approaches undoubtedly benefit women and their families, they could help perpetuate a traditional gender division of labour and thereby delay the emancipation of women.

The current international initiatives for cooperation and communication strongly influence development activities. The International Women's Decade "provided the 'political space' for formal 'top-down' coalitions at the supra-national level" (Moser 1993:209). Similarly, discussions on education and development are currently initiated/dominated by so-called international communities consisting of UN agencies and donors with the World Bank as their opinion leader. Their view is inevitably utilitarian and efficiency-oriented.

These 'international efforts' have long operated according to trial and error. One of the distinct problems is that they are chiefly economic and efficiency-oriented without giving enough consideration to other factors. As Hopper and Little (1994:222) state, much still has to be learnt about the issue: "We are beginning to understand the social and cultural complexities surrounding girls' participation in education and their subsequent position

in relation to work".

4.3.5 Conclusion

By now the beneficial effect of female education has been widely recognised. While the issue has a certain association with feminist perspectives, an economic orientation with a human capital concern is dominant in the literature. The gender disaggregation of the data available shows higher rates of returns to female education than that to male education. The empirical evidence based on the human capital concept justifies and validates the role of female education. However, it should be noted that, over the years, contradictory evidence has been presented and rates of returns to education of women have not always been higher than that of men.

International initiatives have been facilitated which focused their activities on female education. The current international forms of cooperation and communication strongly influence development activities. Firstly, general gender-neutral approaches were adopted and then they became more women-specific. Although the orientation of the implementation changed, the underlying idea remained the same. Women were viewed as an efficient tool for development through increasing family welfare. This view is criticised by more feminist-oriented development scholars. They demand social transformation rather than improvement within the existing social structure. Their views will be focused on in the next section.

4.4 The Issue of Gender in Development

4.4.1 Women in Development (WID)

The concept of WID has a relatively short history, with rapid changes. In the 1960s women were largely viewed from the perspective of family welfare and were virtually invisible in development planning. The 1970s witnessed the rapid expansion of WID: women became the main focus of analysis once their economic contribution had been recognised, and the basic needs approach was developed. The 1980s further consolidated

this approach. Efficiency became a key word and activities aimed at utilising women more effectively, by improving their productive capacity within the framework of the market system (Young 1993).

The concept of gender in development has developed, as has been seen. During the process of integrating and later attempting to place women in the mainstream, a number of concerns were brought forward. Many of the assumptions and definitions were reexamined. For instance, the consequences of technology transfer to the developing countries were questioned. It was then recognised that technologies are not value-free or value-neutral (Anderson 1988). The technologies introduced did not take women into consideration, but there had been little investigation into their negative consequences on women (Boserup 1970, 1986, Bourque and Warren 1990). Appropriate technologies were advocated. The feminisation of technology was proposed for better integration of women into the process of development (Bourque and Warren 1990).

4.4.2 Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), and Gender and Development (GAD)

The term Women-in-Development (acronym WID) was first used by the Women's Committee of the Washington, D.C., Chapter of the Society for International Development, as a strategy for utilising evidence presented by Boserup's *Women's Role in Economic Development* published in 1970 (Rathgeber 1990, Moser 1993). Boserup (1970, 1986) made a systematic analysis of the division of labour in agriculture and work in towns. She showed not only disaggregation of the data but for the first time used gender as a variable in the analysis. Although her work has been criticised for its "oversimplification of the nature of women's work and roles" (Rathgeber 1990), it was the start of the recognition of women in the process of development. Women's role and contribution had not been fully recognised or incorporated into development planning and a new approach for economic growth and social justice was advocated (Overholt et al. 1984).

The concept of WID was articulated at first by American liberal feminists and the term

became "common currency both inside and outside academic settings" in the 1970s to mean the "integration of women into global processes of economic, political, and social growth and change" (Rathgeber 1990:489). The movement was facilitated by international concern with equity issues at the time (Blumberg 1989).

Later, the differentiation of the concept produced two further are acronyms, Women-and-Development (WAD) and Gender-and-Development (GAD). Rathgeber (1990) examined these concepts and extended her analysis of their influences of research, policy making and international agency thinking. WAD was derived from the socialist feminist approach and had a more critical view of women's position than WID. WID and WAD were both influenced by modernisation and dependency theorists, and their common weakness is the utilisation of exclusively economic or political-economy analyses. GAD emerged in the 1980s as an alternative to WID. GAD's approach focuses on the totality of social organisation, economic and political life, and recognises women as agents of change with an emphasis on empowerment and female solidarity (Rathgeber 1990:492-4). Although GAD's approach is considered more advanced and favourable, it is rarely found in current projects (Rathgeber 1990, Moser 1993). WID has been accepted and used both in the research and implementation of projects, while WAD is seldom used. WID has been used in general terms often encompassing ideas expressed as WAD or GAD. In the following section, the term WID will be used to encompass the wider meaning.

4.4.3 Different Approaches Applied in Development

Policy approaches have shifted in the course of the last four decades. 'Welfare', 'equity' and 'anti-poverty' were recognised and systematically analyzed by Buvinić (1983). Moser (1989, 1993) analyzed five aspects of orientation adding 'efficiency' and 'empowerment'. These shifts mirrored general shifts in development policies, "from modernisation policies of accelerated growth, through basic needs strategies associated with redistribution, to the more recent compensatory measures associated with structural adjustment policies" (Moser 1989:1807).

A welfare approach is a humanistic approach whereby women are given additional welfare

for the benefit of themselves and society. Moser (1989) and others question the assumptions whereby women are regarded as passive recipients of development, where the stress is on motherhood and child rearing as the most important role for women in society.

An equity approach could be described as an original WID approach, whereby a more favourable climate for improving women's options in development was sought (Maguire 1984). The implementation has been criticised for its top-down and legislative measures (Moser 1989:1811). There is no women's initiative and women remain recipients, as in the welfare approach.

An anti-poverty approach was introduced as compensation for the negative effect of structural adjustment approaches. This targeted women as the most vulnerable group and aimed at increasing the productivity of women's economic activities. The problem was that it did not increase women's productivity (Buvinić 1986). Moser (1989) questions the planning stage of these projects where the viability of such activities was not rigorously examined; in addition, these income generating activities extended women's working hours without alleviating domestic labour (Moser 1989).

The efficiency approach is currently the predominant approach within a WID framework. It is derived from the economic concern that the non-recognition of women means wasting half of human resources. The WID approach has reverted to efficiency.

> When the development policy pendulum swung from equity to economic efficiency in the early 1980s, the case for paying attention to women and for disaggregating all development data by gender had to be made anew on economic grounds (Blumberg 1989:170).

The efficiency approach has been criticised for its functionalist view of women. As in other approaches, women are identified as playing useful roles in development and they are given 'top-down' directives. Women are still being viewed as a tool to encourage economic development along the lines of the existing social and economic system.

4.4.4 Gender Planning

In analysing feminist theories, Fägerlind and Saha (1989:171) remark, "none of the dominant theoretical approaches takes into account various forms of resistance to gender inequality and male dominance or forms of female power in otherwise male dominated society." The gender planning approach responds partly to this statement, and seeks to solve the problem by empowerment.

Molyneux (1985) points out that gender issues are not necessarily always women's issues. Gender planning cannot be free from acute class conflict, differences in race, ethnic groups and nationality. She articulated "the false homogeneity imposed by the notion of women's interests" (Molyneux 1985:232) and differentiated between women's interests and more specific gender interests. Gender interests are further divided into strategic gender interests and practical gender interests. The former address women's emancipation or gender equality while the latter respond to an immediate perceived need. Her analysis contributed to the stratification of women's interests.

Molyneux's framework was further developed by Moser into "gender planning, which identifies different needs of women derived from different roles men and women play in Third World societies" (Moser 1989). This view provided both the conceptual framework and practical tools for assimilating gender into planning. The recognition of the fact that women and men have different roles in society as well as the identification of the triple role of women, i.e. reproductive, productive and community management work, should have important implications for policy makers. Reproductive and community managing work have not been valued, and only productive work has been considered important. Structural adjustment policies' narrow definition of economics was criticised from this perspective. It includes only marketed goods and services but excludes women's reproductive work, such as bearing and raising the next generation (Moser 1989, Elson 1991).

The most notable contribution of Moser's work is to differentiate the needs of women into strategic gender needs and practical gender needs. Strategic gender needs stem from the gender inequality existing in society, and the underlying thinking is akin to the radical

feminism perspective. Strategic gender needs designate women's " 'real' interests" and are essential for emancipation and empowerment (Molyneux 1985, Moser 1993).

> Strategic gender needs are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society. Strategic gender needs vary according to particular contexts. . . Meeting strategic gender needs help women to achieve greater equality. It also changes existing roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate position aspiring for emancipation and empowerment (Moser 1993:39).

Practical gender needs, on the other hand, are more functional. They are practical in nature. They do not challenge the subordinate position of women in society, and do not lead to emancipation or gender equality like strategic gender needs, but deal with more immediate needs in everyday life, such as water provision, health care and employment.

> Practical gender needs are the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society. Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender divisions of labour or women's subordinate position in society, although rising out of them. Practical gender needs are a response to an immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context (Moser 1993:40).

Moser states that the differentiation of gender needs is a useful tool for planners. Gender planning is political and technical in nature. This dual nature is represented in strategic gender needs and practical gender needs. Some of the criticism of gender planning targets its generalisation and difficulties in application. Firstly, developing countries are diverse in their political, economic, cultural and religious characteristics. Therefore, it is not possible to generalise about the situation and employ one approach everywhere. It is difficult to argue in terms of the 'Third World' in general. Furthermore, diversities exist even within a single country. Secondly, gender planning is difficult to apply. As the empowerment approach emphasizes grass-roots organisation and denounces a government/donor initiated 'top-down' approach, there is a technical difficulty about governments/donors initiating such activities.

Gender planning strategies value women's organisations, stressing women's solidarity. Schooling and formal education are seldom referred to as a means for empowerment.

Instead, conventional education is often viewed as a false focus for changing women's relation to technology. The underlying notion here is that the educational systems tend to reflect the existing cultural bias and values of the societies which support male dominance in technology (Bourque and Warren 1990). However, a framework of gender needs can be utilised to clarify needs perceived in education. Table 4-8 shows the concept of gender needs applied in education and development.

Table 4-8: Gender Needs in Education and Development

	strategic gender needs	practical gender needs
school	-women's status at school -curriculum -choice of courses available	-access to education -distance from home to school -timetable -reasonable user fees -quality of education -female teachers
community/ family	-women's status in the community -women's status in the family	-economic capacity -household chores reduced for girls

Strategic and practical gender needs can be described as prerequisites for each other, and the emancipation of females in education can be achieved through the process of addressing particular needs at appropriate times in order to achieve further objectives. For instance, the improvement in economy in a certain area might make the people more willing to send their daughters to school, which may lead to change education policy in the direction of making a wider choice of courses available for female students.

4.5 Conclusion

The incorporation of the concept of gender in the development discourse is a relatively new phenomenon. The idea of 'women' as a distinctive rather than residual category made its appearance in development thinking in the 1970s. In the 1960s and 1970s a climate of liberal ideas emerged and this made the world more receptive to ideas like those of Boserup. Recognition of the role of women in economic development was a notable accomplishment in the discourse of development, since the argument could be described

as bridging feminist perspectives and development, even though the feminist perspective used was that of liberal feminism, and more conservative than others.

Feminist perspectives, corresponding to a number of major social theories, are useful tools for critically examining gender inequalities in education. While liberal feminism perceives both the school and the state as positive agents, socialist and radical feminism do not, and aim for a more fundamental transformation of society. Naturally, it was liberal feminism, the most conservative perspective, that was taken as a basis for the WID approach initiated by development agencies.

The current feminist perspectives fail to deal with the rural-urban as well as low-high income group disparities, phenomena which are very significant in many developing countries. The UN decade for women was a crossroads where the gender concerns articulated in the north and the south met and communicated. Mexico City 1975, Nairobi 1985, and Beijing 1995 were not only memorable occasions but also places where gender perspectives were exchanged. At that time, the discrepancies between the north and the south became apparent, and efforts were made to incorporate ideas and perspectives from both sides. This had the effect of raising international awareness on the issue, but also of providing political space for a top-down approach from the north to the south.

The WID approach has been translated into a series of development objectives, namely welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency, and empowerment. Gender planning emerged from the critical review of these objectives. The former four had top-down characteristics whereby women were perceived as mere tools rather than active agents to achieve the outcome of emancipation for themselves. Therefore, gender planning adopts an empowerment approach.

Gender planning differentiates gender needs from women's needs, and gender needs are further divided into strategic gender needs and practical gender needs. While the latter deal with more immediate issues perceived by women themselves, the former aim at the more fundamental issue of the emancipation of women. Such a framework is useful in clarifying gender needs in education and development, for these two kinds of needs are

essential for achieving gender equality in education.

The contribution of gender to the field of education and development should not be ignored. First of all it is helpful in analysing the nature of inequalities, and secondly it has changed women's perceived role from that of recipients of welfare to active agents for transformation, and finally it has clarified the issue of north-south relations in academic thinking. Studies in both gender and education should be academic as well as practical, and therefore they should continue to be in touch with the gender reality and the educational reality in order to further productive research. The two fields are likely to enrich each other as long as forthright dialogue continues.

5 Research Questions and Propositions, Research Methods, and Field Methods

5.1 Introduction

Chapters 3 and 4 reviewed the studies on drop-out and the issue of gender in education and development. In this chapter, I will discuss research questions and propositions arising from the literature review. Issues concerning research methods in social science will be discussed; the discussion of epistemological issues in research methods will justify the field methods used for the current study. First, different paradigms of educational research will be mapped out within the larger framework of social theories. Then qualitative and quantitative approaches will be analysed. The examination of research methods will disclose the merits and disadvantages of each. In order to maximise the benefits of different methods and reduce the disadvantages, method triangulation is an option. It is particularly profitable in researching education in developing societies, when the focus is on relatively small social units.

5.2 Research Questions and Propositions

From the review of previous research on drop-out, drop-out factors can be broadly categorised as 1) student- and home-related 2) school- and school-system-related. In the studies reviewed above, student- and home-factors have been extensively researched; student-factors such as gender, academic achievement, age, and home-factors such as economic status, have been established as major influences. Few studies, however, report the actual process of dropping out. Therefore, the thesis aims to establish such processes from the subjective accounts of drop-outs themselves, as well as from official attendance records and other people's observations. This thesis also attempts to investigate the consequences of dropping out, focusing on the subsequent activities in which drop-outs are engaged, and on drop-outs' aspirations. The study also focuses on expected gender differences in the various aspects of dropping out.

5.2.1 Questions

Four broad questions were formulated to guide the empirical part of the thesis. They address: 1) the relationship between drop-out rates and school characteristics, 2) the factors causing students to leave, including both student- and school-factors, 3) the actual process of students' leaving school, and 4) the subsequent activities drop-outs are engaged in.

The review of previous studies revealed a number of factors influencing drop-out. The process of dropping out of school might reveal how these factors influence a student to leave school. The process of dropping out might be more complex than the surface factors associated with it may suggest, and analysis of the process might facilitate a better understanding of the problem.

1. What is the relationship between drop-out rates and school characteristics of JSS in the K.E.E.A. district?

2. What are the factors causing students to drop out?

3. What are the processes of dropping out?

4. What are the consequences of dropping out?

5.2.2 Propositions

a) Main Proposition

The review of previous studies unearthed a number of school- and school-system-related factors. Difference in drop-out rates among schools might be associated with such factors. The first main proposition reads as follows:

A. There is some variation among schools in the rate of student drop-out. This variation is associated with school characteristics.

The review of previous studies revealed gender, age, economic status, academic performance as the major factors reported. The current study will investigate whether there are any other factors are present when these previously proven factors controlled. The second proposition reads as follows:

B. Drop-outs and stay-ins display some differences when age, gender, economic status and academic background are controlled.

In previous studies, gender was recognised to have a effect amplifying other factors. Examination of the process of dropping out might shed more light on gender factors. In addition, drop-outs' subsequent activities and prospects might display gender related differences.

C. Gender differences may be observed in the process of dropping out, students' subsequent activities, and prospects.

b) Sub Propositions

The following sub-propositions were also examined;

In relation to the main proposition A,

A-1 Within the district, schools display different drop-out rates.

A-2 A gender gap is observed in the rates of drop-out.

A-3 All the forms of 'wastage' in education, namely low academic achievement, repetition and drop-out, tend to occur concurrently. Drop-out is often the end-product of the other two forms.

A-4 School factors, such as type of school, school location, enrolment, qualification of teachers, teacher-pupil ratio, and school facilities, have some association with the rates of drop-out.

In relation to the main proposition B, the following differences might be observed between drop-outs and stay-ins:

B-1 family composition: this includes factors such as number of siblings, sibling order, adult family members' vocational and educational background, and support from the adult family members.

B-2 school experience: this includes their experience of repetition, opinions of school subjects, their views on JSS education.

In relation to the main proposition C,

C-1 Gender differences are observed in the processes of dropping out.

C-2 The subsequent activities in which drop-outs are engaged vary. Gender differences may be observed in such activities.

C-3 Gender differences may be observed in the future prospects of drop-outs.

5.3 Choosing Research Methods: Epistemological Issues

5.3.1 Paradigms in Educational Research

a) Sociological Paradigms

When human beings engage in some forms of inquiry, such as solving problems, they follow a set of rules. "Systematic inquiry in a scholarly field of study is guided by a set of agreed upon concepts, procedures, and standards of judgements shared by a group of researchers" (Soltis, 1992:620). Kuhn defines the concept of paradigm in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* as a general pattern of inquiry which provides guidelines for research;

> Men whose research is based on shared paradigms are committed to the same rules and standards for scientific practice. That commitment and the apparent consensus it produces are prerequisites for normal science, i.e., for the genesis and continuation of a particular research tradition (Kuhn 1962:11).

Such different sets of rules exist even within the discipline of social science. Soltis (1989) suggests that there are three major paradigms in contemporary educational research: positivist, interpretivist and critical theorist. The first is commonly associated with an 'objective' and quantitative approach, the second with a subjective and qualitative approach, and the third contains a strong political orientation.

Burrell and Morgan (1979) present a model with which to analyse approaches in two key dimensions of the subjective-objective and radical change-regulation dichotomies, as shown in Figure 5-1. Both positivist and interpretivist paradigms are placed within the sociology of regulation; the former has an objective orientation and the latter a subjective one. The critical theorist paradigm is placed in the domain of the sociology of radical change with a moderate subjective orientation.

The Sociology of Radical change

Subjective			Objective
	Radical humanism **Critical theorist**	Radical structuralism	
	Interpretive sociology **Interpretivist (Anti-positivist)**	Functionalist sociology **Positivist**	

The Sociology of Regulation

Figure 5-1: Three Main Paradigms of Educational Research Mapped on Burrell and Morgan's Paradigms for the Analysis of Social Theory (Burrell & Morgan 1979:22)

Positivist research aims to find causal relationships, and its method of investigation modeled on those of the natural sciences. The objective of such research is to produce a generalisable scientific outcome. The 'objective' knowledge obtained is often intended to be used for the betterment of educational practice and policy making.

Interpretivist or anti-positivist research rejects the idea of objective knowledge and focuses on particular situations and contextualised units, such as educational practice in one specific school or classroom. The knowledge obtained might be applied but not necessarily in the same way as positivist research aspires to be applied. Results in this research are described as non-generalisable and relativisitc.

While the first two paradigms can be placed within the framework of traditional social science research, where researchers are considered to be neutral, objective and value free, the third paradigm, that of the critical theorists, is different. It asserts that "the role of researcher should include an obligation to be critical of educational practices that reproduce inequalities based on race, gender and class" (Soltis, 1992:621). The most renowned study using this approach was completed by Bowles and Gintis (1976) in which

they argue that schools function to maintain a capitalist society by reproducing and perpetuating inequality. This was followed by other studies on the 'hidden curriculum' where indirect instruction is seen to reproduce existing social classes (Giroux 1981, Apple 1979). Lynch's study (1989) also pointed out the complex mechanisms of the reproduction of inequalities by analysing the role played by educational mediators, such as churches, teachers' unions, and parents' organisations. These studies are often associated with neo-Marxist theories. They are also closely related to the approach initiated by Freire, which criticises the traditional social science approach as reactionary because "by declaring itself neutral or value-free, traditional science is both failing to consider the subjectivity of the searcher as well as hiding his engagement with ruling class ideology" (Girardi 1993:62).

It should be pointed out, however, that the methods utilised for data collection for the critical theorists are mainly categorised in terms of the existing framework of qualitative and quantitative approaches, which is embedded in the subjective-objective continuum. Social scientists continue to be engaged in the "debate about the nature and differences between these two approaches to social research" (Bryman 1992), but more recent researchers warn of the danger of overemphasising the dichotomy (Lewin 1990). In the following section, quantitative and qualitative research methods will be further discussed.

b) Quantitative Approach

In sociology and psychology quantitative methods represented by surveys and experiments established a dominant position by the 1940s and 1950s (Hammersley 1992). Quantitative research is derived from the objectivist approach to social science. This perspective stems from the view which considers that the social world parallels the natural world, and this leads to research methods akin to those of the natural sciences. The logic and procedures of the natural sciences are applied and terms and concepts such as variables, control, measurement and experiment are used (Cohen and Manion 1994:7).

> Investigators adopting an objectivist (or positivist) approach to the social world and who treat it like the world of natural phenomena as being hard, real and external to the individual will choose from a range of traditional options - surveys, experiments, and the like.

Quantitative research tends to have a logical structure in which researchers test hypotheses derived from social theories. The collected data are then analysed in order to examine the possibility of causal connection by verifying or rejecting hypotheses. Figure 5-2 illustrates the process normally taken. The process is rational and linear (Bryman 1988).

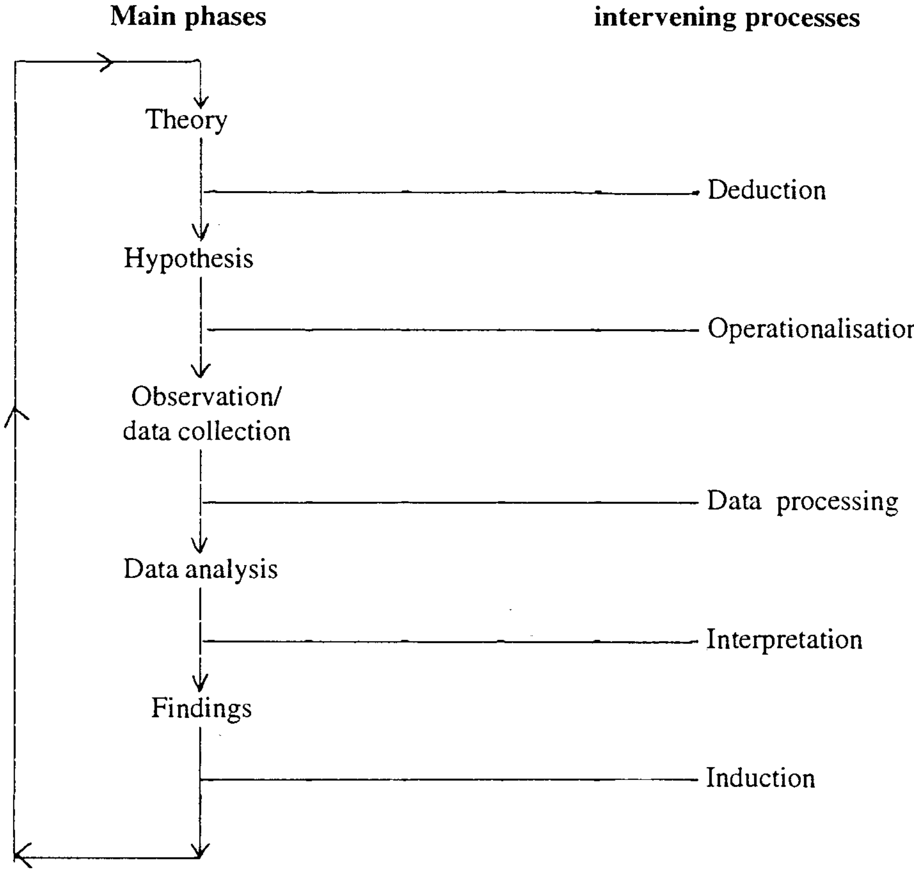

Figure 5-2: The Logical Structure of the Quantitative Research Process
(Bryman 1988:20)

A number of problems arise with this model. Firstly, while the model is clearly theory driven, the procedures do not necessarily reflect the theory. In data collection methods are not necessarily selected through theoretical considerations (Martin 1981) but often other factors, such as limited resources and time, and the researchers' aptitude for a particular method, tend to have a more dominant role in deciding the method. A second problem relates to more practical matters. Quantitative research often does not follow clear linear programmes, as the actual research process itself can be far more untidy (Bell and Newby 1977). Moreover, the model provides an overall framework but does not guide researchers at the operational level in terms of how to conduct research. However, the model is still a dominant one within social science research and is widely used even in research with a qualitative orientation, which confirms the authority of this model.

Quantitative research includes methods such as experimental investigations and social surveys. The results obtained are normally subjected to rigorous statistical tests, such as those found in correlational research. Experiments show a direct influence from the tradition of natural science where conditions are deliberately controlled. However, in the field of education, the majority of studies are 'quasi-experimental' rather than experimental, because the investigation is done with groups "constituted by means other than random selection" (Cohen & Manion 1994:164).

Quantitative research is typically characterised by the social survey. In the field of education, the social survey is one of the most common methods of data collection.

> The survey's capacity for generating quantifiable data on large numbers of people who are known to be representative of a wider population in order to test theories or hypotheses has been viewed by many practitioners as a mean of capturing many of the ingredients of a science . . . Most survey research is based on an underlying research design which is called 'correlational' or 'cross-sectional'. This means that data are collected on a cross-section of people at a single point in time in order to discover the ways and degrees to which variables relate to each other (Bryman 1988:11).

Hall (1975) criticises the survey method as producing an over-simplified social reality. Scholars who advocate participatory research criticise the social survey method, on the grounds that the subjects are seen as incapable of articulating their own opinions (Kassan 1981), as the surveys request subjects merely to respond to predetermined questions.

Quantitative methods focus on the generalisability of results and the transferability of methods, both of which are characteristics of the natural science orientation. It is, however, a researcher's obligation to document clearly the methods used, as well as the rationale for adopting such methods. This is closely associated with the validity and reliability of data collected.

While qualitative research has become more common than before, some argue that quantitative research still occupies the dominant position in scholarly inquiry in social science (Brannen 1992) . Quantitative methods are used in implementation-oriented research studies, such as for formulating policies, planning interventions and evaluating these activities. Secondary data, such as educational statistics, are commonly used when education and development issues are discussed, despite the fact that they are often criticised for inaccuracy and unreliability. Serial publications by international agencies, such as the World Development Report (World Bank) and UNESCO Statistical Yearbook are often used as convenient sources for national statistical data. They should be used with a critical eye (Peil with Mitchell and Rimmer 1982:49-58) as these statistical data can be unreliable where the demographic and educational statistics are not accurately compiled at the national level.

Bryman (1988) summarises existing criticisms of quantitative research and concludes that the weaknesses in quantitative research brought about the rise of the qualitative approach:

> Positivism and a broad commitment to mimicking the natural sciences is clearly in evidence, and it is precisely to this flirtation that the proponents of qualitative research have taken exception over the years (Bryman 1988:42).

In summary, criticisms of quantitative research tend to come from the perspective of subjective orientation towards the investigation of social reality. Although most of the criticisms are justly made and portray the weaknesses and limitations of the quantitative approach, this does not justify abandoning or replacing quantitative research with alternative methods. In reality, qualitative research often relies on the results obtained in quantitative research as a yardstick for its selection of cases and criterion for its analyses (Brannen 1992). Moreover, much of the current criticism of quantitative approaches is in terms of its hidden subjectivity. For instance, standardisation of data collection instruments and procedures have certain limitations. It is people (researchers) who administer these standardised tools and procedures, and therefore it is not possible to standardise all aspects of their interaction.

c) Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is derived from a subjectivist approach to social science. In Burrell and Morgan's scheme (1979), it assumes nominalism in ontology, anti-positivism in epistemology and voluntarism in human nature. The method derived from this perspective has idiographic characteristics as described in Cohen and Manion (1994:7):

> Others favouring the more subjectivist (or anti-positivist) approach and who view the social world as being of a much softer personal and humanly-created kind will select from a comparable range of recent and emerging techniques - accounts, participant observation and personal constructs, for example.

In recent years a growing interest in qualitative research has been observed. Although qualitative research techniques, such as participant observation and unstructured interviews, have been widely used in the field of educational research, they have a relatively short history. These techniques were first developed in the field of anthropology this century (Vulliamy 1990). These 'new' techniques were first adopted by Malinowski at the beginning of the twentieth century in place of existing data collection methods. Until the 1920s social anthropology was an 'armchair' discipline (Burrell and Morgan 1979:50) where "many anthropologists relied on explorers, traders, missionaries and government officials for accounts of the peoples they studied . . . Each of these groups

had a vested interest to 'change' the people among whom they worked", so they could not be free from bias (Burgess 1984:12). This approach to 'field study' involved working from the missionary or government officials' verandah:

> In these circumstances, researchers summoned individuals to the veranda where they were treated as specimens to be measured, photographed and questioned for several hours about their language and customs. The result was that the day-to-day lives of the people were largely ignored and few if any first-hand observations were made (Burgess 1984:12).

At that time these research techniques were strongly influenced by researchers' views towards the people researched. These anthropologists considered the people researched socially inferior, primitive, childish and savage (Wax and Cassell 1979, Burgess 1984). The judgemental attitude was a result of their lack of first hand information and direct observation, and this attitude further kept them from having direct contact with the people. In contrast, Malinowski practised 'getting involved' and 'direct observation' in his work in the Trobriand Islands, where he observed the people at work, went to sail with them, and observed them fishing, trading and working. In his fieldwork, Malinowski attempted "to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realise his vision of his world" (Malinowski 1922 in Burgess 1984:13).

The field methods which had been initiated by Malinowski were later applied in social anthropology to the study of so-called complex societies, where researchers such as Gluckman and Frankenberg researched communities, factories and then schools in Britain (Burgess 1984).

In USA about the same time, the Chicago School of sociology also advocated similar interpretive views, which emphasised participant observation and involvement with the target of study. Shortly before and after World War I, certain parts of the USA such as Chicago witnessed immense changes in social conditions, such as industrialisation, urbanisation and influx of immigrants. W.I. Thomas and Robert Park, strongly influenced by German idealism and phenomenology, emphasised that the only way to study such

situations was by empirical investigation. At first the approach was criticised as neglecting sociological theory and standing for "mindless empiricism" (Coser, 1972:70). In the 1920s and 1930s, there was a dispute between those who promoted statistical methods and those who advocated case studies, a dispute along the line of the quantitative-qualitative dichotomy (Hammersley 1992). The approach advocated by the Chicago School became prominent in the USA (Blumer 1980, Faris 1967). It was associated with the notion of symbolic interaction, and it experienced renewed interest in the 1960s.

The most salient characteristic of their approach is the attention given to the perspectives of those researched. Studies carried out within the tradition of symbolic interaction use narrative accounts as important data. Goffman's (1964) study on stigma uses narrative description of people's disclosure of their stigmatised experiences. In his study of alcoholics Denzin (1987) also uses narrative accounts of alcoholics themselves. This interpretive approach is useful in educational research as it aims at depicting students', parents' and teachers' perspectives in depth, as well as processes of school activities and social interaction which is difficult to obtain from social surveys and experiments.

Some qualitatively oriented researchers in the interpretive tradition categorise themselves as logical positivists rather than anti-positivists (Denzin 1989). Their claim is to have "a set of valid and verifiable methods for capturing these social relationships and their causes" (Miles and Huberman 1984:20), an approach similar to that adopted in quantitative research (see Figure 5-1).

Sometimes, the decision to conduct qualitative research stems from the resources available rather than purely theoretical considerations. Although rarely documented, some researchers choose a qualitative approach because of the nature of the available resources and their own aptitudes rather than from genuinely epistemological considerations. Vulliamy (1990:5) also warns that a growing interest in qualitative approaches should not result from assuming that they are a 'soft option' or as an escape from the mastery of the statistical techniques required in quantitative methods. On the contrary, as Hammersley (1992:43) observes:

> The attempt to make any part of the picture more precise necessarily tends to reduce the width of focus that is possible. The researcher must judge whether the benefits of this outweigh the costs, and sometimes they will not.

In recent years there has been a growing research interest in the ethnography of schooling (Miles and Huberman 1984) and a difference between European and American school ethnography is observed. European studies tend to be carried out by sociologists while American research is primarily done by applied anthropologists. Despite a tradition of sociology originating from Chicago early this century, little research in the field of education in USA has been carried out by people within the tradition of the Chicago school (Miles and Huberman 1984). In the field of education and development, relatively few studies with an ethnographic orientation exist (Serpell 1993).

In addition to participant observation and unstructured interviews, focus-group discussion (Khan and Manderson 1992, Varkenisser et al. 1991) is also characteristic of qualitative research. It is a method used to record a discussion in which a number of people are involved. When certain rules are observed and participants feel free to give their opinions, it produces valuable data. It can be considered a different form of unstructured interview (Griffin 1985) with additional interaction among the participants in the discussion. The advantage of this method is that it not only highlights differences among respondents, but also allows one to observe reactions to different opinions, and to study people's further reactions, hence adding breadth to the data.

Criticisms of qualitative research arise not unexpectedly from those following an 'objectivist' point of view. They consider that it is not scientific, replicable or generalisable (Bryman 1988). However, a number of researchers with a qualitative orientation argue that they do provide verifiable methods and causes (for example Miles and Huberman 1984, Denzin 1989).

Miles and Huberman (1984) cite labour intensiveness and the lack of a common language in analysing data as major problems in qualitative research. In a study of a medical school, Becker and his colleagues produced 4000 pages of typewritten notes from their data

collection which was analysed and produced as *Boys in White* (1961). Not every researcher is able to conduct such a labour-intensive, and hence costly, operation. Moreover, summarising such a vast amount of data requires extreme care in order not to lose the essence of the qualitative research. Lack of a common procedure in qualitative research is due to its very nature. This is also related to replicability of the procedure and hence its validity. Tesch (1990:304) argues that the question of validity of qualitative data does not depend on replicable outcomes but "depends on the employment of a data 'reduction' process that leads to a result that others can accept as representing the data". Although she stresses data processing and analysis as a solution, this attempt often results in mere quantification of narrative data. A number of computer programmes available for the analysis of qualitative data could aid the summary of some aspects of data, but do not solve the problem of replicability and generalisability as data analysis does not direct the data gathering process.

In summary, the qualitative approach is becoming more common in educational research. The merit of the approach is its flexibility and the ability to grasp subjects' accounts. Disadvantages are mainly procedural, and related to its subjective standpoint and also to its lack of scientific characteristics. There are differences among those who use a qualitative approach. While some take a traditional anti-positivist approach, others use a quantitative orientation in their research procedures. This leads us to the possibility of combining the two approaches in a research study.

5.3.2 Triangulation

a) Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches

Given the strengths and weaknesses of each research orientation, it is logical to attempt to combine the two "so that their respective strengths might be reaped" (Bryman 1988:127). The concept of triangulation was first introduced in a psychological study by Campbell and Fisk (1959) utilising multiple criteria for the assessment of dependent variables, and the approach was later developed by Webb et al. (1966), when they "presented an eloquent defence for the use of multiple measures and criteria in social science research" (Brislin et al. 1973:51).

Cohen and Manion (1994:233) define triangulation as "the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour", and argue that it enables social scientists to explain more fully the richness and complexity of human behaviour by making use of both quantitative and qualitative data. The argument that these two approaches are complementary rather than competing justifies and promotes using a combination of both. Lewin (1990:213) also asserts that a research design to integrate data generated by both quantitative and qualitative methods is more profitable than stressing their differences and thus limiting the options:

> The resolution of debates about quantitative and qualitative approaches is therefore unnecessary. They present a false polarization between alternatives that are not in themselves true opposites. The special advantages of each can be exploited in complementary ways.

The operation of combining different methods is one aspect of triangulation. Denzin (1989:234) identifies method triangulation as "the use of multiple measures and methods to overcome the inherent weaknesses of single measurement and methods". Numerous studies have employed an approach combining quantitative and qualitative methods. It is common, particularly in studies done in recent years, to use survey procedures together with some individuals' accounts to highlight and emphasise particular points. When quantitative results are combined with interpretative perspectives, a fuller explanation of social phenomena may result.

> We should combine theories and methods carefully and purposefully with the intention of adding breadth or depth to our analysis, but not for the purpose of pursuing 'objective' truth (Fielding and Fielding 1986:33).

b) Types of Triangulation

Triangulation can be categorised into the following four types; 1) data triangulation, 2) investigator triangulation, 3) theory triangulation and 4) method triangulation (Denzin 1989, Brannen 1992).

i) Data Triangulation

Data triangulation includes two strategies. The first is an examination of different sets of data. "By selecting dissimilar settings in a systematic fashion, investigators can discover what their concepts (as designators of units in reality) have in common across settings" (Denzin 1989:237). Another strategy is to study the same set of data at different times, places and in relation to other persons. It is understood that data triangulation is not capable of generating a coherent and consistent picture (Silverman 1985 in Denzin 1989), but this should not be an obstacle to research, as the purpose of triangulation is not the acquisition of data without contradictions and inconsistencies.

ii) Investigator Triangulation

Investigator triangulation is the use of multiple investigators. Its obvious objective is to eliminate possible bias caused by a single investigator. Therefore, in the case of observation, it ensures a greater reliability (Strauss et al. 1964:36-40). As in the case of data triangulation, it is not always possible to obtain coherent views. In addition, the processing of data will be more labour intensive. However, this should not discourage the use of the method, considering the merits discussed earlier.

iii) Theory Triangulation

Theory triangulation is less common than other types of triangulation, since a study is typically guided by a small set of hypotheses derived from a single theory. If multiple theories are utilised, they should be highly coherent. However, Denzin (1989:240) claims another benefit from theoretical triangulation stating that "pitting alternative theories against the same body of data is a more efficient means of criticism - and it more comfortably conforms with the scientific method".

iv) Method Triangulation

The use of multiple methods is the most common type of triangulation used. Method triangulation has two strategies; between-method and within-method (Denzin 1989,

Brannen 1992). The former is the use of different methods in relation to the same object of study and the latter is the use of the same method "on a number of occasions" (Brannen 1992:11) as well as the employment of "multiple strategies within the method to examine data" (Denzin 1989:243). Within-method triangulation includes strategies such as repeating the same methods in the observation or employing different indices to measure the same phenomenon. An example of the latter is the use of alienation scales where investigators use five distinct indices (Denzin 1989:243). One of the weaknesses of within-method triangulation is the use of a single method, as the weakness arises from potential bias and validity threats (Webb et al. 1966:35).

Between-method triangulation is more common and satisfactory. The rationale for this strategy is that "the flaws of one method are often the strengths of another; and by combining methods, observers can achieve the best of each while overcoming their unique deficiencies" (Denzin 1989:244). This argument is specifically associated with the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative and quantitative data collection methods are often combined; an example of such a combination is participant observation (qualitative method) with quantitative methods viz. structured interviews, field experiments or questionnaires. The strategy is more useful when one method leads to another or supplements another, rather than when two are simply mixed. For example, a researcher could learn when it is the right time to conduct interviews, while studying the situation as a participant observer in an institution such as a retirement village (Marshall 1981 in Bryman 1992). Cohen and Manion (1994:238-241) observe that the technique is especially appropriate in educational outcomes, complex phenomena, broader perspectives and case studies, all of which feature in this present research.

c) Criticisms of Triangulation

Criticisms of triangulation strategy are numerous. In this section, the criticisms of method triangulation, which is the one used in the present research, will be discussed. One of the difficulties of applying triangulation is its practicality. Numerous research studies subscribe to triangulation in principle but only a minority use it in practice (Cohen and Manion 1994). It often makes fieldwork more time consuming and labour intensive,

even though the quality of data obtained would be improved.

Many other criticisms are related to the assumed correspondence between epistemology, theory and method (Brannen 1992). When it is stressed that quantitative and qualitative approaches are based on different epistemological assumptions, method triangulation seems unreasonable.

> It is quite feasible to construct an argument that suggests that the multiple operationism analogy is inappropriate. . . [since] quantitative and qualitative research have different preoccupations and highly contrasting strengths and weakness (Bryman 1992:64).

For triangulation of data and investigators, most of the criticisms are related to possible inconsistencies within the data obtained from the triangulation strategy. Silverman argues that the same social activities can never be observed twice, as all social action is situated and unique (Silverman 1985 in Denzin 1989:244). Similarly, investigators cannot repeat observation in exactly the same way (Lincoln and Guba 1985). However, those who advocate triangulation do not disagree. Rather they assert that the differences observed between approaches are likely to be enlightening because they give breadth to the data obtained (Fielding and Fielding 1986, Denzin 1989).

Criticisms of triangulation in theory and method have similarities. While theory triangulation is condemned as "both epistemologically unsound and empirically empty" (Lincoln and Guba 1985:17), method triangulation is criticised for use of methods derived from different perspectives on social reality. Vulliamy (1990:161) emphasises that "the use of quantitative and qualitative techniques are often based on different assumptions", and could therefore produce different results. However, this does not contradict the aim of triangulation to produce "a different picture and slice of reality" (Denzin 1989:246). Bryman (1988) concludes that when quantitative and qualitative research are jointly pursued, much more complete accounts of social reality can be obtained.

Triangulation has an important role in research in the field of education and development. It is a profitable strategy in researching educational activities in developing countries, because it supplements as well as cross checks data. Pratt and Loizos (1992) suggest combining methods where possible for cross-checking information in the research field guides for development workers. Peil (1982) observes that many studies call for a combination of methods. Vulliamy (1990) observes that the application of multiple methods, multiple sources of data and repeated observation and interviews over time, are all useful in checking information, and that such a process is possible in a case study when time is spent in one institution. Lewin (1990) used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods in observation of classroom activities by employing a systematic observation schedule and field notes in his studies in Malaysia and Sri Lanka.

5.3.3 Fieldwork Approach - Case Studies

"The term 'case study' is associated with approaches such as 'fieldwork', 'ethnography', 'qualitative research', 'interpretative procedures' and 'field research'" (Burgess 1984:2). Case studies are beneficial in providing flexibility as well as descriptive accounts of cases (Hakim 1987:61), and "in-depth detailed analysis" (Casley and Lury 1987:64). Case studies are described as an approach calculated to provide an alternative perspective to the scientific experimental paradigm, and as interpretive and subjective. Case studies are often equated with the qualitative approach, and it is true that these two share many characteristics. However, they are not identical as the use of the quantitative approach is common in many case studies, such as using a survey in the selection of cases for further investigation.

Case studies normally focus on small entities, such as a school, classroom or an individual. Case studies emphasise observation of an individual unit in order to "prove deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit with a view to establishing generalisations about the wider population to which that unit belongs"(Cohen and Manion 1980:125). It is clear that case studies aim at producing a different kind of data from the statistical-experimental paradigm. Hakim describes the case studies as follows:

> Case studies take as their subject one or more selected samples of a social entity - such as communities, social groups, organisations, evens, life histories, families, work teams, roles or relationships - that are studied using a variety of data collection techniques. The criteria which inform the selection of the case or cases for a study determine its location on the continuum between the descriptive report on an illustrative example and the rigorous test of a well-defined thesis. Using a variety of data collection techniques and methods allows a more rounded, holistic, study than with any other design (Hakim 1987:61).

Studies on social deviation and problems such as delinquents, school dropouts and drug-users have often been carried out through case studies. Some such studies have succeeded in creating descriptive accounts, such as a study on patients in mental institutions (Goffman 1961) and alcoholism (Denzin 1987).

Cohen and Manion summarise the characteristics of case study as follows: 1) strength in reality but difficulty in organising; 2) subtlety and complexity of the case in its own right; 3) recognition of the complexity and embeddedness of social truths; 4) an archive of descriptive material sufficient for reinterpretation; 5) a step to action; and 6) research/data in a more publicly accessible form than other kinds of research reports (Cohen and Manion 1994:123). In addition to the advantages stated, case studies can provide meaningful interpretations of statistical-experimental research, thereby complementing the other approaches.

The main weakness of a case study lies in the inability to generalise from it to the wider population. Results obtained from a case study cannot always be applied to a wider population. This inability to generalise is shared by the qualitative approach, according to Bryman (1988:88):

> Many qualitative researchers themselves display an unease about the extent to which their findings are capable of generalisation beyond the confines of the particular cases.

The question of how representative the findings of a case study are, is raised by researchers who have employed the case study approach. Findings from a particular

school could be typical or atypical, and therefore may or may not be generalised or considered a unique case. Various studies (Woods 1979, Ball 1981, Burgess 1983) have questioned whether or not the empirical generalisation is essential for theoretical development. When the aim of research is to give direction to social policy, findings from a case study can be rejected on the grounds that they are idiosyncratic (Blumer 1980).

Bryman (1988) presents three possible solutions to the case study generalisation problem. One is to study multiple cases, the second is for case to be examined by more than one researcher, and the third is to identify and to investigate a case which is 'typical'. An example of the first approach is a study on police stations carried out by Skolnick (1966) who carried out participant observation of police officers in two American cities of comparable size, with non-white populations, industry and commerce. This approach gave the researcher an opportunity to compare and contrast the findings from each case. Kennedy (1979) claims that such approach could be characterised as a summation of case studies.

The second approach is team field research. Among the pioneering examples of this approach are the studies of student culture in medical school (Becker et al. 1961) and student life in university (Becker et al. 1961). Both studies were done in the USA with research methods derived from symbolic interaction perspectives. In this approach, the same case was observed by multiple observers. As an example of large scale research projects incorporating a number of researchers, an ORACLE (Observation Research and Classroom Learning) project adopted an approach of examining more than one case by multiple researchers. The research team consisted of thirteen researchers who did ethnographic research in schools in three local authorities, to follow students' movements (Galton and Delamont 1985). However, this kind of approach has the cost of "surrendering some of the flexibility which is one of the strengths of ethnography". As the team becomes so large as to involve over ten researchers, it requires a considerable amount of structure in order to ensure that the cases conform to certain common themes. The project employed structured interviews, observation schedules and personality tests (Bryman 1988:89).

The third approach runs parallel to the concept of sampling in quantitative research. If one can identify a typical and representative case, the results obtained from the case could be generalised. The problem of representativeness is partially solved thorough the selection of cases for intensive analysis (Denzin 1989:92).

Another problem of case studies is that the procedure requires skills. In principle, case studies should be carried out by skilled researchers (Bryman 1988). It also requires skills and experience in summarising obtained data for writing up. Because of its strength in reality, it is difficult to summarise and transform into communicative form. Although there are numerous difficulties with case studies, the approach has been widely used in educational research as well as other fields in social science. When carried out well, the results can display a high degree of insight. For example, in his study on alcoholism, Denzin (1987) extended the analysis of an alcoholic to insights into American society.

5.4 The Field Method for the Current Study

5.4.1 Overview

The current research aimed at combining quantitative and qualitative approaches for investigating the problem of drop-out in the K.E.E.A. district in Ghana. It aimed at generating empirical evidence from a limited size sample.

The fieldwork comprised two phases; the first phase can be characterised as quantitative while the second phase can be described as mainly qualitative. Firstly, a survey of all JSS in the district was carried out to obtain accurate drop-out rates in two cohorts with gender breakdown, as well as to investigate the characteristics of schools. This first process was quantitatively oriented. The results of the survey were used to identify four schools for an in-depth study which constituted the second phase.

