

**THE IMPACT OF GENDER AND
HOUSEHOLD FACTORS ON
SCHOOL ENROLMENT AMONG
THE BLACK POPULATION IN
NORTH WEST PROVINCE.**

by

Karabo Ezekiel Mhele

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University of North West

Supervised by Professor Kalule-Sabiti.

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Abstract

This paper presents the results of an analysis of the 1996 census data regarding the impact of household factors and gender on the school enrolment in North West Province. The focus was on enrolment of children in ages 6-15 years.

Household factors have a direct impact on schooling since the decision to send a child to school is taken within the household. Such decision is influenced to a greater extent, by several factors, such as parental educational attainment, household income level, sex of the head of the household, and gender of the child, which affect the way household resources are distributed among boys and girls in the household

In analysing the level of enrolment between males and females in age group 6-15, it was found that females tend to dominate in enrolment in all age groups between 6 and 13, but the level declines and is surpassed by the male at around age 14. This was observed in both rural and urban areas. Children in female-headed household were found to have higher level of enrolment as compared to male-headed ones. The study found that enrolment tend to increase with the level of household income, however, household with lowest income had significant number of the children at school (between 70 and 80 percent) suggesting that income alone does not account for higher enrolment. The head's highest educational attainment was found to be the most important factor, when compared with other household factors, in explaining the enrolment differentials among different households. The importance of this factor was observed irrespective of the sex of the head of the household. The other finding is that the larger household sizes had lower

percentages of children enrolled in school compared to households with the relatively smaller sizes. It was also observed that enrolment differs with place of residence, with rural areas experiencing lower enrolment percentages.

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Since enrolment for female declined at higher level of schooling, it is important that there should be a policy which addresses issues of teenage pregnancy and HIV/AIDS which affect school enrolment negatively, especially at higher age groups. Easy access to school should be ensured through provision of transport where children had to travel long distances to schools.

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Chapter One

Introduction.

1.1 Research Problem.

Population Studies as a discipline deals with issues that affect the population in one way or other. A primary issue in this discipline is the interplay between development and population. Development can affect the population through the changes it brings which in turn tend to affect the general quality of life.

Status of women is one of the key factors that affect the level of development in any country, more especially the developing ones where women are still at the lowest stratum of development. Numbers of bodies and forums have been formed across the world to debate the issue of how best to approach development, and unlike the previous ones that emphasized reduction in population processes, the latter bodies called for the improvement on status of women as the most important determinant of development. The most notable and recent conferences, 1994 Cairo Conference on population and development and the gender conference held in Beijing in 1995 were vocal about this problem and several resolutions were passed amongst which was the emphasis on the importance of educating the girl child. Every government was asked to ensure that this

becomes a reality by implementing relevant policies in their respective countries, (United Nations: 2001)

High levels of education for women are associated with an improved quality of life, which tends to find a way into national development through increased production, reduced infant, and child mortality and better nutritional status among the sectors of the population. In Sub-Saharan Africa each additional year of female schooling results in a 0.6 to 0.9 reduction in child mortality. It was also found that the three African countries where fertility has begun to decline are those that have highest levels of female education, namely Botswana, Kenya and Zimbabwe, (World Bank 1996). It is therefore imperative that access to education by both boys and girls should be provided as a matter of urgency.



Some researchers argue that mother's education has a significant influence on the children's educational attainment and thus creates an intergenerational educational benefit. Also education enables women to have access to written information, which enlarges their scope of choice in life. Education is seen as a liberating factor by virtue of its ability and capacity to release women from home to earn income in the wage sector. The latter has an empowering element in the sense that women are expected to compete on an equal basis with men at work. By creating the sense of 'equality' at work, it is possible that a positive psychological spillover will be created into the communities and homes thus resulting in leveling of 'power' at home. Education can therefore help to

transform the society to a more equitable and just one. Through this, many of the social ills such as poverty, unemployment and discrimination can be addressed.

Women have a history of being discriminated against in many ways in employment, through low wages in the job market and the field of education has not been an exception. Educational status of women in some developing countries is a far cry when compared to levels attained by men. The problem of discrimination emanates from macro factors such as the socio-economic and political make-up of the country. The political situation has changed in this country for the better. It is therefore important that attention be paid to other factors at a lower level such as community and household levels. Household factors have a direct impact on schooling since any decision regarding which child to be sent to school is taken within the household. Number of factors, such as parental educational attainment, household income level and cost of education that includes both direct and opportunity cost of studying influence such decision.

In North West Province, 80 percent of the African households in non-urban areas indicated that they use firewood as the main source of energy in 1995, (Statistics South Africa, 1998: 81). This means that somebody from these households has to spend a lot of time looking for wood, and in African tradition, it is mainly girls who are allocated the task. The time spent in the veld fetching wood has negative implication for education of the girls in these households. If more time is spent on the field fetching wood and water, and still having to cook for household members and also taking care of the young ones in the household, less time will be available to do homework and study. It is therefore

possible that, higher failure rate and subsequently dropping out of school can be experienced. This indicates that, sending a girl child to school comes with some opportunity cost to many households since they perform most of the agricultural and household chores (World Bank). If there is nobody at home to replace her to carry out these chores when she goes to school, then the household has to hire somebody from outside, and this comes at an extra cost to the household.

Sex preferences for males often result in a higher proportion of household income being spent on boys compared to girls. Often it is argued that the males are supposed to inherit the household name and girls will be married elsewhere. In fact the preference of boys is seen as a norm in some of the developed countries. If the head of the household is educated on the other hand, it is likely that children will be treated on an equal basis.

As a result certain people, based on their sex are likely to be denied certain privileges such as education. It is within these households that most decisions are taken that tend to affect the level of education. For example, when a parent, prefers a particular sex, which in most of the cases happens to be males, a significant amount of household resources will go towards the upbringing of the male child. The sex of the head can also play a significant role on who of the children in the household receives what amount of education. Household factors therefore are important in determining the level of education.

The study will try to point out some of the important issues at household level that affect the level of school enrolment. Chapter Two will deal with some of the theoretical framework and literature review and this will be followed by discussion on the methodologies employed in the study. Some of the historical problems that affected the education in the past will be discussed in order to place the problem into a contextual framework. Two chapters will focus on analysis, with the first using multivariable analysis and the last one using regression analysis. The last chapter will be on conclusions and recommendations.

1.2. Statement of the problem:

The Province of North West is one of the poorest in the country. According to Statistics South Africa (1997), the Province ranked the third lowest among the poorest with Human Development Index of 0,543 of which education is one of the components. The mean age of schooling is one of the lowest of the Provinces with an average of 5,75 compared to the national level 6,86. The adult literacy rate, which is one of the indicators of development, is not an exception when compared to the level of the other nine provinces of South Africa. Only 69% of the adults are literate compared to the national figure of 82,2%, according to 1991 figures. The level of pupil enrolment is also the lowest in the country. The problem is compounded by the fact that the Province is mostly rural and therefore the type of intervention will have to be specific to the rural environment.

The general picture of the province calls for some insight into the problem in the form of research. Since households provide an institutional environment under which the child grows, they play a crucial role towards any decision that affects and shapes the level of education. The social and economic situation of the household will to a greater extent, explain the observed disparities in enrolment levels between different households and also within members of the same households. As an example, different households will not experience the same level of economic hardship, and the level experienced will impact the decision to send children to school. On the other hand, the cost of schooling will differ from one child to the other depending on the opportunity cost for sending the child to school. Such costs are likely to differ between boys and girls and therefore one will expect the level of schooling to differ according to sex. Clear understanding with regard to the manner in which such institutions affect the level of enrolment need to be established and communicated to stakeholders.

1.3. Objective of the study:

This paper has two objectives. Firstly, to study the determinants of the level of enrolment of boys and girls in North West Province among the Black population. The focus of analysis here will be on the impact that household factors have on the enrolment variable. These factors are represented by the household income, the size of the household, head's level of education, the gender of the head and finally, the household place of residence. The second objective is to give some insight into how these factors may influence the

gender differences in school enrolment. The paper will attempt to analyse the variables that affect how the household invests in boys' and girls' education.

1.4. Hypotheses:

The study will test different hypotheses according to the objectives specified earlier in the research. Enrolment is assumed to be dependent on the household factors and the gender of the person and as a result the following hypotheses will be tested:

- Larger family size has a negative influence on children's school enrolment.
- Girls are more likely to have lower school enrolment than boys.
- The educational level of the head of household is positively associated with higher school enrolment among the children.
- The higher the level of income in the family the more likely that the level of enrolment will increase among the children.
- Female-headed households are likely to have lower school enrolment among the children compared to male- headed ones.
- One's relation to the head will influence his/her schooling status.

1.5. Assumptions.

The basic assumption of the study is that the socio economic circumstances of the head influence the life chances of their dependents. Therefore any material, social,

psychological or economic conditions that he or she experiences will have an impact on the conditions of the children. It is therefore assumed that enrolment is impacted considerably by conditions at home.

1.6. Significance of the study



The difference of enrolment between the Africans and other races in South Africa is quite vast where the former group has less educational level because of historical reasons and other social phenomena that manifest themselves in many different ways. Further, as noted earlier in this study, the level of education in the Province is far below the educational levels both in the country and some areas in developing countries.

Policy-makers, educators and researchers here and other developing countries face many questions related to factors, which determine the level of school enrolment. There is a need to inform policy makers about those aspects that play a significant role in determining the educational levels. This research therefore is an attempt to give some insight into the problems of enrolment in order to inform the policy makers on the influence of the household environment so that informed strategies can be designed which will bring positive changes on the state of education in the Province.

1.7. Limitation of the study.

The research is using the secondary data from census and as such, it does not cover all the topics relevant to the study. Since census data reflect the situation only at a time when data was collected, one cannot know whether the situation reflected stayed the same after that or not. Someone who indicated that she or he is enrolled in school, for an example, can drop out the following day and that will not be reflected as such in the analysis of the data.

The researcher, therefore, will not be able to gauge the extent to which the enrollees progress from one year to the next. It is therefore not possible for this study to focus on the educational progression, which measures the extent to which groups progress from one educational level to the other.

The other limitation on this study is related to information on current attendance as a measure of schooling. Although the latter measure is relatively better for determining if there is any association between the household factors, there are exceptions where the data will be misleading. The assumption that one's schooling status is determined by the household situation will not always be correct since there might be some situation, unrecorded in the data, which has an influence on the dependent variable. As an example, political situations, community values or even problems at school such as racial tensions are likely to influence the level of schooling in certain areas. These are the general aspects that were not controlled for and can influence the findings on the study.

The meaning of 'current attendance' measure can be distorted if either the age at which school is started or the degree to which grades are repeated is systematically related to the characteristics under examination. If one group between males and females start school earlier than the other or repeat more grades compared to the other group, current attendance measure will reflect high percentages of the former group in certain age groups, thus giving a false impression that enrolment is biased towards one particular group than the other, thus creating an impression of association of relationship in the particular age group where in actual fact none exists (Anh, et al1996).

