

Reasons behind children drop out of primary schools with unequal socio-economic preconditions

**A comparative case study of three primary schools in
Babati Town Council, Tanzania**

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Bachelor thesis 15 hp | Spring semester 2018

Development and International Cooperation



Abstract

One of the countries where the basic academic education is problematic to achieve is Tanzania. Despite the multiple attempts to increase enrolments and decrease dropouts through new partnerships and organizations, high level of drop out still occur in the country. Two research questions were composed in aim to understand why this drop out phenomenon still occur. First question: *“Which individual/ collective factors contribute to that girls and boys in the age group between 7 and 13 drop out of primary schools?”* and the second question: *“What differences are there in the drop out causes between two more “privileged” and one more “marginalized” school?”*. The answers to these questions were found through the field work in Babati Town Council, Tanzania. There primary data was gathered in form of semi-structured interviews with three headteachers from three different schools. Two privileged schools; Maisaka Primary School and Primary School Oyster bay, and one marginalized school; Kiongozi Primary School. Also interviews with nine parents/other guardians of dropouts were conducted. Gathered data was summarized in short case stories, narratives which later on were analyzed with in a theoretical framework. This theoretical framework consisted of six different theories. These theories are; Academic Mediation theory, General Deviance theory, Deviant Affiliation theory, Poor Family Socialization theory, Structural Strains theory and lastly a theory of Institutional Departure. The conclusion of the study is that, even though the schools are located in the same area a major difference in dropout rates and its causes are existing. At the marginalized school there is a high level of drop out and at more privileged schools no dropouts occur. Factors which play a major role for this existing difference are; childrens and parents commitment to school, family structure and background, family's socio-economic status, relationships in the family and of course quality of the school.

Keywords: Education, Kiongozi Primary School, Maisaka Primary School, Oyster Bay Primary School, Marginalized, Privileged

Acknowledgement

The present study is the result of the efforts of many to whom I extend my deepest gratitude . I would like to thank to Dr. Vesa Matti Loiske, who made this course possible every year, took care of students including me in Babati, Tanzania and also guided me through the whole research. I would like to say the biggest thank you to my field assistant Mr. Elias Iyo as well, for helping me with data gathering; organizing my interviews, providing me with materials and for working as an excellent translator from english to swahili and swahili to english. Additionally I would like to show my gratitude to the previous headteacher at Kiongozi Primary School, Yohana Kerika who also helped me a lot in organizing my interviews.

Ketija Danovska | 2018-03-14

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1. Introduction

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) highlights that literacy skills such as reading, writing and arithmetics are usually mastered upon in the fourth grade. Additionally The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) mentions the importance of the first years of primary school, where children get a basic education. Dropping out with no possibility to return later on, can cause high levels of illiteracy in a country (Mehrah 1995, p.4-5). According to the UNICEF's yearly report on the state of children (2016), in the time period between 2009 and 2014, the literacy rate in Tanzania was 68 percent for young adults in the age between 15 and 24. This not only affects people's well-being due the lack of education, but also sets back the development of the country. In 2014 the Gross National Income (GNI) per capita was 920 US\$ and in the time period between 2009 and 2013, 47 % of the Tanzanian population lived below the international poverty line, which is 1.90 US\$ per day (UNICEF 2017). Generally said lack of education constrains a person's possibilities to take part in the political, economical and social space.

Poverty and the economic state of the country is strongly linked to education (Joshi 2010, p.546). One option to increase educational and countries literacy rate is through the elimination of the dropout phenomenon (Mehrah 1995, p.5). Dropout decrease leads to the increase in a country's literacy rate, this would directly benefit the specific country's economic situation and growth. Not only economic growth occurs when literacy rate increases and education level gets higher, but also social development is observed in the specific country, in the form of reduction of birth rates, lower infant mortality, more equal income distribution and increase in life expectancy (Joshi 2010, p.548).

However to be able to eliminate the problem it needs first to be understood and analyzed. That is why the purpose of this study is to find out the main reasons of dropouts between three schools with unequal socio-economic preconditions and later on analyze them with in a theoretical framework. This is a comparative case study, which takes place in Babati Town Council, Tanzania. The method which is used to gather data is semi-structured interviews with nine parents/ other guardians of dropouts and with three headteachers from different schools with unequal socio-economic prerequisites; two "privileged" and one "marginalized" school. Later on the gathered data is analyzed with in a theoretical framework, consisting of six different theories. These theories are; Academic Mediation theory, General Deviance theory, Structural Strains theory, Family Socialization theory, Deviant Affiliation theory and theory of Institutional Departure.

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Babati Town Council

Babati Town Council is located in Manyara region and is the headquarter of the region in Tanzania. Babati Town Council received its Towns status year 2004. Before the upgrade its official designation was village. Babati Town Council covers an area of 460.86 km² (Babati

Town Council, 2017) and in 2012 there were 93,108 people living in this area. The same year annual population growth was 1 %. Making a rough approximation that this year there might be 98,800 citizens (National Bureau of Statistics and Office of Chief Government Statistician 2016, p.14). In 2012 there were 55,189 citizens who were aged 15 years and older. Of them 46.8 % were married, 1.5 % separated, 3 % divorced and 3.6 % widowed (IBID, p.39). The average household size was 4,4 people in earlier mentioned year (IBID, p.30). Also the same year there were 42,045 people in the age group between 0 and 17 years. Of this population 7.2 % of children were orphans, making this district with the highest orphanhood in the Manyara region (IBID, p.54).

1.1.2 The school system in Tanzania

The current school system in Tanzania consists of 15 school years. These 15 years are divided into; two years of pre-primary education, seven years of primary education, four years of O-level or secondary education, two years of A-level, which is high school and three plus years at tertiary education, which is University education. Pupils who begin their studies at primary school at the age of seven finish their studies at the age of 23 (URT 2014, p.21), which is quite late, compared to other countries where students finish their studies at the age of 20 or 21. In 2014 the Ministry of Education introduced a new Education and Training Policy (ETP), which suggested a change of the current school system. They reduced pre-primary with one year and the primary school will be six years, instead of seven. Additionally the plan is to combine the primary education with secondary education meaning, that the students will study ten years at basic education and there will be no transfer tests (IBID, p.22-24). This new system will begin working for children who are now in standard four. This means that they will study only ten years in basic education (Iyo, 2018-02-01).

1.2 Problem Statement

In many parts of the world the basic need of education is limited and many children struggle to achieve some kind of education (UNICEF 2017, p.49). One of the countries where the basic academic education is problematic to achieve is the United Republic of Tanzania, where education is considered to be of limited access and of poor quality (Sabates, et al 2010). This limited access and poor quality of education can be linked to poverty, as education and poverty are inversely related (Joshi 2010, p.546).

There have been many attempts in Tanzania to increase enrolments and decrease dropouts. The Primary Education Development Programme abolished school fees in 2002, making primary school fee free, however some indirect costs in form of parent contributions still existed (RTE 2016). In 2004 the Ministry of Education established circular no. 11, which was the beginning of free secondary education. The Secondary Education Development Programme worked to achieve this goal of free secondary education. The Ministry of Education reduced secondary school fees from 40,000 TZS per student per year to 20,000 TZS. The 20,000 TZS was now paid by the parents and the other half was paid by the government. The 20,000 TZS is used for electricity,

water, teaching and learning materials, and guards (URT 2015). In 2014, the existence of new partnerships and organizations helped in gaining the access to and quality of primary school in Tanzania. These new partnerships and organizations are; government and parent partnership, faith-based organizations (FBOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs) (PO-RALG 2016, p.47). The new circular no.6, which is the implementation of free fee education was introduced. This circular was based on already existing circular no.5, which is free education for everyone. In December 2015 the school fee and other contributions were eliminated completely. The government now pays for all expenses, that the schools might have. However some exceptions were made. 11 international schools were excluded, meaning parents whose children study there still need to pay school fees. These schools are located in Arusha, Dar es Salaam etc. None of the international schools are located in the Babati Town Council (URT 2015). The enrolment numbers increased from 8,222,667 students per year 2014 to 8,639,202 students in 2016, which means an increase of 5.1 % in two years (PO-RALG 2016, p.24). Despite the new education policies and earlier mentioned cooperations, still high levels of children are not attending school or dropped out, when enrolled (Sabates, et al 2010, p.17). In 2016, 14.2 % of the primary school age population, which is 1,313,204 students, did not attend school at all (PO-RALG 2016, p.57) and in 2015 the dropout rate from primary school was 10.63 % (IBID, p.77).

1.3 Purpose

The aim of this study is to gain a greater understanding of the situation concerning dropouts of primary schools in Tanzania. The main purpose of the study is to analyze the dropout phenomenon and not to eliminate it. The results of this study may later be used as a feedback to those who work in the education sector in Tanzania and help them to solve the dropout problem and tackle it from core issues. Decrease or even elimination of these core problems might help in achieving one of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, which is goal 4, Quality of Education. Goal 4 is central in the agenda 2030, and the aim is to improve early childhood development and to ensure that children get adequate education of a good quality in a safe environment (UNICEF 2017, p. 8).