Table 5-1: Methods Used in the Fieldwork

phase		methods used	orientation
first phase		(A)survey of all JSS in K.E.E.A. district	quantitative
second phase	(1)	(B) structured interviews of drop-outs, stay-ins, adult family members, community leaders, teachers and educational administrators	quantitative
	(2)	(C) unstructured interviews of drop-outs observation of drop-outs	qualitative

This in-depth study of drop-outs from the selected four schools had two stages; the first stage of structured interviews was quantitatively oriented while the second stage of unstructured interviews and observation had a qualitative orientation. This fieldwork process is illustrated in Table 5-1. In the first phase a survey of all JSS in the K.E.E.A. district (A in Table 5-1) was carried out in order to show the extent of and some of the characteristics of drop-out. The structured interviews (B in Table 5-1) aimed at showing the causes of dropping out. The research was furthered and highlighted in the unstructured interviews and observation (C in Table 5-1). For example, the gender gap observed in the enrolment statistics obtained from the school survey was highlighted in the unstructured interviews and observation.

In investigating the problem of drop-out, the current fieldwork adopted a broad case study approach. It took the K.E.E.A. district, one of the 110 districts in Ghana, as the unit of investigation, from which four schools and 32 drop-out cases were chosen. The district was not chosen through a process of sampling and therefore the entire data collection process could be considered as a case study. It was not the aim of this study to determine whether the district is typical or representative of the province or the country and the research did not aspire to generalise to a wider population the results obtained.

The method used for the fieldwork employed three types of triangulation. The first type was method. As discussed earlier in the current chapter, the combination of the quantitative and qualitative methods was applied in order to reap the benefits of both methods.

The second type of triangulation used was investigator triangulation. During the second phase, both structured and unstructured interviews were carried out by two investigators simultaneously. While one worked as the main investigator, the other worked as a translator, and both noted their observations independently. The former was female and an outsider; the latter was male and a local person. The results of the observation were later cross-checked. It was hoped that this process helped to derive more information from the data.

The third type of triangulation used was data triangulation. In structured interviews carried out in the second phase, the same questions about the same drop-out were asked of different categories of people. One of the main comparisons concerned the cause of each particular case of drop-out, as perceived by teachers, adult family members and drop-outs themselves. Another comparison focused on the common reason for drop-out, perceived by drop-outs, stay-ins, adult family members, teachers, community leaders, and educational administrators. The objective of this operation was to ascertain differences and similarities in the views of different people on the same problem area.

Unstructured interviews of drop-outs aimed at taking an interpretive approach which has "the common characteristic of attempting to understand and explain the social world primarily from the point of view of the actors directly involved in the social process" (Burrell and Morgan 1979:227). The focus was on microsociological analysis where interaction of drop-outs with their immediate surroundings was examined. This approach is appropriate in studying rural and semi-rural populations whose communication is predominantly confined within their communities. An advantage of this approach is its flexibility. Stan (1994:183) stresses the limitation of "Eurocentric cognitive map criteria" in a social study of other cultures. Part of this problem can be solved by the flexibility of the method used. A second advantage of this approach is its traditional ethnographic benefit of grasping people's own perspectives, which are important in cross-cultural studies as well as in studies where the researchers do not necessarily share the same culture. Little (1988:7) presents an example of some responses raised by children, which do not fit 'attribution' theory, a social psychological theory of how ordinary people attribute causes to social events. The children's' responses raise "the question of whether

the dimensions of lay people's theories should be elicited *from* the subject, rather than *imposed* by the researcher. One would think that this question is important enough for intra-cultural studies but crucial for cross-cultural studies".

The present research aimed to be open and sensitive to opinions and perspectives offered by those under study, especially drop-outs themselves. In order to elicit more information from their accounts and also from the observation of their activities, the use of multiple investigators was adopted.

The survey was limited in size in order to produce reliable and valid data with the limited resources available. In a pilot survey, ten districts in the Central Province were visited to collect enrolment data. In each district, a number of schools were visited and a number of drop-outs and adult family membets were interviewed. From the observations made in this pilot survey, it was decided that a survey carried out in a limited area with a more focused approach would be preferable. The research envisaged that the coverage of a greater number of schools might reduce the chance of obtaining reliable qualitative data. Therefore, it was decided that the data collection would concentrate on one district.

5.4.2 First phase: Survey of all JSS in the K.E.E.A. District

a) Overview

The objectives of the first phase of the fieldwork, the school survey, were as follows: 1) to obtain accurate drop-out rates for two cohorts of students in all JSS in K.E.E.A. district; 2) to collect data on characteristics of schools and communities which might be associated with the rates of drop-out.

The procedure included: 1) collecting data from which to compute an accurate percentage of drop-outs for two cohorts of students who entered JSS1 in October 1989 and October 1990 in all the schools in K.E.E.A. district; and 2) collecting information on characteristics of schools and examining the characteristics.

The information was collected using a data collection format (see Appendix 2.1). It

consisted of two sections as shown in Table 5-2. The first section was designed to record enrolment and retention of the 1989/90 and 1990/91 cohorts. The second section investigated the current school enrolment and a number of characteristics of the schools.

Table 5-2: Items Investigated in the School Survey

Sections	Items investigated
Enrolment/ retention of 1989/90 and 1990/91 cohorts	1. Enrolment and retention of the 1989/90 cohort 2. Enrolment and retention of the 1990/91 cohort 3. The number of BECE registered candidates for 1992 and 1993 4. Results of BECE administered in August 1992 5. Results of BECE administered in August 1993
Current status of schools	6. Enrolment as of October 1993 7. Number of classes 8. Number of teachers (trained/untrained) 9. School shifts 10. Headteacher gender origin/residence years of service responsibility/teaching hours district officer's evaluation
	11. School building: completed or not number of classrooms conditions of classrooms
	12. Furniture: availability
	13. Workshop: availability availability of equipment
	14.Water and sanitation availability of latrine availability of drinking water
	15. Textbooks availability number of JSS1 English textbooks number of JSS1 Mathematics textbooks
	16. School and community distance to catchment area distance to the main road economic activity of parents/guardians number of salaried workers
	17. PTA activities: frequency of PTA meetings headteacher's observation on the PTA activities district officer's opinion
	18. School fees: % of parents of the graduated class who completed paying school fees

b) Information on the 1989/90 and 1990/91 Cohorts (Enrolment and Retention)

Two lists of students in the cohorts of 1989/90 and 1990/91 were made separately using admission registers and attendance registers.[1]

First, a list of names which appeared in JSS1 were copied onto the recording sheet (see appendix 2.1). Then attendance was followed throughout the year. The attendance register for JSS2 and JSS1 were compared to see whether each student had proceeded to JSS2. If any names were missing, it was checked whether the missing student was a drop-out, a repeater, or a transfer. The same procedure was repeated for JSS3 and JSS2 registers. In addition to the attendance registers, Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) results were viewed to see the examination results and results recorded.

This process was time consuming and labour intensive. However, this method was a more appropriate way of gaining accurate information on the enrolment than to utilise the official statistics available. The official enrolment data are taken at the beginning of each year for compiling national statistics. The compiled record for the district was available. However, the statistics did not always seem accurate and there were a number of missing figures as well as incoherent or inconsistent figures in some of the data coding sheets sent from schools. This became clear when comparing such data with the data obtained for this research. In addition, the exercise of going through the attendance registers provided opportunities for observing patterns of attendance of students. For example, it was common for those who later dropped out to become increasingly absent before they finally stopped coming to school.

c) Current Status of Schools

The headteachers were asked about the current enrolment and a number of items on characteristics of the schools, as shown in Table 5-2. When the headteacher was not able to provide responses, other teachers were invited to reply to the questions. All questions were closed-ended (see Appendix 2.1 for the data collection sheets).

5.4.3 Second Phase: In-depth Study of the Drop-outs in Four Selected Schools

a) Overview

The second part of the fieldwork, an in-depth study on the problem of drop-out, was carried out in four schools in the K.E.E.A. district. These schools were chosen from the analysis of the first phase of the fieldwork using gender and drop-out rates. The objectives of the second phase were propositions B and C. The research aimed to: 1) obtain information on the process of dropping out from drop-outs themselves; 2) obtain information on their socio-economic background, family composition, experience at school, and career and educational aspirations and expectations from drop-outs and stay-ins; and 3) collect perspectives on the problem of drop-out from drop-outs, stay-ins and other people involved in education, such as parents, teachers, headteachers and community leaders. The procedure included: 1) extensive interviews with the drop-out students, which included, structured interviews, follow-up interviews on the responses to the structured interviews, unstructured interviews, further follow-up interviews and observations; 2) structured interviews with stay-in students, adult family members of drop-outs and stay-ins, teachers and community leaders. The research process here was based on the study carried out by UNICEF/MOE(1994) in deciding the category of people as well as interview schedules.

b) Selection of Four Schools

As discussed in Chapter 1.6, gender disparity was evident in the survey in drop-out rates, enrolment, and examination results. Therefore, the selection of four schools was made using total drop-out rates and female drop-out rates. The average drop-out rate of the two cohorts was used for the selection of schools for the in-depth study. Four schools were identified as follows:

A) A school with overall high drop-out rate with high drop-out rates for both male and female students

B) A school with overall high drop-out rate with a high male drop-out rate and a lower female drop-out rate

C) A school with overall low drop-out rate with low drop-out rates for both male and

female students

D) A school with overall low drop-out rate with a high female drop-out rate and a lower male drop-out rate

c) Subjects

The current study followed broadly the procedure taken by the UNICEF/MOE study (1994) on primary school non-enrolment and drop-out in selecting the categories of people to be interviewed. Table 5-3 is the summary of the subjects for in-depth study. The following categories and the number of samples for interview were identified for each of the four schools.

Table 5-3: Samples for Interviews

	school A	school B	school C	school D	total
drop-outs	8	8	8	8	32
parents of drop-outs	8	8	8	8	32
stay-ins	8	8	8	8	32
parents of stay-ins	8	8	8	8	32
teachers	3	3	3	3	12
community leaders	3	3	3	3	12

1) Drop-outs: Drop-outs were those who had dropped out from the currently enrolled class of JSS2 and JSS3, and identified from the school registers. Four male drop-outs and four female drop-outs were identified from each school. In cases where there were more than four drop-outs, application of the random number was applied to choose four.

2) Stay-ins: For each drop-out, a matching stay-in student was chosen from the same class in which the drop-out student was originally enrolled. For each drop-out, one matching stay-in was selected. The criteria for matching students were as follows: same gender, similar age, similar academic performance, and location of house in the same area. The last criterion was used for controlling some aspects of economic background. For age, the admission register was used. For academic performance, the class position in the school report of the previous year was used. A class teacher was consulted in identifying matching students, but the selection relied mainly on the records.

3) Adult family members of the drop-outs: parents or guardians of the drop-out students were interviewed. To identify an adult who was significant to the drop-out students, drop-outs were asked whose opinion they value most, in terms of schooling, among their family members.[2]

4) Adult family members of the stay-ins: parents or guardians of the stay-in students were interviewed. The same process was followed for identifying the adult family members of the drop-outs.

5) Headteacher: the headteachers of the schools were interviewed.

6) Teachers: one male teacher and one female teacher from each school were interviewed. The research aimed at choosing trained teachers who had worked at the school for more than three years at the time of the survey. This was in order to be able to make use of their knowledge on drop-out students as well as their awareness of the local situation.

7) Community leaders: following the procedure taken by UNICEF/MOE research (1994) one assembly representative, one male traditional leader (chief), and one female traditional leader (queen mother) in each community were interviewed.[3]

d) Research Tools

i) Interview Schedule for the Structured Interviews

Structured interviews were carried out using an interview schedule. A specific interview schedule was prepared for each category of respondents; drop-outs, stay-ins, adult family members of drop-outs, adult family members of stay-ins, headteachers, teachers and community leaders. Questions were prepared with the help of information provided by UNICEF/MOE research (1994). Questions were first prepared in English and attention was paid to ensure short and simple sentences. Though each schedule was unique, schedules had a number of parallel questions to facilitate comparison. Items included in each interview schedule are summarised in Table 5-4.

Table 5-4: Questions Asked in the Structured Interviews

Questions	Children		Adult family member of		(5) Head teachers and teachers	(6) Community leaders
	(1) drop-outs	(2) stay-ins	(3) drop-outs	(4) stay-ins		
a) circumstances of dropping out (for each drop-out case)	X		X		X	
b) experience at school and subject preference	X	X				
c) subsequent activities (after dropping out)	X		X		X	
d) educational aspirations	X	X	X	X		
e) vocational aspirations	X	X	X	X		
f) opinions on drop-outs	X	X	X	X	X	X
g) socioeconomic background	X	X	X	X		

ii) Unstructured Interviews

A number of sessions of unstructured interviews were carried out for drop-out students. The questions for the first unstructured interview included clarifications of the responses of the structured interview as well as the additional explanations. The questions for the second unstructured interview were on the process of the respondent's dropping out of school. The question was "Can you explain to me how you came to decide to quit school?" instead of "why did you stop schooling?" The latter question had already been asked in the structured interview. Some sociological perspectives with the qualitative orientation prefer asking how in place of why.

> Interactionists don't believe in asking 'why' questions. They ask, instead, 'how' questions. How, for example, is a given strip of experience structured, lived, and given any meaning? (Denzin 1992:24).

Responses were recorded both in the field notes and on the audio-tape. On the third session of unstructured interviews, the transcribed script was shared with the respondents orally and any additional information as well as their own interpretations and explanations were invited. The responses in the structured interview were used to guide these talks. During the interviews, observations were made by two researchers and the results were later discussed.

iii) Translation of Interview Schedules, Questions and Responses

Most of the interviews with all categories of people except teachers and a few community leaders were carried out in Fanti, the local language. Fanti, usually called *Mfantse* by the speakers of the language, is spoken mainly in the Central and Western Regions of Ghana. It is one of the three dialects of the Akan language group, one of the nine Ghanaian languages in which educational materials are being developed and which are used in the media. Fanti is a tonal language and meaning may change by tonal difference (Bureau of Ghana Languages 1961).

Translation of the interview schedule was thus important. Interview questions were first drafted in English and then translated into Fanti. This process was done with great care.

"Cross-cultural investigators should be concerned with the communication of many aspects of their research, including the introduction of the research to potential subjects, instructions, questionnaires, and subject responses" (Brislin et al. 1973:32). Brislin et. al (1973) recommend the original English version to be prepared without ambiguity in order for it to be translatable, and a set of outlined ten suggestions to be observed when the original English questions were presented.

The back translation technique is explained and recommended in cross-cultural studies (Brislin et al. 1973, Blumer and Warwick 1993, Lewin 1990). It is a method of ensuring the equivalent content of questionnaires and interview schedule by translation of the original script into another language and back to the original language by another translator. These two translations and back-translations are compared and the translation corrected should there be any discrepancy. Although the current study was not a cross-cultural study, it had certain elements of such a study as it dealt with the two languages, English and Fanti.

This procedure of back-translation was used for all questions in the schedules as well as semi-structured interview questions. The back translation was done orally for two reasons: first because the schedule was administered verbally rather than in the form of self-administered questionnaires, and second, because although the alphabetised written form exists, the written form of the Fanti language is not as common as English for many people and research collaborators were not able to write it fully even though it is their mother tongue. It was more convenient for research collaborators to translate the English script into spoken Fanti. Moreover, the procedure had the advantage of comparing spoken forms. The back-translation was done using a tape recorder. First, a person bilingual in English and Fanti translated the original English version of the written interview schedule into Fanti, which was recorded on a tape recorder. Then another bilingual person was asked to listen to the tape and translate it back to English. These operations were done independently. When there were any differences, the Fanti translation was examined and improved. Furthermore, while the interview administration was practised by two research collaborators, a third person who had abundant experience in social research in the area observed this practice session and made a few comments.

The interview schedule was further improved according to his advice.

All the responses were translated into English. The first two unstructured interview sessions were translated into English by two people independently. The two transcribed scripts in English from tape recorded interviews were compared. As major disparities were not found, the rest of the translations were carried out without the checking.

e) Interview Administration

Structured interviews with stay-ins, teachers and headteachers were carried out at school, while interviews with other categories of subjects were carried out at home. The primary reason for home interviews was to reduce the degree of fear or negative feelings which might have arisen from the school environment, especially for drop-outs and their parents. As suggested in the standard procedure of research methods, "It is best to avoid settings that may be perceived as unpleasant or threatening by respondents" (Oppenheim 1992:192). The school premises, and meeting teachers and the headteacher, might have embarrassed some of these respondents, although in the preliminary survey, many drop-out students and their parents did not hesitate to come to school, especially small rural schools where the communities and schools have a relatively relaxed and informal relationship. Another reason for carrying out interviews at their homes was to observe the household situation, to cross-check their responses and to interview in natural settings as much as possible in order to fulfil some of the notions raised in the interactionist perspectives in data collection (Denzin 1989).

Drop-outs were visited at home. When the adult family members, who were identified by children as their main supporters who provided them with school fees, food, clothing, shelter and other needs, were available and willing to be interviewed, they were interviewed then. If they were not available, appointments were made for another visit to interview them.

Originally, it was planned for stay-in interviews to be carried out at home. However, after school many of these students had household chores to do and obligations to meet and it

was difficult to interview them. They were interviewed on school premises but the classrooms and offices were avoided. These students were interviewed in a quiet and discreet place where other students and teachers could not observe the interview session, such as under the tree at the back of the school yard.

For drop-out students, the follow-up interviews were held around three days later. The interviews were unstructured and attempted to obtain clarifications and explanations of the responses given in the structured interviews. This process had three purposes: 1) to observe drop-outs' daily activities if the circumstances permitted; 2) to obtain clarification on the responses when there were some ambiguities and contradictions, as well as to obtain the drop-out students' views and interpretations of their responses; and 3) to make use of this process to lead to the next stage of the unstructured interviews on the process of dropping out.

The follow-up unstructured interview was held to ask drop-outs about the process of dropping out of school. The most important part of the interview was to elicit their recollections and views on the drop-out process, as well as their future prospects. Many drop-outs preferred to speak about their future prospects rather than the process of dropping out.

Responses were tape-recorded for the first 20 to 30 minutes of each interview. This limit was set because transcription takes a long time (Tizard and Hughs 1986). However, the unrecorded part of the interviews was also written up in the field notes. At this time observations were also made on the drop-outs and their interactions with family members and others.

The fourth visit was made after two to four weeks as a follow-up to the previous interview. The purpose of this interview was to clarify responses produced in previous interviews and to invite further explanations and interpretations if possible. Interviews at home in a less formal atmosphere were subject to interruptions. When any interruptions occurred, such as visitors arriving, the interview was stopped and observation was carried out. In addition to these visits, we met drop-outs during our stay in the area. These

unplanned meetings were not formally recorded but they were helpful in creating rapport as well as cross-checking the contents of the interviews.

Focus group discussions were held in two schools separately on the last week of the fieldwork with all the drop-outs from each of the two schools. It was explained that they were welcome to come and meet the visitor who was going back, and that she wanted to say thank you and goodbye. Refreshments were served and it was attempted to have a discussion in a relatively relaxed atmosphere.

In addition to the interviews, at schools the following data were collected on each drop-out :

1) Academic performance of the students: the record of school reports from the previous year was examined.
2) Socio-economic background: the main supporter's occupation, as well as whether he/she had regular income in cash were asked.
3) Attendance registers: attendance resisters were examined to see how assidulously drop-outs were attending while still enrolled.

5.4.4 Investigation of the Questions and Propositions

The questions and propositions presented in 5.2 were examined through the fieldwork. Four questions were addressed in the following way. Question 1, drop-out rates and JSS characteristics, was investigated through the school survey. Question 2, factors causing drop-out, was examined through the structured interviews with drop-outs. Question 3, processes of dropping out, and question 4, subsequent activities and future prospects, were investigated in structured interviews as well as unstructured interviews and observation.

Table 5-5 illustrates investigation of questions and propositions. An examination of nine sub-propositions was made in order to examine the relevant main propositions. Rates of drop-out (A-1), a gender gap in the rates of drop-out (A-2), the association between the

rates of drop-out and school factors (A-3), and the relationship between different forms of wastage (A-4), were investigated through the school survey. Differences between drop-outs and stay-ins in family composition (B-1) and school experience (B-2) were investigated through structured interviews. Gender differences in the process of dropping out (C-1), subsequent activities (C-2) and future prospects (C-3) were examined through the unstructured interviews and observation.

Table 5-5: Method of Investigation of the Propositions

		first phase	second phase (1)	second phase (2)
	questions and propositions	school survey	structured interviews	unstructured interviews/ observations
Q-1	Drop-out rates and JSS characteristics	X		
Q-2	Factors causing drop-out		X	
Q-3	Processes of dropping out		X	X
Q-4	Subsequent activities of drop-puts		X	X
Proposition A: Drop-out rates and school characteristics				
A-1	Drop-out rates	X		
A-2	Gender gap in drop-out rates	X		
A-3	School factors on drop-out rates	X		
A-4	Forms of 'wastage'	X	X	
Proposition B: Comparison of Drop-outs and Stay-ins				
B-1	Differences in family composition		X	
B-2	Differences in school experience		X	
Proposition C: Gender differences				
C-1	Gender differences in the process of dropping out			X
C-2	Gender differences in subsequent activities			X
C-3	Gender differences in future prospect			X

5.5 Conclusion

Qualitative and quantitative methods may be understood on a subjective-objective continuum rather than as a dichotomy. Research studies can utilise the beneficial aspects of both methods in referring to research objectives. As each method has its own merits and disadvantages, it is logical to combine the two in order to reap their respective strengths and minimise their weaknesses. A combination of methods, one method of triangulation, represents such an attempt. When a successful combination is pursued, much more complete accounts of social reality can be obtained.

Case studies focus on a relatively small section of society or a few individuals. The approach has therefore a subjective orientation, and one of the disadvantages of such an approach is the problem of generalisation. Possible solutions to such problems are triangulation of data, investigator, and methods, which help verification of data.

Considering the advantages and weaknesses of various research approaches, the current study took a case study approach in investigating one district in Ghana. The data collection process involved method triangulation where a survey of all JSS was followed by an in-depth study of drop-outs from selected schools. The second part of the data collection process included structured interviews of drop-outs and others and unstructured interviews and observations.

The current research aimed at combining quantitative and qualitative methods in examining the issue of drop-out in K.E.E.A. district in Ghana. Considering the limitation in time and resources as well as the limitations of the researcher, including a lack of knowledge of the local language, the data collection was done in a geographically confined area.

The first phase investigated all the JSS in the district in order to obtain an overall picture of the district. The exercise focused on objective dimensions and aimed at obtaining the accurate rates of drop-out. Characteristics of schools were also obtained using the data collection schedule. From the results, four school were selected for the second phase of data collection.

The second phase aimed at obtaining a more subjective dimension of data from the drop-outs themselves. The first part of the second phase of data collection comprised structured interviews of drop-outs, matching stay-ins, adult family members, teachers, and community leaders. Then unstructured interviews of the drop-outs were made on repeated visits. The whole process of dropping out was investigated through unstructured interviews, rather than the causes alone. Observation was also made of drop-outs' daily activities, and their aspirations were analyzed.

A systematic approach for selection of the schools in the researched area was adopted in order to analyze subjective accounts made by drop-outs and surrounding people in the context of the rural schools and societies. The researcher is aware of a number of limitations - for instance that the duration of the data collection was relatively short and that the geographical area researched was not extensive. However, the current research aimed at effectively combining the research methods, as well as comparing and contrasting views on the issue of drop-out derived from different people, in order to minimise some of the limitations.

As illustrated in Table 5-6, questions, propositions and sub propositions were empirically investigated in the fieldwork. The analysis of those field data will be presented in the subsequent chapters. Proposition A and sub-propositions A-1 to A-4 will be presented in Chapter 6. Proposition B and sub-propositions B-1 and B-2 will be presented in Chapter 7. Proposition C will be presented in two chapters, Chapters 8 and 9. Sub-proposition C-1 will be presented in Chapter 8, and C-2 and C-3 will be documented in Chapter 9.

An Empirical Investigation of the Problem of Drop-out in the K.E.E.A. District in Ghana

6 Drop-out Rates in Junior Secondary Schools (JSS): a Survey of JSS in K.E.E.A. District

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the question of school drop-outs and school characteristics of the JSS in K.E.E.A. district will be addressed. Question 1, the main proposition A, and sub-propositions referring to the variance of drop-out rates among schools (A-1), gender gap in drop-out rates (A-2), association between different elements of wastage (A-3), and association between school factors and drop-out rates (A-4) will be examined.

Question 1: What is the relationship between drop-out rates and school characteristics of JSS in K.E.E.A. district?

Proposition A: There is some variation among schools in the rate of student drop-out. This variation is associated with school characteristics.

Sub-propositions:

A-1 Within the district, schools display different drop-out rates.

A-2 A gender gap is observed in the rates of drop-out.

A-3 All the forms of 'wastage' in education, namely low academic achievement, repetition and drop-out, tend to occur concurrently. Drop-out is often the end-product of the other two forms.

A-4 School factors, such as type of school, school location, enrolment, qualification of teachers, teacher-pupil ratio, and school facilities, have some association with the rates of drop-out.

For the examination of question and propositions, the following analyses were carried out: 1) calculation of accurate drop-out rates in each school for the two cohorts which started their JSS education in 1989 and 1990, with gender breakdown, and 2) examination of a number of characteristics of all schools and their relationship with the drop-out.

Data on the rate of drop-out was collected from two cohorts of 1989/90 and 1990/91. There are two reasons for choosing these two cohorts. Firstly, since these cohorts had already completed their schooling at the time of the survey, the enrolment and completion rates for the whole cycle were available. Secondly, these two cohorts were the third and fourth intake since the inception of the new system at the national level. At the time of the data collection, four cohorts had graduated from the new JSS system, and it was decided to avoid the first and second intake due to problems and irregularities occurring during the initial stage of the introduction of the new system (e.g. *People's Daily Graphic* 8/10/87, 13/10/87).

6.2 JSS in the K.E.E.A. District

When the data were collected in January and February 1994, there were 41 JSS in the district, of which two were established after 1988. Since these two schools did not exist when the new system was introduced, they were excluded from the analysis, thus ensuring that all the survey schools had a uniform number of years of operation. Of the remaining 39 cases, a further 2 cases were excluded from the analysis, because of unreliable data on drop-outs. In these 2 schools, data on drop-outs and transfers were not clearly differentiated.

All schools except two were mixed schools. There were two single sex schools, one school for male and the other for female students. All schools except one were day-schools. One school had both boarding and day students. All schools in the district were public (government-aided) schools, and no private JSS existed at the time of the survey. Twenty-three schools out of 37 were administered directly by the district council while 14 schools were administered by churches. In these church schools, government funds including teachers' salaries were channelled through the churches. Out of these

fourteen schools, ten were Catholic, three were Methodist and one was Anglican. A larger number of district council schools were found in villages than in towns (see Table 6-1).

Table 6-1: JSS in the K.E.E.A. District

	district council schools	church schools	total
town	4 (17.4%)	7 (50.0%)	11 (29.7%)
rural	19 (82.6%)	7 (50.0%)	26 (70.3%)
total	23 (100.0%)	14 (100.0%)	37 (100.0%)

(χ^2 = 4.43, 1df, p<.05)

6.3 Enrolment, Drop-out Rates, Repetition Rates, Transfer Rates and Examination Results

6.3.1 Overview

The central variable in the school survey was the rate of drop-outs in the 1989/90 cohort. The drop-out rate of the 1990/91 cohort was also examined to see the consistency of the data. To obtain accurate figures, the data were taken from the admission and attendance registers kept in each school as described in Chapter 5. Cohort 1989/90 represents the group of students who started JSS1 in October 1989. Similarly, cohort 1990/91 represents the group of students who started JSS1 in October 1990.

a) Enrolment

The enrolment figures represent 'fresh intake' in each cohort and do not include repeaters who enrolled in JSS1 in the previous year, nor students who transferred in from other schools. The average in the 1989/90 cohort was 36.1 (SD 14.1) and the 1990/91 cohort was 39.5 (SD 16.7). The initial intake in these two years showed a high correlation (r=.87, p<.01), showing a relatively stable intake in these two years. The JSS1 intake of the 1989/90 cohort is summarised in Table 6-2.

the 1989/90 cohort is summarised in Table 6-2.

Table 6-2: Initial Intake of the 1989/90 Cohort

enrolment	less than 20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	more than 60	total
no. of schools	4 (10.8%)	11 (29.8%)	8 (21.6%)	9 (24.3%)	3 (8.1%)	2 (5.4%)	37 (100.0%)

b) Student Flow and Drop-out Rates

The flow of students of the two cohorts is displayed in Figure 6-1, and the grade-wise drop-out rates are shown in Table 6-3. The flow chart shows a higher number of drop-outs in JSS2 than in other grades. As was seen in Chapter 3, primary school drop-outs tend to occur in the first grade, but such a tendency was not observed in the drop-out patterns in JSS.

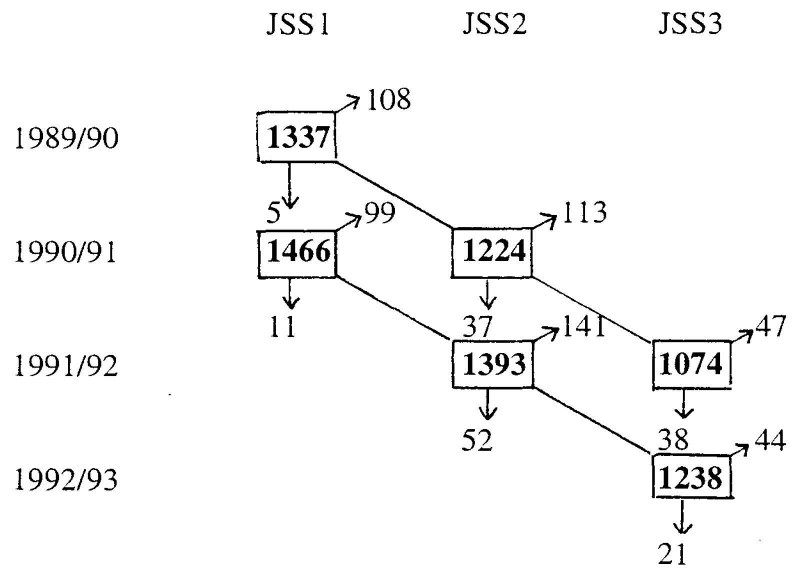

Figure 6-1: Flow of JSS Students in the K.E.E.A District[1]

Table 6-3 shows the grade-wise drop-out rates of the whole cohort corresponding to Figure 6-1. In both cohorts, the rate was higher in JSS2 than in JSS1 and JSS3. This corresponds to the national tendency in Ghana (Coleman 1994). The low drop-out rate in JSS3 is also notable.

Table 6-3: Grade-wise Drop-out Rates (%)

cohorts	JSS1	JSS2	JSS3
1989/90	8.1	9.2	4.4
1990/91	6.8	10.4	3.8

Drop-out rates varied in both cohorts. The mean drop-out rate for the 1989/90 cohort was 20.5% (SD 10.7) with the minimum 0% and the maximum 42.9%.[2] The mean drop-out rate for the 1990/91 cohort was 21.1% (SD 14.08) with the minimum 2.7% and the maximum 68.4%. Drop-out rates in the two cohorts showed a significant association ($r=.53$, $p< .01$). When grade-wise drop-out rates were compared in the two cohorts, they also showed a significant association in JSS1 ($r=.49$, $p<.01$) and in JSS3 ($r=.48$, $p<.01$) but not in JSS2 ($r=.13$, n.s.). Drop-out rates of the 1989/90 cohort are summarised in Table 6-4 (Actual rates in each school are shown in Appendix 4.2).

Table 6-4: Drop-out Rates of the 1989/90 Cohort

drop-out rates	less than 10.0%	10.0-19.9%	20.0-29.9%	30.0-39.9%	40.0-49.9%	equal to or more than 50.0%
no. of schools	7 (18.9%)	11 (29.7%)	12 (32.5%)	5 (13.5%)	2 (5.4%)	37 (100.0%)

There was considerable variation in drop-out rates among schools in both cohorts. Therefore sub-proposition A-1 on the variation of drop-out rates was confirmed.

c) Repetition Rates and Transfer Rates

The mean repetition rate of the 1989/90 cohort was 6.9% (SD 11.14) and there was variation among schools. The lowest rate was 0% and the highest rate was 51.4%. The Ministry's new policy of automatic promotion did not allow students to repeat the grade unless they had been absent for more than one third of the academic year. The number of repeaters had decreased under the new system. Some headteachers said that they often

turned down the requests of parents asking for their children to be allowed to repeat so as to improve their performance. There was a variation in the number of students repeating among schools. The repetition rates were significantly lower than the drop-out rates ($t=5.12$, 36df, $p<.01$).

The mean transfer rate was 8.7% (SD 7.8) and there was variation among schools. The lowest was 0.0% and the highest rate was 28.9%. Schools which showed high transfer rates had a number of children of civil servants working in government projects, such as the prison and the psychiatric hospital in Ankaful and Ntranoa areas.

d) Examination Results

Examination results of the cohorts 1989/90 and 1990/91 were calculated and coded as shown in Table 6-5 below. The aggregate 36 is pass and students can proceed to SSS as long as the places are available. However, students must present good scores such as aggregate 6 to 10 in order to enrol in schools with a good reputation.

Table 6-5: BECE Results for the Cohorts of 1989/90 and 1990/91(%)

aggregate	distinction ----------					---------- failure
	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-36	over 36
1989/90	2.1	4.4	7.4	21.9	20.4	25.3	18.5
1990/91	1.5	3.4	9.6	11.6	28.3	24.2	21.4

BECE has thirteen subjects but the majority of students write twelve subjects, excluding French language, an optional subject. Each subject is graded from 1(distinction) to 9. Grades 1 to 6 for each subject are considered pass and the aggregate 36 is considered pass. A student is given an aggregate from his/her six best subjects. For example, if a student receives three '1's, two '2' s, five '3's, three '4's, two '5's and three '7's, the aggregate is 16 (3 x '1' + 2 x '2' + 3 x '3'). The highest possible aggregate is 6 which is six '1's and the lowest possible aggregate is 54 which is six '9's.

6.3.2 Gender Differences

Gender differences were evident in enrolment, drop-out rates and examination results, but not so in repetition rates and transfer rates. Table 6-6 shows the initial intake of the two cohorts. The initial intake shows a strong gender imbalance. A significantly lower

two cohorts. The initial intake shows a strong gender imbalance. A significantly lower number of female students was enrolled in both years. Both cohorts showed a marked gender difference ($t=7.24$, 34df, $p<.01$ for the 1989/90 cohort and $t=7.25$, 34 df, $p<.01$ for the 1990/91 cohort).

Table 6-6: Initial Intake in 1989/90 and 1990/91 Cohorts
Average enrolment at the beginning of the cycle (minimum-maximum)

cohorts	male	female	total
1989/90	21.8 (9 - 52)	15.4 (2 - 74)	36.1 (14 - 74)
1990/91	24.0 (10 - 56)	16.6 (4 - 82)	39.5 (16 - 82)

Figure 6-2 shows the flow of male students in the two cohorts, and Figure 6-3 shows the flow of female students in the two cohorts.

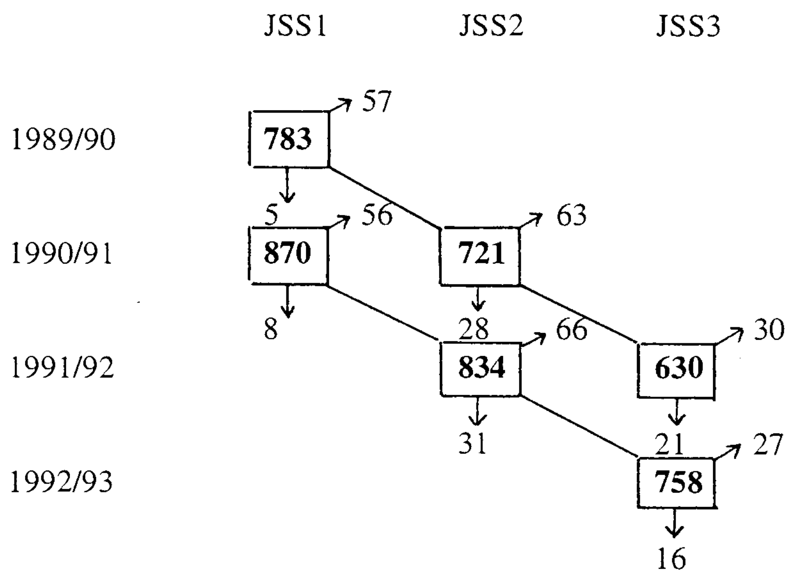

Figure 6-2: Flow of Male JSS Students in the K.E.E.A District[3]

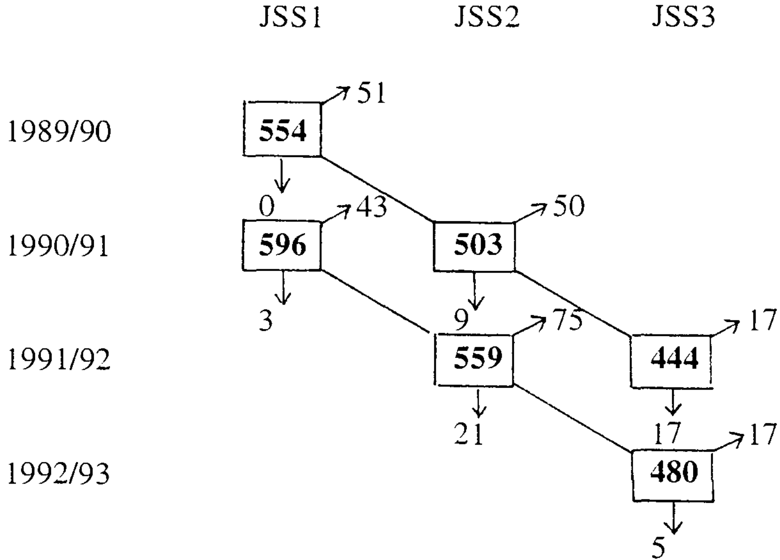

Figure 6-3: Flow of Female JSS Students in the K.E.E.A district[4]

Table 6-7 summarises grade-wise drop-out rates by gender corresponding to Figure 6-2 and 6-3. Male students show higher drop-out rates in JSS2 (8.7% for the 1989/90 cohort and 8.2% for the 1990/91 cohort) and lower rates in JSS3 (4.4% for the 1989/90 cohort and 3.8% for the 1990/91 cohort). This pattern is parallel to the pattern of overall student flow. Female students also show the higher drop-out rates in JSS2 (9.9% for the 1989/90 cohort and 13.6% for the 1990/91 cohort). The low drop-out rate in JSS3 is prominent (3.9% for the 1989/90 cohort and 3.7% for the 1990/91 cohort) which is slightly lower than the male drop-out rates in both cohorts.

Table 6-7: Grade-wise Drop-out Rates by Gender (%)

cohorts	JSS1		JSS2		JSS3	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
1989/90	7.3	9.2	8.7	9.9	4.8	3.9
1990/91	6.4	7.2	7.9	13.4	3.6	3.5

Table 6-8 shows the drop-out rates in two cohorts with gender breakdown. In both cohorts, the mean drop-out rates among female students were higher than those among

male students. The drop-out rate among female students was significantly higher than that among male students in the 1989/90 cohort ($t=2.24$, 34df, $p<.05$) but the 1990/91 cohort did not show a statistically significant difference ($t=1.89$, 34df, $p=.068$, n.s.). Therefore, sub-proposition A-3 on gender disparity in drop-out rates was partially confirmed.

This observation on gender disparity corresponds to the study on enrolment and retention at the national level in Ghana in which Coleman (1994) notes high drop-out rates among female students both in primary school and JSS. Studies carried out in other sub-Saharan African countries (for example Hartnett and Heneveld 1993) also confirm higher drop-out rates among female students in basic education.

Table 6-8: Drop-out Rate in 1989/90 and 1990/91 Cohorts
Mean Drop-out Rates (minimum-maximum) %

cohorts	male	female	total
1989/90	18.8 (0-50.0)	23.4 (0-50.0)	20.5 (0-42.9)
1990/91	18.7 (0-60.0)	25.4 (0-77.8)	21.10 (2.74 - 68.4)
total	18.9 (4.4-47.7)	25.3 (0-72.7)	21.1 (3.4-54.6)

Table 6-9: Drop-out, Repetition and Transfer Rates by Gender for the 1989/90 Cohort
Mean Rates (minimum-maximum) %

gender	drop-out rate	repetition rate	Transfer rate
male	18.8 (0-50.0)	7.4 (0-30.4)	8.7 (0-32.4)
female	23.4 (0-50.0)	5.7 (0-30.8)	8.8 (0-33.3)
total	20.5 (0-42.9)	6.6 (0-29.4)	8.7 (0-28.9)

Table 6-9 shows the drop-out rates, repetition rates and transfer rates with gender

breakdown. The repetition rate among male students was somewhat higher than the rate among female students although the difference was not statistically significant (t=1.41, 34df, p=.17, n.s.). In a number of studies, repetition rates among females are reported to be higher than among males. Hartnett and Heneveld (1993), in their extensive study of girls' access to education in sub-Saharan Africa, observe that girls' repetition rates are slightly higher both in primary and secondary schools; the difference is small in primary education but substantial difference is observed in secondary education. However, in this study, such gender differences were not observed. This is probably related to the policy of automatic promotion. Students were not allowed to repeat unless they had been absent for a long time as mentioned earlier. However, some students did repeat when they did not do well in studies in the hope that they would improve their examination results, although such cases were exceptional cases which required a headteacher's permission. This was possible only when parents were willing to support a child for an additional year in school. Therefore repetition could be explained as a 'privilege' that male students had over their female counterparts. Male students were more likely to be allowed to repeat when they were absent for a long time from illness or other reasons, while female students were likely to drop out in such a situation. There was no statistically significant difference in the transfer rate between males and females.

The average points of examination results are computed in Table 6-10 below.[5] The average examination score among female students was significantly lower than that of male students (t= 5.18, 34df, p<.01). The tendency was observed in both cohorts. This agrees with the results at the national level. The result corresponds to the examination results at the national level which displayed a distinct gender gap as shown in Chapter 4.

Table 6-10: BECE Results
Average Points of Results (minimum-maximum)

cohorts	male	female	total
1989/90	3.13 (1.0-4.8)	2.7 (1.0-5.0)	3.0 (1.2-4.6)
1990/91	2.8 (1.8-4.5)	2.4 (1.0-4.9)	2.8 (1.4-4.5)
total	3.0 (1.4-4.9)	2.4 (1.0-4.5)	2.9 (1.3-4.5)

6.3.3 Association between Drop-out Rates and Other Elements of 'Wastage'

The association between drop-out rates, repetition, and examination results was examined in order to address sub-proposition A-4. Table 6-11 illustrates association between drop-out rates and repetition rates as well as BECE results.

Table 6-11: Association between the Drop-out Rate and other Elements of Wastage

variables		drop-out rates of 1989/90 cohort total	male	female
repetition rate of 1989/90 cohort	total	-.06	.17	.02
	male	-.09	-.19	.03
	female	.06	-.02	.00
BECE results	total	-.13	-.10	-.18
	male	-.10	-.07	-.19
	female	-.02	.06	-.13

Both repetition rates and the examination results did not show significant association with the drop-out rates. Therefore proposition A-3 was not confirmed.

6.3.4 Association between Drop-out Rates and Enrolment as well as Transfer Rates

As shown in Table 6-12, enrolment and transfer rates had some association with drop-out rates, mainly with female drop-out rates. Total enrolment had a negative correlation with total drop-out rate and female drop-out rate. This implies that the high drop-out rate was associated with low enrolment, suggesting higher drop-out rates in smaller schools, such as the ones in remote areas.

Transfer rates were associated with female drop-out rates; high transfer rates and lower drop-out rates were associated. An explanation of this could be that when students move from one place to another for various reasons e.g. parents' employment, they could either transfer to another school or terminate school altogether. If, for example, because a parent changes employment, a student is leaving a school which is good in retaining

students (i.e. it has a low drop-out rate), that it is likely that the student will continue his/her schooling in another school.

Table 6-12: Association between the Drop-out Rates and Enrolment, Transfer and Gender Ratio

variables		drop-out rates of the 1989/90 cohort		
		total	male	female
enrolment of 1989/90 cohort	total	-.11	-.02	-.15
	male	-.03	-.08	-.03
	female	-.17	-.12	-.18
	gender ratio	-.24	-.26	-.20
transfer rate	total	-.26	-.15	-.23
	male	-.09	.02	-.10
	female	-.40*	-.26	-.37*

* p<.05

6.4 Characteristics of JSS

In the following section, various characteristics of JSS will be examined to address Question 1.

6.4.1 Enrolment in 1993/94 and Size of the Schools

Current enrolment was taken from the beginning of the academic year in October 1993. Most of the schools surveyed were small in size. A majority of schools surveyed, 32 out of 37, had one class of each grade. One school had two JSS1 classes, two schools had two JSS1 and two JSS2 classes, and two schools had two classes of each grade, making the largest number of classes in one school six. Other schools had either one or two classes of all or some grades, as shown in Table 6-13. The average number of classes in surveyed schools was 3.30.

Table 6-13: Number of Classes

number of class	frequency
3	32 (86.5%)
4	1 (2.7%)
5	2 (5.4%)
6	2 (5.4%)
total	37 (100.0%)

The current enrolment is shown in Table 6-14. The average enrolment at a school was 106. The increased enrolment in junior grades reflected the young population profile of Ghana. According to recent statistics, over 50% of the population is under age 15 (UNDP 1993). This trend is likely to continue and the enrolment will continue growing. In many schools visited, headteachers showed their concern about lack of provision for physical facilities to meet the increasing educational demand. It was common for one JSS to have two or three primary schools as feeder schools. The enrolment in primary schools was increasing rapidly and in a few years many of these JSS with a single stream might need more than one class in each grade.

As observed in the 1989/90 cohort which we discussed in the previous section, the gender enrolment imbalance was evident in all three cohorts which were enrolled at the time of the data collection (cohorts of 1991/92 as JSS1, 1992/93 as JSS2, and 1993/94 as JSS3). The enrolment of female students was much lower than the enrolment of male students as a whole ($t= 9.29$, 34df, $p<.01$). This trend was observed in all grades ($t=3.05$ $p<.01$ for JSS1, $t=5.76$ $p<.01$ for JSS2, and $t=6.67$ $p<.01$ for JSS3), and the difference in JSS3 was the largest. When the average enrolment in the class was compared, the ratio of female students to the male students decreased as the grade proceeded. It is shown in the gender ratio in Table 6-15. As we saw in the analysis of the enrolment trend in the 1989/90 and 1990/91 cohorts, it could be attributed to higher drop-out rates among female students.

Table 6-14: Enrolment as of October 1993
Average number in each school (minimum-maximum)

grade	male	female	total
JSS1	21.4 (6-48)	17.1 (5-37)	38.5 (14-85)
JSS2	21.3 (5-40)	13.3 (1-39)	34.7 (6-73)
JSS3	17.6 (7-36)	10.3 (1-22)	27.9 (10-54)

Table 6-15: Gender Ratio in Enrolment (% of females against males)

grade	female ratio
JSS1	82.5
JSS2	67.3
JSS3	65.0

6.4.2 Teachers

Table 6-16 shows the number of teachers at the schools surveyed. 68.0% of teachers were trained while the rest were either untrained teachers (called 'pupil teachers') or national service personnel who were doing their one-year service. This ratio of trained teachers in this survey was slightly lower than the national statistics. It should be noted, however, that all those who were trained had received their initial teacher training either as primary school or middle school teachers. None of these teachers had training to be a JSS teacher. Most of the headteachers had attended in-service training courses. but none of the ordinary teachers had yet been to such training courses. Even the trained teachers showed some anxieties in teaching new subjects without systematic orientation in instruction methods. Some teachers showed their concern that many of the in-service courses were targeted to the primary school teachers rather than JSS teachers. A number of useful resource materials such as the *Headteachers' Guide* (1994) were being compiled and distributed, but the focus was towards the primary schools. Although the recent reform introduced more changes in JSS, sufficient orientation had not been provided. A number of headteachers expressed their concern and frustration in resuming such

demanding work as running these schools without adequate orientation and support.

