WHY STUDENTS DROP OUT FROM UPPER PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL: EVIDENCE FROM A COMBINED LABORATORY AND FIELD EXPERIMENT IN SLUMS AND LMC’S OF DELHI

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ABSTRACT:

This is a group work for Krishna Raj Fellowship Program by M.A. Economics students from Delhi School of Economics. The analysis is based on field research undertaken in 4 slums and 4 lower middle class societies of Delhi during the period from 22nd May 2013 to 8th July 2013.

Albeit world program for education for all and the enactment of right of children to free and compulsory education (RTE) in India, many children still today are out of schools due to one or more reasons and discontinuation of education has been a common phenomenon in every corner of the country. Although RTE ensure compulsory education but it has not taken into account the socio economic factors causing school dropouts. In spite of laying down norms and standards of pupil teacher ratio, infrastructure, teaching hours etc RTE has not taken enough steps to implement these parameters properly.

Based on our research objective we have selected 4 slums and 4 lower middle class societies in Delhi as our study area. We selected the lower middle class areas based on F and G tax category. We have tried to find out the causes behind dropouts in upper primary and secondary education in Delhi.

So the motivation for conducting this field based research lies in finding reasons for dropping out of school in spite of the steps taken by the government to implement RTE. Also the project seeks to explore the factors explaining dropout rate specific to Delhi. Specifically mothers of dropout children were quite poorly educated. In Delhi, interestingly gender bias is not observed. There is a positive relation between family size and dropout rate. Major factors explaining dropouts are lack of interest in studies, taking care of younger siblings, financial constraints, disputes in family, poor facilities in school, lack of motivation of parents, absorption into the labour market and bad school environment especially no effective teaching. The paper also recommends necessary steps which could be implemented to ensure that every enrolled student completes school education.

Keywords: Dropout in School, No gender-bias, Socio-Economic factors, School Environment, Unorganised-sector jobs.
INTRODUCTION:
Dropout rates have been high in India since long. Delhi has been witnessing a massive drop out of school going children. According to data provided by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, for 2009-10, the dropout rate for children studying in Classes I to X was 2.0, however, for 2010-2011, this has increased to 22.9, a jump of more than 20 percentage points..

Reducing dropouts is a crucial factor in order to reduce poverty in India and achieve greater socio economic equality. High number of dropouts usually indicates failure on the part of the Government to provide quality education to the masses. But this statement should have seemed appropriate perhaps in the bygone decade.

In the light of the Right to Education Act (RTE), the Sarva Siksha Abhiyan, the main vehicle to implement RTE and schemes like mid day meals, it seems puzzling to think why should there be any dropouts at all.

Right to free and Compulsory Education Act or Right to Education with effect from 1st April 2010 under Article 21 A inserted by the 86th Amendment of the Constitution seeks to provide free and compulsory education to all children in the age group six to fourteen years as a fundamental right in such a manner as the state may by law determine. A major rationale behind the implementation of the Right to Education Act has been to check the dropout rate.

Presently, the dropout rate for children studying between Classes I to V in the national capital decreased, in line with the overall trend in the country, from 13.3 in 2009-10 to 5.9 in the 2010-11, however although dropout rates have declined post implementation of the RTE, present dropout rate in the capital for classes 1 to 10 is still alarming. The Ministry of Human Resource and development claims that the number of out of school children in the 6-14 age group has come down to 3 million in 2012 from 8 million in 2010.

However in order to achieve the millennium development goals by 2015 which speaks of universal primary education, it is important to focus on the reasons behind the dropouts especially given the fact RTE caters to the need of every student by providing for free and compulsory education till completion of elementary education, laying down norms and standards for pupil teacher ratios, insisting on proper infrastructure, teacher working hours, appointment of trained teachers and so on.

The new policies of the Government have undoubtedly increased the enrolment ratios but have failed to retain children in schools indicating large dropouts. This somehow point in the direction of the literature on wastage, in other words wastage of funds of the Government in infrastructure, textbooks, uniforms, meals etc.

The need of the hour is to look closer at the socio economic factors leading to dropouts.
Our project seeks to examine the socio economic reasons behind dropouts in the lower middle class and slum areas in Delhi. Through the project a conscious effort has been made to understand at the micro level the mindset of the children and their parents in dropping out of school in spite of all facilities being provided by the Government that they could ever desire of.

