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Socio Economic Factors Affecting Female Child Labour and School Attendance: The Case of Menge and Komosha Woreda of Benishangul Gumuz National Regional state.

Regional and local Development Studies

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Socio Economic Factors Affecting Female Labour and School Attendance: The Case of Menge and Komosha Woreda of Benishangul Gumuz National Regional State.

A Thesis Presented to the Research and Graduate Programs Office, A.A.U., in Partial Fulfillment for the Degree of Master of Arts in Regional and Local Development Studies.

By Taye Amasslu

Approved by Board of Examiners

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Acronyms

A.A.U Addis Ababa University
AIDS - Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
BGNRS- Benishangul Gumuz National Regional State
BOPED- Bureau of Planning and Economic Development
CMR- Child Mortality Rate
CSA- Central Statistics Authority
G.G- Gender Gap
GB- Great Britain
GPI- Gender Parity Index
HIV- Human Immuno Virus
IMR- Infant Mortality Rate
MOE Ministry of Education
MOLSA- Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs
NMR- National Mortality Rate
PHRD- policy and human resource development
PRA- Participatory Rural Appraisal
ILO- International Labor Organization
SPLA- Southern Sudan Population Liberation Front
TFR- Total Fertility Rate
UNESCO- United Nations Education, Scientific, Cultural Organization
UNICEF- United Nations Children Fund
UN- United Nations
DF- Degree of Freedom
No- Number

Annex II
Labeling and Definitions of Data

No.	Variables	Labeling
1	Sex	Male== 1 Female== 2
2	Religion	Catholic==1 Moslem= 2 Orthodox= 3 Protestant= 4
3	Ethnic Group	Agew= 1 Amhara= 2 Berta= 3 Gumuz 4 Oromo= 5 Shinasha= 6
4	Marital status	Illiterate= 1 Only read and write=2 Formal education=3
5	Occupation	Farmer=1 Civilsrevant=2 Trader=3 Daily labor=4
6	Priority given	A girl=1 A boy=2
7	Main activities of the child	Attend school Work only Combine school and work
8	Work affect school attendance	Yes =1 No=2
9	Type of work	Hazardous=1 Light=2
10	Impact of distant school	Forced marriage=1 Exhaustion=2 Early Marriage=3
11	Quality education	Yes=1 No=2
12	Have you knowledge about female education	Yes =1 No=2
13	Continuous variables	Actual number

List of Figures and Maps

Abstract

Child labour has been a very important research topic since two decades. It is the concern of both developed and developing nations as well as every sector of society. To that end, international and national conventions were held to discuss about issues related to child labour. However, participation of children in work still exists in many countries. The notion that children work instead of schooling negatively affects the formation of future human capital.

Ethiopia is one of the countries where child labour participation is high with low school participation. Children participate in different forms of work activities that range from household care activities to field work of farming, cattle herding and the like. Some children specialize in work alone while others combine work and schooling. Engagement of children in such work activities has detrimental effects upon their school attendance as well as physical and psychological growth.

In line with the above-mentioned reality of the country, this research aims to find out causes, magnitude and socio-economic factors of female child labour that either hinders school attendance or affects their scholastic achievement. It was hypothesized that female children engaged in different work activities as a result of social, economic, political and cultural factors and this engagement affect their school attendance, academic performance and physical growth. Both ethnographic and quantitative analyses were used to capture the reality of the situation.

In most cases, the result goes with expectations. The education system of the specific study area is found to be internally inefficient. More than half of female entrants to school drop out without completing the first cycle of primary level and many of them repeat in a class. Parental need of their labour contribution is one of the major reasons for their withdrawal from the school and poor academic performance. Female child labour contribution is higher than that of males. Female children participate in domestic work affairs, traditional gold panning and agricultural activities.

The primary reason for their work participation is to contribute to the family income. Social expectations of perfection at work are also one of the major reasons for female children to resort to work rather than schooling. The society expects female children to have profound skill at homemaking. Low-income and household head illiteracy are the two most important determinants of female child labour in the area. Both of them are highly correlated with high female labour participation. School related factors like poor infrastructure, lack of quality education, distance to school, etc are also encouraging female labour participation rather than schooling.

Universal primary education and increment of human capital requires a ban on child labour. Different policy strategies are mandatory at least to minimize the incidence of female child labour. Introducing non formal types of education, adult literacy programs, establishing boarding schools, making schools available at walking distance, income generating activities, and improving the status of the schools are some of the possible intervention areas to which policy makers and legislative bodies should give due attention.

Key Words

Child, Child labour, Drop out, efficiency, Gender, Gender Gap, Academic Performance, School Attendance

CHAPTER ONE

1. THE PROBLEM AND ITS APPROACH

VII.

VIII. 1.1 Background of the problem

The issue of child education and child labor is the concern of every sector of the society both at national and international level. The 1959 declaration of the right of the child states, "the child is entitled to receive education which shall be free and compulsory at least in the elementary stage" (UN, 1973:94). The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Right also conveys "every one has the right to education. Education shall be free at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory…"(UN, 1948). Ethiopian constitution also advocate the right of a child as every child has the right "not to be subjected to exploitative practices neither to be required nor permitted to perform work which may be hazardous or harmful to her or his education, health or well being (Federal Negarit Gazeta No.1, Article 36(d), 1995).

The complex issue of child labour is a developmental issue worth investigating. The notion that children are being exploited and forced into labour, while not receiving education, which is crucial to development concerns many people (Badiwala, 2000). Children are growing illiterate because they have been working, not attending school. In such case, a cycle of poverty is formed and the need for child labour is reborn after a generation.

Empirical evidence indicates that child laborers are found mostly in developing countries and are employed mainly in agricultural and related activities (Assefa, 2002). Ethiopia is one of those countries

where the majority of the labor force is engaged in the agricultural sector. The labor intensive and non-mechanized system of agriculture requires human labor in general and child labor in particular. Accordingly, within sub Saharan African countries, Ethiopia is one of those countries where the problem of the child work is rampant with over 40 percent participation rate (Assefa, 2001:25). In rural parts of Ethiopia, including Benishangul Gumuz, participation of children in different forms of work activities like domestic work, herding, agricultural work, traditional gold panning and other informal sectors with hardship is common. Ultimately, this is done at the cost of schooling.

Gender difference in school attendance and work participation is visible in almost all parts of the country. Higher participation in domestic work, early marriage and similar activities definitely reduce the enrollment of female students and also encourage female dropouts. Tsion and Wanna (1994:27) assert the significance of female child labour as:

> Due to sexual division of labour in rural areas, the burden of subsistence and domestic responsibility devolve on women. These activities are laborious, routine, non-remunerative and non-prestigious.

Such sexual division of labor, as a result of lack of awareness of female education, religion, culture, political and socio-economic factors encourage female child labour and contribute to the sacrifice of girl's education in favor of boys.

Benishangul Gumuz, one of the least developed and emerging regions of the country represents an extreme case of socio-economic problems. The 1994 population and housing census of Ethiopia shows that the illiteracy rate of the population aged ten years and above was 82.1 percent. Females in particular are disadvantaged with respect to education access. The over all regional illiteracy rate of women aged

ten years and over is 89.3 percent as compared to 74.9 for men (CSA, 1996). The 2001/2002 Education Statistics Annual Abstract shows that the gross enrollment of primary school is about 89.1, which is higher than the national average. However, this figure is inflated due to late entry to school. Net enrollment rate is expected to be low though there is no complied data for it. The region had the highest dropout rate of the country, 25.2 percent .The gender parity index (GPI), which shows gender disparity in enrollment is 0.6 putting the region above national average in the gender disparity. The high dropout rate and GPI (female low enrollment) may be attributed to some socio-economic determinants of female child that either hinder school attendance or force them to dropout schooling. The two selected specific study areas Mengie and Komosha woredas represent low enrollment and high gender disparity in Benishangul Gumuz.

The main aim of this research is to examine the causes and magnitude of female child labor and come up with socio-economic determinants which hinder their school attendance and also recommend region and content specific policy recommendations that have developmental implication for the country in general and to the region in particular. To arrive at this overall objective of the research, primary and secondary data were collected from pertinent data sources. The collected data were systematically organized and interpreted through scientific analysis and sound research methodology.

IX. 1.2. Statement of the Problem

Investment in education is investment in human capital. Such investment has private and social return when students are enrolled in school, attend properly and be part of productive society. On the other hand, non-enrollment, which is a common problem in sub Saharan African countries, is disinvestment in human capital. Such countries lose talents of individual which could have been educated and contribute to national development. Accordingly, it is estimated that there were 211 million children aged 5 to 14 at work in economic activity in the world in 2000 without access to schooling. This accounts for a little less than one fifth of all children in this age group. About 73 million of those working children are less than 10 years old (ILO, 2002).

Even if low school enrollment rate is the characteristic of both sexes, the age –old gender biased socio-economic structure placed women in a relatively disadvantaged position. Empirical evidence from both the developed and developing countries show that education and/or school enrollement is biased in favour of males (Ballora, 1991; Ward, 1984). Cummings (1995:11) explains that in 1990 about 130 million children had no access to education. Of these children 81 million (63.3%) were girls. About two-third of the world's estimated 948 million illiterate adults are also women.

It is commonly agreed that low enrollment of females in favor of boys emanates from the demand of female child labor for domestic work or to combine both domestic responsibilities and education (Assefa, 1991; Boserup, UN, 1975; UN, 1976). The Beijing declaration of (1996) explains that girls are supposed to take care of domestic work. In rural part of Ethiopia girls are not only required to participate in any domestic work but also involve to help the family in its subsistence efforts, in the form of farming, trade, etc (Assefa, 2002; Assefa 1991).

The 1999 report of UNICEF indicates that in rural parts of Ethiopia, women are engaged in jobs like, fetching water, collecting fire wood, cooking food, participating in weeding, harvesting, going to market, looking after family and younger siblings etc. All these aforementioned activities require female child labour and contribute to low school enrollment, high dropout rate and poor academic performance.

Contrary to the age-old gender-bias beliefs that boys should be educated first, contemporary writers assert women education is extremely essential for the over all development of a country. Investment in education of women leads to better child health, lower fertility and reduced maternal mortality. Empirical data from thirteen African countries show a ten percent increase in female literacy rate and reduced child mortality by ten percent… the effect increases when mother have had more education (PHRD 1998; 5). Therefore, one can conclude that from their roles ranging from fertility to managing both field and domestic work, female education is the pillar of any development endeavor.

In Benishangul Gumuz of Menge and Komosha woredas female child labour does not only contribute to low enrollment, high dropout and poor academic performance but also the work obligation is beyond their physical capability leading to physical abnormality. Female children aged 7 to14 are expected to work in the farm, manage domestic activities, undertake trade activities, participate in laborious traditional mining, carry and take heavy bamboo trees and charcoal to town centers to help the subsistence economy of the family.

In view of the aforementioned reality of female children, this particular research tries to answer the following basic and major questions:

1. What are the social, economic and cultural factors of female child labour that ultimately lead to hindrance of school attendance?

2. What are the causes and magnitude of female child labor in the specific study area?

    2.1 How many hours have been devoted to work and school attendance?

    2.2 How do parents prioritize the time allotment of their daughter labor?

3. Is there gender bias in terms of: -

    3.1 Work participation rate?

    3.2 School enrollment rate?

    3.3 Parent's preference?

4. What are the school related factors that encourage female child labor? Does the quality of education contribute to low enrollment and dropping out of female students from school?

5. What is the level of internal efficiency of female students in the school in terms of dropout, repetition, etc?

6. What are the region and content specific policy measures that should be taken to overcome female child labor and increase female participation of this disadvantaged group of people?

X. 1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main aim of the research is to examine and discuss issues of female child labour in relation to their school attendance in accordance with the reality of study area. Accordingly, the research has both general and specific objectives to be met.

A. **General objectives**

- To develop and recognize social, economic and cultural factors influencing female child labor and affecting their schooling as well as their physical growth.
- To formulate and/or envisage region and content specific development policy implication to overcome female child labor.

B. Specific objectives

❖ To identify the specific social, economic and cultural factors that determine female child labor:-

⇒ To portray the exact nature, extent and causes of female child labor.

⇒ To examine female child labor time allocation

⇒ To assess gender preference of parents in terms of work participation and school attendance.

❖ To investigate the role and responsibilities ascribed to female child (students) and their repercussions

❖ To discuss enrollment of female students relative to male students.