The most noticeable characteristic of JSS teachers was the gender imbalance. The number of female teachers was significantly lower than that of male teachers both among the trained (t=5.13, 36df, p<.01) and among the untrained (t=8.85, 36df, p<.01). Female teachers comprised only 23.4% of all teachers. Ten schools did not have any female teachers. Three other schools did not have any trained female teachers, but only national service personnel. Fewer female teachers were found in JSS than in primary schools, especially in rural areas.

Among teachers in the district there was a gender difference in the experience of training. A majority of female teachers (93.3%) were trained while the percentage of trained male teachers was much smaller (60.2%), as shown in Table 6-16.

Table 6-16: JSS Teachers in the K.E.E.A. District

	trained	untrained	total
male	118 (60.2%)	78 (39.8%)	196 (76.6%)
female	56 (93.3%)	4 (6.7%)	60 (23.4%)
total	174 (68.0%)	82 (32.0%)	256 (100.0%)

(χ^2=23.16 1df p<.01)

The above gender imbalance corresponds to the national trend displayed in Table 6-18. It shows two things: the smaller number of female teachers in service, and the higher ratio of trained female teachers. The female teacher ratio shows a clear difference between regions. While the capital city of Greater Accra had an exceptionally high rate, and regions in the south with urban development (Ashanti, Eastern and Central regions) had somewhat higher rates, northern regions such as Brong Ahafo, Northern, Upper West, and Upper East regions had far lower rates. Similar trends were observed in the current survey. Most of the female teachers were in Elmina town and smaller townships. Schools without any female teachers were those in remote areas. Placement of female teachers in

rural areas poses problems in many developing countries (e.g. Warwick and Jatoi 1994). Regional differences were observed but in general, the percentage of untrained teachers among females was lower than that among males.

Table 6-17: Trained and Untrained JSS Teachers by Region 1991/92

region	male total	female total	% untrained male	% untrained female
G.Accra	1646 (48.0%)	1782 (52.0%)	27.5%	9.1%
Ashanti	4717 (75.3%)	1550 (24.7%)	29.0%	10.1%
Eastern	4271 (77.0%)	1280 (23.0%)	30.0%	7.5%
Western	2835 (78.1%)	796 (21.9%)	40.5%	26.8%
Central	2851 (78.2%)	793 (21.8%)	32.2%	15.5%
Volta	2783 (81.9%)	613 (18.1%)	20.8%	7.2%
Upper East	864 (85.7%)	144 (14.3%)	53.5%	18.8%
Upper West	728 (85.7%)	121 (14.3%)	46.4%	14.9%
Northern	1375 (85.9%)	225 (14.1%)	41.1%	24.0%
B.Ahafo	3544 (89.1%)	433 (10.9%)	36.5%	13.2%
All regions	25614 (76.8%)	7737(23.2%)	32.8%	12.3%

(calculated from the Ministry Statistics, Ghana, Ministry of Education 1993)

The student-teacher ratio varied from school to school. The average pupil-teacher ratio in schools surveyed was 16:1 (SD 5.47). The lowest ratio was 5:1 and the highest was 26:1.[6] The figure was lower than the national average of 19:1. The Ministry of Education specified that the target pupil-teacher ratio in primary schools should be 40:1, while that in JSS should be 28 (Ghana Ministry of Education 1994). The figure obtained here is less than the government target of 28:1. This seems to be related to the problems of high teacher turn-over rate. Some teachers come and leave even within a school term. There were a number of cases where a replacement teacher was present together with a teacher planning to transfer.

6.4.3 Headteachers

A majority of headteachers were males and not local, as shown in Table 6-18. Out of 37 JSS heads only 6 were females. The percentage of female headteachers (16.2%) was lower than that for ordinary teachers, which was 23.4% for all teachers and 32.2% for trained teachers. Most headteachers were not local; they did not come from the community where the school was located. However, many of them were from nearby towns such as Cape Coast, and therefore they belonged to the same Fanti language/ethnic group.

Table 6-18: Headteachers' Gender and Origin

	frequency (%)		
	local	outside	total
male	7 (22.6%)	24 (77.4%)	31 (83.8%)
female	1 (16.7%)	5 (83.3%)	6 (16.2%)
total	8 (21.6%)	31 (78.4%)	37 (100.0%)

The average number of years the headteachers served at the school was 5.95 years. Nearly one third of headteachers had been at the school three years or less. The longest time of service was 24 years and the shortest was one year (see Table 6-19).

Table 6-19: Years of Service by Headteachers

years	frequency (%)
1-3	12 (32.4%)
4-6	11 (29.7%)
7-9	8 (21.6%)
10-12	4 (10.8%)
over 12	2 (5.4%)
total	37 (100.0%)

Tables 6-20 and 6-21 illustrate the headteachers' heavy workload. In Table 6-20,

'detached' is a term used for recognised headteachers who are supposed to concentrate on headteachers' duties. In theory they are exempted from teaching duties. However, some of the headteachers encountered in this study were teaching a number of periods. Many headteachers had to teach when some teachers were absent. One headteacher said that he was teaching over 36 periods at the time of the interview, due to the long absence of two teachers. Table 6-21 summarises the teaching duties of the headteachers. The average number of periods taught by all headteachers was 12.4. The detached headteachers taught 8.6 periods on average while non-detached headteachers taught 14.9 periods.

Table 6-20: Headteachers' Status

	detached	non-detached	total
male	12 (38.7%)	19 (61.3%)	31 (83.8%)
female	3 (50.0%)	3 (50.0%)	6 (16.2%)
total	15 (40.5%)	22 (59.5%)	37 (100.0%)

(χ^2=.27, 1df, n.s.)

Table 6-21: Number of Periods Headteachers Teach

no. of periods	frequency	
	detached heads	non-detached head
0	2	0
1-6	6	4
7-12	4	6
13-18	1	5
19-23	1	6
over 24	1	1
average no. of periods teaching	8.6 periods	14.9 periods

As shown in Table 6-22, over 70% of headteachers were responsible for both primary and JSS. Often, the deputy headteacher stayed in the primary school to perform duties for the head. However, the headteacher's responsibilities were increasing due to the introduction of cost-effectiveness in school administration. The new policy discontinued the payment of a salary for non-teaching staff at school, and often all the clerical and administrative duties were transferred to the headteacher. Collection of user charge fees is an enormous burden for headteachers. One headteacher said that he spent almost all his time collecting fees during the harvest season when farmers had some cash. He would not collect fees in monthly instalments as recommended by the Ministry of Education as the work was too cumbersome. Some of the parents became confused with such a new method of payment and they believed that the payment was done when a receipt for the partial payment was issued and would not pay the rest of the fees (CT1-note).

Table 6-22: Headteachers' Responsibility

	head of JSS only	head of primary and JSS	total
male	8 (25.8%)	23 (74.2%)	31 (83.8%)
female	3 (50.0%)	3 (50.0%)	6 (16.2%)
total	11(29.7%)	26 (70.3%)	37 (100.0%)

(χ^2=1.41, 1df, n.s.)

At a number of schools visited, we found that headteachers were not present at school. These headteachers were absent from school to perform administrative work. The district officer lamented that these headteachers were incapable of delegating their work to other teachers and parents. He said that most of the schools in the district needed improvement in management. The district officers' observation on the headteachers is shown in Table 6-23. The district officers evaluated all female headteachers 'good' while less than half of the male teachers were evaluated 'good'. In their opinion, female headteachers in their districts were doing their duties well. They did not show financial irregularities and managed the school well. They also had a good relationship with the community.

Table 6-23: The District Officers' Observation on the Headteachers

observation	good	fair	poor	total
male heads	14 (45.2%)	8 (25.8%)	9 (29.0%)	31 (100.0%)
female heads	6 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)
total	20 (54.1%)	8 (21.6%)	9 (24.3%)	37 (100.0%)

(χ^2=6.09 2df <.05)

6.4.4 Educational Facilities

a) Physical Facilities

Educational facilities were modest in most of the schools. All the schools visited had some shelter. The majority of schools had a block of three or four classrooms. The average number of classrooms in a school was 3.19. Many of these schools inherited the school buildings from the middle schools which had been replaced by the new JSS. These classroom blocks were old and often badly maintained. Only a few schools in townships had electricity. As shown in Table 6-24, five schools out of the six which responded 'school building under construction' (see Table 6-24) were given classroom pavilions in the government grant scheme (see PAMSCAD in Chapter 2). All of them were rural schools. The steel structure with roofing sheets was built by contractors and the community was supposed to finish the flooring and walls. All the surveyed schools which received the grants were using the incomplete classrooms. In one school, the bricks were being laid by workers while the classrooms were in use.

Table 6-24: School Building

building	town	rural	total
completed	10 (90.9%)	21 (80.8%)	31 (83.8%)
under construction	1 (9.1%)	5 (19.2%)	6 (16.2%)
total	14 (100.0%)	23 (100.0%)	37 (100.0%)

(χ^2=.58495 1df n.s.)

The state of classrooms varied. Some schools in town had well-built and maintained classroom blocks. Others mainly in rural areas had old, almost unusable buildings, although they were normally better than primary school buildings nearby. Six schools in rural areas and one school in town had a leaking roof. In these schools, it was not possible to have class in the rains. Glewwe (1991) observed that a leaking roof was one of the most significant factors associated with pupils' achievement in Ghana.

Out of all schools, two operated in shifts. They were in Elmina town. Although most of the schools did not operate in shifts at the time of the survey, some of the head teachers interviewed responded that they might have to introduce shifts in the near future, as it was the only way to cope with the increasing enrolment.

The number of students in a class varied. The smallest class had six students and the largest had 57. The average number of students in each class was 31.87 (SD 9.47). There was a marked tendency to have a larger number of students in JSS1 and then the number decreased in JSS2 and JSS3 as already discussed in 6.4.1.

Table 6-25: Availability of Furniture

availability	town	rural	total
enough for all	6 (54.5%)	7 (26.9%)	13 (35.1%)
enough for 2/3	5 (45.5%)	16 (61.5%)	21 (56.8%)
enough for 1/3	0 (0.0%)	3 (11.5%)	3 (8.1%)
non available	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
total	11 (100.0%)	26 (100.0%)	37 (100.0%)

Furniture is said to be one of the problems in rural schools. Many schools did not have enough desks and chairs for all the students, as shown in Table 6-25. There was a tendency for rural schools to be more disadvantaged than town schools. Most of the schools used long tables and benches. In some schools three or more students shared a

desk made for two students. The constant use and the inability to maintain and repair them, often left them unusable. A number of schools had broken desks and benches piled at the back of the school building. In other schools, some students were sitting on the floor. The quality of furniture varied. In general, schools in town had better furniture than schools in remote areas. Two schools in Elmina town had their own workshop and carpenters who made and repaired all the furniture for the schools. Some of the schools attached to the mission stations seemed in a better condition than council schools.

Table 6-26: Workshop

workshop	frequency (%)
have equipped workshop	4 (10.8%)
have un-equipped workshop	7 (18.9%)
no workshop	26 (70.3%)
total	37 (100.0%)

As shown in Table 6-26, the majority of schools did not have workshops for instruction of technical subjects. Among those schools with workshops, only four had basic equipment such as woodwork tables and other necessary furniture and tools. All schools had basic tool kits supplied by the Ghana Education Service for instruction of technical subjects. However, the content was not sufficient. One headteacher commented that it was impossible to teach practical subjects with insufficient tools. He had one saw, one hammer, one chisel, for over one hundred students.

b) Textbooks

Only four schools out of 37, or 10.8% of all schools surveyed, had sufficient textbooks. Two were town schools and the other two were rural schools. Table 6-27 shows the number of JSS1 English and Mathematics textbooks available at school and the number of books per student. The average number of JSS1 English textbooks per student was .28 and that of JSS1 Mathematics textbooks was .60. Three schools did not have any JSS1

English textbooks, and another three schools had one textbook for the whole class. Although a ministerial decree issued in 1992 let students take textbooks home to do homework, none of the schools surveyed allowed students to take books home. Textbooks were normally kept in the headteacher's office after the lessons.

Table 6-27: JSS1 Textbooks at Schools (minimum-maximum)

textbooks	average number of books at school	average number of books per student
English	10.62 (0 - 32)	.28 (0 - .69)
Mathematics	22.08 (5 - 50)	.60 (.11 - 1.35)

c) Water and Sanitation

Table 6-28 summarises water and sanitation facilities at schools. Drinking water was available in most schools. Thirty-four schools, or over 90% of all schools surveyed, provided drinking water for students. Typically, plastic containers or clay pots filled with water were kept in offices and classrooms for students to drink water from. Fifteen schools, or 40.5% of schools, had latrines for students. Most of them had ventilated pit latrines known as KVIP (Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit Latrines). Three schools in Elmina had water closets. As expected, schools in town were slightly better equipped in provision of both drinking water and latrines. However, both in town schools and in rural schools, provision of latrines was deficient.

Table 6-28: Provision of Water and Sanitation

	drinking water	latrine
town	11 (100.0%)	5 (45.5%)
rural	23 (88.5%)	10 (38.5%)

6.4.5 Schools and Communities

All schools had students coming from nearby villages and townships. The distance from the edge of the catchment area to the school was 21.4 minutes' walk on average. Schools in Elmina town and other townships had a smaller catchment area while some rural schools covered a larger area. The distance between the school and the main road where the long distance buses run showed the remoteness of schools. The average was 26.7 minutes walk. The longest distance was 60 minutes.

Occupations of parents/guardians for the current JSS1 class reflected the economic activities in the area. On average, 69.9% were engaged in farming, fishing or both, at subsistence levels. Salaried workers were 21.1%. Percentages varied from school to school. There were no significant differences between town and village schools. Some village schools which had public service projects in the neighbourhood, such as the government salt field in Pershie, the state prison and the psychiatric hospital in Ankaful and Ntranoa, had a higher percentage of salaried workers while other rural schools had very few parents with employment in the formal sector. Almost all the salaried workers were civil servants. Six schools had no parents as salaried workers.

The recent educational reform introduced user charges as described in Chapter 2. The amount was said to be small and affordable even in rural areas, but many headteachers spoke of the difficulties in collecting the fees. The average rate of completion of fee payment was 90.4%. In 15 schools all JSS3 students completed their payment while other schools were still collecting fees from those who had already graduated (see Table 6-29).

Table 6-29: Payment of School Fees

completion rate	frequency (%)
100%	16 (43.2%)
75 - 99%	17 (46.0%)
50 - 74%	4 (10.8%)
total	37 (100.0%)

Some schools charged additional annual fees. Two schools out of 37 surveyed had additional fees. One school charged 4,500 cedis (equivalent to £3.46) to day students and 10,000 cedis (£7.69) to boarders. Another school charged 200 cedis (£0.15) per student. In both schools, the funds were used to improve physical facilities. Both schools were in town.

During the data collection, we heard that a number of schools had decided not to pay the development funds to the district office. Some schools decided to pool the funds at school and others decided not to collect the funds at all. The amount of the development fees was determined by the districts. In K.E.E.A. district 1,500 cedis (£1.15) per student per year were collected. The fees were collected at the district council to be used for development of the physical structure of the schools. However, parents in some schools were not satisfied with what had been supplied to schools and decided to keep the money at school.

As a positive effect, the introduction of user charges and other community contributions to school made parents take an interest in school activities. In a number of schools, we heard stories that parents had complained about the absenteeism of teachers. The education reform extended to community responsibility for development of schools. Parents were asked to pay district development funds, and to participate in the construction of buildings. This might improve schools as the user charges made the people more aware of what was happening at school.

PTA meetings were held regularly in all schools except one. The average number of meetings was 4.4 per year. The schools which had projects such as construction of additional classrooms had meetings more frequently than those schools without them. The headteachers' judgement on the PTA activities is shown in Table 6-30. Some headteachers voiced their concern about the lack of PTA cooperation and activities, while others praised the initiatives taken by PTA representatives.

Table 6-30: Headteachers' Opinion on PTA Activities

opinion	frequency (%)
active	17 (45.9%)
not so active	15 (40.5%)
inactive	5 (13.5%)
total	37 (100.0%)

6.4.6 Association between the Drop-out Rate and Characteristics of Schools

The association between drop-out rates and school characteristics was examined in order to address sub-proposition A-4. Table 6-31 shows the correlation between 1989/90 total drop-out rates, male drop-out rates and female drop-out rates, and school characteristics. A closer examination of the characteristics of schools and drop-out rates reveals the following:

The type of school had some association on drop-out rate, though the level of association did not reach statistical significance. While a male drop-out rate in church schools was higher, a slightly higher female drop-out rate was observed in District Council schools. Rural JSS had somewhat higher drop-out rates than town schools although the level of association was not statistically significant..

The number of teachers had some association with the drop-out rates. Schools with larger number of teachers had lower drop-out rates. The ratio of trained teachers had a stronger association with a high drop-out rate. However, the pupil/teacher ratio did not show any association. Nor did male/female teacher ratio.

The number of years of service of the headteacher bore some association with drop-out. Lower drop-out rates were associated with long-serving headteachers. Headteachers' teaching periods had some association with drop-out rates, showing that schools with headteachers teaching a larger number of periods were associated with high drop-out rate, although the association was somewhat weak. Having a recognised headteacher

(detached) was associated with low drop-out rates.

The availability of textbooks did not have a consistent association with the drop-out rates. The total number of English and Mathematics textbooks was correlated negatively, revealing that a higher number of books is associated with lower drop-out rates. On the other hand, the number of books per pupil showed the opposite effect; the larger number was associated with higher drop-out rates.

As for the school buildings, a statistically significant association was found between the number of completed classrooms and low drop-out rates; the higher the number of completed classrooms, the lower the drop-out rates. The availability of furniture also showed an association; schools with sufficient furniture had lower drop-out rates. Water and sanitation had a statistically significant association; where a latrine was not available, the drop-out rates were high.

Community factors did not have an expected/consistent association with the drop-out rates. Economic activities in the area showed an association; predominantly agricultural areas were associated with high drop-out rates, and areas with a higher percentage of salaried workers had a weak association with lower drop-out rates. A long distance from the main road to the school was associated with high drop-out rates. However, the size of catchment area did not show significant association.

School fees affected male and female students in opposite ways. Schools with lower percentage of fee payment completion, those with no additional fees, and those with lower additional fees, had weak association with high female drop-out rates and low male drop-out rates.

The District Officers' positive opinion on PTA activities had a statistically significant association with lower drop-out rates. Headteachers' opinions on PTAs showed a similar association although not statistically significant.

Very few of these variables had a statistically significant association with drop-out rates.

Most of the expected variables did not show any association with the rates of drop-out. Therefore sub-proposition A-4 was not confirmed.

A reason for the weak association might be the time of measurement. Most of the factors (for example, the type of school) had been consistent, but some of the factors might have been different when the cohorts of 1989/90 and 1990/91 students were present at school. For instance, the number of textbooks available for each student, and student-teacher ratios, should have been measured at the time when these students were present. On the other hand, such data were not available, and the research had to assume that the situation at schools had been consistent.

Another explanation could be that some of the factors are more closely related to the individual cases than to the school as a whole. For example, the catchment area did not show any significant difference in the drop-out rates at school. The distance between school and home can be a factor for each drop-out. However, the sample size might not have been large enough to display the effect.

Table 6-31: Association between the Drop-out Rate and Characteristics of Schools

variables	drop-out rates total	male	female	
Type of school				
authority (D/C or church)	.02	.14	-.07	
town/rural	.11	.05	.10	
Teachers				
total number	-.19	-.19	-.15	greater no. of teachers -> low drop-out
male/female ratio	-.00	.02	-.03	
trained teacher ratio	-.24	-.16	-.28	greater no. of trained teachers -> low drop-out
pupil/teacher ratio	-.00	-.02	-.01	
Head teacher				
years of service	-.24	-.19	-.20	longer service -> low drop-out
teaching periods	.10	.03	.19	
district officer's observation	.02	.07	-.07	
detached or not	.30	.24	.32	detached headteacher -> low drop-out
local or not	.03	.09	.16	
Textbooks				
enough or not	-.05	-.10	.02	
number of English books	-.08	-.15	-.02	
number of Maths books	-.18	-.15	-.22	greater no of Maths books ->low drop-out
average no of books per pupil (English)	.19	.09	.21	smaller no of books -> low drop-out
average no.of books per pupil (Maths)	.15	.18	.06	
average no. of books per pupil	.19	.16	.13	
Building				
completed or not	.01	.04	.23	
number of completed classrooms	-.36*	-.35*	-.30	greater no. of rooms -> low drop-out
furniture	.25	.17	.30	enough furniture -> low drop-out
workshop	.08	-.05	.19	
workshop equipment	-.02	.07	.09	
leaking roof	-.02	-.02	-.01	
Water and sanitation				
drinking water	.21	.21	.19	water available -> low drop-out
latrine	.33*	.33*	.29	latrine available -> low drop-out
Communities				
economic activities	.19	.15	.20	areas with salaried workers -> low drop-out
% of salaried workers	-.13	-.15	-.08	
catchment area	-.14	-.10	-.08	
distance from the main road	.24	.20	.19	smaller distance -> low drop-out
School fees				
fee payment	-.00	.10	-.14	
additional fees	.03	.17	-.10	
amount of additional fees	.02	.27	-.11	
PTA				
frequency of meeting	.14	.21	.03	
Headteacher's opinion on PTA	.17	.06	.31	
District officers' opinion on PTA	.36*	.31	.36*	better opinion -> low drop out

* p<.05

6.5 Conclusion

The survey showed a high rate of drop-out and a variation of drop-out rates among the schools in the district. The pattern of drop-out was different from that of primary school, and the second year had the highest drop-out rate.

Gender imbalance was evident not only in the drop-out rates, but also in the enrolment and the examination results. Female students were disadvantaged in these aspects of education. Gender difference was also observed in teachers, for the proportion of female teachers was lower especially in rural schools. Female headteachers were fewer than male heads, but their performances were highly regarded.

The school survey illustrated some characteristics of JSS in K.E.E.A. district. Rapid growth in enrolment in junior years is evident in most schools. It was feared that in a few years many of the schools would have to start shifts to meet the increasing educational demand.

Educational facilities were not sufficient in most of the schools. Many classrooms were old and ill-maintained. There was no provision for improvement in most of the schools. Workshops were not yet available for many of the schools, though the introduction of vocational/technical subjects was one of the greatly appreciated innovations of the new system. Most schools had drinking water available for students, but less schools had latrines. There was a marked difference in facilities between town schools and rural schools.

Headteachers had a heavy workload and many schools had management problems. At the same time, the community was beginning to influence the management of schools. Increased community responsibilities seem to have made parents more aware of their entitlement.

Our examination of sub-propositions is summarised as follows.

Proposition A-1: *Within the district, schools display different drop-out rates,* was confirmed. The drop-out rates varied among the 37 JSS examined. The rate of drop-out

for the 1989/90 cohort varied from 0 to 42.86%.

Of the three sub-propositions examined in this chapter:

A-2: *A gender gap may be expected to be observed in the rates of drop-out*, was confirmed. A gender gap was observed in the drop-out rates. More females dropped out than males, both in the total and also in the two cohorts examined.

A-3: *All the forms of "wastage" in education, namely low academic achievement, repetition and drop-out, tend to occur concurrently. Drop-out is often the end-product of the other two forms*, was not confirmed. Both the BECE results and the repetition rates did not show a significant association with the rates of drop-out.

A-4: *School factors, such as types of school, school location, enrolment, qualification of teachers, teacher-pupil ratio, school facilities, have some association with the rates of drop-out*, was examined and it was found that very few of the factors showed substantive association with the rates of drop-out.

Because little association between drop-out rates and characteristics of schools and communities was observed, the research adopted gender as the factor for selecting four schools for the second part of the data collection. Four schools were selected for the in-depth study of drop-outs, and the in-depth study of drop-outs from these four schools will be presented in Chapter 7.

7 Study of Drop-out Students from the Selected Four Schools

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the second phase of the data collection, the study of drop-outs from the four schools selected from the survey of all the schools in K.E.E.A. district. The purpose of this section is to examine numerous characteristics of drop-outs by presenting objective descriptions of drop-outs in these schools derived from structured interviews. The results of the interviews of drop-outs, stay-ins, their adult family members, teachers and community leaders will be presented. In this chapter, question 2, proposition B and related sub-propositions will be addressed.

Question 2: What are the factors causing students to drop out?

Proposition B: Drop-outs and stay-ins display some differences when age, gender, economic status and academic background are controlled.

The following sub-propositions will be examined.

When age, gender, academic performance, and economic status of family are controlled, the following differences might be observed between drop-outs and stay-ins:

B-1 family composition: this includes factors such as number of siblings, sibling order, adult family members' vocational and educational background, and support from adult family members

B-2 school experience: this includes their experience of repetition, opinions of school subjects, their views on junior secondary education.

First, a brief description of the studied area, schools and communities will be presented. Then the characteristics of the drop-outs will be examined, contrasting their responses with those of their matching stay-ins in order to address the question and propositions mentioned above.

7.2 Selection of the Four Schools for the In-depth Study

Selection of the four schools in this research focused on issues of gender, as mentioned in Chapter 5 (5.4). The average drop-out rate of the two cohorts was used for the selection of schools for the in-depth study. Four schools were identified as follows:

A) A school with overall high drop-out rate with high drop-out rates for both male and female students

B) A school with overall high drop-out rate with a high male drop-out rate and a lower female drop-out rate

C) A school with overall low drop-out rate with low drop-out rates for both male and female students

D) A school with overall low drop-out rate with a high female drop-out rate and a lower male drop-out rate

These four schools are represented in the scattergram as in Figure 7-1.

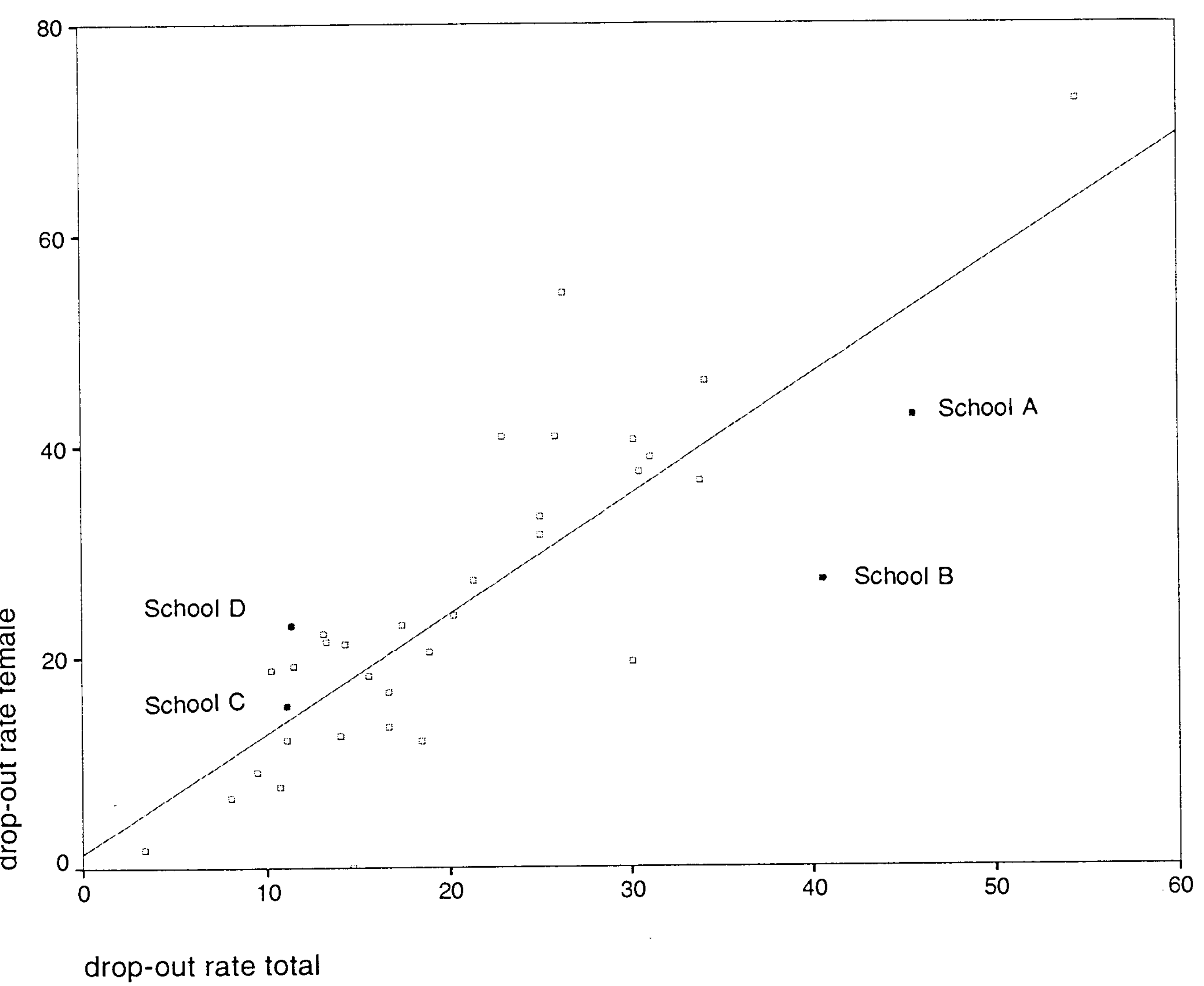

Figure 7-1: Drop-out Rates and Female Drop-out Rates of Cohorts 1989/90 and 1990/91

7.3 Sites for the In-depth Study

7.3.1 Four Junior Secondary Schools

According to the selection process discussed in the previous section, four schools were identified for the in-depth study, two of which had low drop-out rates and another two high rates. One of the two schools with high drop-out rates had high rates for both male and female students, while the other had a high male drop-out rate and a low female drop-out rate. Both schools were former mission schools and were currently administered through the church education units. Government funds including teachers' salaries were sent from the district education office via church education units. One school was in a rural area while the other one was in the town of Elmina, the district capital. One of the two schools with low drop-out rates had low drop-out rates for both male and female students, while the other school had a low male drop-out rate and a high female drop-out rate. Both schools were administered directly by the district education office. One school was in a rural area while the other one was in Kissi, a medium sized town in the district. Table 7-1 summarises some of the characteristics of the schools and towns/villages visited for in-depth study.

Table 7-1: Characteristics of the Schools Visited for the In-depth Study

	Drop-out rate	Drop-out pattern	school authority	village/ town covered	economic activities	population of the community as of 1994*
School A	high	overall high female high	Catholic	3 villages	agriculture	1,617
School B	high	overall high female low	Anglican	part of a town	fishing/ commerce	20,281**
School C	low	overall low female low	District Council	part of a town	commerce/ agriculture	4,339***
School D	low	overall low female high	District Council	3 villages	agriculture	3,053

* The estimated population was calculated from the 1984 census with the estimated annual population growth rate for the Central Region from 1984 to 1994 (2.0%) as advised by the Statistical Services of the Ministry of Finance (1984 Population Census of Ghana, Quarterly Digest of Statistics 1993)

** The town had six JSS including the School B.

*** The town had two JSS including the surveyed School C.

7.3.2 Brief Description of the Schools and the Area

a) School A

School A was situated in Amisano, a village located seven km north-east of Elmina. The school had been in existence since the 1950s when the Catholic missionaries started a middle school attached to an already established primary school in order to serve the area's growing educational needs. The school catered for Amisano as well as neighbouring villages called Abee and Amoanda. In 1987, the middle school was converted into a JSS to conform to the new system. At the time of the visits, the school

had a total enrolment of 75 (27 students in JSS1, 23 in JSS2 and 25 in JSS3) with fewer female students (female ratio to the male enrolment was 50.0%) and seven teachers including the headteacher.

The school stood in the same compound as the primary school. The primary school building was simple with one meter high mud walls with a tin roof, while the JSS building was better built with blocks and tin roof. However, there had been problems in maintaining the building; there were holes in the floor and rains kept leaking through the roof. When it rained, both primary school and JSS did not have any classes. Construction of the new building had started some years before, but the work had been halted due to the financial difficulties of the church education unit. During the visits, a two bed-roomed headteacher's bungalow was being erected as part of the Ministry of Education's project.

The school had experienced difficult times in recent years. There had been a high turn over of teachers as well as of headteachers. The previous headteachers were said never to have spent enough time at school. The current headteacher took over in November 1993. This new headteacher started a number of new school projects, such as tree planting, and a sanitation project to make a school pit latrine. He lived in Elmina and commuted to the school every day. Only one out of seven teachers at the JSS lived in the village. The rest of the teachers came either from Elmina or Cape Coast. All students were from the main village and two other villages.

According to the teachers, the PTA had never been active. Most parents who were concerned about education tended to send their children to other schools in the area. Many parents failed to attend scheduled PTA meetings and they did not initiate the development of the school. They considered that the government should provide necessary materials for the school.

Most of the villagers grew cassava and maize both as cash crops and for domestic consumption. Every morning except Sundays, villagers brought their produce to the two collection points outside the village, where middlemen from the nearby towns came to buy it to resell to market women. Cassava was sold in volume using a round wooden

tray. Numerous women waited for the buyers with cassava piled on their trays.

There was electricity in the village but less than half the houses were connected. The school also lacked electricity. The village was spread on both sides of the main road along which ran the main electricity line. Piped water from Cape Coast reached the village and there were a number of taps where people collected water. However, the area was not provided with a good drainage system and the waste water from the houses flooded the narrow streets between the houses. Sanitation was not good; most of the houses did not have latrines. The other two villages were much smaller in size and even less developed than Amisano. There was no piped water but only boreholes available, and electricity was not installed in these villages. It took approximately half an hour to come to school from these villages.

There was no waged employment available in these villages. Most of the men with some education tended to work at nearby government institutions, such as the University of Cape Coast, Ankaful Prison, and Ankaful Psychiatric Hospital. However, even those who were formally employed were engaged in poorly paid work requiring low skills, supplementing their income by small scale farming.

b) School B

There were six JSS in the town of Elimina. School B was situated on the western edge of the town, near the main road from Cape Coast to Takoradi. The area was called Tetretamu, a fishing and salt producing township. Most of the students came from the Tetretamu area, but a few came from other parts of Elmina.

The school was founded in the 1960s by the Anglican church. Like School A, it was first established as a middle school and transformed into a JSS in 1987. At the time of the visits, the school had a total enrolment of 101 (40 students in JSS1, 39 in JSS2, and 22 in JSS3). The enrolment did not show a strong gender bias: the female students' ratio to the male students was 90.6%. The school had seven teachers and all of them commuted from Cape Coast town. The headteacher had been at the school for seven years but the other teachers had all been at the school for less than two years.

The school building was well constructed and was one of the most established schools in the district. Unlike the other schools visited, all students wore uniforms and shoes to school. The primary school, headed by another headteacher, stood 200 meters away in the same area. This JSS had strong discipline; frequent caning was observed during our visits. The school had a religious service every day. Every Sunday one class in turn was required to attend the service at the nearby Anglican church.

The PTA was active; through their contributions, they managed to construct a complete workshop and ventilated latrines for the school. Parents were then contributing towards the roofing materials and the installation of electricity at school.

The area was, in comparison with other areas, a newly developed part of Elmina. Many of the people were engaged in fishing, petty trade such as working as a fish monger, subsistence farming, and relatively low-skilled work at the government offices. The area had a small settlement of migrants from Mali. Many male youth in the area, whether attending school or not, were engaged in fishing-related activities, especially in July and August when they have an abundant catch. At the time of the visits, a number of men from the area were working at the construction site of the new hotel on the outskirts of the town. The government and UNDP had started a tourism promotion project in the area and a number of construction works were under way.

c) School C

School C was located in Kissi, a medium sized town six km inland from the coast. Kissi had two JSS, both of which were district council schools directly administered by the district education office. School C lay on the eastern side of the town, along the old road from Cape Coast to Takoradi. Another school was located on the western side of the town.

School C had been in existence since the early 1980s as a middle school and was converted to a JSS in 1987. Both JSS and primary school were in the same compound and the headteacher was in charge of both schools. The headteacher had been in the school for eight years and other teachers also had been in the school a relatively long

time. All the teachers except one lived in town. The school had a total of 107 students at the time of the visits (40 students in JSS1, 43 in JSS2, and 24 in JSS3). The female student ratio to the male students was 75.4%.

Parents were not as active as the teachers, students and some parents themselves wished. The school ground tended to be flooded after the rains. Parents had been asked many times to assist but their responses were slow. This problem might be related to the absence of effective leadership in the town, according to the headmaster. The town used to have a traditional chieftaincy but a dispute made the former chief leave the area. A new chief had been installed and the leadership was said to be comparatively weak.

Kissi had a large market place in the town centre. On market days, farmers from surrounding villages brought their produce and the market became lively. A majority of people in town were also engaged in subsistence farming. Most of the people had their farms outside the town. Many women conducted petty trade at the market and also at the bus stop along the main road from Cape Coast to Takoradi which ran along the southern side of town. A good number of youth worked as labourers at a *Akpetish* (local gin) distillery. There were a number of distilleries in the surrounding villages, but the one in Kissi was on a large scale: nine cottages had sugar cane crushing machines in operation. Each cottage employed around ten people to work at a slightly higher wage than a farm labourer.

The town's economic activities declined after the liquidation of GHASEL, the sugar company in Komenda. A number of people in town were employed at the company then. Many of the farmers grew sugar cane for the GHASEL factory as the price was favourable. People still grew sugar cane for distilleries, but with less profit.

d) School D

School D was in Dompoase, a village four km west of Kissi. The school catered for the twin villages of Dompoase and Kukuadu as well as Kwahinkrom, a smaller village two km west of Kukuadu. In all three villages people were engaged in subsistence farming of maize and cassava. Like Kissi, the area was more prosperous when GHASEL was in

operation in the 1970s. After the liquidation of the company, a number of men lost their employment, and the farm produce from the villages lost a stable market.

The school stood in the north of Dompoase, on the village border with Kukuadu. It was established in 1987 when the education reform was introduced. Until then, there was only a primary school in the village. World Vision erected the school buildings and provided desks and chairs for both schools. The school buildings were well maintained and a number of improvements, such as flower beds, were made.

The school had the largest enrolment of the four schools visited for the in-depth study, a total of 139 students at the time of the visits (55 students in JSS1, 43 in JSS2, and 41 in JSS3). The ratio of female students to the male students was 69.5%. There were four teachers including the headteacher and another doing national service. All five teachers lived in that village in teachers' bungalows which had been built by World Vision, with the villagers' labour.

The school was headed by a female headteacher who had been appointed in 1987 when the school started. Then the situation was different; the primary school had a low attendance rate and a high drop-out rate. The headteacher, with help from the chief, improved the school over the years. In 1993 she was selected as the best headteacher in the district. At the time of the visits, the school was said to be one of the best run schools in the district.

Dompoase village had effective leadership on the part of the chief. His leadership was reinforced by World Vision's financial support to various projects in the village, which contributed to the construction of school building for primary school and JSS, nursery school, teachers' bungalows and boreholes. A well-baby clinic, where babies are weighed and examined by medical professionals and the mothers given advice, was held every month at the village. The chief introduced rules to keep the hygienic level high; anyone who did not sweep around the house was punished. The village was clean and well kept.

People in the villages were no doubt economically disadvantaged. As in the case of

Amisano, there were no employment opportunities in the villages. A majority of people were engaged in small scale farming of maize, cassava and sugar cane. Some people had citrus trees, palm trees as well as coconuts. In recent years, coconuts had suffered extensive damage from a fast spreading disease. To supplement subsistence farming, a number of villagers depended on their relatives who worked in town.

7.3.3 Some Observations of the Schools

This section will highlight some of the characteristics of the selected schools.

a) Teachers

i) Teachers' Residences

In the Schools C and D with low drop-out rates, a majority of teachers lived in the communities while in Schools A and B with high drop-out rates, a majority of teachers lived outside and travelled to the school every day.

The town where School C was located had a number of elements which made teachers prefer to reside in town rather than travel from outside; it had electricity, and piped water, as well as a market where a wide range of goods was available; there were houses and rooms at a more reasonable rent than nearby towns. Some teachers had their house or their spouse's house in nearby towns but they lived near the school during weekdays. The town was quite lively and some teachers had started a business to supplement their income. The headmaster rented one unit of a bigger house, one bedroom and a hall, near the school. He had a grinding machine for people to use for a small fee. Other teachers also had a similar business or small stores to supplement their income.

School D was in a village where World Vision had been supporting various development projects in the previous eight years. The programme had started in 1986 and had constructed classrooms for primary school and JSS, a nursery school and four teachers' bungalows. Two more bungalows and a house for national service personnel were being constructed. All the teachers except those who had their own houses in the village stayed in these bungalows. The headmistress said that she preferred her two bed-roomed bungalow to her husband's house in Cape Coast. She let another woman teacher live in

her second bedroom. All teachers' bungalows were built at the end of the village in the newly developed area as there was not enough land near the school. The place at first looked isolated from the village, but it was a better arrangement, according to the headmistress, because this made teachers independent of the villagers and hence helped preserve a good relationship. All the teachers had a small plot of land for farming, either their own or on loan from the Chief.

School A and School B had many drop-outs. School A was in the village and School B was in town. School A had no provision for teachers' accommodation and a majority of teachers travelled either from Elmina or Cape Coast, about 12 km, every day. Most of the teachers were new and they had not had time to find a suitable place in the village. A donor-assisted Ministry project of constructing the headteacher's bungalow identified this school as one of the target schools; a two bed-roomed house was being built and painted in a bright colour. However, teachers including the headmaster himself were not positive about this development. The siting and the plan of the house did not please them. The house was built on the eastern side of the JSS building and was away from village houses. The house was not secure; woods near the house were not cleared, and the headteacher did not feel it safe to leave his belongings while he was not there. Moreover, the brightly painted new house was likely to create the villagers' jealousy, he said. He said that they should have consulted him and other teachers first before starting to construct the building. The teachers would have preferred to have a more simply built communal house where a number of teachers could reside. Although the village had electricity and piped water, the house did not have access to these facilities. The headteacher did not like to make use of this house.

> I would not like to come here to stay. There is no electricity or piped water in the house. I might come and stay from Monday to Friday and go back to my house on weekends. . . I would be worried about leaving my things (AT1-note).

School B was in town, but was near the main road from Cape Coast to Takoradi. All the teachers except one travelled 15 km from Cape Coast every day. These teachers had their own houses as well as established businesses in Cape Coast. As expected, in the two schools to which teachers travelled from outside the communities, teachers' absenteeism

and lateness were more common. For example, in School A no teacher came when it rained.

In Schools C and D, teachers lived near the school because of the availability of adequate housing and other services as well as additional economic activities. There were a number of advantages for teachers to live on the site. It might be worth noting that Dompoase village, where School C was located, was economically disadvantaged and was without electricity; however, it succeeded in keeping teachers residing in the community and teachers' turn over rate low by providing housing in the village.

ii) Number of Teachers

In the two schools where high drop-out rates were observed, the number of teachers was higher. At the time of the visits, there were seven teachers in School A and School B, while School C and School D had four and five teachers only. This might be explained by the high turn over of teachers in school A and B. Some teachers were planning to leave and their replacement teachers were already at school.

b) The Headteacher

In the two schools with low drop-out rates, the headteachers provided more effective leadership. The headmaster of School C was a Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT) representative and was highly regarded in the area. He was often away for meetings but his deputy kept order in the school. The headmistress of School D was a remarkable person who started and developed JSS in a village whose primary school had a high drop-out rate and frequent absenteeism of both students and teachers. Her efforts were reinforced by strong commitment on the part of the local leadership, and provision of infrastructure by World Vision. Both headteachers seemed to have relaxed working relations with other teachers who had been also serving for some years. Both headteachers had been working at the school for over seven years and they were planning to serve the school for some more years.

The headmaster of School A was new. The school had had unfortunate experiences with

headteachers who had not been committed to the work. The new headteacher was an accounting teacher at a SSS in Elmina town but had been transferred to fill the vacancy. The headmaster of School B was a long serving teacher. He was not at school often and his work was not delegated to other teachers who were all new. Both headteachers did not seem to have relaxed working relations with other teachers. Both of them were wishing to transfer to schools in Cape Coast.

c) The Economic Situation of the Area

The two villages, where Schools A and D were, had different economic situations. School A was in a village which had a market for cassava. The village had access to the market in Elmina and a number of villagers went there to sell their produce. The middlemen also came to purchase cassava in the village. Most of the villagers were engaged in producing cassava as a cash crop. Farm labour was sought after. On the other hand, the village of School D was disadvantaged. People had to send their produce to the market in nearby towns.

The two towns, where Schools B and C were, had similar economic situations. The town in which School C was situated, had a market, which collected agricultural produce from the surrounding villages. Many of the goods were sold at small market stalls and many of them were run by women. Distillers were also possible employers and the youth worked for them. The town in which School B was placed, had a market as well as fishing harbour, and most of the unskilled labour was absorbed in fishing-related activities. Many youth were found on the beach waiting for the chance of earning money either legally or illegally.

The above description of the schools and communities is summarised in Table 7-2. Both schools with high drop-out rates had disadvantaged situations with high turn over rate of teachers, and teachers residing outside the communities. On the other hand, in the schools with low drop-out rates, teachers were in general more committed. Few differences were found in school facilities.

The schools with low drop-out rates were in two contrasting communities; a village with

generally poor economic status but a strong community leadership and NGO development activities, and a town with weak local leadership but with an advantaged economic situation.

Table 7-2: Schools and Communities Surveyed

		High Drop-out Rates	Low Drop-out Rates
school	teachers	-reside outside -turn over high	-reside in the communities -turn over low
	headteacher	-reside outside -somewhat isolated from other teachers	-reside in the communities -on good terms with other teachers and highly regarded
	school building and facilities	-adequate -no provision of workshop -town school with water and sanitation but not in the village school	-adequate -no provision of workshop -village school with water and sanitation but not in a town school
community	leadership	-leadership not present	- village with strong traditional leadership but town without such leadership
	economic activities	-town with various opportunities and village with cash crops	-town with various opportunities but village without provision for economic activities -village with NGO development activities
	rural development project	-government initiated project on the teacher's housing	NGO project (World Vision) Integrated development project

7.4 Results of the In-Depth Study

7.4.1 Comparison of 32 Drop-outs and 32 Stay-ins.

a) Selection of Drop-outs and Stay-ins

As stated in Chapter 5, eight drop-outs (four males and four females) from each of the four schools were selected for the in-depth study. A 'stay-in' was paired with each drop-out matching 1) gender, 2) age, 3) academic performance, and 4) residential area (a proxy for economic status of the family).

b) Age of Drop-outs Researched

The mean age of the 32 drop-outs researched was 17.16 (SD 1.51). The youngest was 14 and the eldest was 21. A number of them were over-aged for the school grade they were enroled in before dropping out.

c) Family Composition

i) Siblings and Sibling Order

There was no significant difference between the two groups in the number of siblings, the sibling order, and the number of children provided for by the supporters.

The mean number of siblings among the drop-outs surveyed was 5.4 (SD 2.4). The minimum number of siblings was 2 and the maximum was 11. The mean number of siblings among the stay-ins was 6.6 (SD 2.8) with the lowest 2 and the highest 15. Contrary to expectation, drop-outs had a slightly lower number of siblings than the stay-ins, although there was no significant difference between the two groups (t=-1.76, 62df, p=.08, n.s.). No significant difference between gender was observed (t=.60, 62df, n.s.).

Table 7-3 summarises the number of siblings in each category. The number of siblings of the drop-outs and stay-ins was further examined for each gender. There was no statistically significant difference between the drop-outs and stay-ins either for males (t=-1.65, 30df, n.s.) or for females (t=-.84, 30df, n.s.).

Table 7-3: Mean Number of Siblings by Gender

	male	female	total
drop-outs	5.4	5.4	5.4
stay-ins	6.9	6.2	6.6
total	6.2	5.8	6.0

Sibling order among the drop-outs was 3.5 (SD 2.7) with the minimum 1 and the maximum 11. The mean sibling order among the stay-ins was 3.6 (SD 2.4). There was no statistically significant difference between the two groups ($t= -.19$, 62df, n.s.).

