

Reasons for Non-Attendance of Orphans, Children from Disjointed Families and Children who Live with both Parents:
Evidence from Questionnaires and Children's Drawings

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ABSTRACT

The paper uses a combination of questionnaire data and children's drawings to explore the reasons contributing to temporary and permanent absence from school of orphans, children from disjointed families and children who live with both parents. Particular attention is paid to differences between these three groups of children and between girls and boys. It is shown that the most important reasons for absenteeism are closely related to poverty, and that poverty is not necessarily related to orphanhood. Orphans, to the same extent as other children, are absent from school primarily because of high (but recently diminished) costs of schooling and because of having to work to contribute to their households' livelihoods. Furthermore, orphans, children from disjointed families and children who live with both parents are shown to have similar work schedules when they do not attend school. On the other hand, the reasons for absence from school and absentee children's work schedules are found to be strongly gendered. Girls are more likely to drop out of school or never to attend school because of the direct costs of schooling. Girls spend more time than boys doing domestic work and looking after young siblings and are more likely than boys to fail to go to school because they are needed in the house. The same holds for boys and farm work, cattle herding and the shooting of wild animals. A second group of reasons the paper flags as being important in triggering absence from school are related to the quality of the schools system - particularly unfair beating by teachers, difficulties in obtaining transfer reports and bribery. Rather than a particular policy focus on orphans, a continuing focus on poverty reduction is seen as imperative in getting and keeping children in school. Similarly, striving for gender equality needs to remain a priority. More specific suggestions include to subsidise or abandon school uniforms, the last remaining large direct cost deterring families from sending their children to school; to offer primary schooling in the afternoons would help children to fit house and farm work around schooling; to raise the quality of the in-school experience by more vigorous enforcement of the existing legislation to minimise corporal punishment and by addressing issues of corrupt, bureaucratic structures of individual schools.

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INTRODUCTION

– in the last paper we have established that few orphans and children from disjointed families are disadvantaged in terms of primary school attendance

This paper aims to explore:

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AIMS

1) What are the reasons for temporarily or permanently not attending school for orphans, children from disjointed families and children who live with both parents?

2) Do orphans differ in their reasons for not attending school from other children?

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STRUCTURE

- 1.) the data
- 2.) principal reasons for failure to attend school
 - by orphan status
 - by gender
- 3.) policy implications

METHODS

Two types of data will be used in this analysis.

They are both child-centred.

In most education research it continues to be the parents or guardians who are asked about their children's education.

However, there has been an emerging trend of paying greater attention to what children are saying; especially when the research concerns children's lives.

There is also a trend towards using research methods which are child friendly in addition to or instead of questionnaires.

For this analysis we used:

DATA

1) structured questions, asking 274 children and 240 guardians whether each of a long list of possible reasons had contributed to the children's temporary or permanent absence from school; there was also room to voice additional reasons;

to avoid confounding, children and guardians were interviewed without the presence of the other;

posing the same questions to children and guardians gave us the opportunity to cross-check;

The second type of data we will use here are

2.) two drawings each by 66 children. At each school we invited 6 children (2 regular attenders, 2 irregular attenders, 2 not current attenders) to draw first:

- a map of the places which constitute an important part of their lives
- a time line of their daily activities

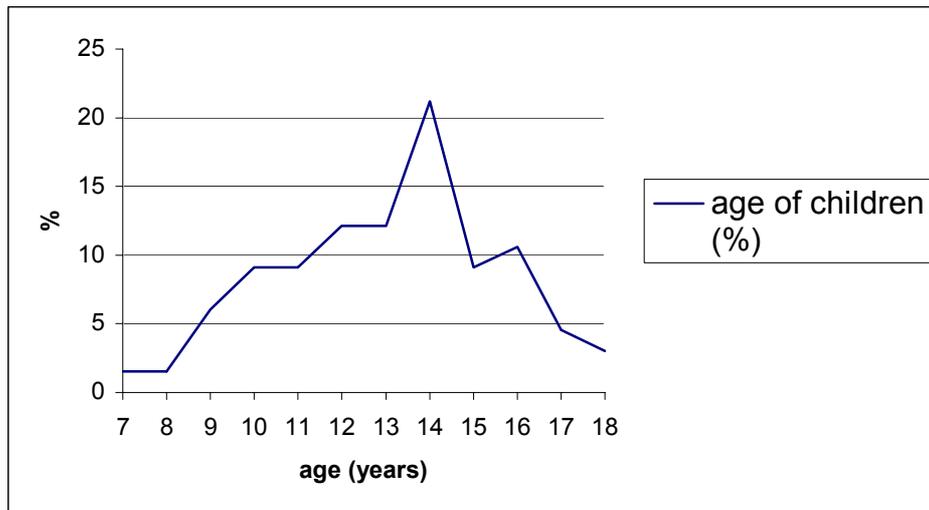
(2 photos)

These are photos of some of the drawing sessions, which we normally conducted somewhere in the school compound

This overhead shows the main demographic characteristics of the children who drew the maps and time-lines.