To be able to achieve this aim, the purpose of the study needs to be divided into two parts. It is rarely, that only just one cause is leading to dropout. Usually there are several correlating factors and obstacles, that bring about the drop out decision (Yeboah-Obeng 2016, p. 92). That is why the first part of the purpose is to identify the main causes, which makes students to drop out of primary school. These causes will be examined closer and the focus is on how they interact with each other. The second part of the purpose is to find out if the drop out phenomenon is different in different schools. It will be done through a comparison between three schools with unequal socio-economic prerequisites. There enrollment-, dropout ratio and reasons for dropouts between boys and girls will be studied. The goal is to identify causes of dropouts, which are related to socio-economic differences that exist between these education facilities. At the same time causes, that are not related to these socio-economic differences will also be included.

As mentioned earlier Tanzania has high levels of dropouts. Because the Södertörns University has a cooperation with Babati Town Council, which is located in Tanzania, this research will take place there.

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions are undertaken as a guideline to what factors to investigate, that leads children to drop out of Kiongozi Primary School, Maisaka Primary School, Oyster Bay Primary School in Babati Town Council, Tanzania:

- 1) *Which individual/ collective factors contribute to that girls and boys in the age group between 7 and 13 drop out of these earlier mentioned primary schools?*
- 2) *What differences are there in the drop out causes between two more “privileged” and one more “marginalized” school?*

1.5 Previous Studies

Earlier studies concerning the drop out phenomenon and its causes, have identified a few main factors. Joshi (2010) not only studied access, enrolments and gender parity, but also looked closer at the drop out situation in India between indigenous children, Adivasi or officially called “scheduled tribes (STs)” (Joshi 2010, p.547). In his study he identified the factors for dropouts such as; a) the geographical location, b) social and the cultural trends, c) degree of gender inequality in the country, d) dependence on the agriculture, e) socio-economic conditions, f) physical availability and quality of schools, g) tangible and intangible costs of education, h) conditions of household level and i) poverty.

Yeboah-Obeng Frank (2016) indicated six predominant causes for dropouts among children in Ghana. Poverty was identified as one of the causes for dropouts just like in Joshi’s research. Yeboah-Obeng (2016, p.90-91) however mentioned also other factors such as; a) child labour, b) academic performance, c) pregnancy, d) corporal punishment and e) school context. These reasons were not included in Joshi’s research.

Peter Namphande (2007) conducted research in Malawi, with the purpose to find out if the dropouts of primary schools are by choice or by deprivation. The result was, that the drop out phenomenon in Malawi is deprivation. The factors which forced children to drop out of school are just like in two aforementioned case studies, the deprivation of poverty. Also irrelevant education, unfreedoms in form of hunger, illness, death in the households, gender roles, parents attitudes toward schooling and culture play a major role when the question of drop out arises (Namphande 2007, p.96-101).

The report by Human Rights Watch (2017) takes up drop out reasons of secondary schools in Tanzania. It says, that one of the main reasons for dropouts to occur is the childrens choice to help support their families income, and instead of enrolling in school they choose to work. Also marriage and pregnancy are mentioned as factors for girls to drop out of school (Human Rights Watch 2017, p.5). Education is fee free in Tanzania, however other school related costs still

exist; such as transportation costs and school material costs. Due to poverty many families can not afford to pay these costs and that is why they are forced to not send their kids to school (IBID, p.8). Lastly due to the fee free education schools do not get money to support themselves. This leads to lack of infrastructure, educational materials and qualified personnel (IBID, p.10). These flaws are also taken up in the report as reasons for some children to choose to drop out of school. The bad quality of education leads to, that many children fail their tests (IBID, p.13), making them less motivated to continue studying.

None of the earlier studies have compared schools with unequal socio-economic preconditions and different school environments. New information about, which reasons are leading to occurrence of this drop out phenomenon, how these reasons differ between boys and girls in different schools in the same area, in this case Babati Town Council will be received.

2. Theoretical Framework

In theoretical framework five alternative theories identified by Battin-Pearson (2000) are used. The Academic Mediation theory, the General Deviance theory, the Structural Strains theory, the Family Socialization theory and the Deviant Affiliation theory. These five theories concern drop out of school with the main focus on different sets of predictors, and include individual as well as structural reasons. Additionally Vincent Tintos' (1975) theory of Institutional Departure is applied in this research. All these six theories are used when explaining the findings of this study.

2.1 Academic Mediation theory

The Academic Mediation theory concentrates on explaining the connection between academic achievement and drop out of an educational facility. Meaning, that the strongest predictor for students to drop out of school is a poor academic presentation, usually in form of standardized tests or grade point average (Battin-Pearson 2000, p. 569-570).

Battin-Pearson uses other studies when formulating theories. In this specific theory he uses studies written by Harachi, Abbott, Catalano (1996); Maguin, Loeber (1996) and Hawkins, Catalano and Miller (1992). The main message from these studies, which was incorporated in this theory was school bonding. This school bonding is connected to students presentation at school. Those who are engaged and have a motivation to succeed in school are doing better academically and less likely to quit school. This means, those who have a low academic achievement, probably has a low bonding to school and are more likely to drop out of a current education level (Battin-Pearson 2000, p. 569-570).

2.2 General Deviance theory

The second theory which Battin-Pearson identified focuses on the relationship between deviant behaviour and dropout rates (Battin-Pearson 2000, p.570). This theory is based on other studies; for exempel studies done by Garnier (1997) and Rumberger (1983). According to Garnier, level of family's' commitment to different lifestyles and values is a predictor for childrens probability

of dropping out of the school. She writes that childrens early lifes exposure to drug use will affect their development (Garnier, et al 1997, p.395). In other words, she identifies the drug as predictor for students to drop out of school. In this theory was also incorporated Rumbergers study (1983). As the main factor for girls to drop out of school identifying, pregnancy (Rumberger 1983, p.199). The General Deviance theory argues, that this type of attitude and behaviour has a close link with earlier mentioned low academic achievement. Meaning that those who do not do good in school and have a low motivation are most likely going to engage in sexual relationships or criminal activities, than those who have a motivation to study and are doing well in school (Battin-Pearson 2000, p.570).

2.3 Deviant Affiliation theory

The third theory mainly focuses on the negative influences and relationships, like rejection or abuse in the family as the factors for drop out (Battin-Pearson 2000, p.570-571). This theory is based on Hallinan and Williams (1990) study on student and peer influence. According to the study parents have a huge influence on the childrens behavior, development and even on their academic achievements (Hallinan & Williams 1990, p.131). At the same time not only family relationships have an important effect, but also the relationships with friends play a major role. The theory highlights, that even friends that a person have, has a great influence, due shared traits, characteristics and school experiences (IBID, p.130).

2.4 Poor Family Socialization theory

Poor Family Socialization theory concentrates on family practices and expectations (Rumberger & Lim 2008, p.9). According to Newcomb (1997) family is the earliest and the most important socialization institution for children and their development. Family support and bonding have a significant impact on persons' general deviance and on psychological distress (Newcomb 1997, p. 395). Family forms a foundation not just for the academic achievement of the children and how well they do in school, but also make a basis for their future. Rumberger (1983) also argues, that the family background have an important effect on childrens' school attendance and their tendency to drop out of school. Poverty is one of the main reasons why children feel the pressure to drop out of the school and contribute to the families' income (Rumberger 1983, p.202). Factors like parent divorce, family stress, parental behavioral control, also acceptance and even the parents' educational level have a significant effects. Parents' educational level sets their expectations for their childrens' school performance (Battin-Pearson 2000, p.571). Rumberger (1983, p.202 & 211) also mentions as the factors for drop out the household conditions, family size, geographic location, marriage and childbirth.

2.5 Structural Strains theory

The last theory which is suggested by Battin Pearson (2000) is Structural Strains theory. This theory focuses on demographic factors such as gender, race and ethnicity, and family socio-economic status (Rumberger & Lim 2008, p.9). According to Rumberger (1987) most

likely to drop out from school are going the boys than girls whom possibly come from a families with low socio-economic status. Boys often drop out more often from school, because boys tend to have a lower commitment to school and a lower motivation to study. They also tend to have worse relationship with their parents and have a higher risk of drug abuse (Battin-Pearson 2000, p.571). When it comes to the ethnicity, the theory argues that minorities tend to drop out of school more often (Battin-Pearson 2000, p.571). However these dropout reasons can be eliminated when socio-economic factors are controlled through practices and policies (Rumberger 1987, p. 110).

