YOUNG LIVES STUDENT PAPER

Reproducing Inequality? The Process of Secondary School Abandonment in Rural Highland Peru

Dara MacDonald

May 2011

Paper submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MPhil in Development Studies at the University of Oxford, UK.

The data used come from Young Lives, a longitudinal study of childhood poverty that is tracking the lives of 12,000 children in Ethiopia, India (Andhra Pradesh), Peru and Vietnam over a 15-year period. **www.younglives.org.uk**

Young Lives is core-funded from 2001 to 2017 by UK aid from the Department for International Development (DFID) and co-funded by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2010 to 2014. Sub-studies are funded by the Bernard van Leer Foundation and the Oak Foundation.

Young Lives
An International Study of Childhood Poverty

Reproducing Inequality?:
The Process of Secondary School Abandonment in Rural Highland Peru

Dara MacDonald
M.Phil. Development Studies

List of Acronyms

CCT	Conditional cash transfer
DREA	Dirección Regional de Educación Ayacucho Regional Education Directorship of Ayacucho
FONCODES	Fondo Nacional de Cooperación para el Desarrollo Social National Social Development Cooperation Fund
INEI	Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática National Statistics and Information Institute
MIMDES	Ministerio de la Mujer y Desarrollo Social Ministry of Women and Social Development
SL	Sendero Luminoso Shining Path
UGEL	Unidad de Gestión Educativa Local Local Education Management Unit
UMC	Unidad de Medición de la Calidad Unit for Measurement of Educational Quality
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
YL	Young Lives

List of tables and figures

Table of Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

Education has become a universal marker of development progress around the world during the last decades, both as a policy priority and a normative indication of social progress. The spread of universal primary education has become a central feature of poverty alleviation policy and programming worldwide (UNESCO, 2010). However, the spread of education has not necessarily served as the panacea it has been purported to be in many contexts. Though primary education does indeed have important effects for accumulating human capital (Johnes, 1993; McMahon, 1999; Tilak, 1987) and building capabilities (Sen, 1999), decreasing marginal returns occur as a person acquires more

schooling (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2004). Peru is an interesting case through which to explore whether or not education itself is sufficient to address the larger issues of inequality and protracted poverty that affect historically marginalized communities. If education is to have an equalizing effect, we must confront the fundamental questions of access and achievement for disadvantaged groups (Benavides, 2007: 458).

The issue of dropout has been highlighted by several educational scholars as central to

understanding the processes through which schooling socially selects children and reinforces existing structures of power. However, much empirical research on the issue focuses on it as an economic choice, or as an outcome of a rational utility calculation. As Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron (1998) remark, "in the absence of analysis of what the resigned withdrawal of the members of the working classes from the School owes to the functioning and functions of the educational system as an agency of selection, elimination, and concealment of elimination under selection", all we see are the bare statistics of difference by social group that do not help us explain why school abandonment by marginalized groups can be so detrimental on a macro level (154). Not only is the phenomenon's study significant for our understanding of social power, but it is also a complex occurrence in its own right. A project that aims to explain why certain children leave school should pay "particular attention to the connections among the social institutions of schooling, family, community, and economy, and how institutional arrangements create pathways throughout the life course that illuminate the antecedents and consequences of dropping out" (Pallas in Levinson et. al., 2002: 319). The centrality of education to society in many parts of the Global South also means that dropping out normally implies forgoing scarce opportunities for mobility; the mere fact that education is available in theory to many children "made the unacceptable acceptable: marked and

persistent differences of power and position in a deeply unequal society" (Musgrove, 1979: 119). In Peru, completion of secondary education and university training is the pathway to the professional life; if children abandon secondary school, they have lost an important opportunity for social mobility in a very unequal context.

This project explores why children from historically disadvantaged groups in the country experience higher rates of dropout (and less potential for social mobility) and attempt to uncover the decision-making processes and factors affecting these rates. Though education has been cited by many scholars as the primary source of equalization in a capitalist society, the Peruvian case underlines the imperative of discussing how "power and inequality mediate people's access to educational freedoms" (Jeffrey et. al., 2008: 31). Social and economic inequality remain primary development challenges for Peru, and education has been promoted nationally as a means for their betterment. This project explores the factors underlying indigenous children's inability to access this supposed source of mobility.

In order to truly understand these factors, a holistic and multi-disciplinary approach is necessary. Drawing on a theoretical framework comprised of social anthropology, educational sociology, and capabilities approaches, this project will address primarily the following research questions:

1. Why do children drop out of secondary school at particularly high rates in rural

communities of Peru?

2. How do children and their household members (parents, caregivers, siblings) negotiate decisions around dropping out of/staying in secondary school; how does hope for and consideration of children's social and economic future factor in to these decisions?

3. What are the main personal factors and social characteristics that threaten or support children's completion of secondary school (e.g. socio-economic status, ethnicity/native language, gender, parental education, birth order, and working status)?

4. What are the main environmental factors that threaten or support children's completion of secondary school (e.g. quality of the education system, teacher and administrator attitudes, etc.)?

The specific context used for the primary data collection in this study is a rural district of Huamanga province, which forms part of the Andean department of Ayacucho in central Peru. As such, it focuses on the experience of indigenous Quechua children and their families and communities. The questions posed highlight the predictive factors for secondary school dropout, both in relation to individual children's attributes and to the quality of their school environments, and the role and perspectives of a range of social actors, including children. The project examines why certain groups of children do not progress through the

education system in Peru, what children transition to when they drop out of school (e.g. work, parenthood, migration) and whether or not secondary education is considered by children and their families to have the suggested social and economic impacts. This chapter will describe the research context, present the theoretical framework guiding the research, explain the project's methodological approach and design, and explain the structure of this thesis and its subsequent chapters.

Part 1: The research context of rural Ayacucho

In order to adequately examine why children and their families make the choice to leave school, it is essential to understand the specific context from which they come, as it significantly affects their background and lived experience. The department of Ayacucho is located in the southern central Andes of Peru; it is the eighth largest department in the country, and consists of 11 provinces (Zapata Velasco et. al., 2008: 21). Peru is a country characterizing by immense income inequality (Sanchez, 2008; Crouch, 2005). The poorest regions of the country are primarily those that are rural (Cueto et. al, 2009; Benavides, Rodrich, and Mena, 2009) and indigenous (Trivelli, 2005 in Cueto et. al, 2009).

The district municipality studied in this project is a rural area of Huamanga province, and the communities studied are exclusively comprised of indigenous Quechua speakers. Approximately ten hamlets, of an estimated 30-40 households each, form part of the District Municipality. The province of Huamanga contains one extremely poor district, seven very poor districts, and one poor district as defined by FONCODES, the National Development Cooperation Fund. Only the province of Lucanas in the same department

surpasses this level (Huber, 2003: 16). The source of deprivation is multi-fold, but one of the primary reasons cited for poverty in the southern highlands is that they are "heavily agricultural in a region ill-suited to agriculture" (McClintock in Eckstein, 2001: 67-68). These communities have also long had a conflictual relationship with the state, having suffered burdensome taxation and severe population decreases under Spanish rule (Zapata Velasco et. al., 2008: 93-98), and recently being a central battleground for anti-insurgency action against the Sendero Luminoso (Degregori, 1990; McClintock, 2001; Oré Cardenas, 2001). Poverty has existed in the region since the time of colonization, and persists today.

Part 2: Theoretical Framework

Children and families' experiences of education are not confined to the school system itself, nor does that system operate in isolation from micro and macro level economic and social forces. In reality, children's lived experiences of schooling, and the impact of their education on possible later outcomes, are affected by economy and culture in a reinforcing and interlocking manner. The conceptual approach of this project has two fundamental starting points: 1. That childhood and the categories and experiences ascribed to it should be considered in their social context, and that many children have the capacity to participate in research and to produce valid knowledge for use in social research; and 2. That education itself is part of a larger social world, and not simply a neutral mechanism for economic growth.

This approach considers the perspectives of children and the people who most directly affect their lives (parents or caregivers, siblings, and teachers) as central to understanding their experiences of secondary schooling. It also considers how decisions around secondary

schooling are made in the context of economic and social realities. Morrow (2008:51) suggests that researchers who engage with childhood studies fundamentally aim to "understand children as social actors, as competent research participants with particular communication skills that researchers can draw upon in social research, and as forming a social group who are constrained by the adult structures and practices in which they are located." In this view, childhood is understood as being diverse and socially constructed, and children are considered as social actors with rights independent of their families or caregivers (Qvortrup et. al., 2009; Montgomery, 2009). Child-centric standpoints and methodologies see children as 'experts' on their own lives and as having different, though not lesser, competencies than adult research participants (James in Morrow, 2008; Christensen and James, 2000; Grover, 2004; Alderson and Morrow, 2004).

The experience that children have in the education system, and the impact that schooling has on their future, is also affected by social structures. If education is positioned within the larger social world, we should ask ourselves, "How are schools related to other social institutions, such as the families, the economy, higher education, and the . . . state?" (Lesko et. al. in Levinson, 2002: 17). Economic theories of education, however, fail to explore these relationships in sufficient detail. Human capital and structural functionalist theories of education do not engage with an important basic point: that schools, while playing a role in the growth of an economy, also exist within the set of social relationships that govern a given community, and often serve to reproduce unequal ones. Functionalist theory, for example, sees massive educational expansion as only a reaction to technologically advancing economies; in this view, "the expansion and the increasing differentiation of the educational system were inevitable outcomes of technologically determined changes in occupational structure requiring even more intricate skills" (Karabel and Halsey, 1977: 9).

Human capital theory, following on this, sees education as training for growth sectors in the labour market. Poor regions are areas in which the development of human capital has not been maximized, i.e. where pockets of possible workers have remained untrained, or trained improperly. Human capital theory works off the premise that "development was possible if only they would improve the quality of their woefully inadequate human resources. Attention was thus deflected from structure variables onto individuals" (Karabel and Halsey, 1977: 15). Education is thereby assumed to be the force that would promote social opportunity; that is, that "the equalizing effects of education [would] counter the disequalizing forces inherent in the free market system" (Bowles in Karabel and Halsey, 1977: 137).

However, this linear relationship does not hold in a country such as Peru, where structural inequalities prevent the realization of the proposed equalizing effect. Nelly Stromquist (in Lauder et. al., 2006) argues that the assumptions of human capital and structural functionalist theory are inappropriate for the region, noting that "in Latin America . . . poverty is not a question of stubborn pockets of uneducated or untrained people but is rather inherent in the social and economic structure of the region. This structure is both the cause and effect of asymmetrical power relations between urban and rural areas, between indigenous people and mestizo subcultures, between men and women, and, of course, between North and South" (967). This study is precisely interested in the effect of inequality on schooling outcomes and trajectories, and therefore will centrally consider the effect of social structure on education. The following sections will elaborate on the three aspects of the theoretical framework guiding this research; as a multidisciplinary inquiry, this study grounds its analysis in concepts drawn from anthropology, educational sociology, and the capabilities approach. Anthropological literature allows us to conceptualize education as a means of cultural reproduction, and

understand how it can reinforce power relationships. Educational sociology explores this dynamic further, conceptualizing how inequality and power are played out in the schooling system. Finally, the capabilities approach allows us to frame poor children's (and their families') active educational choices in an understanding of the structural inequality can constrain those choices.

2.1: Education and cultural reproduction

Neo-Marxist conflict theories in educational sociology, coupled with ethnographic evidence from social anthropology, can be used as reference points for further discussions of how education reproduces power. The central premise of conflict theory is that "the education system, both through class-linked inequality of academic success and through differential socialization by social class, reinforces inequalities based on the production process" (Karabel and Halsey, 1977: 34). This view obviously refutes the assertion of human capital theory that education is the great equalizer; rather, it suggests that in many cases educational outcomes vary significantly for marginalized groups.

This branch of theory also illuminates how schooling is often used to promote a selective

version of modernity, and to 'civilize' children from lower classes in the model of the higher ones. Ivan Illich (1971) argues that universal schooling has become a tool for hegemonic modernization and the training of students into ideal types as deemed by the 'educators'; Michel Foucault's work on education sites as "generators of a historically specific (modern) discourse, that is, sites in which certain modern validations of, and exclusions from, the 'right to speak' are generated" further illuminates the embeddedness of school in social power relationships (Ball, 1990: 3). Education can also be understood as a site for social and cultural reproduction; it is a place whereby class relationships and social

divisions can be exacerbated, equalized, or contested (Reed-Danahy, 1996, Levinson et. al., 1996; Levinson, 2001). Pierre Bourdieu's theory of reproduction suggests that "a school system controlled by the socially and culturally dominant classes . . . will perceive students who posses the *habitus* of the dominant classes as evidence of "readiness" for school knowledge, and perceive students who possess the *habitus* of the dominated classes as evidence of a deficit of the child or home, as cultural deprivation" (Nash, 1990: 436)[1]

Paulo Freire's revolutionary pedagogy suggests that if education does not follow a model of liberation and inherent respect for its students (and he indeed believes that most modern education does not), it simply becomes "an act of depositing, in which students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor" (Freire, 1973: 58). The rigid structures of authority and deference this implies mean that a school often becomes "the zone of the formal. It has a clear structure: the school building, the school rules, pedagogic practice, a staff hierarchy with powers ultimately sanctioned . . . by the state, the pomp and the majesty of the law, and the repressive arm of state apparatus, the police" (Willis, 1977: 22). Students are socialized in this context to understand one way of life and set of cultural references as the most appropriate, and are taught the deference to social order that will allow them to fit seamlessly into an unquestioned social world. Levinson's ethnography of a Mexican secondary school aptly illustrates this phenomenon, noting that "official school discourses, which exhorted students to dissolve their differences in the common cause of *grupo* (e.g. national) solidarity, served to articulate regional idioms and sensibilities to the hegemonic "culture" of the Mexican state" (Levinson in Levinson et. al., 1996: 212).

---

[1] Specifically, *habitus* refers to the real and symbolic behaviours, the "the formal and informal mores, customs, or rules of a society" that are consciously reproduced by the dominant groups (Nash, 1990: 433). Bourdieu sees the school as the "central generate site of the distinctive *habitus* of the culture" (Ibid.: 435).

2.2: Education and inequalities

Given that education does have the capacity to exacerbate social inequality and perpetuate power relationships, the theoretical literature of educational sociology is quite useful to understanding how these inequalities are created and reinforced, and in what ways children can be marginalized in the school context. First, educational sociology implores us to see the schooling experience as varied by context, as part of its inherent link to the community and society in which it functions. In this vein, Émile Durkheim (1956) questions, "do we not see education vary with social class, even with locality? That of the city is not that of the country, that of the middle class is not that of the worker" (68). Fundamentally, work on inequalities in educational sociology allows us to again question the modernist vision of schools as apolitical spaces; "scholars critical of the universalistic view of schools as reward-granting agencies that function beyond politics examined schools as contested arenas" (Lesko, Jentes-Mason and Westerhof-Shultz in Levinson et. al, 2002: 18).

One of the most important contributions of sociology to the literature on inequality in

education is the idea of the 'hidden curriculum'. This set of norms and expectations is fundamentally political, and reinforces ideals that premise one social group over another. Vallance (1977) defines the hidden curriculum as "those nonacademic but emotionally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not made explicit at any level of the public rationales for education" (in Levinson et. al., 2002: 19). Numerous scholars have argued convincingly for the existence of hidden curricula of social class, race, and gender in schools; for example, "the combination of less academic attention from teachers, norms for good girls, and sexual harassment in schools clearly impacts the

schooling experience and learning of teenage girls" (Lesko, Jentes-Mason and Westerhof-Shultz in Levinson et. al, 2002: 20). Research from the United States has indicated that race has a similar place in the hidden norms of schooling, showing that "experiences include outright racism and hostility to beliefs about intellectual abilities and inferior family life" (Deyhle and LeCompte 1994 in Levinson et. al., 2002: 20-21). The educational system is a powerful force for identity creation, as well as being a space for contestation; "its content may be designed to integrate and promote civic citizens or to divide, teaching difference and the superiority of one education against another" (Johnson and Stewart, 2007: 247).

Though it provides foundational insight into how inequality manifests itself in schools,

educational sociology also has a tendency to focus on the Euro-American context, meaning that it fails to consider how types of inequality may interact in the Global South. It also has a tendency to separate out race and class; particularly for the context of Peru's central highlands, race and class most often come together. If someone is raised in a rural, indigenous community, it is most likely that they will be confined socially and economically to the lowest class; though this is of course not universal, it is unfortunately the prevalent reality. The "nonsynchronous context" of schooling, as previously attributed to McCarthy (1998), means that dynamics of race, gender, class, and linguistic group shape and are shaped by each other (68). It is therefore necessary to include a theoretical perspective that considers how all these structural barriers together serve to constrain children's ability to use education as a source of mobility.

2.3: Education and capabilities

The capabilities literature is perhaps the most appropriate for consideration of structural

barriers to social and economic mobility. Overall, it is a more nuanced way of framing these
children's individual experiences of education while taking into account the insights about class,
race, gender, and cultural reproduction gained from the sociological and anthropological literature.

Amartya Sen (1999) develops the base concept of human capital theory yet further, suggesting that education actually increases human *capabilities* rather than simply *capital*; the human capability perspective focuses on "the ability – the substantive freedom – of people to lead the lives they have reason to value and to enhance the real choices they have" (293). Therefore education is considered an investment in some form of future ability, and households weigh the benefit of this future ability against the constraints of their present economic and social situation. In this approach, education is seen as both intrinsically and instrumentally important to participation in social life; Sen (1999) sees education as "important not only for the conduct of private lives . . . but also for more effective participation in economic and political activities" (39). This approach considers the capability to be educated a basic one, "since absence of education, both in terms of informal learning and schooling, determines a disadvantage that proves difficult, and, in some cases, impossible to compensate in later life" (Terzi in Walker and Unterhalter, 2007: 30).

Though its understanding of education as primary to social participation is useful on its own, the real merit of the capabilities approach in this case is its ability to frame the impact of various factors on different people. No two children have had the same schooling experience, and as such it is important theoretically to allow for this differentiation. Crucially, Sen notes that "the instrumental relation between low income and

low capability is *variable* between different communities and even between different families and different individuals (the impact of income on capabilities is contingent and conditional" (Sen in Lauder, Brown, Dillabough, and Halsey, 2006: 948). In other words, poverty affects everyone differently, and their choices cannot be ascribed identical. Individuals make active choices about their lives, within the context of social structures. In this study, agency is understood as "an individual's own capacities, competencies, and activities through which they navigate the contexts and positions of their lifeworlds, fulfilling many economic, social, and cultural expectations, while simultaneously charting individual/collective choices and possibilities for their daily and future lives" (Robson et. al, 2007: 135). Pedro Flores-Crespo suggests that one of the main benefits of Sen's approach is exactly the nuanced understanding of agency and structure; though he understands the realities of poverty, he relies upon "the human agency of individuals to transform their realities". The acceptance of structural barriers as a major factor in children's educational trajectories and outcomes is crucial, but so is the understanding that they affect and contest their own reality.