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Characteristics of Children who Participated in the Drawing Exercise



N=66

girls:	40%	living with 2 parents:	48%	regular attenders:	44%
boys:	60%	disjointed family:	29%	irregular attenders:	23%
		orphans:	23%	not currently attenders:	33%

We found that children opened up when explaining their maps and time lines to us, and we got a much more in-depth understanding of their lives, than we would have done simply with questionnaires.

There were however some problems with mapping

- one was that children copied ideas from each other - and thus some may have moved away from describing their own lives
- second, some never attenders had problems drawing; so we got a wide range of qualities of drawing

To give you an idea of the range of maps we got: This is an elaborate map, and here is a basic one, by a 10 year old girl who has never been to school. At first it looks a bit difficult to interpret, but it started making sense when she explained it to us. For instance this is her grandmothers house and next to it is the milling machine. This is her mother's house; these are 3 small farms, and these are bananas she gets at her friend's Honorata's house.

(Two maps: 74 and 58)

RESULTS

To start looking at the findings: you have handouts of 3 two-page tables which show the proportions of children and guardians who stated that a reason contributed to irregular attendance, drop out and never attendance. The first 2 pages are on irregulars, the next two on drop outs the next two on never attenders. Numbers are small, but clearly indicative.

Table 1a Reasons which contributed to irregular attendance in year before survey, as stated by guardians and children

reasons for irregularity:	% of guardians and children stated reason contributed to irregularity												total					
	living with both parents						living in disjointed hh						orphan				total	
	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian girls	boys	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian	child		
POVERTY/HH PROBLEM:																		
not enough money:	5	0	0	5.7	15.8	0	4.8	0	0	0	5.9	14.3	0	4.4	3.8			
child needed to work or help at home:																		
do domestic work	15	6.5	32.1	11.4	26.3	9.1	28.6	23.1	30.8	11.8	11.8	35.7	30	14.9	25.6			
look after young children	20	3.2	10.7	14.3	10.5	9.1	23.8	15.4	0	5.9	5.9	21.4	10	7.9	15			
care for sick relatives	10	3.2	10.7	2.9	21.1	0	19	23.1	7.7	23.5	11.8	21.4	15	11.4	12.8			
tend animals, work on family farm or business	15	19.4	21.4	31.4	26.3	0	9.5	7.7	7.7	11.8	11.8	14.3	15	14.9	18.8			
work for an employer	0	0	7.1	14.3	21.1	0	19	23.1	7.7	23.5	23.5	21.4	15	5.3	11.3			
N	20	31	28	35	19	11	21	13	13	17	17	14	20	111	131			

Table 1b Reasons which contributed to irregular attendance in year before survey, as stated by guardians and children (continued)

reasons for irregularity:	% of guardians and children stated reason contributed to irregularity												orphan				total	
	living with both parents						living in disjointed hh											
	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian	child
SCHOOLS SYSTEM:																		
unfair beating	0	3.2	3.6	0	0	0	4.8	15.4	7.7	5.9	7.1	5	2.6	5.3				
sexual harassment by teachers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
sexual harassment by other children	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
bullied by other children	0	0	3.6	2.9	0	0	4.8	0	0	0	0	5	0	3				
OTHER:																		
child did not want to go	15	35.5	10.7	11.4	15.8	36.4	14.3	15.4	23.1	5.9	0	0	23.9	9				
child felt too young	0	0	3.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.8				
child was ill	90	87.1	89.3	94.3	73.7	90.9	95.2	84.6	76.9	82.4	100	90	83.3	92.5				
child was demon possessed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7.7	0	0	0	0.9	0				
lack of food	0	3.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.9	0				
lack of uniform/exercise books	0	9.7	2.9	0	5.3	0	0	7.7	0	0	7.1	5	0.9	3.8				
child was attending a funeral	15	32.3	17.9	28.6	15.8	27.3	23.8	46.2	38.5	41.2	64.3	50	28.1	33.8				
child was attending another ceremony	5	0	10.7	0	0	0	0	7.7	0	0	0	5	1.8	3.8				
child visited mosque	0	3.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.9	0				
child travelled	0	3.2	7.1	5.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	7.1	0	0.9	3.8				
N	20	31	28	35	19	11	21	13	13	17	14	20	111	131				