2.6 A theory of Institutional Departure

The theory is created by Vincent Tinto (1975) with the main focus on college, however his *Longitudinal Model of Dropout* can be applied and used for explanation of drop out of primary school. Tinos' theory states, that drop out from educational facility can be seen as a process, which takes place over a long period of time. During this time many complex interactions between the individual, the academic and social systems takes place. At the same time the individual's personal experience in these systems forms individuals' goals (intentions) and commitments (motivation), which might bring up drop out decision. Also Tinto argues, that every individual enrolls at school with specific personal attributes; sex, race, ability, family background, social status and values. All these factors have a great impact on the childrens performance, goals and commitments to school (Tinto 1975, p.94). Additionally the intentions and motivation can be affected by the characteristics of the school. Characteristics such as level and quality of education, size of school might bring up the decision for dropout. On the other hand, even when students are satisfied with school experience, they might choose to invest their time and energy in something else (IBID, p.97-98). Tinto also stresses out in his model the external factors, which exists outside the school environment. These factors affect students and their decision to continue studying. Such external factors can be changing demands in the job market and discrimination.

3. Methodology

This study is a qualitative case study, which required fieldwork in Babati Town Council, Tanzania. The quantitative method aims to receive numerical and more precise measurement of before predicted hypothesis (Potter & Desai 2006, p.117). The purpose of this study is to gain a greater understanding of the drop out phenomenon and analyse deeper the causes for students to drop out of primary school. For this purpose the qualitative method was more suitable than quantitative method. Qualitative method aims to a more holistic way of understanding of complex realities and processes. During the investigation of these realities and processes the questions and hypothesis can be formulated (IBID, p.116-118). However in this research hypothesis was not generated, instead there is a problem formulation, there already existing knowledge in form of theories are applied. This type of method is known as a deductive method (Theorell & Svensson 2013, p.50).

Additionally this study is a comparative study, there three different schools with unequal socio-economic prerequisites were compared to find out how the drop out reasons differ for boys and girls between these different schools.

The study is both, descriptive and explanatory (Theorell & Svensson 2013, p.23), describing the reality in the area concerning dropouts and explaining why this phenomenon occurs.

3.1 Individualism and Collectivism

To find answers to research questions, two approaches were applied. The individualism and the collectivism. The actor approach explains principles, that control individual behavior and gives description of the situations in which individuals are involved (Nachmias D. & Nachmias C. 1996, p.221). In other words this approach helped to study individuals and their characteristics; actions, choices, attitudes and believes, and later on explain why phenomenon of drop out looks as it does. The collectivism states, that the behavior of the individual can be explained by other social phenomena such as; social forms, structures of society, the positions or functions, that individuals have in the social systems and institutions (IBID, p.221). In other words this approach helped to understand the structure, which is existing in the society and how it affects the individuals and later on creates the drop out phenomenon.

3.2 Data Collection

The fieldwork took place from 28th January to 11th February 2018 in Babati Town Council, Tanzania. During this time empirical data in form of interviews were gathered.

3.2.1 Sampling

The goal was to study drop out reasons at three different schools with unequal socio-economic prerequisites. That is why the first step was to decide, which three schools will be compared in this study. The factors, which were used to make this decision were the schools socio-economic situation, infrastructure, drop out rates and the place, which the school received in the community school ranking after the final exams last year. This information was gathered with help of headteachers at different schools. When three schools with biggest gap between where identified, the sampling of the respondents need to be done. Because of the fieldwork being only for two weeks to make it possible to collect some usable data, the field assistant, Elias Iyo was helping with organising the interviews. After the interviews with the headteachers, there the school descriptions were received, field assistant again contacted these headteachers and asked if they can identify some current students or other people who might know anyone who dropped out of this specific primary school. These people who were identified by the headteachers, took me and my field assistant to the places where families of dropouts live. This method can be compared to non-probability sample, snowball sample (Potter & Desai 2006, p.148). There one respondent identifies the next respondent with a special feature, in this case parents to children in the age group between 7 and 13 years who have enrolled and later on dropped out of primary school. With this type of sampling there are many advantages such as it is possible for me to

reach a population, that is hard to sample with other sampling methods. This method is cheap, cost-efficient and requires little preparation. Yet there are also some disadvantages with this kind of sampling method. The entire method depends on previous subjects, that will be interviewed. Also it is a high risk of sampling bias. Because the method depends on research subjects who are close and know each other well, they share the same traits and characteristics (IBID, p.148). That is why it is possible, others who have different characteristics, but still are part of the dropout phenomenon get excluded, meaning an important data does not make into the results. Also it is was a high risk of some parents unwillingness to participate in the study, due many reasons, such as; shame that they can not send their children to school or due fear, because the primary school is obligatory in Tanzania (Iyo, 2018-02-07).

*Non-probability: there is no way to predict the probability of each units' inclusion in the sample, neither it is possible to ensure that all units have the same chance to be included (Nachmias D. & Nachmias C. 1996, p.183).

3.2.2 Interviews

As earlier mentioned, participants in the interviews were parents/other guardians, that have children in the age group between 7 and 13 (at the time of the drop out), who have enrolled and later on dropped out from primary school in Babati Town Council, Tanzania. The interviews were semi-structured. An advantage of semi-structured interviews is, that there was some guideline in questions, but at the same time a deeper discussion was possible and other questions could be asked (Theorell & Svensson 2013, p.89). Giving a greater opportunity for me to understand the problem, its' causes and how these causes interact with each other.

Besides of the interviews with parents/guardians, interviews with headteachers were also necessary to conduct. The plan was to study closer three local schools; two more "privileged" and one more "marginalized" school. That is why headteacher from each school was interviewed. The type of interview structure was also a semi-structured, just to give a greater opportunity to understand the problem and receive more detailed descriptions of the schools.

All above mentioned interviews studied both individual and structural reasons for students to drop out of primary school.

3.2.3 Ethics

Doing a development research in another country, with different language, culture etc. it is urgent to work in line with ethics. First of all it was important to think about the "informed consent". It was necessary to explain to the participants what the research is for, how the results will be used and so on. By this the trust of the participants was gained and the willingness for them to participate in particular research was greater. When the consent was obtained only then the research and data gathering could begin. The topic of this research is on the border of sensitive topic. What was concerning anonymity, in face-to-face interviews it is hard to keep the participants completely anonymous, because the face of the participants was shown. However no names or other personal data was documented as well as no pictures were taken. In that way,

when data summarizing took place, the gathered data could not be associated to any names, securing the participants identity (Nachmias D. & Nachmias C. 1996, p.88). The goal of making the participants aware of this feature, was to increase the quality of the answers and hopefully also quality of the results for more accurate study (Potter & Desai 2006, p.26). The only factors which were taken into account are; the number of children in the family, gender and age of these children, where there both parents in the family, or children were raised by a single parent, the education level of the parents and their occupation. As I had guessed, income, was a sensitive question to ask, that is why decision was made to ask participant occupation instead and later on find out how much a person gets paid working in this industry in Babati Town Council, Tanzania.

The participants were also informed about the limitations of confidentiality. The results were not summarized in a group statistics (Nachmias D. & Nachmias C. 1996, p.89), instead the interviews were presented as separate narratives, short case stories. But still no names were mentioned.

3.2.4 Limitations

One limitation, that affected the whole study was time pressure. Possibility to only be in the field for two weeks was a major disadvantage when concerning data gathering. To be more efficient the decision was made to compare three primary schools in Babati Town Council. These schools were Kiongozi Primary School, Maisaka Primary School and Oyster Bay Primary School. Due the time pressure the choice was made to interview only the headteachers from these schools and parents of the dropouts. The decision was made not to interview the dropouts themselves, because it would take much more time to receive parents permission to interview their children. Additionally it would be much harder to get enough numbers of willing parents and children to participate in the study. It would be more difficult to interview children, because they are seldom at home. They have moved from the family or are busy working.

3.2.5 Sampling- and measurement errors

It is important to make sure, that the data which is gathered by the interviews is representative of the larger population from which the subjects of the interest are taken. It is called sampling error (Moses & Knutsen 2012, p.131). As already mentioned in the paragraph there sampling method was discussed. It is hard to eliminate sampling bias, however I was conducting interviews at three different schools in that way I hoped to reach broader population and respondents with different characteristics.

It was important to take into a consideration the possible errors in measurement. These errors could occur in validity and reliability. By validity means, that the interview questions actually measures the phenomenon, that was planned to study (Theorell & Svensson 2013, p.59). The interview questions were composed so, that they explain the world as it is. Also they were easily understandable with no loaded meaning or leading toward one specific answer. As I mentioned earlier the problem, which could have occurred during the interviews was, that sometimes interview subjects might not respond to the questions honestly or right. However this error I tried

to eliminate through the informed consent, explaining who I am, what the study is for, clarifying about the anonymity and limitations of confidentiality. However one obstacle did occur during the interviews. Quite often the parent or the guardian did not know or was not sure about the answer to the question, especially when the question about pregnancy and criminal activities were asked. It is possible that parents did not respond honestly on this type of questions (Moses & Knutsen 2012, p.132). For this reason a different approach to find answers to sensitive questions should be applied. One suggestion how this problem might be eliminated in the future studies is to interview children that have dropped out and not their parents/other guardians. These interviews would also increase quality of the results and would give more accurate reasons for dropping out of primary school, because the childrens own thoughts, experiences and opinions would be included in the collected data.