1.8. Profile of the area.

The purpose of this section is to give some overview of the layout of this Province in which the study was conducted. North West Province is one of the nine provinces of the Republic of South Africa, situated in the northwest of the country with an area of 116320 square kilometers. It is made up of five regions, namely Bophirima, Central, Rustenburg, Klerksdorp and Ga-Rankuwa. Of the five regions, Bophirima is the poorest and most rural and poorest with little available infrastructure. This has resulted in high unemployment rate and possibly lower enrolment levels. Klerksdorp and Rustenburg are the two mostly urbanized regions with the bulk of the Province's population.

The most rural areas like Bophirima has a high level of males out –migrating to other areas like Rustenburg because of the lure of better job opportunities in the mines, as a result one can observe a high rate of female headship among the households in the area of

origin. Some of these households are poor even by the local standards, factors which may possibly have some influence on the level of school enrolment.

Chapter Two

2.1. Historical Factors affecting Black school enrolment in South Africa.

South African society, like many others in the world, has a peculiar history that has shaped the present day social environment, including the educational system. A racial divide characterizes its history and conflict which has subsequently affected its educational system. Education is one of the social institutions through which the society reflects its aspirations, norms and values and thus becomes a mirror image of the social and political systems operating within the country. The South African education system has not been an exception to this rule. It has been affected by different political and social factors from many years ago. The purpose of this section is therefore to highlight some of the historical problems that shaped the present day education system in South Africa, especially among the Black population.

In South Africa, the racial policy of the government dictated that education for various race groups be administered by different education departments. The separation of departments made it easy for the government to discriminate against (in terms of funding) schools belonging to Africans and hence affecting the level of education attained by these schools, (Smit and Hennessy 1995: 11).

The history of education among the Black South Africans was first recorded in Cape Colony in the seventeenth century and later in Natal. The reason for this was that these

areas were the first to come to contact with the Western world through the missionaries who came to preach the gospel in South Africa (Library of Congress). These missionaries played an important part in introducing Western type of education among the African population of South Africa.

Towards the end of 1877 the government of the day prohibited the admission of the African children in state schools, and thus could only be accommodated in the missionary schools. This fact bears a testimony to the crucial role played by missionary education among the Black people in this country. It became apparent that the interests of the Whites were the main goal of the government, and as a result, less attention was paid to the plight of Black education. The situation became worse when the National government took over in 1948, when the interests of the government shifted towards upliftment of the Afrikaner interest.

The National government officially introduced the policy of Apartheid when it took over in 1948. This was the master plan for ensuring that the status of the Black majority was degraded to second-class citizen. Education was seen as the best tool through which Black mental slavery could be ensured. The Apartheid State's position was that the type of education received by Whites was not necessarily meant for the Black population. The then Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, who is known to have 'engineered' the policy of Apartheid, made it clear that the type of education to be received by Black children should be such that it did not give any impression that it may equal to that of

their White counterparts. Not only was the quality of Black education poor in terms of the content, but relatively fewer resources were allocated for Black education too.

In 1954 the Bantu Education Act was promulgated and education for the Blacks was shifted from the Provincial administration to one department to ensure better control over the state of education. Up until that time, the total percentage attending primary school among the Blacks was only forty-one percent of children of school- going age and out of this total only sixteen percent was from the government aided schools, the rest were from missionary supported schools (Hartshorne 1992:36). This level of enrolment was not surprising in view of the lack of resources for Black education.

The poor quality of education provided is evidenced by the amount of funds spent on Black education, which amounted to only R1, 35 per child, when other racial groups received a bulk of the funding during this era (Hawes, 1992:23). This level of expenditure was not enough to supply necessary educational facilities such as building of schools and supply of textbooks. Black School enrolment was as a result below par when compared to other racial groups in the country.

The poor quality of education in the country was made worse by the political situation, which spilled over, into the schools. Schools in many cases became battlegrounds in which the 'war' against Apartheid was fought. Education was perceived in a negative sense, hence the name 'Apartheid education' and most people argued that by resisting this education they were resisting mental apartheid. Schools were often turned into battlegrounds with students fighting police. The most widely known incident is the 1976

Soweto uprising in which the police killed hundreds of students protesting against imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Afrikaans was seen by most as a language of the oppressor. The slogan, 'Liberation first and education later', became reality as most of the students left school to join the struggle, and in most cases, liberation army across the borders of South Africa. Those students, who went to school, were often part of the class boycotts and teachers' strikes, which disturbed the flow of education in schools. In some cases, criminals vandalised school property and the hooligans subjected students and teachers to harassment. This situation exacerbated the already poor education conditions.

Education in the Black population was worse and as a result most students, especially males, dropped out of school before finishing their high school education. Political upheavals were not the only cause of high dropouts.

In 1989, the share of financial resources allocated to the Black population was still relatively lower compared to other groups. State's expenditure per pupil was R3739 for White children, R1983 on Coloured, and only R764 on each African pupil (Smit and Hennessy 1995: 10). One therefore should expect the educational attainment of the African people to be far less than that of the Whites due to the lack of sufficient resources for the former group.

It is not surprising therefore that, despite the fact that Blacks make up the majority of the population in the country, fewer schools were available for Blacks than other racial

groups. In 1991 the allocation of schools for different racial groups in Western Cape were as follows:

African: 70 primary schools; 25 secondary schools

Coloured: 763 primary schools; 127 secondary schools

White: 189 primary schools; 124 secondary schools

Indian: 2 primary schools; 2 secondary schools.

The picture painted above, although focusing on Western Cape, reflects the general picture of the educational system in the country. Not only were more schools allocated to White children, the expenditure per African child was far less than that of other racial groups.



The North West Province consists mostly of areas from the former homeland of Bophuthatswana and as a result, the present educational environment has been influenced to a greater extent by the situation that existed in the former homeland. Although the homeland was 'independent', it adopted the South African education system.. The sense of independence however, created some political stability for some time, and as a result, conditions were somehow conducive to relatively better education. The most notable difference was the relatively higher pass rate among the matric students in the homeland. Some authors believe that the educational system was better in Bophuthatswana when compared with other homeland (Hartshorne 1992: 129).

After the first democratic election in 1994, the Bophuthatswana homeland was incorporated into South Africa, and together with some areas from the old Transavaal formed the present North West Province. Education in North West Province is thus, a product of different administrations and political backgrounds.

The post Apartheid South Africa has somehow created a sense of belonging, especially among the Black population. For the first time, they have a place they can really call theirs, a place where people are treated equally and the colour of the skin is not the main criterion for individual success.

People expect to have jobs based on their capabilities, rather than skin colour.

Therefore, education is expected to be attractive to all the children irrespective of the colour, sex or creed. The government has insured this by designing a new education policy that tries to correct the past educational mistakes. The policy calls for the right of every citizen to have access to education and to be treated equally. Education is seen as a right, not a privilege, as was the case before hand. Enrolment therefore, is expected to increase among the Blacks in the New South Africa, because of the indiscriminating market conditions and supportive educational environment.

Chapter Three

3.1 Theoretical Perspectives and Literature Review:

Two theories, namely the economic and social approach, have been chosen to explain the factors that influence the decision to study or not.

3.1.1. Economic Theory

One theory that explains the determinants of investment in education is derived mainly from the theory of human capital, which, states that the decision to invest is dependent on the benefit weighted against the cost of such investment. The optimal level of investment will be at a point where the marginal cost of investment equals its marginal benefit.

Education will be treated like any other form of investment and the level of education invested will be the function of the cost-benefit analysis. Cost of education include the direct ones such as school fees, transportation and the indirect ones, which reflect the foregone earnings that could have been gained by staying out of school. The investment in education will therefore increase when the cost decreases and expected income increases (Becker 1993: 338).

Todaro (1989), argues that not only the direct and indirect cost of education will influence the level of education, but also the wage differential between sectors, as well as the expectation or probability of getting a job in a modern sector economy, If wage in the

modern sector is higher compared to the traditional sector, more people will want to obtain education since access to modern jobs require that one should have some skills. Wage differentials will be necessary but not sufficient to increase the level of education. Obtaining education should be seen to be increasing the chances of getting a job in the modern sector. These two factors are important to bring about increased level of school enrolment.

The theory implies that women, due to the experience of discrimination in the job market, do not expect to gain much from educational investment and therefore, are more likely to invest less in education compared to men.

The theory also suggests that parents will invest differentially between their daughters and sons depending on the expected gains. It is commonly accepted that as girls grow, they get married elsewhere and parents are therefore not going to benefit much from their education. Sons on the other hand, remain in the family, even after they get married and therefore any wealth that they have accumulated will remain in the family. So there will be more investment in the education of sons than daughters due to the expected gains.

Since investment is a function of income, according to the theory, one will expect those families with high income to spend more on education than those with lower level of income.

3.1.2. The Sociological Perspective:

This view does not contradict the economic explanation, but only provides that children tend to be socialized in different ways depending on the type of family they grow up in. The theory argues that middle class children are socialized in a different manner than their working class counterparts. In the former families, parents' activities at home tend to be centered more towards their children more than anything else. They are more likely to get more involved with the children, including assistance with school homework (King, 1977). The families also play a role in controlling stress in the family, especially among the children, a factor, which has an important bearing on school achievement. The type of socialization they receive encourages them to take advantage of the education. The educational attainment between children from different social classes will therefore differ from one class to the other. Educated parents belong to the upper social class and are therefore more likely to encourage and help their children with homework than less educated ones.

These two theories bring to the fore important factors that have a bearing on the decision to study and which tend to interact in some way or the other. For example, the economic theory argues that 'taste' or preference of a particular commodity will determine the level at which it will be consumed. The educational level of parents will influence the level of preference of education, and therefore, one is likely to find educated parents giving more education to their children.

3.1.3. Gender Theory:

The era of enlightenment that came as a result of the French revolution brought to the fore the notion of 'individual freedom' and 'equality' from which the 'rights of man' emanated. It seems, however, that these rights did not fully guarantee the rights of women.

The modern society is still grappling with unequal relations within the many societies, and the most common are the gender issues, which manifest themselves through unequal relation in political economic and social spheres of life, thus affecting the well-being of women. The purpose of this section is to bring to the fore the issues that might affect the level of enrolment due to unequal gender relations in a society.

Each society defines the behaviour that individuals of a particular sex should conform to, and this leads to gender relations within a society. Gender is therefore a socially constructed concept, which differs from culture to culture from time to time. Gender roles is therefore, defined by the behavior, attitudes, values and beliefs that a particular cultural group considers suitable for different people based on their biological sex (Bland, 2001).