Part 3: Methodology

Principally, this study takes a child-centred approach to research with youth, and is designed from a perspective that sees children as active agents in their own lives (James and Prout, 1990; Alderson and Morrow, 2004), and participants in the construction of their educational trajectories along with their family and other key people who surround them (Crivello et. al., 2008). The methodology was designed to reflect this holistic perspective. The study takes a mixed methods approach, which allows for greater triangulation and avoids simplification (Green, 2006; Cresswell, 2003; Bryman, 2008). Initial research design

was conceived in May and June 2009, and did not vary greatly during the field study. First, minor changes were made to the format of interviews with case study children; participatory methods were not feasible given children's available time. Second, the an initial focus group with teachers was changed to individual interviews, as it was more time efficient for teachers and produced more depth. In the following section, I discuss the value of mixed methods research, describe the process of data collection and analysis, explain the guiding principles of ethics and informed consent that guided the study's design and data collection procedures, and offer a brief reflection on some methodological issues.

3.1 Why a mixed methods approach?

The primary research question, "Why do children drop out of secondary school at particularly high rates in rural communities of Peru?", has been addressed from multiple angles and using several sources of data. Both quantitative and qualitative sources of data, as well as multiple methods for gathering different types of qualitative data, can illuminate differing aspects of this question.

In this project, quantitative analysis serves a contextual purpose; it identifies larger patterns of household poverty and school performance in Peru by region, and shows how these patterns hold true at the departmental, provincial, and municipal level. The analysis of the qualitative data, as a complementary and novel component of this study, helps explain the subjective meanings and articulated relationships that underlie these patterns, and characterize the decision-making process around secondary school abandonment. As the literature review reveals, the quantitative work in this area focuses mainly on uncovering statistical relationships between hypothesized factors contributing to dropout in rural communities, while the qualitative work mainly centers on exploring the social meanings that children give to their experience of secondary education and the transition into it, and

the aspirations they, their families, and their communities attach to it.

This study aims to integrate these two approaches to understanding children's experiences of secondary school in rural Peruvian communities by wedding contextual statistical information to micro-level subjective and personal insights. More precisely, it offers a specific novel qualitative contribution to the collective understanding of the dynamic interaction between school, household, work, and community for Peruvian children in contexts of poverty.

3.2 Secondary data sources: the quantitative component

The primary data was collected through an original field study and was analysed alongside secondary survey data. Three main sources of quantitative data were analysed. First, the Young Lives (YL) Round 2 survey for the older cohort (children born in 1994 and aged 11.5 to 12.5 years at the time of collection). Young Lives is a longitudinal panel study investigating the changing nature of childhood poverty in four countries - Ethiopia, Peru, India (Andhra Pradesh) and Vietnam – over 15 years. It follows two groups of children in each country: 2, 000 children who were in born in 2001-02 (the younger cohort) and 1, 000 children who were born in 1994-5 (the older cohort). The Young Lives sample is pro-poor; the children were selected from 20 sentinel sites, approximately 75% of which are considered poor (Escobal et. al., 2008: 11). In Peru, Round 1 survey data was collected in 2002, and Round 2 survey data was collected between November 2006 and May 2007 (Ibid.). Variables from the Household Questionnaire and Child Questionnaire of the Round 2 survey data were analysed for this project. Specifically, Sections 1 (Parental Background) and 2 (Caregiver Perceptions and Attitudes) of the Household Questionnaire, and Sections 1A (Child's Schooling), 4 (Feelings and Attitudes), and 6 (Perceptions of Future, Environment & Household Wealth) of the Child Questionnaire were used.

Second, social development indicators compiled by the Peruvian National Institute for Statistics and Information (INEI), the National Development Cooperation Fund (FONCODES), and the District Municipality were used. Third, achievement indicators and poverty statistics for Ayacucho complied by the Unit for the Measurement of Educational Quality (UMC), and examination results for the province of Huamanga compiled by the Local Education Management Unit (UGEL) Huamanga were used.

3.3 Primary data sources: the qualitative component

The qualitative component was completed from July to September 2009 with selected respondent groups in the rural communities studied. A Quechua-speaking field assistant was employed for the duration of data collection in these communities, as most parents/caregivers and community members were exclusively Quechua-speaking. All participants were given the option to complete their interviews and other activities in either Quechua or Spanish. The design of the Young Lives Qualitative Round 1 for Peru guided the development of the project s interview guides, focus group templates, and classroom observation templates. Guides translated into Spanish were checked for clarity and local appropriateness with the field assistant.

The community selection process for the fieldwork component began with 119 communities from the Young Lives sample in Peru. Variables related to primary and secondary school dropout, primary and secondary school repetition, and the presence/absence of a secondary school in the community were used to narrow down to 10 to 15 communities located in the departments of Tumbes, Piura, San Martin, Junin,

Ancash, and Ayacucho. With guidance from the Principal Investigator in Peru, it was determined that a rural district municipality located in the province of Huamanga, Ayacucho, would be appropriate for the study. This district contains several secondary schools that serve a wide range of remote communities, and as such provided the opportunity to collect data in multiple schools (therefore gaining the perspectives of different groups of children, teachers, and administrators) and speak with people in different communities (therefore somewhat triangulating the experiences).

As information about and access to children outside of the school context is difficult to

obtain, I have used a snowball sampling technique originating with the secondary schools. Much

evaluation of snowball sampling used in projects trying to reach „hidden populations suggests that, though clearly it does not produce a representative sample, the technique is often the only practical choice (Beardsworth and Keil 1991 in Bryman, 2008). Though some of the study communities are Young Lives survey communities, none of the children interviewed were part of the Young Lives cohort. This was done to avoid 'respondent fatigue'. The sampling process began with three secondary schools within the district municipality. Each school administration provided names of children who had abandoned their studies in the previous five years. The Quechua-speaking field assistant located children by inquiring after their parents with community members.

As previously stated, the study operates from a theoretical standpoint which views children at the center of research on their experiences, and sees accounts from people important in their lives as complementary. As such, a case study approach is the most appropriate method to understand how decision-making was done. Ten children were selected for case study interviews; the sampling criteria for these ten children was age

(above 12 years of age), school dropout status (within the previous five years), and gender (an equal number of boys and girls). They ranged in age from 12 to 18 years, and the majority had abandoned school at the first or second grade of secondary school.

The interviews conducted with case study children were 30 minutes or less, followed a semistructured interview guide, and were conducted in the child's preferred language. Themes discussed included issues of school history, reasons for dropout, family participation in decision-making, experience of secondary school, the social importance of education, and aspirations. Given the ethical framework guiding the research, special care was taken to conduct these interviews in such a way that respected the children and their right to give consent. Interviews may pose a particular challenge in research with children, given the power differential between researcher and researched and its potential to be an unusual form of communicating information at a young age. Reflexivity is essential during interviews with children both in respect to consent and to the appropriateness of the methods (Thomas and O'Kane, 1998; Punch in Lewis and Lindsay, 2000). Privacy is context specific, and arguably 'universal' ethics may not translate easily into disadvantaged contexts. The notion of flexibility is crucial here, particularly with children. For example, often a child may want to have a friend or family member present during the interview or it is culturally conventional to operate mainly in collective spaces (Tekola, 2009; Punch, 2002). As this was the case, all interviews with case study children were conducted in the yard of the home, often with the semi-distant presence of family.

To strengthen the depth of the data in relation to each case study child, semi-structured
interviews were also conducted with one caregiver and one sibling for each child. Interviews with
parents lasted approximately one hour, and included themes such as family composition,

parent and sibling education history, the child's experience of primary school and feelings surrounding the transition to secondary, reasons for dropout, the social value of education, and aspirations for the case study child. Interviews with siblings, similar to those with the case study children, lasted less than 30 minutes and discussed themes such as educational history and experience of the sibling, reasons for case study child's abandonment of school, perceptions of children in the community who leave school, the social value of education, and aspirations. A similar set of base questions was included in each of the three interviews for each case study child, in an effort to triangulate conclusions and provide material for comparison.

Four focus groups were conducted with between five and ten children each, all currently enrolled in the study schools. The sampling criteria was school performance; that is, one focus group was conducted in each school with children who were performing at the low end of the grade spectrum, many of whom had repeated one or more years, and one was conducted with children performing at the higher end. Two different methods were used: a 'complete the story' exercise exploring children's perspectives on the factors that support or threaten secondary school completion, and a drawing exercise intended to highlight their aspirations and the occupations opportunities of which they thought themselves capable.

Another important component of the methodology was semi-structured observation in classrooms of the study schools. Permission to observe classes was obtained from both Directors and classroom teachers. The sampling criteria for classes was teacher gender and age, subject, and grade level. The set of five observation sessions covered grades one to three in the areas of mathematics, communications, health education, art, and social sciences over several class periods and days of the week. I also remained in each school for

the duration of every observation day, to understand interactions outside the classroom and develop a sense of the school environment.

The final component of the methodology was individual interviews with secondary school teachers and an administrator from the Regional Education Directorship of Ayacucho (DREA). The teachers ranged in age and gender, as they did for the classroom observation, and collectively taught Communications, Mathematics, and Art. Themes discussed included the principal reasons and risk factors for secondary school abandonment, the role of various stakeholders in education, and the resource needs of secondary schools in the area and the education system more broadly.

3.4 Ethics and Informed Consent

Ethics and methodology are completely intertwined within childhood studies (Crivello et. al., 2008; Sime, 2008; Punch, 2004), and a power relationship is often present between children and adult researchers (Morrow, 2008: 52). Although adult „gatekeepers" may not always know or accurately represent children's wishes regarding participation (Tekola et. al., 2009), their trust and consent is crucial (Thorne, 1980; Morrow, 2001; Fine and Sandstrom, 1988). As such, a rigorous consent procedure was followed during the field study. Informed consent was first sought from children's parents or teachers, and the project was subsequently explained in detail to children themselves, in homes and in schools. Audio consent was recorded with every research participant, as many were illiterate and would distrust the requirement of a signature. The project was also discussed at length with Directors and government officials. The project purposefully took a multilayered approach to promoting understanding of its objectives and obtaining consent from participants, focusing on children, caregivers, teachers, and administrators who all had a stake in the issue.

3.5 Data analysis

Secondary data sources (i.e. quantitative indicators and databases) were primarily analysed using SPSS. As the Household Questionnaire and Child Questionnaire results are available in two separate databases for the Young Lives Round 2 survey, each of these was analysed separately. Variables of interest to this study were identified using the older cohort Peru questionnaires themselves and the data dictionary. Appendix 1 provides a full list of variables consulted. Basic descriptive statistics (e.g. frequencies, measures of central tendency, and cross-comparison of frequencies among regions and poverty levels in the sample) were performed on the identified variables. Achievement indicators for the country as a whole, and basic educational and poverty indicators for the department of Ayacucho and the study district were gleaned from UMC data. Similar descriptive analysis was performed on the examination results for the province of Huamanga from 2005, 2006, and 2008 (the year 2007 was not made available).

Primary data sources (i.e. qualitative interviews, focus groups, and observations) were analysed both manually and with Atlas-ti. All interviews, focus groups, and observations were translated from Quechua (if applicable) by the field assistant, and transcribed in Spanish. A basic coding frame was developed before analysis begun. Four code families were created based on the research questions.[2] Insights from the literature review were used to develop a preliminary

[2] Code Famiy 1 = Child & household decisions; Code Family 2=Children's social and economic future; Code Family 3=Personal factors & social characteristics; Code Family 4 = Environmental factors.

set of

codes; further codes were also generated during analysis. Appendix 2 provides the full coding frame. Analysis from Code Families 1 and 2 form the basis of Chapter 3, while Code Families 3 and 4 form the basis of Chapters 4 and 5, respectively.

3.6 Methodological issues

Though the data collection process was generally quite successful, several methodological

issues did emerge during the course of the field study. Largely unavoidable practical factors had

somewhat of an effect on data quality, and issues of positionality, local myths about abduction, and participation did arise.

As the home communities of the children are very remote and poorly resourced, neither I nor the field assistant resided in them while completing the study; along with teachers from the

study schools, we traveled each day to the site. This prevented much participant observation outside of the school setting. The communities were also exclusively Quechua-speaking; though I am fluent in Spanish, the administrative language of Peru, I was reliant on the translation of the field assistant when dealing with families themselves. The fact that I was not able to converse with parents (or children) in their native language somewhat increased the element of 'foreignness' or cultural distance.

Given the remoteness, agricultural nature, and collective culture of the study communities, we also experienced some practical issues with the recording of interviews and focus groups themselves. Recording quality was occasionally compromised by noise

interference from wind, animals, or younger children. Family members were within earshot for many interviews with children, and children from other grades occasionally listened at the window while focus groups were being conducted. Though children in focus groups generally spoke more comfortably than individual children during interviews, some of them were reticent because of shame around overage and different future aspirations, and it was very difficult to encourage female children to participate fully. Case study children also tended to be slightly less talkative than children in groups. Children not enrolled in school and adults also often had a short period of available time for interviews, given farm, childcare, and domestic obligations.

We also experienced some issues with positionality, local myths, and willingness to participate. Though I was traveling with a local Quechua-speaking research assistant who had been raised in a very similar community, the foreign nature of my presence was very evident. Adults in the study communities were often asked to participate in government and NGO programs, and occasionally seemed tired of dealing with foreigners in their homes. Remoteness and migration were also issues in terms of participation; it was very difficult to locate each child's home, and many children (particularly boys) who had dropped out had migrated to Ayacucho or Lima.

In several instances, it was necessary to refute a local myth about child abduction. Several

parents expressed knowledge of a myth that children would be taken away by outsiders. These fears related to long-held myths that indigenous people would be taken away and murdered for their 'fat', related not to contemporary experience but the earliest years of Spanish colonisation in the region (Morrow, 2008: 12). The field assistant calmly addressed fears, explaining that the project would only gather information about children's lives and stressing our concern to inform authorities if any abuse was actually occurring.

Part 4: Thesis structure

The remainder of this thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter 2, *Educational choices and social inequality: A literature review*, will explain the three main approaches taken by researchers studying school abandonment (drawn from economic, anthropological, and sociological disciplinary standpoints) and position this study as a contribution that draws together previous understandings to understand the process holistically in this context. Chapter 3, *"We do not want them to suffer as we do in the fields": Educational trajectories & the family*, presents empirical analysis on how schooling choices fit within a larger set of responsibilities and obligations in the family for children in Ayacucho. Chapter 4, *"It depends on us": Children's experiences around school abandonment*, presents empirical analysis on how children's personal will, experiences, and characteristics affect the decision to abandon school. Chapter 5, *"There are many needs": Environmental factors affecting school abandonment*, presents empirical analysis on how the school system itself and the attitudes and relationships it contains impact the likelihood of children's success and progress through the system. Chapter 6, *Conclusion*, summarizes the contribution this analysis makes to theoretical ideas and existing literature, reviews the study's major findings, and presents some limitations and avenues for further research.

Chapter 2

Educational choices and social inequality: a literature review

Three main approaches have been proposed to understand inequality as manifested in the education system, the decision-making process around schooling choices, transitions into and out of secondary school and the likelihood that children will continue in the educational system to complete secondary school. The first is an economic (and thus quantitative) approach that aims to understand how households make decisions about schooling for children, and is based on ideas of human capital, the intergenerational transmission of poverty, and demographic transition. The second is an anthropological approach that understands schooling decisions mainly through the lens of kin structures, the construction of aspirations, and transitions and trajectories in children's lives. The third is a sociological approach that focuses on the institution of the school itself, and develops both a quantitative and qualitative understanding of how the school system produces different outcomes for different groups of children, particularly negative outcomes for marginalized societal groups.

Though these approaches all make very important contributions to our larger understanding of how social inequality is reproduced through education, very few studies in the field integrate separately developed understandings of contributing factors to the dropout phenomenon together to understand the occurrence holistically. This study makes a contribution to the literature on school abandonment by integrating the frames of home, school, and society together and combining them with a focus on children's voices, in both theoretical/ methodological design and empirical analysis. By analysing precisely how family dynamics, children's own will and preferences, and the larger schooling system and

culture work together to cause school abandonment for a specific group of children, this study provides a novel contribution to pre-existing work on schooling choices and the experience of inequality for poor children[3].

Part 1: The decision-making process around schooling choices

Much of the literature surrounding schooling in the developing world focuses on how families make the choice to educate their children, which of those children they educate, and for how long they do so. This literature focuses on how families' economic situation affects their choice to send children to school and, as such, what economic value poor families place on education as a means of securing their future over other options. Much work has been done to suggest that poverty or socio-economic status is a crucial determinant of children's ability to access education (Ansell, 2005; Buchmann and Hannum, 2001; Cueto et. al., 2009).

Several authors have suggested that particularly in Latin America, poor families are often 'credit constrained' and therefore unable to withstand economic shocks and keep their children in school; based on a quantitative study of adolescent schooling decisions in rural Latin America, Alcázar, Rendón and Wachtenheim suggest that "the opportunity cost of rural households

[3] This review has focused on the literature about schooling choices in Peru and other countries, and draws on work published in Peru and internationally in both English and (to a somewhat lesser extent) Spanish. Literature included was sourced from the University of Oxford libraries and journal databases, the publications and book collection of the Young Lives project at ODID, the GRADE and IEP libraries in Lima, the websites of prominent research institutes in the fields of childhood studies and access to education (e.g. Bernard van Leer Foundation, CREATE), and the websites of relevant Peruvian government ministries (i.e. education and women and social development).

sending their children to school can therefore be quite high and in many cases prohibitive. This is especially true for agricultural families during harvest season" (2002: 25). Escobal, Saavedra and Suarez (2005:15) also show that changes in a family's economic situation, i.e. the experience of economic shocks[4], can impact a child's educational experience through the re-allocation of intra-family resources towards collective consumption and away from spending on education, which has an effect on the child's development of human capital.

A study using household panel data from Madagascar has confirmed this idea that economic shocks affect children's schooling; as Gubert and Robilliard note, in this case, "transitory income affects children's school dropout significantly but not school entrance. This result is consistent with the observation that children's participation in household chores and agricultural activities increases with age" (2006: 18). In other words, children's likelihood to enter school in the first place may not be affected by a changeable family income, but their propensity to stay in school over time and at older ages is. Survey data from South Africa, however, suggests that parents are likely to protect their children's education from income shocks because of the value they place on it as a means for escaping poverty; in this context, "completing grade 12 is regarded as an important achievement, the lack of which jeopardizes future economic and human development" (Hunter and May, 2002: 19). Though changes in income and productive responsibilities do indeed play a part in schooling choices, this literature somewhat fails to present other types of 'shocks' or fundamental changes families may experience that cause children to leave school (e.g. illness or death of a family member, or domestic or political violence).