Table 7-4: Mean Sibling Order by Gender

	male	female	total
drop-outs	3.7	3.3	3.5
stay-ins	4.1	3.1	3.6
total	3.9	3.2	3.5

Table 7-4 summarises the mean sibling order of drop-outs and stay-ins by gender. There was no statistical difference between drop-outs and stay-ins among males ($t=-.42$, 30df, n.s.) and among females ($t=.13$, 30df, n.s.). However, the pattern of sibling order between drop-outs and stay-ins showed a gender difference; male drop-outs' sibling order was lower than stay-ins, while female drop-outs' sibling order was higher. The difference between male and female drop-outs was smaller than that between male and female stay-ins.

When the sibling order was classified as the 'first born', 'middle child' and the 'last born', a slightly different pattern was observed between the drop-outs and stay-ins, as shown in Table 7-5. There was a smaller ratio of 'middle child' among the drop-outs compared to the stay-ins ($\chi^2= 7.56$, 2df, $p<.05$). When drop-outs and stay-ins are compared, no statistically significant difference was observed among males ($\chi^2= 5.27$, 2df, n.s.) and among females ($\chi^2= 4.57$, 2df, n.s.), as shown in Table 7-6. While the sibling order of stay-ins was identical between male and female, a slight difference was observed among drop-outs. While more male drop-outs were last born, more female drop-outs were first born.

Table 7-5: Classified Sibling Order

	first born	middle child	last born	total
drop-outs	10 (31.3%)	10 (31.3%)	12 (37.5%)	32 (100.0%)
stay-ins	8 (25.0%)	20 (62.5%)	4 (12.5%)	32 (100.0%)
total	18 (28.1%)	30 (46.9%)	16 (25.0%)	64 (100.0%)

(χ^2= 7.56, 2df, p<.05)

Table 7-6: Classified Sibling Order by Gender

		first born	middle child	last born	total
drop-outs	male	2 (12.5%)	6 (37.5%)	8 (50.0%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	8 (50.0%)	4 (25.0%)	4 (25.0%)	16 (100.0%)
stay-ins	male	4 (25.0%)	10 (62.5%)	2 (12.5%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	4 (25.0%)	10 (62.5%)	2 (12.5%)	16 (100.0%)

The number of children provided for by the main supporters was then examined. In the area where the data were collected, the family structure could be described as flexible or fluid. The divorce rate was high. Even when the couples were not divorced, it was common to have, in the Akan custom, a couple living in different houses. Moreover, people in the area lived and worked in other towns as far distant as Accra and Abidjan, the capital of neighboring Cote d'Ivoire. Anarfi (1989) documented a particular pattern of emigration to Cote d'Ivoire where sole women migrated, while migration of women alone is relatively uncommon in other areas in sub-Saharan Africa. In such cases children were often supported by extended family members. Peil (1995a) confirms this observation and argues that the economic autonomy of southern Ghanaian women facilitates independent migration. In this case, it was considered more appropriate to compare the number of children supported by the care-takers, rather than the number of siblings who might not live in the same house or be supported by different individuals.

When the number of children provided for by their main supporters was examined, the mean number among the drop-outs was 3.4 (SD 2.7) while that among the stay-ins was 3.7 (SD 1.7). There was no statistically significant difference between the two groups (t=-.51, 62df, n.s.). Table 7-7 summarises the mean number of children provided for by their main supporter. While male drop-outs and stay-ins show the identical mean number, female drop-outs had a slightly lower number although the difference was not statistically significant (t=-.73, 30df, n.s.).

Table 7-7: Mean Number of Children Provided for by their Main Supporter by Gender

	male	female	total
drop-outs	3.7	3.1	3.4
stay-ins	3.7	3.6	3.7
total	3.7	3.3	3.5

Table 7-8 shows whether drop-outs and stay-ins had family members (siblings or cousins living in the same premises or nearby) who had also dropped out; slightly more stay-ins responded that they had. However there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups. (χ^2= 1.16, 1df, n.s.). A majority of drop-outs and stay-ins had drop-outs in their family, showing that dropping out is a relatively common phenomenon in the area. Male and female groups showed an identical pattern of response.

Table 7-8: Other Drop-outs in the Family

	yes	no	total
drop-outs	20 (62.5%)	12 (37.5%)	32 (50.0%)
stay-ins	24 (75.0%)	8 (25.0%)	32 (50.0%)
total	44 (68.8%)	20 (31.3%)	64 (100.0%)

ii) Adult Family Members

The heads of the households of the drop-outs and stay-ins are shown in Table 7-9. There are a number of female-headed households which reflects the tendency in the area and confirms Brown's (1992) survey carried out in the same region. More drop-outs than stay-ins replied that the head of the household was their mother, although there was no statistically significant difference.

Table 7-9: Household Head

	father	mother	grand-mother	uncle	aunt	total
drop-outs	9 (28.1%)	14 (43.8%)	4 (12.5%)	1 (3.1%)	4 (12.5%)	32 (50.0%)
stay-ins	10 (31.2%)	11 (34.4%)	3 (9.4%)	4 (9.4%)	4 (12.5%)	32 (50.0%)
total	19 (29.7%)	25 (39.1%)	7 (10.9%)	5 (7.8%)	8 (12.5%)	64 (100.0%)

Talbe 7-10 shows the gender breakdown of Table 7-9. For both drop-outs and stay-ins, males and females show a similar pattern. Over half of them have their parents as the household heads. Among stay-ins, male students tend to have uncles while female students have their aunts as household heads. On the other hand, more drop-outs had their aunts as household heads than their uncles.

Table 7-10: Household Head by Gender

		father	mother	grand-mother	uncle	aunt	total
drop-outs	male	4 (25.0%)	8 (50.0%)	1 (6.3%)	2 (12.5%)	2 (12.5%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	5 (31.3%)	5 (37.5%)	3 (18.8%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (12.5%)	16 (100.0%)
stay-ins	male	4 (25.0%)	6 (37.5%)	2 (12.5%)	4 (25.0%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	6 (37.5%)	5 (31.3%)	1 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (25.0%)	16 (100.0%)

An analysis of the household heads' occupation shows a similar pattern for both the drop-outs and stay-ins, as shown in Table 7-11. This must be related to the fact that stay-ins were selected from the area close to that of the drop-outs, to control the economic background. As expected, almost all the people in the two rural schools responded that their occupation was farming. Others in Table 7-11 included a herbal doctor and a shop owner who had employees, all of whom lived in town.

Table 7-11: Household Heads' Occupation

	farming	trade	civil servant	others	total
drop-outs	20 (62.5%)	8 (25.0%)	3 (9.4%)	1 (3.1%)	32 (50.0%)
stay-ins	16 (50.0%)	10 (31.3%)	3 (9.4%)	3 (9.4%)	32 (50.0%)
total	36 (56.3%)	18 (28.1%)	6 (9.4%)	4 (6.3%)	64 (100.0%)

(χ^2=1.67, 3df, n.s.)

Table 7-12 shows the gender breakdown of Table 7-11. In both drop-outs and stay-ins a slightly higher number of females had their household heads doing trade.

Table 7-12: Household Heads' Occupation by Gender

		farming	trade	civil service	others	total
drop-outs	male	10 (62.5%)	3 (18.8%)	2 (12.5%)	1 (6.3%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	10 (62.5%)	5 (31.3%)	1 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (100.0%)
stay-ins	male	9 (56.3%)	3 (18.8%)	2 (12.5%)	2 (12.5%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	7 (43.8%)	7 (43.8%)	1 (6.3%)	1 (6.3%)	16 (100.0%)

The household heads' employment status is shown in Table 7-13. Farming is classified as self-employed. The pattern was identical in the two groups.

Table 7-13: Household Heads' Employment Status

	self-employed	wage-employed	total
drop-outs	29 (90.6%)	3 (9.4%)	32 (50.0%)
stay-ins	29 (90.6%)	3 (9.4%)	32 (50.0%)
total	58 (90.6%)	6 (9.4%)	64 (100.0%)

(χ^2 = .00, 1df, n.s.)

Table 7-14 shows the education of the household heads. A majority of both drop-outs and stay-ins had household heads with no formal schooling. However, there was a tendency for more drop-outs to have household heads with no formal schooling (χ^2 =3.47, 1df, p= .06). Among those who had some schooling, drop-outs' supporters had primary schooling (1), middle school (5), and technical school (1) but no tertiary education, while stay-ins' supporters had primary school (4), middle school (11), technical school (3) and tertiary education (3). Graduates of teacher training school and university were found only among the household heads of the stay-ins from town schools. There was little gender difference among drop-outs and stay-ins.

Table 7-14: Household Heads' Education

	no schooling	had some schooling	total
drop-outs	25 (78.1%)	7 (21.9%)	32 (50.0%)
stay-ins	18 (56.3%)	14 (43.7%)	32 (50.0%)
total	43 (67.2%)	21 (32.8%)	64 (100.0%)

(χ^2 =3.47, 1df, n.s.)

Financial support for the drop-outs and stay-ins was complex. In a number of cases, household heads did not necessarily pay the fees, but other family members paid. Similarly, food and clothing were given by household heads or some other adult family

members. It was not uncommon for a child to receive support in school fees and food and clothing from different adult family members.

A majority of both drop-outs and stay-ins responded that their parents had paid their school fees the last time they were due, as shown in Table 7-15. Eleven drop-outs and 12 stay-ins responded that it was their fathers who paid the fees. Ten drop-outs and eight stay-ins responded that their mothers paid the fees. 'Other male relatives' in the table includes 'uncles' and 'brothers' while 'other female relatives' include 'aunts' and 'grandmothers'.

Table 7-15: Adult Family Members Who Paid the Fees

	parents	other male relatives	other female relatives	self	total
drop-outs	21 (65.6%)	4 (12.5%)	5 (15.6%)	2 (6.3%)	32 (50.0%)
stay-ins	20 (62.5%)	5 (15.6%)	7 (21.9%)	0 (0.0%)	32 (50.0%)
total	41 (64.1%)	9 (14.1%)	12 (18.8%)	2 (3.1%)	64 (100.0%)

(χ^2 = 2.47, 3df, n.s.)

Table 7-16 shows the gender breakdown of Table 7-15. 'Self-supporting' was found only among male drop-outs. For both drop-outs and stay-ins slightly more females were supported by parents than males.

Table 7-16: Adult Family Member Who Paid the Fees by Gender

		parents	other male relatives	other female relatives	self	total
drop-outs	male	9 (56.3%)	3 (18.8%)	2 (12.5%)	2 (12.5%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	12 (75.0%)	1 (6.3%)	3 (18.8%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (100.0%)
stay-ins	male	9 (56.3%)	3 (18.8%)	4 (25.0%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	11 (68.8%)	2 (12.5%)	3 (18.8%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (100.0%)

When both drop-outs and stay-ins were asked who supported them with food and clothing, over half responded that it was father, mother, or both, as shown in Table 7-17. There were some differences observed between drop-outs and stay-ins who responded 'parents': there was a slightly different pattern in their responses. More stay-ins responded that it was their fathers who catered for their needs (χ^2= 15.66, 5df, p<.01). While drop-outs responded father (1), mother (12), and parents (6), stay-ins responded father (10), mother (9) and parents (2). Responses classified as 'other male relatives' included 'brother' and 'step father', while most of 'other female relatives' were grandmothers in both groups. This reflects the common practice of children being looked after by their maternal grandmothers, especially in rural areas. As in the case of school fees, self-supporters were found only among drop-outs. More drop-outs had their mothers and female relatives supporting them, while their stay-in counterparts had their fathers and male relatives to cater for their needs.

Table 7-17: Supporters (Food and Clothing)

	parents	other male relatives	other female relatives	self	total
drop-outs	19 (59.4%)	1 (3.1%)	8 (25.0%)	4 (12.5%)	32 (50.0%)
stay-ins	21 (65.6%)	4 (12.5%)	7 (21.9%)	0 (0.0%)	32 (50.0%)
total	40 (62.5%)	5 (7.8%)	15 (23.4%)	4 (6.3%)	64 (100.0%)

(χ^2= 5.97, 3df, n.s.)

Table 7-18 shows the gender breakdown of Table 7-17. Like the school fees (Table 7-16) 'self-supporting' was found only among male drop-outs. There was a tendency for male youths to be supported by male relatives and females to be supported by female relatives, both among drop-outs and stay-ins.

Table 7-18: Supporters (Food and Clothing) by Gender

		parents	other male relatives	other female relatives	self	total
drop-outs	male	9 (56.2%)	1 (6.3%)	2 (12.5%)	4 (25.0%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	11 (62.5%)	0 (0.0%)	6 (37.5%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (100.0%)
stay-ins	male	10 (62.5%)	4 (25.0%)	2 (12.5%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	11 (68.7%)	0 (0.0%)	5 (31.34%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (100.0%)

iii) Household Assets

The household assets and facilities were compared between the two groups. The average number of rooms in the house was 2.6 (SD 1.3) among drop-outs and 2.9 (SD 2.4) among stay-ins. There was no statistically significant difference between the two (t=-.65, 62df, n.s.). Table 7-19 shows the mean number of rooms of drop-outs and stay-ins by gender. While stay-in males reported a higher number than stay-in females, drop-out males reported a lower number than drop-out females, although these differences did not reach the statistically significant level.

Table 7-19: Mean Number of Rooms by Gender

	Male	Female	Total
Drop-outs	2.4	2.8	2.6
Stay-ins	4.0	1.8	2.9

Among the items of household assets inquired about (namely, cushion-foam chairs, radio, radio cassette, TV, refrigerator, cooker, and electricity), most of the houses had cushion-foam chairs and radios, but only a few of them had a TV set, a refrigerator or a cooker. TV showed a significant difference between the two groups (χ^2=6.56, 1df, p<.05); a greater percentage of stay-ins had TV sets in their houses. Among the seven items studied, drop-outs had an average of 1.8 (SD 1.6) and stay-ins had 2.5 (SD 2.0). There was no statistical significance (t=-1.65, 62df, n.s.). As expected, there was a significant

difference between the town schools and the village schools (t=-2.09, 62df, p<.05). Table 7-20 shows the mean number of household assets by gender. Similar to the case of the number of rooms in the house, drop-out males reported a slightly lower number than drop-out females while stay-in males had a higher number than stay-in females, although the difference was not statistically significant.

Table 7-20: Mean Number of Items in the Household by Gender

	Male	Female	Total
Drop-outs	1.7	1.9	1.8
Stay-ins	2.8	2.3	2.6

iv) Religion

The religion of the drop-outs and stay-ins was compared as shown in Table 7-21. Slightly more Christians were found among stay-ins than drop-outs although the difference was not statistically significant. Table 7-22 shows the gender breakdown of religion and reveals that male drop-outs displayed a different tendency from the rest of the group: a greater number of believers of traditional religion was found among male drop-outs. The religion of their fathers and mothers was also asked and the responses showed a similar pattern. Studies done earlier in Ghana, such as Blakemore (1975), observed an inverse relation between school enrolment and belief in traditional religion. However, the present research did not find such an association.

Table 7-21: Religion

	Christian	Muslim	traditional religion	total
drop-outs	24 (75.0%)	1 (3.1%)	7 (21.9%)	32 (50.0%)
stay-ins	29 (90.6%)	2 (6.3%)	1 (3.1%)	32 (50.0%)
total	53 (82.8%)	3 (4.7%)	8 (12.5%)	64(100.0%)

(χ^2=5.31, 2df, n.s.)

Table 7-22: Religion of Drop-outs and Stay-ins by Gender

		Christian	Muslim	traditional religion	total
drop-outs	male	8 (50.0%)	1 (6.3%)	7 (43.7%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	16 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (100.0%)
stay-ins	male	14 (87.5%)	1 (6.3%)	1 (6.3%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	15 (93.7%)	1 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (100.0%)

d) School Experience

Drop-outs and stay-ins did not show a marked difference in their school experience and their opinion on education.

Both drop-outs and stay-ins were generally positive about the new JSS system, as shown in Table 7-23. More drop-outs expressed indifference than stay-ins. This could mean that these drop-outs did not think much about education any longer, as they did not have much to do with schooling any longer, while stay-ins were still in the system and had opinions on education.

Table 7-23: Opinion towards the JSS and the Education Reform

	very positive (1)	positive (2)	indifferent (3)	somewhat negative (4)	negative (5)	total
drop-outs	3 (9.4%)	9 (28.1%)	14 (43.8%)	4 (12.5%)	2 (6.3%)	32 (50.0%)
stay-ins	4 (12.5%)	14 (43.8%)	4 (12.5%)	6 (18.8%)	4 (12.5%)	32 (50.0%)
total	7 (7.8%)	23 (35.9%)	18 (28.1%)	10 (15.6%)	6 (9.4%)	64 (100.0%)

Table 7-24 shows the gender breakdown of opinion towards the JSS and the Education Reform. For both drop-outs and stay-ins slightly more males ressponded positively than females. More female drop-outs responded 'indifferent' than males.

Table 7-24: Opinion towards the JSS and the Education Reform by Gender

		very positive (1)	positive (2)	indifferent (3)	somewhat negative (4)	negative (5)	total
drop-outs	male	2 (12.5%)	5 (31.2%)	6 (37.5%)	2 (12.5%)	1 (6.3%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	1 (6.3%)	4 (25.0%)	8 (50.0%)	2 (12.5%)	1 (6.3%)	16 (100.0%)
stay-ins	male	2 (12.5%)	8 (50.0%)	3 (18.7%)	2 (12.5%)	1 (6.3%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	2 (12.5%)	6 (37.5%)	1 (6.3%)	4 (25.0%)	3 (18.7%)	16 (100.0%)

Table 7-25 shows the experience of grade repetition. Over 40% of drop-outs and 30% of stay-ins had one or more times repeated grades. Most of them repeated in primary school. Although a larger number of drop-outs had repeated, there was no statistically significant difference between drop-outs and stay-ins. Therefore, the latter part of the sub-proposition A-4 about dropping out after repetition was not confirmed.

Table 7-25: Repetition in the Past

	repeated	never repeated	total
drop-outs	14 (43.2%)	18 (56.3%)	32 (50.0%)
stay-ins	10 (31.3%)	22 (68.7%)	32 (50.0%)
total	24 (37.5%)	40 (62.5%)	64 (100.0%)

(χ^2= 1.07, 1df, n.s.).

Table 7-26 shows the gender breakdown of the experience of grade repetition. While the experience of repetition between female drop-outs and stay-ins was identical, a greater number of male drop-outs had repeated in the past. Boys repeated more than girls both among drop-outs and stay-ins, and the difference was greater among drop-outs than stay-ins. This higher rate of previous repetition among boys corresponds to the repetition rates in the whole district where boys were repeating more often than girls, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Table 7-26: Repetition in the Past by Gender

		repeated	never repeated	total
drop-outs	male	11 (68.8%)	5 (31.3%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	3 (18.8%)	13 (81.3%)	16 (100.0%)
stay-ins	male	7 (43.8%)	9 (56.3%)	16 (100.0%)
	female	3 (18.8%)	13 (81.3%)	16 (100.0%)

Favourite subjects, least favourite subjects, useful subjects, least useful subjects noted by students are shown in Tables 7-27 to 7-30. Both drop-outs and stay-ins showed similar responses. Favourite subjects and subjects considered useful were similar. There were few gender differences. For both drop-outs and stay-ins, 'French' was considered least favourite, and least useful.

The reason most commonly given for favourite subjects was "I understood (understand for stay-ins) the subject", or "Teachers teach the subject well." The reason given for least favourite subjects was "I did not (do not) understand the subject at all." One drop-out girl said, "There were so many subjects that I often did not understand which subject we were learning." (BD2M).

A number of drop-outs as well as stay-ins expressed the difficulties of these subjects. "All the subjects, I did not understand them at all. I did not understand them and I did not like them at all" (AD2M). "I did not like Maths. They (teachers) don't teach them well" (CD4M). French was least liked for a similar reason.

Pre-vocational subjects, such as 'Technical Skills', 'Vocational Skills', and 'Technical Drawing', as well as other practical subjects, such as 'Life Skills' were not considered as useful as traditional academic subjects such as 'English', 'Mathematics', and 'General Science'. One stay-in said, "Vocational Skills is not useful because after completing JSS, there is no one to send me to vocational school" (BST3F). Here, the subject 'Vocational Skills' is considered merely a prerequisite to higher education, and its

practical values are not mentioned, proving the point made by Foster (1965) about people's preference for academic orientation for success. Another stay-in said that Technical Drawing was least useful as this kind of job was only available overseas. (DST2M).

Table 7-27: Favourite Subjects

	English	Maths	General Science	Social studies	Fanti	Cultural studies	Agricultural Studies	Technical Drawing	Technical skills	Vocational Skills	Life Skills	French	P.E	total
Drop-outs	11 (34.4%)	7 (21.9%)	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	4 (12.5%)	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	2 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.1%)	3 (9.4%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	32 (100.0%)
Stay-ins	8 (42.1%)	6 (18.8%)	2 (6.3%)	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	6 (18.8%)	2 (3.1%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	32 (100.0%)
total	19 (29.7%)	13 (20.3%)	3 (4.7%)	2 (3.1%)	5 (7.8%)	2 (3.1%)	7 (10.9%)	4 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (3.1%)	7 (10.9%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	64 (100.0%)

Table 7-28: Least Favourite Subjects

	English	Maths	General Science	Social studies	Fanti	Cultural studies	Agricultural Studies	Technical Drawing	Technical skills	Vocational Skills	Life Skills	French	P.E	total
Drop-outs	4 (12.5%)	1 (3.1%)	2 (6.3%)	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	2 (6.3%)	3 (9.4%)	3 (9.4%)	2 (6.3%)	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	11 (34.4%)	0 (0.0%)	32 (100.0%)
Stay-ins	2 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	7 (21.9%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.1%)	6 (18.8%)	3 (9.4%)	5 (15.6%)	0 (0.0%)	8 (25.0%)	0 (0.0%)	32 (100.0%)
total	6 (9.4%)	1 (1.6%)	2 (3.1%)	1 (1.6%)	8 (12.6%)	2 (3.1%)	4 (6.3%)	9 (14.1%)	5 (7.8%)	6 (9.4%)	1 (1.6%)	19 (29.7%)	0 (0.0%)	64 (100.0%)

Table 7-29: Subjects Considered Useful

	English	Maths	General Science	Social studies	Fanti	Cultural studies	Agricultural Studies	Technical Drawing	Technical skills	Vocational Skills	Life Skills	French	P.E	total
Drop-outs	21 (656%)	3 (9.4%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (9.4%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.1%)	2 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	0 (0.0%)	32 (100.0%)
Stay-ins	12 (37.5%)	4 (12.5%)	4 (12.5%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.1%)	6 (18.8%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (6.3%)	2 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	32 (100.0%)
total	33 (51.6%)	7 (10.9%)	4 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (4.7%)	1 (1.6%)	7 (10.9%)	2 (3.1%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (3.1%)	3 (4.7%)	1 (1.6%)	0 (0.0%)	64 (100.0%)

Table 7-30: Subjects Considered Least Useful

	English	Maths	General Science	Social studies	Fanti	Cultural studies	Agricultural Studies	Technical Drawing	Technical skills	Vocational Skills	Life Skills	French	P.E	total
Drop-outs	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (9.4%	4 (12.5%)	2 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	15 (44.1%)	0 (0.0%)	32 (100.0%)
Stay-ins	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (12.5%()	1 (3.1%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.1%)	2 (6.3%)	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	19 (59.4%)	0 (0.0%)	32 (100.0%)
total	1 (1.6%)	1 (1.6%)	1 (1.6%)	0 (0.0%)	6 (9.4%)	1 (1.6%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (6.3%)	6 (9.4%)	3 (4.7%)	1 (1.6%)	34 (53.1%)	0 (0.0%)	64 (100.0%)

7.4.2 Comparison of Drop-out and Stay-in Pairs

In order to portray the qualitative differences, Table 7-31 indicates the nature of the match and some differences in 17 cases out of 32 pairs. The previous section displayed the differences derived from the structured interviews. The following table shows differences observed through interviews and observations.

Table 7-31: Matched Pairs of Drop-outs and Stay-ins

drop-out and stay-in matched	gender	age	academic background	socio-economic background	some differences observed (statement concerning drop-out)
AD1M	M	15	low	low	mother left and raised by aunt used to work as farm labour while enrolled
AD3M	M	16	low	low	father died years ago. last born of the ten children with few of them employed had funeral of grandmother
AD2F	F	19	middle	middle	parents divorced
AD3F	F	16	low	middle	her sister (closest in the family) dropped out
AD4F	F	17	low	low	had very few friends in school and her best friend (AD2F) dropped out
BD2M	M	15	high	low	parents divorced and father away from the country Immigrant from Mali
BD3M	M	17	low	low	moved from nearby town a number of children from outside
BD4M	M	17	low	low	father died, raised by mother and grandmother friends who dropped out and non enrolled (group in the beach)
BD1F	F	16	low	middle	father away in another town but not divorced Ga-speaker
BD2F	F	18	high	middle	father away in Sweden (remarried)
CD2M	F	18	low	low	drop-out tended to become ill.
CD3M	F	20	low	low	mother (worked as a petty trader as father was ill and could not work) passed away has a slight limp
CD1F	F	17	middle	low	parents deceased limping (polio)
CD3F	F	18	middle	low	father deceased

DD1M	M	15	middle	low	grew up in a different town (speaks with some accent) loner in the class
DD2M	M	17	low	low	living alone due to his mother's remarriage.
DD2F	F	18	high	low	mother in Côte d'Ivoire, raised by grandmother started schooling late (4th grade primary school)
DD4F	F	20	middle	low	parents divorced, raised by grandmother

Divorce of parents was common both among drop-outs and stay-ins. However, divorce seemed to have affected drop-outs more severely. In some cases, children left home and lived alone. Death of family members was also reported by drop-outs while not so common among stay-ins. One drop-out explained that the cost of the funeral of the grandmother was a burden for the family which made him stop schooling.

Two drop-outs were not Fanti ethnic/language group although they spoke the language fluently. One was an immigrant from Mali and another from Accra. They had fewer friends at school. Two more drop-outs were Fanti speakers but moved to the area when in primary school. One spoke with an accent. Another difference observed was physical. Two of the drop-outs had a slight limp from polio.

Although every effort was made to select a matching stay-in against each drop-out, there were some difficulties in matching all four criteria within the limited number of students in a class. Stay-ins were slightly younger than the drop-outs although the difference was not statistically significant. The average age of 32 drop-outs was 17.16 while that of stay-ins was 16.56 (t=1.75, 62df, p=.85). Stay-ins' academic performance was slightly higher than that of drop-outs, and stay-ins' socio-economic background also seemed slightly higher than that of drop-outs, as shown in the higher academic background of the stay-in's family head.

7.5 Conclusion

An examination of four schools and communities highlighted a few differences between the two schools with high drop-out rates and other two schools with low drop-out rates. Teachers in schools with low drop-out rates resided within the communities while teachers in schools with high drop-out rates resided outside the communities. Teacher turn-over was higher in the latter schools.

Both rural schools had development projects. School A with a high drop-out rate had a Ministry project on construction of the headteacher's house. School D with a low drop-out rate had an integrated development project which included construction of teachers' housing and classrooms. The former project was observed as being carried out without consensus of the teachers and the community. On the other hand, the project initiated by an NGO in the latter village had more communication with and commitment from the community. The project incorporated the local leadership effectively and made many people in the village feel ownership towards the development project as a whole. It might not be directly related to the drop-out rates, but the different nature of these development projects might suggest the relationship between the community and schools, which could encourage children to continue schooling.

A comparison of paired drop-outs and stay-ins showed very few differences. Similarly, gender breakdown of these figures revealed very few differences except for a few aspects, such as the number of repetitions, the people who support them, and their religious beliefs.

A comparison of drop-outs and stay-ins showed very few differences in family composition. The average number of siblings was five to seven. A majority of these young people were supported by their parents, but also by others in the extended family. Slightly more stay-ins had household heads of some schooling while more drop-outs had household heads of no schooling. However, over half of the household heads in both groups did not have any schooling and there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups. A few of the drop-outs supported themselves; those who bought their food and clothing as well as paid the school fees were found only among male drop-

outs. Gender differences showed a different pattern between drop-outs and stay-ins in sibling order, their supporters, household assets, and religion. Among drop-outs more females were first born while more males were last born. For food and clothing, more females in both drop-outs and stay-ins were supported by other female relatives. In household assets, drop-outs and females were slightly disadvantaged. In general, most houses did not have many possessions, especially in rural communitites.

Male drop-outs were different from others in their religious belief. Those who believed in traditional religion were found mainly among male drop-outs. Both drop-outs and stay-ins were positive about the new JSS and the education reform. There was no difference between drop-outs and stay-ins as to whether they had repeated the grades before. However, more males than females reported to have repeated. Their opinions on the school subjects indicate the strong preference for and importance placed on 'academic' subjects while pre-vocational and practical subjects were not liked or thought to be useful.

Of the two sub-propositions examined in this chapter:
B1: *Differences in family composition* was not confirmed. No major differences were found in family composition. Both drop-outs and stay-ins had a flexible family structure, where support was given from the extended family. More stay-ins had their fathers paying their food and clothing than drop-outs. Both drop-outs and stay-ins had their mothers and female relatives paying their school fees and food/clothing. Minor differences were observed in the household heads' occupation and educational background, and in the students' religion.

B2: *Differences in school experience* was not confirmed. No difference was found in repetition between drop-outs and stay-ins. In their attitude toward JSS, responses were similar. In their preference in school subjects, both groups considered academic subjects more important and useful than practical/vocational subjects. School experiences of the drop-outs will be examined further through unstructured interviews about their process of dropping out.

Some of the female drop-outs were associated with poverty, such as having their parents divorced. Those who became pregnant were associated with such poverty. This will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

8 Process of Dropping Out

8.1 Introduction

In this section, the process of leaving school will be discussed. The information was chiefly obtained from the drop-outs themselves. The narrative accounts of the drop-outs themselves will therefore serve as our main source of information since their perspective was considered most important for the purpose. However, when necessary, other people's observations and accounts will also be used as triangulation of data sources. In addition, responses from the structured interviews will also be utilised. In this chapter, Question 3, part of proposition C on the process of dropping out, namely sub-proposition C-1, will be investigated.

Question 3: What are the processes of dropping out?

Proposition C: Gender differences may be observed in the process of dropping out, students' subsequent activities, and their future prospects.

Sub-proposition C-1: Gender differences may be observed in the process of dropping out.

8.2 Attendance

In addition to the narrative accounts given by the drop-outs and other people, the attendance registers were examined. The purpose of the exercise was to know the exact time of their leaving school, and also the pattern of their attendance while they were still enrolled at school. This investigation highlighted a number of issues.

In all four schools visited, as well as many of the other schools observed earlier for the school survey, the most notable characteristic of attendance was that there was no absenteeism at the beginning of the term. For the first three to four weeks, all students, including those who dropped out later in the course of the academic year, were present.

Then some students started being absent, slowly drifting away from school. All students seemed highly motivated in the beginning but something discouraged them from continuing their schooling. This could be interpreted as students' eagerness at the beginning of the school term and the school's inability to maintain it.

Attendance in the school registers showed the pattern of attendance among the drop-outs. A number of drop-outs stopped schooling during the school holidays and others stopped during the school term. Some of them were absent on a number of occasions before they finally left, and others were attending regularly and left abruptly. Some dropped out due to economic activities as a number of JSS students were engaged in farming and trading to contribute to the family income.

Much of the absenteeism was caused by students being sent home to collect fees. Sometimes, the register recorded that a number of students, including those who later dropped out, had been recorded absent from school for that reason. Some of them came back to school the next day indicating that they came with their school fees. However, others did not come back to school for a long time as they were unable to bring their required fees.

There was a pattern in absenteeism according to the days of the week. Certain days of the week had almost all the students coming to school, while other days had many students absent from school. This coincided with the economic activities in the area, indicating that many students were engaged in productive activities. In Elmina, Tuesday was the day that fishing was traditionally prohibited and there were very few absentees on this day. Similarly, in Dompoase-Kukuadu, Friday was the day that farmers did not go to farm, and there were fewer absentees. On the other hand, the market was held every Tuesday in the nearby town, and a number of students were absent. Three males and one female had attended very irregularly and attempted to stop a number of times before finally dropping out of school. One drop-out was in school only from Tuesday to Thursday for a few months before he finally stopped coming to school.

8.3 Dropping Out

The time when students stopped schooling is shown in Table 8-1. The majority of those researched in this study dropped out when they were in JSS2, and a very few dropped out in JSS3. This finding was partly due to the sampling method used; all the drop-outs were selected from the cohorts currently enrolled in JSS2 and JSS3. Therefore, half of the samples had not reached JSS3 at the time of the data collection. However, this agrees with the pattern of dropping out found in the school survey, and described in Chapter 6 which shows that there were fewer drop-outs in JSS3.

Table 8-1: Class When Drop-outs Stopped Schooling

	JSS1	JSS2	JSS3	total
male	5 (31.3%)	11 (68.8%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (50.0%)
female	4 (25.0%)	11 (68.8%)	1 (6.3%)	16 (50.0%)
total	9 (28.1%)	22 (68.8%)	1 (3.1%)	32 (100.0%)

(χ^2=1.11, 2df, n.s.)

The immediate reason for stopping school given by drop-outs is shown in Table 8-2. The main reason for males was 'school fees', while the main cause of drop-out among females was 'pregnancy'. The result agrees with studies carried out in Ghana and elsewhere. In interviews with girls who dropped out, they often responded initially that it was not pregnancy but other reasons that made them leave school. However, after a number of meetings, they started admitting that it was their pregnancies which made them stop school.

Table 8-2: Immediate Cause of Leaving School by Gender

	school fees	low academic achievement	pregnancy	others	total
male	9 (56.3%)	4 (25.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (18.8%)	16 (50.0%)
female	2 (12.5%)	1 (6.3%)	11 (68.7%)	2 (12.5%)	16 (50.0%)
total	11 (34.4%)	5 (15.6%)	11 (34.4%)	5 (15.6%)	32 (100.0%)

(χ^2=17.45, 3df, p.<01)

Table 8-3 shows the immediate causes of leaving school. In schools with high drop-out rates the most common reason was 'school fees' while in schools with low drop-out rates it was 'pregnancy'. Seven out of eight female drop-outs left school due to pregnancy in these schools.

Table 8-3: Immediate Cause of Leaving School by Schools with Different Drop-out Rates

schools with drop-out rates	school fees	low academic achievement	pregnancy	others	total
high	8 (50.0%)	1 (6.3%)	4 (25.0%)	3 (18.8%)	16 (50.0%)
low	3 (18.8%)	4 (25.0%)	7 (43.8%)	2 (12.5%)	16 (50.0%)
total	11 (34.4%)	5 (15.6%)	11 (34.4%)	5 (15.6%)	32 (100.0%)

(χ^2=5.09, 3df, n.s.)

Table 8-4 shows the person who made the decision to leave school. A majority of drop-outs responded that it was their own decision. Their adult family members agreed: they also responded that it was their children who made the decision. However, when asked who was responsible for causing drop-out in general, a larger number of drop-outs blamed parents (adult family members) as shown in Table 8-5. The result corresponds with the study carried out in primary school drop-out and non-enrolment (UNICEF MOE 1994) where parents were largely blamed not only by others, such as teachers and community leader, but also by parents themselves.

Table 8-4: Decision to Leave School

	self	parents/guardian	total
male	15 (93.8%)	1 (6.3%)	16 (50.0%)
female	13 (81.3%)	3 (18.8%)	16 (50.0%)
total	28 (87.5%)	4 (12.5%)	32 (50.0%)

(χ^2=1.14, 1df, n.s.)

Table 8-5: Persons Responsible for Causing Drop-out in General

	students themselves	parents guardians	teachers	government	total
male	7 (43.8%)	8 (50.0%)	1 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (50.0%)
female	4 (25.0%)	11 (68.8%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (6.3%)	16 (50.0%)
total	11 (34.4%)	19 (59.4%)	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	32 (100.0%)

(χ^2=3.29, 3df, n.s.)

8.4 Multiple Causes of Drop-out

A close examination of the process of dropping out revealed that many of the drop-outs had a number of causes for dropping out. The immediate cause given in the structured interviews was preceded by a number of difficulties that these students had experienced. Table 8-6 shows the number of difficulties (risk factors) that drop-outs had.

A majority of drop-outs had home factors of 'financial difficulties' and 'family difficulties'. 'Family difficulties' included divorce of parents, living away from parents, loss of parent(s), or being an adopted child. Among school factors, 'low academic achievement' was prevalent. 'Identity' implies belonging to a different ethnic/language group from one's classmates. 'School experience' implies that a drop-out expressed unfair treatment or that an unhappy incident happened at school.

Males had a higher number of such risk factors than females: while male drop-outs had an average of 3.32 factors, female drop-outs had an average of 1.81 factors. All males had at least two risk factors, but two of the females had no risk factors.

Table 8-6: Multiple Causes of Dropping out

school	gender	immediate cause of dropping out	home		school		
			financial difficulties	family difficulties	identity	school experience	low academic achievement
high drop-out rate	M	school fees	X	X			X
	M	school fees	X	X		X	X
	M	school fees	X	X		X	X
	M	school fees	X	X			
	F	pregnancy	X	X			X
	F	pregnancy					
	F	academic problem					X
	F	school fees	X	X	X		X
	M	other (truancy)	X	X		X	X
	M	school fees	X	X	X	X	
	M	school fees	X	X		X	X
	M	other (truancy)	X			X	X
	F	other (punishment)			X		X
	F	pregnancy		X			
	F	Pregnancy	X	X		X	
	F	school fees	X	X			X
low drop-out rate	M	academic problem	X	X		X	X
	M	other (illness)	X	X			X
	M	school fees	X	X			X
	M	academic problem	X	X		X	X
	F	pregnancy		X			
	F	others (lost interest)	X	X			X
	F	pregnancy	X	X			
	F	pregnancy	X	X			
	M	academic problem	X	X	X		
	M	school fees	X	X		X	X
	M	academic problem		X			X
	M	school fees	X	X			
	F	pregnancy		X			
	F	pregnancy					
	F	pregnancy		X			
	F	pregnancy	X	X			

8.5 Some Comments on the Process of Dropping out

8.5.1 Family and Communities

a) Financial Difficulties and Fluid Households

While over one third of drop-outs cited school fees as the immediate cause of their dropping out, even those whose immediate cause was not schools fees had financial problems (23 out of 32, or 72%). Annual school fees consist of 900 cedis (£0.75) which covers user charges of textbooks, PTA funds, cultural funds and sport funds. Besides these, another 1500 cedis (£1.25) were demanded for the district development funds. The amount was described as modest by the Ministry of Education as well as the district council officials but parents had different opinions; 67% of teachers and educational administrators responded that the amount was reasonable, while only 29% of the parents and community leaders thought it reasonable. The amount was equivalent to a day's taking for a small stall in town, two days' farm labour, or a day and a half's work on a construction site. One parent replied, "It is expensive. If you are looking after two or three (children), how can you pay so much?" (DDP1M-note). Parents complained of other expenses incurred in school, such as exercise books, pens, school uniforms. Some had a strong opinion that the government should provide such items as it did soon after independence in the early 1960s.

A number of students had difficulties in their families and they had problems in paying fees. In all four communities visited, divorce was not uncommon. In Akan tradition, divorce is common and acceptable.

> Divorce (*hyireguro*) is neither anti-social nor religious sacrilege. Usually it is the male who takes the initiative, and he retains responsibility for the support of the children. Since the first aim of marriage is children, barrenness is a major source of divorce. Other grounds are incompatibility, adultery, a quarrelsome nature, and witchcraft (Warren 1986:19).

As a result of divorce and child fostering, family size or sibling size (which is the number of children sharing the same parent) is ambiguous. Recent observers note the flexible family structure.

> Not all children who share the same biological mother ('same-mother siblings') share the same father. Not all children who share the same biological mother or the same biological father ('same-father siblings') live in the same household. While children under the age of 15 usually live with family members, the children who reside together in the same household do not necessarily share the same biological parents (Lloyd and Gage-Brandon 1994).

In the communities visited, divorce was common and family structure was ambiguous. A financial dispute was a common cause of divorce. For example, when the large sugar factory was liquidated, a number of men left the place to work elsewhere and eventually divorced their spouses. Although Warren (1986) suggests that divorce is usually initiated by men, a greater number of divorces in the communities visited in this study were initiated by females. Responsibility for the support of children was also often taken by females.

The rate of divorce was increasing rapidly in the area. A recent study in the southern Volta region suggested that about 40% of all marriages ended in divorce and the frequency was estimated even higher among the Akan people (Nukunya 1991). This was partly attributed to the characteristics of matrilineal societies where stable marriages are not necessarily required to maintain the lineage.

In Akan tradition, it is common for married couples to live in separate houses. Wives retain their private property and nearly 50% of them live in matrilineal households under female heads (Kuada and Chachah 1987, Warren 1986). This custom is related to the clear division of labour on the grounds of gender. In coastal villages and towns, many males engage in fishing while females do the processing of fish as well as small scale trading. Although, in a traditional society, divorce was "no extreme emotional blow for children, because of the extended family system"(Warren 1986:19), in the communities studied, divorce and death of family members seemed to have affected children's schooling by creating financial difficulties. Moreover, children were often left with their relatives while their biological parent(s) went to work elsewhere. It was common for such children to be looked after by their maternal grandmothers.

In an ethnographic study of the lives of children in migrant workers' hostels in Cape

Town, South Africa, Jones(1993) found that the household structure of the migrant workers was fluid. As a result, it was common for a number of children to be left in rural areas while others lived with their parent(s). Consequently children were "in the absence of either one or both parents, brought up primarily by grandparents or other kin in a rural extended household" (Jones 1993:55). Similar situations were observed in the area studied. Although political and social conditions were different, rural Ghana also lacked employment opportunities and many people left their rural household and worked in towns. Emmanuel (CD1M) together with his brother and sister lived with his grandmother while his parents lived and worked in Accra. The family had four children in Accra and the rest in the village. In the area studied, children commonly lived with their maternal grandmothers while the parent(s) lived and worked elsewhere.

Salif's (BD2M) parents were divorced and he and his four brothers remained with his mother. His father went to Nigeria to work. Salif's attendance was very good in JSS1 and JSS2. Occasionally, he was absent for about a week when those who had not paid the fees were sent back home. His mother had a small stall to sell toffees, sugar and cocoa powder. When he was in JSS2, his mother's petty trade had problems. Her stall was broken and she did not have money to repair it. She lost customers and could not continue her business in the same way. She started selling salt, but it did not bring enough income to support her son's education. Salif described the last time he was sent home.

> My mother did not have money. The headmaster sent me home to collect school fees. So, when I told my mother that, she told me that she did not have any money. So, she made me stay at home. . .and then, my younger father (uncle) came. My mother, she divorced my father (and my uncle looked after us). So, when my younger father (uncle) came here, he gave me 1,000 cedis (83 pence). By the time when he gave me the money to pay, the school was already on holidays. When I went to school to pay, the school had already closed. There were a small number of days for the school to reopen. And, later, my mother told me that I should relax. If that is the case, I should obey my mother, so I stopped school (BD2M -tape).

His uncle's money was too late and was not enough. In JSS3, students were required to pay the BECE (Basic Education Certificate Examination) registration fees in addition to the regular school fees. The amount of 3,500 cedis was something that Salif's family was

unable to pay.

Abraham's (AD1M) parents separated when he was an infant. He stayed with his mother and siblings. When he was in primary school, his mother left him and two daughters in Amisano village to work in Abidjan in Cote d'Ivoire. It was very common for Ghanaians, especially from the Central and Western Regions to go and work in Cote d'Ivoire. A study carried out on the migrant workers in Abidjan described the migration pattern as being quite different from ordinary international migration as there was a greater ratio of lone females moving to Abidjan to work (Anarfi 1989). In the area studied, it was common for both men and women to go and work in Abidjan as unskilled workers.

Abraham's sisters went to live with their maternal uncle and he was sent to his maternal aunt. His aunt supported him while he was in primary school, but when he entered JSS, she no longer provided for all his needs, according to Abraham. He started working at other people's farms as a farm labourer.

> When I was going to school, I was in difficulties, like payment of school fees. I did not even have food to eat. My aunt sometimes gave me food or small money to buy food. But other times, she did not give me anything (AD1M-note).

It became even more difficult after his mother's death. He had no one to ask for money. He said that he started working as a farm labourer to buy food and clothes.

> My mother used to send me some clothes down here, but the people (other relatives) don't do such things for me. If she (my aunt) were not able to provide, and I had some money there, I would use it (AD1M-tape).

His aunt was not content with Abraham earning money from his work as a farm labourer and, moreover, buying his own clothes. She did not like the idea of her nephew spending money without consulting her. And then, a small dispute occurred.

> I know sometime ago, I did something and she spoke badly to (insulted) me and she said when she was staying with my mother, she didn't give her anything, so she didn't see the reason why she should look after me. . . (AD1M-note).

He repeated this story a number of times when we met him. He said that he could not tolerate his aunt insulting his late mother. He was normally quiet, but he expressed himself firmly when he talked about the issue.

> My aunt was unwilling to pay the school fees. When she paid fees, she insulted my mother. I did not like it so I asked her to stop insulting and stop paying (AD1M-note).

His aunt was a hard worker but she still had difficulties in supporting all her dependents. She looked after two teenagers of her own as well as two grandchildren and another girl from her distant relatives. She had a small plot of maize and cassava. Every morning she woke up at dawn to cook *kenky* (fermented and cooked maize dough) for sale. Her granddaughters helped her selling before going to primary school. Abraham's aunt was angry with her nephew. She insisted that it was his fault that he left school.

> There was nothing to worry him. I sewed his uniform. He did not understand me. He should have been patient. But he went to the farm for labour. He did not help my farm. Whenever I asked him to go to school, he said, 'I am going,' but up to now he hasn't gone back to school. Even his uncle who works in leprosarium, even he called Abraham to tell him to go to school, but up to now, he does not go to school (ADP1M-note).

After that, he left his aunt and started living in his friend's house. Then a farmer in the village for whom Abraham worked, offered him a space to sleep. He was staying in this house when we visited him. He cooked and ate with two of his friends with whom he worked together on the farm, both of whom were primary school drop-outs. He did not talk to his aunt; when she came to Amisano village, he did his best to avoid her. She told us, "I don't know where he is. When I go to Amisano, he does not come to greet me" (ADP1M-note). She thought it was the influence of other teenagers. "He associates with too many bad boys. Too much" (ADP1M-note).

His uncle who worked as a pharmacist at the leprosarium was a family head. He was also worried about Abraham, saying that the boy should have been more obedient to his aunt who had helped him a great deal before. In his opinion, Abraham could have continued his schooling like his elder sisters who were then going to vocational schools, if only he had been obedient.

Patience (CD2F) was adopted by her mother's cousin when her mother went to Abidjan to work, leaving her with her relatives. Patience said that she had not heard from her mother for years. She used to work at the farm with her aunt even during the school term. She had been to the farm almost every day in the early morning before going to school. Her attendance was relatively regular but her academic performance was described as below average by teachers. Patience said that she felt too tired to go to school after weeding on the farm. She was in JSS for one term and then stopped going after the holiday. Her school fees were never paid.

Christina (CD3F) left school when she was in JSS2, in May 1993, five months after her maternal cousin, Patience had left. Patience's aunt and Christina's mother were sisters. Christina lost her father when she was in JSS1. Her mother produced coconut oil and palm oil at her kitchen hut on the north-eastern edge of the settlement. She cooked and ate in the kitchen with her children and went to the main house to sleep at night.

Christina was an average student who was attending school regularly. She explained that it was difficult for her mother to support the continued schooling of all the children after her father's death.

> The reason why I stopped schooling, I told you when you came here before, is because my father died. My mother was paying school fees for all the children. Two thousand and five hundred cedis for JSS alone is a lot of money. There was another girl attending primary school. My mother paid one thousand cedis for her. So, because of these expenses, I asked my mother to stop my schooling (CD3F-tape).

Her mother also confirmed that Christina had volunteered to give up education when the family had financial difficulties after her husband's death. She said, "My husband passed away. I tried to pay her (Christina's) school fees, but could not cope. I have other children who go to school. Each one costs money" (CDP3F-note). Christina stressed that she decided on her own accord to stop.