- ❖ To asses the dropout rates in particular and internal efficiency in general and asses its relation. to female child labour

- ❖ To provide information regarding trade off between child labor and schooling.

XI. 1.4 Significance of the Study

The purpose and importance of this study is based on the following rationale.

First, planners and decision-makers are confronted with lack of properly organized and interpreted data. In Menge and Komosha woredas, where female child labour is rampant, female school enrolment is low and no research has been done so far, to find out the magnitude, causes and underlying effects of child labour. It is thus hoped that this study will enable officials to understand the real magnitude of the problem and seek solution.

Second, the policy recommendations given may serve as a starting point for concerned bodies to intervene the problem. Particularly, the Regional Education Bureau, Regional Planning and Economic

Development Bureau, Regional Labour and Social Affairs Bureau, and the Regional Council, will possibly use the policy recommendation as a springboard to minimize and/or solve the problem.

Thirdly, the study may add to the literature and serve as a stepping-stone for further research in the woredas or neighboring woredas.

XII. 1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Research

Determinants of child labour are best explained through econometric model; however, due to lack of background and limited knowledge of the researcher; it is not included in this paper. Moreover, due to transportation and similar problems some very remote areas are not included in the sample. The issue of child labour is countrywide problem but this research is delimited to small sample and the finding is applicable only to the

research areas. In the beginning it was planned to include girls who are out of school in the sample; however, due to lack of exhaustive name list they are not included in the sample. Lastly, there is no habit as well as ability of birth registration in the community so it was difficult to get different age category of children and in some cases parents could not exactly tell the real age of their children.

XIII. 1.6 Organization of the Study

The research paper is organized in to six major chapters. The first and second chapters consist of the problem and critical analysis of literature respectively. The third and fourth chapters deal with description of study area and research methodology. The last two chapters encompass the main discussion of the research and conclusion with policy recommendations

XIV. 1.7 Definition of key Terms

Basic and important terms used in this paper are defined as follows.

Child: - A child is recognized as a person under 18 years, unless national laws recognize the age of majority earlier (ILO convention on the right of the child)

Child labour: - any activity which the child undertakes to help the family in its subsistence efforts whether paid, or unpaid, legal or illegal, but which will have negative implications on the normal physical, mental, psychological and social development (Assefa, 2001).

Dropout: - an expression of the comparison between number of people who enter schooling at one level and number of people who successfully complete a later level (Good, 1973).

Education: - the social process by which people are subjected to the influence of a selected and controlled environment (especially that of the school) so that they may attain social competence and optimum individual development (Good, 1973).

Efficiency: - i. The ability to achieve desired results with economy of time and effort in relation to the amount of work accomplished (Good, 1973).

ii. The relation between inputs into the educational system and outputs from that system (UNESCO, 1982).

Enrollment: The total number of students registered in a school or school system (Dejnozka, 1984:60)

A. Gross enrollment ratio: is the proportion of total enrollment in certain cycle or stage, irrespective of age, out of the corresponding school age population of the cycle or stage.

B. Net enrollment ratio: -is the proportion of pupils enrolled from the specific age group.

Gender: - is a basic category by which the social world is organized. It is the social role of being a female or male. Whereas sex has to do with a person's biological characteristics and erotic behavior, gender refers to the social creation of girls, boys, women, and men (Zanden, 1997)

Gender gap: - (G.G): - refers to the difference between male and female pupils enrollment ratio in a given year.

Gender parity Index (GPI): - some times known as gender ratio. GPI is defined as the ratio between female and male pupil's rates of particular stages of education in a given year.

Performance: - is the academic achievement of pupils in primary schooling considered in relation to how successful they become.

CHAPTER II

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The aim of this chapter is to review relevant literature that depicts the significance of the problem and experience of different countries that could serve as background information to the study.

XV. 2.1 Conceptualizing Child Labour

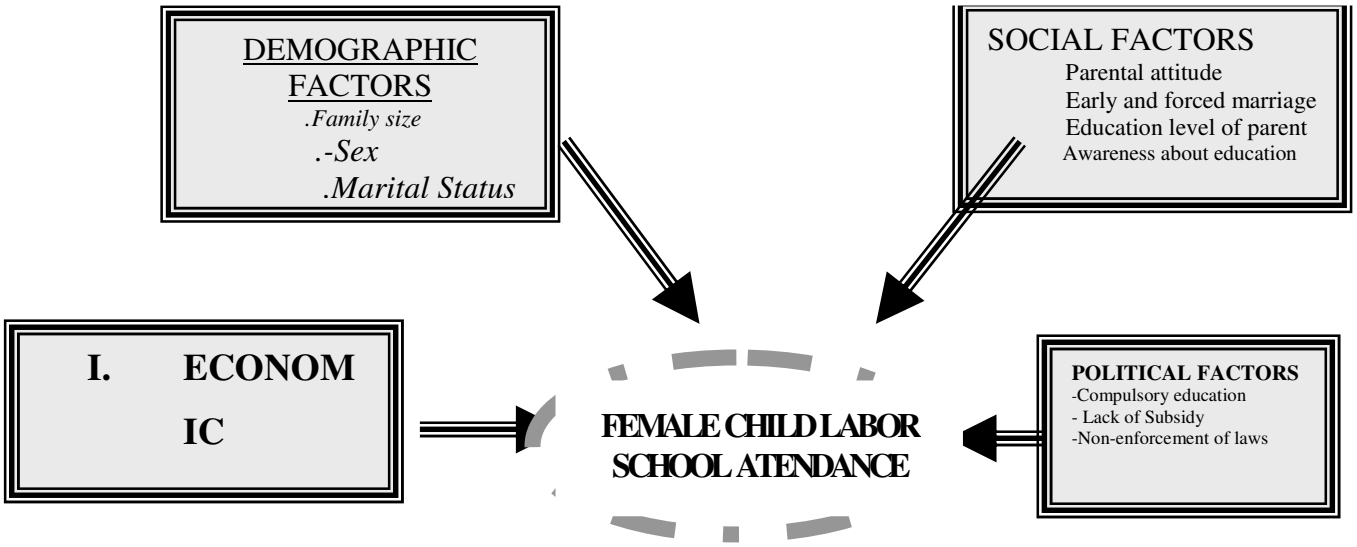
Conceptualizing is the process of specifying what we mean by a term. It seems that there is no commonly agreed upon definition of child labour. It differs from the social, political and cultural context of a country to that of another as well as from society to society. However, child labour can be conceptualized in terms of its broad and narrow meaning. In the first case, it encompasses any form of child work activities, light or simple to the level of hazardous and exploitative activities performed by the child. The second concept excludes simple and light work, which does not have detrimental effect to the child's physical development and/or hinder school attendance. Children at work, in economic activity is a broad concept that encompasses most productive activities by children, including unpaid and illegal work as well as work in the informal sector (ILO, 2002).

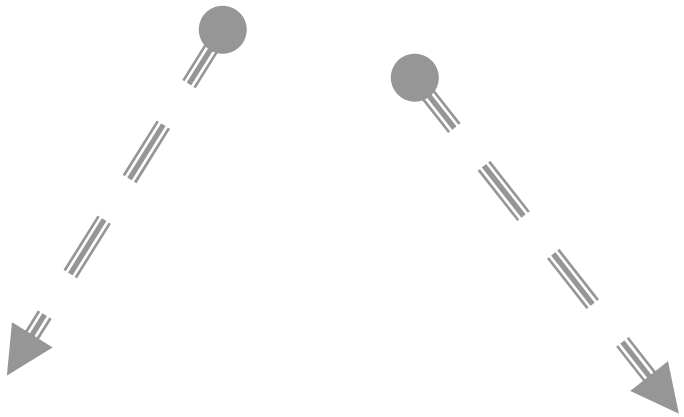
Two major conventions of international organizations, the ILO convention 138 and the UN convention on the right of the child (cited by Assefa, 2000) are used as bench marks for providing a working

definition for child labour. In this convention the basic principle is that child work should not interfere with the education and the fullest mental and physical development of child. Many countries and some international organizations believe that until a certain level of age limit, most likely, until the completion of compulsory schooling or primary school, child labour should be protected legally and banned. In that case a child is not entitled to undertake work activities that endanger the physical and psychological development and thereby affect future human capital formation.

Despite minor difference in conceptualizing child labour among scholars and organizations, there is a common understanding that child work in its different forms, particularly the hazardous and exploitative one affects child schooling and physical development. Therefore, children in one way or another should be protected from undertaking hazardous work at their young stage. In this study child labour is conceptualized as any activity which the child undertakes to help the family in its subsistence efforts whether paid or unpaid, legal or illegal but which will have negative implications on physical, mental, psychological and social development of the child, (adopted from Assefa 2001).

FigI Conceptual Framework for the Study: Socio-Economic Factors Affecting Female Child Labor and School Attendance.





Low School Enrollment & Poor
Poor Acacademic

.Abnormal physical development
Abnormal Psychological development

XVI. 2.2 Incident: STAGNANT DEVELOPMENT

The issue of child labour is an old-age phenomenon. The notion that children should be attending school rather than working in factories, mines, and fields is of relatively recent origin. The first industrial workers in the United States were nine children hired in 1791 as employees of Rhode Island textile mill. In the 1820s, half of the cotton mill workers in New England were children who worked 12 to15 hours

per day. Even as late as 1924, the National Child Labour Committee estimated that 2 million American children under 15 were at work, the majority as farm laborers (Zanden, 1990).

Due to lack of commonly agreed upon definition of child labour, it is very difficult to exactly state the number of children at work all over the world. However, the issue of child labour is the concern of both developed and developing nations with pronounced figure in Africa and Latin America (Assefa, 2001; Kebebew, 1998).

In sub-Saharan countries children under fifteen are obliged to undertake work activities either at part time or full time level. Most of them participate in the work activities that affect their later physical development and growth. In some cases they work in the invisible domestic services, subsistence agriculture and the informal sector, which usually takes place in the form of unpaid work. Basu (1999) cited in Assefa (2002) confirms that Ethiopia is one of those countries which has the highest child labour force participation. The existence of the law on the paper that prescribes the minimum age for employment could not be materialized.

It is estimated that there were 211 million children aged 5 to 14 at work in economic activity in the world in 2000. This accounts for a little less than one fifth of all children in this age group. About 73 million working

children are less than 10 years old. The total economically active child population 5 to 17 years old is estimated at 352 million children. Children at work in economic activity is a broad concept that encompasses most productive activities by children, including un-paid and illegal work as well as work in the informal sector. The global picture of the phenomenon is shown in the table below.

Table 1 Global Estimates of Economically Active Children Aged 5 to 17 in 2000.

Age group	Total population ('000s)	Number at work ('000s)	Work ratio
5 – 9	600,200	73,100	12.2
10 –14	599,200	137,700	23.0
5 – 14	1,199,400	210,800	17.6
15 –17	332,100	140,900	42.4

Total	**1,531,500**	**351,700**	**23.0**

Source: ILO ,(2002)

As far as the regional distribution is concerned, the Asian and Pacific region harbours the largest number of child workers in the 5 – 14 age category, 127.3 million in total. It is followed by sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America and the Caribbean with 48 million and 17.4 million respectively (ILO,2002). Developed and transition economies have the lowest absolute number of child workers. Seen in relative terms, sub – Saharan Africa has the largest proportion of working children. The estimates shows that almost one child from three, below the age of 15 is economically active in the region.

Table:2 Regional Estimates of Economically Active Children Aged 5 – 14 in 2000.

Region	Number of Children (in millions)	Work ratio
Developed economies	2.5	2
Transition economies	2.4	4
Asia and the Pacific	127.3	19
Latin America and Caribbean	17.4	16
Sub-Sahara Africa	48.0	29
Middle east and North Africa	13.4	15
Total	**211**	**18**

Source:ILO,2002

XVII. 2.3 Causes of Child Labour

Child work is a universal phenomenon; however, the nature of work performed by children, their working condition and the situation that pushed them to be engaged in work at early stage of their life varies from society to society (Lommi, 2002). Child labour is the result of many and varied interrelated factors. The causes are economic, social, cultural and political. One of the reasons for high incidence of female child labour in developing countries is economic problem. In such countries children are considered as economic assets. They participate in different forms of work to contribute to the families' subsistence life. Families cannot sustain themselves without children contribution to their income either in cash or in the form of kind. Generally, poverty in its economic dimension is one of the major causes of female child labour (Coulombe, 2000; Jensen and Nielson, 1997, Mahra-kerpelman, 1996). They confirmed that there is a direct relationship between poverty and child labour. Consequently, in poor households child labour is expected to be high because child work is the last resort to survival.