For the purpose of this study, dropouts are defined as children, who enroll in upper primary and secondary education and for some reason other than death leaves school before completing the grade without transferring to another school.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In Dipa Mukherjee’s paper titled, “Reducing out of school children in India”, there has been an attempt to explore trends in school dropouts and reasons behind leaving schools. The paper recommends change of operation of SSA from infrastructure based approach to facilitating approach. The paper also focuses on gender and regional differences and stresses that poverty eradication and inclusive economic growth must go hand in hand with education expansion programs.

In the paper by Sunita Chugh titled, “Dropout in Secondary Education: A study of Children living in Slums of Delhi”, both family and school factors are highly correlated with each other and contribute to dropouts. Apart from poverty and financial constraints, the paper identifies a need for needs based approach in delivering education.

In the paper by Usha Jayachandran, “how high are dropout rates in India?” cites reasons such as child not interested in studies, unable to cope, parents not interested in studies, employment, participation in other economic activities, attend to domestic duties, financial constraints as major ones.

Arun K Kishore’s paper on “School dropouts: Examining the space of reason” looks into the problem of school dropouts in Kerala. Though Kerala has an extremely high literacy rate, reasons for a mere 0.5 % dropout include lack of interest in studies, poverty, poor quality of education and failure in education. Parental decisions and household environment are key elements to be considered while finding solutions to reduce dropouts.

In the paper by Reddy and Sinha, “School dropouts or push outs: Overcoming barriers to RTE “, the authors talk about poverty and child labour, household decisions, school quality, and irrelevant curriculum. In total, 23.3% of boys and 22.3% of girls were not attending school because they were engaged in an activity like paid work, household work or taking care of siblings. The paper also identifies as lack of systematic help to first generation learners (i.e. children of illiterate parents) as a major contributor to number of dropouts.
The NSSO Survey, 52nd Round (NSSO, 1998) cited a main reason for children dropping out of school as ‘child not interested in studies’ (24.4%), or ‘unable to cope with or failure in studies’ (22.5%). Thus the PROBE Report, the NFHS survey and the NSSO surveys have indicated that a lack of interest in studies is one of the key reasons for school dropout, as indicated by parents. However lack of interest in studies should be seen as how the system is unable to inspire or include the child to study rather than a real lack of interest in study. Along with poverty reduction the paper also stresses on improving learning outcomes and increasing relevance of school curriculum.

**METHODOLOGY**

The sample used for analysis covered Delhi’s urban population under the category of poor and low middleclass. For poor people, we are targeting slum area and for identifying lower middle class, we used F and G tax category permanent colonies. The following areas were covered in the field survey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Slum</th>
<th>LMC</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Bapanagar, Karolbagh</td>
<td>Sanjay basti, Timarpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Charamandi, Rakhi market, Za khira</td>
<td>Karampura colony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>Mahatma Gandhi camp, Patparganj</td>
<td>Kureji, Lakshmi Nagar</td>
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<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>Kusumpahari</td>
<td>LadoSarai</td>
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The target was children in upper primary and secondary school. For diversification, the chosen areas were from North, South, East and West Delhi.

In any particular area, every fifth household on the voter list was targeted by looking at those households voter list member fall in that age group of 30-40 keeping in view that parents in that age group are expected to have at least one child in age group of 10-16. In slums where it was not possible to locate address of household so we randomly targeted every fifth consecutive household in area.

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF DROPOUTS AND NON DROPOUTS**

Considering the importance of the households’ decision to send the children to school or to discontinue their studies, information was collected from the families of the dropout children to look at their social and economic compulsions which may act against their continuation in school.

**EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF PARENTS:**

Not only would the parents want their children to attain at least same educational level as themselves but also the parents would be expected to understand the value of education and the important
nce of going to school. Ersado (2005) observes that parental education is the most consistent determinant of child education. Higher parental education is associated with increased access to education, higher attendance rates and lower dropout rates. Chugh (2011) observes education level of the parents is expected to influence the continuation of children in school. Kishore (2012) argues parental decisions which could be interpreted as outcome of the educational attainment of the parents heavily influences dropout decisions of students.

From the above analysis, we notice that with the increase in parents’ education, the percent of dropouts keeps falling. 92.3% of the dropouts have mothers with below primary education level and 59% of the dropouts have their fathers with the same educational level. Also only 2% of the dropouts’ mothers are with education level between 9 to 12 and 18% of the dropouts’ fathers are of
the same academic level. We also notice mothers of dropouts are less educated than their fathers. Low educational status specifically of the mother can be interpreted as a contributing factor for causing dropouts.

It is also noticeable that none of the dropout had any parent who has studied more than 12th class and very few dropped out students’ parents have studied between classes 9th to 12th as compared to non-dropped out students’ parents.