> I made the decision on my own. I said that I did not want to go to school any more. I could see my mother suffering because she was paying school fees. . . At first when I asked her to give me money (for school fees) she refused. And she did the same thing later. So, I decided to stop. I told her that if that is the case,

I will stop school (CDP3F-tape).

She was pregnant by the time she left school. She did not admit that she had left school because of pregnancy, but stressed that the financial difficulty was the cause and the pregnancy occurred after her decision to withdraw from school.

Sam (DD2M) stopped school when he was in JSS2. He was the first born and only child of his father. His biological father died when he was still an infant; Sam said that he did not remember his father. After some years, when Sam was in primary school, his mother remarried. While he was in primary school, he lived with his mother, stepfather and their children. His maternal grandfather paid his school fees while he was in primary school. When he was in class six, he left home to live with friends with whom he worked on a farm. He was practically supporting himself then. While he was in JSS1 he was often absent from school as he worked on the farm and went hunting. He was very good at setting traps to catch grasscutters (middle sized rodents considered a delicacy in the area) and rats. When he had a catch, he went to Kissi, a nearby town to sell his catch.

His attendance was very infrequent. Even when he was attending classes more often during the first and second term, he was often absent on Tuesdays, the market day in a nearby town, in order to sell his farm produce. During the rainy season when the farm labourers were needed for weeding, he was absent for a long time. He said that he had paid school fees on his own.

> My mother and father (step-father) do not buy things for me. They do not provide food, books and pens. If I tell my father, he doesn't buy. If I tell my mother, she does not buy. And teachers caned me at school. I had to leave school for a day or two to work for other people's field so that I could pay (DD2M-note).

His attendance became more and more sporadic towards the end of JSS1. Sam was a good football player and contributed to winning league matches. However, in studies he did not show as much brilliance. As teachers recalled, he was a weak student, his grades at the bottom end of the class. He failed in most of the subjects.

I could not study in the same way as others, you know. I did not understand the

> subjects any more (DD2M-note).

Sam's hands were wrinkled and hard, and his arms and legs had numerous small cuts and scratches from sugar cane leaves. Obviously he had been farming and hunting for years. He enjoyed working on the farm more than attending school. When he explained how to set traps, how to catch the animals and sell them, he looked proud and happy. It was a sharp contrast to the way he described his days at school. He said that he could eat well when he was working. On the other hand, he was hungry when he went to school, as attending school meant that he had no time to work for food.

> When we go to farm, and when we are tired of farming, we run to hunt for rats. . . rat meat is sweet (tasty). We used to cook cassava and roast a rat. When the cassava is about this big, animals can destroy them, so we fence around the field and place the traps around so that any animal crossing around can be trapped (DD2M-tape).

Richard (DD4M) left school in April 1994 when he was in JSS1. He was the last born of four. His father had died when he was still in primary school. Richard lived with his elderly mother in a family house where four of his aunts, his uncle and their families lived. Richard said that his mother could not pay his school fees and she asked him to stop school in order to help her farm. Richard said that school fees were too much for his mother. "It is a good money (expensive). If you have two or three in your house, it is difficult." (DD4M- note)

Joe (BD3M) was one of the few whose parents were in good health and not divorced. Joe was the fifth born of the seven in his family. He lived with his mother and his elder sister who was married with children. His younger sister in class six and younger brother in class four were also with them. His mother was a petty trader and his father worked as a carpenter. However, he had not had much carpentry work lately and he was farming a small plot he had in a nearby village. His elder brothers were working in Cote d'Ivoire and Germany but they did not remit as much money as their family members expected.

Joe stopped schooling in April 1993 when he was in JSS2. The reasons were mainly financial, but he gave slightly different stories at different times.

> School fees were 4,500 cedis. The headmaster sacked me from school because I could not pay. My father was in difficulties and told me to wait. While I was waiting, I decided to stop (BD3M-note).
>
> My mother was ill. She had to have an operation. I worked for three days at the construction site. My name was deleted from the school register (BD3M-note).

His attendance was not very regular. When he was in JSS 1 in the second term, he started to absent himself from school quite often. He explained that he started working at the construction site.

> At times, I did not have money. Sometimes I had to work. I had to work for three days a week before I went to school. If the money finished, I went to work again. So the headmaster cancelled my name. . . at that time, those three days, O.K. every week, I went to school three days. So, when I went to work one day and I came back, my friend John told me that the Headmaster said that I should not go to school again. So, I went to school to check. That one day, I could not go to work. I went to school. So when I went, teachers said the master had cancelled my name so I should go home (BD3M-tape).

Funerals are important social events in Akan societies as they "stress the unity in the lineage and the town; they help re-affirm cultural values" (Warren 1986:20). Therefore, elaborate ceremonies are performed, with many relatives and friends invited. Funerals were normally held on Saturdays, when people in traditional garments can often be seen. It is said that these funerals incur excessive expenditure for low income groups and rural dwellers.

Kwamena (AD4M) was also affected by funerals. He explained that he was unable to pay the fees and buy a new uniform due to the loss of family members. His paternal grandparents passed away in 1991 and 1992. When the family had to spend a lot of money on funerals, schooling became a financial burden for the whole family. His father could not pay the fees. Following custom, they had to paint the newly built family house before the funerals. After two funerals, Kwamena dropped out of school. His younger sister, eight years old, had up to that time not been to school, although she was due to start in the previous year.

As has been seen, nearly all the drop-outs had experiences of not being able to pay the fees, even when there were other reasons more directly related to the termination of their schooling. The user charge in basic education was introduced in the 1987 education reform. Although the concept had repeatedly been explained prior to its introduction, people still had difficulties in accepting the idea since basic education had once been free.

Those who had financial difficulties as the chief cause of dropping out often had difficulties in their family, such as the loss of fathers and divorced parents. The financial problems were often associated with domestic problems.

Financial difficulties could be described as the main surface cause. However, there may have been some other reasons for the family members not paying the fees. In some cases, they managed to pay the higher amount for an apprenticeship. There were two incidents where drop-outs who had stopped schooling due to school fees started an apprenticeship, paying *ntsirinsa* (joining fees) twenty times more than the school fees which they had not been able to pay. A possible explanation is that the formal schooling was considered as "consumption" while an apprenticeship was seen as "investment". This will be further discussed in Chapter 9.

Another case was the drop-out who was enrolled in *makalanta* (Arabic school), which charged approximately the same fees as JSS. However, the fees were collected weekly and the amount was affordable. Among low-income groups, saving is difficult. A child can receive a twenty-cedi coin or a fifty cedi coin each day from his guardian to buy a snack and light meals. A weekly fee of fifty cedis was something they could afford, but five hundred cedis per term was impossible to pay.

The Ministry of Education advised schools to collect fees in instalments and many schools did so. On the other hand, the amount of administrative work increased when the fees were paid in monthly instalments. Most of the administrative work was carried out by the headteachers as non-teaching staff had been dismissed due to the education reform. One headteacher said that he had once collected fees in instalments but encountered problems when the receipt for the partial payment was thought to be the full payment and some parents refused to pay the rest of the fees.

Financial problems were predominant, but they were not necessarily the sole cause. The concept of paying for basic education was not well accepted. In addition, schooling had a low priority in household expenditure. Formal schooling was not considered as an "investment" by those who did not have a chance of continuing to tertiary education. In these rural schools, only a few were able to continue education after JSS. Even if they were able to go to SSS, there was only a limited number of places available in tertiary education. The release of the SSSCE results in 1994 made people aware of the fact that the majority of secondary school graduates did not qualify for entrance to the university. This corresponds to the research of Lavy (1991) in which the cost and access to advanced level education influenced school attendance and attainment in rural Ghana.

b) Attitudes of Adult Family Members

In rural areas, children start participating in economic activities at very early stages. Students in JSS, especially male students, were considered grown-ups who should be actively involved in agriculture and other activities for the family. If they did not contribute as much as their adult family members wished them to, these adults often refused to pay the fees or even to give them food. A number of drop-outs cited incidents when their parents, guardians or other family members refused to pay their school fees on the grounds that they did not help in the farm work.

> My father told me, 'O.K. if you don't want to help me farm, I will also not help you' (DD2M-note).

Children also had reasons for working as farm labourers for other farmers rather than helping their relatives. Many of the youths said that they had to earn money to feed themselves. Children were introduced to money at a very early age. Often adults gave children money to buy food rather than cook for them. Both in urban and rural areas, people sell processed food at a small margin of profit. People frequently buy cooked maize meal called *etso* and *kenky* and sauce or fish. In the village, early in the morning, women sell cooked rice and beans with sauce.

A number of drop-outs started working at other people's fields as farm labourers. This

temporarily brought in even higher income than the household head received from his own farm. These young people were left to buy food and other things on their own, especially when the youth did not bring all his earnings home. Many adults expressed their dissatisfaction about their children.

> If you are a child and cannot help with the farm work, then you should not get money. I would not give any money. If the child does not work at my farm, I will not pay his school fees when he comes to ask for it. Where do we get the money from? I am always telling my children that if they don't help me in my farm, I would not help them in return. . .If they come to ask for school fees, books and shoes, where am I going to get money? So, children should help their mothers so that they can also be helped (DDP2M-note).

School teachers and some parents showed their concern that children were introduced to the idea of earning money too early. These financially capable youths were independent, and often too independent and not obedient enough to the elders in the community. The youths, on the other hand, felt that due to lack of parental responsibility and care, they had to go to work.

8.5.2 School Experience

a) Low Academic Achievement

Many of the drop-outs were described as weak students by teachers, parents and often by drop-outs themselves. However, out of 32 drop-outs, only one seemed to have apparent learning problems, and all the others looked capable of coping with school work.

John (CD4M) was very quiet. He seemed slower than those in the same age group. It looked as though he had some learning difficulties. At one point, we thought he did not understand Fanti or had hearing problems. He played with children of a much younger age.

He said that he became too ill to continue schooling. He had had a number of long stretches of absence in the past. After each, he went back to school. He said he was ill and was not able to go to school. But, at those times, he went to the farm to work. His

mother told us that John used to leave home and hide somewhere instead of going to school. According to her, John loved going to farm. He got ready before the others to go to the farm. He did not do well at school at all. His mother described that he used to get low marks and used to avoid going to school.

> He always got 0 out of 5 and 0 out of 10. When it is time to go to school, he puts on his uniform and goes to hide somewhere. When it is time for him to come back, he appears from somewhere saying, 'I have been to school.' When it is time to go to farm, he is the first one to be ready. He likes going to farm (CDP4M-note).

Other drop-outs did not seem to have distinctive learning problems, but many of them said that they encountered difficulties in studies when they started JSS. They realised that there was a change in the style of teaching. At primary school, one class teacher taught all subjects, but in JSS each subject was taught by a specialised teacher. Moreover, a number of new subjects were introduced, with which even teachers themselves were unfamiliar. Many, both drop-outs and stay-ins, admitted that they had been confused. Some teachers also showed their concern about the new system. The content of the new curriculum was more than that of the former middle school curriculum, yet the duration of junior secondary education was one year shorter than the middle school. The education reform aimed at achieving a more efficient education system, and reduced the number of years of schooling by increasing both the number of school days in a year and instruction time in a day. This created a great burden for both students and teachers.

Adwoa (AD4F) lived with her maternal cousin's family (her mother's elder sister's daughter and her children). Adwoa was the first born of two and had a younger brother. Her parents were divorced and her mother went to Accra leaving the children in Amisano. Adwoa stayed with her cousin and Adwoa's younger brother stayed with his father. It is said that young children tend to remain with their mothers after divorce while fathers have custody over them until they become mature (Kuada and Chachah 1987). On the other hand, Warren (1986) claims that the wife often takes the girls and baby boys while the husband takes the boys. Although there is no actual law about sharing children after divorce, this customary arrangement seems to stem from division of labour. In the coastal area, where men go fishing and women do fish processing as well as trading.

Therefore, children stay with the parent of the same gender to learn their future work. This arrangement seemed to be the norm even before their divorce when couples lived separately.

Adwoa stopped going to school in September 1992 when she was about to start JSS2. Adwoa said that she had to go to the farm to work with her cousin. She also had a small plot of her own. When people were not so busy with agriculture she sold palm wine and ground nuts, and she did cooking and cleaning for her cousin. Her attendance was sporadic and her grades were poor. "I used to get one out of ten, five out of twenty." She said that she did not have any time to study at home. "I was not good," she said, "when they taught, the things did not go through." She tapped her head and laughed (AD4F-note).

However, her daily activities showed her intelligence in running her business. Her cousin often sent her to the cassava market to sell her produce to the middlemen. She sold it and collected money very efficiently. It was basically a buyers' market and farmers had to wait for the money to be paid by the middlemen who told them that they would pay their debt back when the market women in turn paid them. Some of these middlemen would pay only part of the money hoping that the farmers would get confused. Adwoa was very good at remembering the owed amount and collecting the money while joking and talking in a friendly manner. It was because of her ability that her cousin used to send her to sell.

She moved to Amisano village when she was in primary school class four. She said that she had never adapted to the new school. She did not have many friends. She was a good runner and she became friendly with Cecilia (AD1F), who was in class six and also an athlete. Adwoa says that Cecilia was her only friend at school. Adwoa experienced unkind treatment from her peers. When asked whether there was anything she had not liked at school, Adwoa replied that she did not like the way some of her classmates dealt with her:

> I did not like feeling angry. . .Some people, when you are playing with them, they used to insult me. Aaah, some of my classmates, when I call them, they will tell you, 'Leave us. Don't talk to us!' (AD4F-tape)

Adwoa's father was in the same village. After divorcing Adwoa's mother, he married another woman with whom he had two children. Then they separated, and the women went to Tarkwa, a town near the village, with the children. He was with his third wife at the time of our visits. She was young and had a two year old boy from her previous relationship. She was pregnant then by Adwoa's father. He used to pay Adwoa's school fees and other expenses for schooling, such as buying a uniform. She could have remained in school as her father was prepared to pay the fees if Adwoa helped him farm.

> Sometimes she comes to collect money and I give her money to buy her clothes. . . I asked her to go back to school, but she would not. I tried to convince her to go to school but she would not. . . She would not help me farm, so how can I help her? (AD4FP-note).

Adwoa's father lamented how some young people in the village were becoming disobedient. "Adwoa does not come to offer any help. She should come and ask where I put my clothes so that she could collect them and wash them" (AD4FP-note). Adwoa seemed to have as little contact with her father as possible, which kept her from going back to school.

In the case of Adwoa, financial problems and family problems prevented her from going back to school. In addition, she did not adapt to school well; she was not doing well in her studies and had very few friends. When Cecilia, her best friend, told her that she was leaving school because of pregnancy, Adwoa did not hesitate to leave school herself.

Low academic achievement observed among drop-outs seemed to be associated with lack of motivation and lack of attendance at school. Some of the drop-outs were heavily engaged in economic activities and their attendance was affected by these activities. Absenteeism was not necessarily caused by truancy but often caused by a common practice of sending students home when school fees were not paid.

Low academic achievement seemed to be associated with low self esteem and low self concept. As was seen in the previous section, those who dropped out had markedly lower academic as well as career aspirations than the stay-ins, though their academic achievement was not different. It was not possible to know whether drop-outs had had

low aspirations even before they stopped schooling, or whether the aspirations were eroded in the course of stopping school. However, the latter case might be more probable as a few drop-outs said that they had given up the hopes they once had when they left school prematurely.

b) Truancy and Peer Influences

Truancy (lack of attendance) was the term used more often by parents, teachers and other adults, while drop-outs themselves had justifiable reasons, in their view, for not attending school. Punishment was one reason for not going to school. Drop-outs felt angry when they were given punishment for things beyond their control, such as lacking school fees.

The process of leaving school showed that a number of drop-outs left school together with their best friends. They tended to be absent together while they were still enrolled. These students were often lonely students who did not have many friends at school.

Isaac (BD1M) had a good friend called John with whom he went to school, and they stopped around the same time. They used to go to the beach together when they were still at school. After dropping out of school, both of them belonged to a group of ten people who worked together on the beach. They were not always working but often stealing fish when the boats arrived.

Isaac first dropped out in JSS1. His mother talked to the headmaster so that her son could go back to school. Then he dropped out again. She again talked to Isaac and the teachers. She sent him to the headmaster. The process was repeated a number of times and finally he dropped out completely. His mother was very angry with Isaac since he stopped just after she paid all the school fees. She lost her husband over ten years previously and was left with Isaac and his elder sister. She was keen to educate both of her children, especially Isaac.

> When he was in primary school, he was always between fifth and tenth in the class. He was doing well and going to school regularly. But in JSS, he did not go to school every day. He skipped classes and examinations. He can't be good (BDP3M-note).

His mother blamed his association with his older friends who tempted him to go to the beach to earn some money. In general, both teachers and other adults blamed peer groups as having a bad influence and causing truancy and dropping out.

c) Feeling Marginalised

A number of drop-outs were lonely at school. They had fewer friends at school than outside. They could be characterised as marginalised, because they manifested some characteristics of people who do not fit into the group. This made them feel somewhat out of place at school and did not help them enjoy their schooling.

Four of the drop-outs transferred into the current school when they were at primary school. It was a divorce and a death in the family which brought them to change their residence. Often, in these cases, their schooling was interrupted. Some of them stayed away from school for some time before enroling in another school. This made them older than their classmates. The previous section showed that drop-outs were significantly older than the stay-ins. Older boys and girls were often mocked and tended to have fewer friends at school.

Doris (DD2F) did not start school until she was eleven years old. Some people, including school teachers, told her grandmother and her father that the child should go to school. In 1988, her father brought Doris to school. She was accepted at primary class four and the headteacher and other teachers gave her extra coaching. Doris was bright and soon became one of the best pupils. However, it took her longer to grasp the social side of school life and she did not have many friends.

Some of the drop-outs had small but visible physical handicaps. Joseph's (DD3M) left leg was slightly bent and he walked with a small limp. Elizabeth (BD4F) had more visible deformity in her legs as a result of polio. Both of them did not mention that their physical handicaps caused any difficulties at school. However, Elizabeth did say that she did not have many friends "because I am like this" (BD4F-note).

Language and membership of an ethnic group was another issue. The area studied was inhabited by one of the Akan people who spoke Fanti. Unlike larger towns where a number of different language groups lived, relatively few non-Fanti speakers were in the area. Rose (BD1F) lived in a big compound house with her relatives from Accra. They all spoke Ga at home. She said that she did not have many friends at school and her best friend was her cousin.

Rose had a story of her Fanti friends mocking her for her different customs. Ga people celebrate the seventh day of a baby by passing the baby through the window of the house. Some of her friends laughed at her saying that that was how Ga people learned to steal (BD1F-note).

Salif (BD2M) was a son of immigrants from Mali. His parents came to Ghana after their marriage in the 1960s. They had four sons of whom Salif was the third born. They lived in *Zongo* (a Muslim area) of Elmina in a large house with other Malians. They spoke Songhai, one of the Malian languages, at home. Very few children went to conventional school from the house. It was only Salif and his brother who had completed primary school. He belonged to a minority in both language and religion, being a Songhai speaker among the Fanti speakers, and a Muslim in a church school. When asked whether there was any other Muslim in the school he said that there was one but he did not consider her as his friend. "There was a girl called Amina who was also a Muslim. But she was not really a Muslim. She didn't pray" (BD2M-tape).

These minority characteristics were not the direct cause of their terminating school. However, these drop-outs were relatively lonely students while in school. They were different and vulnerable and certainly the differences could have made the drop-outs feel marginalised at school.

d) Unfair Treatment

After a number of visits, both boys and girls started talking about the unfair treatment they received at school. They felt that they were treated unjustly, mainly by teachers and sometimes by their peers. Once they mentioned the incident, they repeated the story for

us a number of times. Sometimes, the details of their accounts were slightly different. Some stories were self-contradictory. However, we did not attempt to verify the story, but rather encouraged them to talk more.

The accounts given by drop-outs showed their perceptions of school and, more precisely, the relationship between them and school. The phenomenon was observed in all the schools, schools with high drop-out rates and ones with low drop-out rates, town schools and rural schools.

Emmanuel (CD2M) left school, he explained, because he was asked to repeat. He did not wish to repeat JSS1. Rather than repeating, he decided to drop out. He said that he had never been good at school, but he felt that he had been treated unfairly.

> We were doing extra classes. Teachers punished those who came late... I did not do well in class. The headmaster asked me to repeat. I decided to stop. He told us at first that if we scored 10/20 or above, we could proceed. I got 12/20 in the test but I was asked to repeat (CD2M-note).

Sam (DD2M) felt that he had been wronged by the headteacher before he left school. His name was cancelled when he was ill, probably because he did not participate in a football game. He was one of the best players in the school.

> Something swelled around this part of my body (showing his foot). It was in school that the swelling occurred. At that time, School Madam (headmistress) was there. There was one teacher, I showed the swelling to him. Even when I was not attending school, that teacher used to check on my condition before going to school... the teacher even told Madam about it. At that time it was my left wrist (which was swelling). There were only two weeks left before vacation. When that thing attacked me, I did not go to school. So I... just about three days to the time that school vacated for holidays, the thing burst. And this was the cause of my not going to school. As a result, I could not participate in one of our league (football) matches when the school reopened. So I went to see the Madam and she said that they should cancel my name (from the school register), for I did not ask for permission. However, I said, 'I told the other teacher and I was told that you had heard about it. But if you are saying that I did not ask for permission, then I am sorry.' We went to beg her but she said that I did not ask for permission from her. So, it is due to all these things that is why I am not in school" (DD2M-tape).

After the incident, he was so upset that he even rejected the last chance of going back. When his mother offered to ask the school to let him go back.

> My mother said that she was going to plead on my behalf, but I told her that one of the teachers pleaded but the Madam did not listen (DD2M-tape).

In addition, he said that he did not have anybody to defend him at school. When asked whether he had consulted any of his friends before stopping school, he replied that he had not had any friends at school (DD2M-tape)

Out of school, he had many friends. He often lay on the bench at the old bus stop where the village market took place. There were a number of young men playing cards and chatting. Even when Sam was not there, others could tell where he was. When asked whether they were good friends of his, he replied:

> Once they are in this place, we become friends. . .Some of them finished school, others have never been to school at all. . . Some stopped and others did not go to primary school (DD2M-tape).

When he had a good catch from his traps, the meat was shared among these youths. As Sam described it, these young men did not have any jobs other than occasional work as farm labourers.

Nana (BD3F) left school as a result of pregnancy. She says that she did not enjoy school at all and repeatedly told us of her unfortunate experience in school. She recalled the experience of caning. She repeated the story when we visited her.

> The headmaster is wicked. He caned us a lot. My mother used to send money to us from Abidjan. It was often late. He caned me very much. If we didn't pay the test paper fees, we were not allowed to take the examinations (BD3F-note).

She felt the punishment was unfair since there was no way for her to obtain fees except from her mother. It was not entirely the student's fault that she was not able to pay the fees. She thought it was acceptable to be caned when students were late for school, even though caning was often excessive. Nana's experience corresponds to some other

research studies in JSS where adolescent girls felt particularly ashamed when being punished (Andoh 1994). A study carried out in the Akan area shows that females in puberty were extremely sensitive about caning or any similar punishment at school (Buabeng 1994). Nana felt embarrassed being caned, especially in front of others. It is possible to understand that the overwhelming feeling of humiliation could have led to loss of interest in school. These ideas corresponds to radical feminists' perspectives on school where unfair treatment typically symbolised by sexual harassment allegedly exists. On the other hand, the situations in these schools indicate that such unfairness exists both for boys and girls.

8.5.3 Pregnancy

Pregnancy was one of the most common immediate causes of female students' premature termination of school. This corresponds to studies done in Ghana (e.g. Ofori-dua 1994, Amehome 1991, Ofori-Asante 1991, Coleman 1994). In traditional Akan society, women were expected to marry soon after their puberty rites. Most of the female students in JSS were biologically and socially marriageable. However, schooling did not allow them to marry formally. Nukunya (1991:26) claims that this causes teenage pregnancies. "This delay can also threaten their marital prospects. It is the recognition of this which has let many of them break their education and attend to their reproductive activities before continuing or completing it." In a traditional society where the puberty rites were followed almost immediately by marriage, premarital relationships did not exist. However, the postponement of marriage witnessed "the gradual breakdown of traditional sanctions" (Nukunya 1991:26). On the other hand, "sexual relations among the Akan, both pre-marital and extra-marital, are tolerable if they don't disrupt normal social relations" (Warren 1986:16). A number of the female students were sexually active while at school. One drop-out said that it was natural for them to have physical relationships.

> I went in for a man and became pregnant in no time. As a woman, it is obvious that you have to see a man (DD4F-tape).

There was very little information on reproductive health, including information on contraceptives, available for these female students. The importance of reproductive

health education was recognised and it was included in the newly introduced subject, Life Skills. However, implementation was yet to be started at the schools visited, and cultural resistance had given rise to much debate about speaking of such matters in public. Health clinics had a family planning programme but their targets were married women. None of the female drop-outs had received any family planning service at these clinics.

As a result, pregnancy had taken most of them by surprise. All the drop-outs because of pregnancy recalled that they did not expect to become pregnant so soon. Hannah (DD4F) said that she did not know she could become pregnant so quickly. She thought she would not, although she had seen her friends becoming mothers. Hannah said that she could not think of the possibility of becoming pregnant.

> When you have a husband, life becomes sweet. Then you do not worry about other things. . . I would have continued school, but my husband was very kind and generous (DD4F).

Her baby's father was teaching at a day nursery in the village. She thought that he was sensible and intelligent. She said that it was very important for women to have their own children. Although unexpected, both she and her parents were not unhappy about her pregnancy, even though they later found out that the father of the baby had children with other women and was not quite trustworthy.

In the villages, babies were welcomed and loved even when they arrived unexpectedly. Reproduction is the major purpose of marriage in Akan society. At the same time, unlike a traditional society, current Akan communities are flexible regarding the marriage union (Warren 1986, Kuada and Chachah 1987). It was common for the customary rites of marriage to follow the delivery of a baby rather than vice versa, which was the norm in a traditional society. Therefore, the social constraints on teenagers to avoid pregnancy were relatively weak.

When Doris (DD2F) had a baby girl, her mother was happy with her granddaughter. Doris's mother came back from Abidjan with clothes and toys for the baby and she was seen walking in the village greeting the people with her granddaughter on her back with an expression of happiness on her face. Doris was the only child of her mother, and was

urged to produce many children in order to further the family lineage.

On the other hand, some pregnancies in town were experienced in a less relaxed manner. Mami Araba (ED2F) did not know that she could become pregnant so soon. She met a technical school student when she went to see a football match in town. She thought that she was far too young to be a mother. When she found out about her pregnancy, she told her friend who became worried and then she told her mother.

> I became afraid, so I told my mother. . . When I told her, she became furious and she burnt my things, my school uniform and books. She was not talking to me (ED2F-note).

She then took refuge at her neighbour's house and then moved to stay with her husband's family. The matter became a public dispute between the two families.

Rebecca (CD1F) lived with her maternal aunt (her mother's younger sister) after her own mother's death. Her uncle was in Accra and came back only occasionally; during the months of June to August he did not come back. All the seven children were supported by the earnings of Rebecca's aunt in her petty sugar trading. Rebecca had been contributing to the family income by selling ice cream and ice water since she was in primary school.

Rebecca first told us that she stopped school for financial reasons. Her aunt also confirmed this and did not tell us about her baby.

> The reason why I stopped schooling is school items. Because of this, I stopped going to school, the school materials, exercise books and others (CD1F-tape).

She used to sell ice cream in the market after school. "Yes, I was selling, but it was not enough. I was earning money from selling ice cream but because we were many, my mother could not provide for all of us" (CD1F-tape). It was while she was selling in the market that she met a secondary school student from Komenda, a neighbouring town. He used to come to meet her and she was happy to see him as "he was very kind and generous" (CD1F-note) It was often the gesture of generosity shown by the man which

made the girl engage in a relationship. Therefore, pregnancy is not independent from the financial factors. Poverty was often the direct cause of pregnancy which consequently made these girls leave school.

There were similar cases where girls traded in the market places. That is where girls met men. It was more common in town where a market was larger and tended to attract not only local people but also strangers from other areas. Of 12 females who dropped out due to pregnancy, nine of them were involved in petty trade.

Drop-outs often told us that it was not their pregnancies which stopped their schooling, but some other reasons. Some drop-outs in towns were hesitant to admit their pregnancies had led to the termination of education, and said that the pregnancies occurred after they had left school. On the other hand, drop-outs in the villages were more relaxed and were more open about their pregnancies.

Pregnancy was the major cause for female drop-outs. Many of the JSS students were sexually active but information on reproductive health and contraceptive services were not available to the teenagers. It was explained that talking about sexual issues in public was culturally prohibited and hence sex education was difficult to introduce although the needs were widely recognised.

8.5.4 Teachers' Concerns

When enquiring about the process of dropping out and about what happened to drop-outs at the time they dropped out, a number of drop-outs said that they had visits from teachers or enquiries from teachers. It was more common with students who were considered good at studies or sports, as might be expected.

As the sample in the study was rather small, it is not possible to establish any link from the current investigation alone. However, it is interesting to note that only drop-outs from schools with low drop-out rates narrated that they felt that the teachers were concerned about them and tried to prevent their leaving school. In school A and B where drop-out rates were high, teachers knew very little about drop-outs. This could be related

to the fact that most teachers were new and also not residing in the communities. On the other hand, in schools C and D where drop-out rates were low, teachers encouraged drop-outs to come back to school and, moreover, they kept contact with these drop-outs after they left school. It probably was natural in small communities where residents had close contact with one another. However, teachers certainly made some effort to visit these students or enquire about them when absent for some days. This was particularly true in school D, a school with a low drop-out rate despite its rural location.

When Doris (DD2F) fell pregnant and withdrew from school, a class teacher visited her as well as spoke to her father. Then the headteacher came to see her.

> Madam came to see me on Wednesday, two weeks after I stopped. She told me not to abort the baby but go to hospital to deliver. She told me not to worry and asked me to come back to school after three weeks or so (DD2F-note).

Both the headteacher and a class teacher had strong sympathy for Doris as she was one of the most intelligent students in the class.

Richard (DD4M) lived in a village of Kwahinkrom, about 30 minutes walk from Dompoase village where the school was. He was often absent during the rainy season. He was always one of the last to bring school fees or any other materials and fees required by the school. He was academically an average student and a very pleasant and polite youth. When he stopped coming to school two teachers came to visit him at his house to encourage him to come back to school. Other teachers asked his brother (cousin) in primary school about Richard. When the headteacher came to visit him, he said that he was very surprised to see the headteacher in his house as his house was far from school. There were other drop-outs who said that when they had decided to withdraw from school, teachers advised them not to do so.

Joseph (CD3M) had a history of leaving school and going back three times before he finally left. He said that he sometimes met the headmaster who asked him when he would come back to school. Joseph thought he was too old to go back to study with much younger classmates. He normally replied that he had not stopped, and that he was going to return to school sometime in future. In fact he never intended to. On the street,

the headteacher and his former student exchanged these words and laughed in passing. The headteacher's efforts to bring Joseph back failed, but they always greeted each other in this vein.

These teachers' interventions could help students not to drop out or to bring students back to school after they had left. One incident recounted by the headteacher in School D was the successful case where a female student who had once left school due to pregnancy, came back to complete JSS.

> . . . I had one girl like that and she completed JSS3. . . After delivery, she delivered in August, we were about to go on holiday, so when we reopened in September, I talked with the mother that she would take the child so that she (her daughter) will come back to school. And the mother did it. So the girl was able to finish JSS3 (DT1-tape).

After she came back to school, she became pregnant a second time but the headteacher felt strongly for the girl and believed that she should sit the final examination and complete the JSS education.

> When we went to the examination centre, the boys were whistling. (These boys were mocking her saying,) 'Your belly is big!' 'Hey, Madam, what is wrong with this your girl?' (I said,) 'There is nothing wrong with her.' I held her hand and we went together. Other than that, they would have mocked her. I said she should not bother them at all (DT1-tape).

The incident made the teacher famous around the area. In other schools, pregnant students were expelled from school and were not allowed to come back. It was not statutory but was a common practice in many schools. These teachers explained that such students were likely to be a "bad influence on other students" (BT3-note). This headteacher rescued a female student from another school as teachers in other schools would not allow these students to come back to school. Even when these female students tried to continue their education at other schools, many schools were reluctant to grant an entry when they discovered that the student had once been expelled due to pregnancy.

> Oh, they wouldn't allow it. There is another one, too, in JSS3. She was at Kissi and she got pregnant and she was sacked. When one becomes pregnant, they would sack you. So after delivery, she decided to go to school. Then the mother

> approached me. (I said,) 'Oh, bring her, bring her.' Whenever we attend the district heads' meeting, (other teachers say,) 'Ehhhh, as for your school, eh, a whole lot of mothers!' Then (I tell them,) 'I like it!' I like it very much. You see, some of them get pregnant. How would I put it like. . . is it an accident? I take it to be an accident. O.K. Some of the girls, they don't know anything about it. They just go in and become pregnant. . . So when it comes like this, and the child wants to come back to school, O.K., immediately, I accept her. If only you decide to be submissive, I will accept. Whenever they mock me at the meeting, oh, poor me! They say, 'Because you are a woman.' 'Yes, me, I will take you. If only you are willing to learn, I will accept you back in school.' I told them (DT1-tape).

This headteacher was keen to bring female students back to school after their delivery. She visited a number of her female drop-outs in this way. However, even her efforts could bring only a few students back to school.

8.6 The Process of Leaving School

In this chapter, the process of leaving school was examined, classifying events. From these classified events, two idealised cases could be framed in order to facilitate our understanding of what would be the typical process of leaving school. Here, two cases will be presented: 1) a male drop-out from a town school with a high drop-out rate, and 2) a female drop-out from a rural school with a low drop-out rate. These cases will be presented including narrative accounts of the drop-outs' life-histories to show how the factors in combination have led him/her to drop out of school.

8.6.1 A Male Drop-out from a Town School with a High Drop-out Rate

Kweku drops out of JSS at the second year after repeating once in JSS1. Kweku's parents were divorced and he is with his mother who sells fish in the market. She is responsible for five other children, all of whom are younger than Kweku. He lives in a one-roomed house with his grandmother and two of his brothers, away from his mother who lives in another one-roomed house with the rest of the children. As he becomes older, his grandmother does not have much control over him. Although he does have respect for her, he is also drawn to spending more time with his peer group whose

members earn sizable amounts of money during the fishing season at the beach.

Kweku's view on how he came to drop out of school is as follows: "I started JSS when I was 14 years old. I was slightly over-aged compared to my classmates as I started primary schooling late. I was weak in my studies. I was often sent home due to the delayed payment of school fees. My mother paid school fees for all the children as my father did not support the family any longer. Her work of selling a few fish in the market did not produce enough profit to meet all our needs, especially the school fees. She sometimes went to relatives asking for funds to pay the fees. Most of the time she was unsuccessful. So, when I was sent home, I was unable to go back to school for a number of days as the headmaster did not allow us to go back unless we paid the fees. It is a large amount of money, and it is difficult as my mother must pay fees for my brothers and sisters at the primary school. I had to stay at home sometimes for two weeks or more. This left me more and more behind in my school work and I gradually became uninterested in class work. At the end of JSS1, I did not pass in most of the subjects. I told my mother about my academic failure, she asked the headmaster to let me repeat JSS1. Although students are not supposed to repeat due to academic failure, the headmaster agreed to my repeating JSS1 as my attendance was very low. I started JSS1 class again when many of my classmates were in JSS2. A few who repeated with me became my friends. They had a similar background to me in financial difficulties and family problems. John, one of these drop-outs, asked me whether I was interested in going to the beach with him, and that is how I joined the group. The group consists of ten young men; some of them are still in school but most of them are drop-outs. These young people gather in sheds at the beach, playing cards and chatting. When the fishing boat arrives, we run to the boats to help unloading the catch and also to steal some fish. The leader is a drop-out of JSS himself and he keeps telling us that it is a waste of time to go to school. He earns money everyday from his 'business' at the beach and his mother who was formally complaining of his bad behaviour is now satisfied, as he supplements the family income by his earning."

Kweku becomes more closely associated with his peer group on the beach than his classmates at school. John, who earlier introduced him to the group decides to leave school at the end of JSS1. Kweku does not have any longer any friends in his class when

he proceeds to JSS2. Kweku does not fail to go to the beach after school where he is happy and welcome. On the other hand, he feels marginal being the only one still continuing school. "After John left, I did not have anybody to speak with and joke with in class. I was alone in school and I went to the beach everyday after school. I was happier with my friends at the beach than at school. I was then the only one in the group who went to school as John and another boy left school. I did not enjoy school. I did not enjoy school work. I did not understand most of what the teacher was talking about. I went to school on Tuesday when no fishing is done but for the rest of the week, I often asked myself whether I would go to school or to go to the beach straight away. I went to the beach more often than to school and I became behind in my school work."

Kweku is labelled as 'truant' and is often called into the Headmaster's office for caning, where he does not know the reason for being caned most of the time. One of his teachers often canes him for being absent. He feels it absurd to be punished when he comes to school. He feels that he is treated unjustly. "I felt it unfair being caned for my absenteeism when I attend his class, so I avoided his class. One day, I was caned for not bringing 1,500 cedis fees. I received additional caning for wearing sandals rather than shoes. I noticed there were some others in the class who wore sandals but they were not caned. After punishment, I ran to the beach to tell others about this and others told me to leave school. It was the beginning of the fishing season and numerous boats came back with full loads of herring. I knew that my mother had no means of giving me 1,500 cedis in the near future as she had fees outstanding for my brothers and sisters. I decided to leave school and joined the team 'full-time'. My friends at the beach congratulated me for my decision and welcomed me."

The process of Kweku's dropping out has a number of categories discussed in this chapter; 'financial difficulties', 'parental divorce', 'low academic achievement', 'truancy and peer influences', and 'unfair treatment'.

8.6.2 A Female Drop-out from a Rural School with a Low Drop-out Rate

Yaa drops out of school at the beginning of JSS3 due to pregnancy. She has been a good student with regular attendance and it is a surprise for the teachers. It is poverty which

led her to fall pregnant.

She grew up and attended primary school in the Ashanti area and moved to her maternal grandmother when her parents decided to go and work in Abidjan. She was in the fifth year of primary school then. Her grandmother looks after Yaa and three other grandchildren. Yaa's parents used to send some money occasionally but after their divorce when Yaa was in JSS1, it was only Yaa's mother who sent money to her.

Yaa is academically above average, but she is still a lone student without many friends as she had been in primary school. She speaks Fanti with a slight accent. She also has a slight limp from polio.

She helps her grandmother farm as well as selling oranges and other farm produce in the village market. She tries to gain a small amount of money from selling things in the market in order to supplement the payment of school fees as her mother often fails to send her money. At JSS1, she starts going to the market in a nearby town where the price for her farm produce is higher than in the village market. As the fees for JSS are much higher than those at primary school, she tries to earn more money herself. However, the little she earns is often spent on food and other things since her grandmother is getting older and cannot earn as much as before.

Yaa speaks about her experience at school. "I moved here when I was in P5. I am like this with my leg and my friends told me that the way I speak is strange. I had only a few friends. In JSS, there were some other girls who came from schools in nearby villages, so I had more friends and I enjoyed school. I was good at study and I tried not to be absent from school even when there was a lot of weeding to be done. Since primary school I have gone to the market on weekends and school holidays to sell farm produce."

During the school break at the end of JSS1, she starts going to a larger market in a nearby town where she meets people from outside her community. She enjoys her new business at a larger market and she is satisfied as she earns more money. "I went to the market almost every day during the school break, where I met a trader from Komenda, the nearby town. He came to the market every week to sell goods. At first, he offerred to buy

oranges from me. As he was so generous and friendly I started speaking with him. He asked me about many things. I told him that I was with my grandmother, studying at JSS. I also told him that I am working so that I can earn money to go to school and then he told me not to hesitate asking for his help. At that time, I had a problem in paying the building fund for school. My mother had not sent money for some time and I was afraid of being sent back home when the school started. The headmaster had been understanding and had waited for my payment in the past. He even came around to my house to see my grandmother and encouraged her to continue sending me to school. But I was afraid of delaying payment too long. I did not want to be sent back home. I asked the trader the following week for a loan of money and he gave me 2,000 cedis. I was surprised that he gave me money so willingly."

Yaa is happy with his support and she is overwhelmed by his kindness as he keeps offering her more support. The trader brings small presents for Yaa and she enjoys going to the market to see him. Yaa does not feel like rejecting any of his requests and soon she finds herself pregnant. She is afraid to tell anybody and absents herself from school for some days. It is the headmaster who comes to visit her and finds out that she is pregnant. He is disappointed at loosing another student in his school, but he asks her to come back to school after delivery.

The process of Yaa's dropping out has a number of categories discussed in this chapter; 'financial difficulties' which led to 'pregnancy', 'parental divorce' and 'feeling marginalised'. She had 'teachers' concern' which could in future bring her back to school after she finishes child-rearing.

8.7 Conclusion

An investigation of the process of dropping out showed that no two cases were identical, although there were some similarities in cases. The majority had a number of causes for terminating schooling. Table 8-6 illustrated the existence of multiple causes in each drop-out case. However, there is one dominant cause. Although the size of the sample in this study is small, there was a tendency for male drop-outs to have more reasons than females. Among drop-outs, girls showed better academic performance than boys, and

their financial situation was not as unfavourable as boys. It could be suggested that girls were more vulnerable to possible causes of drop-out.

The process of dropping out reflected the traditions and change in the area. Teenage pregnancy was a case where there was conflict between traditional norms and schooling. Many drop-outs did not reside with their biological parents due to divorce, death, adoption or a combination of these factors. Children in rural areas were capable and economically productive from a young age, and many drop-outs were engaged in economic activities while they were still in school. Isolation was another characteristic which a number of drop-outs shared. They had relatively few friends at school and did not have strong feelings that they belonged to the school. Some of them recalled unpleasant experiences at school, often characterised as unfair treatment by teachers. Each factor alone may not have caused them to leave school prematurely. However, a combination of these negative factors seems to have caused them to opt for termination of education.

The process of dropping out seems to portray the nature of dropping out more accurately than the surface causes of dropping out. It was investigation into the process of dropping out that revealed some facts, such as the existence of multiple causes, drop-outs' experience in school, and teachers' concerns for them. These incidents might not have been uncovered if only the immediate causes of leaving school were investigated.

A majority of drop-outs studied in this research seemed to have terminated schooling for a combination of reasons. Dropping out was often an end result of these multiple causes affecting their schooling. Therefore, the immediate cause of dropping out explains only part of the phenomenon. The process of dropping out highlights the differences observed in individual cases. One of the common immediate causes for stopping school was financial difficulties. However, even among those students who stopped due to inability to pay the fees, each case was unique.

Economic factors seemed predominant. A majority of stay-ins and their adult family members also felt that the user charges were excessive, and almost all drop-outs and their adult family members said that school expenses caused them difficulties in continuing

schooling, as seen in Chapter 7. However, there were conflicting incidents which indicated that the financial factors were not the sole cause for dropping out. Some drop-outs who failed to pay the school fees managed to start apprenticeships which required far more expensive *ntsirinsa*. One who was unable to continue his schooling enrolled in *makalanta* (Arabic school) paying approximately the same fees. This could be related to the people's perception of schools and training places. JSS might have been perceived as "consumption" while apprenticeship as "investment".

In all communities visited, even young children were economically capable and productive. Many adults gave their children some items to sell before going to school. In the early mornings small children aged six or seven were seen carrying wooden trays on their heads to sell some food. Many drop-outs were engaged in some economic activities while they were still at school. It was quite common for teenagers to earn some money to supplement their family income as well as to buy their own clothing. Some of the drop-outs were supporting themselves by regularly buying food and clothes for themselves, and a few of them had even paid their own school fees. More male than female students were engaged in paid work such as working as farm labourers or working on a construction site, while females were engaged in more invisible, i.e. unwaged work. Some females were engaged in petty trading or farming where the produce was sold as their own, but a majority of them were helping their family members on the farm or simply helping the family by doing household chores.

Economic factors sometimes led to other incidents which made them leave school, such as teenage pregnancies. In these cases, economic factors were indirect but strong causes. It was often a gesture of generosity from men and the need for money from girls that created the situation.

In some cases, teachers, adult family members, and their peers made slightly different observations. The purpose of the exercise was not to find out the objective "truth" but to acknowledge the differences in perspective, where applicable.

The following sub-proposition was examined in this chapter:
C-1: *Gender differences may be observed in the process of dropping out*, was examined

and confirmed. Many males had a tendency to have a spell of frequent absenteeism prior to finally dropping out of school, while many females tended to stop suddenly, often on discovery of their pregnancy. Some students decided of their own accord to stop, while others were forced to withdraw from school either by pregnancy or by family decisions. There were more males in the former category, while more females were found in the latter one.

9 Consequences of Dropping Out

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the activities which drop-outs subsequently engaged in will be examined. We will also investigate the future prospects of the drop-outs, i.e. their aspirations and expectations in education and career. Gender differences in their activities and future prospects will also be discussed. This chapter will address the following question and proposition:

Question 4: What are the subsequent activities drop-outs are engaged in?

Proposition C: Gender differences may be observed in the process of dropping out, their subsequent activities and their future prospects.

Sub-propositions:

C-2 The subsequent activities that drop-outs are engaged in vary. Gender differences are observed in such activities.

C-3 Gender differences are observed in the future prospects of drop-outs.

9.2 Subsequent Activities

Drop-outs in the current study had been out of school from two months to two and a half years. Most of them seemed to have settled down in a routine outside school and were engaged in some form of economic activity. Subsequent activities which drop-outs were engaged in are shown in Table 9-1. Nearly half of both male and female drop-outs were engaged in subsistence farming. Responses in the 'others' column include responses such as 'going to beach and looking for work' and 'going to Arabic school'.

Table 9-1: Subsequent Activities

	farming	petty trade	casual labour	apprenticeship	child care	others	total
male	8 (50.0%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (25.0%)	1 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (18.7%)	16 (50.0%)
female	7 (43.8%)	3 (18.8%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (18.8%)	3 (18.8%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (50.0%)
total	15(46.8%)	3 (9.4%)	4 (12.5%)	4 (12.5%)	3 (9.4%)	3 (9.4%)	32(100.0%)

In the following section, each category of subsequent activity will be presented. A number of cases illustrating drop-outs' activities will be examined.

9.2.1 Farming

A majority of drop-outs in two rural communities were engaged in farming. When asked what they were doing, some drop-outs replied that they were doing 'nothing', when in fact they were farming for many hours every day. Subsistence farming was not recognised as a 'productive' and 'worthwhile' activity especially for those who had been to school. Agriculture was perceived as a worthwhile activity only when the produce was sold on a relatively large scale. Therefore, subsistence farming was thought to be an activity of very low status. People who completed school were in general reluctant to be engaged in agriculture. Alternative means of employment, however, were absent in rural areas, so they were engaged in farming not by choice but by default. They were ready to move out if any other opportunity became available.

As might be expected, male drop-outs and female drop-outs tend to engage in agriculture in a different manner. While women tend to be engaged in subsistence agriculture in order to provide food for the family members, men tend to grow cash crops or sell their produce even when they are growing subsistence crops. The area exemplifies the rural agrarian societies in developing countries described by Boserup (1986 (1960)).

Hannah (DD4F) had one child and was pregnant for the second time. She worked at the farm. She farmed and sold cassava and maize from the field which was designated for her. She had planted cassava and maize some time before and was expecting to harvest

them in a few months. She had a good idea of how much money she would receive from the sale of the produce. She was expecting the price of maize to go up slightly as the harvest that season was likely to be affected by drought. She estimated that her cassava would earn her 20,000 cedis (£16.7), while the maize could reach 20,000 to 30,000 cedis (£16.7 to £25).

The land she farmed belonged to her mother's family. She farmed and sold the produce and gave the money to her mother so that she could buy things for her and her baby. She was quite content with the arrangement. She also helped the family process *gari* (cooked and powdered cassava) for sale. She also spent long hours doing household chores, including looking after small children, her own child and her cousin's child.