Therefore, low income contributes to an increment of child labour in developing countries.

Likewise, school related factors like inadequacy or lack of schools, or even school-related expense of school leaves some children with little else to do but work. The attitude of parents also contributes to child labour. Some parents feel that children should work in order to develop skills useful in the job market, instead of taking advantage of formal education (Badiwala,2000).

Social problems such as famine, drought, family displacement, streetism, prostitution, unemployment, crime, and social instability, contribute to child labour. Such social problems in one way another require the involvement of children in the coping and survival strategy of the society at this juncture. Politically, lack of compulsory education that fights child labour and lenience to the legislation of minimum age prescription for employment aggravate child labour (ILO, 1996; Badiwala, 2000).

XVIII. 2.4 Child labour and Education Policy

The complex issue of child labour is a developmental issue worth investing. The notion that children are being exploited and forced into labour, while not receiving education that is curial to development concerns many people (Bediwala, 2000). In such a case, children are growing up illiterate because they have been working and not attending school. To this effect a cycle of Poverty is formed and the need for child labour is reborn after every generation.

Empirical evidence suggests that work and schooling conflict substantially but not entirely (Cockburn, 2000; Psacharopoulos, 1997). This implies that there is a room where by complementarities exist and reduce the demand of child labour in favour of schooling. Different policy instruments are needed to reduce the gap between the decision of schooling and work.

The concept of compulsory education in which all children are required to attend school, not only combats the force of poverty that pulls children to attend school, but also contributes appropriate funds to the primary education system instead of higher education (Bediwala 2000). According to Weina (1991) cited in Bediwala (2000), compulsory education policy has worked to reduce child labour in Srilanka. The government decided to enforce compulsory education in the 1920's and 1930's. In connection to the policy, school participation rose from 58 in 1946 to 74 percent in 1963. Literacy rate also increased from 58 in 1946 to 86 percent in 1984. The corresponding result has been that the employment rate of children from 10 – 14 age group has shown a substantial decrease from 13 percent in 1946 to 6.2 in 1963 and that it currently stands at 5.3 percent for male and 4.6 percent for female (I

LO 1995). The above empirical data show that " Srilanka has achieved a remarkably high enrollment rate, high retention rate, and a corresponding decline in child labour," (Badiwala 2000).

XIX. 2.5 Child labor and Schooling in Ethiopia

The key findings of the Ethiopian Child Labour Survey 2001 reveals that Ethiopia has ratified the UN convention on the rights of the child and included provisions in her constitution on basic rights and privileges of children. Ethiopia has also signed, the ILO convention on required minimum age (No 138) in 1999. The labour proclamation of Ethiopia (No 42/93) stipulates that children below 14 years are not allowed to work. Employment of young workers between 14 and 18 years is also subject to certain conditions such as maximum of seven working hours per day, prohibition of overtime work, night work and provision of weekly rest and public days. The same law requires the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MOLSA) to legally prescribe lists of dangerous operations that are detrimental to the health of working children.

Regarding school attendance, Ethiopia Child School Survey 2001 results indicate that out of 10 Ethiopian children aged 5-17 years, only 4(about 38 percent) were attending school (formal or informal). Moreover, about 55 percent, never attend school. The survey also reveals that more urban children compared to rural children and more male children compared to female children have a better chance of school attendance. In urban areas, 8 out of 10 children were in school at the time of survey. In rural areas, however, only 3 out of 10 children were attending school. The survey further shows that about a third of the children aged 5-17 years were engaged in work while attending school. About half of the children are reported as working without getting the chance to attend school. The two most important

reasons for the engagement of children in work rather than school attendance are assistance of children in family business and desire to supplement household income.

Empirical evidence from 1477 rural households from 15 villages through out rural Ethiopia reveals that children participate in household farm or domestic work activities and school attendance is extremely low (18%) particularly among girls (14%). The survey clearly indicates that a large share of children; primarily younger children not only are out of school but also have work as their main activity. The table below shows a more detailed age profile of child activities.

Table 3 Age Profile and Child Engagement

	Ages 6 to 10			Ages 11 to 15			All Children		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Work	47.5	51.4	49.5	63.5	78.1	70.9	54.5	63.1	58.8
School	15.2	10.6	12.8	31.7	18.0	24.8	22.4	13.8	18.1
In active	37.3	38.0	37.7	4.8	3.9	4.3	23.1	23.1	23.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100.
Count	678	700	1378	526	544	1070	1204	1244	2448

Source:Cockburn,2000.

As it is indicated in the above table, the survey result shows more than half of the children are out of school specializing in work alone. While only 18.1 percent of the children are specialized in going to school. The general implication is school attendance low in comparison with labour participation.

XX. 2.6 Gender, Child Labour and Schooling

Despite the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that asserts the right of every individual to education, empirical evidences from developing countries indicate that a small number of girls attend school (Coombs, 1985; Chabaud, 1970; Seyom, 1989;Teshome, 1989). Chabaud (1970) explains that females are far from exercising their rights in education. He says:

> *Women have not enjoyed all the educational opportunities they should have and often do not have any at all. Nearly, everywhere in the world, they are given less education than men, and over vast area of the globe the majority of the illiterates are women (Chabaud, 1970 ;74)*

Low female school attendance is the combined effect of many and varied interrelated socio-economic, socio-cultural, school related and location specific factors. Female child labour is the major cause for the gender disparity in school enrollment of developing countries. Women or girls are

charged with the responsibility of domestic affairs in the sacrifice of schooling at their school age. An ILO (1995) document confirmed that parents prefer to have boys in school during peak or harvest season than girls. It was believed that school attendance is more profitable for boys than girls.

The gender difference in school attendance and work participation rate may be explained by cultural, economic, social and school related factors. The patriarchal systems of life, common in all parts of Ethiopia, encourage females to be good wives by mastering domestic activities rather than school attendance. This arises not only from the cultural background but also from the attitude that girl's education does not contribute to the improvement of family life, instead it is considered as investment, which is reaped by another individual, husband.

XXI. 2.7 Girls and Schooling in Ethiopia.

Education plays a significant role in reducing poverty and enhancing the development of society; however, low enrolment, high gender and regional

disparity and low quality of education have been the major challenges of Ethiopian education system for a long period of time. Researchers and educators have found that both traditional and modern schooling system of Ethiopia significantly show a lot of gender disparity in school enrolment (Assefa, 1991; Genet, 1991; Seyoum, 1986; Teshome, 1979). The sociology of Ethiopian education is traced back to the 4th century with the introduction of Christianity. During this time the purpose of education was to produce adherents who promote their respective religion. To this end women are excluded from education in that their role was perceived as wife and mother. The art of home making and domestic activities were considered as feminist responsibility. (Teshome, 1979; Seyoum, 1986). Until the establishment of the first girl's school by the Swedish Evangelical missionaries in 1890, there were barely any female students in Ethiopia.

From 1931 onwards, with the establishment of Empress Menen School for girls, there was an effort for the inclusion of females in the education system. This initiation was disrupted in 1936 due to the Italian invasion. After the withdrawal of the Italian government from Ethiopia and until 1951 it was

reported that female student enrollment was 10.5 percent on average (Teshome, 1979).

Gender disparity in school enrollment has continued to the present. Low female participation is clearly indicated in the Ministry of Education Statistical Annual Report Abstract as follows:

Table 4. G.G and G.P.I. by Sex and Years for Primary Schools

Academic	Boys	Girls	Both	G.G	G.P.I
1996/97	43.0	26.0	34.7	17.0	0.6
1997/98	52.0	31.2	41.8	20.8	0.6
1998/99	55.9	35.3	45.8	20.6	0.6
1999/2000	60.9	40.7	45.8	20.6	0.67
2000/2001	67.3	47.7	51.0	20.3	0.7
2000/2002	71.7	51.2	61.6	20.5	0.7

G.G = Gender gap (the difference between the male and female enrollment ratios)

G.P.I Gender parity index (the ratio between the female and the male enrollment ratio)

Source: - complied from MOE education statistics and annual abstract (1996/97-2001/2002)

The table reveals that there is an increase in the participation rate for both sexes. However, the participation rate of girls lags behind that of boys for all the years. The 2001/2002 MOE education statistics and annual abstract indicates that Benishangul Gumuz is also among the regions with high gender parity index, with 0.6 (MOE, 2002).

CHAPTER III

3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This section of the research work describes the method used, the subjects included in the study, the sampling procedure, the instruments used for data collection and the techniques used for data analysis.

XXII.3.1 Methods and Sources of Data Collection

The study is both descriptive and explanatory on the assumption that it helps to reveal the current status of female labour and school attendance and makes explanatory assertions about the findings. Both primary and secondary data were used in this paper. Secondary data were collected through direct access to different records and official documents of MOE, region's, zones, woredas educational institutions and schools. The Education Statistics Annual Abstract of MOE and the region were consulted. Relevant literature concerning child labour and female school attendance was also reviewed.

Primary data were collected from 300 households 52 education officials, 73 school girls and boys and 8 focus group discussion. Different methods of data of collection were used for reliability, validity and representativeness of the nature of study. Accordingly, standardized and open-ended questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussion, observation (complete observer) and PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) were employed to overcome the pitfalls of traditional methods of

data collection. Moreover, the paper tries to combine several methods in a single piece of research, using each to supplement and check upon the other, a process known as triangulation.

XXIII. 3.2 Sampling Method.

It was very difficult to get a list of elements of the survey population, particularly for focus-group discussion and household heads. Therefore, multistage cluster sampling, which involves the initial sampling of groups of elements or clusters-followed by the selection of elements within each of the selected clusters, were used. In this case 10 kebeles from two woredas were selected through proportionate to size probability whereby 30 households from each kebeles were systematically picked for inclusion in the sample. Moreover, five primary schools were selected by systematic sample, in which in school girls and boys are assessed against their school achievement.

Sample size: Several statistical methods can be adopted to estimate the appropriate sample size. However, the sample size generally depends on the size of population, level of confidence and the maximum tolerable error. In this study the researcher opted for a sample size determination by the formula below with 95% of confidence level.

Proposed sample size

$$\text{No} = \left(\frac{z\alpha}{\frac{2}{E}} \alpha \right) 2$$

Where $z\alpha/2$= standardized corresponding value of confidence level

δ = Similar study standard deviation

E= maximum allowable error

The final sample size was determined by the formula

N= no/(1+no/N) =no initial (proposed) sample size

= N. population size

XXIV. 3.3 Procedure

As per the work plan and schedule acceptable procedures were followed to effectively undertake the research process. In the beginning all legal permission was secured and pre visit was made for initial contact with institutions and individuals. After the verification of the aim and objectives of the research, 20 enumerators who can understand and speak local language, Berta language were recruited and given a one-day orientation about data collection process. Next to pilot-study on limited subjects, questionnaires were administered on office bases; school bases and household bases. The focus group discussion (6-8 persons) was organized at 8 separate groups, of which four were groups of parents (mother and/or father), 2 groups of mothers only, 2 groups of in school girls and boys

XXV. 3.4 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Qualitative data were simply reviewed and interpreted using Meta data analysis. Quantitative data were analyzed by manipulating the information collected during the study to asses and evaluate the findings and arrive at some valid, reasonable and relevant conclusions.

Multiple methods of measuring information were employed to deal with nominal, ordinal, interval and ratio data. Rational measures such as percentage, proportion, ratio, and rate were used to compare or relate a group of scores of data to each other or to the whole part. Measures of central tendency, and measures of dispersion /variation were also used to summarize an entire distribution of measurement by describing the most typical, central or representative value of set of observation, so that statistical inferences can be made from these measures and the hypothesis can be tested easily. Likewise, chi-square tests of independence and correlation analysis were employed to assess the relationship and determine the nature and value of the relationship for categorical and numerical variables.

The Gender Parity Index (GPI) was used to show the variation between female and male rates of participation to assess the effect of female child labour upon female school attendance as opposed to males. GPI is calculated by dividing the percentage of female participation by that of male participation. The minimum value of GPI is zero in which case it indicates maximum gender

disparity. In addition, female student absenteeism, repetition and drop out rate as well as academic achievement were calculated and construct cohort analysis was made to investigate the influence of female child labour on academic performance.