Given the protracted nature of poverty in many contexts, much work has also been

[4] Escobal et. al. define economic shocks as "changes in aggregates in consumption and income, and changes in the
employment status of the head of the household, either moving into unemployment or moving from formal to informalsector employment" (2005:2).

done on how human capital investment (or lack thereof) relates to the intergenerational transmission of poverty. A study of poor families in urban Bangladesh showed that "the children of household heads (but not spouses) who are themselves uneducated are less likely to go to school. They are less likely to have worldviews that give value to education or to imagine a life for their children very different from the ones that they themselves had" (Kabeer and Mahmud, 2009: 19). The idea that well-educated parents are more likely to educate their own children, and who, therefore it is assumed will be less poor, is not novel in human capital literature. In a study of Ghanaian families over the period of 1991 to 2006, Caine Rolleston found that some schooling (even without formal qualifications) for the household head increased household per capita welfare between 1 and 9 percent, and middle school qualifications increased per capita welfare by between 16 and 19 per cent (2009: 10). However, though statistical analysis supports the assertion that better educated parents have better educated children, a fundamental flaw here is the consequent logical leap assuming that poor parents therefore do not value education. They may value it immensely, but not have the material or social resources to ensure their children's access to it.

Nevertheless, regardless of how much value parents place on education, there often still

exists a practice of selection because of this lack of resources. A study of household schooling

decision in rural Pakistan has speculated based on regression outcomes that "parents may pick the "winners" for educational specialization and allocate more resources to them, regardless of their gender" and has found gender-specific birth order effects suggesting resource competition among siblings (Sawada and Lokshin, 2001: 2-3). In Brazil, it has been found that "in households where the mother has more education than the father,

daughters are more likely to be withheld from the labour market, . . . [however] both parents seem to direct more resources toward a son's education than to a daughter's education" (Emerson and Portela Souza, 2002: 22-23).

Other work within the human capital literature has shown that a process of demographic

transition may also have an impact on enrollment in school. Mostly simply, this literature suggests that fertility decline is associated with educational expansion. In rural south India, Caldwell, Reddy, and Caldwell have argued a 'triangle' exists that explains this relationship: there is "falling demand for family labour . . . because of declining farm size; increased demand for education in a situation where schools were more available . . . and financial problems in keeping many children in school"(1985: 47). However, much of the literature points to the fact that the relationship between household composition and school enrollment is actually quite complex. Though "greater numbers of children in a household will place a higher demand on family resources and might make the household unable to keep educating the adolescent members . . . a greater number of adults or older siblings might . . . free up resources which will allow the younger adolescents to remain in school"(Alcázar, Rendón, and Wachtenheim, 2002: 21). However, it must not be assumed that older siblings necessarily free up or contribute resources to their younger siblings' schooling[5].

Outside the sphere of quantitative work from an economics perspective, other literature also sees the family and therefore household composition as central to decisions around schooling, and addresses some of the omissions of the previous approach. As Naila Kabeer summarizes, "parent child relationships are the product of the material realities in which families are located. They will consequently reflect, and reproduce, the social values

[5] See Ch. 3, Section 2.3.

and economic inequalities which characterizes this reality" (2000: 478). Many scholars have addressed the question of changing parent-child relationships in the context of globalization and cultural change. As many communities in the developing world organize themselves through systems of kin obligation, there has been concern about the possible transition to an individualistic model and thus the loss of networks to cushion poverty. However, much of the literature suggests that, though kin relationships are changing, they do not necessarily break down, and may sometimes progress in a positive manner. With respect to the Asian context, Croll (2006) has suggested that the continuing value of the intergenerational 'contract' has "encouraged a mutual process of adjustment to accommodate changing needs and conditions in favour of more balanced and symmetric resource flows between generations" (478-488).

Additionally, a good portion of research on family choices around education focuses on the hope that education may give families for their children's chances to escape poverty, and the

aspirations that develop as a result. Several studies have shown the very high value placed on

education in Peru, noting that it is seen as a primary source of social mobility. Gina Crivello's work on the transitions around migration for secondary education discusses the social value of education for poor children, and shows how education is considered central to the transition to adulthood and out of poverty (2009: 22). Benavides, Olivera, and Mena (2006)'s extensive work with enrolled children and their families in four departments of Peru indicates that children and adults usually have similar aspirations for the child's future, and that parents express a positive social value for education though do not tend to dedicate household time to improving school performance, regardless of whether they are educated or uneducated (Ibid: 197-198).

Jessaca Leinaweaver focuses on the process of 'improving oneself' that Andean youth engage in as a response to the inequality they face; she remarks that "as children in this population come of age, they feel and articulate the limitations of their socioeconomic positioning and work toward self-improvement and improvement of their situation" (2008: 61). With respect to Peru, the anthropological literature has also shown how indigenous communities and families may promote the achievement of aspirations and successful transition to adulthood by engaging in alternative care arrangements for their children, namely child circulation (Leinaweaver, 2007b). Scholars have argued that this practice has developed as a unique response to the risk associated with poverty. These practices are the methods through which "poor Ayacuchanos are creatively and purposefully managing their lives . . . building up the multi-layered connections that serve them in trying times"(Ibid: 175).

Research from other contexts also deals with this notion of realizing aspirations; in the context of urban Ethiopia, Daniel Mains (2007) indicates how the transition from childhood to adulthood for young men is predicated on the realization of economic and consequent social aspirations. This transition is often curtailed by economic scarcity that creates unemployment, and "when aspirations are increasingly difficult to attain, the period during which one exists in the ambiguous stage between childhood and adulthood expands" (660).

The lens of transitions is an important one from which to understand how education fits into the larger social experiences of childhood and adulthood, and to give insight into

youth

negotiate schooling. Michael Baizerman (1998) argues that transitions are becoming more complicated for youth in the context of social change, noting that "the ways to the future are less

and less clear for many populations of youth . . . [and] the transitions are more oblique and more

opaque" (444). Bynner (2005) echoes this idea, terming this period „emerging adulthood and

suggesting that "the forces of technological transformation and globalization" are changing the way that young people negotiate educational choices and creating uncertainty for the future (380).

A transitions perspective can also be very helpful in understanding one of the main negotiations that children engage in throughout their lives: the choice between work and school, or a combination of multiple activities. Alcazar, Rendon, and Wachhtenheim (2002) note that poor youth in Latin America are particularly likely to abandon school as a result of the economic pressure on their families (6). In order to understand children's actual daily activities, it is also important to note that work may take different forms; though some children may not be working outside the household (and therefore perhaps not deemed to be 'working' by survey data), that does not mean that they are not still responsible for some element of their family's collective productive, or as is often the case with girls, reproductive obligations. A study conducted in Pakistan notes that families see extra-household child labour and schooling as substitutes, which is not the case when children are working in the home (Hazarika and Bedi, 2003: 58). In fact, many families may believe that this "participation in household production will lead to their children acquiring skills that not be acquired at school" (Ibid.). In addition, Patrinos and Psacharapoulos find that

family size, number of siblings, and sibling birth order had an impact on the relationship between school and children's work (1997: 402). The practical value of education in the lives of children is also centrally related to the transitions that they may make between schooling and work over the course of their childhood and youth. In her 2004 study of indigenous children in rural Bolivia, Samantha Punch suggests that "the perceived benefits and constraints of schooling help shape youth transitions but also need to be considered alongside the opportunities and limitations of available work" (178).

Further, there is significant evidence of these sorts of negotiations between school and work in Peruvian communities as well. A study of the quality of school for indigenous children in Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru has indicated that "in Peru, indigenous students are 14 percentage points more likely than non-indigenous students to regularly work" and that a potential reason for this is the "cultural value or positive stigma associated with children's work in some indigenous communities" (Hernandez Zavala, Patrinos, and Sakellariou, 2006: 16). Antonella Invernizzi'ss (2003) research on migrant children who shine shoes and sell sweets on the streets of Lima has shown that work is seen as helping children to "learn responsibility", though it is also often perceived as a necessary consequence of poverty (329).

Migration itself also plays an important role in children's transitions, and their schooling

choices in Peru and elsewhere. Though the common perception is that families always move

together for economic reasons, much research actually suggests that children may often move

independently, and for educational purposes. In a study of a village in northeastern Ghana in 2000 to 2001, it was found that "relatively large numbers of children migrate in order to

further their education, either moving to be able to attend school or to be trained in a vocation, or migrating for work to get the money needed to attend school" (Hashim, 2005: 5). The literature surrounding children and migration paints a complex picture in which migration may assist with or hinder the chances that children may access and receive a quality education. For example, research on the impact of distress seasonal migration on children in India has shown that migratory patterns can irreversibly disrupt children's schooling experiences and cause their removal from the system (Smita, 2008).

Part II: Understanding unequal educational attainment and causes of dropout

Educational research has spent much energy on understanding the nature of differential
attainment in schools, and the reasons why some children are more likely than others to abandon
the system altogether. For example, a study looking at the determinants of school performance for Quechua children in the Peruvian Andes indicates that family background has an influence on "verbal competence, while educational inputs seem to play a role in math learning" (Jacoby et. al., 1999: 41). Children's nutrition has also been a focus in contexts where poverty seems to impact educational performance; discussing the use of school feeding programs in South Africa, Peter Kallaway argues that "if children have sufficient food, they are more likely to attend school regularly and this leads to better school performance" and suggests that feeding schemes allow "for some state action to be taken in the social policy domain which allows for the promotion of equality of access to education" (1996: 11).

Other work in this area focuses also on the issue of school quality. It has been found that, in many poor countries, the children of marginalized groups often receive a

significantly lower quality of education than children of middle or upper class communities, regardless of the fact that the system is all managed publicly. For example, an empirical analysis on the relationship between educational inputs and school outcomes in South Africa has shown "marked effects of school quality as measured by pupil-teacher ratios, on outcomes for Black children" (Case and Deaton, 1999: 1050).

In the Peruvian context, Hernandez-Zavala, Patrinos, and Sakellariou (2006) conclude that "indigenous students enter school with more disadvantaged backgrounds, study in schools with fewer resources and perform worse on exams" and have linked bad schooling conditions to

particularly low achievement test scores for these children (15). Further, in a cross-country regression study of schooling quality, Lee and Barro found that family background (indicated by

income and education), and a greater amount of school resources (the strongest results of applying to pupil-teacher ratios) were very strongly related to lower repetition and dropout rates. They indicate that their findings are "consistent with the view that inputs from schools, families, and communities are important in improving school quality" (2001: 485). Balarin and Cueto (2007) echo this view, indicating that parental support of children in Peruvian government schools is related to children's achievement level. Finally, Cueto and colleagues maintain that there "tends to be less intra-school variability than inter-school variability, hence the strong association between the socioeconomic status of a student and his/her educational outcomes" (2005: 29).

Repetition is another major issue that results from differences in achievement and causes

differences in attainment. For example, Anderson, Case, and Lam's (2001) quantitative study of

racial differences in educational attainment in South Africa concludes that "grade repetition rather than non-enrollment appears to be responsible for much of the educational gap between racial groups" (55-56). The causes of repetition can be found by taking a closer look at the communities from which marginalized children come; as Hunter and May (2002) note, "on the whole poverty, ethnicity, gender and remoteness all combine with poor instructional conditions, bad teaching and arbitrary assessment of student performance to produce high repetition rates" (4).

High rates of repetition are also shown to be part of a vicious cycle that reproduces disadvantage for these groups of children; Liddell and Rae (2001) introduce the important point that "retention doubles the cost of a year's schooling for individual families, and creates heavy burdens for national economies" (414). On top of being statistically very common, they are rarely programs that address the causes of repetition in schools. Cueto, Guerrero, León, Seguin, and Muñoz (2009) note that the Peruvian education system provides "no free public programs to help children who lag behind in achievement (indigenous or other), although some school or teacher specific initiatives may occur" (13).

Some scholars have suggested that issues such as repetition, poor school quality, and low

performance can all be part of a lengthy process of 'disengagement' with schooling, that eventually causes children to drop out (Rumberger, 1987). Indeed, the causes of dropout identified by the literature do suggest that these factors remain important. Adding to this, Eckstein and Wolpin (1999) suggest that "disliking school, placing a high value on leisure, having low ability/motivation, facing good market opportunities, or having low expectations of the payoff to graduation" are additional reasons for school abandonment (1330).

Several quantitative studies of children's schooling experience in Peru have focused

specifically on dropout. Lavado and Gallegos find that factors affecting dropout differed by gender, though converged for rural children regardless of gender; for both boys and girls in rural areas, the most important variables were the educational level of the father, the expenditure per capita of the household, the ratio of pupils/teachers of the district, and the nature of the child's community (i.e. jungle and mountain communities had higher rates) (2005: 16-19).

Santiago Cueto's 2004 quantitative study of secondary students in two rural zones of the

country, Apurimac and Cusco, also shows relationships between dropout and both age and gender. His work found that 20% of the sample students had dropped out when the research team returned three years after the initial data collection, and their results indicated that dropping out was not associated with achievement, but that female and older students were more likely to leave school (Cueto 2004: 2). Finally, Lorena Alcazar's survey-based quantitative study of students who remained enrolled and those who had left in 34 of Peru's departments found that among the reasons for students leaving secondary school (in 30-50% of cases) were the occurrence of familial economic problems and/or the necessity of getting a job to maintain the family home, the cost of educational materials, and the low perceived quality of education and its potential benefit to them (2008:59).

In addition to the Peruvian context, much work has been done on the causes and nature of dropout in many contexts across the developing world. Crouch's (2005) study of the dropout

phenomenon in South Africa found that education being uninteresting affected a high percentage of boys in the sample (17%) and that pregnancy, marriage, and family concerns affected a high percentage of the girls (26%) (16). Another research project using the Birth-to-Twenty child cohort in urban South Africa found that "boys repeat at a much higher

rate than girls and that this pattern was evident for every single grade in the 1996 and 1997 subcohorts" and that "by the time the total cohort had reached the age of 15, a considerably higher proportion of girls than boys had reached Grade 10 (36% and 22% respectively)" (Fleisch and Shindler, 2009: 275).

Additionally, a study exploring the causes of relatively higher dropout rates in the northern region of Ghana indicates that factors associated with "child labour, poverty, death of parent, fosterage, poor performance in school, parental lack of interest, pregnancy, teacher attitudes to children, distance from school, persistent learning difficulties, corporal punishment, poor attendance, and repetition" were all significant in that context, as they are in many parts of the developing world (Ghartey Ampiah and Adu-Yeboah, 2009: 229). Work done on the determinants of school attendance in India for the 5-14 age group from 1981 to 1991 introduces some other interesting factors; specifically, the study indicated that parental education and adult female work force participation, and school accessibility all positively affected school attendance, while large household size negatively affected it (Jayachandran, 2002: 17, 27-28). Finally, a study in Mozambique has found that late school entrants have a higher dropout rate than young entrants, reflecting issues of conflicting responsibilities, school inaccessibility, and sequential investment in children's schooling by families (Wils, 2004: 20). While these studies provide essential broad insight into the main factors causing drop-out, and the possible relationships between them, it is necessary to undertake qualitative work to gradually develop an understanding of how the relationships play out in context. This study offers a contribution to that preliminary understanding, as it analyses how those factors converge in the lives of children.

As gender bias in schooling decisions and outcomes is apparent in the literature that looks at the problem among both boys and girls, it becomes an interesting lens through which to explore the issue further, and one that is relevant particularly in the

context of indigenous Peruvian communities. Ramya Subrahmanian contends that gender inequality can often be manifested through education because of the differences in value for women's and men's contributions in society; she suggests that many girls "are excluded from education relative to boys because of the devaluation of their socially constructed role as carers" and notes that girls may be prevented from accessing education to the same extent as boys because of "discrimination operating outside the sphere of education" (2005: 398). In this vein, much work has also been done on how a hidden curriculum that transmits gender norms is present in many schools in the developing world. In her 2007 study of gender and sexuality as expressed in the secondary schools of Botswana and Ghana, Mairead Dunne concludes that "within the heteronormative institutional context, the dominant versions of a subordinate femininity left the girls with limited strategies to respond in the public arena" (508).

Several quantitative studies have focused specifically on quantifying how the gender factor contributes to educational inequality. For example, Nicola Ansell's (2002) study of the educational needs of rural girls in Lesotho and Zimbabwe finds that girls' enrollment rates tend to be lower (though not in Lesotho) and that girls perform more poorly on examinations (92-93). She attributes this partly to the triple burden that rural women face in these countries, noting citing Caroline Moser's (1989) reflection that they are responsible for production, household reproduction, and community management (Ibid: 93). A parallel could be drawn in this respect between women in rural Southern Africa and their counterparts in the Peruvian Andes. Several studies have also shown that girls in poor communities are more likely to experience early pregnancy, which powerfully affects their schooling trajectory, often causing them to drop out permanently (Meekers and Ahmed, 1999; Crouch, 2005).

Empirical research from economics, anthropology, and educational sociology such

as that reviewed above is all central to our understanding of how education and structures of poverty and inequality interact. However, there exists an important opportunity to bring the contexts of family, society, and school together, and to study how they mutually reinforce each other to create poor educational outcomes for disadvantaged children. This study aims to do this, and its empirical analysis will discuss how the contexts of family (Chapter 3), children's individual will and preferences (Chapter 4), and the schooling system (Chapter 5) affect choices to leave school and future pathways.

Chapter 3

"We do not want them to suffer as we do in the fields": Educational trajectories & the family

Particularly in contexts of rural poverty, decisions made by children and their families surrounding schooling, and the trajectory that a child's education will take, are negotiated amidst multiple priorities and barriers. Children's own personal will and desire regarding their education is mitigated by the opinions of their parents about its value, the necessity of families to care for all of their children and ensure collective subsistence, and access to schools of good quality. This chapter explores the decision to abandon school as it fits within a larger set of responsibilities and relationships in the family for children in Ayacucho, and analyzes how hope for and consideration of children's social and economic

future factor into how the decision to leave school is made, and its consequences perceived, at the family level.

The quantitative analysis in this chapter is based on two main sources of data: 1. the Young Lives Round 2 survey for the older cohort (12 years of age at the time of data collection); 2. Social development indicators collected by the Peruvian National Institute of Statistics and Information Technology (INEI) and compiled by the Social Development Cooperation Fund (FONCODES), as well as the District Municipality studied in this project[6].