Elizabeth (DD1F) farmed with her younger step-brothers and step-sisters in the plot situated about half an hour's walk from the village. The children were given the right to farm the plot. She was in an advanced stage of pregnancy but was often seen going to the farm. She also helped her step-parents' farm in the newly cultivated area, the former GHASEL field. They cleared the place and started planting cassava. They also planted maize, onions, and chillies. Her step-parents cared greatly about her, but still did not acknowledge that Elizabeth was working enough for their farm. They kept complaining that their step-daughter did not help their farm.

Doris (DD2F) worked on her farm with her baby on her back. Her farm was on the other side of the main road, a former GHASEL field. It was small, around half a pole (about 30 metres) long. Although Doris was also engaged in petty trade in selling bread and oranges, she said that her main work was farming.

Patience (CD2F) went to work on the family farm every day. She helped her mother on her farm work, leaving early in the morning and coming back late. After the farm work, she did household chores. She was very quiet and did not play with other girls. Previously she used to spend time with her cousin Christina (CD3F) and talk with her, but since Christina began a sewing apprenticeship they did not talk much.

Sam (DD2M) farmed as well as hunted. He had a small plot from his family and had

been farming since he was in primary school. "I normally plant cassava and maize, but this year I had a sore on my palm so I did not plant maize"(DD2M-note). He seemed knowledgeable about hunting as well. He went into the bush hunting, using dogs. He also set traps and captured rats. He said that he ate rats but sold a larger catch such as a grasscutter. "When I get a grasscutter, I feel very happy. I sell them on the highway (main road from Elmina to Takoradi) or bring them to a chop bar in Kissi" (DD2M-note).

Abraham (AD1M) worked at a farm owned by a man in the village, who took pity on him and gave him a shelter when he was in dispute with his aunt. The man was not related to him, but seemed sympathetic to Abraham. He worked on his sugar cane farm as a farm labourer and hoped to save money to start an apprenticeship in future. The man had a few young men including Abraham staying on his property. All of them except Abraham were related to him. He seemed to have these young men as assured labourers when he needed their help.

Joseph (DD1M) was farming very intensely. He was seldom seen in the village as he went to work at dawn and came back very late. His mother had a large plot in Kokoado and another plot on the other side of the main road, in the former GHASEL sugar cane field. In addition to helping his mother farming, Joseph had his own plot where he farmed with his best friend who had completed JSS the previous year. It was a former GHASEL field, and they asked the chief for permission to plant maize on the land. These two youths received advice from one of the elders and used fertiliser in their farming. Their maize grew faster and taller than others in the area. It was interesting to contrast their farming with the farming done by adults who were very hesitant to implement changes and innovations. They claimed that the use of fertiliser made the maize not taste as good as maize grown without fertiliser. They could taste the difference when they cooked *etso* (the fermented and cooked maize dough).

Joseph and his friend were hoping to sell their harvest to obtain enough money to start their apprenticeships. Joseph hoped to learn to be a driver and he was confident as his brother had already consulted someone about this. He hoped to save 40,000 cedis (£33.3) from the harvest for that season and the following one. He was afraid that the apprenticeship fees might go up to 60,000 cedis by then and was keen to join as soon as

possible. When the maize plants were tall and did not require as much weeding as before, he had a job working on the construction site for the new teacher's house in the village.

This was one of the rare cases where youths who were not related cooperated in farming. Normally, the exchange of ideas and instruction in skills and techniques took place among friends, but actual cultivation was often confined to the family, especially within the lineage (Lowe 1986). This could be explained as a special case where the youths developed strong ties between themselves and where arable land which was not owned by any family was abundantly available.

Farming in the area was extremely labour intensive and time consuming. Agriculture in a humid tropical climate is equated with fighting against weeds. People called farming work 'weeding'. In addition, the risk was high and the profit was low. At the time of the visits, many palm trees were dying from an unknown disease which agricultural extension workers could not prevent spreading. As the area did not have a stable market, the produce was often bought at prices much lower than they should have been. Very few youths intended to continue the work for a long time. None of them wished to continue farming in the future.

Some of these drop-outs were engaged in farming to help the family, while others had their own plots for cultivation. More women were in the former category while more men were found in the latter. When they claimed that they had their own plots, they meant one of two things. The first was that they could sell produce from the plot which was on loan from the family. The right to land was normally inherited in matrilineal lineage (Sarbah 1968), but occasionally members of the family could farm and keep the profit from the produce, provided that other family members did not object. The second possibility was that the new plot had been obtained by clearing the woods. The newly cultivated land was often considered outside the lineage and could be passed onto offspring, while the lineage required it to be passed along the matrilineal line, to the nephews. In two areas of school C and D, the vast land which had been used by GHASEL became available for those who were willing to cultivate abandoned farm land on the southern side of the communities.

Some gender differences were observed in the patterns of farming involved. While men tended to farm independently, women had a tendency to farm with their families. Even when the right to farm a certain portion of the family land was given to these women, they tended to surrender the profit to their families. There was one case where a woman was given a plot which previously did not belong to anyone, and she could keep income from the produce. However, in her case, she had family responsibilities and could not save the earnings; she looked after her baby in addition to her elderly grandmother. On the other hand, men were likely to retain the profit to save sufficient funds to start an apprenticeship in the future. Farm labourers received cash income by working on other people's farms. Among the drop-outs in the studied area only men were engaged in such activities. In the area, women and girls seldom worked as farm labourers but tended to help on family farms.

9.2.2 Petty Trade

A few drop-outs in the study were engaged in petty trading. Unlike those engaged in petty trade in large towns where they do the business full time, those in rural villages and towns were less involved in petty trade, and it was often carried out in addition to other activities, such as farming and child rearing.

Mami-Araba (BD2F) was very skilled in public relations. She spoke softly but was articulate, which showed her intelligence. In contrast to her mother who was relatively short-tempered, Mami-Araba seemed patient and tactful. She had been involved in a family business in this female-headed house since primary school.

Mami-Araba had helped the family business from a young age. As in many developing countries, children are normally encouraged to participate as a productive member of the family at a relatively young age. Mami-Araba's mother told us of one incident where Mami-Araba had surprised people. It happened after she left school when she was seven months pregnant. The family had a stall in a market in Kumasi to let to people. One of the two tenants did not pay the rent, so the family members were worried and talked about it. The next day, Mami-Araba went to Kumasi alone to get the rent without telling anyone. Her family members were worried thinking she had gone missing and gathered

in front of her house. At around ten o'clock at night Mami Araba came back with money. She reached home laughing, with an armful of yams.

It was natural that she was given part of the family business in her early adolescence. She was given the right to sell firewood which was piled at the side of her house. When customers came to buy it, she went out of the house to receive money. She was allowed to keep the profits for herself. It was convenient for her as it was not a very time-consuming business. She could manage it while staying at home and looking after her baby.

At the time of the visit, Mami-Araba was spending most of her time at her in-laws' house, and the business was looked after by her grandmother who tended to stay at home. The business was a slow one and Mami-Araba could trust her grandmother. Mami-Araba went back once a day with her baby son to chat with and collect money from her grandmother.

Doris (DD2F) sold bread, oranges and sugar cane in addition to farming. When her aunt baked bread, she sold it at the small village market place early in the morning before she went to her farm and in the evening after her work. Fortnightly her aunt baked small sugar loaves, each costing 50 cedis (4 pence) for Doris who sold all of them in a few days. When she did not have bread for sale, Doris bought oranges from the farmers and carried them to the market in the neighbouring town of Kissi to sell. She kept some oranges and sugar cane for sale at home in the kitchen hut. Doris considered petty trading as an activity supplementary to farming, which she considered her main work. However, farming alone could not support her and her baby. "I have to struggle. My grandmother is getting old" (DD2F-note).

Sister Jane, her aunt, was the only baker in the area and she baked small sugar loaves for Doris to sell. Her baking business was not very efficient or productive as she bought the ingredients at the retailers instead of at the wholesalers in town. She had to buy them on credit and thus paid even higher prices. She went to Cape Coast herself to buy the ingredients. It was expensive and time-consuming, but there was no other way if one did not have enough capital, she explained. However, she made sure that Doris made a

profit. She kept saying that she baked mainly for her niece to receive the profit and that she did not gain much from baking. Sister Jane was not happy with Doris's trading as she did not make enough profit. "Doris bought oranges at 1,000 cedis and sold them at the same price. I told her not to do such a thing. But she was very stubborn. She went away this morning again to sell in Kissi" (DD2FP-note)

Unlike Mami Araba and Doris who spent less time on trading than other activities, Rebecca (CD1F) spent most of her time selling. She sold iced water and ice cream in the market and had done so since she was in primary school. She considered herself one of the best amongst 18 iced-water traders in town, and seemed proud of her work. She said that she made sure she kept her iced water clean and presented herself well when selling. Rebecca smiled a lot and was very friendly. She was not shy to speak to strangers. When she was selling, she made a point of looking cheerful. She said, "Nobody will buy your things if you don't smile" (CD1F-note).

Rebecca prepared both iced water and ice cream at home. For iced water, she bought two pails of water from the communal tap at 40 cedis (£0.03). She also bought small plastic bags at 300 cedis (£0.25) for 80. When she prepared them, she had a basin in which to put packed water. She filled each small plastic bag with water and then skillfully tied the end of the bag twice and put it in the basin. When she had her basin full, she carried them to the refrigerator and stored them to cool. She tried not to waste either plastic bags or water. The total sale for 80 bags of iced water was 800 cedis (£0.67). She also made ice cream from cocoa powder, milk powder, sugar and water.

Nana (BD3F) helped her distant relatives in Mankasim, a town 50 km away from Elmina. She had just lost her own baby and her mother. Five months previously her baby died, and then her mother came back from Abidjan and also died of an illness. After these deaths, Nana decided to go and stay with her distant relatives in Mankasim. She helped baking and selling bread. She came to Elmina briefly and went back to Mankasim. She was waiting for her aunt in a nearby town of Sekondi to buy her a sewing machine so that she could start an apprenticeship in Takoradi.

Among the drop-outs studied in this research, only girls were engaged in petty trade.

This reflects the general condition of the area where most men were engaged in waged or productive work, while small-scale trading was done by girls. This petty trade had a very small profit margin, and the business was very unreliable, being heavily influenced by weather, as well as the meager and unstable income level of the people in the area. On the other hand, in large towns, petty trade was done by many men who were selling new items with a larger margin. In Accra, petty trading was one of the most typical and noticeable activities in which school drop-outs were engaged. The number of street vendors had increased rapidly in recent years. Many of them targeted customers with high purchasing power, especially those in vehicles. They stood on the congested roadside holding various items in their hands, such as newspapers, magazines, sweets, and small imported items such as cassette tapes, video tapes, watches and calculators.

Some people claim that petty trading in towns is a profitable micro-enterprise; others assert that it is simply a survival strategy when carried out by those without much capital. They earn just enough to live. Boys on the roadside buy their goods from retailers who sell them at a small margin and also on credit. The following day, they come with money so as to collect some more goods. The ones with their own capital would have a variety of goods to sell and their business has a better chance than that of those who sell a single item. Some of these young men came from as far as Aburi and Winneba, travelling up to 50 km as they did not have any accommodation in Accra. Petty trading in town did not seem to earn much profit. However, in the long run, traders were believed to be better off than farmers (Gyekye 1995).

All four girls who were doing petty trade were skillful in their business. However, none of them wished to continue their work but aspired to start a dressmaking apprenticeship.

9.2.3 Casual Labour - Working as Unskilled Labourers

While drop-outs were often engaged in farming in the two rural communities, work as an unskilled labourer was found in the two towns. While there were limited opportunities to engage in casual labour in villages, more chances were found in towns; there was a colony of distillers in the community of school C, and in Elmina where school B was situated numerous construction projects were being started.

Joseph (CD3M) worked in one of the distilling cottages in a town. It could be considered as a form of micro-enterprise. The owner had a sugar-cane crushing machine operated by a diesel engine as well as a large stove to boil and concentrate the juice obtained from sugar cane. The product was either sold as it was, or distilled to obtain schnapps at the communal distilling hut. Each cottage had typically five to ten people working, who were not apprentices but employed as day labourers. Each person worked from six in the morning until four in the afternoon and received 700 cedis (£0.58) as a daily wage and 200 cedis (£0.17) as *chop money* (money for food).

Joseph had been working at the place for some years. His job was to carry bundles of sugar cane. He wore T-shirt and shorts to work. His clothes were soaked with sweat and dark coloured oil from the machine. His master, owner of the machine, was in his late 30s and was middle-school educated. He trusted Joseph since he was one of most reliable workers who had been working for him for a long time.

Elmina, where school B was located, had numerous private as well as public construction projects at the time of this research. PANAFEST, the African-American cultural festival, was due later in the year and numerous construction projects were starting. It was also explained that due to the high inflation rate (the average annual rate of inflation from 1980 to 1992 was 38.7%, and was 27.6% in 1990-1991 according to the World Development Report 1994) it was more profitable to carry out construction with a loan than to save up to do so in the future.

Joe (BD3M) was working for one of the contractors who had a number of construction sites. He did menial work and also served as a site leader. He worked in a number of construction sites as needed, and worked from six in the morning until three in the afternoon almost every day. For this he received a daily wage of between 1,000 and 1,500 cedis (between £0.83 and £1.25).

He never went to the beach, even though he knew that he could have earned twice or three times as much a day during a bumper harvest by helping the fisherman and middlemen carry their loads. When asked why he did not go to the beach to earn money, he replied that he did not want to do so because the elders would not consider him a good

youth if he did. When he was talking, he frequently referred to the elders' opinions. At the time of our visits, he was sometimes seen with a girl who was learning dressmaking at a shop near the beach. He said that he was planning to marry her eventually when he had enough income to look after a family.

Kobina (AD3M) was working at the bicycle repair shop, the only workshop in the village, which served the surrounding areas. The workshop had the bare minimum of facilities and consisted of a thatched roof with poles for support. It was erected at the edge of the village on the side of the road from Cape Coast to Elmina. It was a convenient place for workers on the nearby government projects. It was also the place where women brought their cassava for sale. The workshop was owned by his uncle (mother's cousin), and John, his cousin, also worked at the shop. Their uncle was a mature student at the technical institute at Cape Coast and came to the shop occasionally. He gave some initial training to Kobina and John. Then these two were running the shop from morning till afternoon.

Under the conditions Kobina worked, he might be considered an apprentice rather than a labourer. However, he could be more appropriately categorised as a labourer since his main aim was to work and earn daily wages rather than to gain skills. He intended to do a masonry apprenticeship when he had a chance. Moreover, he did not perform the rites to initiate his apprenticeship. Kobina's mother was told by her cousin to come and perform the rites so that Kobina would be more motivated to learn, but she could not provide the goods and the money.

Kobina used to work at this workshop while he was still enrolled in school. He used to come to work in the early morning before going to school and after school. After he dropped out, he spent most of his time at the workshop. It was the place where most interaction in the village took place. Many people stopped by, chatted, played a game of *omari* and watched others play. It was a social gathering place in the absence of entertainment facilities (a phenomenon observed by Peil (1981) in towns in West Africa).

Kobina left some major work either to John or his uncle, but he did most of the small repairs. His favourite job was to change all the spokes to renovate an old wheel. He

seemed to know how to deal with the customers as well. He said that he did not charge anything for small repairs because he knew that these customers would come back for more work later. He said he earned 3,000 cedis (£2.50) a day on average.

As with farming, this casual work was not considered a favourable activity. All three drop-outs who were working as labourers wished to do an apprenticeship rather than continue the work. Joseph (CD3M) said that he was working because there was no other choice available for school drop-outs.

> . . . Because I left school, that is why I am doing this job, so that I get some money. And then I can go and learn a good job (CD3M-tape).

He did not consider his current work as a 'good job'. Joe (BD3M) was also keen to stop his current work and to start an apprenticeship in driving. On the other hand, Kobina (AD3M) seemed to be enjoying his work more than the other two. His work involved more skill and could be considered a form of apprenticeship, but even he said that he would like to start an apprenticeship. These unskilled activities were in general considered a temporary measure to lead to more worthwhile activity, such as an apprenticeship.

9.2.4 Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship discussed in Chapter 2 was available in most of the micro-enterprises in the area studied. These micro-enterprises are the sole employment opportunities in the area and the majority of people who were engaged in microenterprises were trained through apprenticeship. Formal vocational school training was available only for a small number of the professionals as Callaway (1973) and Birks et al. (1994) describe. In addition to standard forms of apprenticeship, numerous shop owners acquired labourers as apprentices rather than employing them formally.

There were fewer skills available for women than for men. Apprenticeships as a carpenter, mason, construction worker, auto-mechanic, auto-electrician, draughtsman and driver were common among men, while only dressmaking and hairdressing were

commonly available to women. This observation agrees with studies done two decades ago (Callaway 1973). Other small-scale enterprises, such as food-processing, tended to have relatives helping and learning skills. These could be classified as traditional apprenticeships as they are confined to extended family members while modern apprenticeships tend to take non-family members as well.

The forms of apprenticeship varied according to the skills learned. The system can be classified as a form of vocational education with strong traditional and cultural elements incorporated. The young people must be known to the master or mistress before they are allowed to join. The process of beginning an apprenticeship is similar to the traditional marriage rites. First the apprentice's male relatives approach the master/mistress regarding the possibility of starting the apprenticeship. The prospective apprentices must be well known to the master/mistress and be recognised as good characters. When the youth is approved, he/she must be accompanied by male relatives to go to perform the rites. They bring a bottle of schnapps, a box of cigarettes, a box of matches, a few bottles of soft drink, and *ntsirinsa*. The master and his friends, usually masters in the same field, would be present when the male relatives of the youth present these goods and the money on the table. The master and his friends take cigarettes and soft drinks and give the youth advice on the work. The youth is also given warnings and advice on how to behave. He/she is told to be obedient and diligent, and not to stop the apprenticeship before mastering all the skills.

The amount of *ntsirinsa* varied according to the kind of apprenticeship, and was between 20,000 and 60,000 cedis (£16.7 to £50). The payment was said to be important for a number of reasons. First, it functioned as an assurance of commitment by the apprentice. The money was not returned if he/she dropped out, unless the youth died. There was normally strong family pressure to prevent the youth from terminating the apprenticeship prematurely, as the amount of money was too sizable to be wasted. Secondly, it worked as an insurance for a master in case the youth did some damage to the business. Thirdly, it worked to ensure the quality of instruction, to a certain extent. And lastly, it helped the master's enterprise to invest this money for further development.

The duration of training varied according to different types of apprenticeship, from two

to five years. It also depended on the progress made by each apprentice. When the master/mistress decided that the apprentice had acquired sufficient skills to be independent, an apprentice was told to perform another customary rite. Then male relatives came to thank the master/mistress. Sometimes a sum of money as well as a goat or a sheep for sacrifice were presented.

As discussed in Chapter 2, apprenticeship has a different pattern of cost. Table 9-2 shows the social and private costs in apprenticeship and JSS. In apprenticeship, the direct social costs are nominal as there is no imputed rent since the workshop already exists. Indirect costs, both social and private, are small, as apprentices carry out production while learning. In JSS, the direct social costs are much higher than the direct private costs. In other words, while apprenticeship is financed mainly by individuals, JSS is financed mainly by the government.

Table 9-2: Social and Private Costs in Apprenticeship and JSS

		Social costs	Private costs
Apprenticeship	Direct		-Fees -Equipment
	Indirect	-Earning forgone minus production carried out by apprentices	-Earning forgone minus value of small remuneration given
JSS	Direct	-Teachers salaries -Other current expenditure on goods and services -Expenditure on books etc. -Imputed rent	-Fees -Stationeries/uniform -Lunch -Transport
	Indirect	-Earning forgone	-Earning forgone

Table 9-3 summarises the differences in the costs between apprenticeship and JSS. JSS incur higher indirect costs both in social and private costs. The direct social costs in JSS are much higher than those in apprenticeship, while the direct private costs in apprenticeship are much higher than those in JSS. However, these high direct private costs do not seem to prevent people from joining apprenticeship. Many apprentices are often willing to pay high fees, because they expect some benefit. Unlike in formal

schooling, apprentices start receiving a little money as incentive during the training, especially when they start contributing to the workshop. Moreover, certainty in future employment makes such investment seemingly more justified than paying school fees.

Table 9-3: Comparison of Costs between JSS and Apprenticeship

Social costs	Direct	JSS >> Apprenticeship
	Indirect	JSS > Apprenticeship
Private costs	Direct	JSS << Apprenticeship
	Indirect	JSS > Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship as a carpenter was one of the most common in the area. It was available not only in towns but also in villages. These workshops for carpentry were on the increase, which seemed to have some connection with the introduction of vocational subjects in schools. One officer at the Ministry of Education said:

> One thing the education reform did was to raise the status of the crafts. Before the subject was introduced in JSS, people did not think that carpentry was anything profitable, but now many young people want to become carpenters when they finish JSS (EA2-note).

Barnabas (CD2M) was doing a carpentry apprenticeship in Kissi town. After he left school, he wished to start a carpentry apprenticeship. He approached his mother and uncle. With some elders' advice, he identified a carpentry shop to have his training in and his relatives approved of it. It was his maternal uncle who initiated the matter and this uncle and Barnabas' father came to perform the rites. Although his father had not contributed, he was invited as Barnabas explained that it was polite to do so. His mother did not come to the joining ceremony. It is uncommon for women to be present at such a ceremony for men's apprenticeships, even through the financial provision was made by his mother.

Barnabas worked in the workshop five days a week. He also worked at the master's farm once a week with other apprentices. The master had five apprentices at different stages.

All of them were either graduates or drop-outs from JSS/middle school. The workshop specialised in furniture. They made beds, cushion foam chairs, tables, and chairs. School desks and chairs were also made.

Barnabas respected his master because he tried different designs in his work. He also had a small album which contained photos showing his products to customers. The master had primary school education, while all of his apprentices had some post primary schooling. This agrees with the observation made in studies done in West Africa by Fluitman (1992, 1993) and Bas (1988) that apprentices were better educated than their masters. Nevertheless, the master was greatly respected and apprentices showed disciplined behaviour in the workshop.

Teachers in school C commented that Barnabas had problems in discipline at school and he was one of the truants while he was at school. The headteacher remarked that Barnabas had become better behaved and responsible. A number of studies document the discipline observed in apprenticeships (Bas 1988, Callaway 1983, McLaughlin 1979). Even when the apprentices are better educated than their master craftsman, apprentices would respect him.

Dressmaking was one of the most popular forms of apprenticeship in the area. It seemed to have developed into a new style of apprenticeship with some innovative qualities. Seamstresses had formed a professional association in the area. In Kissi and Komenda, the Kissi Tailors Association was formed in 1992 and there were 13 members in 1993. In Elmina the Tailors and Dressmakers Association was formed in 1985 and had 40 members including 7 men. Both of these associations are members of the Council of Indigenous Business Associations (CIBA) which was initiated previously in order to provide credit and loans, although it was not providing any financial or technical assistance to the dressmakers in these two associations.

These dressmakers associations were initially formed for professional purposes and their activities encompassed social as well as professional aspects. The Kissi Tailors Association was formed: 1) to form one strong unity for dressmakers, 2) to foster unity among members and help one another in times of need. The Elmina Tailors and

Dressmakers Association spelled out more practical objectives: 1) to address the income tax problem, 2) to set an examining body for the apprentices, 3) to share ideas and experiences. Their activities included organising seminars for apprentices to learn some elements which could not be covered by these dressmakers themselves, such as mechanical repairs and maintenance of sewing machines, and providing small loans for the members. Their activities also included assisting one another in organising funerals.

The problems of these organisations seem to be of an administrative nature. Both organisations had finance-related problems because of the members' inability to honour their financial obligations. The association in Elmina also stated that the membership was not extensive and a number of dressmakers and tailors had not yet joined.

Although not yet fully functioning, these organisations seemed to have potential in improving the quality of the dressmaking apprenticeship. There were attempts to standardise the learning system. The associations set the amount of *ntsirinsa* and abolished the traditional ceremony for joining. The association in Elmina was preparing to set an examining body for the apprentices. These could described as a way of overcoming the closed nature of apprenticeship training, one of the weaknesses of the systems described by Birks et al. (1994). Dressmaking proved to have the most active organisations among different kinds of apprenticeships. It might be explained by the nature of dressmaking which is less traditional. Moreover, seamstresses and tailors had received more formal schooling than craftsmen in other apprenticeships. Nevertheless, this shows the dynamic nature of these organisations which evolve in order to meet the needs arising. They aspired to organise their apprentices into a small vocational school rather than a dressmaking workshop. In Elmina town, the market for dressmakers seemed almost saturated. Some of these mistresses received more income from taking apprentices than sewing for customers.

The apprenticeship in which Christina (CD3F) was training was one of this new type in Kissi. The mistress was a twenty-five year old woman who had secondary education with some 'O' levels. After secondary education, she learned sewing through apprenticeship herself. After the training, she worked for one year before starting her own place. She was fortunate to be financially supported by her in-laws who provided her with a hut near

their house and two sewing machines.

At the time of the visits, she had six young women at her place including Christina. One was a student at JSS who joined them after school every day and all the others were drop-outs from JSS or had never enrolled in JSS. They entered at different times and the mistress kept each individual doing different tasks. During the first month, she let them do hemming by hand. When they were able to do it well, they were allowed to use the machine.

This mode of learning and teaching has certain similarities with some in other cultures. A study of traditional education in weaving by the Zinacantecos, a Mayan people in the highlands of Chiapas, Mexico, observes a similar individualised teaching where interventions and requirements are matched to the progress of each learner (Childs and Greenfield 1980).

The study by Childs and Greenfield observes the absence of verbal responses by learners where "teacher impels learners to *do* rather than *say* through heavy use of imperatives in her own speech; and learner responds by weaving a lot and speaking little" (Childs and Greenfield 1980:311). Learners rarely ask questions. The study offers the explanation that asking questions was a privilege and in general people with high status could ask questions to a person of lower status but not vice versa. This analysis applies to the situation of apprenticeship in this study. Apprentices seldom asked questions but only responded to the questions asked by the mistress. The absence of verbal interaction is a characteristic of traditional education in sub-Saharan Africa. Ohuche and Otaala (1981:11) describe African traditional education as "practical, informal and primarily non-verbal".

In the current study, a similar observation was made. While each learner was engaged in different tasks, the mistress occasionally called everyone to come and watch what she was doing. She spoke very little while showing them how to cut the materials using patterns. The young women apprentices stood around the table and watched carefully as their mistress placed the material and patterns. Questions were rare either from the teacher or from the students and very little verbal interaction was observed.

All the apprentices bought their own sewing machines. They sat in front of their machines at work. Even Christina who was doing hemming with her hands sat in front of her brand new machine which she was not yet allowed to use. After two weeks, however, Christina was allowed to use her sewing machine. Her face was beaming but as yet her hands were not moving smoothly. She could not coordinate her right hand turning the wheel with her left hand pushing a piece of cloth being sewn. She tried for almost two hours, with slight improvement. During that time, she remained silent. The mistress occasionally looked at her over her shoulder while doing her own work. She stretched her arm and turned the wheel for her, but few verbal instructions were given. Sometimes other apprentices also helped her turning the wheel or pulling the cloth.

Rebecca (AD3F) was doing an apprenticeship in a smaller dressmaking place in Elmina town. Her mistress had only two apprentices and she did not intend to increase the number for a while as she was expecting a baby shortly. The place did not look established, as it was just a rudimentary wooden shack with a table and three sewing machines. Morale seemed lower than in the place where Christina was learning. Birks et al. (1994) pointed out the weakness of apprenticeship, as the quality of instruction depends very much on individual masters.

Rebecca started apprenticeship one year after she dropped out of school. Her elder sister started in one place and she started three months later in another place. At the time of the visits, Rebecca was learning how to do different kinds of hemming. She was often on her own as the other apprentice tended to be absent. Rebecca herself started being absent occasionally when the sugar cane from her field was ready for harvest.

Unlike Christina who was keen to learn, Rebecca had some doubts about the training. She explained that she would have liked to go back to school. However, since *ntsirinsa* had already been paid it was difficult to change. She did not want her father to be angry with her.

Apprenticeship was the activity most sought after by the drop-outs. The system varied slightly depending on the skills acquired. For example, apprenticeship as a carpenter, mason, driver and other male dominated jobs required a much more traditional master-

apprentice relationship than apprenticeship in dress-making. The latter seemed to have adopted a number of characteristics of vocational schools while maintaining some traditions, such as strong discipline. The change seemed to stem from the different nature of the workshops operated. In the former category, the business was the main objective and the apprentices provided labour while learning skills. These apprentices received pocket money daily. On the other hand, the latter concentrated more on instruction of skills. Apprentices did not receive any remuneration until the later stage when they were able to sew clothes for customers.

Certain characteristics of apprenticeship were in some contrast to formal schooling. Drop-out from apprenticeship was very rare. The system required various forms of commitment from the apprentices as well as their family members. *Ntsirinsa* was a sizable amount of money which could not be wasted. The customary rites before entering apprenticeship involved senior members of the family and any attempt to terminate the apprenticeship prematurely would have been prevented by them. In some apprenticeships, pocket money given to apprentices worked as an incentive to continue. Strong discipline enhanced learning and apprentices were highly motivated. Moreover, both instructors and apprentices were clear about their educational objectives.

9.2.5 Child Care

Two drop-outs who responded that they were looking after their children were in village D. Grace (DD3F) spent most of her days looking after her two children aged three years and six months. She lived with her grandmother and was treated in the same way as other married women in the village, having her customary husband coming to visit her on weekends from the nearby town of Komenda. The financial needs of her children and herself were met by her husband and she did not have to do much work in the field, although she occasionally helped her grandmother in the field. She spent more time looking after her children. She performed occasional communal chores such as cooking for the visiting health workers. She also helped the elderly mother of the Queenmother, a niece to the chief.

Hannah (DD4F) also said that she was looking after her child and her nephew. Every

morning, she took these two children to the nursery school. After that she remained in the compound, cleaning and washing while others were working on the farm. As she was pregnant then, she was not going to the farm very often.

In both cases, they looked after more than one child in the house, which justified their staying home. In the case of Grace, she was responsible for her own two children while Hannah looked after her own and her nephew. Hannah was also pregnant and was not able to participate in the family work as efficiently as others. Grace had another job doing chores for the old mother to the Queenmother. Although the work was not demanding, she had to be available whenever the need arose.

9.2.6 Going to the Beach

School B was located in Elmina, a town which boasted a lively fishing harbour and a fish market. The harbour was made for middle- to small-sized boats. Large boats went to the two other ports on the coast. Every day except Tuesdays, the harbour received numerous boats. Their catch was brought to the shore to the market. Numerous youths were seen at the beach, wharf and the market area.

There was a system of distributing fish not only to the fishermen but also to some friends and helpers who were attached to each boat. Most boats were small, ten to twelve metres long, and had a simple wooden structure. These fishing boats tended to arrive at the same time, when the tide came in and the water level was high enough for the boats to come into harbour. The harbour was too shallow for most of the boats during low tide. When the boats came, the place became lively even to the extent of being chaotic. In the midst of shouts and quarrels, many people with baskets and pails full of fish pushed in and out in the market. When the boats came into the harbour, many young men ran to them. The catch was put in large baskets carried on the heads of youths in the water, and then passed on to the middlemen and women who waited for them on the shore. Some of the fishmongers bought them directly from the boats and others bought them via these middlemen and women. The youths helped these people carry fish to the market or to their vehicles.

People in Elmina thought that fishing was the main obstacle to boys' continuing education. The female drop-out rate at school B in this town was considerably lower than the male drop-out rate. The observed high male drop-out rate seemed to be associated with fishing and other economic activities in town. Unlike the other three communities, Elmina had a number of economic activities which enabled the youths to earn daily wages as unskilled labourers. Many said that during the bumper harvest boys were absent from school; during the months of July and August when the herrings were abundant, the attendance rates of male students dropped markedly. Some of these youths were asked by their families to help their business and others went on their own to earn money in different ways. The chief of the area said that even primary school boys were running away from home to work and steal on the beach.

> The other day, I saw a man with a boy, a small boy about ten years old. The man was holding his son's arm and he was crying. They got on the front seat in *trotro* (taxi-bus) and the man told others that he had not seen his son for three days. He bought his school uniform, paid school fees and gave him pocket money to go to school. (Despite all these) This boy went to the beach with other boys to earn money. The boy was sleeping on the beach for three days with his friends. During a day, he was stealing fish and selling them (BC1-note).

It was quite common for boys to steal some fish in the market. Some of these boys worked in a group. While the others stole, one of them hid with a pail in which the stolen fish were stored. They went to nearby towns and villages to sell these fish. Other boys helped women carry fish and took a few from their baskets. Others again did not help but took some fish regardless. John (BD4M) explained to us that he would normally take a few from the women when he carried fish for them.

> When I reach there (the beach) and my people (the fishing boat) have landed, I get into the boat and start collecting some pans from the women. I then put some fish into the pans and then carry them up to the wharf. When I finish, I collect my share. . . If I carry the pans from the boat to the wharf, they (other youths) also come to carry the fish from the wharf to the women. One fisherman who works with the boat will start at one side and another at the other side. These people see to it that I collect my share from each pan (BD4M-tape).

He was often working as a group with other young men, who carried the fish with him. The group was allowed to work with certain boats. Other times, he casually took some

fish from women's pails as he was walking. He said that it was called 'one-one' where boys stole fish from the large metal pails carried by women on their heads; they take one from this pail, another from another pail. During the bumper harvest in July and August, people seemed lenient and generous towards these small thefts. They seemed to be considered 'sharing' rather than 'stealing'.

However, such acts did anger some people. Isaac (BD1M) did not have a voice in July when we first visited. He did not tell us why he had lost his voice. Later, his friends told us that a fisherman, who had seen him stealing, caught him and choked him. Both his mother and grandmother at first denied that he went to the beach every day, but after a few visits, they said that he was spending most of his time there.

On the beach, boys tend to operate in a group. Isaac and his best friend, Joseph, who was also a JSS drop-out, belonged to the same group of youths. They were together on the beach. Until the boats came in, a group of young men sat and chatted. Some played cards and others watched the games. On our first visit, Isaac tried to run away from us. He later told us that he had thought that we were coming to arrest him. It took some time before he started talking to us. There were eight in his group, all of them were drop-outs from JSS or primary schools. They were aged between ten and eighteen. The group was quite young compared to other groups. They stole more often than receiving a reward for providing help.

On the other hand, John worked in a more legitimate manner than Isaac. John was often seen running errands for the owners of the boats. He said that he had five boats from which he was able to receive his share of fish. He and his group were allowed to carry fish and receive a small portion of the catch from these boats. The system was not a formal contract but a friendly custom of sharing the bumper catch. These friends of the boats received a small share if they were present when the boats returned to the harbour.

Out of four male drop-outs in school B, two were going to the beach while the other two were not. Salif (BD2M) and Joe (BD3M) said that they were not going to the beach since it was not a respectful thing to do. Both of them were influenced by adult family members' opinions.

> My mother told me that if young people go to the beach, they become disrespectful to the adults (BD2M-note).

> When you go to the beach, if you get fish and someone will come to buy your fish at five hundred cedis, I say, 'I will not collect the money (I cannot agree with the price)'. The way I will talk to you, it would not be respectful. When such a thing happens you are not respected by elders. So, if you don't go to the beach, in a place like Teterem, elders will respect you (BD3M-tape).

9.2.7 Going to *Makalanta* (Arabic School)

Salif (BD2M) was attending *makalanta* every day. Even on Friday, he came to *makalanta*, which was a mosque, to do the cleaning. He was one of the oldest and most dedicated student in this Arabic school. He wished to be a teacher in Arabic.

> I want to be a teacher in *makalanta*. If I teach Arabic, the God will guide me and provide me with *laada* (profit given by the God) (BD2M-note).

Makalanta could be clarified as one form of nonformal education quite common in Ghana. It teaches youths Arabic and the Koran. In the southern part of Ghana, a *makalanta* is often seen in towns where the Muslims tend to live. In many of these places Arabic and English are taught through the medium of Hausa. Many children from Muslim families go to *makalanta* every day after conventional schools and also on weekends.

The *makalanta* in Elmina was an unusual one. It taught the Koran and Arabic with Arabic as the medium of instruction. As most of the students were children of immigrants from Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso, Arabic was more appropriate than Hausa. It was conducted at the small mosque in town. The building was simple, with just one room of ten metres by eight metres. About 40 small children and seven older children were learning. Small children learned how to read and write the Arabic alphabet while the older ones learned Koranic verses. One teacher taught both classes at the same time. While the teacher taught the younger ones the alphabet, Salif was acting as a teacher's assistant. He stood at the back of the room helping the teacher by applying a small whip to children who did not pay full attention.

The tuition for *makalanta* was 500 cedis (£0.42) a month plus 50 cedis (£0.04) a week. Many children did not fail to bring smaller weekly fees but few seemed to pay monthly fees. The sum of this weekly tuition collected in a year would be 2,600 cedis (50 x 52 weeks £2.17) which exceeds the fees required at the government schools. It seemed that paying 50 cedis per week was easier than paying the bulk of the amount at the beginning of the year or even termly.

As with an apprenticeship, the educational objectives were clear for both teacher and students. Acquisition of Koranic knowledge and Arabic had fundamental importance in their life. Although the learning environment was not conducive, children were attentive. The class was crowded and did not have sufficient learning materials. The teacher employed a one-way rather than an interactive method of teaching; the lesson consisted of citing, memorising and testing. However, there was little absenteeism and children seemed to continue coming to school to learn.

9.3 Aspirations and Expectations concerning Education and Careers

9.3.1 Comparisons with the Stay-ins

a) Educational Aspirations

Table 9-4 shows a comparison of educational aspirations between drop-outs and stay-ins. As expected, stay-ins had a higher educational aspiration than drop-outs. Another point shown in this table is that stay-ins had a preference for the academic stream leading towards university. Only one out of 17 students aspired to technical education at a polytechnic. This corroborates a point made by Foster (1965) of a general preference for the academic stream rather than the vocational one.

Table 9-4: Educational Aspirations of the Drop-outs and Stay-ins

	no aspiration	JSS	technical institute	SSS	teacher training	university polytechnic	total
drop-outs	18 (56.3%)	5 (15.6%)	2 (6.3%)	4 (12.5%)	1 (3.1%)	2 (6.3%)	32 (50.0%)
stay-ins	0 (0.0%)	7 (21.9%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (6.3%)	6 (18.8%)	17 (53.1%)	32 (50.0%)
total	18 (28.1%)	12 (18.8%)	2 (3.1%)	6 (9.4%)	7 (10.9%)	19 (29.7%)	64 (100.0%)

(χ^2=36.41. 5df. p=<.01)

The reasons for the aspiration to higher education were closely linked to highly-waged jobs. One stay-in who aspired to go to university explained. "I want to go to Cape Coast University. I would get a job easily. I may even be lucky to get employment overseas" (AST2M).

Table 9-5 shows the adult family members' aspirations for their children's education. The pattern is very similar to that shown by the responses of the children themselves. As in the case of their children's responses, adult family members of stay-ins had higher educational aspirations than those of adult family members of drop-outs. One father of a stay-in said that he wanted his son to go to university because then the government would give him a job (DST1MP). A mother of a male stay-in said that going to school would give her son a white-collar job (CT3MP).

Table 9-5: Adult Family Members' Educational Aspiration for their Children

	no aspiration	JSS	technical institute.	SSS	teacher training	university polytechnic	total
drop-outs	10 (32.3%)	10 (32.3%)	2 (6.5%)	6 (19.4%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (9.7%)	31 (49.2%)
stay-ins	0 (0.0%)	7 (21.9%)	3 (9.4%)	0 (0.0%)	5 (15.6%)	17 (53.1%)	32 (50.8%)
total	10 (15.9%)	17 (27.0%)	5 (7.9%)	6 (9.5%)	5 (7.9%)	20 (31.7%)	63 (100.0%)

(χ^2=31.52. 5df. p<.01)

Of those drop-outs who aspired to go back to school, only a few responded that they were hopeful, while many of the stay-ins expected to continue their education. All the stay-ins except one responded they were either sure or likely to continue education up to the aspired level, while only five drop-outs responded that they were sure or likely to go back and continue their education (χ^2=43.09, 3df, p<.01). Similarly, adult family member expectations were higher among stay-ins than drop-outs. While all the adult family members of the stay-ins said that their children were sure or likely to continue education, only four of the adult family members of 32 drop-outs replied in the same way (χ^2=48.98, 3df, p=<.01)

b) Career Aspirations

Drop-outs' relatively low educational aspirations and expectations were reflected in their career aspirations as shown in Table 9-6. While stay-ins aspired to be lawyers, engineers, pilots, teachers, nurses, and company workers, drop-outs' aspirations were towards self-employment as drivers, mechanics, carpenters, welders, masons, seamstresses, and hairdressers.

Table 9-6: Career Aspirations of the Drop-outs and Stay-ins

	skilled work*	middle qualified**	high qualified***	total
drop-outs	26 (83.9%)	4 (12.9%)	3 (3.2%)	31 (49.2%)[†]
stay-ins	9 (28.1%)	21 (65.6%)	2 (6.3%)	32 (50.8%)
total	35 (55.6%)	25 (39.7%)	3 (4.8%)	63 (100.0%)

(χ^2= 20.14, 2df, p<.05)

* 'skilled work' includes jobs which require skills but not necessarily schooling, such as mechanics, carpenters, welders, masons, drivers, draughtsmen, farmers, hairdressers, and seamstresses.

** 'middle qualified' includes jobs requiring tertiary education, such as teachers, nurses, company workers and government officers.

*** 'high qualified' includes jobs requiring specialised and competitive higher education, such as lawyers, engineers and medical doctors.

[†] One drop-out did not respond to this question.

Table 9-7 shows the adult family members' career aspirations for their children. Similar to the educational aspirations, adult family members showed a pattern corresponding to that of the students. While adult family members of drop-outs opted for skilled work, adult family members of the stay-ins had much higher aspirations.

Table 9-7: Adult Family Members' Career Aspirations for their Children

	skilled work	middle qualified	high qualified	total
drop-outs	23 (79.3 %)	5 (17.2%)	1 (3.4%)	29 (47.5%)*
stay-ins	9 (28.1%)	13 (40.6%)	10 (31.3 %)	32 (52.5 %)
total	32 (52.5 %)	18 (29.5 %)	11 (18.0 %)	61(100.0%)

(χ^2= 16.94, 2df, p<.01)

* Three adult family members of drop-outs did not give any reply.

In career expectation, stay-ins were more hopeful than drop-outs. All the stay-ins responded that they were either sure or likely to obtain the jobs they aspired to, while 25 out of 32 drop-outs responded in such a way (χ^2= 11.29, 3df, p<.05). Adult family members' responses were similar. All the family members of stay-ins responded that they considered their children were sure or likely to get a job they aspired to, while 19 of the adult family members of 32 drop-outs so responded (χ^2= 12.23, 3df, p<.01).

A majority of both drop-outs and stay-ins responded that education was important in getting ahead in a job, as shown in Table 9-8. While more stay-ins placed importance on education, more drop-outs responded that capital was important. This might be related to their career orientation, for stay-ins were hoping for employment in the formal sector while drop-outs were hoping for self-employment, where initial investment was essential.

Table 9-8: Important Thing in Getting Ahead in a Job

	capital	education	intelligence	hard work	total
drop-outs	14 (43.8%)	11 (34.4%)	2 (6.3%)	5 (15.6%)	32 (50.0%)
stay-ins	8 (25.0%)	18 (56.3%)	1 (3.1%)	5 (15.6%)	32 (50.0%)
total	22 (34.4%)	29 (45.3%)	3 (4.7%)	10 (15.6%)	64 (100.0%)

(χ^2= 3.66, 3df, n.s.)

9.3.2 Comparisons among Drop-outs by Gender

a) Educational Aspirations

As has been seen, a majority of the drop-outs did not wish to go back to school while their stay-in counterparts aspired to higher education. Their opinions towards careers also showed a similar pattern, with drop-outs having significantly lower aspirations and expectations. To the question whether they wished to go back to school or not, a greater number of male drop-outs responded they wished to, while more female drop-outs were reluctant, although the difference was not statistically significant (see Table 9-9).

Table 9-9: Whether wishing to go back to school or not

	wish to go back	do not wish to go back	total
male	9 (56.3%)	7 (43.8%)	16 (50.0%)
female	5 (31.3%)	11 (68.8%)	16 (50.0%)
total	14 (43.8%)	18 (56.3%)	32 (50.0%)

(χ^2=2.03, 1df, n.s.)

The type of education aspired to is also different between male and female drop-outs (see Table 9-10). Although the number is rather small for comparison, while fewer female drop-outs aspired to continue their education, those few female drop-outs who wished to continue their education aspired to SSS and tertiary education while a majority of male drop-outs had the modest aspiration of JSS or technical institute.

Table 9-10: Educational Aspiration

	no aspiration	JSS	technical institute	SSS	tertiary education	total
male	7 (43.8%)	5 (31.3%)	2 (12.5%)	1 (6.3%)	1 (6.3%)	16 (50.0%)
female	11 (68.8%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (18.8%)	2 (12.5%)	16 (50.0%)
total	18 (56.3%)	5 (15.6%)	2 (6.3%)	4 (12.5%)	3 (9.4%)	32 (100.0%)

(χ^2=9.22, 4df, n.s.)

Many drop-outs did not wish to go back to school. The tendency was even stronger among female drop-outs. The reason for them not wishing to go to school varied. They did not aspire to go back to school because they did not think it would be possible due to financial difficulties. Female drop-outs with children were even less hopeful. Typical responses include; "I have no one to support my education" (AD2F-note), "I would not have anyone to support me. My grandmother is getting old" (DD3F-note), "It is expensive to go to school" (CD4F-note) and "Because of the baby, I cannot go back to school" (AD1F-note).

Many drop-outs did not think that they were good at studies. Their perception of themselves was often much lower than their actual performance at school, as seen in Chapter 7 where a comparison was made between drop-outs and stay-ins, despite the fact that they had similar school marks. Consequently, some drop-outs did not want to go back to school because they thought that they could not do well in studies even if they went back. It is also a reflection of the adults' attitudes. When resources were limited, only the children who did well in studies were allowed to continue education. It was seen that investing in children who would fail in the examinations would be wasteful. The idea seemed to be internalised by the children themselves. When asked why they did not wish to go back to school, they responded, "Even if I go back to school now, I would not understand what is going on" (AD4F-note). "I am not very good at studies" (DD3M-note).

There were a few drop-outs who aspired to go back to school. Two drop-outs aspired to university education. Mami Araba (BD2F) was good at studies and had always had high educational aspirations. After pregnancy interrupted her schooling, she was still hoping to

go back to school:

> My father (divorced and abroad but occasionally sending money) always told me that if one does not attain good education, it is difficult for him/her to get a good job (BD2F-note).

Sam (DD2M) wished to go back to school and continue to university. His aim was to work for the private companies in town. He knew that he needed a university degree to obtain such a job. He said that he would like to continue up to university if he could get someone to support him.

> I want to go to school and be educated so that I can become a big man (DD2M-note).

His high aspiration was not permanent. He also had a more modest plan. He talked about learning how to drive to become a company worker. His aspirations shifted between university and driving. His aspirations for higher education were connected with his career aspirations of working aborad. As Peil (1995) observes, work abroad has been a sought-after option for educated Ghanaians.

Some of those who aspired to go to secondary schools changed for more realistic goals. They would have liked to go to university but took the second best choice, or a more realistic aim, often due to financial difficulties.

> My mother can't support me beyond SSS. When I finish SSS, I can get a job. If you have SSS, you can write proper letters and you can also read them. My mother sells fish in a small basket (small quantity). Looking at my mother, it is difficult for her to support me even up to JSS (BD1F).

> I do not have anyone to support me, but if there is anyone who can pay my fees, I would like to go to SSS. A person who is going to look after me can pay all the cost. Some of my friends completed (JSS). When I see them, I feel interested in schooling. I liked school (DD2F).