Also, it is vital to make sure, that the data which is gather is reliable. This means the questions, which is used, is going to produce the same responses under different circumstances and at different period of time (Moses & Knutsen 2012, p.132). Because this research studies drop out phenomenon from an individual perspective, there individual's thoughts, emotions, beliefs, attitudes, views and actions were studied the problem in repeatability could have arised. However in this type of studies it is not a primary concern. Due to subjective experiences perfect validity is not theoretically attainable. Instead validity needs to be defined as the degree of which the findings is interpreted in a correct way. The same with the reliability, defining it as the degree to which the findings is independent of an accidental circumstances of the research (Namphande 2007, p.46-47). To ensure the study is valid and reliable, instead I was making sure the interview questions were well composed and repeated to research participant. In this way the possible misunderstandings were eliminated. Also I was taking notes during interviews instead of recording the interviews, making participants more comfortable, open and honest.

When research is done in a low income country, it is possible, that the local citizens see the fieldworkers as sources of material, political connections and social prestige (Nachmias D. & Nachmias C. 1996, p.299). However I do not think, this was a problem in my case, because the respondents were aware, that I am only a student doing my bachelor thesis there, and I am not a powerful, experienced researcher. Although some obstacles could have occurred, degrading the results of this study. Because of me being well educated european, coming from high income country, they might have considered me of belonging to a more privileged group, and that is why have had a negative attitude towards me. Also just like it was written earlier, some of the parents might not have answered interview questions honestly or right due some reasons (Moses & Knutsen 2012, p.132), such as fear that I might work in the government. The primary education is obligatory in Tanzania, parents/other guardians might have been afraid, that I might make them pay fine or make their children return to school if the reason for dropout was not good enough (Iyo, 2018-02-07).

3.2 Data Analysis

When data is collected in another country with a different language, the error can emerge in translation. Because I cannot fluently Swahili, it was necessary to use a field assistant, a

translator. The questions were asked in English. The field assistant translated these questions and later on the answers too. Here many misunderstandings could occur. Also many words cannot be translated, which could possibly degrade the data analyzing process.

It was vital to consider the broad of interview questions. First of all too long interviews can make it difficult to translate the material in workable frame. That unnecessary material makes in the results. However too short interviews can have a different effect, there not enough material is received to answer the research questions. Also when using a translator there is a possibility, that he thought, that some information was not important and for that reason did not translated the whole answer, which respondent gave, degrading the results. Additionally with long answers from respondents it is possible, that the translator forgot to translate some parts of the answer, which leads, that some important details, that should be presented in the findings got excluded.

4. Findings

The empirical data consists of answers, which were received from respondents who participated in the particular interviews. Three headteachers were interviewed. There a general description was received about each separate school; Maisaka Primary School, Oyster Bay Primary School Kiongozi Primary School. These descriptions help to identify school as privileged or marginalized. Besides the general description about the specific school, which helped to place the school in the category “privileged” or “marginalized”. I received also information about the environment at school, information concerning the drop out phenomenon and reasons why after the teachers thoughts dropout phenomenon is occurring or why is not occurring at their school.

The findings also consists of nine parents/ other guardians interviews. The respondents were only parents or other guardians of children who had dropped out of Kiongozi Primary School, because this school was identified as a marginalized school and had a high rates of the drop out. These nine respondents contributed with information about the drop out reasons. However different from the teacher interviews, in parents cases reasons were more specific and more detailed described. These stories can be read under the paragraph 4.3 Narratives.

4.1 School Descriptions

4.1.1 Maisaka Primary School “Shule Ya Msingi Maisaka”

The Maisaka Primary School is located in Babati Town Council. The current headteacher at this school is Dimma Simgo Mjema. She is a 48 years old swahili, history and civics teacher. Her education is Grade A teaching certificate, which is a qualification to work at school. She has worked at this primary school for four years.

The Maisaka Primary School is one of the best schools in Babati Town Council. In the ranking there schools are placed after the national exams, Maisaka Primary School received the second place out of 25 schools. In the ranking were included both; private and community schools. The first place received one of the private schools. In the regional ranking this school was placed as 16 of 351, and in the national scale was ranked as 987 out of 9736 schools. At the time of the interview there were registered 742 students, which of 364 were boys and 378 were

girls. This year 103 pupils enrolled for the standard one and still are enrolling. Last year there were no dropouts recorded. There are twelve classes and 25 teachers working at this school. Parents community contribute with 4,000 TZS for the lunch per student per semester. Which is approximately 1.77 US\$. However just a few parents actually contribute to the lunch. For this semester only 60 parents contributed.

Concerning the infrastructure, there were many latrines for the students, separate for both; girls and boys. The water to flush the toilet and wash their hands afterwards is collected in the morning from the river and then placed outside the toilets.

Taking all these factors into account, this school is defined as “privileged” in this study.

4.1.2 Oyster Bay Primary School “Oysterbay shule ya Msingi”

This school is in the group 40 and above, which means, that they have more than 40 students in the last standard who are taking national exams. They received third place between other 36 local schools, there again were ranked both; private and community schools. The first place received a private school, meaning that only between community schools they were second best at Babati Town Council. Last year there were only ten students who failed the national exams. Seven of these students were boys and three of these students were girls.

Currently there are 973 students, which of them 473 are boys and 500 are girls. There are 25 teachers working at this specific school. Two of them are male teachers, the rest are female teachers. There are eleven classes. Last year there were no registered dropouts from this school.

At this school they have 18 toilets, eight for boys and ten for girls. They do not have any water. They fill the cans from the river and later on place the water filled cans outside the latrines. They do have an electricity. There is no contribution from parents side, meaning that at school no lunch is served. Students usually go home to eat. It is convenient, because the school is located in the city and students live close to school.

This school also is defined as “privileged” school in this study.

4.1.3 Kiongozi Primary School “Shule Ya Msingi Kiongozi”

Currently school has 600 students with the same ratio of boys and girls. This year for the standard one enrolled 125 children, which of 62 were boys and 63 were girls. There are eight classes and twelve teachers currently working in this school. Three of them are male teachers and nine of them, female. The dropout ratio is nine or ten students out of 100.

When it is concerning the infrastructure, classrooms have no windows, there are only six penitries at school which are unisex. There is running water, but school uses it only for one hour during the lunch time. Water for the toilets is collected from the nearest river. There is an electricity in one building, however if necessary it can be connected to other houses.

Lunch is not for free. Children whose parents have contributed, receive lunch. The contribution usually is corn, beans and 3,500 TZS which is approximately 1.55 US\$ per student per semester. To run the school usually school receives capitation grant from the government. This grant is used for necessary materials like; paper, chalk, books and other. Also teachers

salary is received from the government. Teachers pay for their own food. Some of the teachers live at school area. There are special teachers houses.

The school does not have a good reputation. The previous headteacher, Yohana Kerikawas received his job at this school, because of the political issues, that existed earlier in this school. There was a very bad relationship between teachers and the local politicians. Later on even the parents got involved, asking to remove the teachers who worked there at the time. It was surprising that parents got involved, because earlier they did not get involved at this specific schools' development. The parents did not motivate the children to study and never supported schools' infrastructure, to make the study environment more pleasant and suitable for studying.

Even now when the teachers were replaced, still school has a bad word, due to bad results they received at national tests last year. There were only 41 % of students who passed the exam, which placed the school in the category 40 and less students in the last grade in 35 place out of 37 between all community schools in Babati Town Council. These bad results made the headteacher to step down from his position. However according to him the bad results was not his fault. It was an effect of previous teachers, which got removed three years ago. He says that this year's ranking will look much better, with higher results in the national tests.

Taking all these characteristics in the consideration this school is used as a "marginalized" school in this study.

4.2 Headteachers' thoughts on drop out phenomenon

4.2.1 Possible reasons behind dropouts according to the headteacher of Maisaka Primary School and why drop out phenomenon does not occur at this school

Dimma Simgo Mjema is a headteacher at Maisaka Primary School. She has worked at this school for four years now. As earlier mentioned there was no dropouts registered last year from this specific primary school. According to the headteacher Mjema the school environment is good and pleasant. The teacher - student relationships as well as student - student relationships she describes as very well. There is no discrimination due the ethnicity, because school is very mixed group. Also there is no bullying. The headteachers says, that students easily make friends, even outside the school environment, because they live close to each other. On the question if the possible use of the corporal punishment would worsen the teacher-student relationships she denies it. At this school they use corporal punishment only when the big offenses occur as an exempel she mentions abuse. Just like she mentioned earlier, relationships between students are very good. Abuse does not occur that often. For this reason they do not practice corporal punishment at school that often. They use also jour punishments, like helping in the kitchen, cleaning etc. This type of punishment is used more often, and she says it definitely do not destroy student-teacher relationships. Student-teacher relationships are good, however teachers do not have any connections with their students outside the school environment. She says that is why she does not know how big are the households of the students.