Gender roles often bring inequalities between men and women that eventually affect the well being of one group. In societies where there are unequal relations, as is usually the case with patriarchal societies like the South African one, more attention is often given to boys than girls. Boys will be allowed to attend school and girls will be allowed only to a certain level, not because the latter cannot do well at school, but due to the societal

expectation on girls. The girls are seen as care givers who should remain at home to cook and take care of the young ones.

There are different theories that explain the different relations between men and women in a society. Marx, for example, sees capitalistic exploitation as central to the social relations, including the gender relations. To have proper societal relations, Marx argues, the ruling class will have to be overthrown and be replaced by the working class government. The Functionalist view on the other hand sees the gender relation as functional in the sense that it serves to maintain stability within the society. The theory that is useful for the purpose of this study is the Social Learning theory that argues that the unequal social relations between men and women are due to learned behaviour in a society. In most situations, once a child arrives in this world, the young one is treated differently according to its biological sex (Bland: 1998). In fact, in some cultures boys tend to be preferred more than the girls, thus resulting in differential treatment. The society tends to have different expectations regarding the roles that boys and girls play in different situation. For example, boys will be expected to show 'masculinity' by being aggressive while girls are expected to show kindness and cry easily. These expectations are learned and internalized by the individual, and they form the basis for social relations. The gender relations are therefore the result of the way children of different sexes were socialized in a society. Since the relations are learned there is no justification for treating women differently to their male counterparts.

It is on the basis of this argument that the study will try to identify how gender relation can affect the level of schooling in the Province. The assumption in this study is that, the society tends to treat girls and boys differently thus resulting in relatively fewer girls enrolling in school. The observed difference is not because of their biological difference, but due to the perception that societies attach to members of the different sex.

3.4. Literature Review:

Vermaak and Verwey (1984) studied the pattern of school enrolment among the Black South Africans. The study found that there was a considerable increase in secondary school enrolment among the Black South Africans compared to an increase occurring at primary schools around 1982.

A similar study was done by Werwey et al (1985) focusing on the changes that occurred between 1974 and 1984 in the whole country, homelands included. TABLE 1 shows enrolment levels for both males and females according to different standards.

According to the latter, this scenario can be explained by high outflow from school at primary and subsequent re-registration of these students after some time. This has resulted in a bulging of school 'pyramid' in the middle.

The findings in Table 1 show that noted males tend to outnumber females at lower levels of schooling, however, the number of males tend to decline gradually with an increase in the standard. The number of females surpasses the number for the males around primary

school in both years. The findings also indicated that, in 1974, most females enrolled only up to Std 8 before dropping out. Previously a person who did Std 8 was awarded what was then called Junior Certificate, which could allow one to be employed in most government departments. It seems therefore that most females were satisfied after reaching this level. Although this was the case in 1974, ten years later this picture changed, and the number of females enrolled in higher school exceeded their male counterpart, (Vermaak and Verwey 1984).

Table 1: Black enrolment by standard and sex in 1974 and 1984

Standard enrolled for	Males 1974	Females 1974	Males 1984	Females 1984
10	4272	2460	44 290	52 075
9	8752	5 854	59 879	71 925
8	20387	22 201	106 597	137 255
7	28 987	34 455	123 037	157 197
6	38 103 90 502*	44 248 109925*	154 502	189 865
5	98 354	112 350	192 055	223 258
4	122 971	136 973	224 330	249 153
3	167 914	175 387	284 901	297 172
2	200 984	203 727	315 003	317 548
1	266 470	253 077	387 835	374 926
Sub B	299 529	277 744	415 380	387 729
Sub A	396 752	364 083	532 049	497 750

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Source: Werwey et al. (1985)

* Until 1976 a thirteen year school phase existed. Standard six was presented in mother tongue and repeated the following year (called form 1) with English as a medium of instruction.

The relative increase in female enrolment in secondary level can be explained by the high drop-out rate by the males, especially elder ones, due to the fact that they are supposed to help parents to bring up younger siblings hence they drop out of school earlier than girls.

Among other reasons why women drop out of school in South Africa, pregnancy among women aged 15-24 is the most commonly cited in the study.

Budlender (1998), in the study done in 1995, found that twenty percent of women in the age group 15-24 who did not have matric and were not currently at school, cited pregnancy as the main reason for not being at school in all racial groups. Among African women alone, in similar age groups, the percentage citing pregnancy was even higher for those not studying, with only eight percent of these women citing financial problems. On the other hand, when both males and females were considered in all relevant age groups, the majority of respondents, about seventy-nine percent of male respondents and sixty-nine percent females, cited financial reasons.

In the same study, Budlender also found that the majority of the children in South Africa are not living with their biological parents. The study showed that forty-eight percent of the African children were living with their mothers alone at the time the study was conducted, thus showing the extent of female-headship in the country.

Data collected during 1995 October Household Survey (OHS) by CSS (Stats South Africa, 1998), focused on the gender differences in school enrolment in different Provinces of South Africa. The findings of the study showed that the gender difference is relatively smaller among the Africans when compared to other racial groups in the North West Province. In fact, there was no difference at all among the younger age groups, although females were found to have slightly lower enrolment in age group 15-19. This observation was not only noted among the Africans, but among the Whites as well. In the same study, it was also noted that the proportion enrolled among both the males and females seemed to increase with the ages of the individuals, from seventy percent in age group 6-9 to around ninety-eight among those aged 10-14. The other observation was that the Province seems to have more people who have never enrolled at school among those aged 20 and above when compared with those aged 6-9. This was interpreted as implying that the school enrolment was improving with time in the Province since relatively more people in lower age groups were attending school than before.

Apartheid laws ensured that race was the major determinant of the level of funding for education in South Africa. Black education suffered to a larger extent and as a result, parents in Black communities had to shoulder the burden of funding the education of their children to a larger extent (Makosana; 2001). The study found that most women relied on multiple sources such as grants and scholarships to fund for their studies at tertiary level. Although some of the respondents in the study indicated that they were relying on parents to pay for tuition, some indicated that parents had no income to fund

their studies but were nevertheless able to proceed with study because of other sources of funding. Relatives and friends were also found to have played a major role in assisting with payment for education. Some of the respondents indicated that after completion of their studies, they had to support their siblings or other relatives.

Booth (1995) did a study in Lesotho in which it was found that children whose fathers were absent at home tended to be negative towards schooling. The study showed a significant negative relationship between performance of a child at school and father's absence from home.

Otunga (1997) found that since most families derive their income from farming in the developing countries, sometime the need arises to make use of the children in farming since it will not be possible to hire somebody from outside the family to do the job. Girls will be mostly expected to come and help in the family chores and this leads to many of them withdrawing from school.

Shapiro and Tambashe (1999) looked into gender and school enrolment in Kinshasha (Congo). The results of the study showed that males are likely to get better education than females because the educational returns tend to be higher for them than females. Girls' enrolment was found to be higher in the lower standards but declines gradually with the increase in the standard. The study also showed that thirty percent of those aged 6-25 years were staying with foster parents. It was found that these children tend to have a lower enrolment than those who are not staying with foster parents do. Where birth

order of the parents is high, the older siblings tended to take responsibility for educating the young ones. The household economic well being, household composition and the individual's relation to the head of the household tend to be significantly related to school enrolment.

A study on Gender Differentials in Educational Attainment among Kassena-Nankana of Northern Ghana by Ngom et al (1999) also found that enrolment is higher for males than females in all the standards except in primary school. However, the gap between boys and girls tends to widen at the age of 12, the age where the opportunity cost of sending children to school to parents starts to depend on the gender of the child. Parker and Pederzini also pointed out the decline in attendance at this age in the study they conducted in Mexico (1999: 10). Drop- out rate tends to be higher for girls than boys and the gap is higher around the age of 19-20, which tends to correspond with the average age at marriage in the country. This is also supported by the study done in Tanzania where it was found that Moslem parents believe that girls should leave school as soon as they enter marriageable age (Bendera, 1999: 2). Late enrolment tends to be higher for both sexes and tend to be encouraged by the economic role that these children have to play in farming.

It was also found that the presence of the father lowers the children's chances of dropping out of school, although the presence of the mother does not have the same effect. This fact was confirmed by a study done in Mexico, however, in their case both father and mother were found to have the same effect on schooling (Parker and Perdezini 1999: 17). Parker and Pederzini (1999) looked into the gender differences in Mexico and came up

with the following findings: The gender gap has fallen considerably in the last thirty years and this they attributed to the general expansion of education through creation of additional schools and easier access to the schools. They argued that the latter factor seems to have a positive impact on the girls' attendance of school. The study also found that in the household, lower level of income per capita is associated with lower levels of school attendance. The World Bank Group also found that when households are ranked by amount of wealth at its disposal, there is a significant difference with regard to school attainment by children within those households between those that form 20% of the richest family compared to 40% of the poorest, and it became worse when gender is included. This fact is supported by enormous evidence that exists between the developed countries and developing ones. As stated before, girls tend to drop out of school at a rate higher than the one experienced from boys at age 12, and this is more evident in small communities and low-income households. On the other hand boys seemed to fall behind in terms of normal school age years. Small siblings seemed to have more negative impact for girls than boys. This is due to a need for caretakers that come when young children are born. Mother and father's education tend to have an impact on education of children although this phenomenon tends to differ between rural and urban areas.

3.5. The level of measurement:

The scale of measurement will use different scales according to variables that are being tested. The dependent variable will use the nominal scale, which measures whether the individual within a particular household is enrolled at school or not. Nominal variables

like gender; relation to the head will be used together with other interval scales like income level and household size will be used as independent variables

3.6. Definitions of the key concepts:

This study is focusing on the North West Province and the universe will be individuals defined as 'Blacks' who are aged 6-15. Although individual enrolment forms the core of the study, the study will be conducted on the individuals within the households. The unit of analysis for this study will be the household, although the focus will be on individuals within selected households.

In this study the variable school enrolment, is treated as dependent and there are several independent ones which are; the gender of the head of the households, the gender of the child, the income level and the size of the household and relations within the particular household.

It was taken that during the time the data was collected, the minimum age for starting school was age 6, and therefore age 6 to 15 have been chosen for analysis. The latter will be broken down into two age groups; 6-12 and 13-15 so that one can make a comparison as to whether independent variables have similar or different effect on enrollment of people in different age groups. Age group 6-12 was chosen because it falls within primary school age group and the last group is usually found in secondary school. The enrolment percentages of these two groups could differ hence the decision to analyse them separately.

The household is defined as all persons or a group of persons staying in a common dwelling for at least four days a week and who provide themselves jointly with food and other essentials for living. People who occupied the same dwelling but did not share these essentials were treated as separate households.

The level of income will mean the amount of money that each family member earns on monthly basis before tax deduction. This amount includes all other sources of income such as housing subsidies, car allowances, investment, and other in-kind in form of cash.

The Household head is any person, irrespective of his or her sex, who is reported to be the head by members of the group at a time of the census. This person usually assumes the responsibility of making decisions on behalf of the household.