Different economic, social and cultural factors (independent variables) that facilitate child labour at the cost of schooling (Independent variables) were assessed. Some of those determinants of schooling are poverty and/or income, quality of education, attitude of teachers towards female students, availability of school at walking distance, school environment issues, cultural factors, etc. Moreover, level specific enrollment approach or level enrollment ratio was used to measure the extent of female participation at woreda, zone and regional level.

XXVI. 3.5 Hypothesis

In order to meet specific objectives mentioned earlier, the following hypotheses are formulated:

I. Female child work is the function of poverty, illiteracy, backward agricultural activities, inaccessibility of schools, poor quality education.

II. The female child labour contributes to low enrollment, dropout and poor academic performance for girls versus their male counter parts.

III. Female child labour is higher than male child labour, in other words, female children work more than male children due to cultural, religious and parental attitude towards girls education.

IV. Too many hours of wok in combination with schooling leads to poor academic performance of female students and has a detrimental effect upon their physical and psychological development.

V. Female child labour contributes to absenteeism during harvest time and during favorable trade with neighboring areas. This ultimately leads to drop out of school.

VI. The direct and indirect cost of schooling and inability to envisage the private and social return enhance child labour.

VII. Dissatisfaction with education and lack of quality education encourage work participation of female child labour instead of schooling.

VIII. Females accomplish a large portion of household activities. These activities take time that could be used for educational activities and lead to poor result, which in turn discourages the interest of girls in education and finally lead to dropout of school.

CHAPTER IV

4. DESCRPTION OF STUDY AREA.

This section describes the regional profile and specific study areas in terms of physical, social and political issues.

XXVII. 4.1 Location and Topography.

Benishangul Gumuz National Regional State was established in 1994 by the new constitution of Ethiopia, which created a federal system of governance. It is situated in western part of Ethiopia and stretches along the Sudanese border between 09.17^0 and 12.06^0 N. The western and the eastern limits are given by the longitudinal 34.1^0 and 37.04^0E respectively. The neighboring region to the north and northeast is the Amhara region, and to the south and southeast is the Oromia region. The total area of BGNRS is about 50,380 km^2. The region is divided by the Blue Nile into two parts. The northern part, Metekel Zone and Pawe Special Woreda, comprises an area of 26,561km2. The southern part, Asosa zone, Kamash zone and Mao komo Special woreda is about 23,820 km^2 . There is no bridge over the Blue Nile within the region (Herman 2001).

The region of Benishangul Gumuz is part of the western green stone belt of Ethiopia. The elevation ranges from 580 meters to 2731 meters above sea level. The highest pick is the Belaya Plateau in Dangur Woreda while the lowest is where the Blue Nile crosses the Ethio- Sudan border. The major parts of the region, about 75 percent, are low lands, which is estimated to be below 1500 meters above sea level. The climate of the region is characterized by a monomodel rainfall pattern, of a single rainfall maximum per year. The duration of rainfall decreases from South to North. The climatic zone classifications are Kolla(75%), Woina Dega (24%) and Dega (1%). The major part of the region is still covered by natural forest vegetation, especially bamboo thicket; broad leaved deciduous woodlands and acacia woodlands.

XXVIII. 4.2 Populations and Settlement Structure

The population of the region is about half a million with an average family size of seven. The population of Benishangul Gumuz is growing rapidly. The age group composition shows the typical features of a developing country. The base is broad, indicating high fertility and continuous population growth.

Table-5 Population of BGNRS

Zone	Area in Km^2	Population No (Censes 1994)	Projected popu Dec.2000	Population census, 2001.
Metekel	25993	165663	195,585	217,490
Pawe S.W	569	35,858	42,335	40,477
Assosa	12604	194,084	229,140	227,268
Tongo S.W	2245	14,071	16,612	23,346

Kamshe	8970	50,783	59,956	66,656
Total	50381	460,459	543,627	575,237

Source: BoPED, 2001

Concerning the settlement structure, 92.2% of the population lives in rural areas The urban population amounts 36,027(7.8 %). The vast majority of the population lives in remote in accessible areas. In some areas the settlement pattern is scattered., people are living in small villages often not more than 5-20 houses .To reach the remotest villages, up to 5-7 hours of walking is necessary .

The indigenous population of Benishangul Gumuz regional state consists of five ethnic groups; Gumuz, Berta, Shinashi, Mao, and Komo. After the great famines of 1973/74 and 1983/84 in the northern and central part of Ethiopia, people from wallo settled in the region. Moreover, Amhara , Oromo, Tigre, Agew, are also settled in the region.

The largest religious group is Muslims (44.1%). They are followed by Orthodox Christians (34.8%). Protestants and traditional religion comprise 5.8% and 13.1% respectively. Catholic Christians and other religions constitute 0.5 and 1.5% of the total population. Berta, Fedashi, Komo and Mao are almost exclusively Muslims.

XXIX. 4.3 Administrative System

The Federal Constitution of 1994 has established a federal system of governance in Ethiopia, assigning extensive responsibilities to the regional state governments. The new institutional structure has strong

implication for management of the development process. While the federal governments retains responsibility for overall national policies and strategies, key decisions on development and policy implementation in the regions are now within the competence of the regional state governments.

The regional constitution of Benishangul Gumuz was ratified by the council members. According to Article 45(1) and Article 49(1) of the constitution, the legislative body of the Benishangul – Gumuz regional state is the regional council which has the national supreme power. Its accountability is to the masses who gave it the representation as a proxy. According to Article 45(1), the region is structured into zones, districts (woreda) and kebeles. The Regional council has the right to establish other organizational structures and can delimit their power and duties (BGNRS,1996).

However, structural rearrangements have been made currently in connection with recently adopted civil service reform.

XXX. 4.4 Economic Activity Status

The livelihood of the majority of the population is based on subsistence agriculture. Farming is the major source of food. The contribution of livestock to household economy is low, due to difficulties in livestock rearing because of rampant livestock diseases. Household income is low. Unfortunately, data for the whole region is not available. A survey in Menge Woreda indicates that 12% of households earn less than 150 birr a year, while 95% of them earn about 500 birr a year.

Agriculture, on which 87.2 % of the households depend, is the mainstay of the people. The major crops produced are sorghum, maize, millet, teff and barley. Some cash crops like cotton, coffee, tobacco, chat and hop leaves (gesho) are produced and are sources of income. Crop rotation, fallow system, crop shifting and inter cropping are practiced. There is huge agricultural and mining potential in the region. Land holding is not a problem as is the case of many places in the country. Rainfall is generally abundant; water sources for irrigation are available; grazing is ample and the land is fertile. However, agricultural production in the region is constrained by backward farming practices and low application of agricultural inputs. Crop diseases, wild animal and insect pests, and lack of oxen due to livestock

diseases are the major causes for low agricultural output. Only 4.2 % of the farmers use improved seeds, 7.4 % apply fertilizers and insignificant proportion use pesticides. As a result over 67 % of the farmers do not produce sufficient food crops for their domestic consumption (OXFAM, GB, 2001). Generally, there are no employment opportunities in the region except subsistence agriculture. However, trade and traditional gold mining are sources of income for few residents. Cross border trade with the Sudan has been affected by the presence of SPLA. A significant number of (mainly) the indigenous people depend on hunting and collection of wild leaves and roots for their living.

The total economically active population from the population and housing census 1994 amounted to 262,200 people (CSA, 1996). The major economic sector is agriculture (including hunting, forestry and fishery). Agriculture constitutes about 93.2 % of the economically active population (BOPED, 2001). The unemployment rate is low which is estimated to be 0.69 %. However, there exist obvious differences between rural and urban areas, 0.30% and 7.21 % respectively. On the contrary, many employees do not have regular jobs; day labour is quite a typical feature.

XXXI. 4.5 Social Sector and services

Since 1994, the number of schools has increased. This has been brought about by the construction of new schools and the reorganization of existing ones. Some schools were also upgraded. In some zones, communities started to construct schools from their own initiatives using locally available materials

(wood, mud and grass). Local people who had no formal teaching qualification taught lessons. Sixth to twelfth grade students started to work as teachers. This development suggests the people's awareness of the importance of education. The community initiatives were supported by the government through supplying professional teachers, giving training opportunities to the qualified teachers, and supplying brick built buildings.

Table 6 Development of Schools over Time

		1994/95	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99
No of schools		215	242	263	389	292
Primary	Grade 1-6	196	217	232		
	'' 7-8	14	18	23		
	'' 1-4				254	257
	'' 5-8				126	126
Secondary	Grade 9-12	5	7	8	9	9

Source: BoPED(2001)

Despite such improvement and development of the sector, the region is one of the least developed regions in the country. Social services are critical. Rural literacy is high. Girls' enrollment is low with a high gender gap. Repetition and dropout rate is high. Due to lack of materials, inadequate number of teachers, school furniture and personnel, the quality of education is poor. (OXFAM, 2001).

Ethiopia has one of the worst health status in the world, mainly due to poor socio- economic development resulting in low standards of living, poor environmental conditions and inadequate health

service. According to the vital health status indicators, the situation in Benishangul Gumuz is worse than the Ethiopian average. Over 64% of the people use water from rivers and unprotected sources. Infant mortality remains high and the major causes of death are malaria, diarrhea and vomiting.

The health situation is influenced by the sanitary/hygienic problem to which people are exposed. Communicable diseases may be spread by contaminated drinking water and inappropriate fecal treatment. The close contact between humans and domestic animals may also facilitate the spread of diseases. High morbidity, mortality and low life expectancy are functions of the living conditions, educational level, access to health service and quality of health care.

Table 7. Vital Health Status Indicators for Benishangul Gumuz and Ethiopia

Indicator	Benishangul Gumuz	Ethiopia
Infant Mortality rate (IMR)	97.6	112.9
Child Mortality rate (CMR)	111.0	84.5
Under five Mortality rate	197.7	187.8
Maternal Mortality rate (MMR)	750	560-850

Total Fertility rate (TFR)	5.4	5.9
Life expectancy	46.8	50.9

Source: BoPED,2001

XXXII. 4.6 Specific Study Areas

The major administrative units of BGNRS are zones and woredas. It has three zones and twenty woredas. The two specific study areas, Komasha and Mengie, are found in Asossa zone. They are 45 and 56 kilometers from the regional town respectively. The two woredas cover an area of 2,188 square kilometer with a total population of about 41,000. Both woredas have only dry weather road. The population of Menge is about 30,000 of which approximately 51% are women. Family size ranges from

one to 21 members (OXFAM GB, 2001). The majority of indigenous people belong to Berta nationality. Komosha woreda has a population of about 11,526 (CSA 1999, medium variant). Both woredas are marginalized representing an extreme case of poor social service and economic problem. In connection to this the house to house survey result of OXFAM GB assets that:-

> Improvement of these basic social services in this marginalized woreda is of utmost importance intervention. The attitude and beliefs of the people towards education in general and girls' education in particular should be changed in order to increase school enrollment (Oxfam, 2001:3).

In both woredas currently there are about 7709 house holds, of which 489 (6.34 percent) are females. There are about 22 and 14 kebeles in Menge and Komosha woreda respectively. The population predominately belongs to the Berta nationality and Muslim religion. In both woredas economic activity of the people is subsistence agriculture supplemented with traditional mining and

seasonal trade. The household income level is low. A survey study in Menge woreda by OXFAM, GB revealed that about 12% of the households earn less than 150 birr per year. 59% of the households have an annual income of less than 500 birr. An income of more than 1500 birr per year is true for only seven percent of the household. Food shortage, at least seasonal is a common phenomenon in both woredas. Different coping mechanisms are applied during such occasions: selling labour, collecting wild fruit and vegetables, engagement in gold panning, selling animals and fixed assets or borrowing money.

In both woredas social sector services are extremely poor. Health and sanitation are the two most important problems in the woreda. About 87% of the households use untreated river water for drinking. Due to poor sanitation intestinal parasites, diarrhea, skin and eye diseases are common. According to similar survey, in one year about 960 (64.5%) out of the total 1488 births reported, died before reaching age one. Awareness on reproductive health service is very low. About 70% of the households have not heard about family planning, 54 percent of them do not know how HIV/AIDS is transmitted, and 96% have not tried birth control practice. The main cause for poor health and sanitation include lack of awareness, lack of trained personnel, inadequate drug supply and low-income level to pay for treatment.