Table 2a Reasons which contributed to dropout, as stated by guardians and children

reason for dropout:	% of guardians and children stated reason contributed to dropout													
	living with both parents				living in disjointed hh				orphan				total	
	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian	child
POVERTY/HH PROBLEM:														
not enough money:	60	31.6	66.7	22.7	54.5	36.4	50	42.9	62.5	42.9	62.5	45.5	44.7	42.5
school fees	60	21.1	33.3	4.5	45.5	27.3	42.9	28.6	50	28.6	25	22.7	32.9	23
building development fund	0	10.5	16.7	4.5	9.1	0	7.1	7.1	12.5	9.5	0	4.5	7.9	5.7
uniforms and clothing	40	15.8	33.3	13.6	45.5	18.2	35.7	28.6	37.5	28.6	37.5	31.8	27.6	26.4
books and supplies	40	0	16.7	4.5	45.5	18.2	28.6	14.3	25	19	37.5	22.7	19.7	18.4
transportation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
exam fees	0	0	0	0	0	0	7.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.1
all costs	0	10.5	16.7	13.6	9.1	9.1	7.1	14.3	12.5	14.3	25	4.5	11.8	11.5
child needed to work or help at home:	0	15.8	16.7	40.9	9.1	18.2	28.6	28.6	25	23.8	25	40.9	17.1	33.3
do domestic work	0	10.2	16.7	18.2	9.1	0	14.3	14.3	25	14.3	25	18.2	10.5	17.2
look after young children	0	0	0	4.5	9.1	0	14.3	7.1	25	9.5	25	13.6	6.6	10.3
care for sick relatives	0	0	0	4.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.5	2.6	2.3
tend animals, work on family farm or business	0	15.8	0	40.9	9.1	9.1	21.4	14.3	12.5	23.8	12.5	31.8	14.5	25.3
work for an employer	0	10.5	0	22.7	9.1	18.2	7.1	28.6	0	14.3	0	22.7	10.5	17.2
N	5	19	6	22	11	11	14	14	8	21	8	22	75	86

Table 2b Reasons which contributed to dropout, as stated by guardians and children (continued)

	% of guardians and children stated reason contributed to dropout													
	living with both parents				living in disjointed hh				orphan				total	
	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian	child
SCHOOLS SYSTEM:														
no transfer report	0	21.1	0	22.7	9.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
classrooms overcrowded	0	5.3	0	4.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.3	2.3
school buildings poor	0	0	0	4.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.1
teachers don't perform well	0	5.3	0	4.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.3	1.1
failed exams/had to repeat	40	26.3	33.3	22.7	0	9.1	0	21.4	12.5	0	12.5	4.5	11.8	13.8
what children learn is not useful for life	20	53	0	0	9.1	0	0	0	0	14.3	0	0	7.9	0
unlikely to find place in secondary school	0	0	0	0	0	4.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.3	0
school graduates can't find good jobs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
unfair beating	20	0	33.3	13.6	0	0	14.3	21.4	12.5	0	12.5	4.5	2.6	13.8
sexual harassment by teachers	0	0	0	4.5	9.1	0	7.1	0	25	0	12.5	0	3.9	3.4
sexual harassment by other children	0	5.3	0	0	0	0	7.1	0	12.5	0	0	0	2.6	1.1
bullied by other children	0	0	0	4.5	0	0	7.1	7.1	12.5	0	37.5	0	1.3	6.9
school too far	0	5.3	16.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.5	1.3	2.3
travel unsafe	0	0	16.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.1
OTHER:														
child did not want to go	0	42.1	16.7	22.7	9.1	45.5	0	21.4	25	38.1	0	18.2	31.6	14.9
fell ill	0	10.5	0	0	36.4	0	7.1	0	12.5	19	12.5	9.1	14.5	4.6
pregnancy	0	0	16.7	0	18.2	0	7.1	0	0	0	0	0	2.6	2.3
N	5	19	6	22	11	11	14	14	8	21	8	22	75	86

Table 3a Reasons which contributed to never attendance, as stated by guardians and children

	% of guardians and children stated reason contributed to never attendance																			
	living with both parents						living in disjointed hh						orphan						total	
	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian girls	boys	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian girls	boys	guardian girls	boys	child girls	boys	guardian	child		
POVERTY/HH PROBLEM:																				
not enough money	62.5	37.5	55.6	50	88.9	83.3	88.9	100	57.1	90	62.5	70	70.4							
child needed to work or help at home:	12.5	0	33.3	20	55.6	33.3	55.6	28.6	28.6	40	12.5	70	37							
do domestic work	12.5	0	11.1	10	55.6	33.3	55.6	28.6	14.3	20	0	60	27.8							
look after young children	12.5	0	22.2	0	55.6	0	55.5	0	0	10	0	20	16.7							
care for sick relatives	0	0	0	0	22.2	0	22.2	0	0	0	0	0	3.7							
tend animals, work on family farm or business	0	0	11.1	0	11.1	16.7	11.1	28.6	14.3	20	12.5	40	16.7							
work for an employer	0	0	0	10	22.2	33.3	11.1	28.6	28.6	20	12.5	20	13							
N	8	8	9	10	9	6	9	7	7	10	8	10	48							

Table 3b Reasons which contributed to never attendance, as stated by guardians and children (continued)