School enrolment will mean the actual registration or the extent of participation in a school system of an area by a person of 6 –15 years of age. This is determined by direct question of whether the individual concerned is currently studying or not. More specifically, the age-specific enrollment rate will be of use here. Shryock et al define the concept as the number of people enrolled at particular age over the total number of people within that age in a population being studied (1976:178).



Sex refers to the biological differences between males and females, and therefore they are determined by genetic factors during fertilization. The differences between the two are merely physical. Gender, on the other, is a socially constructed phenomenon that reflects the norms and values that is expected from people of different sexes. These in turn determine the social differences between males and females. The manner in which the

gender affects schooling is two folds. Firstly, the gender composition of the family within which a decision about school is made, and secondly, the gender of the individual who is a recipient of education. The gender composition of the family implies the manner in which the gender set up within the family will tend to influence the decision to study. For example, the family headed by a female will tend to have a different decision with regard to schooling than the one headed by a male. The second aspect is when the gender of the child determines the level of education that she or he should receive. This factor is well articulated in literature that cultures tend to have preference for sons than daughters, and therefore, other things being equal, boys will receive better education than the girls.

Chapter Four.

4.1. Methodology.

4.1.1. Data Sources:

This study relied on secondary data taken from the South African national census, which was conducted in October 1996. The census was the first of its kind in the country in the sense that it was representative of the whole population sectors; unlike the past ones which either focused on particular race group or excluded Black homeland areas in the country. The 1996 census data is therefore the most representative source of data available in the country. The focus of the study will however be on the North West Province only.

4.1.2. Methods of data collection:

The census questionnaires were initially tested through pilot survey in the whole country on a sample of 50 000 households. This was necessary to determine the type of problems that might be encountered during the census operation.

The data was collected on all households and institution during the night of 9-10 October 1996. Interviewers collected information in visiting points, which is a distinctive site, a premise that can have one or more dwellings. The enumerators administered the census questionnaires in all visiting points within his or her area of operation. This data set includes information of all individuals in the household including the levels of education

and whether the person concerned is currently studying or not, the current level of income, the occupation as well as the demographic information of the individuals within the household.

The country was demarcated into small geographical areas with well-defined boundaries called enumerator areas (EA's). Visiting points were then identified within these Enumerator Areas where actual data collection was The country was divided into 86000 EA's and each of the above was made up of between 100 and 250 households. The size of each EA was determined by the nature of the area in which data was collected, that is, whether the area had a sparse population or dense one. The idea being that it should be within a reasonable reach of the enumerators.

The Provinces of the country were divided into regional offices in order to make management of the process easy. North West in particular had 5 regional offices, 19 Magisterial Districts and 7200 Enumerator Areas.

4.1.3. Population Sampling:

As it is the case with most censuses, the total population of the country was enumerated and therefore everybody was included in the counting, although some people will be missed in the process. However, for the sake of this study, ten percent sample of the population was used. The choice for using sample was based solely on economic factors; it was very expensive to purchase the whole census data for analysis.

4.1.4. Design of the sample:

The sample included all households, (which excludes special institutions and hostels) and all persons who were enumerated during the census. Systematic method of sampling was used to draw 10% of the household from the census file. To ensure inclusion of all households in a sample, the household records were stratified according to District council in the Province, and within District Council the records were further stratified according to Local authority and Enumeration Area type. Local Authority had to have a minimum of 2000 households in order to preserve confidentiality and those with fewer households were grouped with other local authorities to ensure that the required minimum number is reached. The records in each stratum were then put in an ordered way according to seven-digit census Enumerator Area number.

The study focused only on section of population classified as African thus it excludes other racial groups.

The focus of the study will be on three age groups, that is, 6-12, 13-15 age groups. The reason these age groups were chosen is because it is likely that each has a different educational experience with regard to the level of enrollment, given the high correlation between the age and the level of enrollment in most cases. The age group 6-12 represents the represent the age group at which most people are at primary level of education.

4.1.5. Instrumentation.

The instrument for collecting data is a questionnaire, which had to be completed by the respondents themselves or the interviewer. Since secondary data is used in this study, the instrument used in the collection of data was designed by Statistics South Africa, which is an organization responsible for census in the country.

The instrument included most useful items like the demographics of the individual person, income levels for the members of the household, the level of schooling, one's relation to the head of the household and most other useful aspects.

4.1.6. Reliability and Validity.

As is the tradition with surveys and census, a pilot survey was conducted before the actual taking of the census to ensure validity of the questionnaires. After that the census was taken, a post enumeration survey was also conducted to ensure the counting was correct.

A Pilot survey was conducted to foresee the type of problems that might be encountered during the actual census taking. The survey questionnaires were tested on a sample of 50 000 households (for the whole country), five months before the actual census were taken, and this was done with the assistance of the Human Science Research Council. Indeed some problems were encountered by field workers and through inspection of the survey questionnaires. The problems that were encountered during the process were corrected accordingly. Thereafter, the questionnaires were finalized and translated into all official languages to be used in the actual census taking. The Post Enumeration survey

was also conducted on a sample of the population after the census was taken. This purpose of which was to check the reliability of the census data already collected. The data was then adjusted according to the findings of the survey.

4.1.7. Method of data analysis.

Analysis of the data was done using SPSS software. Firstly analysis will focus on cross tabulation of different independent variables with the dependent one to see if any relation exists between these variables. Independent variables to be used are; gender of the head and that of the child, the income level of the household, the educational level of the head, the size of the household and one's relation to the head. This is done through multivariate and regression analysis to test the contribution of different independent variables.

Chapter Five.

5.1. Patterns and differentials in enrolment : Cross tabulation analysis.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the level of enrolment in the Province and specifically to look into whether such levels will differ according to the gender of the individuals. Household factors will be used to control for the differences that may be observed between the gender of the individual.

The chapter will look at the pattern of enrolment in the Province focusing on enrolment in single age groups according to place of residence and gender of the individual. This is depicted in Table 2 and Figure 1. Table 3 will test the relation between gender of the head against the level of enrolment for both males and females. Thereafter, other household factors will be introduced one by one to control for the effect of other factors on the dependent variable. They will follow in this order; Household Income level (Table 4), The influence of the educational level of the head, where different categories of educational levels of the head will be employed to test the relationships (Table 5, FIG. 2 and 3), The next issue to be discussed will be how the relation of the person to the household head influences the variable of school enrolment, (Table 6). The place of residence will be tested (Table 7) and finally the influence of the size of the household will be last (Table 8). The chapter will close with a summary of all the earlier discussions.

Several questions in the census were used as a measure for school enrolment and they are as follows:

Does the person presently attend school, college, technikon or university? The options given were;

(a) Yes, full time

(b) Yes, part time

(c) No, not attending.

Since (a) and (b) above both show that the person was enrolled in school at the time of survey, they were combined together in the analysis to reduce the responses to two only, that is, those enrolled and those who indicated that they were not. The findings thereof are discussed below.

Figure 1 below shows the enrolment rates in the Province desegregated by gender and place of residence. Among both males and females the level of enrolment seems to be lower in the beginning years in both rural and urban areas, and it increases gradually until it reaches peak at age 12 where 95% of females and 94% of males have enrolled in urban area. The peak in the rural area is reached a little later, at age 13 with 91,7% having enrolled among females and 90.2% among the males. The high enrolment rates at this age might be indicative of the following; that people in the Province generally starts school relatively later, or that failure is high in grades that correspond with these ages thus creating a bulge in the proportions of enrolment.

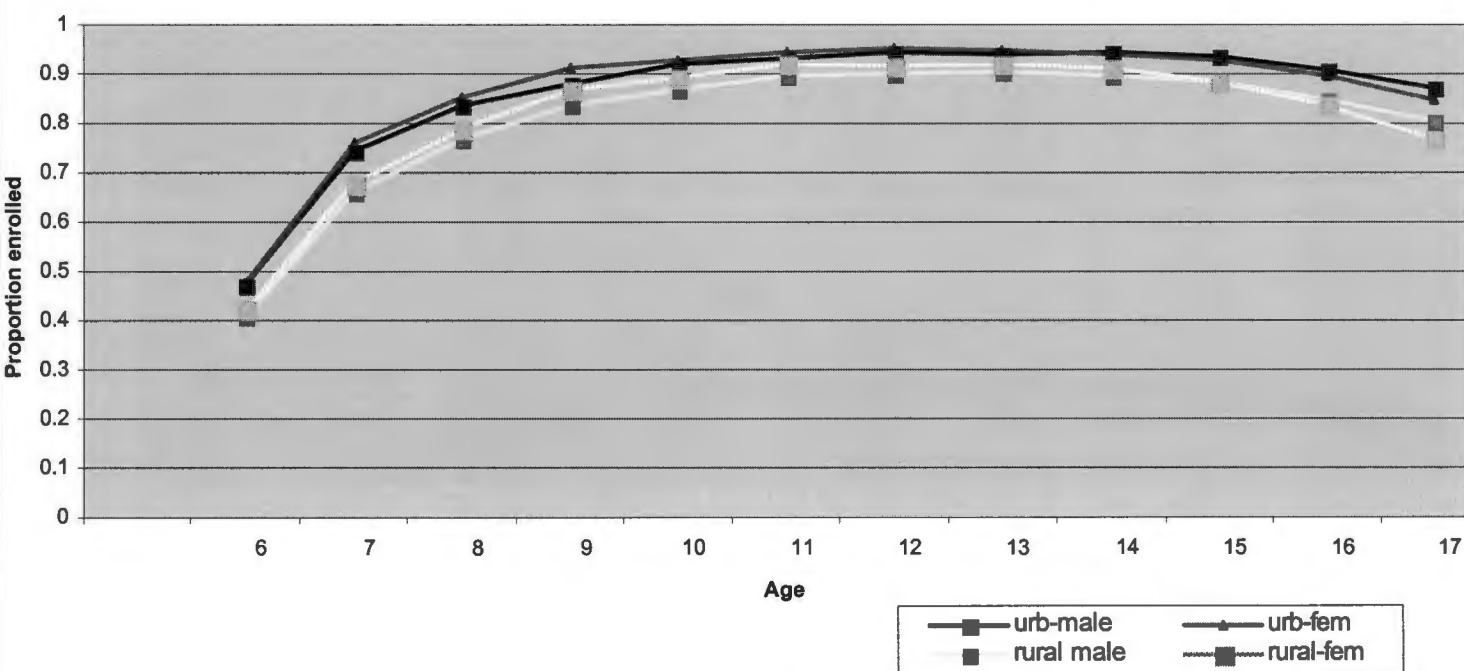
Table 2: Percentages of enrolment by single age, sex and place of residence

Urban			Rural	
Age	M	F	M	F
6	47.24	47.49	40.84	42.58
7	74.30	75.81	65.98	67.69
8	83.68	85.16	76.89	78.65
9	88.13	91.06	83.73	86.89
10	92.15	92.96	86.91	89.32
11	93.39	94.55	89.69	91.94
12	94.31	95.25	90.05	91.69
13	94.09	94.87	90.46	91.82
14	94.36	94.13	89.40	91.13
15	93.60	92.65	88.31	88.43
16	90.79	89.64	84.85	83.57

Vernaak and Verwey (1984: 5), indicated that female enrolments in 1982 were found to be relatively lower in both Sub A and Sub B when compared to the male counterpart. The data from 1996 census, presented in Figure 1, shows that this situation has changed in favour of females. The latter tend to dominate in enrolment levels in all age groups between 6 and 14, and declines thereafter. Becker (1993) asserts that if any section of the society of people, perceive increased benefit from acquiring education, they are likely to increase their level of education. The birth of new a democracy in South Africa ensured that mechanisms for ensuring gender equality were promulgated in the constitution of the country. Commission on Gender Equality puts it this way:

"The constitution guarantees the right to equality and freedom from discrimination on the basis of, inter alia, sex, gender, pregnancy and marital status. This right can be invoked against the state or private person."