As reason for why there are no dropouts at the school, she mentions parents awareness of the importance of education, families motivation to give a good education to their children as well as

parent time and willingness to interact at their children school work. Also she mentions parents education level as a factor for low dropout rates. At this school student parents are well educated, there majority are working at government, different companies, are small business owners or are a big scale farmers. Not that often a pupil comes from a pastroalist or a peasant family. However she mentions, that some parents are not educated. Because the school is located in the city, houses are located close to each other. The parents who are not educated get influenced by the families, that are rich and educated living next door. That is why parents do everything just to be able to send their children at school just as their neighbors do. The headteacher also points out, that there have not been any reports for a while about the parents who would be alcohol or drug addicted.

Additionally this school have adapted a system to prevent the risk for students to drop out. If a student does not come to school for three days without any information, headteacher calls to the parents. If the child still is absent for more than one month, then the school calls the executive office. They are very strict with pupil school attendance. The teacher says, that whenever a pupil begins to perform worst at school then they contact the parents and try to find out the problem and fix it. They also do extra classes for free if necessary. They also inform students parents and ask them to supervise they homework.

Because there are no dropouts recorded at this school and are concerned as the best community school in Babati Town Council, the headteacher cannot give any reasons why students would drop out from this current school. She points out that she does not have any experience with low grades and bad student performance at this school. Every student at this school is motivated to study and to finish the school. However she can give reasons for dropping out from her earlier experience. She identifies the regular absence from school as an indicator for possible later drop out. This absence from school shows students lack of interest at school and lack of motivation. Whenever a student misses school a lot, it reflects in students performance and in her/his grades. Additionally she thinks that parents for the students who drop out are not motivated enough. They just do not see the development of the education and the development of their children. Generally said they do not see the importance of education.

As the other possible factor, which leads to drop out, the headteacher mentions the importance of the family background. She stresses out factors such as; single parent families and orphanhood.

The headteacher of Maisaka is sceptical that reasons like; sexual activities, pregnancy and criminal activities lead to dropouts out of primary school. She say children at primary school are too young for activities like these. However, once again she points out that she has no connection with students outside the school. She does not deny the possibility. There is a possibility, that these things occur, just she does not find out about them. At the same time she does not want to believe that. She says, that at Maisaka Primary School children parents are rich and educated, who are very strict at the same time. They will never let their children to engage in sexual relationships. Also they do not have the rush to get their daughters married. They do not have that need after the bridal price as a poor family would have.

4.2.2 Possible reasons why at Oyster Bay Primary School drop out phenomenon does not occur

Reasons why there are no dropouts the headteacher, Monica Chikwasala mentions the schools' location in the city. She describes, that the distance is not a problem for the students, because the majority of the pupils live near the school. Also she says that most children parents are well educated and work as entrepreneurs and small business owners. There are almost none peasants or pastoralists. Meaning that life is not hard for them and that living standards are much high there. Well educated parents motivate and encourage their children to study. Working not as a peasant or pastoralist they have more time to participate in their children school work.

Also school have formed a system how they can motivate students to study. To motivate students they use reward system. Whenever a student performs well at the test, he/she receives a present, such a book, pen, pencils etc. Additionally their name is announced in front of the whole class. When a student begins to perform worse than usual, teachers call the parents and try to find out what the reason might be. There is no extra classes at this school. Although if necessary, the usual length of the lessons might be extended, there the teachers put an extra attention on students that are under presenting itself. There are no special classes for students with needs at this school.

At this school they practice the corporal punishment. The headteacher says, that they use it as a last resort and it is a quite long process before the actual punishment takes place. First they do the Discipline Council, then Guidance and Counselling Committee there they talk with the pupil. Only after these two steps, they call to the parents and ask for the permission to punish the student. Sometimes teachers punish the student in front of his/her parents or sometimes the parents punish their child in front of the teachers.

When it is concerning the family background, there are some extended families, meaning that there are living many people in one household. However the teacher sees it as a something positive. Extended families often have an extra resource, due many people who contribute to the household functions. Some parents are divorced or is a single parent, however a very small number. She says some families are reported for alcoholism and abuse in the family, but it occurs very rarely. However there are some cases.

4.2.3 Possible reasons behind the dropouts according to headteacher at Kiongozi Primary School

As the main reasons to girls to drop out of this specific primary school Yohana Kerika mentions the pregnancy. The pregnancy according to him is due the vulnerable way home. Many girls live about 7 km to 12 km far from school. Some girls cannot afford to take bus, or it is not even possible to take buss because of the bad roads. Walking pas bushes, there no homes are around, they can easily be talked into having sexual intercourse. However the possible rape causes he denied. He also mentions, that does who got pregnant and later on dropped out, before dropping out missed school a lot, performed badly and failed the tests, making statistics bad. As one of the problems linked to the pregnancy, he mentions the pregnancy acceptance from the parents side.

The parents want to get their daughters married fast, that they could receive the bridal price. When a girl is pregnant it is much easier to get her married..

Besides the pregnancy the headteacher mentions also many girls decision to become a housemaid at some rich family.

The most common reason for boys to drop out from primary school, headteacher mentions pastoralist lifestyle. Some boys are looking after the family's animals, and moving along them when necessary. Also some students choose to fish, work in quarry mines and charcoal burning. They get paid there and it feels for them like more efficient time spending than attending school. Some of the dropouts are selling stuff and begging next to the bus stop. However Kerika is not sure if any of the dropouts engaged in criminal activities.

Additionally when asked about the parent and children relationships, he mentions, that usually does who drop out are badly taken care of their parents. The parents lack of believe in school, is quite common, where parents do not motivate their children to study and for that reason drop out occurs.

On the question what school does to make the dropouts less occurring is that they have 19 By-laws "Sheria Za Shule", which are locally made. One rule is that if the children miss one week of the school it is reported to the village executive office. Usually parents get punished there by paying fine. If they miss less then a week then they call to the parents and try to fix the problem at school. However these two methods are not that effective. It is necessary to get parents more engaged to school. That is why Kiongozi Primary school organizes two sessions there parents can meet the teachers.

4.3 Narratives

4.3.1 Girl who lived far from school

The first respondent is a male. He belongs to the Barabaig group and is a typical pastoralist. He has no education, however he thinks education is very important these days. He is married to two women and there are ten people in the family, five of them are children. The man who was interviewed is a stepfather to a girl who dropped out from school last year. Stepfather accepted her when she was little. She was moving alone with the cattle. At the moment the girl is 14 years old. She left the family last year and at the moment no one knows where she is, and what exactly she is doing. They think she went with her friend to become a housemaid in some rich family.

When the girl dropped out she did not complete standard four at primary school. Her stepfather described her as not motivated to study. He mentions this as possible reason for why she missed school a lot at the time. As earlier mentioned her stepfather thinks education is very important, so that is why he forced her to go to school. He guesses maybe the pressure to go to school might be one of the reasons why she left the family and the home. On the question if he participated at her school work or attended school when it was necessary he argues, that they have much to do at home. At the beginning he went to school and talked with the teachers, but when it was occurring more often, he did not go anymore. Also he says, that he was not educated that is why he could not help her at school work. The family lives twelve kilometers from the

school. The girl needed to leave home at 05.10 o'clock to make to the lessons which begin at 8 o'clock. The negative aspect could be, that she did not have the time to eat breakfast. But the stepfather says he contributed to the lunch, meaning she received food at school.

He never got any complains about the school, the education she received or about the corporal punishments etc. He points out, that his other kids still attend the same school. If there was a problem at school they would tell and also drop out. However stepfather recalls her complaining a lot about the distance from home to school. On the way home she felt vulnerable. Also sometimes the way home was unpleasant like too hot or rainy.

According to the stepfather relationships in the family were good. There he cared a lot about her education. On the question if she engaged in any sexual or criminal activities before, at the time when she studied. He responds, that she was a good kid. However he is not sure what she is doing now, because they do not have any contact.

4.3.2 Girl who chose work over her education

The second parent was a single parent. He had divorced his wife a few years ago. She lives with another man now, and never visits her ex-husband with his kids. In the family there are three children. They all are in the primary school age. At the housework sometimes his mother comes and helps. They belong also to the Barabaig ethnic group. They are pastoralists. However they do not have, that many cows. They use to borrow cows from their family friends. They milk the cows and then give them back. Sometimes they even help with the reproduction as well.