Realising that it was not possible to go to secondary school, some aspired to complete JSS. "I want to just finish JSS. I don't want my father to spend too much money. I don't want to go beyond JSS" (CD4M). Others recognised the JSS education as providing helpful

basic knowledge for their learning trades. "I would like to learn a trade after JSS. It (JSS education) helps me to learn a trade" (AD1M). Others aspired to at least complete JSS to protect themselves from unfair treatment given to uneducated people. "When I am selling, people can't cheat me if I finish school" (BD2M).

Table 9-11: Aspiration for Apprenticeship Courses

	wish to do course	do not wish to do course	currently doing a course	total
male	11 (68.8%)	4 (25.0%)	1 (6.3%)	16 (50.0%)
female	11 (68.8%)	2 (12.5%)	3 (18.8%)	16 (50.0%)
total	22 (68.8%)	6 (18.8%)	4 (12.5%)	32 (50.0%)

(χ^2=1.67, 2df, n.s.)

Table 9-11 shows their aspiratio for apprenticeship courses. A majority of both male and female drop-outs wished to do courses. One male drop-out was doing a carpentry apprenticeship and three female drop-outs were learning dress-making. Their adult family members also gave similar responses, wishing their children to do an apprenticeship.

Male drop-outs wished to do an apprenticeship in carpentry, fitting, driving, welding or masonry, while female drop-outs aspired to do either sewing or hairdressing. Answers from male drop-outs had more variety than those from female drop-outs. Their choice reflected kinds of apprenticeship and employment opportunities available in the area researched.

Those who preferred to learn trades to going back to school thought that basic education was not necessary if you would be learning trades. Although the new JSS curriculum emphasised practical elements by introducing pre-vocational subjects, it was not seen as a pre-requisite for vocational training. A response like " I don't need schooling because I want to learn a trade" (CD2M-note) showed that they did not value this pre-vocational education. Especially those who had already started their apprenticeship said that school

education was not needed for their training and they had no intention of going back to school. "I am already learning dress-making which I am interested in and enjoying" (CD2F-note). One female drop-out explained that she was learning much more during her apprenticeship and there was no need for her to go back to school to learn so many more things which would not be very necessary for her.

b) Career Aspirations

Similar to the choice of apprenticeships, girls showed less variety than boys in career aspiration. Within skilled work, all of them wanted to be a seamstress, while one was deliberating between dressmaking and hairdressing. For boys, responses varied. Male drop-outs' responses included carpentry, driving, welding, and masonry while all female drop-outs aspired to be a seamstress.

Table 9-12: Career Aspiration of the Drop-outs by Gender

	skilled work	middle qualified	highly skilled	total
male	13 (81.3%)	2 (12.5%)	1 (6.3%)	16 (51.6%)
female	13 (86.7%)	2 (13.3%)	0 (0.0%)	15 (48.4%)*
total	26 (83.9%)	4 (12.9%)	1 (3.2%)	31 (100.0%)*

(χ^2=.97, 2df, n.s.)

* One drop-out did not respond.

A number of drop-outs aspired to do a certain job with adult family members' advice. Kobina (AD3M) wished to do masonry because his mother and other relatives advised him to do the same work as his late father. "I want to be a mason. My father's work was masonry, so I want to do the same. I can built my own house" (AD3M-note).

Salif (BD2M) aspired to be a *makalanta* teacher since it was a worthy job respected by his mother and other adults in the community. Salif was already acting as a teacher's assistant

for the junior class. Joe (BD3M) also took advice from the elders, respected senior members of the community. He wanted to be an articulated truck driver because these elders thought it was good work for him.

Most girls gave a reason that dressmaking is a good job and they could always make their own dresses even when there were not enough customers. It was considered much more sophisticated and desirable work than farming. There were a number of successful seamstresses in the area and this must have been encouraging them.

Both male and female drop-outs aspired to be engaged in self-employment in various skilled work. It was a modest and yet realistic plan for their future. While the stay-ins aspired to take their education further in the hope of obtaining white collar jobs, many drop-outs aspired to do practical work. The aim of introducing practical subjects in JSS was to help JSS graduates acquire practical skills and engage in self-employment. This objective seemed to be fulfilled not by stay-ins but by drop-outs.

9.3.3 Aspirations for their Children

In this study, interview questions such as, "how far would you have liked to reach in education while you were still at school?" were not included as responses were likely to be influenced by current situations and eroded aspirations after leaving school. It was considered inappropriate to ask such sensitive questions which could have jeopardised the relationship with researchers. It was decided that more indirect questions could elicit honest answers.

In order to access their aspirations before dropping out, or their original educational and occupational aspirations, projective types of questions were asked. These questions referred to their own children in the case of female drop-outs who had their own children. For others, the questions were: "How much education would you like your children to have?" and "What would you like your children to do in future?"

The question was first asked of female drop-outs who had already had their own children. Later, the same question was asked of both male and female drop-outs without children.

These questions were asked while interviewing them in informal situations. In some cases, they answered differently at different times. However, it was possible to see some trends in a person's responses. All of them responded to the question without much hesitation. Only one female drop-out said that she could not think of her children yet. When asked about her younger brother and sister, she responded quite willingly.

A majority of them wished their children to proceed to tertiary education. Many of them wished their children to proceed to universities or teacher training colleges. Salif (BD2M) wanted his children to go both to government schools and *makalanta* and continue to university. A number of others also aspired that their children complete tertiary education. Rebecca (CD1F) hoped that her children would go to university. She would like her son to be an engineer after completing university. She said she would work and support him throughout his education. Hanah(DD3F) also wanted her children to go to university.

> I want my children to go to university. By God's grace they will make it. I want them to get jobs using pens and papers. These jobs will look after them. They (my children) will look after me well when I am old (DD3F-note).

The aspiration to higher education was obviously linked to career aspirations. Tertiary education was a gateway for employment in the formal sector, especially the civil service. Government jobs were sought after for status, and more importantly for stability. Many of them preferred government employment to the private sector, as they had experienced the liquidation of GHASEL in the 1970s and its consequences.

> I will let them go to school so that they will come and work for the government. . . Working for the government is good. For example, if you have been to school, you will understand English. The government can send you overseas. And when you come back the government can select you to work and pay you (BD1F-tape).

Aspirations for working overseas are strong especially among educated youths. In Ghana, it has been quite common for people to work abroad to gain a higher income. For example, during the data collection, a number of school teachers were preparing to go overseas to work.

As expected, gender differences were observed in their responses. They tended to aspire to higher education for their male children than for their female children. This was evident in both male and female drop-outs. Adwoa (AD4F) said that she wanted her children to go to school. She wanted her son to do teacher training and become a teacher while she wanted her daughter to complete JSS and be a seamstress.

Some drop-outs had alternative aspirations for their children. If they did not do well at school, they could learn trades. Joe (BD3M) wanted his children to become secondary school teachers after finishing university. However, if they were not academically good enough to be able to go to university, he was ready to let them learn trades.

> I would like them (my children) to go to school. If they are good, I will let them continue. If they are not good, I will let them learn a trade (BD3M-tape).

These higher aspirations for their children could be interpreted as original aspirations for themselves, and also a way of compensating for their own unfulfilled objectives in life. Adwoa wanted to have two children, one boy and one girl. She was determined to work hard to support the education of her children, especially her son's.

> I want my son to be a teacher so that when he is teaching, people will say that even though I did not go to school, I have been able to let my child go to school to become a teacher (AD4F-tape).

Drop-outs in the study had modest aspirations regarding both education and their future careers. In addition, some of them assessed their academic performance and ability lower than their actual performance. Such an attitude justified their adult family members' decision not to support their schooling any longer. It is difficult to know whether this was the result of dropping out of school or whether they had always had low aspirations even when they were enrolled at school. Their much higher aspirations for their children indicated that they might have had originally high aspirations for themselves or hoped their children would pursue their unfulfilled objectives.

9.4 Conclusion

Most of the drop-outs in the current study were engaged in some form of economic activity. About half of both males and females responded that they were farming; among the rest of the drop-outs, males were involved in casual labour, apprenticeship and other activities, while females were doing petty trade, apprenticeship and child care. Farming was common among both male and female drop-outs from rural schools while in town there was more variety of activities. Farming at subsistence level was considered 'unworthy' work; some of those who engaged in farming were considered to be 'doing nothing' by others and even by themselves.

Male drop-outs and female drop-outs engaged in farming in a different manner, reflecting the pattern of economic activity in the area; while men were allowed to keep their profits, women tended to surrender them to the family's income pool. Male drop-outs could save funds towards their future, such as starting apprenticeships, but female drop-outs depended on their family to send them to learn. Some male drop-outs were engaged in working as unskilled labourers, such as farm labourers or labourers for the cottage industries and construction sites, which also brought an income.

More male drop-outs were engaged in activities which brought a cash income, while more female drop-outs were engaged in invisible work, in general, doing household chores and helping on their family farm. As a result, more male drop-outs were financially independent. Adult family members were concerned that the financial independence made some of the youths less obedient and respectful to elders. This was more the case among boys than girls. These male drop-outs tended to have groups of youths with whom they worked. Some of these youths lived and ate together with their peers instead of with their family members.

Except for those who were already engaged in apprenticeship, most drop-outs did not wish to continue their current activities, but aspired to do an apprenticeship in future. Four drop-outs were doing apprenticeships; three female drop-outs were learning dressmaking, and one male was learning carpentry. Although of the drop-outs we studied, more females than males were doing apprenticeships, male drop-outs are more advantaged in terms of their future prospects. Male drop-outs could secure funds in order to begin an apprenticeship

while female drop-outs' earnings were pooled in the family income and they did not seem to have access to such funds for starting apprenticeship. In terms of employment opportunities, apprenticeship and microenterprises available for males offer better chances of employment in future since there are a wide variety of apprenticeships, and moreover, it is microenterprises for males which respond to new needs, such as cassette tape recorder repair, and small scale import business. Available women's apprenticeships were few, and there might be a saturated market in the near future; therefore, future employment opportunities are limited.

A comparison between apprenticeship and JSS reveals some interesting facts. While the former depends more on private costs, the latter depends on social costs. Learning in apprenticeship seemed effective as both teachers and learners were clear about their objectives. All the apprentices except one were content with their learning, and were motivated to proceed with their careers.

Observation of drop-outs' subsequent activities sheds some light on people's willingness to pay for their education. Some drop-outs continued their education in an alternative form after their leaving school. Both apprenticeship and *makalanta* required fees, but fees were found.

There was a significant difference in educational aspirations between drop-outs and stay-ins. It is not surprising for those who had already left school to have lower educational aspirations. Less than half of the drop-outs wished to go back to school; among those who wished to do so, there were slightly more males than females. Drop-outs showed a pattern of career aspirations different from the stay-ins. Drop-outs tended to aspire to skilled work in micro-enterprises. Similar differences were also found in their adult family members' responses. Drop-outs' aspirations about their careers were also much lower; they tended to aspire to micro-enterprises and self-employment rather than to white collar jobs requiring formal education. Even those who aspired to go back to school considered apprenticeship to be a more realistic means of securing a future.

From the current survey, it is difficult to conclude whether the lower educational and vocational aspirations among drop-outs were the consequence of leaving school or not.

However, it might be reasonable to view this as a consequence rather than the original aspiration. When drop-outs were asked about their opinions towards their own children in a hypothetical question, many of them aspired to have their children continue education and engage in white collar jobs.

A majority of respondents, both drop-outs and stay-ins, considered education an important thing in life as well as an important factor for advancing their career. Although a majority of drop-outs did not wish to go back to school and did not rely on schooling for their future once they left, they still seemed to believe in formal education as a way to success. Most drop-outs and their adult family members believed that schooling was the best means of acquiring aspired-to jobs. The next best option was the acquisition of skills for self-employment through apprenticeship.

Some gender differences were observed in future aspirations, though there were also some similarities. The majority of drop-outs, both boys and girls, did not wish to go back to school. Most of them aspired to do an apprenticeship to start their own businesses. However, there were differences when situations were looked at more closely. Slightly more male drop-outs aspired to go back to school. Although the number was small, those female drop-outs who aspired to go back to formal schooling had higher aspirations to go as far as university. A majority of drop-outs aspired to do an apprenticeship in micro-enterprises. Although the tendency was apparent for both male and female drop-outs, a closer examination of their situations showed some differences. While girls aspired to do one kind of apprenticeship i.e. dressmaking, boys had more variety, reflecting a strong division of labour and the availability of different kinds of training for men.

In the various apprenticeships, seamstresses started to form professional associations, organising themselves to improve their business. There might be some significance in that this apprenticeship was specific to women, and this might be understood as an act to achieve collective empowerment.

Of the two sub-propositions examined in this chapter:
C-2: *The subsequent activities that drop-outs are engaged in vary. Gender differences are observed in such activities*, was confirmed. Gender difference was observed both in the

kind of activities involved and also in the way they were performing such activities.

C-3: *Gender differences are observed in the future prospects of drop-outs*, was partially confirmed. Although both male and female drop-outs did not wish to depend on education for their future, and a majority of them aspired to acquire skills through apprenticeship, there were minor gender differences. Females seemed slightly disadvantaged in their prospects due to the availability of apprenticeships as well as access to such training.

10 Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

The thesis has examined the problem of JSS drop-out in one district in southern Ghana. This chapter attempts to synthesize the study reviewing the research propositions.

10.2 The Rates of Student Drop-out and School Characteristics

10.2.1 Drop-out Rates among Schools in the District

Drop-out rates varied among schools in the district. They ranged from 0% to 42.9% for the 1989/90 cohort (mean drop-out rate 20.5%) and 2.7% to 68.4% for the 1990/91 cohort (mean drop-out rate 21.2%). These rates are alarming: at some schools, over half of the students enrolled in JSS1 did not complete the course.

There have been numerous studies of the problem of primary school drop-outs, which have extensively discussed its implications. On the other hand, there has been relatively little research in drop-out in post-primary education in developing countries. The high drop-out rate in the first year of primary school is explained mainly as caused by children's inability to adjust to the new system, and the school's inability to respond to the needs of such children. JSS students are those who successfully completed the primary school course and are expected to adjust without difficulty to their new schools. In fact very few of them leave in the first year at JSS1. Therefore, the nature of the problem is different from that in primary school. However, one of the common implications for both primary and secondary school drop-outs is the school's inability to respond to the students' needs.

10.2.2 Gender Gap in the Rates of Drop-out

A gender gap was observed in the drop-out rates. The overall drop-out rate of girls was

higher than that of boys in both cohorts examined. Similarly the grade-wise drop-out rate was considerably higher among girls in JSS1 and JSS2. This finding corresponds to numerous studies carried out in developing countries. In studies on primary school drop-out, it is suggested that girls drop out at an earlier age and at a higher rate. If the first critical time is in the first grade in primary school, the second one might be the time when girls leave school due to pregnancy, which is in their upper primary and JSS years.

As has been shown in a number of studies (e.g. Ballara 1992, Ghana NCWAD 1994, Warwick and Jatoi 1994), gender disparity in education is often amplified by rural-urban disparity. A more recent study carried out in Egypt also shows that rural boys are the most advantaged in access to basic education. He argues that access to education was in the following order: first rural boys, secondly urban boys and girls (where very little difference was found), and thirdly rural girls who lagged far behind (Fernagy 1995). One might interpret this sharp contrast between rural boys and girls by arguing that educational access of boys is improved at the cost of the girls' access to education in rural areas. In the current study, girls' drop-out rates tended to show a rural-urban disparity, while boys' drop-out rates did not show any such difference between rural schools and urban schools.

Recent literature published after this thesis was initiated shows an increasing awareness of the problem in sub-Saharan Africa. The problem is well-recognized at the policy formulation levels. The Consultation on School Drop-out and Adolescent Pregnancy held in Mauritius is one example of action stemming from such concerns. That consultation was successful in effecting personal commitment on the part of African Education Ministers as well as donors to alleviate the problem (FAWE 1995a). The lack of definite strategies for these serious problems makes such international consultation useful in formulating possible solutions through exchange of views and experiences among various countries in the region. Recommendations from this consultation include:

1) the need for urgent attention to the problem of girls' drop-out
2) viewing the problem in the development context
3) involving students themselves in diagnosis
4) Ministers' commitment to implementing programmes
5) the need for improved research initiatives

6) the recognition of economic and socio-cultural constraints
7) the involvement of parents, communities, NGOs, religious organisations, opinion leaders and the media
8) the need for a follow-up to the consultation (FAWE 1995:9-10)

It is noteworthy that the recommendations include the involvement of students themselves in diagnosing and formulating possible solutions. The issue has been discussed by 'experts' but the consultation recommends returning to the consumers of such education. The study states that "adoption of participatory approaches will be most appropriate in marginalised areas and among educationally disadvantaged populations" (FAWE 1995:75). The importance of the consumer's view is also stressed at the field level. Wynd (1995) observes that in Niger the view of the local people's was not necessarily the same as that of the academics and policy makers; while the link between increased education for women and decreased fertility was widely recognised, schools were often viewed responsible for girls' pregnancy.

10.2.3 Wastage

At school level, no significant association between the rates of drop-out and repetition was found, contrary to previous studies which indicated a close relationship between drop-out and repetition. In general, the repetition rates were low due to the government policy of automatic promotion in primary school and JSS.

The examination results did not show any significant association with the drop-out rates. This might be related to the fact that the number of schools in the study was not large enough to establish such an association.

10.2.4 Drop-out Rates and School Factors

Lack of finance at the national level has necessitated financial cuts in all social sectors, including education. The quality of education has suffered. When over 90% of the educational budget is spent on recurrent costs, little can be done for educational development. Schools lacked teaching materials, including textbooks and materials for the practical lessons; only one-tenth of all schools had sufficient textbooks, only one-third

of schools had enough furniture for students. The situation was better than in primary schools where furniture was not available in a majority of schools, as observed in Fentiman's study (1995) in Ghana's rural eastern province. Nevertheless, this situation undoubtedly made learning less effective and less interesting.

Very few school factors used in this survey showed significant association with the drop-out rates. There was not significant association between school facilities and drop-out rates. Although a number of studies cite school factors such as educational facilities as an important factor in retention of students, the field survey of this research did not show any similar result. One of the reasons might be the small sample size. Glewwe's (1990) study included all primary schools in Ghana and he suggests that circumstances, such as insufficient furniture and leaking roofs, had a significant influence on educational outcome. Such studies include both urban and rural schools in different regions, which helps to show a general tendency. On the other hand, in a small scale study such as the current one, a few isolated cases can influence the whole sample. Lavy (1991) suggests that the cost of further education influences schooling decisions at the primary school level in rural households; he also argues that the quality of the school is a significant influence, and that distance to the school can determine the initial decision about schooling, although not the decision to continue. In the current study, the catchment area did not show significant association with the drop-out rates. These factors might influence individual decisions but not necessarily at the collective level.

On the other hand, in the in-depth study of drop-outs in four communities, differences in some school and community characteristics were observed between schools with low drop-out rates and those with high drop-out rates. Schools with low drop-out rates had their teachers residing in the communities and their turn-over was low, while in schools with high drop-out rates the situation was the opposite. Schools with low drop-out rates had their headteachers respected both by other teachers and communities, while in the schools with high drop-out rates, headteachers were either new or had some strained working relations with other teachers as well as with community members. It was not school buildings and facilities but rather the teachers' quality which seemed to matter. Two rural schools had development projects; a school with a low drop-out rate had an NGO-initiated project where a majority of people participated, while the school with a

high drop-out rate had a government-initiated project to build the headteacher's house, a project undertaken with little consultation with teachers and community members.

10.3 Causes of Drop-out - Reflections on the Comparison between Drop-outs and Stay-ins

10.3.1 Causes of Drop-out

While drop-outs and stay-ins had similar economic background, over half the drop-outs responded that the reason for dropping out was school fees and other costs for education. The opinions of drop-outs and their adult family members were further confirmed by other people's observations; stay-ins and their family members, teachers, community leaders and educational administrators all agreed that school fees were the cause of students' leaving school prematurely. This corroborates a number of studies previously done on drop-out. At the individual level, low income makes access to education difficult.

The 1987 reform introduced user charges in a formerly fee-free education. Although it is said that user charges make people more responsible and more aware of their entitlement, and the amount charged was said to be nominal and affordable even for economically disadvantaged groups, they were a major hindrance to education in rural communities. In addition to these overt costs, the opportunity cost for education was high. In rural Ghana, children are integrated into economic activities from a young age, and therefore going to school is equivalent to surrendering the income earned if not going to school.

Examination of the pairs of drop-outs and stay-ins revealed some other issues. Stay-ins who had an economic situation similar to the drop-outs were able to continue schooling. A close examination of the pairs suggested that family difficulties, such as divorce, illness of family members and costly funerals enhanced financial difficulties and made the payment of fees difficult, and hence influenced children to drop out of school. In the case of a number of female drop-outs, it was often financial difficulties that led them to

become pregnant, which subsequently made them leave school.

In the surveyed area, many of the youth were engaged in economic activities while they were still at school. Children were included in the economy at an early age. This often made them responsible for their own expenditures including school fees and other expenses incurred for schooling, such as buying exercise books and school uniforms. Some maintained that children were introduced to money too early, and that adult attitudes led children to become more involved in earning than in school work. These attitudes consequently led them to discontinue schooling. JSS was the time when students became economically competent and therefore were at risk of leaving school.

Examination of the drop-outs' subsequent activities also shed some light on the causes of leaving school. Even when financial difficulties were given as a reason, some drop-outs managed to produce fees for alternative types of learning, such as learning skills in apprenticeship and attending *makalanta* (Arabic school). In apprenticeship, the joining fee was a large sum, but the acquisition of skills and securing a job were guaranteed, and hence people were willing to pay the fees even when it was difficult to produce funds. People tried hard to search for funds from the extended family. It could be suspected that such payment for apprenticeship was considered as 'investment' while school fees and costs were considered as 'expense', and therefore there resulted a different degree of willingness to pay.

These economic factors should be examined more carefully. In the case of shifting to *makalanta*, the fees were about the same as the school fees which the drop-out had had difficulty in paying, but the method of payment was different. At *makalanta* the fees were collected weekly rather than on a termly basis. In a low income family, accumulating a large sum of money is difficult, but frequent payments of a lesser sum is easier. This has some bearing on the payment of school fees. Some schools collect fees monthly but most collect them by the term. The amount owed can become a large sum at the beginning of the year, when the special funds such as district development funds and building funds are collected. A headmaster of a school with a high drop-out rate admitted that he was not able to collect fees in monthly instalments because it required an excessive amount of administrative work, and led to problems such as parents'

confusing the monthly payment with the termly payment.

When drop-outs and stay-ins were compared, with gender, age, academic achievement and economic background controlled, few differences were observed between the two groups. Sometimes, it seemed that very small factors determined whether one remained in school or dropped out. Economic factors were dominant, and many of the people studied did not have stable economic situations. In southern Ghana where the family structure is relatively fluid but extensive, funds could be received from distant relatives sometimes unexpectedly which could save a child from leaving school prematurely. On the other hand, a sudden incident, such as the death of a family member can cause them to stop schooling. Many of the stay-in students could have become drop-outs. In order to further investigate these points, a study of a larger sample as well as a longitudinal study is required.

10.3.2 Family Composition

Few significant differences between drop-outs and stay-ins were found in family composition. The characteristics of a flexible family structure were evident in both drop-outs and stay-ins. In rural Ghana children are often left in their home town/village with grandparents, more often with grandmothers, while parents work elsewhere. In addition, divorce and the practice of couples living separately is common.

Financial support for children from the family varied. Slightly more stay-ins were supported by their parents, while a substantial number of both drop-outs and stay-ins were supported by grandparents and other relatives, commonly uncles and aunts. It was not uncommon for youths to support themselves financially. Those who were financially independent were found among male drop-outs. In the area researched, children were introduced to work and earning at a very early age, and could be early incorporated into the family business where they learned petty trade and other business skills.

Paired comparison showed that a number of drop-outs had divorced parents. Even when parents were not divorced, financial difficulties did arise when parents had the responsibility of supporting other children. The tradition of polygamy and flexible family

structure often increased the number of children for whom adults were responsible.

10.3.3 School Experience

There was no difference between drop-outs and stay-ins in the experience of repetition. This corresponds to the findings of the school survey where drop-out rates and repetition rates did not have significant association. On the other hand, a number of previous studies cite the relationship between repetition and drop-out, explaining that repetition and low achievement often result in leaving school. As has been seen, the government's policy of automatic promotion might be a reason for low repetition rates and lack of association between the two.

A difference was observed, however, in the experience of grade repetition between gender. More boys than girls had previously repeated, both among drop-outs and stay-ins. This higher rate of repetition among boys corresponds to the repetition rates in the whole district where boys were repeating more often than girls.

In the 32 pairs, drop-outs and stay-ins had similar academic achievement levels. Among the low achieving 18 drop-outs, only 5 had academic problems as their immediate cause of dropping out. While some students dropped out of school, others (stay-ins) with similar educational achievement remained in school. The process of dropping out illustrated that a number of drop-outs had the experience of unfair treatment or unfortunate incidents at school before terminating school. Some drop-outs did not have many friends at school because they were transfer students from another area, belonged to language/religious groups different from others in the school, or had a slight physical handicap.

In most of the communities, schools stood within the community, at a site often determined by the community members themselves. However, these schools were not necessarily part of the community. One example of this was evident in students' names: a student used his/her formal name at school while being known by a totally different name in the community. Often the 'official name' presented in birth certificate and school register was an English name while the other name was Fanti, the local language.

This tendency was stronger in rural villages; in town some students did not possess two names. This might be a sign of the dichotomy between official and unofficial sides of communities. Schools do exist in communities, often located in the centre of villages. However, these schools have not yet become an integral part of the community where people are known by their indigenous names. Although not as much as in primary school, JSS students needed to adjust to differences when being at school. A drop-out who had taken up a carpentry apprenticeship looked confident and at ease in the community, but his reputation when in school was the opposite. Youths who could not manage the two worlds by straddling the community and school, or those who decided to choose the community, might be the ones who dropped out of school.

10.4 Consequences of Dropping out - Schooling and Career

The current JSS curriculum promotes a seemingly new idea of pre-vocational education where the aim is to introduce students to basic vocational and technical skills so as to orient them to economic activities locally. This aim was pursued more faithfully by drop-outs than stay-ins. Almost all drop-outs aspired to enter apprenticeship to acquire skills.

Responses given by drop-outs and stay-ins on their opinions on school subjects were similar. Gender differences were not evident. Favourite subjects and subjects considered useful were almost identical; academic subjects such as English, Mathematics, and Science were favoured and considered useful, while technical and vocational subjects were less favoured and considered less useful. One of the major objectives of the current education reform is to introduce practical subjects in basic education in order to create economically productive citizens. However, the students think differently. The student opinion that there are few opportunities to use the skills learned at school is a more accurate observation on Ghana's current economy than the reform might suggest. The preference for academic orientation prevails, proving the point made by Foster three decades ago.

The significant difference in educational and career aspirations between drop-outs and stay-ins also indicates that the schooling does not promote small-scale industries and self reliance as the education reform envisaged. It was school drop-outs, not stay-ins, who

aspired to self-employment in micro-enterprises, when they realised that they would never obtain white collar jobs requiring formal education.

However, as if to compensate for the inefficiency of government-organised vocational education, apprenticeship is thriving, incorporating new skills and meeting new demands. Although the skills acquisition process through apprenticeship might seem lengthy and less effective, both learners and instructors were clear about their educational objectives, and hence learning was enhanced. The scheme is cost-effective, requiring little from the government but depending on private initiatives, as seen in Chapter 9.

Whether the drop-outs who aspired to work on microenterprises or the stay-ins who aspired to formal employment would be more successful in the long run, is a question to be solved with a longitudinal study. An ILO study suggests there will be more opportunities for self-employment in microenterprises in the 21st century in sub-Saharan Africa. If so, some of these drop-outs might be more advantaged than stay-ins, through starting on the path to self-employment earlier. In order to investigate such hypotheses, further longitudinal study is required.

10.5 Gender Differences

Gender imbalance was evident in many aspects researched - in enrolment, drop-out rates, examination results, subsequent activities engaged in, and future aspirations and expectations. Confirming other research on girls' educational access, the results of this study also demonstrated the disadvantaged state of girls' education. When the process of dropping out was examined, girls had fewer reasons to become drop-outs while boys had more. This suggests the girls' vulnerability. Pregnancy was the most common reason for girls to leave school, and girls themselves seemed to have little control over the matter; thus any girl, even one not at risk from any other factors, could become a drop-out. Financially disadvantaged girls were at a hither risk. After leaving school, both girls and boys engaged in economic activities, but girls' work was less visible and girls tended to receive less income of their own. Skills available through apprenticeship were gender-specific and women had less choice than men. So, inequality persisted through and after schooling.

The role of the school in education and development differs according to the three different feminist perspectives, as mentioned in Chapter 4. Table 10-1 shows the different perspectives on the role of schools of each of these theories. The majority of the people researched, including drop-outs, stay-ins, their adult family members, teachers and community leaders, considered school as an agent for social mobilisation in line with the basic tenet of liberal feminism. On the other hand, what some drop-outs experienced at school conforms more to the viewpoint of radical feminism, since some students felt ill-treated or experienced an injustice. As has been observed in other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, explicit and implicit gender typing and discrimination in textbooks and classroom interaction caused a poor self-image and lack of confidence among some girls (e.g. Mbilinyi and Mbughuni 1991, Duncan 1989, FAWE 1994b).

Table 10-1: Feminist Perspectives on the Role of Schools

Feminist Theory	Liberal Feminism	Socialist Feminism	Radical Feminism
School viewed as:	agent for social mobilisation	agent for reproduction and perpetuation of existing social classes	place where injustice and oppression of a certain category of people is effected by means of actions like sexual harassment

(From Table 4-1 in Chapter 4)

A gender gap in schooling has persisted throughout educational development in Ghana, as has been shown in Chapter 2. The introduction of formal schooling produced a gender gap by excluding girls from education. In the past, even when girls were allowed to enter school, the syllabus was different from that for boys. The current efforts by the Ministry of Education to set a priority in improving educational access for girls constitute a new trend. However, even when access is improved, the educational outcome might still display inequality, as shown in examination results. What is hindering girls' performance in the examination should be further investigated in future studies.

The study of gender in education and development reveals a gap between educational theory and its implementation. Recent publications on education in developing countries

generally do not fail to address gender issues. Attempts have been made to close the gender gap. International conferences involving donors, academics and practitioners are one among these attempts. Theories are translated into practice, and then empirical evidence is assembled to verify these theories, and research studies are communicated. Policy makers and educational administrators learn through these processes. However, as is stated in the recent report on the Mid-Decade Meeting of the International Consultative Forum on EFA, the progress is slow although the gap is narrowing. One of the problems might be that many of these activities are implemented within a framework dominated by economics. We must ask what is the meaning of schooling for girls: does school education provide what girls really need? More specifically, does schooling provide empowerment for girls? Schooling is by its nature an individualistic process, where individual achievement is encouraged, assessed and documented. However, true empowerment is collective. School education, it could be argued, inhibits such true empowerment.

A close examination of schools and drop-outs' subsequent activities revealed some positive indications for gender. At one school where the drop-out rate was low, it was the headmistress who made efforts to bring students back to school; her bringing back a student who had been expelled from another school because of pregnancy could be interpreted as solidarity.

While choice of apprenticeship courses is limited for women, a new style of apprenticeship with some innovative qualities was found in some special apprenticeships for women, for example in dress-making apprenticeship. Seamstresses in the area organised the Tailors and Dressmakers Association, for quality control and improvement of apprenticeship. It was seamstresses, relatively well-educated female professionals, who introduced more systematic learning and an improvement of the traditional apprenticeship. Moreover in this way they created solidarity among dressmakers. These attempts could be interpreted as women themselves working for the improvement of women's needs.

The significance of education for girls might be better understood in Moser's framework of gender needs (Moser 1993). The present thesis attempted to apply this framework to

education as seen in Chapter 4 (see Table 4-8). Schooling meets practical gender needs by providing knowledge and skills. However, it is not very clear whether current schooling meets the strategic gender needs of girls. The content of education and the classroom interaction are not always favourable to girls. Moreover, girls have more obstacles in attending school due to household chores and other duties they are expected to perform at home. A school can start breaking down those obstacles, but like other institutions, schools are embedded in society and such change might require time and considerable effort.

Having successfully completed school, one might be recognised as an adult and established in the community. On the other hand, it is possible for girls to obtain such social status without completing schooling. For example, some drop-outs who became mothers were well-accepted in the community as grown-up women, while their former classmates were still recognised as 'girls'. Dropping out of school and becoming a mother might bring social status in the community more quickly and more surely than staying in school.

Table 10-2 shows the gender needs in JSS observed in this research. On the question of access to education, the issue of user charges was important. In light of the number of pregnancies which prevented students from continuing school, education in reproductive health and family planning services should be available for students. Female teachers play an important role both in providing practical and strategic gender needs.

Table 10-2: Gender Needs in JSS

	strategic gender needs	practical gender needs
school	-girls' status at school -curriculum -gender stereotype -choice of courses available -female teachers -role model for girls	-access to education -user charge -amount -method of payment -education in reproductive health and family planning services -female teachers -sympathetic attitude
community/ family	-women's status in the community -women's status in the family	-economic capacity -household chores reduced for girls

10.6 Some Other Issues

10.6.1 Research Methods

The current study combined surveys of schools and in-depth study of drop-outs from systematically selected communities, which shed light on specific issues. First, it examined the issue of drop-out at different levels; first at school level collectively and then at a more individual level in an in-depth study. In collecting data, we sometimes used triangulation in the hope of providing more breadth to data, as Denzin (1989) and others have advocated.

From close examination of the four selected schools and surrounding communities, the role of teachers and headteachers became clear. In the two schools with low drop-out rates, teachers showed more commitment in their work, living within the community themselves. Moreover, they showed concern for those who dropped out, by visiting them at home and inquiring about them, sometimes succeeding in bringing them back to school. A rural school with a lower drop-out rate was part of a community with effective local leadership. A comparison between a development project carried out by the Ministry and one carried out by an NGO revealed a sharp contrast between two villages: the project initiated by the NGO had more communication with and commitment from the community, and hence made more impact on schools.

The examination of the process rather than the causes of dropping out proved to be effective in disclosing a number of issues. The process of dropping out showed that each case was unique, and no two cases were identical even when the surface causes seemed the same. The pattern of attendance showed that a number of drop-outs were often absent from school before finally leaving school, sometimes working on their own initiative, and other times being sent home for school fees. Examination of the process showed that drop-out resulted from multiple causes. Although the effect of each cause might be small, a combination of the effects of several could be sufficient to make someone leave school. This relates to the few differences found between drop-outs and stay-ins.

Examination of the process of dropping out also highlighted gender differences. As mentioned earlier, boys had more reasons to drop out. Girls' vulnerability and high drop-

out rate stemmed from cultural factors, as well as schools' inability to meet the needs of girls.

In the study school factors and socio-economic factors did not show any significant association with the rates of drop-out. These factors were difficult to measure accurately, especially in rural schools and communities. The time-lag of measuring school factors was another issue. Rural schools with high teacher turn over changed their student-teacher ratios over short periods. The current study examined a number of school variables after the drop-outs had already left school, and the situation could have been different when they were at school. The size of the sample for this study was small. If a similar study were done at a larger number of schools, more definitive observations might be possible.

Reflecting on the research process, during the in-depth study of interviewing drop-outs and others in the communities, I became acutely aware of the relationship between the researchers and the researched. Even more than we tried to find out about the drop-outs, they were keen to know who we were. Although we stayed in the communities, the time was not long enough for us to become part of the communities. On the part of the drop-outs, the first reaction was curiosity and then it soon became a kind of expectation since *obronyi* (foreigners) often bring projects and goods to the communities. Some, including the school teachers, thought that our research was leading to either helping the drop-outs or preventing others from dropping out. We tried as much as we could to disclaim such intentions, but I am not sure whether we were successful. This made me reflect on the question of research ethics, whether the research without creating any benefit to the researched could be justified or not. However, the people in general, including the drop-outs themselves, were understanding of the need for such research and were cooperative. During the data collection, we were often helped by them. When the vehicle broke down, and when the road to the smaller village became flooded and unpassable, it was these drop-outs and others who helped us. As Stephens (1990) recalls in his research in Nigeria, I also found that the researched were interested in my research and their sympathetic attitudes often made them consider these difficulties as not 'your (the researchers')' problem but 'our' problem. I felt grateful to them and I was conscious of not to impair the relationship with them. As a result, some questions which might hurt

their feelings were avoided, or altered to a more acceptable form. For example, projective types of question were asked to discover their original educational aspirations, although projective questions may not be suitable for obtaining attitude measurement.

10.6.2 Education and Development seen from the Problem of Drop-out

Education has been considered an important input in enhancing economic growth. However, education has now come to be considered as development itself (Little 1992). The Human Development Index includes educational attainment, together with the adjusted GNP per capita and life expectancy, as elements of development. It is because of the recent shift to emphasising development of people rather than economic growth, suggested in this analysis and clearly represented in the Human Development Index, that the importance of education in development has become more evident. This is a step in the right direction and should be taken further. One observation could be made on apprenticeship where drop-outs who failed in formal education successfully learnt trades. Those who plan school education might be able to learn how to enhance learning and clarify educational goals from these local initiatives. In order to achieve EFA goals and true development of people, the problem of drop-out, especially that of girls, must be examined more carefully. In that way education can benefit the people and at the same time schools learn from the people and community.

10.6.3 Research Studies on Drop-out in Ghana

Table 10-4 shows the number of studies carried out in recent years on the problem of drop-out in Ghana. None of the more established studies, such as the action research carried out by UNICEF/MOE(1994), and studies by FAWE (1994), Fentiman for UNICEF (1996), and Partnership for Child Development (1995), exclusively target JSS. UNICEF/MOE focuses on primary school drop-out, and the rest of them focus on both primary school and JSS. There are a number of studies on a much smaller scale, mainly MA theses in universities in Ghana, which deal with the drop-out problem in JSS. However, these studies have limitations in their data collection, often choosing one or two schools not necessarily on any systematic sampling procedure, but from accessibility.

The current study took a number of innovative approaches in field methods. Firstly, the investigation was carried out with a macro orientation where the aggregate data on drop-out as well as enrolment and characteristics of all schools in the district were obtained. From the data, the gender disparity in enrolment, retention and examination results became evident. Secondly, the research of a micro orientation focused on data collection in four schools selected according to drop-out rates gave a balanced sample. Thirdly, for each of 32 drop-outs, a stay-in was selected controlling common risk factors, namely gender, age, academic achievement, and socio-economic background. This procedure was adopted in order to see whether there were any further causes. Lastly, the in-depth study focused on the process of dropping out as well as the subsequent activities, focusing on individual experience revealed in their narrative accounts as well as observation. Although data of such different kinds are difficult to summarise, I feel that this labour-intensive approach was useful in obtaining insight into the matter.

Table 10-3: Research Studies on the Problem of School Drop-out in Ghana

study	sample	unit of analysis	variables included	major findings
UNICEF/MOE (1994)	interview teachers, community leaders, children and adults	22 primary schools in 7 districts	financial difficulties, family background	Factors causing drop-out and non-enrolment in primary school are financial and family factors
Coleman (1994)	enrolment statistics of the whole country	enrolment statistics	pattern of drop-out, repetition, and promotion	Highest drop-out rates in primary school in the first grade
FAWE (1994)	interview teachers and students	2 primary schools and 2 JSS in rural area	parental care, number of children, child labour, peer influence	Cause of drop-out and non-enrolment 1) parental inability to pay, 2) lack of parental care, 3) too many children, 4) child labour, 5) peer influence
Partnership for Child Development (1995)	interview mothers	18 primary schools and 3 JSS	age, stature of child, health of child, parents' education, socio-economic status	Children enrolled in school later (overage); drop-out rates increase as they grow older, especially among girls; non-enrolment of girls correlated with mothers' educational status; half of all children of school age have stunted growth
Fentiman for UNICEF (1996)	interview pupils, teachers and parents	13 primary schools and 5 JSS	enrolment statistics of schools, health condition of children	Gender imbalance in enrolment, teachers; health and growth of non-enroled children inferior to those who enrolled; rapid decline of female enrolment in JSS; problems in payment of fees and uniform; sexual harassment by peer males
MOE (1994)	interview habitual absentees	3 primary schools and 3 JSS	school attendance and economic activities	A majority of upper primary and JSS absentees were engaged in economic activities.
Ofori-dua (1994) Ofori-Asante (1991) Amedome (1991) Ankomah (1990)	interview drop-outs, teachers, and parents	1 - 3 JSS in rural and semi rural areas	teenage pregnancy	Causes of student pregnancy were as follows: 1) curiosity, 2) peer group influence, 3) lack of parental care, 4) early independent living, 5) unavailability of contraception, 6) low academic achievement
Buabeng (1994)	interview female students	one JSS	emotional state of girls and menstruation	Unstable emotional status of adolescent girls and negative effect of punishment in school on such students
Andoh (1994)	school teachers	one JSS	factors of drop-out from teachers' point of view	Teachers are frustrated with their treatment by the Ministry of Education ; they feel demoralised.
Twumasi (1986)	interview drop-outs	2 middle schools in an urban area	gender difference in reasons for withdrawal from school	Surprisingly few girls drop out due to pregnancy while almost all boys stop schooling due to financial reasons

Many of the studies in Table 10-4 refer to gender imbalance in drop-outs. The drop-out rates among girls are generally higher than those among boys. The current study examined schools with different patterns of drop-out. The school with a higher drop-out rate among boys than girls showed that some boys did choose to leave school while this was rare for girls.

The current study also followed the process of dropping out. which shed light on gender difference in the pattern of leaving school. Girls had fewer risk factors than boys. Often it was pregnancy which made them leave school. Moreover, this study followed the drop-outs in their subsequent activities, and found that gender disparity was evident throughout. On the other hand, outside the school and in the community, there has been a subtle movement on the part of women themselves to meet their needs, as was observed in the formation of a professional association to improve the quality of dressmaking apprenticeship.

Almost all studies refer to the socio-economic background of drop-outs. Economic reasons (i.e. poverty and inability to pay the direct and indirect cost of education) constitute a major hindrance. The current study emphasises the complexity here, suggesting that economic factors alone do not necessarily cause students to drop out. A majority of students had multiple causes leading to the decision to leave school.

10.7 Recommendations for Further Studies

The problem of drop-out is diverse. It is serious in its economic implications, development implications and human rights implications. The problem deserves immediate attention in research, and action. It is vital that the opinions and observations of drop-outs themselves should be given the highest importance. They are the consumers of education who have been deprived of their rights, or who have been turned away from educational services.

The term 'drop-out' has an excessively negative connotation of failure. Drop-outs might be successful in their subsequent career: as many of them aspire to skills training through apprenticeship, they might be ahead of their classmates who might come to such a trade after failing to obtain employment in the formal sector. Longitudinal studies following up these drop-outs and stay-ins might provide insights into the meaning of schooling.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. These countries are Angola, Madagascar, Kenya, Nigeria, U.R. Tanzania, Zaire, Comoros, Mozambique, Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, Central African Republic, Guinea, Benin, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Liberia, Ethiopia, Mali and Somalia (UNESCO 1993).

2. Number of years of formal education that a person of a given age can expect to receive in future (UNESCO 1993).

3. Other international conventions include International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and National Heritage (1972), Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), Convention on Technical and Vocational Education (1989) and International Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees in Higher Education in the Arab and European States bordering the Mediterranean (1976). Regional conventions are concerned with the recognition of studies, diplomas and degrees in higher education in Latin America and the Caribbean (1974), the Arab States (1978), the European Region (1979), the African States (1981), and Asia and the Pacific (1983) (UNESCO 1993).

4. The drop-out rate is calculated as follows:

The drop-out rate for Grade I =

$$\frac{\text{Number of pupils dropping out from grade } I \text{ in year } t}{\text{Number of pupils in grade } I \text{ in year } t}$$

(UNESCO 1980:14)

5. The cohort drop-out rate is calculated as follows:

The drop-out rate for cohort I =

$$\frac{\text{Number of pupils dropping out from the cohort before completing the cycle}}{\text{Number of pupils in the fist grade when the cohort } I \text{ started the cycle}}$$

6. The number of countries which have the 6-3-3- plan is taken from the list of all

countries with their duration of first level and second level education stated in the World Education Report 1993. 13 countries (South Africa, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Republic of Moldova, Russian Federation) did not have their data included.

7. Bhutan, Nepal, Chile, Zambia, Zaire, Mozambique, Malawi and Ethiopia have their first stage of the second level education for the duration of two years. Sri Lanka has the first stage as long as six years and Gambia, Sierra Leone, St Vincent and Grenadines, Guyana, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Maldives and Malta have five years. The rest of the countries have either three or four years (UNESCO World Education Report 1993).

8. All OECD countries have primary and secondary education as compulsory. In developing countries, the ratio is smaller but the rate is increasing when compared between 1988 and 1990.

Chapter 2

1. Microenterprises have always been flourishing in West Africa, but not in all parts of sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, Bennell and Ncube (1994) observe that self-employment is low among school leavers in Zimbabwe with the consequence of the relatively small size of the informal sector as a whole.

2. Entry into schools within this public sector is most often obtained through success in a Common Entrance Examination held throughout Ghana for all middle school students aspiring to secondary school entry. This examination is uniform and centrally administered by the West African Examination Council (Foster 1965:24)

3. The grievances included demand for the re-establishment of the Ghana Education Service Council, payment of gratuity on the consolidated salaries, revision of teachers to the Teacher's Pension Ordinance of 1955 and non-payment of the legitimate entitlements on teachers. GNAT representatives emphasised that the grievances constituted a violation of the existing conditions and should not be seen as a new demands (Ghanaian Times 1/6/94).

Chapter 4

1. For instance, Psacharopoulos (1993) uses aggregate of data derived from 1960-1989 in different countries (Psacharopoulos 1993, p.41 Table A).

2. Interestingly, the projection results is changed from the projections published in 1987 and 1990 where the number of non-literate people were estimated to be much larger. For instance, the projection in UNESCO (1990) the number of non-literate people was

estimated at 948.1 million in total and 916.6 million in developing countries in 1990 and 935.4 million in total and 919.7 million in developing countries in 2000. However, the pattern of increased ratio of non-literate people in developing countries remain the same.

3. The gender gap among countries vary. Some countries such as Botswana and Lesotho have higher female participation in education (Hartmett and Heneveld 1993, World Education Report 1993, Human Development Report 1994).

Chapter 5

1. The admission register has a cumulative record of all students enrolled at the school. The attendance register is a thin printed booklet compiled for each class for each year. It has a list of names of all the students who are enrolled, their record of attendance, and the record of payment of school fees.

2. In order to confirm the legitimacy of the answer given, additional questions were asked, such as "What makes you think so?" "What does he/she tell you about school?" and "What kind of things do you talk about?"

3. If the school served more than one community, leaders of the larger area were interviewed.

Chapter 6

1. In these figures, students who transferred out to other schools are calculated as continuing in the same school so as to highlight the number of drop-outs and repeaters. The flow does not include students who transferred into these schools from other schools, for the same reason.

2. The cohort method was used in calculating the drop-out rates. The mean drop-out rate was calculated as the mean rate of all schools. The rate differs slightly from the drop-out rate of the whole cohort which is 20.0% for the 1989 cohort and 19.4% for the 1990 cohort.