Poor quality education, inaccessibility to school, lack of awareness about female education are also some of the most pressing problems in the woredas. About 89% of the heads of households are illiterate and thus the majority of them do not send their children to school. According to the survey undertaken by Oxfam, GB in Mengie woreda only about 49% of the households send their children (26% of them only one boy, 15% of them only one girl, 13% of them two boys, and 3% of them two girls) to school. School dropouts are very high due to families' demand for child labour and inability of some families to pay for school expense (OXFAM,, 2001).

The general trend of school attendance that might conflict and/ or sometimes complement with child labour can be explained interims of pupils flow participation rate. According to own survey of household, the education participation in both woreda is 30.4 percent for females and 52 percent for males. The quality and efficiency of the sector is more explained through pupils' flow and reconstructed cohort method. Internal efficiency analysis and cohort analysis is delimited to the first cycle of primary level because it is assumed that the issue of child labour is most associated with students at this level.

Table 8 Promotion, Repetition and Dropout Rate of Students in the Woreda

Years E.C.	**Grades**	**1**				**2**				3				4			
		M		**F**		**M**		**F**		**M**		**F**		**M**		**F**	
		No	**rate**	**No**	**rate**	**No**	**rate**	**No**	**rate**	**No**	**rate**	**No**	**rate**	**No**	**rate**		
	Enrollment	1537		645		1178		386		764		201		355		90	
1991	Promotion	917	.60	394	.60	849	.72	263	.68	488	.64	100	.50	252	.71	34	.38
	Reception	209	.14	119	.18	120	.10	51	.13	143	.19	59	.29	64	.18	29	.32
	Drop out	411	.26	132	.22	209	.18	72	.19	133	.17	42	.21	39	.11	27	.30
	Enrollment	1675		715		1327		444		887		271		424		95	
1992	Promotion	1003	.60	430	.60	937	.71	288	.65	560	.63	136	.50	284	.67	46	.48
	Reception	218	.13	121	.18	150	.11	64	.14	179	.20	75	.28	82	.19	34	.36
	Drop out	454	.27	164	.22	240	.18	92	.21	148	**.17**	60	.22	58	.14	15	.16
	Enrollment	1451		604		983		497		874		324		431		185	
1993	Promotion	666	.46	292	.49	686	.70	290	.58	592	.68	163	.50	215	.50	67	36
	Reception	201	.14	146	.24	144	.15	118	.24	162	.19	102	.31	120	.28	91	.49
	Drop out	584	.40	202	.27	153	.15	89	.18	120	.13	59	.19	96	.22	27	.15
	Enrollment	1489		660		1017		495		823		335		670		253	
1994	Promotion	666	.40	292	.44	686	.70	290	.59	548	.67	163	.49	467	.70	129	.51
	Reception	178	.12	124	.19	155	.15	91	.18	140	.17	78	.23	95	.14	49	.19
	Drop out	645	.48	244	.37	176	.15	114	.23	135	.16	94	.28	108	.16	75	.30

Source: Computed from Mengie and Komosha Woreda Capacity Building Office Document.

The above table is a summarized data of education participation rate and internal efficiency of both woredas. It shows the standardized rate at which pupil promote, repeat or drop out of the school. Though there is no regular relationship between grade level and wastage rate (drop out and repetition), it seems both dropout and repetitions are higher at grade one and grade four. At grade one the environment of the school, which might not be identical to home, can influence the survival and performance of students while at grade four the contribution of child through participation in different work activities may contribute for the dropout as well as for repetition. In terms of gender, girls are more prone to wastage than boys indicating the higher participation of female children in work activities. That is why female children in work activities are more exposed to low enrollment, drop out and poor academics performance that

leads to repeating a class than their male counter parts. Key informants and community leaders participating in focus group discussion confirmed that female child labour is higher than that of male child labour. In other words, female children work more than male children due to cultural, religious, and parental attitude towards girls' education.

Moreover, internal efficiency of the education system explains the influence of child labour on academic performance, as well as retention and survival of students in the system. Efficiency is a term borrowed from economists to education. It is the optimal relation between input and output. The flow of a pupil through a system shows the internal efficiency of a system. Internal efficiency of a system is measured by promotion, repeatition and dropout rates and their calculated results; retention, survival, pupil years, coefficient of efficiency etc. The chart/cohort indicated in the annex IV shows the theoretical pupil flow (Reconstructed Cohort). The implication of wastage from reconstructed cohort in terms of child labour will be explained in the forthcoming section.

Table.9 Base Figures for Pupils' Flow (cohort) in the System

Base year 1992 E.C. Academic year.

A. Boys

Pupils/grade	1	2	3	4	Total
Enrollement92	1675	1327	887	424	4313
Enrollment 93	1451	983	874	431	3739
Repetion93	201	144	162	215	722
Promotion	0.46	0.72	0.68	0.50	
Repetition	0.14	0.15	0.19	0.28	
Drop out	0.4	0.15	0.13	0.22	

B Girls

Pupils/grade	1	2	3	4	Total
Enrolement92	715	444	271	95	1525
Enrolement93	604	497	324	185	1610
Repetition93	146	118	102	91	457
Promotion	0.49	0.58	0.50	0.36	
Repetition	0.24	0.24	0.31	0.49	
Drop out	0. 27	0.18	0.19	0.15	

C. Total

Pupils/grade	1	2	3	4	Total
Enrollment	2390	771	1158	519	4838
Enrollment93	2055	1480	1198	616	5349
Repeaters 93	347	262	264	306	1179
Promotion	0.48	0.64	0.59	0.43	
Repetition	0.19	0.19	0.25	0.39	
Drop out	0.34	0.33	0.32	0.37	

CHAPTER 5

5.Main Discussion and Findings

This section describes the sources and results of primary data. Both quantitative and qualitative data were summarized, organized and interpreted.

General Characteristic of Respondents

The units of analysis of the study are household heads, education officials, community leaders and

in schoolboys and girls. Three hundred household heads, fifty two education officials from Regional Education Bureau, Zone Education Department and Woreda Capacity Building and fifty girls and twenty three boys from five schools were included in the study .In the household survey through household heads about 1086 females and 1005 male children were addressed indirectly. Similarly eight focus group discussions at eight separate sites with key informant and community leaders were undertaken. Fifty-six individuals, thirty-one females and twenty-five males were participated in

the discussion. The profiles of these units of analyses are indicated in the table below.

XXXIII. Table 13 Demographic Profiles of the Respondents.

Item		Household Heads		Educational Officials		In school Girls and Boys		Focus Group Discussion.	
		%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No
XXXIV.SEX	MALE	79	237	84.6	44	31.5	23	44.6	`25
	FEMALE	21	63	15.4	8	68.5	50	55.4	31
	Total	100	300	100	52	100	73	100	56
AGE	Below 20	0	0	0	0	91.8	67	21.4	12
	21-40	33.7	101	90.4	47	8.2	6	41.1	23
	Above40	66.3	199	9.6	5	-	-	37.5	21
	Total	100	300	100	52	100	73	100	56
Marital Status	Single	6.7	20	42.3	22	94.6	69	25	14
	Married	85.3	256	51.9	27	2.7	2	69.6	39
	Divorced	4.7	14	5.8	3	2.7	2	5.5	3
	Widowed	3.3	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	100	300	100	52	100	73	100	56
Educational level	Illiterate	72	216	-	-	-	-	64.3	36
	Read write	19.3	58	-	-	-	-	12.5	7
	Grade 1-6	8.0	24	-	-	100	73	23.2	13
	Grade7-12	0.7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Above 12	-	-	100	52	-	-	-	-

	Total	100	300	100	52	100	52	100	56
***Occupation**	Farmer	86.3	259	-	-	-	-	86.4	38
	Civil servant	5.7	17	100	52	-	-	6.8	3
	Trader	6.7	20	-	-	-	-	6.8	3
	Daily laborer	1.3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	100	300	100	52			100	44

Source: own survey, 2003

**student category is not included in the occupation.*

As it is indicated in the above table, both sexes are included to make the data more representative; however, most education officials including school principals are males. This shows the scarcity of females as head of educational institutions. School and education survey in Benishangul Gumuz indicated that only two-management positions in school are held by females (Pankhurst, 1999). This may have a negative effect on the attraction and retention of female students as well as on their academic performance, there by resulting in the incidence of female child labor. Most of the household heads and education officials are married, and they are at their old ages, though some education officials are younger than household heads. This enables the researcher to have reliable and valid data about decision of schooling and/or work.

The educational status of the household heads exhibits that 72% (216) of them are illiterate, with a few numbers who can read and write (19.3%)and only insignificant proportion, about 8.7 have attended formal education. Thus, one can conclude that there is high illiteracy rate in those woredas. The educational level of officials and school leaders would qualify them to respond to the questionnaires according to their local conditions. As in many rural parts of

Ethiopia, most household heads are predominantly farmers; however, there are also few civil servants with lower level of education. Those people are political appointees working in the woreda council and in other sect oral offices. Student respondents are those who are attending grade five and six and aged between ten to sixteen years. Given their education level and age, it is believed that they could give reliable information that may supplement the data collected from other

Sources. There are married students at their younger age that indicate the custom of early marriage.

The participant of focus group discussion and key informant are heterogeneous in their composition to increase their representativeness. Hence,55.4 or 23 of them are females. The variation also includes from young to old. The majority of the participants of the discussion are married and household heads, illiterate and farmers.

5.2 Summary of Descriptive Statistics

In addition to secondary data presented and analyzed in the previous chapters, primary data were collected from the field by the researcher in collaboration with enumerators and supervisors. Accordingly, there are numerical, Categorical and ordinal data. The table below shows descriptive statistics of some of the variables under consideration collected from household heads.

Table 14 Descriptive statistics

. **No**	**Variables**	**XXXV. Mean**	Std. Deviation	**Min**	**Max**
1.	No. Of daughters	3.62	2.48	1.00	12.00
2.	No. Of, Sons	3.35	2.17	1.00	15.00
3.	No. Of daughters who reached school age	2.54	2.32	0.00	12.00
4.	No. Of sons who reached school age	0.268	2.04	0.00	8.00
5.	No. Of daughters attending school	1.62	1.26	0.00	4.00
6.	No. Of sons attending school	1.89	1.81	0.00	10.00
7.	No. Of daughters not attending school	1.62	1.84	0.00	9.00
8.	No. Of sons not attending school	0.95	1.40	0.00	10.00
9.	No. Of daughter who dropout	0.66	1.25	0.00	5.00
10.	No. Of dropout, sons	0.68	1.19	0.00	6.00
11.	Monthly income	114.2 birr	0 .67	40.00	1300
12.	Hours of work supplied	6.66	2.08	1.00	12.00
13.	Hours of schooling	5.81	1.69	0.00	8.00
14.	Distance to primary school	5.94 KM	5.95	0.00	21.00

Source: own survey, 2003

The data from household survey is summarized in terms of mean, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values. The summary of the variables can be understood better with reference to labeling and definitions of variables indicated in annex II. The variables included are factors related to schools and household attributes that are expected to influence the decision for child labor, school enrollment and school attendance as well as the effect of work on school performance, or physical and psychological development of children. The

significance and effect of each variable is discussed in the forthcoming sections.

Main Activities of Children

In a certain community the status of children can be categorized into the following four groups: work only, school only, combine work and school and none (ideal). The research result from 15 villages of rural Ethiopia indicated that almost all children participate in the household farm or domestic activities. School attendance was found to be extremely low (18%), particularly among girls (14%) (Cockburn, 2000).

Table 15. Children's main activity of study area.

No	Status/Activities	Female %	Male %	Total %
1	School Attendance only	2.4	0.3	1.3
2	Work Only	66	44	55
3	Combine School and Work	28	52.5	44.3
4	*Others	3.6	3.2	3.3
5	Total %	100	100	100
6	Total Number of Children	1086	1005	2091

Source, own survey, 2003

**Others include missed variable, abnormal, and disabled children*

As it is indicated in the table the result of this study conveys that female children in the area are also employed in one of the three most important categories of child engagement. Accordingly, it was found that about 66% of the female children are engaged in work without schooling. To put it

differently, More than half of the children are engaged in work without any chance of attending school, while only 2.4% them specialized in going to school. The survey also indicates that less than one third (28 percent) of female children between 6-17 years of age are engaged in work while attending school. The gender difference is obvious. Females are mainly engaged in work while males seem to combine work and schooling.