The girl who dropped out of primary school, is eight years old and dropped out from the standard four, two years ago. The father described her as very motivated to study at the beginning of her school days. But then she slowly lost her interest. Everything began with her coming late to school late. When she came late to school teachers punished her. The girl complained a lot about the corporal punishment to her father, but when he went to the school all teachers denied, that they have ever applied this type of punishment on her. Later on she pretended, that she went to school, but never made there. Her father thinks, that education is very important, so he pushed her to go to school. The encouragement from the father's side did not help. Later on she dropped out from school completely and left the family. She left to Arusha with her friend. The father does not know what she is doing there. He assumes, that she is working as a maid. When I asked if there could have been other obstacles, that made her to leave the school, father says that there was no discrimination at school. They contributed to the lunch so she had food at school. She had clean clothes and for school necessary equipment like books, pencils etc. Also he had a very good relationship with her. On the question if he knows if she might have engaged in some criminal or sexual activities before she dropped out, he does not know the answer to.

He never punished her for missing school, only encouraged her. She got reported several times to the town executive officer. The father's task was to bring her back home. However it was too much of the burden, because he does not know where she is and what exactly she is doing.

4.3.3 Boy whos father cared more about the alcohol

The family belongs to the Gorowa ethnic group. The household is divided into two houses. There are five people in each house. In one of the houses there are three children and in other house there are two children. The grandparent is a peasant, and his son is a pastoralist with only two cows. He also is cultivating a small plot of a land. The grandfather has no education, but his son has completed the primary education.

The boy who dropped out was 15 years old and he dropped out from primary school last year. He was older than 13 years old, because he repeated the same grade twice. The performance at school was bad, he failed tests a lot. Motivation was also bad. According to the grandfather he was sneaky. The grandson just pretended, that he went to school. When the question about the boys relationship with teachers arose, he pointed out, that he really does not know. There are two households in the family, and the grandson just passes grandparents house, and never chats about the school. Also grandfather never visited school when it was necessary.

As the reason for dropout grandfather points out his sons alcohol addiction. He says his son drank a lot, but never abused the boy. He says that alcohol made him care less and take less care of the boy. All though this drinking at home did not affect boy in a way, that he would also begin to drink. Grandfather says, that he has not noticed if the boy drank alcohol before he dropped out of primary school.

The boy who dropped out of primary school, did not attend school regularly. He looked often after cows. Grandfather says, that the father was not concerned about his sons absence from school. The father did not care, that his son missed school a lot.

Other interesting fact which grandfather took up was necessity of few school uniforms, because they get destroyed easily. Grandfather says, that his son never bought them more than one.

On the question what the boy is doing now, grandfather mention the good relationship with his mother. He moved to her mother's village (Mawole), because there are much more activities to do, such as look after animals, work as a *vibarua* daily labourer, meaning work in the rice fields.

The grandfather can not think of any other reasons why the boy has dropped out of primary school, besides the bad relationship with his father and the fathers problems with the alcohol.

Later on interview with the boys father was conducted. The father mentions as the reason for boys dropout the corporal punishment. He described that one time the headteacher punished him badly for misbehaving at school. After this time, the next day the boy refused to go back to school.

The fathers other two kids still attend the same school. He says that contribution for lunch is 20 kg corn and 4 kg beans per year. He paid for the lunch for those two kids, and not for the boys who dropped out.

4.3.4. Orphan who likes to hang out with his friends

There are five people in the family, three of them are children. The family is subsistence peasants meaning, that they live on what they grow. The grandmother is not educated. The boys mother died one month after she gave birth to the boy. After the mothers death the grandmother took the boy in her care. She claims, that she does not know who the father is.

The boy is ten years old and left the school at the beginning of the standard two. She says it is hard to tell if he did well or bad, because they just learn to read and write, and often do not receive any grades. However she says he was not motivated to study at all. She pushed him to go, but he refused. Sometimes he even did not eat just to make his point clear. She says she never heard him to complain about the teachers. She says there was no problem at school, meaning that he never receive any corporal punishment. When it concerns lunch, parents contribute for the lunch only from the standard three. Because of him being only in the standard two. He did not receive any lunch due the shorter days, than does who study full work day. She also says, that there were good relationships at class with his classmates. No one ever bullied him about being without the parents. She says she is also close to him, because she chose to take him when other relatives did not want to do that. On the question what was the main reason for his drop out she says, that he was hanging out a lot with his friends and found it much more interesting than going to school. She does not know if his friends affected him badly. However she noticed a behaviour change and some bad habits. He began to steal small things at home. She is not sure if he did that outside the home as well. When talking with the headteacher of Kiongozi Primary School. He told about one incident there the boy was involved. A few months ago a bus was driving pass the police. The bus driver threw a bruid money to them. The boy was faster, picked up the money and run away.

There is one other girl in the family at the primary school age. She is continuing her studies at Kiongozi Primary School.

The boy is very smart and creative. The grandmother showed me the light, that is working on electricity. It was made from an old radio.

The connection person who introduced us to this grandmother was a man participating in the Sub Village Committee. He says they receive a list of the children that miss school a lot. The boys name was one that list. He points out, that grandmother ignored this, but he understands why. He says, that uneducated guardians often cannon check the school work and participate if necessary.

4.3.5 Boy who was punished for not attending school

There are seven people in the family, which two of them are children. On of them is a girl who still is studying. She have finished primary school and is currently studying at vocational education and training center. She wants to become a taylor. The other kid is the drop out. He is 13 years old, and should be in standard seven. He dropped out from school at the end of the standard three.

The family is typical peasant family, with a small garden and with a livestock, which consists of few animals, mostly goats and cows. They belong to the Gorowa ethnic group.

At the interview participated both mother and grandmother of the boy who dropped out. Both of them has no education, that is why they could not participate at boys school work. They say, that boy was not motivated to study. It was easily seen in his performance at school and at his school attendance. Both of them do not know how was his relationship with teachers and other students at school. However they say at home they had a very good relationship. Even though the mother often fought with the boy. She tried to make him to go to school. Grandmother says that the mother even sometimes bett him just to make her point clear. When I asked, what was the reason for boy to drop out, both of them says just lack of interest and motivation. Mother even compares her son with her husband and say, that he also did not like school and dropped out. The father moved with the animals, so he is not regularly at home. Mother says, that she is not capable to punish the son as necessary to get him back to school. This is one reason why she misses her husband, just to have a man in the family, who can get sense in the boy by punishing him badly. As the main reason why boy decided to drop out, she mentions, one time when she was getting enough of him sneaking away during the night just to miss the school. She tied his hands and drove him to school, in hopes that headteacher will punish him and then he will turn his mind and begin to attend school regularly. However that was not the case. Instead he got punished so bad, that he did not want to get back to school ever.

Both mother and grandmother say, that the boy is not interested in anything. Even one teachers asked if the boy stayed at home and do not attend school due helping at home. But mother says no. She needed to hire someone to take care of the home and animals. He seems also quite antisocial, both mother and grandmother does not know if he had any friends. The connection person who introduced us to the family was a boy, even he did not want to meet the boy who dropped out of primary school. On the question if they know if the boy had any bad behaviour, they denied it.

4.3.6 Boy who was left out

In the family there are 13 people, which of them ten are children. The family belongs to the Gorowa ethnic group. There are both parents for the dropout, but they are divorced. The father is married and lives with another woman. The mother has no education, however her husband has primary school education. The boy who dropped out was 13 years old at the time, and dropped out from standard two. He lived with his father for a while, but then he moved to Babati and began Kiongozi Primary School at the age of ten. He was very motivated to study and hade a good grades. As the reason for drop out mother beggins to tell about the time when the boy lived with his father and his stepmother. The mother taught, that this other woman will take a good care of him and will take him to school. She never did, because of the lack of care. When he came back to his real mother. He began school really motivated, but he was the oldest at his class. That is why he felt left out and not accepted in the class. The mother says : "not even school accepted him". This makes me to understand, that fathers new wife did not accept him in the family and that is why did not care about his school attendance and his education.

Now the boy helps his mother with cultivation and at housework.

4.3.7 Girl who had the trouble to study

The father has twelve children. Two of his children are married and do not live at home. The mother is in the family. They belong to the Barabaig ethnic group, and they speak local language. As their main occupation he mentions subsistence farming, charcoal selling and also they have a few cows, that they use for milk.

The girl who dropped out was 14 years old and dropped out of Kiongozi Primary School six years ago. She was living with her grandmother for several years. She went to pre-primary school for three years, and when she came back to her mother and father, it was necessary for her to repite the kindergarden for two more years. She studied at standard one, but she could not transfer to standard two, due her failure at the national exam. Her father says she was not motivated to study. Her failure at the tests and necessity to repite the grades, made her to give up. He describes her as someone who has it hard to study. Whenever she red something the next day she forgot. The father says, that he really tried to help her at school work. After the school he used to call to his other children and say to look at the girls books, and help her to prepare the homework for the next day. He really does not know what affected her school performance. He guesses, that maybe it is earned from her mother, who also is not educated. However she has two more children and they study at school. Later on the father points out, that his daughters bad presentation at school is not result of bad school environment or bad teaching. He argues, that his daughter changed school three times and that it is not possible, that all three schools were bad.