Figure 1. The proportion enrolled by age, gender and place of residence.



The guarantee made by the constitution could have changed women's perception regarding possibilities in the job market. This gave a signal that women could compete for the jobs, at least this time protected from any forms of job discrimination that were apparent in the past. As a result, most would opt for enrolling in school, a condition that is necessary for one to get employed. The latter might have served as a strong incentive to women to enrol in school.

Enrolment was also examined according to place of residence. The pattern of enrolment in the urban area is such that both sexes have almost the same enrolment rate in the first two years of schooling with both males and females having around 47 % of enrolment. Percentage of female enrolment however, seems to increase at a relatively faster rate

between age six and eight, from 45% to 85% and the males increase from the same number to only 83% in the same age group. The trend is maintained until peak is reached at age 12 with females attaining 95% and males 94% enrolment rate. The rate of enrolment declines for both sexes with females dropping at faster rate thus reaching the same level of enrolment at age 13 where both sexes have 94% of enrolment. The percent of females drops below that of males thereafter.

When rural areas are considered, one finds that the enrolment percent is lower than urban areas in almost all ages. The pattern of enrolment, however, is similar to the one observed in the urban area, although the peak differs considerably. The female enrolment peak in rural area is reached at age 11, earlier than those experienced in urban area. At this age, the total of 91,7% is enrolled. Males, on the other hand, reach the peak even later than in the urban place, at age 13 with 90,5% enrolment rate. This can mean that males start school late and they are still enrolled in lower grades at relatively higher ages. From there decline is set into momentum but female rate falls at faster rate and equalling that of the male at age 15 where both are at 88%.



In all the cases the level of enrolment in urban area far surpasses the rural counterpart. Otunga (1997), argues that this occurs due to the fact that children in rural areas are more likely to be occupied with farm work at higher ages and this tendency comes with the opportunity cost of school attendance.

It can be argued that at age six, school enrolment between males and females is equal in

age 6 because there is no difference with regard to the cost of education between males and females in the same residential area. The cost will however differ at higher ages due to different opportunity cost incurred by both males and females.

Enrolment for both males and females increases up to ages 11 and 12 in both rural and urban area respectively and then declines after these ages. The decline here coincides with the end of primary education. This level of schooling is relatively cheaper than other subsequent levels, so other things being equal, more parents can afford to enroll their children at primary compared to other higher levels. Secondly, as Smith and Hennessy (1995:18) argue, most Black areas are unlikely to have secondary schools in their vicinity, and therefore, a decline in enrolment is not unexpected after primary school level. This means parents now incur double costs to send children to the secondary school, that is, transport fees have to be paid on top of school fee thus making schooling more expensive. The extent to which the distance travelled affects enrolment will also depend on sex of the child. Parents fear for the safety of their children but most especially if they are girls. The further the school is from home the less the number of girls will attend (World Bank). Consequently, fewer children therefore will be able to attend school. Marope et al (2000:10) argues that accessibility to school is determined by the acceptable distance travelled by children between home and school. *“What constitutes an acceptable distance to school depends on factors such as the presence of some form of transport and the condition of the road as well as the age and the gender of the child”* (p10). The distance travelled to school therefore has considerable influence on school enrolment especially the young girls, who might be victimised along the way to school.

It has been observed that the enrolment percentage for females starts to drop around age 13 and 14 in both urban and rural areas respectively, and for the first time, the trend declines below the male's. This observation can be explained by the fact that most males enrolled late in school and therefore had to stay after females had already completed. The other possible explanation is that females are likely to drop out of school earlier because of teenage pregnancies and/or marriage interruptions. The sharper decline makes one to believe that teenage pregnancy explains the difference. This fact is made clearer by the fact that the decline among females is higher in the rural areas where contraception prevalence is lower due to the poor availability of family planning facilities. Teenage pregnancy has been found to be relatively higher in South Africa (Kaufman et al, Preston- Whyte, 1990).

The impact of AIDS could account for the drop in the percentage of enrolment around these ages. The impact of AIDS is believed to be higher among the teenagers in South Africa, and as a result, most fall ill and stay out of school. On the other hand, the diseases can affect teenagers indirectly - if parents fall ill or die, the latter have to drop out of school to take care of the young ones or simply because they do not have anybody to take care of them. This view is supported by the Dept of Health which argues that more than sixty (60) percent of the new cases of HIV are recorded among people under the age of twenty-five (25). On the other hand, it is argued that the children often provide care for the AIDS patients among the adult, and this comes at an expense of schooling. It further argues that the female rate of infection tends to be higher compared to the male rate – a

factor which could explain the sudden decline in female enrolment around age fourteen (14) and fifteen (15), (Dept of Health, 1998).

The fact that people in rural areas usually have lower returns from education in the form of wages will explain the lower levels of enrolment in the latter area. The income gap between the two places of residence differs because of high supply of labour in the rural places. So other things being equal, people in rural areas expect fewer returns from education.

The main findings of this section can be summarised as follows: The enrolment level among females is higher compared to male level up to age 13 and 14 in both rural and urban areas respectively. Enrolment tends to increase with ages of the individuals, and the climax is reached around age 12 and 13 in both urban and rural area after which the female enrolment is lower compared to males. Urban areas were found to enjoy higher levels compared to rural ones.

5.2. The gender effect on school enrolment

The household in which the child grows up can play a significant role in the socialization of the child. In a patriarchal society like ours girls and boys are socialized differently according to the expected societal roles. In some cultures, parents tend to be biased towards boys, hence girls are less likely to receive good education in that case. On the other hand, one expects a different treatment of girls among those heads who are females.

The author has consciously decided to employ the concept 'gender' instead of 'sex' because of the theory that the differential enrolment between girls and boys emanates from the fact that the society tends to give differential treatment to individuals due to their biological sex, not because the sex causes the difference per se.

The objectives of this section are to determine the interrelationship between gender of the individual and the level of school enrolment, and secondly, to determine if the gender of the head influences the level of school enrolment.

Before an analysis is done on the subject, a word of caution is necessary regarding the conceptualization of the term "head" of the household. As Van de Walle (1999:1) argues, it is possible that the notion of household head can have uncertainty. In some of the cases, especially in *de facto* census, the membership can be short-lived on account of migration or temporary absences. This is indeed the case here since those who were acting heads in the household were recorded as heads during data collection process. Depending on the time spent in such a position, the person who is acting will have limited powers to influence long-term decisions, such as who will be attending school among the members of the household in which he is acting.

Table 3 presents data on the level of school enrolment comparing both males and females according to different household headships. Although the proportion in school among the males exceeded the proportion of females in both 1974 and 1984 in lower levels of

schooling (Verwey et al 1985), the results presented here shows that in 1996, this picture had totally changed.

Table 3: Percentages enrolled by sex and household headship.

Sex of school attendant by head- sex	Age 6-12	Age 13-15
Male-headed		
Males enrolled	76.3	90.5
Females enrolled	78.9	91.3
Female-headed		
Males enrolled	77.7	91.5
Females enrolled	80.5	92.5

The percentages of females enrolled in school were found to be higher than male enrolment in almost all the ages under study. The higher enrolment level among female was observed irrespective of the gender of the head.

When headship was compared, it was found that the percentage of enrolment in the female-headed households exceeded the level observed in male-headed households. As an example, the enrolment percentages among males and females aged 6-12 years ranges between 76.3 to 78.9 in the male-headed households as compared to a difference of 77.7 to 80.5 observed in households led by females, and the same pattern is observed in the higher age group. It is clear that both males and females are likely to have a relatively better level of enrolment when a female is heading the household in which they are staying.

The data presented above has shown that females tend to enjoy higher levels of school enrolment in the Province. This was found to be the case irrespective of the household headship. The other finding on the data was that female-headed households are more likely to have higher enrolment percentages among both males and females, when compared to percentages found in male-headed households.

5.3. The effect of income.

Income is one of the main factors that determine the level of enrolment in educational institutions. Even in cases where education is free, parents still have to pay for textbooks and transportation to school. Since the cost of education for girls is higher compared to that of boys due to additional opportunity cost, households are likely to make a rational decision by sending boys than girls to school (World Bank). The purpose of this section is to find out what happens when the level of school enrolment is controlled for by income level in households under different headships. Different levels of income are introduced from the lowest to the highest level to see what influence it might have on the levels of school enrolment in different households with different income levels.

Income is measured by the combined amount of monies that individual in the household collectively received on monthly basis in the year in which data was collected. This definition included not only the amount received in cash but also subsidies (car and housing) received by individual members. It becomes problematic to relate this variable to levels of enrolment since some of the money received as income, such as subsidies, is not directly available for paying of school fees. As a result, it is possible that the association of these two variables in the study will not always be apparent. If a higher

level of income does not mean more money is available for spending, then it is clear that that higher levels of income in this case may not necessarily translate into higher levels of education.

Table 4 presents data on enrolment controlled for by the level of household income.

Despite the limitation in the definition, the results on the Table shows, the percentage of enrolment differs between different levels of household income, and in almost all the cases, the trend shows a positive relationship between these variables.

Table 4: Percentages enrolled by income levels.

Income levels (Male headship)	Age 6-12		Age 13-15	
	M	F	M	F
R500 and less	83.4	87.6	87.5	89.5
R501-2500	84.7	90.9	89.5	90.5
R2501 -6000	93.5	89.8	96.5	95.6
R6001+	90	89.0	88.2	91.7
Female headship				
R500 and less	73.5	75.4	83.4	87.6
R501-2500	78.2	80.8	84.7	90.8
R2501 -6000	81.2	86.4	93.5	89.7
R6001+	89.5	88.5	97.0	93.7

When gender aspects are considered, it has been found that the percent of female enrollees is still higher at the different levels of the level of income in the household, with an exception of the highest income level where the opposite has been observed.