	% of guardians and children stated reason contributed to never attendance													
	living with both parents				living in disjointed hh				orphan				total	
	guardian girls	guardian boys	child girls	child boys	guardian girls	guardian boys	child girls	child boys	guardian girls	guardian boys	child girls	child boys	guardian	child
SCHOOLS SYSTEM:														
classrooms overcrowded	0	0	11.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	3.7
school buildings poor	0	0	11.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.9
teachers don't perform well	0	0	11.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.9
schooling is not important for life	12.5	0	22.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3.7
unlikely to find place in secondary school	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
school graduates can't find good jobs	0	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
unfair beating	0	0	11.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12.5	0	0	3.7
sexual harassment by teachers	0	0	11.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.9
sexual harassment by other children	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	1.9
bullied by other children	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
school too far	0	0	0	0	0	0	11.1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.9
travel unsafe	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
OTHER:														
child did not want to go	12.5	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12.5	0	4	3.7
child is disabled	12.5	25	11.1	20	11.1	16.7	22.2	14.3	28.6	12.5	20	24	48	16.7
N	8	8	9	10	9	6	9	7	7	9	10	10	48	53

I am now going to talk about the most important findings from these tables.
I am going to talk about the reasons in order of importance. And within each reason explore

- first, the nature and prevalence of the reason triggering non-attendance
- secondly, whether there are differences between orphans, children from disjointed families and children who live with both of their parents
- thirdly, whether there are differences between girls and boys

Poverty related reasons stand out as the reasons most frequently reported to be contributing to drop out and never attendance for all children. The two principal groups of reasons children and their guardians cited were both the direct and indirect costs of schooling: a lack of money and children having to work.

lack of money

general:

A lack of money was the most frequently cited reason contributing to not attending school.

Over 40 % of both children and their guardians stated that it contributed to children dropping out, and around 70 % stated that it contributed to children never having been enrolled in school.

Breaking the problem of lack of finances up, amongst guardians and children the costs of school fees and uniforms are seen as the greatest obstacle, followed by books and stationary, and the building development funds.

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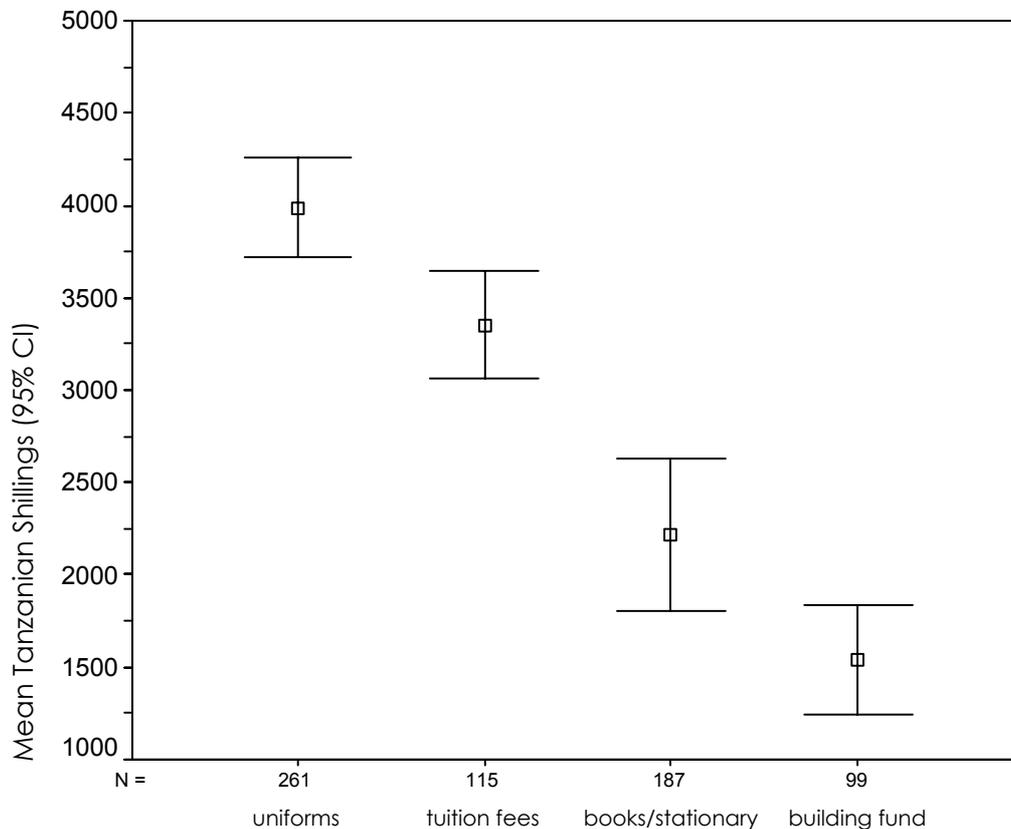
Perceived unaffordable school costs in order of how frequently mentioned

1	school fees/uniforms
2	books and stationary
3	building development funds

This is reflected in the size of the cost in 2001 of these four expenses, as reported by 280 guardians.