The qualitative analysis is based on interviews conducted with ten case study children, their parents, and siblings. Firstly, the analysis shows how families in this context understand the
educational trajectories of their children as being affected by poverty and histories of political
violence. Four case studies are presented. The narratives of three children, Moises, Carmen, and
Beatriz, and their families are used to discuss how schooling choices are additionally affected by
interpersonal dynamics, family history, children's gender, and the network of obligation.[7] Further, the case of Sergio and his family is used to discuss the high educational aspirations that many indigenous parents hold for their children, and examine how education is seen as crucial to

---

[6] The analysis of Young Lives data in this chapter is based specifically on the Household Questionnaire results from
Round 2 (Peru) collected in 2006 and 2007, namely Sections 1 (Parental Background) and Section 11 (Caregiver
Perceptions and Attitudes).

[7] Please note that all children and teachers in this study have been given pseudonyms and schools have been anonymised, in accordance with the ethical and participation guidelines of this project.

interrupting the intergenerational transmission of poverty in a setting of entrenched inequality.

Part 1 – Educational aspirations & household poverty: The quantitative context

1.1 Aspirations across Peruvian regions: Analysis of the Young Lives Round 2 survey

Descriptive analysis of the Young Lives older cohort sample for Peru affords an interesting picture of poor parents' aspirations for their children's education, and helps to demonstrate the value that they place on education. Table 1 below delineates the results of aspirations data by level of urbanization and region. Parents in both urban and rural areas, and all regions of the country, declare a very strong preference to keep children in school, and most hope that their children will attend technical college or university after graduating secondary school. In addition, nearly all parents believe that their children will complete the desired level of education. The views of parents in the rural highlands, such as those in the study district, also follow these patterns. For example, 70.2% of rural highlands parents hope their children will finish university, and 91.5% believe that the children will achieve this goal.

Table 1: Parental aspirations data by region, Young Lives Round 2 older cohort[8]

Region	12yr old enrollment for poor family (%)		Desired level of education for YL child (%)					Do you think the YL child will complete it? (%)	
	Stay	Leave	N	6	11	T	U	Yes	No
Urban	99.3	0.5	0.0	0.2	2.7	14.3	81.6	97.8	2.2
Rural	95.2	3.3	0.4	1.5	9.2	21.0	66.8	92.5	7.5
Costa	99.3	0.4	0.0	0.0	4.2	19.1	75.6	96.8	3.2
Sierra	97.6	2.4	0.3	0.7	6.1	13.2	78.0	94.9	5.1
Selva	93.3	2.9	0.0	2.9	5.7	21.9	69.5	95.2	4.8
Rural Sierra	97.2	2.8	0.6	1.1	9.4	17.1	70.2	91.5	8.5

1.2 Poverty in Ayacucho: key social indicators

In order to understand the context of household poverty in the rural districts of Ayacucho department, it is first necessary to at look poverty indicators for the department as a whole, and compare them with other similar departments. The Ministry of Women and Social Development divides Peruvian departments into poverty quintiles; Ayacucho, along with seven other departments, forms part of the lowest quintile. The departments in

[8] Please note the following: Costa=Coastal region; Sierra=Highland region; Selva=Jungle region; N=none; 6=end of primary; 11=end of secondary; T=technical college; U=university. For the variable '12 year old enrollment for poor family', parents were asked "Imagine that a family in the village/suburb has a 12 year old son who is attending school full-time. The family badly needs to increase the household income, one option is to send the son to work but the son wants to stay in school. What should the family do?".

this group tend to exhibit high levels of rurality, low levels of access to water, sanitation, and electricity, high female illiteracy rates, high malnutrition rates among children 6-9 years, and low Human Development Index values. These values can be seen in Appendix 4 for all departments, and in Table 2 below for Ayacucho in particular.

Table 2: FONCODES Departmental Poverty Map 2006, Selected Indicators (Ayacucho)

Dept.	Pop. 2007	% pop. rural	% pop. without water	% pop. without sanitation	% pop. without electric.	Female illiteracy rate	Malnutrition rate 6-9 yrs	HDI
TOTAL (PERU)	27,429,169	23	23	17	24	11	22	0.5976
AYACUCHO	628,569	41	37	30	44	27	38	0.5280

Source: FONCODES, 2007.

As is evident from Table 2, Ayacucho performs comparatively worse than the national average on each of the listed indicators. The province of Huamanga, within which the study district is located, contains both the departmental capital of Ayacucho and several rural districts that are significantly poorer than the province's urban zones. For example, according to the 2007 national census, the province of Huamanga had an urban illiteracy rate of 7.6%, and a rural illiteracy rate of 28.3% (INEI, 2007). Eleven of the rural districts in Huamanga province form part of the country's 880 poorest districts that qualify for JUNTOS, the CCT program intended to provide financial support to poor families who agree to participate in health, education, and nutrition programming (Arambarú, 2009). Figure 2 below displays the poorest districts of Huamanga that qualify for the JUNTOS program, of which the municipality studied is one. Districts in Ayacucho collectively make up 9.43% of the participating districts in the JUNTOS program (FONDES, 2001).

Table 3: Poorest Districts of Huamanga Province, Ayacucho

NUMBER	QUINTILE	DEPARTMENT	PROVINCE	DISTRICT
180	Q1	AYACUCHO	HUAMANGA	ACOCRO
181	Q1	AYACUCHO	HUAMANGA	ACOS VINCHOS
182	Q1	AYACUCHO	HUAMANGA	CHIARA
183	Q1	AYACUCHO	HUAMANGA	OCROS
184	Q1	AYACUCHO	HUAMANGA	PACAYCASA
185	Q1	AYACUCHO	HUAMANGA	QUINUA
186	Q1	AYACUCHO	HUAMANGA	SAN JOSE DE TICLLAS
187	Q1	AYACUCHO	HUAMANGA	SANTIAGO DE PISCHA
188	Q1	AYACUCHO	HUAMANGA	SOCOS
189	Q1	AYACUCHO	HUAMANGA	TAMBILLO
190	Q1	AYACUCHO	HUAMANGA	VINCHOS

Source: FONCODES, 2001.

The district municipality studied clearly exhibits the poor social indicators expected of a rural district in Huamanga based on previously presented statistics. Table 4 below presents a clear picture of a subsistence agricultural community still working against issues of poor health, sanitation, literacy rates, and service provision. 80 per cent of households in the district are registered with the JUNTOS program, indicating that they have been identified as the poorest in the country.

Table 4: Key Poverty Indicators for the District Municipality

INDICATOR	PERCENTAGE (%)
Agricultural production for own consumption	95
Illiteracy (total)	27.8
Illiteracy (men, percentage of total)	40
Illiteracy (women, percentage of total)	60
Infant mortality	9
Malnutrition	69
Lack of water supply in home	71.89
Lack of electricity in home	94.37
Lack of latrine in home	97.35
Households registered in JUNTOS program	80

Source: Municipilidad Distrital, 2008. District name has been redacted to preserve anonymity.

The brief quantitative analysis presented here suggests two main conclusions. Firstly, that Peruvian parents (including those in the rural highlands) hold very high educational aspirations for their children, and clearly expect the children to fulfill these goals. Secondly, that households in rural Ayacucho, particularly those in the study district, are living within a context of poverty, subsistence agricultural production, illiteracy, malnutrition, and poor infrastructure. Taken together, these ideas begin to suggest a fundamental challenge: that the achievement of aspirations may be constrained by the experience of household poverty. In-depth qualitative analysis explores this relationship further, understanding how educational trajectories are negotiated within poor families amidst the constraints they face

Part 2 - "I liked thinking that all my children were studying": Responsibilities and relationships in the family

2.1 Children, their parents, and educational choices: the case of Moises

Due to the prevalence of violence, as well as male labour migration to Ayacucho and Lima, many families studied were essentially headed by mothers, some of whom had been left permanently by their partners for other families or economic prospects further

afield. However, the majority of women, regardless of whether their husbands remained effectively part of the family unit, were seen as primarily responsible for the management of children's education and also, therefore, as the main actors who negotiated educational choices with their children.

Overwhelmingly, the case study children declared that they had made their own decisions to abandon secondary school. Though all of them emphatically declared the exercise of their own will, the more nuanced negotiation process around the decision to leave school became apparent when their accounts were compared with their parents' and siblings' perspectives.[9] The case of Moises, a 16-year-old boy from the district capital who left secondary school in December of 2008 helps illuminate the process of negotiation and acceptance that children engage in before dropping out, a phenomenon that was described by several families in the study.

Moises, the youngest of three siblings, lived in the district capital and a short distance away from School 3, which drew students from several hours away. Having attended *jardín* from 3 to 5 years, and started primary school at the normal age of 6 years, he eventually dropped out of the secondary school during his second year of study[10]. Moises himself described 'not being able to keep studying' and cited the 'laziness' that secondary school had developed in him. His mother suggested that to her he had expressed eventual intentions to study in another school, later leaving for the jungle region of Ayacucho, where he would 'save [money] working there and then with that money he

---

[9] Samantha Punch (2007) describes a similar process of negotiation within rural Bolivian indigenous families around
work responsibilities.

[10] *Jardín* signifies a formal kindergarten program beginning at age 3, which is known by the Ministry of Education as a *centro de educación inicial*. Some children also attend PRONOEIs, non-formal community-based programs (Ames, Rojas & Portugal, 2009: 5). Wawa Wasi, in contrast, is another state-run program based on providing care focused mainly on early childhood learning, nutrition, and health for infants living in poverty (Cueto et. al., 2009: 2).

would study'. Despite his stated desire both in the interview and to his mother, Moises had not yet returned to school as he had promised, and it seemed relatively unlikely that he would in the future.

As did other parents, Moises' mother describes a process of back-and-forth discussions and visits with his teachers, who 'asked me why he could not study, and told me that he had failed many courses, they told me he could not study'. She is a single mother caring for her three sons, and expressed that the money 'does not manage' to cover all the costs that they have, given that 'no one is helping me'. Perhaps most interestingly, she also describes the process of demanding that her son study and the emotional negotiation that occurred on this point between her and her son:

> "I worry when he does not study. His brother tells me that when he comes back from the jungle he has to keep studying, it hurts me that he does not study, when I demand that he studies, he becomes more stubborn and does not want to"

Moises' family is not alone in this process of persuasion and resistance; all but one of the
case study children were engaged in this negotiation with their parents, who repeatedly tried to
convince them of the value of finishing secondary school, and implored to them the sacrifice that their parents had suffered to allow them to do it. Sergio's mother explains a very similar pattern, saying that they told him "he had not been sent to study so that he could fail, that we sent him to *colegio* spending much money and with that he became very fussy and bored"[11]. The caregivers of most of the case study children also expressed a

[11] *Colegio* signifies a secondary school comprised of grades 1-5, while *escuela* signifies a primary school comprised of
grades 1-6.

notion of disempowerment relative to their children, a phenomenon which was a central part of this process. Particularly with boys, parents were often told by their children that they had a plan to work elsewhere, usually in the jungle, Ayacucho, or Lima, and that they would save money there to go back to school. This seemed to be a tool to placate their parents, who often did not have enough knowledge about their potential for work to refuse this as a reasoning for leaving school. Children who had decided to migrate to Ayacucho for educational purposes also caused their mothers to experience emotional stress; Saul's mother worried that he would "get to know bad girls or boys who would take down a bad path" and added that "on top of that I do not want him in a place where I cannot watch over him".

Parents also communicated a feeling of resignation about their children's decision; the

mother of Marta, the youngest of nine siblings who abandoned School 1, expressed this sentiment: "but if they do not want to study, how are we going to support then, we can do everything possible to support them but if they do not want to study we cannot do anything". Several mothers of case study children described their efforts to convince their children to stay in school as being negatively affected by barriers such an unsupportive partner or previous bad experiences with siblings who reacted dramatically to the push to study. Some caregivers had determined after a long process of trying to convince their children that they were in fact not suited for education; as Marta's mother said, "surely she was not born for studies".

The parents of case study children, overwhelmingly, had checkered personal education

histories, many of them having not attended primary school at all, or completing only some

of the required education at a time when its provision was even less broad than it is currently. As a result of this widespread illiteracy, there developed a pattern in which youth and young adults in the family became those who most often interacted with the larger world, namely the urban, Spanish-speaking one. Many parents expressed how their inability to understand what their children were studying meant that they were ineffective in supporting them when learning began to falter, and that they could not monitor whether or not their children were keeping up with schoolwork. When talking about her son's learning process in secondary school, Sergio's mother responded that "yes he was learning well, I always asked him but no I did not see what he was doing because I cannot read . . . I do not know if he was telling me the truth". Marta's mother echoed this frustration, saying that "if I could read I would see how she was doing in *colegio*. But I cannot even sign my name". Because of this inability to directly participate in monitoring their children's educational progress, parents often described having to go by 'what the teachers tell me' in understanding why their children were performing poorly and would go on to drop out.

2.2 Siblings and educational choices: the case of Carmen

Another central feature of how the family negotiates the decision to drop out in this context is the educational history of all the children, particularly older siblings. Many of the case study children were the youngest of a large family, in which several older siblings lived away from the parental home. Older siblings seemed to play one of two roles in their younger siblings' educational trajectory: broker or bad example, and sometimes a combination. The case of Carmen is particularly helpful for understanding the impact that older siblings can have on a child's decision to abandon school, as well as a parent's willingness to accept that decision. Quantitative work in Latin America is not conclusive on this issue; it has been shown that dropout of older siblings can be a predictor for dropout

of younger siblings (Alcázar, 2008), or conversely that their presence in the household (and their earning ability) can support schooling for younger children (Alcázar, Rendón, and Wachtenheim, 2002).

Carmen, a 14 year old girl who was the second youngest of ten siblings, lives with her family in a community of the district that bordered on the Los Libertadores highway, the route to Lima. Having traveled quite a far distance each day to School 1 in the nearby valley, she abandoned her studies in the first year of secondary school. Many of Carmen's older siblings lived near their parental home, though one of her oldest brothers was living in Lima. Carmen herself explained that she had left school because she 'could not study' and because it was 'difficult'. Her mother and sister explained this process further, describing how the family had gone to the school multiple times to speak with the teachers, Carmen's older siblings acting as linguistic and cultural brokers on behalf of their mother. As her mother describes it:

> "Her brothers and sisters also went many times. I have a 24-year-old son who lives in Lima, he told me "Mama it is better if I go speak with the teachers, perhaps you will not
>
> understand the teacher because you don't understand Spanish, better that I will go". Her
>
> sister Teresa also went and told me that they had said Carmen was very bad in school"

In addition to being part of the family's attempts to understand why Carmen was performing

poorly in school and getting upset about her studies, her older siblings became a cautionary

tale of sorts, and a justification for keeping her out of school. Her older sister Teresa had been studying in the same secondary school as Carmen at a similar age, when she left the school and her family abruptly to live with a male classmate. Her mother described in detail the shock of discovering that her daughter had left school and her pain at the fact that her young daughter now had two children and would not return to her studies, despite efforts by both her family and the boy's family to persuade them to go back. Carmen's older brothers told their mother that they thought a similar experience could happen to Andrea, and that she will "suffer the same just as Teresa did". Carmen's mother describes how her sons aimed to protect Carmen from the same fate:

> "Because of demanding that Teresa attend school she promised herself to a boy at an early age, for that reason we took Carmen out of school as well. Her older brothers said that we should not demand that she go back because the same things that happened to Teresa could happen to her"

Carmen's gender then became a central organizing feature of her family's reaction to her strong preference not to continue on with school. The risk that she would become pregnant and have to deal with children at a young age was perceived as possible enough to warrant accepting her decision to stay out of school, though ostensibly only for a short time. Carmen's mother herself did not attend school for more than a year, and remembers her father's belief that it was not worth her time, that she was "going to *colegio* because I wanted to and that I should have been with the animals". When asked about her future plans and ideas for what she would become, Carmen echoed this perception that her place was to be a helper on the family's farm, declaring that her aim was to "be in the *chacra*" and

that she did not think about what she would be in the future[12]. Patricia Oliart's (2004) work on rural girls' schooling in the departments of Cusco and Cajamarca supports the idea that rural girls are often taken away from school to work for their families, as helping to cultivate the *chacra* is seen as a better occupation of their time. In Peru and other countries, "young people's geographies of opportunity are gendered" – girls are often required to stay close to the family, while boys are encouraged to build independence through forming a home or migrating (Punch et. al, 2007).

Though siblings' educational histories did seem to deter some case study children such as

Carmen from finishing their secondary education, similar stories of early abandonment by older

brothers and sisters was used as an incentive by families to get children to consider continuing on with or returning to secondary school. Marta's mother expresses how her daughter's older brother was part of the process to convince her to continue studying, saying that he "asked her to be the only one to finish *colegio* and so that they could be proud of her but even like that she did not want to". Younger siblings of primary school age were also well aware in many cases of the family's desire for their older brother or sister to finish studying. Moises' 12-year-old brother, when asked if he thought leaving school was a good decision for his brother, quickly replied, "No. He should have kept studying and been a professional". However, case study children themselves also often seemed aware of how considerations for their other, younger siblings impacted their parents' ability to support their secondary schooling; in the case of several older boys, this caused them to develop a belief that they should financially support their own education by migrating to the city and

[12] *Chacra* in this context refers to a small farm owned by her family, which produces foodstuffs for consumption and petty trade.

working while studying in *colegios particulares* (the cost of which in reality would likely still remain more than they were able to earn)[13]. As Sergio himself said, "I am still going to study. I have other brothers and sisters and my parents are spending on them. I will study after".

2.3 Family obligations and educational choices: the case of Beatriz

It has become evident that schooling decisions in many cases are negotiated through parent and sibling relationships, but the data also suggests that several case study children made educational choices as a result of the need to support a parent in a time of crisis. This seems particularly true for female children, as they are often already responsible for helping their mothers manage the home and younger siblings, as well as provide for the family's nutrition and participation in the community (Ames, 2005; Zapata Velasco et. al., 2008)[14]. There is also significant evidence that both economic shocks and parental illness can cause children to leave school. Escobal, Saavedra and Suarez (2005:15) show that changes in a Peruvian family's economic situation, i.e. the experience of economic shocks[15], can impact a child's educational experience through the re-allocation of intrafamily resources towards collective consumption and away from spending on education. Studies done in rural China and Tanzania suggest that parental illness has a similar disruptive effect on educational trajectories (Ainsworth et. al., 2005; Hannum et. al. 2009).

---

[13] In the city of Ayacucho, there are two distinct types of *colegios particulares*, both of which are secondary schools without state funding. The first type are schools with comparatively very expensive tuition fees that require extensive parental involvement in children's education. The second type are designed for children who work or who are overage; they often offer a day and night sessions and do not require parental involvement. All interviewees are referring to the second type.

[14] For further discussion of these obligations for girls in rural Bolivia, please see Punch, 2007, Punch, 2003.