Although the proportion of female enrolment is higher than that of males, unlike in the previous tables, the general level of enrolment tends to be higher in the male-headed households. These differences however, seem to diminish with the increase in both level of income and age in almost all the cases. For example, there is almost ten percent enrolment difference between those in the lowest income level within age group 6-12, when household headship is considered. These differences decrease to a difference close to one or even negative at the highest level of income when age increases to 13-15.

Income seems to play an important role in explaining increase in the level of enrolment. In most of the cases, an increase in the level of income leads to an increase in the level of school enrolment. This phenomenon is observed in all the cases among both females and males and also between male and female headship. Income therefore is an important variable in explaining the different levels of income between different households.

One important dimension that is worth mentioning is that enrolment is still higher even when income is at the lowest level. Data on Table 4 shows that when household income is R500 or below, more than 70 or 80 percent of children still enroll in school in both male and female-headed households respectively. This might mean that income alone is not sufficient to explain the existing levels of enrolment, other factors play an important role. This fact tends to prove the argument by Becker that, the level of enrolment is not solely dependent on the level of household income. He cites empirical evidence that showed that enrolment depends, among other things, on the cost vis-à-vis benefits of education (Becker: 1993) If the expected (monetary) benefits are high, enrolment will be

expected to increase in response to future benefits that will be derived from acquiring higher education. Individuals can loan money or get bursaries where household income is not sufficient to cover all expenses, and therefore, enrolment still increases even when income is low.

There are reasons to believe that monetary benefits have increased in the job market for women in the country as a whole, especially in the Province. Although unemployment was higher among women in 1995, the majority (64 percent) were earning in monthly income brackets above R0-99 compared to only 57 percent of men in the Province, (Statistics South Africa, 1995: 65). This means there are cases where women earn better than men do. These relatively higher earnings could have served as an incentive for higher enrolment among the females.

In a post Apartheid South Africa education was guaranteed to all children immediately after the new government took over. The Education Policy states that nobody should be disallowed educational opportunities just because the individual concerned cannot pay the fees. This policy also explains the high level of enrolment among those pupils from lower income households. The Affirmative Action government policy also could have raised expectations further for higher employment among African women. These are, as Becker argues, the changing incentives that were fundamental in explaining higher levels of enrolment among the minority groups and women in America.

Data in Table 4 has indicated that enrolment level in the Province increases with income levels among both males and females. The results also showed that female enrolment still outnumbers the proportion enrolled among the males, irrespective of the level of income. Male-headed households tend to have higher enrolment levels; something that is conflicting with the earlier findings which showed higher enrolment levels in female headship.

5.4. Effect of the head's educational level on the school enrolment.

Education of the head is believed to have a significant influence on the child's level of school enrolment. Bell (1968), found that education level of the parent tends to influence the latter's expectation regarding the ultimate level of education that his or her child should have. It was also found that mothers with lower levels of education expect their children to work in low status jobs. The objective of this section is to take a step further to see whether the influence of the head's educational level will differ according to the gender of both the head and the child. The section will therefore measure the level of enrolment between the males and females according to the educational level and headship of the head.



Educational level does, to a larger extent, determine one's class in a society. Parent's class position in society will tend to determine the class the children will belong to in the future. This reality emanates from the fact that children are socialized into norms and values of parents have adopted. These values then become part of the children's lives.

Education also present on the parents the ability and means necessary to help in the process of educating the children. Parents who are educated tend to help their children with homework and can also afford to buy learning aids thus creating a better environment for learning at home.

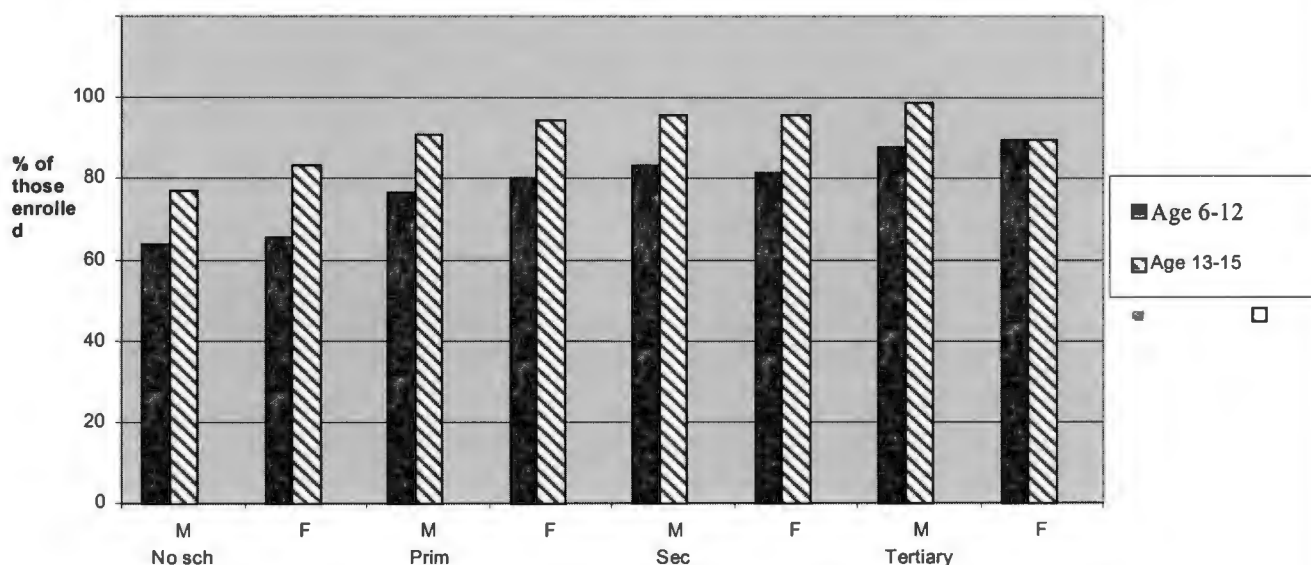
Table 5: Percentages enrolled by educational level of the head.

Male head:	Age 6-12		Age 13-15	
	M	F	M	F
No schooling	63.9	65.0	77.5	83.5
Primary	76.5	80.0	90.8	94.4
Secondary	83.0	81.4	95.7	95.6
Tertiary	87.5	89.3	98.8	99.0
Female head :				
No schooling	67.1	70.9	80.0	85.3
Primary	80.2	80.8	92.4	95.8
Secondary	82.7	83.5	96.5	97.2
Tertiary	89.6	88.1	99.3	99.6

So the norms, which are inculcated in children at an early age, and parent's financial means, will serve as input into the child's education.

This view is confirmed by the results presented in Table 5, Figure 2 and Figure 3. The data here shows that school enrolment is to a greater extent dependent on the head's educational level. In virtually all the cases, enrolment increases with the level of head's educational attainment irrespective of the age or the gender of the child.

Figure 2: Percentages enrolled according head's (male) highest educational attainment.

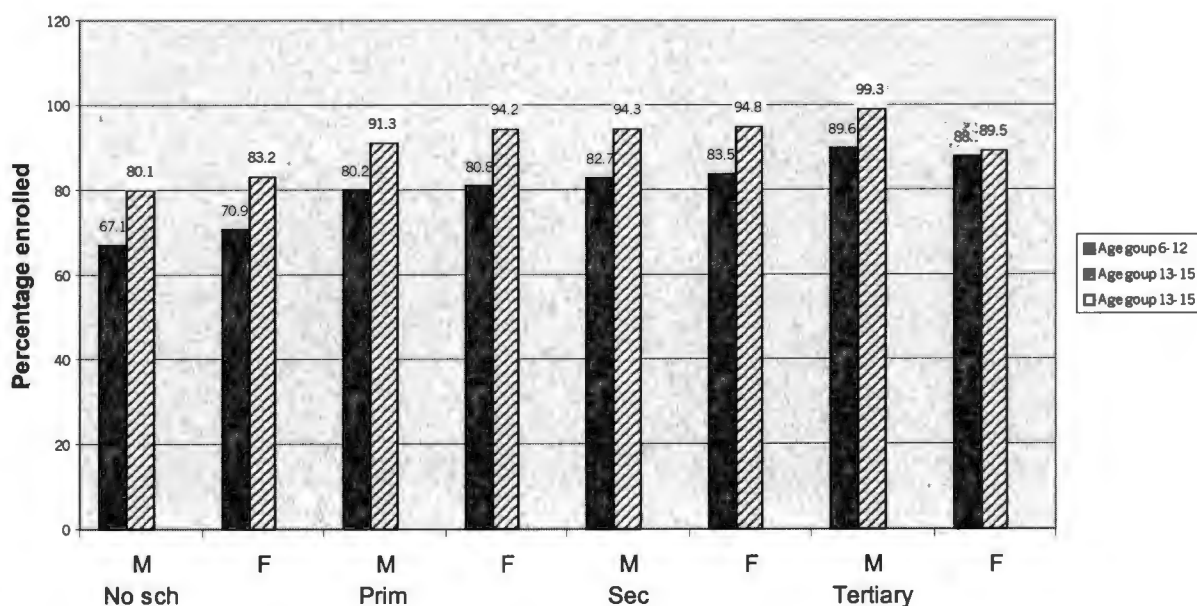


The data shows that there is greater difference in enrollment between male pupils in households whose heads had no schooling and those with highest educational attainment. This is especially apparent when the head's gender is male. As an example, the percentage of enrollment between males in age 6-12 within a male headship improves from 63.9% to 88.1% compared to the difference of 65.5% to 89.3% of females in the same age group. The difference is lower when the female headship is considered. (67% to 89%). Since enrolment levels are relatively lower among the males and in male-headed

households, improvement in the head's educational level tends to benefit the male children mostly, and the improvement occurs mostly in male- households.

The results also confirm the earlier findings that indicated that female enrolment is higher in almost all the cases. The latter group shows higher level of enrolment in both male and male-led households. This finding renders void the argument that males tend to dominate in school enrolment.

Fig. 3: Percentages enrolled by head's (female) highest level of educational attainment.



It has also been found that female-headed households tend to have a relatively higher level of enrolment compared to their male counterparts. As an example, the lowest levels are found in 'no education ' category where female-led households have 67.1 and 70,9

percent for males and females respectively compared to 63,9 and 65 percent in male-led households.

It has been found that for each additional year of mother's education leads to an increase in children's education by one third to one half year, (World Bank).

The conclusion that can be made is that education of the head has a significant influence on the level of a child 's school enrolment. Educated parents tend to encourage the children to learn more than it is the case with less educated ones. Further analysis shows that female enrolment, even when controlled by the educational head of the household, still dominates in school enrolment. It seems that when the head is a male, the level of enrolment improves most among male pupils when education of the head improves.