He also says, that she missed school a lot when lived with the grandmother, because the grandmother could not accompany her for the walk to the school, and she did not like to go alone.

Now girl is at home, cooking meals for the rest of the family.

5. Analysis

This study aimed to compare the dropout reasons between three different schools, that have unequal socio-economic preconditions; two “privileged” schools and one “marginalized” school. These schools were; Maisaka Primary School, Primary School Oyster bay and Kiongozi Primary School. In this analysis the connection between the gathered data and theoretical framework is presented. The findings are analyzed within a theoretical framework, which consists of six different theories. These theories are; Academic Mediation theory, General Deviance theory, Deviant Affiliation theory, Poor Family Socialization theory, Structural Strains theory and lastly a theory of Institutional Departure.

In interviews with the parents of dropouts and in interviews with the headteachers one common factor was identified, which was the education level of the parents. As Poor Family Socialization theory argues, that parents education sets their expectations for their childrens school performance (Battin Pearson 2000, p.571). This was mentioned as a reason why there are no dropouts at privileged schools. Both headteachers explain, that parents from the more

privileged families understand the importance of education. Families are well motivated to give a good education to their children. As well are willing to participate in their school work. They have time and knowledge to help their children at school work. Educated parents are also willing to make some sacrifices if necessary in the name of education. They have the possibilities and resources to do these inputs. More marginalized families do not have these capabilities and resources. That is why theory can be interpreted as if the parents do not have any education, then probably their children will not receive any basic education either. This pattern was observed in five out of nine interviews. These five respondents did not have any education. According to the parents from marginalized families they see the education as very important and they encourage their children to study. This family support has a significant impact on children (Newcomb 1997, p.395). However this support is not enough. Uneducated parents do not have the resources and the knowledge to participate at their children school work when necessary. They do not have the time, because they work as pastoralists, peasants or are subsistence farmers. Those parents spend a lot of their time in the field. In opposite, the parents of the privileged schools work in government or are small business owners etc. These parents work fixed hours and when they come home from the work they are not as exhausted as those who work hard labor.

The other factors which was quite easy to spot was the level of the childrens motivation to study. Both headteachers of the privileged primary schools argue, that all students are well motivated to study and to finish school. Oyster bay school uses the reward system, there they motivate students to achieve good grades. Whenever a student gets an excellent grade or do well in some kind of project she/he receives a present and is announced in front of the whole class. According to the Academic Mediation theory it could be the main factor why the dropouts do not occur at this school. Indirectly this reward system makes students more engaged in school work and motivates them to do well at school. Students get more eager to receive some gifts, that it indirectly leads to excellent grades and motivation to continue studying rises. These students have a greater motivation to succeed in school, than for those students who study at school there this reward system is not practiced, for exemple Kiongozi Primary School.

The Academic Mediation theory also states, that the strongest predictor for students to drop out is poor academic presentation, usually in form of standardized tests (Battin-Pearson 2000, p. 569-570). When it concerns two privileged primary schools, they received the second and the third place between both; private and community primary schools in Babati Town Council after the national tests last year. This means, that students got very good grades in these tests. This also can be a factor for why there no drop out phenomenon is occurring. However when it is concerning the Kiongozi Primary School, which was ranked as 35 school out of 37 schools, the test results were very bad. Only 41% of all students in the last standard passed the national exam. These bad results at the test can be interpret as the lack of motivation for students to study for the test or lack of motivation for studying in general. When interviewing parents of the dropouts, the majority of the parents stated, that their children were not motivated to study and often missed school. When the student often misses school it reflects on grades. There is a strong connection between motivation to study, grades and drop out. Also three of the parents stated, that their children needed to repeat the standard due the failure in the national tests. However according to

the parents of these three children, only one of them was not motivated to study from the beginning. Two other children were very motivated at the beginning, but later on their motivation disappeared, due to other reasons. One of the reasons was, that the child could have a studying problem. Whenever she studied, she forgot everything the next day. Her father and siblings helped her a lot with the school work, although still she could not learn anything. She was forced to repeat pre-primary school five times. When she began her studies at standard one, she could not be transferred to standard two, because she failed the test and not had enough knowledge. This case can be explained by the theory of Institutional Departure. According to the theory of Institutional Departure all students enroll at school with specific personal attributes like ability to study. This factor affects school performance, goals and commitments to school (Tinto 1975, p.94). Her disability to study made her school performance poor. To pass the grades she needed an extra teacher supervision, extra classes or even special class, where teachers are trained dealing with such cases. Opposite to both privileged schools, in Kiongozi Primary School teachers do not offer any extra help for students who are struggling at school. The question of school quality arises. However theory of Institutional Departure also states, that sometimes children can be completely satisfied with school experience, and still choose to invest their time in something else (IBID, p.97-98). This was observed in the two first interviews. Two girls just ran away from the family to become maids in some rich families. Both parents told, that they did not know anything about the quality of the school or bad experience at it. One of them even said, that his other kids still are attending Kiongozi Primary School. If there were some kind of problems at school they would mention them. However one of these girls was complaining a lot about the distance between the school and home. The Poor Family Socialization theory mentions obstacles as geographic location as a factor, that might rise the drop out decision (Rumberger 1983, p.202) although will not be the deciding one.

Possibly these two girls decision to work instead of studying could be explained by the Poor Family Socialization theory. The theory argues, that some children feel themselves obligated to contribute to the families income (Rumberger 1983, p.202). However these two girls moved far away from the families and do not have any contact with them. Here possible connection between the drop out and the Deviant Affiliation theory is identified. Both girls became the maids, because their friends were working in the same brunch. These girls possibly got influenced by their friends.

Other interesting factors, which were raised by the headteachers and two of the parents of dropouts were bad relationships within the family. One of the respondents was a grandfather of the boy who dropped out of primary school. This grandfather revealed, that his son, the father to the boy, was an alcoholic who did not care about his son. He did not buy a new school uniform when it was needed. He never went to school when it was necessary, and did not even contribute to the boys lunch despite, that he contributed to his other childrens' lunch. This lack of care can be interpreted as none acceptance and rejection. The Deviant Affiliation theory mentions the importance of relationships within the family concerning the drop out question (Battin-Pearson, p.570-571). That children who feel abandoned in some kind of way by their parents are most likely perform bad at school and later on dropout from it. This case of dropout can also be linked

to the General Deviance Theory. Garnier (1997, p.395) mentions drug use in the family as a negativ early life experience, which later on leads to the dropout. However I can guess, that alcohol use in the family has almost the same effect on the child as the drug use in the family.

Another clear rejections case was about the boy who lived with his father and his stepmother. The stepmother did not care about him, and neither did his father. The respondent of my interview was the boys mother. She said clearly, that her son felt rejected by the other family. His grades were bad and he lost all his motivation to study. He needed someone who would encourage him and help him at school. Also this case again can be linked to the Poor Family Socialization theory, there the boys drop out of primary school can be explained by the lack of family support.

This parent rejection was hard to study, because the teachers at the privileged schools do not have any contact with their students outside the schooling environment. However when it is concerning abuse in the family it is easier to follow up, because it has to be reported. At Maisaka Primary School there are no reported cases of abuse. At Oyster Bay Primary School there have been some recorded cases, yet they do not occur that often. Last year there were no reported cases.

Abuse is quite common in the marginalized families. There was one family, that really stood out with their parenting methods, which they considered as something good and necessary. The boy who dropped out of primary school was raised by his mother and his grandmother. They were proud of the methods which they used to motivate the boy to attend the school. Whenever the boy missed school, the mother fought with him and even bit him, as a punishment. However this method was not that effective. She says, that maybe she did not punish him hard enough. Once she even took him to the school and asked his teachers to punish him as hard as possible. After this incident, he dropped out of the primary school. Here the link between the abuse and the drop out is clear, just as the Deviant Affiliation theory suggests.

The parents have a very powerful influence over their childrens development, behavior and their academic achievements (Hallinan & Williams 1990, p.131). How these factors affect dropouts can easily be seen in these earlier cases. The pattern which is easily seen is that, whenever rejection exists in the family then probably dropout phenomenon will take place as well. In the families where no abuse or rejection exists, probably no drop out will occur. Not only the parents influence their children, but also childrens friends affect them (IBID, p.130) and are possible reason for drop out. One of my respondents was a grandmother to a boy who had lost both of his parents. The boy loved to hang out with his friends. Grandmother does not want to think, that his friends affected him bad. However his friends were reason why he missed school a lot. The boy and his friends shared same school experience, and found that missing school and spending time together is much more exciting than attending school.