[15] Escobal et. al. define economic shocks as "changes in aggregates in consumption and income, and changes in the
employment status of the head of the household, either moving into unemployment or moving from formal to informal sector employment" (2005:2).

The case of Beatriz, a 15-year-old girl who abandoned School 1 (which is very far from her home community) at the same time as her friend Natalia, helps to illustrate these obligations to the family unit can affect children's perceptions of their priorities, as well as the value that members of the community may put on specific female children being educated.

Beatriz lives with her mother and two other siblings in a community that rests approximately two hours walk from the nearest secondary school, and that is closer to the city of Ayacucho than the communities from which most other children in the study originated. Beatriz's mother, who at 37 was younger than many other caregivers interviewed, had been left by her husband (Beatriz's father) for another woman and therefore cared for Beatriz and her younger siblings alone. On top of caring for the children alone, Beatriz's mother had previously suffered a serious burn accident that caused long-term sickness and reduced vision. She described "fainting into the fire" at her sister-inlaw's house and recounted how her nephew did not realize what had happened to her until it became very severe. She regularly suffers from periodic "attacks" and subsequent fainting in her daily agricultural activities. Both Beatriz and her mother describe how she needed someone to watch over her on a daily basis in order to prevent these attacks from having negative impacts:

> "I am very ill, the others feel sorry for me and help me. I am ill and that is one of the reasons why my daughter stopped studying, she said that if I was alone and I had an attack no one would help me and for that reason it was better if she would stop studying to be at my side always"

Beatriz was not the only young girl who felt that her main responsibility was to

support her mother in household activities, nor was she the only child male or female to see family and community obligations as being important components of an educational trajectory. Carmen and her family also discussed how she was responsible for making lunch for the family after coming home from secondary school, and described how "she fell asleep on her notebook" when trying to complete her homework after these obligations were met. Some of the male children were more inclined to see their communal obligations as being tied to the community rather than the family, and the work they would perform within it when they achieved their aspirations. When asked about what he wanted to become, Moises, who is currently working as a day labourer in construction in his home community, declared emphatically that he wanted to become a teacher or a police officer and that he was going to do so in his same community "because here, well, it is nicer, it is my village".

Part 3 - "It is my family's aim, that I become someone in life":
Hope for children's economic and social future

As they negotiated their decisions to stay in school, and formed aspirations about what role education would play in the manifestation of their future lives, children in this district became active participants in a communal vision of their educational trajectory. The hopes that many parents have in their children's ability to break an entrenched cycle of poverty fundamentally affects the familial negotiation of educational choices, as we begin to see above. How well a child follows an ideal educational trajectory envisioned by his or her parents seems to greatly affect how parents view their children's success in life. Sergio's father expresses a sentiment that many parents described, namely that their own happiness

was premised on their children's place on a path to being different than they are:

> "When he was in primary school everything was normal. He studied well, and for that I was happy. For the fact that he would not be ignorant like I am . . . When I saw him studying I bought him everything, I almost bought him a bicycle because I was happy to see him studying"

However, several parents also remembered vividly their hurt and shock when the children decided not to continue studying along the path they had envisioned. Moises' mother described feeling "worried, sad" after her son told her he was not going to finish school, and remembers crying occasionally and begging him to reconsider his choice. She says, "I told him that he should study so that he would not be ignorant like me, how could a man not study? Like that I spoke to him". Within the families studied, and the wider community at large, education is still seen as the primary way for young people to improve their situation and gain social access that has been denied to their indigenous parents (Benavides et. al. 2006; Leinaweaver 2008; Crivello 2009).

3.1 "That he will be something": the social value of education

Within indigenous communities in the Andes, education has long been seen as a way to

'become someone', and to 'improve oneself' in life (Crivello 2009; Leinaweaver 2008). The children who formed part of this study, both those who left school and those who are still studying, were all well aware of this norm and actively integrated into their conceptions of the good life and the state to which they should aspire. Having been asked about his opinion on young people who did not finish their schooling, Moises, one of the case study

children, frankly asserted that, "now they do not have a future in life. Their future is the *chacra*". In reality, youth in Huamanga do have some other options, though indigenous youth are most likely to work as agriculturalists in their home communities, or as day labourers and service workers in the cities. Living the professional life, though highly valued, is a rare achievement for indigenous children who have grown up in rural communities. Moises' younger brother fully understood the social value of this life; his view was that the proper young person should "study in school, get admitted to university, and be a professional". Samantha Punch (2004) suggests that this is the case for indigenous youth in Bolivia as well; she argues that "young people from Churquiales are most likely to up working in agriculture or domestic service either within their community or in the migrant destinations . . . only if they continue on to secondary education and complete that cycle can they really expect a different sort of future livelihood" (176).

Parents of the case study children were especially conscious of the norms affecting their

children, and often expressed their understanding of education as being the collectively acceptable route for material and social advancement. Keenly conscious of their own experiences of lingustic and racial discrimination, several caregivers, such as Beatriz's mother, expressed wanting children to be educated because "those of us who do not have education, we do not understand nearly anything". As Carmen's mother puts it, "I liked the idea that at least my last daughter would study until the end of *colegio* because I never wanted my children to be like me who doesn't know how to read or write, I never told them that I wanted them to be like me".

3.2 Educational aspirations & the intergenerational transmission of poverty: the case of Sergio

The case of Sergio, who at 17 years old was one of the older boys in the study,

demonstrates how educational aspirations are held and communicated in families, and how schooling is perceived as being the most appropriate way to interrupt the intergenerational transmission of poverty. Sergio left School 3 in 2008 while he was studying in the third grade, and began working as a day labourer assisting with engineering projects in his home community and helping out on other people's farms. He describes his decision to leave school as temporary, and strongly asserts his plan to continue with his studies. Talking about how he feels when he see other boys going to school, he says that "it gives me energy to study. In reality I am going to study, yes I will study".

Sergio's parents also repeatedly expressed their desire for him to finish studying, and their high aspirations for his educational trajectory. Knowing that his schooling would be the only way for him to 'be different' than they were, worries about his decision-making became a major focus of their family life. His mother describes the feeling of failure and pain she experienced after realizing that her son's educational trajectory would not be what she had imagined it to be: "I was very worried, I almost cried seeing the school saying to myself 'that was where my son studied', what could have come into his head that made him think to stop studying". Sergio's father, who had many children from two partnerships, had also placed his hope in his son's educational path: "I liked that he was studying so that he could be something in life, I thought that he was going to work and with that decision I educated him and now that he does not study I feel surprised". Some of Sergio's older siblings had gone on to become teachers at the local kindergarten, and it was his parents' aspiration that he would do the same and therefore find value in his life. Sergio himself thought that his parents were sacrificing too much for his education, and expressed that as partial reasoning for why he decided to leave school and planned to start again when he could support himself.

Nearly all of the caregivers interviewed in this study expressed similar ideal

aspirations as

Sergio's parents for their children, though not all of them (particularly those who were parents of

young girls) seemed to believe that these aspirations were attainable. Some of the children themselves had well internalized the notion that leaving school was representative of a foregoing of their future. When asked about what he wanted to be when he was an adult, Diego expressed that he only wanted to "have my own house, form my family, and have a few necessary things and nothing more because I cannot dream as I do not even have studies".

Though educational aspirations were high in most families in the study, it is also apparent that children, their parents, and their siblings are all also keenly aware of how the ideal educational trajectory can be interrupted and children's chances for social mobility compromised by the realities of poverty and structural violence. Children themselves exercise control over educational choices, but often make those choices based on the educational histories of siblings, their gendered role in the home and community, and the network of kin obligation of which they are a part. High communal aspirations for children, premised on the idea that education will lead to an interruption in the intergenerational transmission of poverty, cause parents and often older siblings to resist the choices children have made, which introduces a process of negotiation and resistance into the home. This process, in turn, reflects larger differences that are emerging between children increasingly eager to participate in a globalizing, urban environment and their rural, illiterate parents.

Chapter 4

"It depends on us": Children's experiences around school abandonment

Children's educational choices are shaped both by their personal agency and individual

circumstances and by the responsibilities and obligations they have within their households. Children in rural Ayacucho exercise this agency over their educational trajectories, as they grow up in a context marked by both familial and ethnic histories of poverty and increasing educational and economic opportunities. Their personal characteristics such as ability, socio-economic status, gender, and experience of violence may constrain the achievement of their aspirations, but the youth of this study are actively modifying both their ideal vision and what is expected of poor, indigenous children like them.

In the previous chapter, I examined how the decision to abandon school fits into relationships and responsibilities within the home. I argued that children most often make their own decisions around education, but do so based on kin obligations, their gender, and the experience of siblings; these decisions are often at odds with the high aspirations held for them by family members. This chapter focuses on children's individual experiences, and discusses the personal characteristics and processes at work in their decision to abandon school. It explores how children frame their decisions as active choices, and strategize to cope with the intersection of poverty with high personal and family aspirations.

The quantitative analysis presented in this chapter is based on the Young Lives Round 2

survey for the older cohort[16]. Interviews conducted with case study children and their parents, as well as four focus groups conducted with currently enrolled students at two of the study schools in the district, form the basis for the qualitative analysis in this chapter.

I develop my argument through the presentation of five case studies. The narrative of

Esmeralda is used to explore how children who have dropped out of school have been represented as inherently unable to complete school, and understand how issues of academic ability and consequent feelings of shame and resignation affect children's decision to leave school. The narratives of Diego and Natalia are used to discuss how the breakdown of family units and instances of violence in the home contribute to the decision to leave school. Further, the narrative of Manuel is used to understand how children's choices to work and migrate to the city can become part of a strategy to continue schooling in the face of poverty constraints. Finally, the narrative of Eva is used to explore how early pregnancy is another gendered obligation that prevents rural girls from continuing their schooling, and how the risk of becoming pregnant is a primary motivation for keeping girls in the household and their home communities. The chapter also analyses the educational history of the case study children's parents, understanding how it affects decisions to abandon school, the aspirations developed by children in the study, and intergenerational transfers of advantage and disadvantage. Finally, a reflection is offered on children's representation of their own agency and framing of their active educational choices.

Part 1 – Educational Aspirations & Dropout: The quantitative context

[16] The analysis of Young Lives data in this chapter is based on the Child Questionnaire results from Round 2 (Peru), namely Sections 1A (Child's Schooling), Section 4 (Feelings and Attitudes), and Section 6 (Perceptions of Future, Environment & Household Wealth).

Descriptive analysis of the Young Lives older cohort sample provides a strong sense of the aspirations Peruvian children have for their future lives, particularly their educational trajectories. It also shows the main reasoning children give for why students drop out of school, a useful comparative for the results of the qualitative analysis.

Young Lives aspirations data for the older cohort in Peru overwhelmingly shows that

children place a high value on education, and aim to continue studying to a high level. When asked if a family's 12 year old daughter should continue studying in the face of poverty, 96.2% of children decided that the family should 'let the child stay in school'. The majority of children, 18.8%, declared that they expected to stop studying at age 20, several years after the expected age for completion of secondary school. The children in the sample also expressed an expectation that they would continue on to university – 36.1% of them cited 'university student' as the job they expected to be doing at 20 years old, and 78.3% of them chose 'complete university' as the education grade they would like to complete. Further, 95.4% of them believed that they would reach the level of education they had declared as ideal.

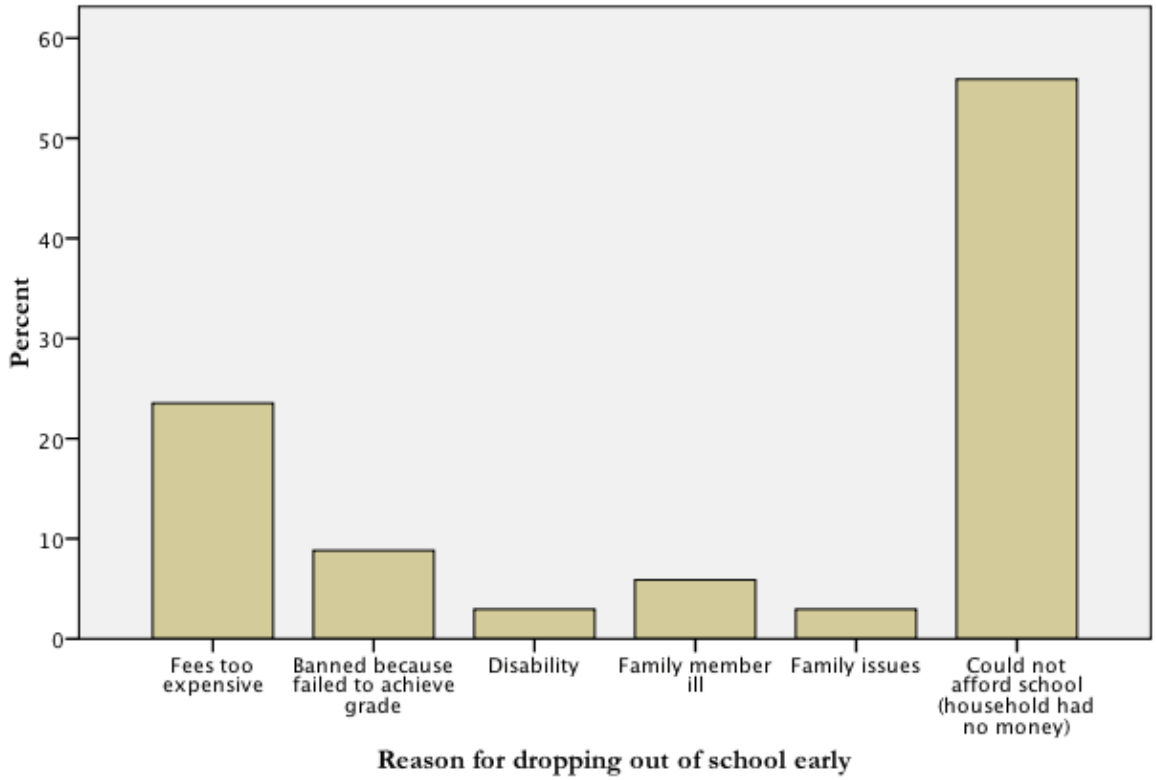
The reasons that Young Lives children give for students dropping out of school are also

compelling, and an interesting starting point from which to explore the factors revealed by qualitative analysis. Children focused mainly on income poverty when asked this question; 55.9% of the sample cited the most important reason for dropping out of school early was 'could not afford school (household had no money)'. Figure 1 below shows the other reasons children gave for dropout.

Overall, the Young Lives data offers a useful picture of how much education is valued in the country as a whole, and by poor children in particular. It shows how children

aspire to university education and the professional life it implies, and expect that they will be able to achieve this. Reasons given for dropping out of school early focus on the constraint that poverty can present, and indicate how failure to achieve to the acceptable standard and family obligations might also contribute.

Figure 1: Reason for dropping out of school early, Young Lives Round 2 older cohort



Part 2 – Personal Characteristics and Educational Choices

2.1 Not being 'born to study': Academic ability & feelings of shame - the case of Esmeralda

Though all of the children in the study had made the decision to leave school based on a

combination of factors, a common denominator in many of their experiences was a

checkered

history of educational achievement, a phenomenon that is well-supported by quantitative studies on dropout in Peru and elsewhere (Hernandez Zavala et. al., 2006; Cueto et. al., 2009; Rumberger, 1987; Ghartey-Ampiah & Adu Yeboah, 2009; Anderson et. al., 2001). Repetition, course failure, and overage are key indicators of low educational attainment, with implications both for children's self perceptions and for how they are perceived by others. Most of the case study children had not progressed in a linear fashion through the school system before abandoning secondary, nor had many of their siblings. The case of Esmeralda, a 15-year-old girl from the district capital who abandoned School 3 in the second grade, provides a helpful lens through which to understand how non-linear educational trajectories can produce both logistical and social difficulties for the children involved, causing them to feel shame about their inability to progress and as such choose to leave school. The Peruvian educational system is built on a norm of linear progression, and children who do not progress through it each year as expected are often criticized by other children.

Esmeralda is the fourth of nine siblings and lives with both parents near School 3 in the

district capital. Her family had moved to the district capital with the intention that their children

would study there; as a participating family in the JUNTOS program, Esmeralda's mother was

receiving a government subsidy on the understanding that she would keep her children in the

schooling system. Having started school at the expected age, Esmeralda abandoned her *colegio* after the year in which she was intended to finish second grade. Having failed two

courses that she needed to progress to the third grade, she left the school because she did not want to repeat the grade. She expressed being ashamed of re-doing a grade with younger children, particularly in the same group as her younger brother. Her mother describes that she stopped going because she 'failed a course and didn't want to study anymore', noting that she 'was ashamed because she was older' and that 'she said her friends will criticize her for having repeated'. Esmeralda's mother was also convinced that this happened to many other children who decided to leave school, noting that 'surely they are ashamed because they have repeated and don't want to attend school anymore'. Like many other children who abandon school, Esmeralda said she wanted to return to school; her plan was to work so that she could gather enough money to study in Ayacucho, and make up the courses that she needed.

The children themselves often described their experiences of repetition and failed courses as a simple inability to study, though the histories themselves as supported by parents and teachers would suggest that it was not simply a lack of intelligence that caused them to under-achieve by the school's standards. Children described themselves as being unable, being 'tired' of school, and as having physical symptoms such as headaches related to their inability to complete work. When asked why he was 'tired' before leaving school, Moises replied, 'I couldn't study . . . I couldn't study anymore. A lot of laziness'. While parents focused on the courses that their children had failed and described regular attempts to complete schoolwork, children tended to present their own experience as one of lesser intelligence and lack of effort. Several also focused on the physical symptoms they developed based on the stress of studying, the experience of which was recounted vividly by their parents. Marta explained that, since leaving school, her head 'didn't hurt anymore. [It hurt] more when I thought about studying, when there was an exam. [The] more I worried . . . the more my head hurt'. Carmen also describing leaving school because she

'couldn't', and her mother described how she repeated a grade because she could not study, and she did not understand what the teacher dictated – in her words, 'Carmen did not understand much of what they taught her'. When children and parents described the inability to achieve, emphasis (and blame) was most often put on the children themselves. It was the children who could not understand what they were taught, not the lack of a supportive system, the nature of teaching, or the curriculum itself that was to blame.

In some cases, both teachers and parents had developed a view that certain children were a lost cause, and that it was not worth the effort to keep forcing them to study. Marta's mother
remarked that 'surely she was not born for studying, she felt bad. Her head hurt'. Carmen's mother describes what teachers told Carmen's sister:

" She was very bad in school, that she had failed many courses, that she was not going to

> make them up, that they said that Carmen was not a good student, that we were making her study and spending money, she said also that it would be better if she stopped studying".