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Annual, school related costs
(2001)



N=280

Luckily, the problem of **fees** is no longer an issue because the government's July 2001 decision to abandon school fees was enforced just after the completion of this study, in January 2002. Also, books and stationary may no longer be a large problem considering that there is now a government capitation grant equivalent to 10.-US\$ per enrolled child which is disbursed to schools in part directly and in part through districts and which is primarily meant to enable schools to purchase books and other teaching materials.

However, the largest cost, uniforms, which in 2002 cost around 4000.- Tanzanian Shillings per child, has not been waived. Poorer households which often have numerous children, tend to struggle to provide a uniform to each child. And – what is more – many schools demand that each child has 2 uniforms and that they are in good shape. Many children reported that they had been sent home by teachers because their uniforms were deemed in bad shape. This problem has been tackled in Uganda, where school uniforms are now no longer compulsory.

Money which has to be contributed to **school development funds** may currently be going through a period of increase, with increasing building activities to match the steep rise in student numbers. According to the Primary Education Development Plan the costs for building activities are supposed to be partly covered by the local communities.

The costs of contributing to schools for households is difficult to measure, since household members often contribute their labour or building material. In many schools we visited, an expansion of school buildings was on the way.

This is a photograph of one of the schools we visited.

It shows children helping to carry sand for a new classroom to be built.

As to differences by orphan status:

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- there is no sign from the tables that orphans are more likely not to attend school because of a lack of money than other children;
- on the other hand, amongst never attenders it is children from disjointed households by whom and about whom a lack of money is most frequently mentioned as a reason for not going to school
- this further supports the point that orphans in Tanzania do not necessarily stay in the poorest hhs.

As to differences by gender,

financial problems tend to be mentioned more about and by girls than about and by boys (apart from never attenders who are orphans or from disjointed families). Suggesting that if there is not enough money, families may decide to withdraw their daughters from school before their sons.

As Stella Bendera in her and Mboya's book on gender and education in Tanzania put it:

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'Attitudes towards girls may not be negative, but in cases of difficult choices it has been shown to be girls' education which is sacrificed first.'
(Bendera 1996)

Moving on from the direct costs of schooling to indirect costs of schooling, the second most frequently mentioned reason for drop out and never attendance is:

children having to work.

general:

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Second most important reason cited for non-attendance:

'Child having to work'

% of respondents stated that
children's work contributed to non-attendance:

	children	guardians
irregular attendance	up to 26	15
drop out	33	17
never attendance	37	28

A comparison of the answers guardians and children gave independently illustrates the value of cross-checking answers. 'Working' is one of the few questions where there are great differences between guardians' and childrens' answers – many fewer guardians quoting it as a reason for non-attendance than children. For instance 33% of children stated that having to work had contributed to their dropping out of school, in contrast to only 17% of guardians.

A further examination of the data revealed that in most cases where children said working contributed to their non-attendance, guardian's stated that the reason for non-attendance was that the child simply did not want to go to school.

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% of respondents stated that
child refusing to go to school contributed to non-attendance:

	children	guardians
irregular attendance	9	24
drop out	5	15
never attendance	4	4

Consequently the proportions of children stating that they did not attend school because they did not want to is much lower than that of guardians stating this reason. For instance 9 per cent of children as opposed to 24 per cent of guardians said that the child refusing to go to school contributed to its irregular attendance.

This suggests either that children wanted to portray themselves in a good light and tell us that they are virtuous and work hard, whereas they really spend much of their time playing.

Alternatively it suggests that guardians tried to portray themselves favourably, denying that they discouraged their children to go to school in order to work.

And these results support the importance of not necessarily taking questionnaire data at face value, but to cross check wherever possible and to talk to children themselves when conducting research about their lives.

Whichever answer reflects real life, working remains an important reason for children not to go to school both in guardians and childrens eyes.

The most frequently mentioned types of children's work were domestic work, working on the farm, tending cattle, caring for sick relatives and caring for young children.

The time lines illustrate that it makes sense that work is an important reason for non-attendance because children who go to school spend significantly fewer hours on house and farm work than children who don't go to school.

This is a typical example of a timeline of a rural girl who regularly attends school. (map 9b)

She is 15 years old and has hardly has any time to do any work apart from school work. She leaves the house to go to school at 6.00 in the morning and comes home at 4.30 in the afternoon. The only farm work she does is for 20 minutes, in the afternoon, at school. The only work she does for her family is sweeping the yard for half an hour in the morning and fetching water and helping in the kitchen for 3 hours in the afternoon. After dinner she does her homework.

The picture is similar in urban areas. Here children tend to come home from school earlier, around 14.30. But most of the children we interviewed (even the poorer ones) would have private or NGO tuition classes in the afternoons and do a lot of homework, and hence would also not have much time to work for their families.

The fact that most school attenders will work in the fields or do a lot of housework on Saturdays is unlikely to make up for the many potential hours of work lost because of schooling Monday to Friday.

In contrast, children who don't go to school tend to be very productive and fill their lives with a hive of activities.