Likewise, about half of the male children are combining work with schooling. In the community one can hardly find children who are specializing on

school with out work participation. The probability of children for both sex is either work alone or combining work and school. It is also exhibited the general school participation for female is lower than those of males,31.4 percent and 52.8 percent respectively. The general implication is female children work participation is higher than that of males.

Working and School Attendance Status

Empirical evidence both in Ethiopia and other developing countries testify that many children combine work and school attendance. If children perform certain type of activities this might not necessarily neither hinder school attendance nor lead to poor academic performance. In such circumstances both school and work are complementing rather than conflicting each other. However, complementarity is subjected to different working conditions.

It is part of normal life that children participate in different work activities particularly light ones after school and on public holydays. Such type of work is easily integrated with schooling. It is also encouraged by educators. To this end, in some countries the curriculum for labor education was introduced whereby students take part in community initiative work engagement and environmental protection work activities. This helps them to develop their physical fitness and positive attitude towards manual work and latter appreciate blue – Collar workers.

On the other hand, excessive and long hours of work could definitely be incompatible with school attendance and affect the learning ability of the child.(Assefa,2001). On top of going to school and attending classroom instructions, students are also expected to use library, study, do assignments or homework, have recreation and work in-group. However, long hours of work are incompatible with such activities, and influence academic performance of a student in the sense that it reduces the time allocated for schooling purposes.

Almost all school goers in the study areas are combining work and schooling. The effect of this work on their scholastic achievement needs to be explained through experimental research. The nature of work is incorporated in the questionnaires to identity the behavioral out look of household heads. Of the total female children engaging in the work 83.7 percent of them work hazardous and/or dangerous type of work according to the judgments of household heads. My personal observation in the villages supplements the response of household heads. It is not uncommon to find female children engaging in laborious traditional gold mining. For gold panning activities, female children have to go more than 20 kilometers with their mother or younger siblings. They may stay for a week or less in digging the ground to search for gold, sometimes without food or with minimum level of calorie in take.

Key informants disclosed that many children of both sexes died in the gold panning process. While going under ground and dig, the upper part of floor crack and killed many people according to the result of focus group discussion. It is the norm of the society that female children with their mothers cover all the expense of the home making. To this end, female children have to carry a bundle of bamboo trees and charcoal to nearby town centers so that they may earn income to buy consumable commodities.

The number of hours children spend working is one way of measuring the nature of work and its influence on school attendance as well as academic performance. To capture the effect of hours spent on school attendance and performance ,the average hours engagement was included and presented in the table below.

Table 16: Hours supplied for work and school Attendance by Female and male children Per Day

	Females		Males	
Central Tendency	**Hours of Work**	**Hours of Schooling**	**Hours of Work**	**Hours of Schooling**
Mean	6.67	5.81	6.52	7.91
Median	6.00	6.00	5.92	7.60
Mode	6.00	6.00	4.5o	6.90
Std.Deviation	2.08	1.69	4.90	2.04
Range	11	8.00	12.00	8.00
Minimum	1	0.00	.00	.00
Maximum	12	8.00	12	8

Source, own survey, 2003

The measure of central tendency indicated in the above table shows that female children work more hours than male children by 15 percent. It was found that on average level a female child spend 6.66 hours on work per day with a maximum and minimum of 12 and 1 hours of work with in a day. This implies that during public and holy day female student spent working all day. On the other hand, the average hours of schooling is 5.81 hour with a maximum and minimum of 8.00 and 0.00 hours of schooling per day. According to focus group discussion some times

female children are requested to be absent from school and contribute in labour. Absenteeism was found to be more for female children than males in the schools. Discussion with the students highlights female students absent form the class whenever there is preparation for holidays, feasts, marriage ceremonies, invitation of relatives, or influx of guests, etc. Educational psychologists confirm that student absenteeism results in class repetition, drop out, and negative attitude towards schooling.

The general implication of the figure is that students schooling is limited to classroom attendance only. Contrary to the currently popular student centered learning, which encourages independent learning; female children are pressurized by work. So it is natural to expect poor academic performance and class repetition. The schooling system of the area is half day. The principals and teachers claimed that it is too difficult to teach as well as to learn in the afternoon due to the hot weather of the area. Such schooling system by itself encourages female child labor than school attendance.

Literature on Ethiopian child labor also confirm that Ethiopian children spent long hours of work. Children engaged in the productive activities during the reference week of Ethiopian child labor survey 2001 worked for 32.8 hours per week, about 6 hours per day. However, female children of study area work more than average child laborers in Ethiopia by 1.2 hours per day.

The ethnographic analyses indicate that for female children combining work and school is acceptable norm even if they have a chance to attend schools. In some cases, schooling is considered as a secondary job. Lack of future prospect and role modeling for female children in the area compelled the parents to be negligent of female education. Key informants disclosed that the fate of those female children is to drop out of school and have marriage after a certain number of years. According to the custom and belief of the area, the purpose of female education is limited to writing their name, speaking and writing Amharic.

5.5 Reasons for Working

At the country level, the Ethiopian child survey result conveyed that the need for labor assistance of children in family business (66 percent) and desire to supplement household income (24 percent) are the two most important factors that drive children to work. Similar pattern has been found for children of this specific study area.

Table 17. Possible Reasons why Female Children Engaged in Work Activity According to Household Heads.

No	Possible reasons	Freq.	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	To help family by earning	138	46.0	46.0	100

	income				
2	To gain skill from work	118	39.3	39.3	54
3	No school to attend	44	14.7	14.7	14.7
4	Total	300	100	100	

Source, Own Survey, 2003

According to the responses of household head 4 out of 10 households force female children to work in order to contribute to the income of the household, which is purely economic issue. It is normal to expect high figures of child contribution in a community with the annual income of below minimum required level as well as food shortage is rampant. The majority of households earn a very low amount of income per annum (OXFAM, 2001). In such areas child labor is considered as source of income. The statistical significance of low income or poverty is examined and indicated in the next sections.

Another prominent figure is the attitude of society towards female children. The society expects them to be expert in the art of home making as well as managing domestic affairs. The data confirm that about 39.3 percent of households encourage

female children to work because society expects them to have profound skills of work, which are considered to be women's specialization. According to the belief and the custom of the community, parents who teach their children about home affairs management are honored and respected among the community. On the other hand, female children who went to school are considered as "outsiders". She cannot qualify in some cases for marriage because she is suspected of having exposure to "misbehaved individuals". So that such outlook or norm of the society forces some parents to force

their children to work rather than school attendance.

Focus group discussion result and my personal observation in the community complements with the responses of household heads. To this end, looking for a girl specialized in work for marriage is a standardized social norm. Therefore, girls themselves are eager to know and specialize in managing domestic affairs. However, there was a disagreement and idea conflict among participants of group discussion whether to accept this culture as good that should perpetuate for the coming

generation. Adult illiteracy, common in the woredas aggravate the engagement of female children in work solely for the purpose of getting skill from the work engagement. The belief and cultural practice was cited as the two most important reason for incidence of female child labor than schooling (Pankhurst,1999).

5.6 Types of Work Engagement

The contribution of children to the subsistence economy of Ethiopian households take different forms in rural and urban areas. In urban areas, the majority of children workers are engaged in elementary occupations like street vending, shoe shining, running errands, daily labor, etc. While in the rural areas the majority of children are engaged in agricultural and related activities like herding cattle, helping adults in farming, etc. (Ethiopian Child Labor Survey, 2001). According to another study, the contribution of children to the rural economy is mainly in

the form of farm work and domestic work. Herding was also reported to have significant place as one of the most important child activities in rural Ethiopia.

Respondents were requested to rank different activities performed by children and they were also given a chance to exhaustively list activities, which were not indicated in the alternatives. The data is organized and calculated by weighted mean scores.

Table18.Types of Work Engagement of Female Children

No.	Type of Work	Weighted mean	Rank
1	Domestic work	2.5	1
2	Gold Panning	3.25	2
3	Agriculture/Farming	3.34	3
4	Trade	4.1	4
5	*Cattle herding	5	5

**Many households did not rank it because of non-existence of cattle.*

The result testifies that domestic work stood first with a weighted mean score of 2.5 followed by traditional gold panning with 3.25 weighted mean score. The third major activity was participating in agricultural or farming activities.

Likewise, the exhaustive lists of respondents clearly show that female children participate in multiple of work activities that range from domestic activities to fieldwork. Domestic work is found to be the main activity of female children. It includes childcare, cooking food items, fetching water from a long distance, collecting fire wood, etc. Next to domestic work, traditional

gold panning is also the main activities of female children. Female children are taking part in laborious traditional gold mining activity. In such case, they have to walk a long distance from home and stay for a certain period of time. Such work engagement has a negative impact on physical and psychological development of female children. The third level engagement is participating in farming or agricultural activities. Female children are also expected to work in elementary agricultural activities. Moreover, female children also engage in other invisible and informal activities. Trade, shopping, messenger service, daily labor, etc. are also cited from the respondents and confirmed by personal observation during fieldwork. Unlike other rural parts of Ethiopia, cattle herding was found to have insignificant place in female child labour contribution.

Focus group discussion with community leaders and key informants particularly with mothers testify that women and/or female children carry the burden of almost all the bread earning for the household. They also emphasize the negative implication of those work engagement upon the physical and psychological development of female children.

5.7 Basic Determinants of Female Child Labor and School Attendance

Female children in the specific study area are participating in multiple types of work. The quantitative data collected and personal

observation as well as the discussion made with participants proved the labour exploitation of children at their early stage. The implication of such a finding is a negative influence on future human capital formation and stagnant development. Searching of underlying causes for such crucial developmental issue is paramount importance for developing countries like ours. It has been hypothesized that many interrelated social, economical, cultural and political factors affect future human capital formation through societal decision of children work or schooling. Accordingly,

some have been explained earlier while others are reported in this section.

5.7.1. Economic Factors

In economic terms, education is considered as a service or as a production of intangible asset; the acquisition of knowledge and know-how. The provision of education entails the mobilization of premises, furniture, consumption of paper, books, uniform, etc. Those resources are generally expressed in financial terms. To that extent, schooling needs money. Therefore, economic factors play a great role in determining the probability of sending children to school.

Poverty is one the economic factors that has been proved to be the major determinants of child labor (Badiwala, 2000;Coulombe, 2000;Jensen and Nielson, 1997). Poverty is defined in many ways. Lipton and Revallin(1995) explain it as lack of some thing like income, employment, assets, technology etc. Poverty in its economic dimension is associated with no or low level of income to sustain livelihood of a certain group. In poor families child labour is considered as source of income. Child work was considered essential to maintain the economic level of households either in the form of work for wages, of help in the enterprise of household chores in order to free adult household members for economic activity elsewhere. In some cases, the study found that a child's income accounted for between 34 and 37 percent of the total household income (Mehra-Kerpelman, 1996).

World development report and human development report assert that Ethiopia is a very poor country in every aspect of life, the second poorest nation in the world with per capita income of about 110US$ (World Bank, 2000). The contributions of children in a poor society for subsistence economy aggravate the need for child labour in general and female child labour in particular. Children are expected to contribute either in cash or in kind for the survival of the family in most rural parts of Ethiopia.

Table 19. Correlation of Monthly Family Income and Female Children School Attendance.

		Number of female children attending school	Monthly family income
Number of female children attending school	Pearson correlation Sig.(2-Tailed) N	1.000 . 300	0.794* .000 300
Monthly family income	Pearson correlation Sig.(2-Tailed) N	0.794* .000 300	1.000 . 300

*Correlation is significant at 0.01 level (2-tailed)

The empirical evidence of this research testifies that poverty in its economic dimension has been strongly correlated with high incidence of female child labour and low school attendance**.** **The positive correlation between monthly family income and female school participation resulted at 0.73 and is significant at 0.01 level.** It has been explained in terms of the household income. Poverty or low income affects school enrollments for both boys and girls; however, the effect is more pronounced for female children. If poverty forces them to choose

one child to attend school, the community leaders (Key informants) admitted that girls are less likely to be chosen. Low income is an impediment for female school participation in that parents cannot afford school expense as well as other school related costs. Parents should incur not only for opportunity cost but also the direct cost of schooling in terms of books, reference materials, uniform and other unofficial fees required by school administrators.