She too had determined that surely her children were not born to study, and that 'all of my children were like that . . . that was their luck'. Children also expressed feelings of inevitability about their future in the face of the fact that they would not finish school. When asked what he wanted to be when he was an adult, Diego mentioned that he wanted "to have my own house, to form a family and to have a few necessary things and nothing more because I can't dream because I don't even have school". In saying this, Diego and other children who felt the same were leveling their aspirations, changing their perception

of their future life in accordance with their inability to follow the socially ideal path. Work with youth in other contexts has also engaged with this idea. Mains (2007) discusses how Ethiopian young men negotiate unemployment (and a consequent inability to fulfill social expectations about the transition to adulthood), thereby "[experiencing] a changed relationship to their future" (664). Schafer (2007), with reference to East Germany, argues that certain children are better at forming strategies to overcome disadvantage and achieve high aspirations than others (131). This study makes a similar argument: that some children, like Diego, will level their aspirations when faced with the shame of not achieving, while others, like Manuel, will develop employment or migration strategies to overcome the barriers they face[17].

The feelings of shame and resignation surrounding the inability to study expressed by both case study children and parents were also reinforced by the perceived and expressed views of other children. Similar to how Esmeralda felt, Manuel told his parents how he did not want to go anymore, 'saying that they would criticize him, saying that now he was older and had failed the year'. The communities in this district are quite small, and some children did reference others in the study and had at least vague knowledge of each other's situations. This somewhat negative perception of children who were not able to pass courses or who had left school was expressed clearly in the focus groups conducted with children currently enrolled at the two secondary schools from which the case study children had dropped out. When completing a story about a girl who was in first grade of secondary school and at risk for dropping out because of household obligations, the children were asked why they thought children like this girl did not finish school in some cases – one boy remarked that it was "because they didn't put in effort", while another child suggested that they "didn't have intelligence anymore", or did not have the capacity to

17 For a case study of Manuel's experience, please see section 2.3 in this chapter.

learn. This indicates how peers also put responsibility on the child him or herself for the inability to achieve.

2.2 Negotiating family breakdown & domestic violence: the cases of Diego & Natalia

The data also suggests that many children are experiencing upheaval of relationships within the home, and that this becomes another constraint to their ability to make educational choices. The case of Diego, a 17-year-old boy who left School 3 in 2007, is helpful for understanding how conflict between parents and issues of abuse can cause children to leave school early. The case of Natalia, the second-oldest of six children who abandoned School 1 in 2009, also helps illuminate the obligation that female children have to their families, particularly their mothers, in times of crisis, and explore how this obligation can strongly affect the schooling choices they make.

Diego is the oldest of four children, and he abandoned his studies in the second grade of secondary school. After leaving school, he began working in manual labour and periodically assisting his family on their farm. Diego looked back on the time he abandoned school as being a period of stress and change in his household. He remarks that "I abandoned because I had family and economic problems. In those times my parents fought a lot and my home was failing". He described taking the decision to leave school completely on his own, saying that "I didn't even consult with my parents because they already had enough problems". His mother remembers him leaving the family's home for a period before taking the decision, recounting that he "left to go party, he didn't come back for some days and didn't go to school anymore, he didn't want to go anymore when he was sent". It also became evident that Diego's father had exhibited some signs of abuse towards his wife and children, and that this played a role in Diego's choice to leave school. His mother explained the dynamic: "sometimes his father would cause us problems, he told

Diego that he was spending money on him, that he was always asking him for money, I think that was one of the reasons why he left school."

Diego expressed some frustration at the poverty he and children like him experienced, and the lack of support he perceived parents as giving to children in school. Talking about children in his community who left school, he noted that:

> "For me the principal reasons are family and economic problems because they don t have financial support and their parents are illiterate and they don t even explain anything to you and they have whatever number of children without controlling themselves".

Other children in his small community also seemed to be aware of the issues within Diego's household. Sergio, another boy in the study from the same community, recalls that "for some guys like Diego their parents have problems, his father has problems with his mother, because of that they leave". Children's friends seemed to be aware of abuse and family issues within their household, and served as stable support for them in some instances. Beatriz and Natalia, two of the girls in the study, lived in neighbouring homes in a community far along the Los Libertadores highway from School 1, their former secondary school. Their friendship was an important source of solidarity for both of them as they supported their mothers, who had been affected by domestic abuse and abandonment. As previously noted, Beatriz's mother was abandoned by her husband as she suffered side effects of a major facial burn she had sustained.

Natalia's mother was being abused by her husband, who still lived with the family. Natalia's mother remembers that "she left because of the problems we had with her father, she tells me that he could kill me if she leaves me alone". As Natalia had been performing

well in school, her decision to leave school was directly related to her desire to stay home to protect her mother from an abusive situation. Natalia's mother describes:

> "My husband, it is that he hits me when he is sober, he doesn't do it when he is drunk but when he is sober. Because of that my daughter left school, telling me that he was going to hit me if I was left alone"

Both Natalia and Diego's cases exhibit the idea that relational issues within the home can directly cause children to leave school. Crises within the family unit, such as domestic violence or marital breakdown, can cause children to re-evaluate their educational trajectories and choose alternative paths. Though many children, and indeed many of their parents, have high general aspirations for their future, more pressing issues may be present that cause children to leave school in order to adapt to the immediate crisis.

2.3 Continuing to study: poverty, independent migration, and work – the case of Manuel

Children also engage in this kind of adaptation as a response to poverty; many youth in the study perceived their decision to leave school as a temporary solution to they or their family's

inability to support their costs. Many saw a 'break' from school as being a good solution given both their inability to pay and the stigma associated with their previously poor academic performance. All of the children in the study showed an awareness of the social value of education in their society, and as such very often asserted their plans to continue their schooling. The case of Manuel, who abandoned School 3 in January of 2009 and briefly re-enrolled in the city of Ayacucho shortly thereafter, is very helpful in understanding how children, particularly adolescent boys, see migration to urban areas and

the opportunity this affords to work and study simultaneously as an appropriate response to poverty and educational difficulties. Ethnographic work in Bolivia has suggested that rural boys will migrate in order to gain income, status, and power within their households (Punch, 2004; 2007). Anthropological studies of Ayacucho support the concept that migration is a means of improving indigenous children's educational and social chances (Leinaweaver, 2007a; 2007b). Work outside the household, often obtained through migration, is both a consequence of dropping out and a coping strategy children use to progress towards their aspirations in the context of poverty.

Manuel grew up in a residential area adjacent to School 3, and is the youngest of four

children whose father was killed during the political violence in the region. Other qualitative research in Cusco and Cajamarca has proven that losing a parent to due to death, health issues, or migration is related to children's abandonment of school (Oliart, 2004). Young Lives research in Ethiopia has also shown that a mother dying reduces school enrollment by 20 percent and a father dying negatively affects children's perception of the future (Himaz, 2004). Having dropped out from the third grade of secondary school after failing five courses, Manuel moved to the city of Ayacucho with the intention of continuing his studies there and working to support the cost. His mother described their inability to pay for school as one of the reasons for Manuel's choice to leave:

> "I didn't have enough money to send him and I think one of the reasons why he made the decision to abandon school is because he thought I was worried about the lack of money. Because we have many children it is difficult to educate them."

She also recounted her concern about cost and his safety, noting that "I told him

not to

leave, that in Ayacucho it is very costly and that we cannot educate him there but he didn't want to go back to school . . . he was told to study here, that I would worry but he didn't want to". Mothers of other boys who had expressed the desire to migrate to Ayacucho and work while studying also communicated their fear about letting them do so by themselves. Diego's mother how she did not want him to study in the city "because I am afraid that he will get to know bad girls or boys that will lead him down a bad path, on top of that I don't want him to be in a place where I cannot see him".

In Ayacucho, Manuel had lived with an older sister and her family, and worked as a mototaxi driver in the city from Monday to Friday each week, while studying in a *colegio particular* on the weekends. Though he eventually left that school as well and had returned to his community to work on the family farm, he remained convinced of the need to continue studying. Having expressed a strong sentiment that he would return to school, he described how in the future he would "continue on with a family, continue studying, preparing [for university]", finally becoming a police officer. Manuel's intention to continue studying despite odds was reinforced strongly by children in the focus groups conducted in both of the secondary schools. After a discussion about their aspirations for the future, the children asserted that the likelihood of reaching their aspirations depended primarily on them, and argued that they would continue studying even if their parents did not support them. When asked what might happen if they did not achieve their aspirations, one of the children promptly replied that it did not matter, they "would become something else". They clearly understood that they were expected to become professionals, and openly declared their intentions to continue studying in order to achieve this.

However, these sentiments differed somewhat by gender both in the group of case study

children, and in the focus groups. In contrast to Manuel, Diego, Sergio, and many of the boys
currently enrolled in school, several of the girls in the study did not express a concrete plan to
continue studying, though they did generally hold the vague aspiration to become a professional.
The boys often occupied themselves with extra-household work after dropping out, or migrated to work outside the home in the city in efforts to further their studies. Conversely, the girls in the study were more obligated to the household itself, often having worked within in while studying and expected to contribute to its maintenance after they dropped out. When asked if she worked while in school, Marta responded "at home, no more. Cooking. Washing plates, washing clothes". This sentiment that work within the home was nothing more that what was expected of them prevailed throughout the interviews with the girls. Further, parents expressed an unwillingness to consider migration as an option for their daughters, fearing that it would lead to early pregnancy and marriage.

2.4 Early pregnancy & gendered obligations: the case of Eva

For indigenous girls in the rural communities of Ayacucho, early pregnancy is a real risk that brings with it another set of gendered obligations, in addition to those they already have to their mothers, the family unit, and the productive process of the larger community.[18] These obligations can constrain their mobility both geographically and socially. Girls who become pregnant before their family sees fit often see their family's support withdrawn, as they form their own homes and take on the expected caregiver role for the child. The case of Eva, a 20-year old girl who had left School 3 in 2008, is useful for

18 See Chapter 3, Sections 2.2 and 2.3.

understanding how having a child can constrain rural girls' future opportunities, change relationships within the family, and exacerbate existing levels of poverty. The idea that it was possible for young girls in the district's communities to become pregnant and thus form a home during adolescence, causing them to drop out of school, was repeatedly expressed by children, parents, and teachers. Occurrences of early pregnancy for sisters also contributed to how this fear affected the mobility of girls in the study.

Eva and her older sister lived in a community approximately 30 minutes walk from School 3, and the district capital. Having started primary school one year late (at age seven), Eva had left her secondary school, in which she was already overage for her grade, in 2008 after becoming pregnant with her child. Throughout her childhood, her family had owned and managed a fish farm, through which they cultivated trout from the nearby river. At the time of this study, Eva was living only with her child and an older sister. She explained that, as with many other youth, she had made the decision 'by myself' and that her family 'protested because of what I had done' when they became aware of her pregnancy and her choice to leave school. Upon learning of her pregnancy, Eva's parents had left her and her sister to manage the family's farm alone.

Members of the community discussed how the girls had essentially lost the '*apoyo*' (support) of their parents as a result of having children early, and were now left to raise the children and maintain their home (including the cultivation of trout) alone. Early pregnancy can often introduce two sets of increased obligations for rural girls: those that come from supporting the child itself, and those that come from maintaining a home without the support adolescents in these communities normally expect from the family unit. These increased responsibilities often exacerbate the preexisting experience of poverty faced by indigenous girls. Eva was aware of how finishing secondary school was often related to the support received from parents, and how poverty could compromise chances; she expressed

that children often leave because 'they don't have money or their relatives don't support them'. She herself cited lack of income and the need to care for her child as the primary reasons why she had left school.

In addition to increased responsibilities, early pregnancy can also serve to directly constrain girls' ability to attend school or migrate for education or work. Eva described her plan to return to school from which she had left, but did not see migration to Ayacucho as an option for her. Other parents and children's peers also reinforced the idea that pregnancy constrained opportunity. When Natalia's mother was asked what she hoped her daughter would be in the future, she simply said "I would like it that she not get pregnant at a young age" or marry early[19]. Carmen's mother and her siblings expressed a similar desire to protect Carmen from pregnancy:

> "Her older brothers said that Carmen, just the same as Teresa, could get engaged to one of her classmates at an early age and not know better. That's why we kept pushing her to go to school, she would suffer just like Teresa had . . . Teresa still hasn't learned how to take care of her son, she doesn't tidy up properly, she doesn't clean her house properly either"

Marta, another one of the girls who had dropped out of school, spoke about how many

children like her leave school because 'they get married, while they are finishing they get married". Children in one of the focus groups also described how some children 'have

[19] Nery's mother response to this question has been translated indirectly into English to preserve the original meaning. Her response in Spanish was 'me gustaría que esté tranquila sin llegar a nada', which itself is a translation from an original Quechua euphemism indicating that she preferred her daughter not get pregnant at an early age.

problems' that cause them to leave school, namely that many of them have had children and 'also their moms hit them' them because they had a child. Early pregnancy is socially perceived as an undesirable outcome for girls in these communities, as it results in increased responsibilities for which girls are deemed unready, and prevents them from continuing with education, which itself is highly valued[20].

2.5 'We were always poor': Following on parents' educational trajectories

The theme of gender also became evident when parents were asked about their own
educational histories, as most mothers described how their education was seen as being of little
value in their lives. However, regardless of whether it was a son or a daughter that had left school, all of the parents described leaving school early or not progressing beyond the primary level; research has shown that low levels of parental education inhibit improvements in gender equality and achievement in Peruvian schools (Benavides, 2006; Cueto and Balarin, 2007). Sergio's father described how he left school "because my father and mother died. Because of that I couldn't study by myself. I was alone in the house and couldn't go. The path to school was not as it is now".

Several mothers of the case study children described being told by their parents that their
schooling was not worth the effort. Sergio's mother remembers:

"When my sister wanted to send me to *colegio*, my parents said no, arguing that if I

[20] See Chapter 4, Sections 2.1 and 2.2.

> went to school I would learn to write in order to send letters to my boyfriend. They never sent me . . . I am completely illiterate. My father said that women, we couldn't become professionals like teachers or something else, he told me that I had to graze the cows and sheep"

Marta's mother remembers a similar interaction, in which her father also questioned for what reason women should be sent to school and suggested that they would only learn to read in order to send letters to their boyfriends. Poverty and single motherhood were also cited as reasons why the mothers of case study children left school themselves. As Esmeralda's mother puts it, "we were always poor, my mother was a single mother and we were many siblings. She didn't have money to buy our school things, because of that I left without continuing".

These accounts suggests that family histories of illiteracy and school abandonment have a

strong tendency to impact the educational experiences of the younger generation, particularly when combined with other factors such as rurality, poverty, and household circumstances. As previously discussed, in Peru education is considered the main vehicle interrupting the intergenerational transmission of poverty. As such, we can connect these histories of minimal education to the high aspirations that parents in the study hold for their children, and suggest that this experience could be a motivating factor for the high aspirations the children themselves express.

2.6 Agency, schooling choices & personal responsibility

A common thread that runs through children's representations of their experiences and trajectories in this study is one of agency and personal responsibility. Agency in this case refers to the competency of children to act within the norms of their social environment, while making

individual choices that affect their daily and future lives[21]. Though the data also strongly reinforces how this agency is exercised in a social and familial environment that produces its own constraints on action, it is important to note how vividly children see their role in their own lives. Other research in childhood studies argues that rural children often "actively define, produce, and reclaim space" while experiencing restrictions (Robson et. al., 2007: 138).

All of the case study children assert that the decision to leave school was theirs, though it

was made as a result of various contributing factors. Another strong current that pervades the data gathered with youth is the idea that decisions young people take, whether they will have a negative impact on them or not, are theirs to take. Particularly the case study children, i.e. those who have left school themselves, express the need to refrain from judging young people who leave their studies for whatever reason. As Moises puts it, "what are we going to do? Such is life. If they leave school, they leave it. If they decided, they decided to leave". Esmeralda echoed this idea, simply stating that youth who abandon school "have their reasons" for doing so. Both the case study children and the focus group children clearly expressed the fact that they and children like them had agency over their lives, whether it was a question of continuing their educational trajectory or interrupting it.

[21] For a full definition of agency as conceptualized in this study, please see Chapter 1, Section 2.3.

Rural youth in Ayacucho make choices about their education in the context of their personal
circumstances, responsibilities in the household, and poverty in their communities. They have some control over their pathways through schooling, but are regularly forced to confront historical patterns of disadvantage in a society that is becoming more prosperous, yet mainly for its elite groups. Personal factors such as lack of ability, family breakdown and experiences of domestic violence, low socio-economic status, and early pregnancy and marriage contribute significantly to the likelihood that they will leave secondary school. However, many children are adept at adjusting to these experiences and re-defining pathways for themselves, taking into account expected trajectories and the refined options available to them.

Chapter 5

"There are many needs": Environmental factors affecting school abandonment

Though a child's educational choices are made in the contexts of their family obligations,
they are also shaped by and situated within the context of schooling in a child's community. The
availability and quality of schooling are crucial aspects of the decision-making process, affecting both parents' desire to send their children to school and keep them there, and both children and parents' perceptions of the utility of schooling for a child's future. This chapter explores the environmental factors that impact both children's experience in school, and the likelihood of their success and progress through the system. More specifically, it explores how the attitudes of teachers, administrators and peers create norms around achievement, the nature of a supportive family, appropriate aspirations, and gender relationships. It also explores the nature of relationships between teachers and their students, and between teachers and families; more specifically, it examines how both teaching style and explicit norm-setting create values in the classroom, and analyses how teachers' interactions with parents affect decisions around the necessity of their children's schooling.

Finally, it analyzes how poor infrastructure and minimal extra-academic support converge to exacerbate the likelihood that poor performing children who face personal and familial barriers will leave school. The quantitative analysis in this chapter is based on three main sources of data: 1. Achievement indicators for the country as a whole, and attainment, achievement, and access indicators for the department of Ayacucho compiled by the Unit for the Measurement of Educational Quality (UMC); 2. Examination results (e.g. pass, fail, re-test, dropout, and graduation rates) for the province of Huamanga compiled by the Local Education Management Unit (UGEL) Huamanga; 3. the Young Lives Round 2 survey for the older cohort. The qualitative analysis is based on interviews conducted with four teachers in two of the study schools, as well as an interview with an administrator responsible for secondary issues at the DREA in Ayacucho, four focus groups conducted with children enrolled at two of the study schools, classroom observations of five sessions, interviews with parents, and participant observation notes.