3. The same as the note 1.

4. The same as the note 1.

5. These individual aggregates are coded into divisions according to the procedure used by the Ghana Education Service. Each division is then given points as follows:

BECE Aggregates

aggregate	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	over 36
points	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

6. The average figure increased to 25.54 (SD 10.86) when teacher-pupil ratio excluded untrained teachers and national service personnel. In this case the lowest ratio was 6.4 and the highest was 51.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Maps

- 1.1 Ghana in Africa
- 1.2 K.E.E.A. District in Ghana
- 1.3 Junior Secondary Schools in K.E.E.A. District

Appendix 2: Research Tool for the School Survey

- 2.1 Data Collection Sheets for the School Survey

Appendix 3: Research Tools for the In-depth Study

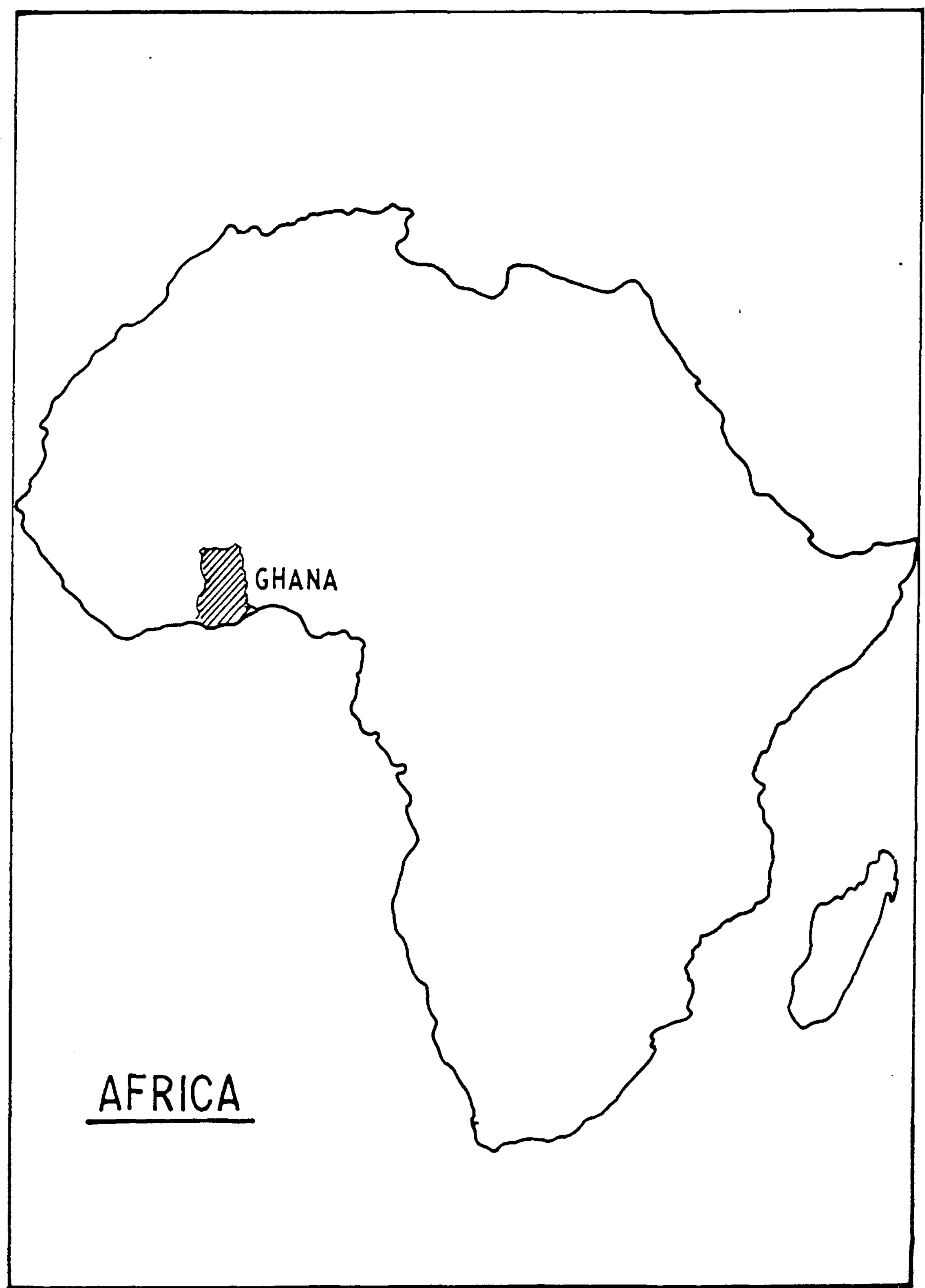
- 3.1 Introduction Remarks
- 3.1 Interview Schedule for Drop-out Students
- 3.2 Interview Schedule for Stay-in Students
- 3.3 Interview Schedule for Adult Family Members of Drop-out Students
- 3.4 Interview Schedule for Adult Family Members of Stay-in Students
- 3.5 Interview Schedule for Teachers
- 3.6 Interview Schedule for Community Leaders
- 3.7 Interview Schedule for Educational Administrators

Appendix 4: Enrolment and Drop-out Rates of Surveyed Schools

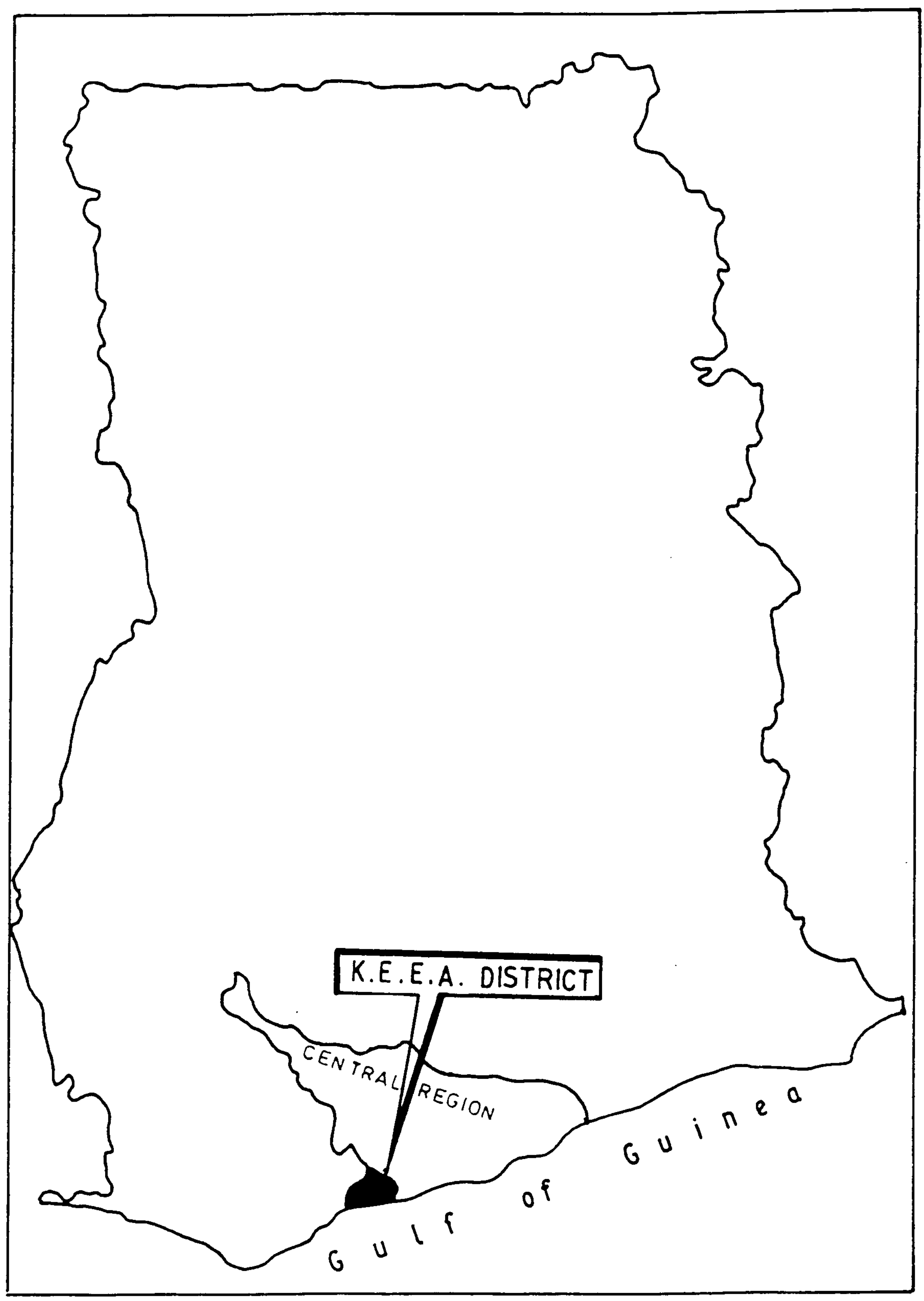
- 4.1 1989/90 Enrolment
- 4.2 Drop-out Rates

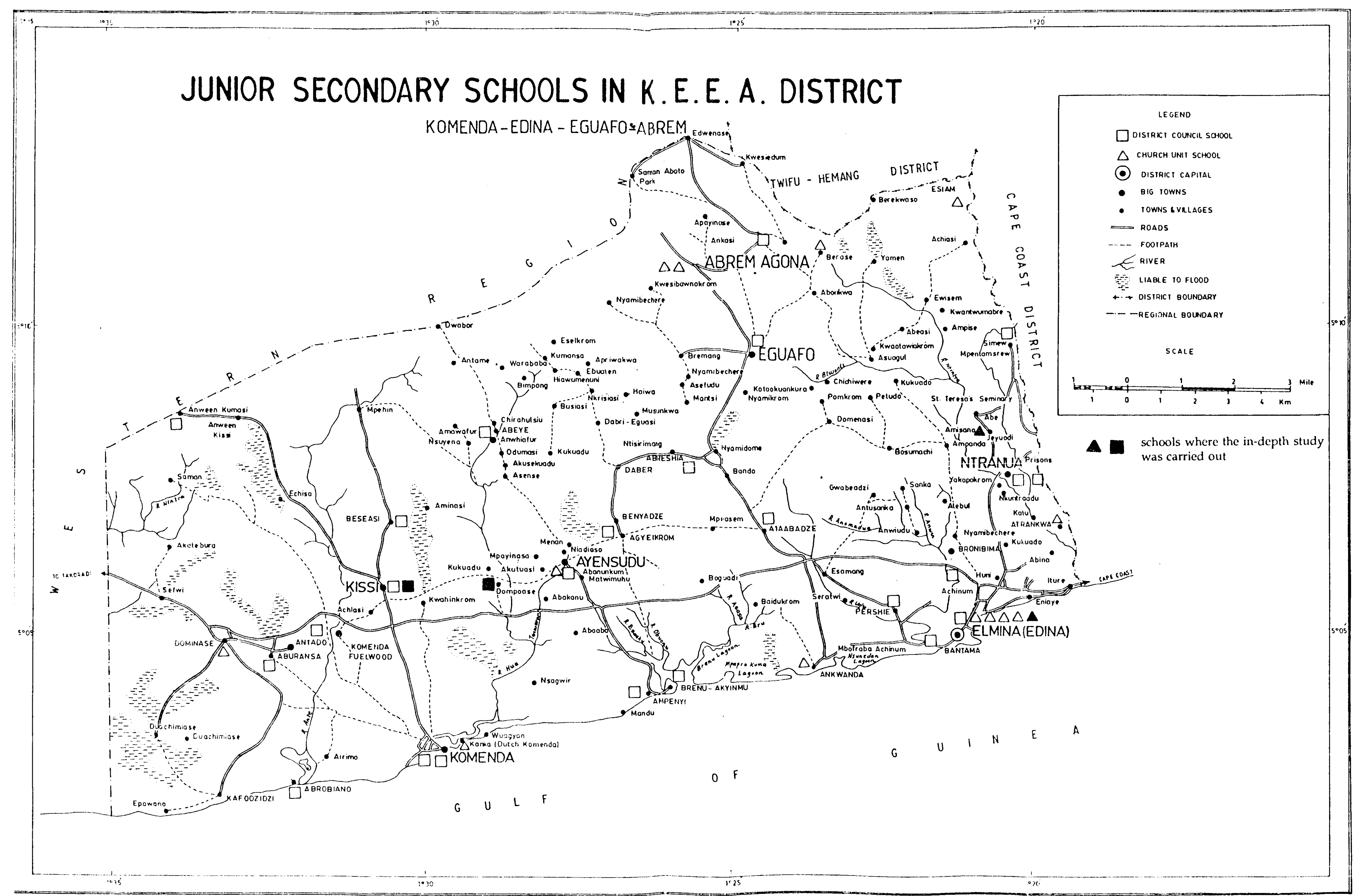
Appendix 1: Maps

Ghana in Africa



K.E.E.A. District in Ghana




JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN K.E.E.A. DISTRICT
KOMENDA-EDINA-EGUAFO-ABREM
LEGEND
DISTRICT COUNCIL SCHOOL
CHURCH UNIT SCHOOL
DISTRICT CAPITAL
BIG TOWNS
TOWNS & VILLAGES
ROADS
FOOTPATH
RIVER
LIABLE TO FLOOD
DISTRICT BOUNDARY
REGIONAL BOUNDARY
SCALE
Mile
Km
schools where the in-depth study was carried out
WESTERN REGION
TWIFU - HEMANG DISTRICT
CAPE COAST DISTRICT
GULF OF GUINEA
ABREM AGONA
EGUAFO
NTRANUA
AYENSUDU
KISSI
KOMENDA
ELMINA (EDINA)
BESEASI
ABEYE
ABRESHIA
DABER
BENYADZE
AGYEIKROM
ATAABADZE
PERSHIE
BANTAMA
ANKWANDA
BRENU - AKYINMU
AMPENYI
DOMINASE
ANTADO
ABURANSA
KOMENDA FUELWOOD
ABROBIANO
KAFOOZIDZI
BRONIBIMA
ATRANKWA
ESIAM
Edwenase
Kwesiedum
Saman Aboto Park
Berekwaso
Apayinase
Ankasi
Berase
Yomen
Achiasi
Kwesibawnokrom
Nyamibechere
Aborkwa
Ewisem
Kwantwumabre
Ampise
Abeasi
Kwaotowiakrom
Asuogul
Dwabor
Eselkrom
Kumansa
Apriwakwa
Antame
Warababa
Ebuaten
Hiawumenuni
Bimpong
Bremang
Asefudu
Mantsi
Haiwa
Nkrisiasi
Busiasi
Musunkwa
Dabri - Eguasi
Kotaokuankura
Nyamikrom
Chichiwere
Kukuado
Pomkrom
Petudo
St. Teresa's Seminary
Mpenlamsrew
Simew
Abe
Amisano
Jeyuodi
Ampanda
Prisons
Domenasi
Bosumachi
Mpehin
Anween Kumasi
Anween Kissi
Amawafur
Nsuyena
Chirahulsiu
Anwhiafur
Odumasi
Kukuadu
Akusekuadu
Asense
Ntisirimang
Nyamidome
Bando
Saman
Echiso
R. Nkitsa
Aminasi
Akotebura
Sefwi
TO TAKORADI
Menan
Niadiaso
Mpoyinasa
Akutuasi
Kukuadu
Abanunkum
Matwimuhu
Dompoase
Abakanu
Kwahinkrom
Achiasi
Abaaba
Mpiasem
Gwabeadzi
Sanka
Antusanka
Anwiudu
Yakapokrom
Nkuntraadu
Alebul
Kotu
Nyamibechere
Kukuado
Abina
Huni
Achinum
Ituro
Eniaye
CAPE COAST
Esamang
Boguadi
Baidukrom
Seratwi
Mbofraba Achinum
Nsunedan Lagoon
Mpeprokuma Lagoon
Brenu Lagoon
Nsagwir
Mandu
Wuagyan
Kanka (Dutch Komenda)
Airimo
Duachimiase
Epowano
R. Hua
R. Kakum
R. Benya
R. Bru

Appendix 2: Research Tool for the School Survey

JSS Characteristics in Elmina District

Date ______________

1. **Name of JSS**______________________ Circuit ______________________

2. **Pupils in cohort 1989/90**

	1989/90(JSS1)	1990/91 (JSS2)	1991/92 (JSS3)	BECE result

2. Pupils in cohort 1990/91

	1990/91(JSS1)	1991/92 (JSS2)	1992/93 (JSS3)	BECE result

3. Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) registered candidates

	1992	1993
male		
female		
total		

4. BECE result of August 1992

aggregate	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36+	total
male								
female								
total								

5. BECE result of August 1993

aggregate	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36+	total
male								
female								
total								

6. Enrolment in 1993/94

	JSS1	JSS2	JSS3	total
male				
female				
total				

7. Number of classes (streams) in 1993/94

JSS1 ____________ JSS2 ______________ JSS3________________

8. Number of teachers in 1993/94

	male	female	total
Trained and certified			
Trained but uncertified			
Untrained			
National service			
Total			

392

9. School shift -in no shift -in shift (i.e. morning and afternoon)

10. Head teacher -male -female

-from the locality -from the other areas

-detached -not detached

-head of JSS only -head of primary as well

teaching hours per week ______________________

years of service at the current school ____________

11. School building -completed -not yet completed

number of classrooms completed _______________

12. Furniture (desks and chairs) -enough for all pupils -enough for 2/3 of pupils -enough for 1/3 of pupils -none

13. Workshop -have workshop -no workshop

-equipped -not equipped

14. Water and sanitation -have toilets -no toilet

-drinking water available -no drinking water available

-if available in which manner __________________

15. Textbooks -enough number for all the pupils -not enough

number of textbooks JSS1 English ______________

JSS1 Mathematics__________

16. School and community

Distance from the school to catchment area_______________

Distance from the school to the road where the long distance buses run _____

Economic activity of parents of children in JSS1 1990/91

occupation of parents/guardians	subsistent farming	commercial farming	fishing	small trade	civil service	others	total
number of students							

Number of salary/waged parents/guardians _______________

393

17. PTA activity

PTA meeting(s) frequency ______________/year

Head teacher's observation -active -not so active -inactive

18. School fees

% of parents who paid fees at the end of the year (in August) 1992/93 __________

19. Additional fees charges by PTA -yes -no

If yes, the amount ____________________

20. District officer's opinion on the school

-head teacher's performance ____

____

-PTA activities ____

____

-any other comments ____

____

____

21. Research officer's comments ______________________________________

____

____

____

____

____

____

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____

____

Appendix 3: Research Tools for the In-depth Study

Introduction remarks before interviews with drop-out students, stay-in students, their parents, and community leaders

(After introducing interviewers)

We are trying to find out what people think about junior secondary schools and the problem of drop-out. I hope we can talk a little. We would like to ask you some questions. There is no right or wrong answer, and it is not a test or an examination. We will be very happy if you could tell us what you know and what you think honestly. Your answers will not be shown to anyone else. They will be used for our research only. So, I hope you will be able to help us with your answers.

Interview schedule for a drop-out student ID no. ______________

Date ________________ Time started _____________ Time ended _____________

1. Name _______________ 2. Age _________

3. How many of you are there in your home? boy ____ girl ____ adult _____

4. Sibling order of the drop-out _____________________

5. Who paid your school fees last time?
   a) father b) mother c)parents
   d) brother e) sister
   f) grandfather g) grandmother
   h) other male relative i) other female relative
   j) self
   k) other (include combination): specify ______________________________

6. Who support(s) you (i.e. providing food, shelter, clothing and other necessary things)? Choose all applicable and the main supporter.
   a) father b) mother c)parents
   d) brother e) sister
   f) grandfather g) grandmother
   h) other male relative i) other female relative
   j) self
   k) other (include combination): specify ______________________________

7. Who is the head of the household? _____________________

8. What does he/she do?
   a) self employed type of work ______________________________________

   b) wage employed employer ___________________ rank/position _________

   c) other specify ____

9. How much education did he/she have?
   a) did not go to school
   b) primary school did not complete completed
   c) middle school F1 F2 F3 F4
   d) secondary school SS1 SS2 SS3 SS4 SS5
   e) upper six 1 2
   f) tertiary education specify ____________________________________
   g) do not know

10. Household information: a) number of rooms __________
(living rooms and bedrooms, excluding kitchen)

b) possession -TV -radio-cassette -radio

-cooker -refrigerator

-electricity -glass window -padded arm chairs

11. JSS attended ______________________ 12. Year enrolled __________

13. When did you stop school? month _________ year _______

14. Which grade were you in when you stopped? JSS1 JSS2 JSS3

15. What was the reason for stopping school?

____

16. Whose decision was it to stop schooling?

____

17. Have you repeated grade before (either in primary and in JSS)? yes no

If yes, which grade and why? grade reason

____

____

18. Would you like to go back to school again? yes no

If yes, how far would you like to reach?
a) complete JSS
b) complete technical institute
c) complete SSS
d) complete teacher training
e) complete polytechnic/university

What benefit would you expect out of it? __________________________________

____

How sure are you of continuing your education that far? (Do you believe that you can continue your education that far?

a) sure
b) likely
c) unlikely
d) never

19. Would you like to do some other courses? yes no

If yes, what kind of course? ____________________

What benefit would you expect out of it? ____________________

____

20. What are you doing now?

____

Would you like to continue this work? yes no

If yes, why? ____________________

If no, what kind of work would you like to do in future ____________________

What do you need before you can have such work as described in the previous question?

a) money
b) apprenticeship or getting skills
c) schooling beyond JSS
d) land
e) tools/equipment
f) others specify ____________________

How sure are you of getting the job you wish? (Do you believe that you can get the job?)

a) sure
b) likely
c) unlikely
d) never

Please remember the last year when you were at school (for questions 21 to 24).

21. Which subjects were your favourite? Give three subjects in the order you prefer them.

1st choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

2nd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

3rd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

22. Which subject did you like least? Give three subjects in order of dislike.

1st choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

2nd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

3rd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

23. Which subject, do you think, is most useful? Give three subjects in order of most usefulness.

1st choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

2nd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

3rd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

24. Which subject, do you think is least useful? Give three subjects in order of least usefulness.

1st choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

2nd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

3rd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

25. Is there anyone else in your family who dropped out of school? yes no

If yes, how many?
primary male _____ primary female _____ JSS male _____ JSS female _____

26. Please indicate how important the following reasons are for causing drop-outs in JSS. Please indicate whether these reasons affected somebody you know.

	reason for causing drop-out			know affected someone	
a) School calender	important	little important	not important	yes	no
b) Attitude of parents	important	little important	not important	yes	no
c) Lack of parental discipline	important	little important	not important	yes	no
d) Low quality of school	important	little important	not important	yes	no
e) Inability to pay	important	little important	not important	yes	no
f) High cost of schooling	important	little important	not important	yes	no
g) Children can make money	important	little important	not important	yes	no
h) School rules/disciplines	important	little important	not important	yes	no
i) Schooling has no value	important	little important	not important	yes	no
j) Domestic duties	important	little important	not important	yes	no
k) Children's poor health	important	little important	not important	yes	no

27. In your opinion what is the most common cause of JSS drop-out generally?

a) financial b) broken family c) truancy d) ill health e) child labour
e) other: specify ________________

28. In your opinion, who is responsible for causing JSS drop-out generally?

a) students themselves b) parents c) teachers d) government
e) other: specify ________________

29. Please tell me of your pinion on the new system of JSS.

____

____

30. In your opinion, what is most important in life?

- -to be educated
- -to have a good job
- -to have a good family
- -to be wealthy
- -to have peaceful mind
- -others: specify ______________________________

31. What is necessary to get ahead in a job?

- -to be educated
- -to work hard
- -to have a good character
- -to have capital
- -others: specify ______________________________

32. What is your religion? ______________________________

33. What is your father's religion? ______________________________

34. What is your mother's religion? ______________________________

35. Adult family member to be interviewed ______________________________

36. Observation ____

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

Interview schedule for a stay-in student ID no. ______________

Date ________________ Time started _____________ Time ended _____________

1. Name _______________ 2. Age _________

3. How many of you are there in your home? boy ____ girl ____ adult _____

4. Sibling order of the drop-out _____________________

5. Who paid your school fees last time?
   a) father b) mother c)parents
   d) brother e) sister
   f) grandfather g) grandmother
   h) other male relative i) other female relative
   j) self
   k) other (include combination): specify ______________________________

6. Who support(s) you (i.e. providing food, shelter, clothing and other necessary things)? Choose all applicable and the main supporter.
   a) father b) mother c)parents
   d) brother e) sister
   f) grandfather g) grandmother
   h) other male relative i) other female relative
   j) self
   k) other (include combination): specify ______________________________

7. Who is the head of your household? _____________________

8. What does he/she do?
   a) self employed type of work ______________________________________

   b) wage employed employer ____________________ rank/position __________

   c) other specify ____

9. How much education did he/she have?
   a) did not go to school
   b) primary school P1 P2 P3 P4 P5 P6
   c) middle school F1 F2 F3 F4
   d) secondary school SS1 SS2 SS3 SS4 SS5
   e) upper six 1 2
   f) tertiary education specify ____

10. Household information: a) number of rooms __________

b) possession -TV -radio-cassette -radio

-cooker -refrigerator

-electricity -glass window -padded arm chairs

11. JSS attending ______________________ 12. Year enrolled __________

13. Have you repeated grade before (either in primary and in JSS)? yes no

If yes, which grade and why? grade reason

____

____

14. How far would you like to reach in your education?

a) complete JSS
b) complete technical institute
c) complete SSS
d) complete teacher training
e) complete polytechnic/university

What good do you expect out of it? ______________________________________

How sure are you of continuing your education that far? (Do you believe that you can continue your education that far?

a) sure
b) likely
c) unlikely
d) never

15. What kind of work would you like to do after your education? ____________________

Why? ____

What do you need before you can have such work as described in the previous question?

a) money
b) apprenticeship or getting skills
c) schooling beyond JSS
d) land
e) tools/equipment
f) others specify ______________________________________

How sure are you of getting the job you wish? (Do you believe that you can get the job?)

a) sure
b) likely
c) unlikely
d) never

16. Which subjects are your favourite? Give three subjects in order you prefer them.

1st choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

2nd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

3rd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

17. Which subject do you like least? Give three subjects in order you did not like.

1st choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

2nd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

3rd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

18. Which subject, do you think, is most useful? Give three subjects in order of most usefulness.

1st choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

2nd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

3rd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

19. Which subject, do you think is least useful? Give three subjects in order of least usefulness.

1st choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

2nd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

3rd choice ________________ reason ____________________________________

20. Is there anyone in your family who dropped out of school? yes no

If yes, how many?
primary male _____ primary female _____ JSS male _____ JSS female _____

21. Please indicate how important the following reasons are for causing drop-outs in junior secondary schools. Please indicate whether these reasons affected somebody you know.

	reason for causing drop-out			know affected someone	
a) School calender	important	little important	not important	yes	no
b) Attitude of parents	important	little important	not important	yes	no
c) Lack of parental discipline	important	little important	not important	yes	no
d) Low quality of school	important	little important	not important	yes	no
e) Inability to pay	important	little important	not important	yes	no
f) High cost of schooling	important	little important	not important	yes	no
g) Children can make money	important	little important	not important	yes	no
h) School rules/disciplines	important	little important	not important	yes	no
i) Schooling has no value	important	little important	not important	yes	no
j) Domestic duties	important	little important	not important	yes	no
k) Children's poor health	important	little important	not important	yes	no

22. In your opinion what is the most common cause of JSS drop-out?

a) financial b) broken family c) truancy d) ill health e) child labour
e) other

23. In your opinion, who is responsible for causing JSS drop-out?

a) students themselves b) parents c) teachers d) government
e) other

24. Please tell me of your pinion on the new system of JSS.

____

____

25. In your opinion, what is most important in life?

- -to be educated
- -to have a good job
- -to have a good family
- -to be wealthy
- -to have peaceful mind
- -others: specify ______________________________

26. What is necessary to get ahead in a job?

- -to be educated
- -to work hard
- -to have a good character
- -to have capital
- -others: specify ________________________________

27. What is your religion? ____________________________

28. What is your father's religion? ____________________________

29. What is your mother's religion? ____________________________

30. Adult family member to be interviewed: ________________________

31. Observation ____

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

Interview schedule for an adult family member of a drop-out student

ID no. ____________

Date ______________ Time started ____________ Time ended ____________

1. Name ______________ 2. Age ________ 3. Gender M F

4. Relation with the student __________________

5. What do you do?
   a) self employed type of work ____________________________________
   b) wage employed employer ___________________ rank/position _________
   c) other specify ____

6. How much education did you have?

a) did not go to school						
b) primary school	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6
c) middle school	F1	F2	F3	F4		
d) secondary school	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	
e) upper six	1	2				
f) tertiary education	specify __________					

7. How many children do you have? boy ________ girl ________

8. Sibling order of the drop-out child ____________

9. How many of them are working (independent)? boy ________ girl ________

10. How many of them are you supporting?

	boy	girl
under five	____	____
nursery	____	____
primary	____	____
JSS	____	____
SSS	____	____
tertiary	____	____
others	____	____

11. When did your child stop schooling? month ________ year ________

12. What was the reason for stopping school?

____

13. Whose decision was it to stop schooling?

____

14. Has your child repeated grade before he./he dropped out? (either in primary or JSS)

yes no

If yes, when and why? ____

____

15. Would you like your child to go back to school? yes no

If yes, how far would you like him/her to reach?
- a) complete JSS
- b) complete technical institute
- c) complete SSS
- d) complete teacher training
- e) complete polytechnic/university

What benefit do you expect out of it? ________________________________

____

How sure are you of continuing your child's education that far? (Do you believe that your child can continue his/her education that far?

- a) sure
- b) likely
- c) unlikely
- d) never

16. Would you like him/her to do some other courses? yes no

If yes, what kind of course? ________________________________

What benefit do you expect out of it? ________________________________

____

17. What is your son/daughter doing now?

____

18. Would you like him/her to continue this work? yes no

If yes, why? ____

If no, what kind of work would you like him/her to do in future? ______________

____

What do he/she need before you can have such work as described in the previous question?

a) money
b) apprenticeship or getting skills
c) schooling beyond JSS
d) land
e) tools/equipment
f) others specify ______________________________

How sure are you of your child getting the job you wish? (Do you believe that your child can get the job?)

a) sure
b) likely
c) unlikely
d) never

19. Is there anyone else in your family who dropped out of school? yes no

If yes, how many?
primary male _____ primary female _____ JSS male _____ JSS female _____

20. Please indicate how important the following reasons are for causing drop-outs in junior secondary schools. Please indicate whether these reasons affected somebody you know.

	reason for causing drop-out			know affected someone	
a) School calender	important	little important	not important	yes	no
b) Attitude of parents	important	little important	not important	yes	no
c) Lack of parental discipline	important	little important	not important	yes	no

d) Low quality of school	important	little important	not important	yes	no
e) Inability to pay	important	little important	not important	yes	no
f) High cost of schooling	important	little important	not important	yes	no
g) Children can make money	important	little important	not important	yes	no
h) School rules/disciplines	important	little important	not important	yes	no
i) Schooling has no value	important	little important	not important	yes	no
j) Domestic duties	important	little important	not important	yes	no
k) Children's poor health	important	little important	not important	yes	no

21. In your opinion, what should be done to prevent drop-outs?

____

____

____

22. Please tell me of your pinion on the new system of JSS.

____

____

23. In your opinion, what is most important in life?

-to be educated
-to have a good job
-to have a good family
-to be wealthy
-to have peaceful mind
-others: specify ____________________

24. What is necessary to get ahead in a job?

-to be educated
-to work hard
-to have a good character
-to have capital
-others: specify ____________________

25. How much was the school fees at JSS? ____________________

Do you think the amount is reasonable? yes no

What makes you think so? ____

Do you know how much of it is for GES and how much of it is for the district council?

yes no

If yes, how much if for each GES __________ D/C __________

Do you think this division is reasonable? yes no

26. What is your religion? ______________________________

27. Observation ____

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

Interview schedule for an adult family member of a stay-in student ID no. ________

Date ________________ Time started ____________ Time ended ____________

1. Name ________________ 2. Age ________ 3. Gender M F

4. Relation with the student ____________________

5. What do you do?
   a) self employed type of work ______________________________
   b) wage employed employer ____________________ rank/position __________
   c) other specify ____

6. How much education did you have?
   a) did not go to school
   b) primary school P1 P2 P3 P4 P5 P6
   c) middle school F1 F2 F3 F4
   d) secondary school S1 S2 S3 S4 S5
   e) upper six 1 2
   f) tertiary education specify ________________________________

7. How many children do you have? boy ________ girl ________

8. Sibling order of the drop-out child ____________

9. How many of them are working (independent)? boy ________ girl ________

10. How many of them are you supporting?

	boy	girl
under five	____	____
nursery	____	____
primary	____	____
JSS	____	____
SSS	____	____
tertiary	____	____
others	____	____

11. Has your child repeated grade before he.she drop out? (either in primary or JSS)

yes no

If yes, when and why? ______________________________

____

12. What was his/her class position in JSS1? ______________

13. Do you pay his/her school fees? yes no

If no, who paid his/her school fees? ______________

What does he/she do? ______________

14. Do you support his/her food and clothing? yes no

If no,who bought his/her good and clothing? ______________

What does he/she do? ______________

15. How far would you like son/daughter to reach?

a) complete JSS
b) complete technical institute
c) complete SSS
d) complete teacher training
e) complete polytechnic/university

What benefit do you expect out of it? ______________

____

How sure are you of continuing your child's education that far? (Do you believe that your child can continue his/her education that far?

a) sure
b) likely
c) unlikely
d) never

16. What kind of work would you like him/her to do after his/her education? ______

Why? ______________________________

What do he/she need before you can have such work as described in the previous question?

a) money
b) apprenticeship or getting skills
c) schooling beyond JSS
d) land
e) tools/equipment
f) others specify ______________________

How sure are you of your child getting the job you wish? (Do you believe that your child can get the job?)

a) sure
b) likely
c) unlikely
d) never

17. Is there anyone else in your family who dropped out of school? yes no

If yes, how many?
primary male _____ primary female _____ JSS male _____ JSS female _____

18. Please indicate how important the following reasons are for causing drop-outs in junior secondary schools. Please indicate whether these reasons affected somebody you know.

	reason for causing drop-out			know affected someone	
a) School calender	important	little important	not important	yes	no
b) Attitude of parents	important	little important	not important	yes	no
c) Lack of parental discipline	important	little important	not important	yes	no
d) Low quality of school	important	little important	not important	yes	no
e) Inability to pay	important	little important	not important	yes	no
f) High cost of schooling	important	little important	not important	yes	no
g) Children can make money	important	little important	not important	yes	no
h) School rules/disciplines	important	little important	not important	yes	no
i) Schooling has no value	important	little important	not important	yes	no
j) Domestic duties	important	little important	not important	yes	no
k) Children's poor health	important	little important	not important	yes	no

19. In your opinion, what should be done to prevent drop-outs?

____

____

20. Please tell me of your pinion on the new system of JSS.

____

____

21. In your opinion, what is most important in life?

-to be educated
-to have a good job
-to have a good family
-to be wealthy
-to have peaceful mind
-others: specify ______________________________

22. What is necessary to get ahead in a job?

-to be educated
-to work hard
-to have a good character
-to have capital
-others: specify ______________________________

23. How much was the school fees at JSS? ____________________

Do you think the amount is reasonable? yes no

What makes you think so? ____

Do you know how much of it is for GES and how much of it is for the district council?

yes no

If yes, how much if for each GES __________ D/C __________

Do you think this division is reasonable? yes no

24. What is your religion? ______________________________

25. Observation ____

____

____

____

Interview schedule for teachers ID no. ______________

Date ________________ Time started _____________ Time ended _____________

1. Name _______________ 2. Age _________ 3. Gender M F

4. School ___________________ 5. Years of service at this school ___________

6. Subject taught ____

7. Total years of service as a teacher __________

8. Teacher training and other academic qualification ________________________________

____

9. Would you like to continue teaching at the current school? yes no

   If yes, why ____

   ____

   If no, where would you like to move to and why ? _________________________

   ____

   ____

10. Please tell us about the most recent case of a male drop-out.

____

____

____

____

11. Please tell us about the most recent case of a female drop-out.

____

____

____

____

12. In your opinion, what is the most common reason for drop-out in JSS?

____

13. In your opinion, who normally decides to stop schooling?
   a) student himself/herself
   b) parents
   c) other relatives
   d) others

14. Who is most commonly paying schools fees and supporting students?
   a) father   b) mother   c) parents
   d) brother   e) sister
   f) grandfather   g) grandmother
   h) other male relatives   i) other female relatives
   j) others: specify ____________________

15. What do you think that majority of drop-outs are doing?
   a) working
   b) apprenticeship
   c) helping relatives
   d) looking for work
   e) others: specify ____

16. Please indicate how important the following reasons are for causing drop-outs in junior secondary schools. Please indicate whether these reasons affected somebody you know.

	reason for causing drop-out			know affected someone	
a) School calender	important	little important	not important	yes	no
b) Attitude of parents	important	little important	not important	yes	no
c) Lack of parental discipline	important	little important	not important	yes	no
d) Low quality of school	important	little important	not important	yes	no

e) Inability to pay	important	little important	not important	yes	no
f) High cost of schooling	important	little important	not important	yes	no
g) Children can make money	important	little important	not important	yes	no
h) School rules/disciplines	important	little important	not important	yes	no
i) Schooling has no value	important	little important	not important	yes	no
j) Domestic duties	important	little important	not important	yes	no
k) Children's poor health	important	little important	not important	yes	no

17. How much is the school fees at JSS? ____________________

Do you think the amount is reasonable? yes no

What makes you think so? ____

Do you know how much of it is for GES and how much of it is for the district council?
yes no

If yes, how much if for each GES __________ D/C __________

Do you think this division is reasonable? yes no

18. In your opinion what is the most common cause of JSS drop-out?

a) financial b) broken family c) truancy d) ill health e) child labour
e) other

19. In your opinion, who is responsible for causing JSS drop-out?

a) students themselves b) parents c) teachers d) government
e) other

20. In your opinion, what should be done to prevent drop-outs?

____

____

21. Please tell me of your pinion on the new system of JSS.

____

____

22 In your opinion, what is most important in life?

-to be educated
-to have a good job
-to have a good family
-to be wealthy
-to have peaceful mind
-others: specify ____________________

23. What is necessary to get ahead in a job?

-to be educated
-to work hard
-to have a good character
-to have capital
-others: specify ____________________

24. How much JSS school fees does a student in your school pay? ____________

25. Do you think this is a reasonable amount? yes no

If yes, why? ____________________________

____

If no, why? ____________________________

____

26. Do parents have problems in payment? yes no

27. What is your religion? ________________

28. Observation ____________________________

____

____

Interview schedule for community leaders ID no. ____________

Date ______________ Time started ____________ Time ended ____________

1. Name ______________ 2. Age ________ 3. Gender M F

4. Address ____________________ 5. Name of school ____________________

6. Post held ____________________ 7. Any other occupation ________________

8. Years of service at this post __________

9. Please tell us about the most recent case of a male drop-out you know of.

____

____

____

____

10. Please tell us about the most recent case of a female drop-out you know of.

____

____

____

____

11. In your opinion, what is the most common reason for drop-out in JSS?

____

12. In your opinion, who normally decides to stop schooling?
   a) student himself/herself
   b) parents
   c) other relatives
   d) others

13. Who is most commonly paying schools fees and supporting students?

a) father b) mother c) parents
d) brother e) sister
f) grandfather g) grandmother
h) other male relatives i) other female relatives
j) others: specify ____________________

14. What do you think that majority of drop-outs are doing?
a) working
b) apprenticeship
c) helping relatives
d) looking for work
e) others: specify ____

15. Please indicate how important the following reasons are for causing drop-outs in junior secondary schools. Please indicate whether these reasons affected somebody you know.

	reason for causing drop-out			know affected someone	
a) School calender	important	little important	not important	yes	no
b) Attitude of parents	important	little important	not important	yes	no
c) Lack of parental discipline	important	little important	not important	yes	no
d) Low quality of school	important	little important	not important	yes	no
e) Inability to pay	important	little important	not important	yes	no
f) High cost of schooling	important	little important	not important	yes	no
g) Children can make money	important	little important	not important	yes	no
h) School rules/disciplines	important	little important	not important	yes	no
i) Schooling has no value	important	little important	not important	yes	no
j) Domestic duties	important	little important	not important	yes	no
k) Children's poor health	important	little important	not important	yes	no

16. In your opinion, what should be done to prevent drop-outs?

____

____

17. Please tell me of your pinion on the new system of JSS.

____

____

18. In your opinion, what is most important in life?

-to be educated
-to have a good job
-to have a good family
-to be wealthy
-to have peaceful mind
-others: specify ______________________________

19. What is necessary to get ahead in a job?

-to be educated
-to work hard
-to have a good character
-to have capital
-others: specify ______________________________

20. How much JSS school fees does a student in your school pay? __________________

Do you think this is a reasonable amount? yes no

What makes you think so? ____

Do parents have problems in payment? yes no

21. Education a) did not go to school

b) primary school	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6
c) middle school	F1	F2	F3	F4		
d) secondary school	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	
e) upper six	1	2				

f) tertiary education: specify __________________________

22. Observation ____

____

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____

____

Interview schedule for educational administrators ID no. ____________

Date ______________ Time started ____________ Time ended ____________

1. Name _____________ 2. Age ________ 3. Gender M F

4. Organisation ________________________

5. Post held___________________________

6. Years of service at this organisation __________

7. Academic qualification ____

____

8. In your opinion, what is the most common reason for drop-out in JSS?

____

9. In your opinion, who normally decides to stop schooling?

a) student himself/herself
b) parents
c) other relatives
d) others

10. Who, do you think, is most commonly paying schools fees and supporting students?

a) father b) mother c) parents
d) brother e) sister
f) grandfather g) grandmother
h) other male relatives i) other female relatives
j) others: specify ___________________

11. What do you think that majority of drop-outs are doing?

a) working
b) apprenticeship
c) helping relatives
d) looking for work
e) others: specify ______________________________

12. Please indicate how important the following reasons are for causing drop-outs in junior secondary schools. Please indicate whether these reasons affected somebody you know.

	reason for causing drop-out			know affected someone	
a) School calender	important	little important	not important	yes	no
b) Attitude of parents	important	little important	not important	yes	no
c) Lack of parental discipline	important	little important	not important	yes	no
d) Low quality of school	important	little important	not important	yes	no
e) Inability to pay	important	little important	not important	yes	no
f) High cost of schooling	important	little important	not important	yes	no
g) Children can make money	important	little important	not important	yes	no
h) School rules/disciplines	important	little important	not important	yes	no
i) Schooling has no value	important	little important	not important	yes	no
j) Domestic duties	important	little important	not important	yes	no
k) Children's poor health	important	little important	not important	yes	no

13. In your opinion, who is responsible for causing JSS drop-out?

a) students themselves b) parents c) teachers d) government
e) other

14. In your opinion, what should be done to prevent drop-outs?

____

____

____

15. Do you think that JSS user charge fees a reasonable amount?

yes no

What makes you think so? ____

16. Observation ____

____

____

____

____

____

____

Some questions for unstructured interviews

1. time when he/she stopped schooling

   -When did you stop going to school?

2. the process of leaving school

   -Can you tell us why you stopped going to school?

   -Can you tell us what happened before you stopped going to school?

   - Can you tell us how you came to stop going to school?

   -Did you discuss this (your intention of stopping school) with someone?

3. subsequent activities

   -Do you like the work you are going now?

   -Why?

4. vocational aspirations

   -In future, what kind of work would you like to do?

   - What makes you think so?

   -What kind of benefit would you expect from this work?

5. original educational aspirations

   -In future I suppose you would like to have your own family. How many children would you like to have?

   -How far would you like your boys to reach in schooling?

   -How far would you like your girls to reach in schooling?

   -After they finish schooling, what would you like your boys to do?

   -After they finish schooling what would you like your girls to do?

   -What makes you think so?

Appendix 4: Enrolment and Drop-out Rates of Surveyed Schools

Drop-out Rates

school	1989/90 cohort			1990/91 cohort			total		
	total	male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female
1	10.53	.00	22.22	11.76	15.38	.00	11.11	8.70	15.38
2	14.29	14.29	14.29	8.70	.00	33.33	11.36	6.45	23.08
3	8.11	4.35	14.29	19.35	11.76	28.57	13.24	7.50	21.43
4	25.00	14.29	40.00	26.47	18.18	41.67	25.86	16.67	40.91
5	33.33	22.22	50.00	34.62	31.58	42.86	34.15	28.57	46.15
6	17.24	13.04	33.33	12.50	18.18	.00	15.56	14.71	18.18
7	15.91	13.33	21.43	6.52	7.41	5.26	11.11	10.53	12.12
8	40.00	48.00	26.67	51.28	47.37	55.00	45.57	47.73	42.86
9	25.00	25.00	-----	23.21	23.21	-----	24.07	24.07	-----
10	8.70	6.67	12.50	26.09	22.22	40.00	17.39	15.15	23.08
11	14.86	----	14.86	18.29	-----	18.29	16.67	-----	16.67
12	11.76	5.56	18.75	7.50	13.04	.00	9.46	9.76	9.09
13	11.63	17.24	.00	9.76	6.90	16.67	10.71	12.07	7.69
14	8.33	12.50	.00	24.39	29.17	17.65	18.46	22.50	12.00
15	25.00	25.00	25.00	36.00	26.67	50.00	31.11	25.93	38.89
16	25.00	11.11	42.86	3.23	.00	5.26	14.29	6.67	21.21
17	14.71	9.52	23.08	6.82	.00	15.79	10.26	4.35	18.75
18	4.44	5.26	3.85	2.74	4.65	.00	3.39	4.84	1.79
19	20.83	25.00	.00	27.78	19.05	40.00	25.00	21.95	31.58
20	26.53	17.65	46.67	34.04	32.00	36.36	30.21	23.73	40.54
21	.00	.00	.00	23.91	33.33	.00	14.67	23.40	.00
22	38.46	31.82	47.06	15.00	15.38	14.29	30.51	25.71	37.50
23	21.43	16.67	30.00	24.24	9.52	50.00	22.95	12.82	40.91
24	27.91	36.36	19.05	10.64	.00	21.74	18.89	17.39	20.45
25	32.35	22.22	43.75	35.71	42.86	28.57	33.87	31.25	36.67
26	42.86	50.00	28.57	37.50	41.67	25.00	40.54	46.15	27.27
27	15.49	12.20	20.00	24.39	21.95	26.83	20.26	17.07	23.94
28	8.00	12.50	.00	18.75	16.00	28.57	14.04	14.63	12.50
29	24.32	22.73	26.67	9.76	15.38	.00	16.67	18.75	13.33
30	26.67	34.62	15.79	33.33	38.71	23.53	30.11	36.84	19.44
31	16.07	9.38	25.00	7.58	4.65	13.04	11.48	6.67	19.15
32	15.69	14.29	17.39	10.42	2.86	30.77	13.13	7.94	22.22
33	24.14	20.83	40.00	28.57	18.18	66.67	26.32	19.57	54.55
34	26.67	26.92	26.32	23.40	11.11	40.00	25.00	18.87	33.33
35	34.88	32.00	38.89	8.70	6.45	13.33	21.35	17.86	27.27
36	35.71	33.33	50.00	68.42	60.00	77.78	54.55	45.45	72.73
37	6.82	9.52	4.35	9.30	9.52	9.09	8.05	9.52	6.67

Enrolment of the 1989/90 Cohort

school	1989/90 enrolment			
	total	male	female	gender ratio
1	10	9	19	47.37
2	14	7	21	33.33
3	23	14	37	37.84
4	14	10	24	41.67
5	9	6	15	40.00
6	23	6	29	20.69
7	30	14	44	31.82
8	25	15	40	37.50
9	52	---	52	----
10	15	8	23	34.78
11	---	74	74	----
12	18	16	34	47.06
13	29	14	43	32.56
14	16	8	24	33.33
15	12	8	20	40.00
16	18	14	32	43.75
17	21	13	34	38.24
18	19	26	45	57.78
19	20	4	24	16.67
20	34	15	49	30.61
21	14	15	29	51.72
22	22	17	39	43.59
23	18	10	28	35.71
24	22	21	43	48.84
25	18	16	34	47.06
26	14	7	21	33.33
27	41	30	71	42.25
28	16	9	25	36.00
29	22	15	37	40.54
30	26	19	45	42.22
31	32	24	56	42.86
32	28	23	51	45.10
33	24	5	29	17.24
34	26	19	45	42.22
35	25	18	43	41.86
36	12	2	14	14.29
37	21	23	44	52.27