Table 20. Number of Female Children Attending School and House hold Monthly Income, Cross Tabulation.

Number of Female children Attending School	Monthly Household Income per Month			
	Below100 birr	101-300 birr	Above	Total
0.00	56	20	0.00	76
1.00	30	33	13	76
2.00	37	8	1	46
3.00	17	64	9	90
4.00	1	.00	11	12
Total	**141**	**125**	**34**	**300**

Source, own survey,2003

The empirical evidence of the research show not only the positive relationship between higher income and better school attendance of female children but also it indicates that in a family earning above 300 birr per month income no female children was found to be out of school. All households who could not send any of their daughter to school are those people who earn less than 100 birr per month In more detail, out of 76 house holds who could not send any of their daughters to school, 73.7 percent of them are house hold who are living under poverty line and their income is less than 100 birrr per month.

One can possibly argue that as income increase households would be in a position to send more children to school in the sense that they can afford all school related expenses. The above data also confirms that only one household(9 percent)who could be able to send maximum number of daughter attending in the school from a single household with monthly income of less than 100 birr. On the other hand, out of people who were able to send maximum number of female children to school, 91 Percent of them belong to household with monthly income above 300 birr..

Despite the explanation made before, the relationship between poverty and child time use decision is complex and controversial. It is generally assumed that as household income increases children will be progressively withdrawn from labour activities in favors of schooling (Assefa, 2001). Moreover, as far as schooling is a profitable investment, or if the net effects of schooling are greater than child labor activities, increased wealth may encourage schooling by relaxing household credit constraints. It may also be argued that the returns to school themselves increase with household wealth through social capital, self-employment opportunities or other employment advantages on the other hand.

5.7.2 Non-Economic Household Attributes

Household attributes greatly influence the decision behavior of an individual for schooling or Child labour. The mere hypothesis (Ho) of the research is that there is a relationship or interdependence between female school attendance and those household attributes.

Household attributes like age, sex, religion, marital status, educational level, ethnic affiliation; occupation, family size (number of daughters, number of sons) etc are included in the variables. To capture the dependence or independence between those attributes or variables and female school participation Chi-Square Tests and symmetric measures were used.

Table21..Chi-SquareTests and Symmetric Measures of Female School Participation and Sex of the Household Head.

	Value	df	Asymp.Sig 2-sided
Pearson Chi-Square	50.77	8	0.000
Cramer's V	0.29		0.000
N of Valid Cases	300		

Sex of the household head is found to have a relation with a schooling pattern of female children; however, the relation of those attributes of schooling is low (Cramer's V=0.29). Though the pattern of the relationship is not clearly observed, it seems that female headed household are more

likely to send their female children to school. Despite the problems and other difficulties of life that female-headed households suffer from, female children in those households have a better chance of going to school than specializing on work. (See annex III). We may conclude that having the same sex with head might contribute in the form of humility and being once shoes. Those female head may also consider themselves both as father and mother and it gives them courage to invest on their children's future. Similar empirical results also conclude the positive relation between schooling and female headship though their finding was for

both sexes (Assefa, 2001;Canagarejah and Coulomb 1998). However, the finding and conclusion is irrespective of each household family size which might has a certain implication on it.

Table 22. Chi-Square Tests and Symmetric Measures of Female School Participation and Age of the Household Head.

	Value	df	Asymp.Sig 2-sided
Pearson Chi-Square	649	120	0.000
Cramer's V	0.741		0.000
N of Valid Cases	300		

The relation between female schooling and age of household is statistically significant (X^2 = 649.79, D.F=8 and P $\angle$ 0.05) and the relationship is moderately strong (Cramer's V= 0.74).To identify the direction of the relation ship, household heads are equally divided in to three age category, below 36,37-52 years and above 52and assed against their female children in the school. Hence, out of female children in the school the first age category constitute 23 percent; the second and the third age category constitute 48 and 29 percent respectively. The pattern of the relationship is observed as inverted U. At the younger age of the household head, it was

found that a lesser number of female students are attending school. The need for female child labor to build economy at this stage contributes to the low rate of school attendance. Moreover, school attendance in most rural parts of the region is after official school age. However, the finding and the conclusion is irrespective the family size of each household which might has certain implication on the finding and the conclusion.

To put it differently, late entry is a common feature of the educational system. Therefore, female school participation is low at early age of the household head or the younger the household head is the lower the female school participation. At this juncture female child labour contribution is high. Meanwhile, participation rate starts to increase due to late entry to school and improvement of economy of the household. However, at older age, female child labor contribution is enormously needed and it negatively affects school attendance. Drop out and early marriage, coupled with parents' inability of engagement in work as usual increase the need for female child labour. This finding contradicts with the assertion that older household heads are more likely to allocate the time of their children to the joint school work decision (Assefa , 2001; Grootgert,1998) .

Religion and ethnic parameters were found to have no significant influence in affecting female child labour and school attendance in the specific study area. The result was not for the mere reason that religion has nothing to do with the issue of child labour. However, predominantly the sources of the data belong to same religion and ethnic groups, Muslim and Berta respectively.

Table 23. Chi-Square Tests and Symmetric Measures of Female School Participation and occupation of the Household Head.

	Value	Df	Asymp.Sig 2-sided
Pearson Chi-Square	649	120	0.000
Cramer's V	0.47		0.000
N of Valid Cases	300		

The relationship between female child labour participation and occupation of house hold heads is statistically significant (X^2 = 65.68 D.F =8 and P(.000) $\angle\delta$ (0.05) The relation ship was moderately strong (0.47). The statistical result reveals clear pattern of relationship. Female children under a household head whose occupation is farmer or daily labourer is less likely to attend school as compared to female children from civil servants or traders. Civil servants and traders have usually attained a higher level of education than the former group. To this end, they have more awareness about the importance of female education and the negative impact of child labour upon school participation, academic performance and physical growth. The school participation degree derived from the data shows none of school age female child of civil servant and trader is specialized in work alone. The table below shows that 100 percent of daily labourers and 37.8 percent of farmers do not send even a single daughter to school. However, due to the composition of the community the majority of the households belong to farmers.

Table 24 **Occupations and Female School Attendance**

Female Attending School	OCCUPATION			
	Farmer (%)	Civil servant (%)	Trade (%)	Daily Laborer (%)
.00	36	.00	.00	100
1.00	36.3	41.2	43	.00
2.00	25.1	58.8	15	.00
3.00	0.78	0.00	.00	.00
4.00	1.8	.00	12	.00
Total	100	100	100	100
Number	259	17	20	4

Source: own survey, 2003

Another major hypothesis is the negative correlation between the education level of household head and female child labour participation. It was hypothesized that parents with a certain level of education know the importance of female education, earn better income and as well

send female children to school. A Previous study in the rural parts of Ethiopia reveals that education of the head of the household increases the likelihood of sending their daughter to school. (Assefa, 2001). Another study's result also conveys that parental education has a strong positive effect on school participation than working (Canagarajah and Coulomb, 1998).

Table 25 Chi-Square Tests and Symmetric Measures of Female School Participation and Educational level of the Household Head.

	Value	df	Asymp.Sig 2-sided
Pearson Chi-Square	649	120	0.000
Cramer's V	0.79		0.000
N of Valid Cases	300		

The statistical results of this research also support the hypothesis and agree with previous findings. For that matter, the relationship between the education level of household head and female school attendance is very strong (Cramer's V=0.79) and statistically significant at δ=0.05). The pattern of the relationship is that as education level of the parent increases, the probability of sending more female children to school, rather than labour contribution, also increases.

Table 26 Number of Female Children Attending School and Educational Level of Household Head, cross tabulation

No. Female children attending school	Educational level of house hold					
	Illiterate		Read and write only		Formal education	
Number	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
.00	64	29.6	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1.00	49	22.7	16	27.5	17	65.5
2.00	62	13.9	15	25.9	1	3.8
3.00	30	28.7	27	46.6	7	26.9
4.00	11	5.1	.00	.00	1	3.8
Total	**216**	**100**	**58**	**100**	**26**	**100**

Source: own survey, 2003

The result shows that no literate household head was cross tabulated with 0.00 number of female children attending school. On the other hand, 29.6% of illiterate households do not send their female child to school. 22.7, 13.9,28.7 and 5.1 of them send 1,2,3 and 4 children to school respectively. 27.5, 25.9, and 46.6 of those who can read and write send 1,2,3 female children to school. Even if household with formal education are rare in number, they are found sending their daughter to school. Generally, adult literacy has strong relationship with female schooling and labour contribution.

Parental education is the most influential attribute in that it influences multiple of other attributes. In most cases, income, occupation, family size and the like are determined by the education level of the parents. The empirical result of this study shows a moderate association between the education level of household heads and their families' income at 95% level of

confidence (see Annex III). It confirms that the higher the education level of the head, the more their annual income tends to be. The education of the household head also has a negative relationship with family size. The association is about -.0.533 at 95% of confidence level. It implies that the higher the education of the head of the household, the number of family size tends to be lower implying lower dependency ratio, better welfare, better access to education as well as other social services.

Family size and composition is also another factor affecting child time allocation for schooling and work. The presence of siblings in the home has both negative and positive effect on female child labor and school attendance depending on the household income and other attributes. Larger family size generally positively correlate with child labor in that it reduces the per capital income of household members and decrease ability of parents to afford school related expense on top of other living expenditure. On the other hand, the presence of other siblings may reduce the burden of female children from household chores. Empirical evidence in Ghana indicates that the presence of female siblings in the household had a positive margin effect on school participation (Cangarajha and Colombe, 1998). There are also another empirical evidences supporting the negative as well as positive effect of female siblings on school attendance.

Table 27. Correlation of Family size and Female Children School Attendance.

		Number of female children attending school	Family size
Number of female	Pearson correlation	1.000	-0.591*

children attending school	Sig.(2-Tailed) N	. 300	.000 300
Family size	Pearson correlation Sig.(2-Tailed) N	0.591* .000 300	1.000 . 300

*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

As it is indicated in the above table, the empirical evidence of this research indicates significant negative relationship between school attendance and family size of the household. The correlation result is –0.591.The general trend shows the positive contribution of larger family size for the incidence of female child labour by reducing their school participation. However, the finding of this research shows insignificant type of relationship between the presence of siblings and female

school participation. The correlation result is 0.96 for female siblings while it is 0.23 for male siblings. The insignificant effect of male and female children of household upon child labour is not the unique feature of this research. Cockburn, 2000 also asserted that those attributes of household have no significant effect on school and/or work status of a child.

5.5.3 School Related Factors

School related factors were expected to influence child labor in general and female child labour in particular. To some extent the result confirms with the expectations. The argument emanates from the essence that children may not attend school or dropout of school and resort to work not only for demand of child labor but also because of the supply side factors. School related factors such as non-availability of infrastructure, distant school, irrelevant curriculum, overcrowding, inflexibility of the program, teachers' attitude, education policy, poor

private return to education and other similar factors may encourage child labor instead of schooling.

The inability of the academic structure to accept every one of school age population lead households to send their children to work and try their luck in the informal instead of schooling (Bequelle and Boyden, 1988). Poor infrastructure, inflexibility of the calendar, school distance, cost of school and education policy were found to be some of the supply side factors having a negative effect on school attendance and encouraging female child labor in the study area.

It was hypothesized that lack of school as supply side factor, is one of the detrimental factors for schooling. Accordingly, it was found that for 14.6 percent of female children, the reason for work engagement instead of schooling is lack of school. The average distance to primary school is 5.95 km with minimum and maximum of one kilometers and 21 kilometers respectively. It has been proved that long distance to school had significant negative effect on probability of going to school. For a female child, it is unthinkable to go to school daily, if the school is far and the road is unsafe. On the other hand, the economy does not allow parents to take students to the school.

The impact of distant school is considered as a cause for forced marriage or abduction, sexual harassment and physical fatigue or exhaustion. The cumulative effect is then early marriage. The weather of the study area is very hot, which makes waking difficult. 70.7 percent of the households relate the problem of distant school with the issue of exhaustion that may later cause health problems. The key informants of the research explained their experience of

forced marriage while coming back from school. Since the settlement of the area is sparsely populated, the probability of forced marriage is high. Parents argue that rather than forced marriage, marriage based on their consent at younger age is advantageous and they encourage early marriage. On the contrary, early marriage has negative biological and psychological influence on females.