Part 1 – Achievement, attainment & access: The quantitative context

1.1 Educational indicators in Peru and Ayacucho

Results from the Ministry of Education's National Performance Evaluation of 2004, the
most recent available, indicates low levels of achievement in standardized written comprehension
and mathematics testing for Peruvian children across the country at both primary and secondary
levels. Of greatest interest to this project are the achievement rates for tests ran during the third and fifth (last) grade of secondary school across the country. Tables 5-6 below depict

the low levels of achievement in these tests for two specific evaluations; Appendix 4 provides further results. Students who achieve at the levels of 'Basic Previous' and '<Previous' are determined as 'not achieving' by the evaluation's standards. A significant majority (85; 94; 90.2; and 97.2, respectively) of Peruvian third and fifth grade students are thereby deemed 'not achieving'. Though low achievement is seen across the country, the urban-rural disparity is also evident: rural state schools tend to have larger proportions of students achieving at the very lowest level, '<Previous'. Interestingly, at the national level, male and female children do not seem to differ greatly in their achievement levels[22].

Table 5: Text Comprehension, National and Stratified Results (3rd grade secondary)

Performance Levels	National	National (Male)	National (Female)	State (Urban)	State (Rural)
Sufficient	15.1%	13.4%	16.7%	11.1%	3.3%
Basic	23.8%	22.5%	25.0%	23.4%	9.2%
Previous	26.9%	26.8%	26.9%	29.4%	21.6%
<Previous	34.3%	37.3%	31.4%	36.1%	65.9%

Source: Evaluación Nacional de Rendimiento 2004, UMC.

Table 6: Mathematics, National and Stratified Results (5th grade secondary)

Performance Levels	National	National (Male)	National (Female)	State (Urban)	State (Rural)
Sufficient	2.9%	3.5%	2.4%	0.9%	0.0%
Basic	11.0%	12.0%	10.1%	6.9%	1.8%
Previous	17.7%	17.8%	17.5%	16.5%	7.8%
<Previous	68.5%	66.7%	70.0%	75.7%	90.4%

Source: Evaluación Nacional de Rendimiento 2004, UMC.

It is also useful to review indicators that the UMC has collected for the department

[22] Please note that students who achieve 'Sufficient' and 'Basic' have performed at those levels for the grades in which they are enrolled. Students who achieve 'Previous' have performed at sufficient levels for the previous grade in which they were enrolled, and those who achieve '<Previous' could only perform some tasks for the previous grade level.

of Ayacucho in particular, and compare them to the national average. Having a higher percentage of its population living in poverty, Ayacucho exhibits an illiteracy rate that is more than double the national average, and a percentage of mothers with complete basic education more than two-thirds less than the national average. Enrollment statistics at the secondary level do not vary greatly between Ayacucho and Peru as a whole, but the department's secondary completion rate is 21.7% less than the national average. Drop-out rates are 2% higher in Ayacucho than the national average, while the mean years of schooling in the adult population is slightly lower it is for Peru as a whole.

Table 7: Educational Profile of Ayacucho in National Comparison (Secondary level)

	Ayacucho 2003/2004	**Peru**
Socio-economic context:		
Income per capita (Nuevos Soles)	1 984	4 867
Percentage of pop. living in poverty	71.8	52.2
Illiteracy rate (%), 15 years and above	24.8	11.9
Percentage of mothers with basic education completed	11.0	31.0
Enrollment:		
Total enrollment rate (%) (12 to 6 years)	94.2	87.7
Net enrollment rate (secondary level)	60.2	69.8
Student Progress:		
Secondary transition rate (%)	86.2	91.0
Secondary completion rate (%), (17-19 years)	29.6	51.3
Percentage of students failed (%)	11.4	9.8
Percentage of students dropped out (%)	8.0	5.9
Mean years of schooling for adult population	7.8	9.1
Public spending on education		
Annual public spending on education per student (Nuevos Soles)	805	891

Source: Perfil Educativo de la Region Ayacucho, UMC.

Therefore, a brief review of attainment indicators for the country as a whole, and key educational statistics for the department of Ayacucho suggests the following: that rural Peruvian children are likely to achieve at a lower level than their urban counterparts, and that Ayacucho, though it shows high enrollment rates, is a department characterized by poverty, illiteracy, and low levels of educational completion.

1.2. Attainment in Huamanga province

More micro-level data from the UGEL Huamanga is also instructive for understanding

where the study district fits within the province of Huamanga's patterns of educational attainment. As might be expected from the achievement data presented in Tables 1-4, the province exhibits much incidence of failure, re-testing of examinations, and dropout (Table 8).

Table 8: Year-End Examination Progress Results, Secondary Education for Minors, Province of Huamanga

		Total # Students	Passed		Failed		Sent to Re-Test		Abandoned		Graduated	
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
2005	**Total State Secondary**	22 563	5340	6243	1219	715	4008	3584	625	440	959	1080
	Study District	796	325	145	52	11	118	73	45	27	33	6
2006	**Total State Secondary**	23 148	5556	5617	1275	858	4225	4253	628	500	1001	844

	Study District	945	366	174	37	9	192	101	44	22	50	21
2008	**Total State Secondary**	24 677	5165	5977	1611	990	4447	4492	875	670	881	1058
	Study District	1040	326	189	55	22	206	113	71	47	48	20

Source: Year-End Statistical Information Databases, UGEL Huamanga

However, the data offered by the Year-End Statistical Information databases is most interesting when the results of all state secondary schools in the province are compared directly to the results of the schools in the study district only (Table 9)[23]. More boys fail their end-of-year exams than do girls, and boys form a larger percentage of the dropout population than do girls, in both the province as a whole and the study district. However, the study district is much less likely to graduate girls from its schools than the provincial average suggests. Overall, the dropout rate itself in this district is significantly higher than in the province as a whole.

Table 9: Year-End Examination Progress Results, Means of Selected Values

	Failed (% mean, Table 6)			**Abandoned (% mean, Table 6)**			**Graduated (% mean, Table 6)**		
	M (as % of total 1)	**F (as % of total 1)**	**Total 1**	**M (as % of total 2)**	**F (as % of total 2)**	**Total 2**	**M (as % of total 3)**	**F (as % of total 3)**	**Total 3**
Total State Secondary	61.58	38.42	9.44	57.0	43	5.28	48.9	51.1	8.29
Study District	78.13	21.87	6.73	62.34	37.66	9.13	75.21	24.79	6.32

Source: Year-End Statistical Information Databases, UGEL Huamanga

Therefore, attainment indicators for the province of Huamanga show that examination failure is particularly an issue for boys in the study district and the province as

[23] Table 9 shows the mean of the indicated values presented in Table 8 from 2005, 2006, and 2008, expressed as a
percentage.

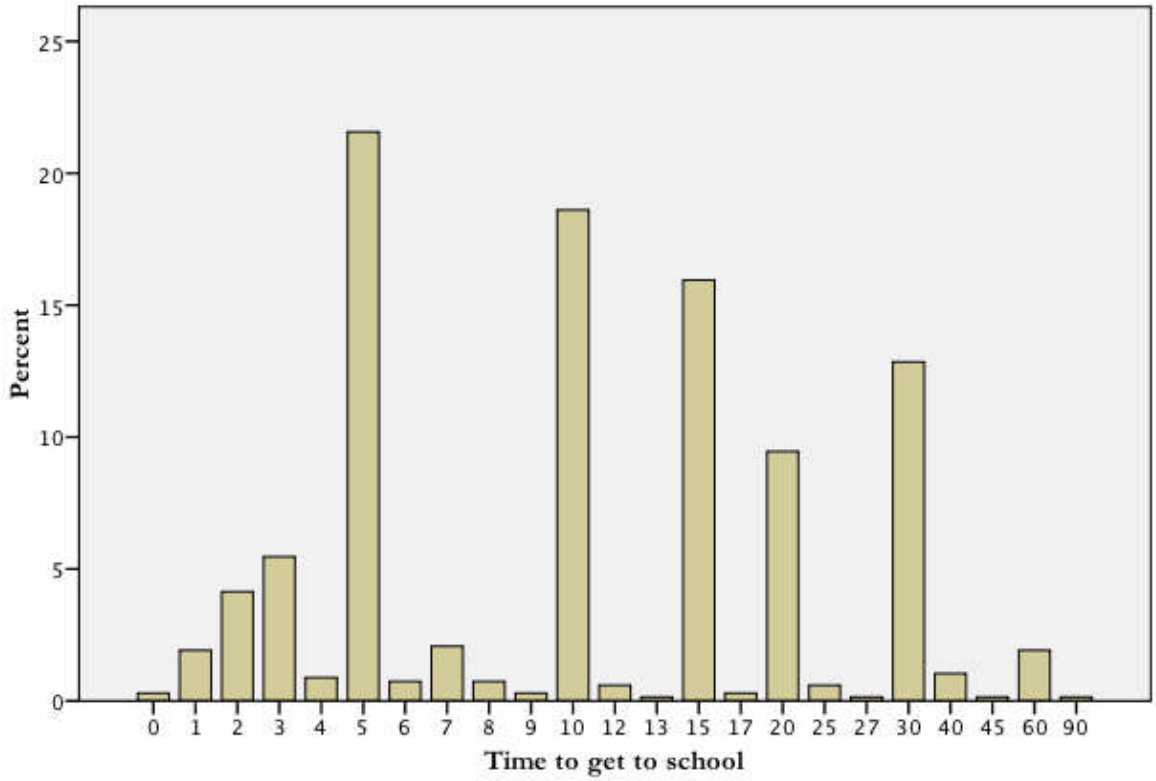
a whole, and that they are more likely to drop out of schools than girls are. However, it also shows that schools in the study district graduate significantly less girls than boys.

1.3 Environmental factors in perspective: Analysis of the Young Lives Round 2 survey

A brief descriptive analysis of the Young Lives older cohort sample for Peru is also helpful in providing context for some of the constraining factors evident from the qualitative analysis. Particularly, data on enrollment rates, transport mechanisms and distance from school, and perceptions of the best and worst aspects of school are useful for contextualizing the specific institutional environment studied.

Young Lives children in the cohort are overwhelmingly still enrolled in school (99.1%); at 12 years of age at the time of survey, the dramatic nature of this rate is perhaps a function of their age. Peruvian children start first grade of secondary school at age 12, and all the case study children inthe qualitative analysis left school at the end of first grade or later. Further, the majority (81.2%) of Young Lives children travel to school on foot, as do most children in the study district. 9.6% percent of Young Lives children travel by public bus or coach, which is the case with a small minority of children in the study district, namely those who reside along the Los Libertadores highway. A significant difference between the Young Lives sample and children in the study district relates to the time required to get to school: 21.3% of sample children require only 5 minutes, and 18.4% require only 10 minutes, in contrast to the 30 minutes to two hours required by those rural children in this study who do not live in the district capital. Figure 1 below shows the distribution of time required by children in the Young Lives older cohort sample.

Figure 2: Time required to reach school, Young Lives Round 2 older cohort (Peru)



Young Lives children's perspectives on the best and worst aspects of their schools are also interesting to look at briefly. 45.1% of the children sampled, the majority, believed that the best thing about school was 'learning useful skills and knowledge'; additionally, 11.9% of Young Lives children thought the best thing about their school was that the 'teachers are good'. Conversely, 12.6% of Young Lives children believed that 'students fighting' was the worst thing about their school, while 11.2% cited 'pupils bullying for other reasons' as the worst aspect. Very few children, 0.9%, cite 'school being too far away' as the worst thing. These perceptions perhaps indicate that children do not tend to focus on infrastructure or resources, but more their own learning and peer experience.

Overall, the basic quantitative analysis presented offers some important contextual

insights that help develop a picture of education outcomes, the school system and the issues surrounding both in rural Peru. These insights provide a baseline context of low achievement, poor educational indicators, and significant attainment issues; a deeper qualitative analysis of attitudes, relationships, and resources in the study district's school system will elaborate on the factors contributing to the dropout phenomenon.

Part 2: Attitudes and Relationships - The school as a site for the reproduction of inequality

Much ethnographic research has been done on the way in which attitudes and social

relationships within the school setting can create strong norms that reproduce unequal relationships already existing in society (Dunne, 2007; Levinson et. al., 1996; Levinson et. al., 2000; Reed-Danahy, 1996; Willis, 1977). The reality of schools within this study is a mixed one – they nominally teach both male and female children to aspire to a professional life, but are simultaneously unable to solve the persistent inequalities existing in children's lives that prevent them from achieving that life, as well as the inequality of resources they experience within the system itself. It is understood that children, particularly girls, from families in difficult situations (namely, those living with single parents, divorce, or abuse), and living in contexts of poverty and remoteness are likely to repeat school, be over the age for their grade, or drop out entirely. The perception that these children will underachieve, and that their parents are unlikely to support them in overcoming this tendency, is a common belief of teachers.

2.1: Teacher & peer attitudes

2.1.1. Achievement & performance

It has been widely reported that Peruvian children, particularly those in rural areas of the highlands and jungle, tend to perform worse than their counterparts in other Latin American countries (UNESCO, 2003; UMC, 2005b). There is also a clear negative relationship between poverty and educational achievement for Peruvian children (Cueto et. al., 2005). Teachers in this district are well aware of this fact, and tend to cite lack of personal motivation, poor nutrition, and absence of parental support as the reasoning for poor grades and repetition.

Teachers and administrators see a fundamental role for the children themselves in their education, and see personal effort and dedication to learning as central to their potential for success. As Profesor Miguel Reyes suggests, "more than anything it is responsibility [that is necessary]. The development of their own capacities". He believes that responsibility on the part of students and the need for them to "be aware" of the need to develop both values and cognitive skills. If these two capacities "advance in a parallel way, I think students can achieve success in the future". Profesor Esteban Vargas echoes this idea that children must comply with value-based norms in order to achieve future success; as he puts it, "the role of the child is to come complying with the norms of our educational institution. Because they are made to understand these as part of their training . . . It is part of what the state intends within its training of the child . . . The child should fulfill his or her duty to do it with humility and dynamism". Responsibility for learning properly falls on the child, and the burden of support on the teachers, in the conception they expressed.

Profesor Rodrigo Cruz asserts that the role of the child is to "learn, to construct his knowledge" and that whether or not children attend school willingly depends "also on the teachers and the institution . . . there is a need to motivate the students, so that they come happy each day". The children in the focus groups seemed to understand this duty fully, expressing that in order to achieve their dreams they needed to "study and put in effort, work, sacrifice enough".

However, teachers are also aware of the factors that can affect children's low performance outside of sheer motivation. Namely, it is poor nutrition caused by poverty and distance from schools that teachers see as the cause of poor learning outcomes. Profesor Vargas suggests that households in the area are not able to produce enough food for the large families that come with population growth – as a result of this, "there is a nutrition problem. And that problem brings difficulties for education because the students are not sufficiently nourished". Profesor Cruz discusses more specifically how distance and food availability interact. He notes how "during those two hours [when they are walking to school], the student consumes their food. But during this process they use up all of their supply. Then when they enter their classes, they do not have energy". Profesor Reyes supports this idea as well, noting that "it is a difficulty for performance levels because we must keep in mind that they are also fatigued, because of poor nutrition". In the focus groups, the children themselves agreed that one of the reasons why children "get tired" and no longer have the capacity to learn, causing them to leave school, is "because they are not fed well".

School 3, which five of the case study children previously attended, created a basic cafeteria in 2008. It offers a basic lunch, prepared by local parents, and is self-financed. The director of this school suggested anecdotally that the possibility to eat again during school hours had decreased their dropout rate and marginally affected the grades children

received. Profesor Cruz supported his hypothesis, noting that he believed that it "helped plenty" and that its impact was reflected in both grades and "attendance, participation, a bit their sociability". Several teachers suggested that the cafeteria allowed children to focus on their work and participate more energetically in the life of the classroom.

2.1.2. Families

It was also suggested that a complementary factor for children's attendance and good performance was the support of their parents. In the focus groups, when asked what they would need to achieve the futures that they had articulated, children cited "support from our parents".

Though some teachers focused on economic support, the idea of "support" (*apoyo*) also had a value connotation. Parents were responsible for providing the necessary material circumstances for their children to attend school, as well as supporting the cultural notion of the importance of this education for their children's future. Some teachers were aware of the high importance parents gave to education, but others seemed to misinterpret parents' inability to practically support learning in the home as being indicative of a lack of value for the endeavour itself.

Most of the teachers in the schools were not of Quechua descent themselves, though some spoke the language occasionally with the children and often with parents. As such, they did seem to perceive the 'traditionalis' of Quechua families as being a barrier to household support for education. As Profesor Cruz put it, "every village has its different custom, its traditions, its legends, its story. Its way of life". He perceived the widespread

illiteracy of many adults in the community as being a factor in the "lack of motivation on the part of the parents". Further, he suggested that siblings were the only ones promoting education in many households, saying that "each child make a bit of effort, what they can. Sometimes their siblings, through one means or another are studying, and as such they demand, they put in effort, they motivate them". Profesor Reyes also perceived the home as not being conducive to learning, noting that "when the teacher gives homework, there is no one to support it in the home, more than anything in the countryside".

Many of the teachers suggested that having a "well-formed" home was necessary for

Children's success in upholding the values of education. As Profesor Vargas puts it:

> "To have success in secondary school, they need to have support. Firstly, from the home. A home that is well-formed, that has parents who set a good example. Who have certain education, who have authority . . . the couple that understands each other, that gets along well."

The idea of "authority" was expressed repeatedly by teachers and administrators. Namely, they suggested that poor parents with low educational attainment and no Spanish language skills are unable to keep their children in school. Profesor Vargas illustrates this interaction - "before everything else, most of the parents do not have the decisiveness to say 'Hey, you have to go' or to take them. Because the child almost isn't a child anymore. When he is an adolescent, he decides. If he will continue studying, if he will leave. The father doesn't have authority". As Profesor Cruz describes it, "practically, [the children] possess certain knowledge, while the majority of their parents are illiterate, of scarce educational preparation. So they don't have authority over their children, they have lost

much of their authority. As a result they impose their decisions on their parents".

The role of the parents in promoting attendance was also accompanied by a need for them to promote acceptable behavior that would serve the child in the school setting. Profesor Reyes expresses the opinion that many teachers held, about the importance of children learning the values that would be taught in school at home first:

> "We know very well that we see in primary school, in secondary school, in kindergarten how the children are developing, how they are being educated, their growth. Including if the mother is present . . . And that is what they bring to school, that behaviour, that attitude . . .It is a very decisive role that they play in the education of their children".

Children who came from divorced homes or who lived with grandparents were seen as more at risk of not developing the necessary values to succeed in education. Profesor Cruz asserts that those children who do not have parents (specifically a mother) and who live with grandparents are at the most risk of dropping out of school. He also identified how family problems can affect children's educational experience, citing violence, alcoholism, gangs, and divorce as pre-cursors for abandonment.