**FAMILY SIZE**

Family size is a major factor to be considered in India. It influences children’s schooling cycle to a great extent. Children in large families tend to drop out earlier in comparison to smaller households. Probability of dropping out of school increases as family size increases. In the families of size 2-4, 13% of the total students were dropouts. As the family size increases from 2-4 to greater than 10, the percent of dropouts out of the total students increased to 37.5%.

**MONTHLY INCOME OF HOUSEHOLDS**

Higher income households usually tend to have fewer dropouts. Not only do richer parents spend more on their children but also supplement their learning by providing private tuitions and a comfortable learning environment.

![Image of graph showing percentage of dropouts and non-dropouts within the same income level.](image)

Above graph shows % of dropouts and non-dropouts within the same income level. For the families with income less than 5k, 43.7% of the students were dropouts. This percentage decreases to 16.04% for the families in the income group 10k-30k. Moreover we found there were no dropouts in the families having income above 30k.
DROPOUT BY GENDER:

In our sample we have calculated proportion of male dropout to total males in sample and similarly for females. Our sample shows that males are more likely to dropout than females in Delhi.

Our drop out reasons in the next section shows that out of 26 male dropouts most of boys dropped out due to lack of interest in studies which is not the major reason among girls. Moreover most of the boys dropped out due to financial problem and started working at early age. Moreover most of the girls in Delhi dropped out to look after younger siblings, insecurity and poor facilities at school. Therefore it can be said that gender bias in Delhi is not a factor.

Now the paradox is in spite of gender discrimination why male dropout rate higher in Delhi?

Most of males in our sample dropped out due to 3 reason-not interested in study, financial and family problem, child works. In most of the cases male child has to work in case of family crisis and female child is supposed to look towards household work or to take care of younger siblings. Dropping out of male child is higher because household work can also be managed by elder persons in family or cannot be full time responsibility of girl child but working in unorganized sector demand working full day and which pressure of which solely falls on male child of family. Moreover Delhi has initiated number of programmers for girl child like giving bicycle to girl child, scholarship to only girl child. Various schemes of government, women empowerment advertisements and programs has motivated girls and parents to value education of girls on the same par as that of boys.

REASONS FOR DROPOUT:
FACTORS:

- Financial constraints:
  About 8 of the respondents had to drop out of school due to financial problems in the family caused mainly by sickness of family member or death of bread earner. Due to inadequate income of the family, quite a few dropouts had to leave their schools in order to augment family income. Most of the children ended up finding work in the unorganized sector.

- Insecurity of child
  Safety of girls is a major issue today in the capital city and even in the place of the residence. Cases of eve teasing hold families from sending girls to school. Also presence of boys in school and insecurity in commuting alone to school, bad locality specially in slums is also a factor which leads dropout.

- Peer Group
  School environment and the company that one keeps is often a major contributor to the number of dropouts. Some students dropped out because their friends have done that or they were motivated by the fact that their friends have started earning at early age.

- Disputes within Family
  Quite often family environment of households living in slums turns violent for a variety of reasons. Financial constraints, job loss and chronic unemployment, addiction to alcohol and other substances can lead to frequent disruptions in the family. This can be unbearable for several children, they loose interest and attend school mechanically leading to low academic performance that may ultimately result in dropout. In addition, as most of the parents of the dropped out children were working in private and unorganized sector, their incomes are irregular and insufficient.

- Poor academic performance
  As the children living in slum areas do not have favorable academic environment at home, and even in school the teachers lack motivation to teach, as a result of which the incidence of failure is very high among them. It was observed that 2 children in slum cited failure as the most significant reason for dropping out as detention in the same grade caused embarrassment to them.

- Infrastructural Facilities in the School
  Poor facilities in school as unclean toilets, absence of safe drinking water, non-working fans, lack of proper seating arrangements in schools often cause students to compromise with bad facility, irregularity or drop out specially in case of girls for whom clean toilet
ets become a necessity.

- **Bad teaching quality**
  Method of teaching plays an important role in absorption of what is taught in the class. Mostly in government schools in Delhi, teachers lack the ability to teach. Non-strictness related to teachers' attendance and regularity results in careless behavior of teachers. It is the case in Delhi that teachers do not come regularly to take classes and even if they come they refuse to teach, this fails to attract students to school.

- **Sickness of Child**
  Chronic illness, epidemics often prevent students from going to school for long which may lead to problems like inability to cope, disinterest in studies or name being struck off by the school.