Most of the schools experience a shortage of textbooks, even for teachers, as well as students. Classrooms are dilapidated; some are with no chairs, tables and blackboards. The school and education survey of the region indicates that 15 schools were without enough teachers; four schools had more classes without teachers than with is. Out of the schools visited, some 75% consisted of locally built classrooms, with bamboo seats for student accommodation (Pankhurst,1999). All of these factors push female children out of school rather than pulling them into the system. Community leaders blame the federal and regional governments for the status of the schools.

The academic calendar is similar to other parts of the country. It was designed for a summer vacation. In high land parts of Ethiopia, summer is a season where child labor is important and schooling is unthinkable. However, response of educational officials and school documents implies that dropout is higher from 2nd week of October to December. After the rainy season was culminated, experience teaches them that traditional gold minning is extremely important. It was also a time of trading with neighboring woreda as well as to Sudan. So, one can conclude that fitting the calendar to the local realistic condition could reduce the need for child labor and increase school attendance. Scale, which was developed by rennin to measure the

degree of influence of a certain factor was used to asses school related factors that influence school attendance as well as academic performance of female children and labor contribution. Household heads and education officials are requested to rate the scale and the data is summarized below.

Table: 28 School Related Factors Affecting Female Child Labor and School Attendance

No	Item	Household heads (%)				Education officials (%)			
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree.	Strongly Disagree
1	Lack of quality education	37.7	25	8.3	15.3	15.4	34.6	26.9	23.1
2	Negative attitude of teachers towards females	30	20	21.7	28.3	7.7	11.5	19.2	61.6
3	Ignorance about Female education	50	18.3 .	18.3	10.4	43.1	27.7	14.6	14.6
4	Long distance and Unsafe road to school	36.7	76.9	18.3	31.7	30.8	30.8	23.1	15.3
5	Lack of future prospect	38.3	23.3	16.7	21.7	40.4	40.4	13.5	5.7
6	Financial problem to Afford school expense	51.7	16.7	23.3	18.3	50	23.1	19.2	7.7
7	Unattractive and Irrelevant curriculum	33.3	15	31.7	20	50	38.5	11.5	
8	Lack of motivation from Teachers and school officially	38.3	18.3	28.3	15.1	26.9	30.8	26.9	15.4

9	Shortage of text & materials	20	36.7	25	18.3	7.7	34.6	30.8	26.9
10	Lack of compulsory education policy	41.7	23.3	18.3	16.7	32.7	42.3	21.2	3.8
11	Difference of mother tongue and medium of instruction	30	18.3	25	26.7	23.2	30.7	25	21.2

Source: own survey 2003

As per the expectation, multiple factors, which in one way or another are related to school affect female child labour and school attendance. Financial problems to afford school expense and ignorance about female education are the two most leading factors affecting school attendance and female child labour. They are 51.7 and 50 percent strongly agreed by household heads and education officials respectively. Even if there are no official school fees, there are direct and indirect educational costs, which parents should pay for

students to attend school. School expenses in the form of instructional materials, clothes, etc are emphasized during focus group discussion. The majority of the household heads (74.2%) are ignorant about the importance of female education and are not given any orientation on the issue. In addition there were fewer female teachers in the primary school. This shortage meant there were fewer role models for the girls, which in turn contributed to the ignorance and lack of future prospect in the female education.

31.7 and 15.4 percent of household heads and education officials support lack of quality education as factors affecting female school participation respectively. Since there is no

commonly agreed definition of quality education, gap is exhibited between education officials and stakeholder of the sector .The cumulative effect of input and process determines the quality of the education. Poor infrastructure coupled with problems of curriculum and teachers wise, it seems that quality issue has its own negative influence on female school attendance encouraging them to resort to work.

Pankhurst (1999) brought to attention that the main method of teaching was the lecture method, chalk and talk. The teacher talked for 75-99% of the time in the classroom. She also asserted that help was rarely given to the individual and minority of teachers encouraged the girls to answer questions. The number of pupils in the class is too large. Some teachers reported classes over 100 pupils per class.

The cumulative effect of those problems related to curriculum, teaching method infrastructure correlated with the respondents idea that they rate lack of motivation from teachers, unattractive/irrelevant curriculum and negative attitude teachers towards female students as supply side factors affecting school attendance and child labour.

The New Education and Training Policy of Ethiopia initiated in 1994 by the then transitional government of Ethiopia emphasizes access, equity, quality and gender issues (TGE,1994). The education sector development programme of the country and the region also emphasizes universal primary education (UPE). In reality, the idea of UPE is not yet materialized. One cause may be lack of compulsory education policy at primary education. 30% of household heads and 23.2% of educational officials strongly agree that lack of compulsory education

policy in the region contributes for the incidence of child labour instead of schooling. The finding agrees with Basu (1998) that assert a child's presence in the school is easier to monitor than abstention from work

.

5.5.4 Cultural Factors

It has been explained that significant number of households about 39 percent force their female children due the custom and norm of the society that attaches the responsibility of women to mastery the art of home making. In addition, the negative attitude of parents towards female children encourages female child labour than school attendance. In most rural parts of Ethiopia parents feel happier when they give birth to sons rather

than daughters and also give much respect to a woman who gives birth to a baby boy. Such preference is observed not only in our country, but also in countries with strong patrileneal family system (UN, 1998). In the specific area of this study female children are preferred to work rather than school attendance. The value attached to education is higher for males than females. Focus group discussion participant claimed that the return of education is higher for male children than females. They disclosed at some point due to different reason female children drop school and resort to marriage.

5.8 Academic Performance and Female Child Labour.

Academic performance is the academic achievement of pupils in schooling considered in relation to how successful they become. Such academic performance is influenced by many factors. It was hypothesized that combining school and work is one major cause for poor academic performance and higher wastage of female students. The result goes with the expectation.

The analysis of female student document shows that the average result for the last consecutive three years differs for those who are specializing at work and those who are combining schooling and work. Consequently, the average mean result for those who are combining work and school attendance is 52 while it is 64.9 for those who specialize in schooling alone with a standard deviation of 1.56 and 2.08 respectively. The significance of each mean is tested using *Z-statistics* to check the significance of the difference. Hence, the difference is statistically significant at a critical value between -1.96 to +1.96 and δ=0.05

Academic performance is influenced by multi dimensional factors. Child labour is found to be one major cause for poor academic performance of female children. Previously, it is indicated that education wastage is higher for girls than for boys at each grade level. Female children drop out of school and repeat classes more often than male students. The educational survey of the region also confirmed that in all schools girls scored lower grades (Pankhurst, 1999).

XXXVI. CHAPTER SIX

6. Summary, Conclusions, and Policy Recommendations.

6.1 Summary

Children are the assets of any society. The education of the younger generation is a developmental issue that concerns every sector of society. The notion that children are being exploited and forced into labor without receiving education is disinvestments of future human capital formation. Child labor is the problem of both developed and developing countries with pronounced figure in developing nations. Like other rural parts of Ethiopia, Benishangul Gumuz experiences low female school enrollment and high incidence of female child labor. The main purpose of this research is to examine and discuss the causes and magnitude of female child labour and come up with socio-economic determinants that hinder the school attendance of girls.

The study also aims at recommending region specific realistic and possible policy recommendations. Both ethnographic and quantitative analysis were employed through sound research methodology to answer the research questions and test the hypothesis.

1. Female child labor contribution was found to be the major cause hindering school attendance and affecting future human capital formation.

2. The causes of female child labor are multidimensional. Female child labor is the cumulative effect of economic, social, political factors, as well as school related factors. Female child labor is also closely associated with low income and low adult literacy. The Majority of female children about 42 percent resort to work instead of school attendance to contribute to their family income. While about 39 percent of them

participate in work to conform the societal expectation of perfection in work by acquiring skills from work engagement..

3. Incidence of female child labour is extremely high. Half of female children specialize in work without getting the chance to attend school. Only about 2.4 percent of females specialized in schooling. The nature of the work is found to be in conflict with school attendance. Female children work long hours that directly affect school attendance and contribute to high wastage of female students and to their poor scholastic achievement. Consequently, the education system is internally inefficient at least for first cycle of primary level. Wastage is high due to high drop out and class repetition.

4. Female children are not only expected to participate in domestic and household chores but also work in the fields. They participate in every work-portion of household activities including preparing food, child care, fetching water from long distance, collecting fire wood, etc .They also take part in traditional gold mining. The contribution of female children in the elementary agricultural sector also has a great place in their time allocation. All those work activities are found to affect school attendance and their academic performance

5. Household attributes like the sex, age, education level, family size are found to be the determinant factors in affecting child labour and school attendance of female children.

Female children from female headed households have better chance of attending school rather than specializing in work. The relationship of household head age and female school attendance is found to have an invented “U:” shape. Parental education is strongly associated with female school attendance. The higher education level of the head, the probability of female students attending school rather than work participation also increases. The education level of the head is also found to influence the income and family size of household.

6. Female child labor contribution is affected both by demand and supply side. Supply side factors particularly school related such as: poor infrastructure, school distance from residence, inflexibility of the program, lack of quality education and the like contribute for the incidence of the female child labor.

6.2.conclusion

Child labour is not limited to developing nations. It is a concern of both developed and developing nations with varied degree and different causes. Disinvestments on future human capital, particularly on children affect every corner of the world. Despite the magnitude of the problem, content specific research in the field is limited. Sometimes the research work focuses on wage employment around urban areas. However, in agrarian country, including Ethiopia, child labour is rampant in rural areas with invisible type of work activities, which directly conflict with schooling and impede the scholastic achievement of a child

Causes of female child labour in Benishangul Gumuz are multifaceted and varied. They range from social and Political to cultural and economic. Separate intervention may not help much in reducing child labour. An integrated approach is necessary to overcome the problem. It should also be recognized that child labour will not be eradicated overnight, and a ban on child labour could come at cost of short term welfare of certain group of the society through diverting investment to future human capital formation.

6.3 Recommendations

On the basis of findings and conclusions drawn, the following policy recommendations are given

I. The result shows that more than half of female children are out of school and about one third are combing school and work, which is found to have an impediment upon the scholastic achievement of students. Attainment of universal primary education and increment of country's human capital stock at least for the region is unthinkable unless the issues of child labour are taken into consideration. To this end, realistic policy measures that resort female children from work to school should be introduced. Boarding school and non-formal teaching and learning programmes has to be introduced in the specific study area .Non formal type of education particularly by taking school where they are: gold mining areas, around mosques and by using unconventional type of teaching methodology female children have to be encouraged. School officials should arrange seminars, workshops to resort the attention of parents from using their labour to schooling. School subsidies in the

form of school-meals, free educational materials, uniforms, etc should be introduced so that both parents and female children will develop an interest towards schooling.

II. Parental education, particularly education of the household head has a very strong effect on female child labour and schooling. Higher parental education is associated with low incidence of child labour and higher school attendance. Hence, adult literacy programme should launched.

III. Income generating activities are the best means of combating child labour in general and female child labour in particular. Schemes like revolving funds and credit facilities based on feasibility studies should be arranged on the base of targeted groups. Diversification of the economy is also another way of increasing income at least for self sustainace of the household. Diverting the attention of the people from traditional gold mining activity to farming and non-farming economic activity is one possible means of intervention to minimize the incidence of female child labour..

IV. The improvement of supply side factor is another possible area of intervention. The structure of the education system and the calendar should be flexible to accommodate female children who are currently out of school. Infrastructure of the school should be improved, so that female students will be able to see a better environment than their home. The curriculum should be relevant and related to daily life and should enable them to solve the problems they might face. School should available at walking distance. Teachers should be equipped with modern type of teaching methodology and should give help and support for female children.

The regional education bureau should assign female teachers to the areas so that female children will have role models and be able to have future prospects upon education

.

V. Compulsory education policy in consultation with community leaders and religious institutions should be commenced so that parents will be urged to send their female children to school rather than to work.

VI. Large family size coupled with ignorance as well as resistance to birth control is potential threat to female child labour, so that the issue of family planning is one major area of intervention. Health institution with community leaders should propagate the importance as well as usage of family planning for the house holds.

VII. Three interrelated but separate activities should be undertaken at regional, zonal and Woreda level: legislation of child labour, enforcement of law and public awareness of inherent negative consequence of child labour. Law with enforcement is mandatory. Sensitization of the law is also equally important. People in the study area are not aware of child labour and laws related to it. To that end, community should be aware and publicized with issues of child labour.