5.5. School enrolment by relation to the head.

Households with non-related members are common in African societies and thus, it is worth investigating if this type of household affect the level of school enrollment. Since this phenomenon is often observed in rural areas, one would expect high prevalence in the North West Province because of its rural bias (The Province is 65 percent rural). The aim of this section is to establish whether children living with biological parents are more likely to enroll in school than those living with relatives. It is assumed that heads of the household are more likely to give priority to their biological children in the household

when allocating the resources. More resources for education will therefore be expended on biological children that it will be the case with children of relatives.

The focus of this analysis will be on children, siblings, grandchildren, and other relatives. Analysis of data in Table 6 indicates that how one is related to the head does not significantly alter the chances of schooling. Surprisingly, siblings tend to enjoy high level of enrolment in age group 6-12 although the rate declines in later ages. As was expected initially, children have higher enrolment rate in age group 13-15 compared to other people who relate differently to the head.

The data presented in Table 6 shows that enrolment differs according to the relation of the individual to the household headship. Siblings tend to have a higher enrolment rate when compared to other relatives. The relatively higher enrolment is observed in the younger age group.

Table 6: Percentages of enrolment according to relation to the head.

Relation to the head	Age 6-12		Age 13-15	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Child	73.8	76.2	88.5	90.6
Sibling	76.8	81.4	75.0	91.8
G/child	69.1	70.1	84.8	87
Other	72.2	68.2	74.0	88.0
Relation to the head : Female head				
Child	76.2	73.82	77.9	80.8
Sibling	81.42	76.81	81.3	83.5
G/child	70.0	69.07	73.4	74.1
Other	68.18	72.18	72.5	74.4

These statistics may indicate that extended families still play a very crucial role in the upbringing of children irrespective of the relations between the head and the child. It is possible that parents send their children to stay with other siblings in order to be nearer to schools, while they (parents) are responsible for financial support even though the child is not staying at home.

The school enrolment among different members of the household is not significantly different when comparing the different groups based on the relationship to the head of the household. Children tend to surpass other relatives at higher age groups, although the levels do not differ much. Female school enrolment was found to be higher irrespective of the relation of the person to the head.

5.6. The effect of place of residence:

The level of enrolment often varies with the place of residence, where rural areas are often disadvantaged because of lack of resources. The purpose of this section is to establish the difference of enrolment between males and females controlled for by the place of residence.

In the first section of this chapter it was found that that females both as headship and as pupils tend to do better with regard to enrolling children and enrolling in school respectively. Table 7 presents data on enrolment between males and females within households headed by males and females in both urban and rural areas. The introduction

of place of residence however, does not change the situation. The proportion of females is still higher compared to males in both rural and urban area in all age groups. On the other hand, when considering the gender of headship, female headship still has an advantage over the male counterparts irrespective of the place of residence.

As observed in the initial analysis, enrolment tends to increase with the age of the child, and that could be explained by late enrolment in most of the cases, however, the difference seems to be quite small when headship is the male in both rural and urban areas.

Table 7: Percentages enrolled by place of residence.

Male Headship	Age 6-12		Age 13-15	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Urban	80.7	85.0	80.6	84.5
Rural	71.2	71.9	71.2	72.0
Female head				
Urban	83.9	85.2	96.6	93.4
Rural	74.9	76.9	84.0	88.8

As expected initially, the level of enrolment differ between rural and urban areas where urban have higher proportions of both males and females enrolled in school. This was expected in view of the number of schools available in the urban areas and general life style that demands that people should have education for better quality of life.

In general, it was found in this section that females tend to have higher enrolment irrespective of the place of residence. Female headship also, was found to contribute to a relatively higher level of enrolment, and this also does not differ with the place of residence. Urban areas were found to have a higher level of enrolment when compared to rural ones.

5.7. Percent of school enrolment by household size.

The purpose of this section is to measure the level of school enrolment among different households sizes and to determine the type of association that exists between school enrolment and the latter. Different sizes of households will be examined in this section: The first household size will be those with 1 and 6 members, and the second between 7 and 10 with the last having 11 and above members.

Larger family sizes are associated with lower percentages of pupils enrolling in school, (Vratil 1999). The 'dilution effect' theory is of relevance here. The theory explains the mechanism in which larger household sizes tend to reduce the level of investment on children. It asserts that, the larger the household size, the smaller the individual's share of the resources within that household. Investment of both money and quality time by parents on children will tend to diminish with each additional child in the household, holding other things constant.

The data in Table 8 support the argument advanced on the theory above. The level of enrolment decreases with the size of the household among both females and males in all age groups. The highest level of enrolment is found in households with a small number of members. However, the level differs according to gender of individuals.

Table 8: Percentages of pupils enrolled in school according to size household.

(Male head)	Age 6-12		Age 13-15	
	M	F	M	F
1-6	74.5	74.6	86.0	90.8
7-10	70.9	73.3	88.3	89.0
10+	70	73.4	77.2	86.4
Female head				
1-6	78.6	81.2	88.1	92.3
7-10	73.1	74.6	83.4	90.4
10+	70.2	72.3	79.6	82.3

As noted before with other independent variables, females tend to have a relatively higher level of school enrolment in all household sizes irrespective of age of the child. It was expected that larger household size would impact negatively on the females since they are expected to take care of the other members, especially the younger ones. However, this seems not to be the case even in larger sizes.



When headship is considered, it was found that female-headed households had higher levels of enrolment, as it has been the case with other variables under study. However, what came clearly from the analysis is that female-headed households tend to be more responsive towards change in household size. The difference between enrolment

percentages in households with the smallest and the highest size tends to be bigger when compared to the same differences in households led by males. This observation can mean that female-heads find it difficult to cope when dealing with a larger number of members within the household compared to their male counterparts.

The conclusion from this section is that enrolments in school tend to go down as the size increases. On the other hand, female enrolment in different sizes of the household was found to be higher compared to male enrolment. Female-heads were found to enroll children at school more than male heads, however, the percentage of enrolment tends to decrease faster in households led by female heads than those led by male heads when size of the household increases.

5.8. Summary of the Chapter.

The general findings in this chapter are as follows: that the percentage of females enrolled in school is higher than that of males in virtually all the cases. It was also found that the percentage of enrolment differs between households led by males and those led by females, where the latter tend to have higher enrolment percentages than the male counterparts. This was indeed the case even when enrolment was controlled for by other factors such as income level, educational level of the head, the child's relation to the head and size of the household. Educational level of the head was found to play a significant role in influencing the level of school enrolment. Contrary to the hypothesis of the

research, enrolment among those household led by females was found to be higher when compared with male-led households.

Chapter 6.

6.1. The effect of different variables on school enrolment: A binary logistic regression analysis.

In Chapter 5, the effects of various independent variables on children's school enrolment were examined using cross tabulation analysis. Cross tabulation technique is useful when identifying variables or factors that may affect school enrolment. However, other relationships or interactions that may be present between independent variables may be difficult to detect. Furthermore, if there are many independent variables the number of sub-categories increases constraining cell sizes and thereby restricting the level of analysis. Binary Logistic regression is one method of analysis that can overcome the problem of interaction between the various independent variables since it allows many independent variables to be included in the model.

The method discussed above works well when the outcome variable is binary (two possible values) such as 'enrolled' or 'not enrolled' as it is the case in this research. For binary outcomes, it is useful to code the variables using the indicator variables. An indicator variable is either equal to zero or one, where the former represents the absence of a condition and the latter its presence. For example in this research, zero represents the condition where one is not enrolled and one (1) condition of having enrolled as outcome variables.

6.2. Method

In the previous chapter, it was found that all the factors that were tested have some effect on the dependent variable. The aim of the present chapter is to find out those independent variables that have the highest impact on the level of school enrolment by controlling for other factors. The models put together different variables, most of them have already been mentioned above and they establish the coefficient of regression, which tells us about the extent to which the dependent variable changes when the independent one is changed by one variable. The variables are introduced in the following order:

- (i). Gender of a person: This variable includes two categories, female and male. In the model the variable consists of a single indicator variable female, represented by a dummy variable *fem*, where female =1 for female enrolment and male =0. Male category was chosen as the reference category.
- (ii) Educational attainment of the head. Four categories were used in the model; tertiary (**Tert**), secondary (**Sec**), primary (**Prim.**) and no education. These categories were represented by an indicator variable 1 where the head had particular level of education and 0 where the head had *other* levels. For example, when the head had tertiary level, *tert* =1 and *other* = 0. No education was used as the reference category.

- (iii) Income level. This variable has four categories; *incom1* representing income level of R500 or less, *incom2* for those earning between R501-R2500, and *incom3* and *incom4* representing income levels of R2501-R6000 and above R6000 respectively. The lowest income level was used as a reference category.
- (iv) Relation to the head. The categories used here are 'child', 'sibling' 'grandchild' and 'others' where the latter was used as the reference category. As it was the case with others, the existence of a situation equaled 1 and 0 for others.
- (v) Size of the household. Three categories of the household were used in this variable, namely Size1, Size2 and Size3. Size1 for household whose size falls within 1-6, Size2 for those household falling within 7-10 and size3 for above 10. Size3 was the reference category in this case.
- (vi) Place of Residence. The variable place of residence consisted of two categories, rural and urban. In the model the variable had one indicator *urban*, where urban area = 1 for urban respondents and 0 for those respondents from rural areas. The rural area was used as a reference category.

It should be pointed out that each of the following variables would be introduced into the model as a set of dummy variables together. They will also be introduced in a hierarchical manner in an attempt to maintain the order among them.

6.3. Conceptual Framework of the model.

Logistic regression model is used to examine the relationship between one or more independent variable and also the log odds of the binary outcome variable.

The linear logistic model fitted by maximum likelihood is :

$$Y = b_0 + b_1 * x_1 + b_2 * x_2 + \dots + b_x * x_k.$$

Where Y is the logit transformation of p

b₀ is the constant term, and b₁, b₂.....b_x are the regression coefficients for the independent variables.

The model consists of one dependent variable: school enrolment measured by the percentage of people enrolled at school among those in ages group 6-15. The various independent variables that comprise of gender of person whose enrolment status is being considered, gender of the head, educational level of the head, household income level, size of the household and the relation to the head of the household. The relative size of the estimated regression coefficients gives an indication of the strength of association between the independent and the dependent variables and this can be interpreted as partial slopes.

The Findings using Regression analysis:

The aim of this section is to establish the relative contribution made by different independent variables to the level of school enrolment. The analysis will be done on different variables within both male and female household headship.

6.4. The role of gender.

This variable includes two categories, female and male. This variable consists of a single indicator variable, 'Fem' given an indicator of 1 to signify female enrolment and male is equated to 0. The latter will be used as a reference category.

The findings of this section correspond with findings in the last chapter. According to information in Table 9, the odds ratio for enrolment are positive for females in all age groups studied. Females in age group 6-12 have an enrolment coefficient of 1.10 and 1.13 in both male and female headship respectively. That means they are more than 1 times more likely to be at school compared to the males. The ratios increase slightly in higher age group, but a bit higher in male headship. This confirms the findings in the last chapter that females have higher school enrolments, even when other factors are taken into consideration and irrespective of the type of household within which they reside.