- **Readmission problem**
  In case of transfer of children, readmission procedures after standards 5, 8, 10, many children end up dropping out either due to unawareness of formal procedures or simple lack of interest to continue formal schooling.

- **Taking care of younger siblings**
  Most of the girls dropped out due to this reason. Usually, the eldest girl has to look after her siblings and also manage household chores if her mother goes out of work or if there is a family crisis. This is a major issue in almost all households where both the parents go out for work daily.

- **Parents not motivated**
  Not only do educated parents tend to follow the same road for their children but even less educated but motivated parents also want their children to attend school like regular students. Even motivation of one parent is enough to not let the child drop out due to reasons like disinterest of child. Interest of child matters in education but decision of dropping out of school rests finally with parents.

- **Child not interested in studies**
  Poor facilities in school, bad teaching and poor comprehension of child lead to disinterest in studies. Current period incentives as early earning, time to play etc. does not allow child to look for longer term benefits of education.

- **Absence of more than 3 months from school**
  Carefree attitude of family/child, longer visits to hometown villages for more than leave period end up child losing interest in school and school may cancel the name of the enrolled child. Even there is not much effort from the families side to visit school and get matter sorted to send to another school.

- **Gained employment**
  In our sample 12 children dropped out because they have to work for some or other reason.
n like financial, death of family earner. Some students do not want to study and end up leaving school and working in unorganized sector. Now the question is why do many people work in Delhi after leaving school if reason is not financial? Why we see so many children working on streets of Delhi? In developed city like Delhi there are many opportunities to work in the unorganized sector and this work opportunity and inclination to earn as soon as possible without taking into long term benefit of education (myopic behavior of children and parents) and not realizing the value of education results in dropping out of school and working.

WHAT CHILDREN ARE DOING AFTER DROPPING OUT?

Employment
Employment of children and education has inextricable linkages. The children, who are not enrolled or dropped out, usually try to get jobs in the unorganized sector like small factories, garages, in dhabas or stay back to help in household activities. Moreover, children studying at the secondary level can be easily absorbed in the unorganized job market as legally they can be employed. In our data 22 out of 39 children joined jobs after dropping out of school. This implies that children working follow dropping out. Out of 22 children who are working, 17 boys were employed either in a dhaba or in the motor parts shop while only eight girls were employed with all of them working as house maids.

Continuation of Studies
As mentioned above various reasons such as financial constraints and poor comprehension, were given by the respondents for dropping out of school. When asked if given an opportunity to continue the studies, 64% of the students want to go back to study. Out of 64% some students are planning to study through open schooling as it will not affect working status of dropped out students. Other students are willing to join if school environment changes for them and if their condition allows somebody else to look after their family finance. Some students who left school due to disinterest in studies says now they want to study but they need education from basic level. However, large proportion of children (about 47% of the children) were somewhat reluctant to resume studies as they felt that going back to school at a later age by leaving their job is not a feasible option.

SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT
Methodology
In our survey we captured some qualitative study of school environment in Delhi. Questions about extracurricular activity, teacher’s regularity and teaching behavior were asked to every child in the survey. During the course of field based research we got interesting replies to some questions related to hygiene, sanitation, safe drinking water, and mid-day meal scheme.

Distance to school
Our survey shows that distance to school is not a problem in Delhi and it is likely to get a school within 2.5km radius of any house in slum or lower middle class. In all 8 areas
we found school which is less than 2.5 km for all households. In most cases it was less than a km.

So distance to school is not a factor which causes school drop outs. In our sample 65% of students dropped out from school which was less than 1 km, 95% dropped out from school which is less than 2.5 km from their home. Thus, there is no need to build up new schools in Delhi. What government needs to do is to improve upon the quality of teaching & school environment.

Why tuitions?

It was important to understand the fact many students interviewed replied having taken tuition besides attending regular classes in school.

Parents and children were in support of tuitions because of poor quality of teaching and a dwindling teacher pupil ratio. Sometimes teachers themselves insisted students to join tuitions so that they could earn more money. Most of students in school end up paying high amounts for tuitions. Those who did not go for tuitions cited that tuitions is necessity for them but not affordable. Among dropouts 40% students used to go to tuitions and among non dropouts 75% joined tuition classes.

Extracurricular activity in the school

Academics as well as extracurricular activities are important for overall development of a child.

In our survey we asked about status of extracurricular activity in their regular schools to all children. Some reported that only games or PT or yoga was/is taught in the school. Some reported to have more than 1 activity as drawing, dance music and societies etc. Some students’ said that their school does not provide any extracurricular activity and they only play on their own without sports facility whenever they are free to do.