According to the General Deviance theory children, who do not do well at school have a low motivation to study and are most likely going to engage in sexual relationships or in criminal activities (Battin-Pearson 2000, p.570). Primary school age children are to young for activities like that, however this possibility was not ignored. The Kiongozi Primary School headteacher mentioned pregnancy as a main reason for girls to dropout of primary school. However none of

my respondent children had dropped out of primary school due this reason. Also none of the parents knew if their children had engaged in sexual relationships. The other activity, which is raised by the theory is criminal activity. Again none of the teachers new about if the children, that dropped out was a part of something illegal. When it concerns parents answers on this topic, many of the respondents claimed, that these dropouts were not motivated to study. At the same time they say, that these children were good and they are almost sure, that they did not participate in any illegal activities. Only one of my respondents told about her grandson who use to steel some small things at home. Although she is not sure if he did it also outside the home. When it concerns pregnancy rates and criminal activities while studying in privileged school, teachers did not have a knowledge regarding this topic. As stated earlier teachers do not have any contact with students outside the school. However headteachers claim, that privileged children parents would never let their kids to engage in such activities. Also just as written earlier students at these privileged primary schools are highly motivated to study and to finish school. They would not do anything, that might endanger their goals and disappoint their parents.

Theory of Institutional Departure argues, that different personal attributes plays a major role. Beside the earlier mentioned ability to study, also sex and ethnicity need to be included (Tinto 1975, p.94). According to the headteacher from Kiongozi Primary School, every year nine or ten students out of 100 drop out of this school. He says, that more often the girls are those who dropout, due multiple reasons such as pregnancy, marriage or choice to work instead of studying. However according to the Structural Strains theory, boys tend to drop out of primary school more often then girls. The reasons are their lower commitment to school and lower motivation to study. The theory also claims, that boys have worse relationships with their parents and have a high risk of criminality and alcohol abuse (Battin-Pearson 2000, p.571). I did a study of seven dropouts, four out of them were boys. That is why it is hard to see the link between the gender and the dropout. Concerning the ethnicity, it was interesting to see, that still when non-probability, snowball method was used all respondents belonged either to the Barabaig group or to the Gorowa group. Also these two groups are well known as pastoralists, hunters and subsistence farmers. It can be understood, that these are the groups who are the most marginalized due their hard lifestyle, and are most vulnerable when concerning school attendance.

Lastly as one of the reason for dropouts can be seen the family structure. Factors such as; orphanhood, single parents and extended families were observed. Also these factors were taken up by the Poor Family Socialization theory. Four of the dropouts lived in the family where parents were divorced, meaning that they lived only with one of their biological parents. Because of there being only one parent in the family, these parents have much on their shoulders and often do not have the time to engage and motivate their children to study. One of my respondents said, that he could not attend the school when it was necessary, because he needed to take care of home and other children. Also they have much to do at home, that is why often they make their children to stay at home and help at the house work. Two of the dropouts were orphans, so missing their parents could be a factor why they do bad at school and have a lack of motivation. Also missing the family support could have been a factor for drop out.

It was quite common, that children who dropped out of primary school came from extended families or families with many children. According to the Poor Family Socialization theory household conditions, family size and family structure play a major role (Rumberger 1983, p.202). Households, which have many people living under one roof, studying environment can be quite unpleasant, due high sound and overcrowding. Especially when there are many children in the family, like in the family, that had ten children. As said high sound and overcrowding make studying environment unpleasant, affecting again childrens motivation to study and later their grades or another away around, first affecting the grades and later on childrens motivation to study. In contrast to the interviews with the headteachers from the primary schools, they claim that there are just a few single parent households and only a few orphans at the school. However they do not know anything about the household sizes.

With the help of the gathered data and theoretical framework, a general conclusion about the reasons for dropping out of primary school was formulated. Conclusion can be read in the next chapter.

6. Conclusion

With the help of the gathered data and the analysis a general conclusion of this study was generated, there answers to the research questions were found. These research questions are; 1) *Which individual/ collective factors contribute to that girls and boys in the age group between 7 and 13 drop out of these earlier mentioned primary schools?* And 2) *What differences are there in the dropout causes between two more “privileged” and one more “marginalized” school?*

The most important difference between two privileged schools and one marginalized school was that at both privileged schools drop out phenomenon does not occur. This drop out does not occur due many reasons. The reasons are; a) student motivation to succeed, b) teachers who motivate and help the student to study, c) parents’ engagement at their children school work, d) schools location in the city, e) high educated parents who work in the government or are a small business owners, f) almost no abuse existing in the families, g) families’ economic situation and social status.

At marginalized school different factors were identified as a cause for children to drop out of the primary school. These factors are; a) children lack of motivation to study, b) low level of parents’ education, c) rejection and abuse in the family, d) friends influence, e) childrens choice to invest their time in something else, f) pastoralist lifestyle, g) distance from home to school, h) orphanhood, i) single parent households, j) extended and many children families and k) quality of school.

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Appendix

I. Schedule for the interviews

A. Interviews with the headteachers

31 January 2018

- ❑ Dimma Simgo Mjema, headteacher of the “*Maisaka Primary School*”
- ❑ Monica Chikwasala, headteacher of the “*Oyster Bay Primary School*”
- ❑ Yohana Kerika, headteacher of the “*Kiongozi Primary School*”

1 February 2018

- ❑ Elias Iyo, field assistant with many years of experience working in schools

8 February 2018

- ❑ Dimma Simgo Mjema, headteacher of the “*Maisaka Primary School*”

7 Februari 2018

- ❑ Elias Iyo, field assistant with many years of experience working in schools

9 February 2018

- ❑ Monica Chikwasala , headteacher of the “*Oyster Bay Primary School*”

B. Interviews with the parents and other guardians of the dropouts

1 February 2018

- ❑ First respondent, Stepfather. Read his narrative in paragraph 4.3.1. *“Girl who lived far from school”*
- ❑ Second respondent, Father. Read his narrative in paragraph 4.3.2. *“Girl who chose work over her education”*

3 February 2018

- ❑ Third respondent, Grandfather. Read his narrative in paragraph 4.3.3. *“Boy whos father cared more about the alcohol”*
- ❑ Fourth respondent, Father. Read his narrative in paragraph 4.3.3. *“Boy whos father cared more about the alcohol”*
- ❑ Fifth respondent, Grandmother. Read her narrative in paragraph 4.3.4. *“Orphan who likes to hang out with his friends”*

7 February 2018

- ❑ Sixth respondent, Grandmother. Read her narrative in paragraph 4.3.5. *“Boy who was punished for not attending the school”*
- ❑ Seventh respondent, Mother. Read her narrative in paragraph 4.3.5. *“Boy who was punished for not attending the school”*
- ❑ Eighth respondent, Mother. Read her narrative in paragraph 4.3.6. *“Boy who was left out”*
- ❑ Ninth respondent, Father. Read his narrative in paragraph 4.3.7. *“Girl who had the trouble to study”*

II. Interview questions

A. Interview questions that were used in purpose to receive a general description about each school

- Basic data of the headteacher:
 - What is your name?
 - What education do you have?
 - For how long have you worked at this specific school?
 - Which subject do you teach?
- General data about the school:
 - How many students are there at the moment?
 - How many students enrolled for this study year?
 - How many classes are there?
 - How many teachers work at this school?
 - How many students dropped out last year?
 - Which place this school received in the ranking after the results of the national exam last year?
 - How many students failed the national exam?
 - What additional costs parents need to pay?
 - How much is the contribution for the lunch?
 - How many parents contribute to the lunch?

B. Interview questions for the parents

- How many people are there in the family?
- How many of them are children?
- Are there both parents in the family?
- What education do you have?
- To which ethnic group your family belong to?
- How is the relationship in the family?
- How far did the dropout get in the primary school?
- When the kid dropped out of the primary school and how old she/he was at the time?
- How did they perform at school? (*grades, motivation, attendance*)
- Did you participate at school work when necessary?
- What are your thoughts on education and this specific primary school?
- How is the school environment? (*teacher-student relationship, student-student relationship, bullying, corporal punishment etc*)
- Did you contribute to the lunch?
- According to you what was the reason for the dropout?
- Can you think of any other external factors that might have brought the decision favorable to dropout?
- Did the dropout participate in sexual relationships or in criminal activities before dropping out of primary school?

C. Interview questions for the headteachers of privileged schools

- Why according to you there is no drop out phenomenon occurring at this school?
- How teachers motivate students to continue studying?
- What actions do you take when you notice, that someone begins to perform worse at school than before?
- Do you use corporal punishment? (*how often, for what reasons*)
- What occupation the majority of the parents at this school have?
- What education level the majority of the parents at this school have?
- Do you have a special class for students with disabilities? Do you have a special trained teachers to suite this purpose?
- How far do the majority of students live from the school?
- How many students, that study at this school come from extended families, single parent families or are orphans?
- Are there often reported cases of abuse or alcoholism in the family?
- Do you know if any students engage in sexual relationships or in any criminal activities?