This is an example of a 14 year old boy in Dodoma town who dropped out of school a few years ago, who asked for a second piece of paper to note down all his activities (maps 28a and b).

He washes his clothes at home and he helps with the washing up.

He buys ice both to preserve the fish he sells and simply to sell the ice. He helps out in his father's video shop.

He goes to the mosque.

This is a drawing of the bus stand where he sells water, groundnuts and sweets. This is his own business, whereas in the fish and ice business he is employed by someone else.

This is where he plays football.

Sometimes he takes a 4 hours bus ride to buy charcoal in a village for 1000.-

Shillings and takes it back to town to sell it for 3500.-

On his second page he

sometimes helps on his father's market stall, selling tomatoes.

He sells water (goes to a tap where he gets it for 10.- a bucket; goes around selling it for 100.-

He plays again, and helps again in the video shop.

On Saturdays he helps his grandmother on her farm.

Sometimes he just wanders around in the streets.

Rural children who don't go to school are as busy.

This is the map (13a) of a 15 year old boy in rural Dodoma who has never been to school.

He explained that

This is his house, with a maize eating rooster on the roof, which he feeds.

This is a baobab tree in which he throws sticks to get fruit to make porridge.

This is a forest where he hunts birds.

This is an enclosure where they keep the cattle he herds.

This is his family's maize farm where works and chases the mice out.

This is another type of tree he harvests (Sziguan Camimi).

Sometimes he sells fruit from both trees.

This is the well where he fetches water.

And this is the bus stand where he relaxes.

This is the map of another rural boy (map 67). He is 18 years old and attends school irregularly. When he does not go to school he spends on average 6.5 hours a day working on the farm. How important working on the shamba is for him can be seen by the central position and size of the shamba in his drawing.

The fact that most rural children who don't attend school go to the farm early in the morning until lunchtime for 4 to 6 hours when the heat is not so bad, and take it a bit more easy in the afternoon: either doing housework, playing or resting, or going to the shamba for only 2 hours, suggests that going to school in the afternoons would fit their lives much better.

A concentration of work activities in the mornings also applies to urban children who work on their family's farms and most urban children who make a livelihood trading. However for some the afternoons are also taken up for work. This suggests that in urban areas a flexible school time table (ie a choice whether to go to school in the mornings or afternoons) may be appropriate.

by orphan status:

As to differences in how far orphans' and other children's school attendance is affected by working, this can be assessed both from the questionnaire data and from the time lines.

Again, overall there is hardly any evidence for working being a more important reason for not attending school for orphans than for other children.

For instance:

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Amongst irregulars:

- domestic work as a reason for irregular attendance was stated with similar frequencies by children living with 2 parents, children from disjointed families and orphans
- for shamba work, counterintuitively highest levels were recorded for children living with both parents
- only caring for sick relatives is slightly more prevalent amongst orphans and children from disjointed families, especially boys;

A number of children having to care for sick relatives is likely to be a product of the HIV/AIDS epidemic; however from our in-depth interviews we gauged that it continues to be normally adult women who care for the sick (either their husbands or sisters) and only in exceptional circumstances will children have to assume a caring role;

it is reassuring that when they do assume a caring role, children do not seem to be outright taken out of school to care for sick relatives but instead become irregular attenders, because once a child has not attended school for a few months the chance that it returns to school becomes slim. It would be particularly sad for a child to miss out on a whole schooling career for a task like caring, which is normally temporary: until the death of the person cared for.

Amongst drop outs:

- counterintuitively it is boys living with 2 parents who mention shamba work as a reason for drop out the most
- levels of working for an employer are similar across groups

- the only type of work where orphans do stand out with high levels of work contributing to drop out is orphan girls with domestic work, and caring for sick relatives
- also orphan girls, and girls from disjointed families mention farm work more than girls who live with both parents

Amongst never attenders:

- in the general having to work category, again there are similar proportions between the 3 groups of children
- the only group of children which stands out particularly as not attending because of having to do work are not orphans, but girls from disjointed families - a large proportion of these mention domestic work, having to look after children and caring for sick relatives

Turning to evidence from time lines. Tables 4, 5 and 6 show that not only are orphans and children from disjointed families equally likely to attend irregularly, drop out or never attend for work reasons as children who live with both their parents, but also do they tend to have similar work loads when they do not attend school.