6.5. Educational level of the head.

The educational attainment of the head was introduced into the model to see its effect on the dependent variable. Three categories will be used here in order of the educational

level and 'no schooling' will be used as a reference category. The first one will be 'Primary' and will be followed by 'secondary' and lastly 'tertiary' The same indicator will be used in each of the mentioned variables where the existence of the condition will have an indicator 1 and the absence given 0.

The findings in Table 9 indicate that odds ratio increase with the head's level of education. It is also clear that educational level of the head explains much of the variation in the enrolment than any of the other variables. As indicated by data in Table 9, the highest odds ratio occurs when the head has tertiary education compared to other variables in the model. The ratio is even higher in age group 13-15 or in advanced school level. In age 6-12, the odds ratio for highest education attained by the head are still among the highest. However, compared to the upper age group, they are relatively small. This means that enrolment in higher school level is likely to increase when the head has attained higher education.



The ratios were also found to differ with the headship of the household. For example, when the head is a male, and has tertiary education, he is 8.6 times more likely to enroll children compared to the head with no education at all. However, when the head is female, the likelihood of enrolment is only 3 times more than the head with no education. The head's educational level seems to play an important role in determining the level of children's school enrolment, the higher the educational level of the head, the higher the chances that the children will be enrolled in school

Table 9: The odds ratio for different variables on school enrolment.

Variables	Age 6-12		Age 13-15	
	95% CI for Exp (B)		95% CI for Exp (B)	
	Sex of the head of the household:			
	M	F	M	F
Fem	1.107	1.13	1.43	1.16
Tert	3.6	2.01	8.55	3.04
Sec	2.2	1.84	6.00	3.11
Prim	2.0	1.75	2.98	1.86
Income4	2.1	1.98	1.42	1.86
Income3	1.37	1.41	1.01	1.81
Income2	1.33	1.36	1.18	1.46
Child	1.3	1.26	1.94	1.26
Sibling	1.5	1.33	0.59	1.03
Gchild	1.2	1.16	1.79	1.62
Size1	0.86	1.35	1.15	1.40
Size2	0.91	1.05	1.54	1.16
Urban	0.804	0.83	0.628	1.09

On the other hand, the headship of the head is also important: The increase in the level of education for male headship seems to have tremendous improvement in the level of enrolment among the children compared to when the improvement is observed among the female headship. Education therefore seems to have the highest impact in the male headship than otherwise.

6.6. Income:

Three levels of income were included in the models: 'Income 1' for levels of income monthly R5000 and below, 'income 2' for level between R501 and R2500 and 'income3' for R2501-6000 and 'income 4' for the levels above R6000. Income 1 was treated as a reference category in the analysis.

In the last chapter the impact of different levels of income was discussed in detail, and the shortcomings of the concept income were outlined. This should still be taken into consideration when interpreting the results here.

The findings from analysis of data indicate that the level of income has influence on school enrolment. However, although this is the case, it seems that the difference of enrolment between households with different income levels is not so obvious. The odds ratio for enrolment are highest when income is in the highest level in both male and female households. The difference of enrolment between the second and the third levels of income is quite small, however all the coefficients are positive implying that the higher levels of income can lead to an increase in the level of enrolment. It was also found the p value for income was not statistically significant to explain the variation in the level of enrolment. The p- values for income were above the critical level (0.005). The conclusion that was arrived at therefore is that the role played by income level is not quite important, the difference between the different levels can be explained by other factors.

This insignificance, as mentioned earlier, can be attributed to the shortcoming in the definition of the concept.

6.7. Relation to the head_

The purpose of this section is to establish the extent to which this variable contributes towards the level of school enrolment. Three of the categories examined here are 'the child', 'sibling' 'grandchild' and 'other'. The last variable is used as a reference category..

The results of the analysis on TABLE 9 shows that all the variables that were included in the model contribute positively compared to reference variable. What emerged from the analysis is that 'siblings' tend to have a higher level of enrolment in age group 6-12, the but the level dropped considerably in age 13-15. On the other hand, the odd ratio for child and grandchildren increases above other variables in the 13-15 age group. The odds ratio for both children and grandchildren is highest in male-headed household (1.9 and 1.3) but the ratio declines to 1.8 and 1.6 respectively in female headship in both male and female household. It becomes clear also that the likelihood of enrolling for grandchildren increases in this age group.

What becomes apparent here is that the level of school enrolment is relatively higher for grandchildren, thus indicating that, to some extent, the African household system does embrace extended family system.

Since household membership is made up of different people, it does not necessarily mean that the head has the sole responsibility of paying school fees for everyone. One might find that often mothers leave their children with grand parents to go and work in other places and although they are absent from home, and because they are working, they are still paying for their children's school fees. It is true that the Province under study is mainly rural and therefore most people will migrate to other provinces like Gauteng where they are likely to get a job. The majority of them will take care of their children financially although they are not at home.

One possible explanation is that the data on number of children could have been distorted in the sense that those who referred to themselves as 'children' of the head, could have meant other relatives. This is usually the case in African societies where other relatives are referred to as 'children ' although they are not biological offspring.

6.8. Household Size.

This variable had three categories, size1 when membership of household is six or below, size2 when household members are between seven and ten and size3 when members are above 10. The last category was used as reference category.

The size of the household, like other variables in the model, seems to play prominent role in influencing the level of school enrollment. In the previous chapter results indicated that the level of enrolment increases when the number of people within the household is reduced. However, the results of regression analysis presented above show some

contradictory tendencies. Although female-headed households still indicate that enrolment is negatively associated with the size of the household, the data on the male-headed households indicate the opposite. In the female-headed households, the odds ratio of enrolment increases with the size of the household in both age groups 6-12 and 13-15. The ratios for the former age group are negative, indicating that the probability for enrolling in school for those in households with similar sizes, is less than the relatively larger household sizes (reference group). However, it was also found that the odds ratio for the household size is not statistically significant for all the age groups and therefore the household size was cannot be said to have an important contribution towards explaining the changes in the level of school enrolment.

6.9. The Place of Residence:

The influence of two categories here, urban and rural, were discussed at length in the previous chapter, and the purpose here is to see what effect they have when other variables are brought into the picture. When these two variables were cross-tabulated, it was found that enrolment tends to be higher in the urban areas. The results of logistic regression, however, give a different indication. When other factors are taken into consideration, the odd ratio of urban area is reduced, with most of them becoming negative. The odd ratios for enrollment are negative for both age groups with an exception for age 13-15 in a female-headed household. The negative ratios implies that introduction of other factors tend to reduce the significance of the urban area in terms of high enrollment. The data in TABLE 9 shows that the odds ratios for enrollment are

0.804 and 0.83 in age 6-12. Since the rural area was treated as reference category, when these ratios are converted it shows that pupils in rural area are 1.24 and 1.2 more likely to be in school in households led by male and female respectively when compared against those in the urban areas. The only situation where the urban enrollment tend to be higher than the rural one is in age 13-15 when the household is led by females, where the odds ratio is 1.09.

Chapter 7.

7.1. Summary and Conclusions.

The aim of this research was to determine the impact that gender and other household factors have on children's school enrolment. The study tested different hypotheses, which included the relation between school enrolment and independent factors such as, sex of the individual, sex of the head of the household, educational level of the head, the size of the family, income level and relation to the head of the household.

The findings of this study showed that contrary to what was expected, enrollment is higher among the females in all age groups under study. This was found to be the case even if other factors such as the headship of the household, income levels, size of the household, relation and place of residence were controlled for. The conclusion of the study was that enrolment in the Province is higher among the females in the age groups under study.

The rejection of this hypothesis also brings a different view to the one advanced by the theories under gender and Human capital. The main argument under gender theories was advanced by the Social Learning Theory, which argued that women learn to accept conditions that are inferior to men due to the way they are socialized. This theory led to the hypothesis that girls, by virtue of their sex, will not have the same level of enrolment compared to their male counterparts. Since this hypothesis has not been accepted, one

can assume that the theory is not relevant in explaining the educational situation in the Province, at least at the present moment.

Human Capital theory was advanced as one of the theories that could best explain the differential levels of enrolment in the Province. The theory argued that, enrolment in school would depend upon the cost of education weighted against the benefit thereof. The cost includes both the direct and indirect costs. The higher level of enrolment could be explained by the higher expectation for employment amount women, especially after the policy of affirmative action that came into place after the 1994 democratic election.

It was also found that, female-headed households tend to have a higher enrolment rate compared to the male-led one, thus leading to the rejection of the hypothesis which states that male heads are significantly more important for higher enrolment level.

Among other factors, it was found that the head of the household's educational attainment tends to emerge as the most important variable in explaining the level of enrolment among the children. Heads with higher educational level were more likely to send their children to school than those who were less educated. Although other factors played a part in influencing the enrolment level, education was the most crucial.

The results of logistic regression still showed similar results as those observed in cross tabulation. Educational attainment of the head still came out as the most important factor which explains the variation in the level of school enrolment among different households,

when all other factors were taken into account. Those heads with tertiary level of education, were eight (8) times more likely to enroll their children than those with no education at all.

The relationship to the head of the household was also important in explaining the dependent variable. Children of the head were more likely to enroll compared to the siblings, but in some cases, grandchildren had relatively higher rate of enrolment.

The study also showed that, although the urban areas were found to have high enrolment percentages, when other factors are taken into consideration, the importance of this variable becomes insignificant.

The findings on income indicated that enrolment is income-inelastic, that is, the change in the level of income does not lead to an equal change in the dependent variable. In most of the cases, it was observed that the latter changes only slightly when income changes. It was also found that there is a slight difference in terms of enrolment between low-income and higher income households.

7.2. Policy Recommendation.

The significance of this study was to make a contribution towards understanding, in general, the different factors that affect school enrolment. The findings of the study indicated that female-headship is not an important area for concern, in fact where possible, it should be encouraged. Female enrolment was found to be higher although the

level declines at age 14. The decline in a level of enrolment at this age could have some implications for education of women in general. It is recommended that policy makers attend to those factors that are known to affect the level of schooling for girls. The first possible factor that explains decline in enrolment is higher level of teenage pregnancy. The Departments of education and Health should form an inter-sectoral collaboration with other non-governmental organizations for information, education, and communication on all matters of reproductive health to teenagers, both girls and boys in the different Black communities. HIV/Aids also impacts on school enrolment since it affects mostly young people both directly and indirectly. The government needs to come up with policy measures that will ensure that those affected and infected stay in school as much as possible. Subsidizing AIDS orphans and stepping up AIDS programme at schools can help to alleviate the problem. In the final analysis, it is recommended that the policy of affirmative action be kept in place. Such policies tend to create incentives in the job markets for formerly discriminated groups, especially women. When there are perceived benefits such as high employment, then more people are likely to enroll in school.

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