61% of non-dropout students said that many extracurricular activities are being provided in school as against 25% of dropped out students.

Teaching quality

In this category we asked 3 questions to every child – do all teachers come regularly (except sick leaves etc.), do all teachers teach regularly whenever they come to class and do the children understand what is being taught in school and do the teacher clear their doubts case they had any. 65% of non-dropouts reported that all teachers did come regularly, 64% reported that all teachers did teach regularly and 65% reported that they understood whatever was taught in class as against 25, 12, 19% of dropout students’ affirmations to the above questions respectively.

So quality of education is not main focus of government. Opening more schools and giving free education does not attract students if quality is not ensured. Counting number of students enrolled in school or has passed certain level of education should not be coun
ted as literacy rate or level of education. In our survey we even found that few upper primary students were not able to write name of their parents and this lower quality of education, bad teaching and thus no benefit of sending child to school results in disinterest of parents, children and they start looking for other options as working instead of spending on non-learning environment in school.

**Hygiene, sanitation and safe drinking water**

Here our sample size is not enough large to represent Delhi (this information has been obtained only from few students)

Among 7 out of 8 dropped out children reported to have sanitation and hygiene problem in school and they do not use school toilets. Among 6 out of 8 dropped out students told that they do not get access to safe drinking water. None of the child among 8 reported to get safe midday meal scheme.

If we compare non-dropout students 27 out of 42 respondents reported hygiene and sanitation problem, 24 out of 44 students said that they do not get safe water and usually carry water bottles along with them. 14 out of 18 students said that they do not eat midday meal because it is not healthy and not advised by parents.

**WAY FORWARD AND RECOMMENDATIONS:**

- Social security act should be extended to all workers in informal sector so that child’s education is not suffered in case of death of family earner and sickness of any family member.
- Database of all dropped out students should be made by audit institution and efforts should be made to get them back to the school.
- RTE acts and SSA should also ensure schooling in terms of quality education and not only in terms of quantifiable targets.
- A surprise audit for all government schools must be done on regular basis which also checks facilities according to the rules and regulations mentioned in the RTE act.
- Introduction of biometric systems of recording teacher attendance monitoring should be feasible.
- If it is not possible to get elder students back to the school then flexible vocational training, short term course should be provided with due certification. Skill building workshops related to some popular local occupation could be conducted in schools to attract students. This would also motivate parents to send their children to school.
- Schools should come up with more interactive and innovative modes of teaching to attract students. Special care should be taken to help students who are unable to cope up. This can be ensured through after school teaching and classes during vacation.
- Value education or a similar course should be introduced which would teach students
the benefits of education. This is in view of the children who lose interest in education because they feel they are heading nowhere.

- Local NGOs should play a hand in getting dropped out students back to school, and spread awareness about long term benefits of education.

**CONCLUSION**

A number of key points have emerged after the survey which is to be kept in mind before forming policies to check dropout rate in India. A major factor is that socio economic factors should be considered by RTE especially in case of drop out students. With regard to parental education, it has been observed parents of non drop out students were poorly educated than parents of non drop out students. Also, specifically mothers of dropouts were quite poorly educated. This may be considered to be a crucial factor causing dropouts considering education of mother is extremely important for a healthy upbringing of the child.

A positive relation between family size and dropout rate can be explained keeping in mind the larger financial burden of the family and less number of resources per child.

In Delhi, interestingly gender bias is not observed. Parents of girls were quite willing to send their children to school. Dropout of more number of boys is observed which could be attributed to the fact that boys are less interested in studies.

A negative relation between the number of dropouts and family income is also observed. With regard to dropout by class, maximum dropouts are obtained in classes 6, 8 and 10th. This can be explained by transitions between upper primary and secondary or secondary and higher secondary.

Major factors explaining dropouts are lack of interest in studies, taking care of younger siblings, financial constraints, disputes in family, poor facilities in school, lack of motivation of parents, absorption into the labor market and bad school environment especially no effective teaching.

It is also concluded based on the replies of the respondents is that most of the dropped out students are currently in the unorganized sector working for money.

Finally a study of school environment revealed that distance of school was not a factor at all for explaining dropouts. All schools were within close proximity. Teaching was also not up to the standard according to the dropout students. This also explains the necessity of private tuitions. Several dropped students also complained about the lack of extracurricular activities in school. Health and hygiene is also a major issue among girls.
REFERENCE:

1. Evaluation report on Sarva Siksha Abhiyan, Planning Commission, 2010

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