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Children's Work Schedules (Weekdays) by Attendance Status and by Orphanhood Status (Tables 4-6):

Table 4 Work schedules of *children living with both parents* (hours)

	regular		irregular		drop out or never attender	
	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys
school	7.8 (8)	9.6 (6)	1.3 (2)	0	0	0
shamba work	2.2 (3)	2 (1)	2 (2)	5.7 (6)	3.5 (2)	3.8 (4)
housework	1.1 (6)	0.5 (3)	2.7 (3)	2.2 (5)	3.7 (3)	1.8 (3)
water fetching	1 (3)	1 (2)	3 (1)	0.8 (3)	2 (2)	1.7 (3)
trading	0	0	0	0	0	6.2 (3)
playing	2.2 (3)	2.3 (2)	7 (2)	2.5 (6)	3.5 (2)	2 (3)
resting	0	0	0	2.5 (2)	0	2 (1)
number of meals	1.9 (8)	2.2 (6)	1.3 (3)	2 (7)	1.7 (3)	1.8 (5)
N	8	6	3	7	3	5

Table 5 Work schedules of orphans (hours)

	regular		irregular		drop out or never attender	
	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys
school	8.3 (2)	8.1 (6)	0	2 (1)	0	0
shamba work	0	1.3 (4)	0	7.7 (3)	3 (1)	5 (3)
housework	0.5 (2)	1.3 (3)	0	1.8 (2)	2.3 (2)	2.5 (3)
water fetching	0	0.5 (3)	0	0.8 (2)	1.5 (1)	0.8 (3)
trading	0	0	0	0	5.5 (1)	4 (1)
playing	2 (1)	1.9 (5)	0	1 (3)	3 (1)	4.3 (3)
resting	2 (1)	2 (1)	12 (1)	0	1 (1)	4 (2)
number of meals	2 (2)	2.2 (5)	2 (1)	2 (3)	2 (2)	1.7 (3)
N	2	6	1	3	2	5

Table 6 Work schedule of children from disjointed families (hours)

	regular		irregular		drop out or never attender	
	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys
school	6.3 (4)	9.3 (3)	-	0	0	4 (1)
shamba work	2.5 (1)	0	-	6.5 (1)	4.8 (2)	6.5 (1)
housework	0.8 (2)	0.4 (2)	-	1.5 (1)	6.3 (3)	3.1 (4)
water fetching	2 (1)	0.5 (1)	-	0.5 (1)	1.5 (2)	1.5 (2)
trading	0	0	-	0	0	4 (1)
playing	3.3 (4)	1.5 (2)	-	2 (1)	5 (1)	1.3 (3)
resting	1 (1)	1 (2)	-	0	1 (1)	2.5 (2)
number of meals	2.5 (4)	2 (3)	-	2 (1)	2.7 (3)	1.8 (4)
N	4	3	0	1	3	4

For instance boys who are drop outs or never attenders from all three groups (orphans, children from disjointed families and children who live with both parents) spend 4 to 6 hours every day working on the farm, or 4 to 6 hours trading. And boys from all three groups who attend school regularly spend 0 to 2 hours a day on farm work.

Evidence for orphans having similar workloads to non-orphans comes also from an analysis by Ainsworth et al. (2000) of 1991–4 data from Kagera region, which was early on heavily affected by HIV/AIDS. The table shows that in the week before the survey children who had lost one or two parents were as likely to have participated in farming, housework, and collecting firewood and caring for the sick as non-orphans.

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Participation rates of children 7–14 in market and non-market activities in the past 7 days by orphan status

orphan status	n	activity					
		farming	housework	collecting firewood	fetching water	caring for sick	mourning
both living	765	49.5	50.3	45.0	74.3	4.1	3.0
father dead	205	55.6	52.7	48.3	76.1	2.0	5.4
mother dead	133	52.6	52.6	39.1	76.7	3.0	3.8
both dead	95	51.6	50.5	51.6	69.5	5.3	7.4
all children	1198	51.0	51.0	45.4	74.5	3.7	3.8

source: Ainsworth et al. (2000: 22), using the 1991–4 Kagera Health and Development Survey (KHDS)

Looking at the data by gender

There is no difference in workloads by orphanhood status, but both the questionnaire data and the time lines highlight strong differences by gender.

In tables 1 to 3 girls are overall much more likely to mention domestic work and looking after young children as reasons for temporary or permanent non-attendance and boys are more likely to mention farm work, cattle herding and working for an employer.

The time-lines and maps also strongly confirm gender differences:

Tables 4– 6 show that

OH (show table 4)

– when girls attend irregularly or don't go to school they tend to divide their time between housework and shamba work; they typically spend 2–3.5 hours on the farm and 4–6 hours on housework

- whereas boys tend to pursue mainly out of the house activities like farm work;
- this is for instance reflected in the fact that many girls without having been asked to draw the inside of their houses, including details of their kitchens on their maps.

Whereas boys tended to give an outside impression of their homes

(maps 29, 53 and 40)

- boys also tend to have slightly more leisure time; starting the trend of women putting more work hours in than men, which we saw in the previous paper
- the gendered division of labour of children does not directly lead to lower enrolment rates for girls – enrolment rates in Tanzania are virtually equal between boys and girls
- however, the fact that girls spend a lot of time after school doing housework whereas boys are given more space to study leads to lower attainment by girls (as for instance found by Bendera 1996)

school systems related reasons

In addition to reasons for non-attendance that are related to poverty, there is a whole set of reasons, particularly for drop out, which are unlikely to have anything to do with poverty: they are related to the nature/quality of schools

- for all three attendance problems amongst the most frequently mentioned is
 - unfair beating: 5% of irregular attenders, 14% of drop outs and 4 % of never attenders cite this as a contributing reason for not attending school

Under Tanzanian law only headteachers are allowed to beat children, and only after consultation with the school committee (comprised of teachers, parents and children). However, beating is common practice amongst many teachers; and often a whole class will be beaten if a culprit does not come forward. A number of children reported that they were beaten so severely that they were simply scared to return to school.

- other frequently mentioned reasons are having to repeat school for drop outs, bullying by other children by irregular attenders and drop outs, and the the lack of a transfer report by drop outs

An official transfer report is required when a child moves from one school to another. It is often difficult to get a transfer report, first because of administrative delays and secondly because even though they are supposed to be free, often officials will only hand the report out in return for a bribe which the guardian may not be able to afford. In addition, if a child is suddenly moving house, perhaps because their parents have split up or have died, the remaining family members will often not be in the frame of mind to organise a transfer report. The schools supposed to enrol transferees in turn tend to see a lack of a transfer report as a welcome excuse to turn a child away since most of them are heavily overcrowded. In addition many children are told to repeat one or more classes, which dampens their motivation, and puts them under an increased risk of dropping out. Transfer is something a lot of Tanzanian children experience at some stage in their school career: in a study conducted in the Njombe and Bagamoyo districts of Tanzania, Peasgood et al. (1997) found that one quarter of standard VI pupils had attended another school.

- other, less frequently mentioned reasons are the quality of the school building and teachers, overcrowding, sexual harassment and the distance of the school from home; amongst never attenders 4% of children and 2% of guardians think that schooling is not important for life

This is an example of a family, in which 3 out of 5 children dropped out of school, never to return which could have been averted in-school

- 1) through a clamp down on bribery
- 2) through a more lenient dealing with pregnant girls, and an encouragement for them to return to school after having given birth.

Sharifu Haidani lives in Dodoma town. He has five children. One is too young to go to school. About a year ago his two teenage sons were thrown out of school, because Sharifu refused to pay a bribe to the headmaster. One of them subsequently left the house. His 14 year-old daughter, Nasra, stayed at the same school for longer, but was told to leave when her pregnancy became visible. She is now 8.5 months pregnant. She was in Standard IV when she dropped out. She says she will not be allowed to return to school after having given birth. Because of his problems with the headmaster Sharifu recently send his youngest daughter, who is 7 years old, to a different school, where she does not have any problems. He gave up complaining about the headmaster who demanded bribes, but a few parents got together and managed to have him transferred to another school.

- again, also for school systems related reasons there is no evidence for orphans being more affected than other children
 - apart from amongst drop outs bullying being more of a reason for orphan girls; however, not child reported having been bullied because of HIV/AIDS
 - irregular boys from disjointed hhs are most affected by beating

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other reasons:

There are some frequently mentioned reasons for a failure to go to school which I have not mentioned yet.

These are:

- amongst irregulars: illness was quoted more often than any other reason (90%); and the child attending a funeral was mentioned by around 30%)
- amongst drop outs: other frequently mentioned reasons are: illness of child, pregnancy
- amongst never attenders: child did not want to go; child disabled

Apart from attending a funeral, which –predictably was quoted more often by orphans, again none of these reasons differ by orphan status; attending funerals – which is likely to occur only for 4 days in a row – will not seriously disrupt a child's education

CONCLUSIONS/ IMPLICATIONS:

- to sum up, similar to what we have shown in the previous paper, namely that most orphans are as likely to go to school as other children, this paper has illustrated, that they fail to go to school for the same reasons as other children, and
- their time schedules are similar to those of other children
- there are only few instances where orphans do show a disadvantage
- often it is children from disjointed families who stand out as being disadvantaged rather than orphans

We did find gender differences in reasons for non-attendance and in daily schedules of childrens' activities; but – again, for orphans and other children alike.

The facts that the main reasons for non-attendance for all children are – rather than being related to orphanhood – closely related to poverty (namely an inability to afford school related costs and the necessity for children to contribute to households' livelihoods) and that there continue to be pronounced gender differences in reasons for non-attendance, have the following policy implications:

The way forward seems to be:

- a continuing effort to tackle poverty and gender inequalities rather than a focus on projects targeted at orphans

More specific suggestions include:

as to direct costs:

- the cost of uniforms, possibly of stationary and probably increasingly of building development funds are still a major hurdle –
- subsidising or abandoning uniforms and subsidising stationary and contributions to building development funds might be ways forward

as to indirect costs:

- flexible school hours, especially schooling in the afternoons, would enable children who have to work in the mornings to go to school

as to school related reasons:

- a more vigorous enforcement of the existing legislation to minimise corporal punishment is needed
- and issues of corrupt, bureaucratic structures (for instance concerning transfer reports) need to be addressed

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