2.1.3. Aspirations

High educational aspirations have repeatedly been shown to be a characteristic of poor
Peruvian families (Zapata Velasco et. al., 2008; Benavides et. al., 2006). The data from this study,
however, also suggests that children develop and refine their aspirations in a school setting,

which itself serves to reinforce conceptions of the acceptable professional life. Teachers, though they supported children's high aspirations in the classroom, fundamentally held a more critical view of future opportunities, given constraints, than children did. Profesor Reyes discusses how achievement of the ideal professional designation is tempered by poverty, noting that "if their parents had sufficient income, they could educate them in the *particulares*, so that tomorrow or later they could be someone in life. But because of the economic situation they are in they cannot".

Their views indeed reflect the actual experience of the case study children and many of their siblings; that is, one in which migration and work serve as coping mechanisms for the impact of poverty on educational trajectories. Teachers speak about the draw of the city for poor children who are performing badly in, or have dropped out of, of rural schools. Profesor Vargas characterized the cycle as such:

> "They want to work already and study as well because they see that other children have had certain successes in the city. But at this moment in time the city is completely saturated. So, after a time when that situation has gone badly for them, they come back. At the same time as they have lost one year, two years, they feel isolated".

Teachers again relate this process back to the relationship between children and their less
sophisticated parents. Profesor Cruz points out that "once they are older they start to work, they
leave for the cities. To find their life"; he suggests that poverty means parents are unable to provide for children's studies, and as such the children themselves "assume [the

responsibility] while working, to complement their studies, their needs". As the traditional trajectory for achieving educational success has been interrupted at the point of abandonment, teachers see children aspiring to migration as a strategy to continue down a non-traditional academic path.

Profesor Vargas highlights the how the attraction to an urban and coastal life can draw young people to migrate, saying that "they see how people, including their own relatives, have gone to the coast". He also notes how their ethnicity and place of origin can be seen as advantageous (and can be exploited) when they engage in domestic work, namely that "a person who is from a rural background is a better person. They are not like a person who lives on the coast who is sharper, almost like a little thief, who will take their things". He and other teachers express how indigenous youth from rural highland communities are seen as better domestic employees and thus can be taken advantage of in some ways, as they are generally less familiar with urban settings than coastal children.

Several teachers expressed a sentiment of inevitability about the likelihood of migration, which they saw as being an understandable transition for rural youth and a necessary response to families who could not pay for education or a better life in material terms. As Profesor Vargas simply put it, "if they are going to leave their parents, they will leave their parents . . . they don't stay in the same place, when they don't study".

2.1.4. Gender

The school is also a central institution through which children are socialized to gender norms, and in which conceptions of gender relationships are reinforced in Peru and many other countries (Benavides, 2006; Ames 2005; Montero 2006; Montenegro 2006; Mujica 2006)[24]. The teachers and children in this study recognize the gendered nature of family and work, and express how this affects the lives of children in their communities. However, though both teachers and children communicate the risk of early pregnancy and the consequent interruption to the educational trajectories of rural girls, there is strong evidence that unequal gender norms are still transmitted within the classroom and through peer groups.

Machismo and its ability to prejudice girls' education is a feature of society that all teachers saw as persistent in some respect. Profesor Reyes recounts how, in the recent past, it was only boys that were able to dedicate themselves fully to their studies; to the girls, "their parents would say 'but for what am I going to educate you? You have to attend to your siblings. You have to support us, you need to take our animals to pasture'. But to the boy they would give preference". Profesor Vargas argues that the father's control over a household still persists in the study communities presently:

> "In this environment, there is always still the father's imposition . . . in Andean homes, when both are there, the man always imposes the rules and manages the home . . . if the man manages his home well, with intelligence, the children will succeed. If he has certain vices, like alcohol or others, then those children will not be well"

[24] The listed references refer to the Peruvian case. For examples of gender norms in the school setting in other countries, please see Dunne, 2007 (Botswana and Ghana); Ansell, 2002 (Lesotho and Zimbabwe); Subrahmanian, 2005 (India).

However, as do others, Profesor Reyes suggests that this phenomenon is slowly changing, that Peruvian culture is "trying to overcome it". He asserts that, in fact, "they have the same rights, and everyone has the right to access education, women as much as men".

The classroom environment in this district is an interesting space through which to explore how this process of gender role transition is actually taking place in local settings. Simultaneously, some instructors aim to encourage girls' expression, aspiration, and achievement, while others reinforce the ideals of female deference, purity, and submission upon which machismo is built. Classroom observation strongly shows that girls in the study schools are much less likely to participate actively in classroom discussion and respond to questions than are boys. Both teachers observed in one of the study schools were very cognizant of this fact, and implored girls to offer answers and to contribute – the Mathematics teacher admonished her female students, saying that "you are just as intelligent as the boys". In general, female students in every observed class tended to gather together and participate either quietly or very minimally; in contrast, boys were permitted to speak out of turn and tended to offer answers to most questions. However, despite some efforts to encourage girls' participation, the data shows other incidents of explicit transmission of gendered norms. For example, as part of their set of classes each year, children in public secondary school are required to attend a class on 'adolescence', which essentially comprises sexual education and a discussion of the risks associated with dating and sexual activity during adolescence. It was an observation of this course in the second study school that most obviously demonstrated how gendered norms about behaviour, sexuality, and family were transmitted in the school context.

Overall, the evidence from the classroom observations, interviews with teachers,

and focus groups with children suggests that gender remains an important organizing principle for

relationships in the school context, though some teachers are actively working against this fact.

Despite efforts to encourage girls to participate in the classroom, the gendered nature of community and family relationships seems to be perpetuated within the institution.

2.2: Relationships in the school context

2.2.1 Teacher-student relationships

Another fundamental aspect of the schooling experience is relationships among the different actors within the school, and how these support or hinder children's progression through the system. Perhaps the most obvious relationship is that between the teachers and students. To understand this, it is useful to look at how teachers see their role with students, explore their attempts to set norms and create values in the classroom, and analyse the teaching style they employ with their students.

Teachers in this study saw themselves as having a fundamental role to play in the socialization of their students. Namely, that their guidance will help students develop crucial learned behaviors that will become essential to them in adult society, and that the skills that students learn from them should prepare them for the workforce. Profesor Vargas describes why he sees this guidance as so important:

"the role of teachers is, from the beginning, to give a practical education for life. Their

training, their behaviour. So that they have, in some way, values – from punctuality

to

> completing their homework. This is the work that we strive to do. Giving them advice, so that they have values. When there are no values in an educational institution, it is very
> difficult. Terrible situations come of it."

Teachers in the study saw their work as central to students' training for entrance into an urban, professional world. However, they also highlighted the need for a reciprocal relationship in which teachers exerted themselves in specific ways to comply with their educational duty, while children worked hard to utilize the support offered to them. As Profesor Reyes expresses it:

> "The child has feelings, has needs, and the teacher must understand that. If they are considered to be human beings from the very first grades onward, and it is understood that teachers also have their rights and their duties . . . if you understand this, from that point of view you are accompanying, supporting the student. As a result that student will receive a good training, become a good citizen."

It is understood that teachers are intended to be a good example of proper conduct for their students, and to establish authority in their classrooms that teaches students the value of respect. Several of the teachers perceive young people in these rural communities as lacking a respect for their parents, and as such a likelihood to not follow the path they should if they want to achieve success. Profesor Vargas sees the establishment of authority and the upholding of respect as central to what poor children are able to achieve; as he

suggests, "maybe it is because of these situations [in which respect is established] that certain students achieve successes even though it is a place that has such tremendous economic deficiency".

In summary, teachers expressed the need to instill values in the children they taught, most importantly respect and broad compliance with the behaviours that would be expected of young people in the professional realm. In reality, their ability to truly impart those values depended on their perspective about the appropriate nature of the relationship between instructor and student, and their ability to manage a classroom with few resources to aid in doing so.

2.2.2 Teacher-parent relationships

Another central relationship that strongly affects children's likelihood of staying in school is that between teachers and parents of their students. Previous research in Peru has shown that despite the fact that parental involvement contributes to educational achievement, parents have limited knowledge about how to support their children and most schools have no explicit strategy to guide their involvement (Balarin and Cueto, 2007). In the study district, teachers and parents interacted on a semi-regular basis in each of the study schools, though the nature of that interaction was variable.

It is very evident that the schools in the area have distinct infrastructure and support needs, a gap that parents in the community often stepped in to fill. For example, in School 3, a student's father was responsible for managing the production of adobe bricks that would be made into a lavatory, while several students' mothers prepared the food for the communal cafeteria. Parents were also expected to interact with teachers and administrators through the activities of the government-hired psychologist in each school. For example, in the smallest of the study schools, an informal talk was held during the

fieldwork period; the Tutor, also the Mathematics teacher, explained that approximately 50 parents were in attendance (i.e. much less than all) to speak with the psychologist, who also periodically staffed the local Health Centre. Anecdotally, teachers lamented the lack of attendance for these events, though they also reported having around half of parents attend the sessions.

Though parents and teachers seemed to interact in a complementary way through the

customs of service provision and group consultation, the interactions that teachers and parents of poorly performing children had with each other individually seemed to be slightly more problematic. The mother of Carmen, one of the case study children, remembers checking with the teachers herself about Carmen's progress and being told that "she was fine", while her older children were later informed that "Carmen was very bad in school, that she had failed many courses that she would not recover, that she was not a good student". Several parents of case study children recounted teachers' perception of their child's academic situation as intractable, and recalled receiving advice to stop spending money on a situation that would not result well. Sergio's parents also recounted a seemingly rare instance of conflict between teachers and a group of students' parents, as a result of a head teacher's unwillingness to start classes on time. As Mario's father expressed it, "we want our children to be educated well. We went to the UGEL to ask them to change the teacher but they did not listen to us". In short, the quality of the relationship between teachers and parents in this district depended heavily on the commitment that both parties showed to the goal of keeping children enrolled and the school well-resourced. Some parents were not interested in attending sessions about the challenges facing their children, while some teachers were not prepared to fulfill their duties to the fullest extent or offer extra support.

Part 3: Resources

Finally, there is another major set of factors, in addition to the attitudinal and the relational, that greatly impact the likelihood that poor children in this district will value education, and as such continue with it. This is the realm of resources, a fundamental component of any discussion of school quality. Both infrastructure and support services vary immensely depending on location; more specifically, rural state schools in the province of Huamanga are in much poorer condition than those in the city of Ayacucho. Even the administrator at the Regional Education Directorship admits that "really there is much difference" between urban and rural schools; specifically, he cites rural schools as often being left with fewer than the normal complement of instructors, who must teach more classes in their subject then they are capable of handling. He also notes how "there is an increase in demographic population, and a result of this, the school population" coupled with a lack

of subsequently increased funding from the national Ministry of Economy and Finance, meaning

that rural schools are over-populated and teachers over-worked.

Teachers in the district itself also speak to the idea of insufficient funding despite obvious need and growth. Profesor Vargas offered a comment on the physical infrastructure at the largest school in the district - "before there were only four rooms created with a program during the era of Belaúnde. They created four classrooms that were very rustic, that we still have to this day because of lack of money. And lack of decision-

making by the state to have better environments"[25].

Data and observation shows that rural schools in the Peruvian system are facing serious

performance, attainment, and infrastructure issues. It is in this context that indigenous children, who already face significant family and personal barriers, attempt to progress through the system to graduate from secondary school. Teachers in the schools reinforce the high aspirations that children and their parents set, but fundamentally the system is unable to break the norms of inequality both in children's lives and in the classroom that prevent certain groups of them from reaching those aspirations.

[25] Francisco Belaúnde Terry was President of the Republic of Peru from 1963-1968 and 1980-1985; the teacher is likely referring to a program enacted during his second presidency.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

It has often been suggested that education can be a force for social change, by serving an emancipatory function (Freire, 1973; Giroux, 1983; McLaren and Farahmandpur, 2005; Shor, 1992). However, for children in rural Peru, its transformational potential is rarely realized in full. Though they may break the patterns of illiteracy experienced by their parents, many youth in the highland communities of Ayacucho are unlikely to permanently break the cycle of poverty of which they are a part. In their lives, education is still largely dictated by an urban, Hispanic elite, and the schooling system reinforces its dominant norms of success and progress. Despite the constraints imposed on them by family histories of poverty and social exclusion, personal difficulties, and an under-resourced school system, children manage to exercise some form of agency, making choices that can be seen as efforts to accomplish "what they have reason to value" (Sen, 1999: 293).

Part 1: Theoretical & empirical debates about inequality and schooling

Much of the theoretical literature considers educational choices a purely economic endeavour (McMahon, 1999; Wolf, 2002; Johnes, 1993; Borjas, 2005); however, the findings of

qualitative studies including this one, along with theory in childhood studies, educational sociology, and human development challenge this idea. Children are not only „sent to school by parents as a result of rational calculations about the utility of their education, but in fact contribute to decisionmaking themselves and choose to stay in school or to drop out for a variety of reasons. Schools, like other social institutions, are sites for the exhibition and reproduction of power (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1998; Nash, 1990; Illich, 1971). The secondary school is a political space, where ideal cultural norms are transmitted and where inequalities based on class, race, and gender are played out (Erben and Dickinson in Olssen, 2004; Musgrove, 1979. Within this space, children, teachers, and parents all form part of the network of relationships that politicizes the process of instruction and learning. The social structures that form the basis of inequality outside the school setting also inherently operate within it. Despite this, children and families remain engaged in a process of weighing the economic and social value of schooling against the other pressures in their lives caused by poverty and additional forms of deprivation.

The literature on schooling choices and their relationship to inequality from the disciplinary standpoints of economics, anthropology, and sociology provides essential insights about how the household, the school system, and society and its valuing of education interact to produce unequal outcomes for certain children. This thesis integrates the frames of household, school, and society together with a focus on children's own voices, to produce a holistic picture of the choice to leave secondary school. As such, it provides a specific in-depth analysis of this process in the rural Peruvian context, and aims to contribute to larger debates about how inequality can impact schooling access and

outcomes for poor children.

Part 2: Key factors in leaving school

This study has shown that children's educational trajectories, particularly the likelihood that they will drop out of secondary school, are affected by family relationships and obligations,
considerations of the ideal future, biographical factors such as socio-economic status, ethnicity,
gender, and parental education, and the quality and availability of schools themselves. Children's
personal will and thus their choices are mitigated by parents' perception of education's value, the
need to care for the family unit, and access to good quality schools. Access to these schools can be compromised by remoteness, transportation fees, or a combination of these and other factors.

Chapter 3 examined how the decision to leave secondary school fits within a larger set of
relationships and responsibilities in the family, and how aspirations for children's future affect the path that children take. Children exert control over their educational choices, which pulls them into a cycle of persuasion and resistance with their parents, who express disempowerment, resignation and an inability to exert authority as a result of illiteracy, social marginalization, and children's individual will. Older siblings serve as cultural brokers for parents in the institutional setting of the secondary school, and are also often held up as bad examples in parents' efforts to affect their children's choices. Even against parents' stated desires, children also leave because of obligations to support their parents in times of

crisis. Overall, children are active participants in a vision for their future premised on both the cultural ideal of an educated professional, and the hope that the current generation will be able to break a cycle of poverty. How well children follow this ideal affects their parents' perception of their success in life more generally.

Chapter 4 analyzed the decision to leave school from the children's perspective, focusing on the personal characteristics and processes that affected their decision to stop studying. Children represent their decisions as active choices, though they are constrained by structural factors which may not always be evident to them. The decisions that they make are often part of an express strategy to cope with the intersection of poverty, the barriers it presents, and the high aspirations they and their families have developed. Given these high aspirations, children who are unable to achieve to the school's standard feel shame and resignation, which can prompt them to leave school before repeating or growing too old, or to migrate to an urban district. Some children migrate with the idea of entering the labour force, while others do so with the hope of transitioning back into the school system, often planning to work simultaneously. Migration is used as a coping strategy for poverty's impact on education, and many children move to the cities to continue school while working. This migration reflects broader regional inequalities in income, employment opportunities, and public investment. The breakdown of family units and violence in the home often also contributes to this choice to leave school.

Chapter 5 considered institutional factors, namely how the nature of the school environment threatened or supported children's completion of school. Quantitative work on drop-out has indicated that the quality of secondary schools is a major factor in attendance (Lee and Barro, 2001; Hernandez-Zavala, Patrinos, and Sakellariou, 2006; Case and Deaton, 1999; Rumberger, 1987). This study indicates that, while schools and their teachers instruct both male and female children to aspire to the professional life, minimal

resources, limited extra-academic support, implicit and explicit gendered practices, and non-conducive teacher-parent relationships converge to threaten poor children's ability to complete school. Normatively, expectations for children are set very high (often in the name of inspiring them to overcome the barriers they face), but the extensive and integrated support system that would be needed to achieve them does not exist.

Part 3: Some limitations and avenues for further research

Given the financial and time constraints of this project, it is prudent to note some of the

limitations of the present study and suggest several avenues for possible extension and further

research in the area. Specifically, issues of generalization, exclusive focus on the drop-out phenomenon and the rural context, and necessary temporal and geographical boundaries of the

project could all be addressed through extended comparative or longitudinal work.

As with many qualitative studies that focus on understanding decision-making processes at a local level, this study is limited by its focus on rural Quechua communities in the department of Ayacucho and by choosing to work with a limited set of families and children to gain in-depth information. As such, the capacity to generalize its conclusions are necessarily limited. However, insights gained into the educational choices of indigenous children and their families in this study provide a useful complement to the mainly quantitative work done on dropout issues in Peru (Cueto, 2004; Hernandez-Zavala et. al., 2006; Lavado & Gallegos, 2005; Alcázar, 2008) and elsewhere (see for example, Eckstein & Wolpin, 1999; Crouch, 2005; Fleisch & Shindler, 2009; Alexander et. al., 1997).

In an effort to understand the predictive factors affecting secondary school

abandonment in sufficient detail, this study focuses on that process exclusively. In order to fully understand how education affects the likelihood of social mobility in the Andean highlands of Peru, it would be important to also do a qualitative study of the trajectories of children who had finished secondary school, along with those who had left, into adulthood. This would allow the research to link transitions around schooling to other transitions across the life course, such as family formation and entering the job market. Consequently, this would permit comparison of the future trajectories of youth who had left school and youth who did not, as well as provide insight into how occupational and social statuses do or do not differ depending on school completion rates. As a large number of the children who had dropped out of the district's schools had migrated far enough that they were unreachable during fieldwork, it would have been helpful to extend the study to interview children in the cities to which they had migrated, and to explore with them whether or not their expectations of city life were realized.

As consensus suggests that there is a large difference between school completion rates in

urban and rural areas of Peru (Alcázar 2008; Cueto et. al. 2009; Hernandez-Zavala et. al. 2006), this study also focused exclusively on the rural context. Further research could compare how rural and urban experiences of poverty differ, and how (or if) they differentially affect children's educational trajectories. The rural communities studied here were exclusively Quechua-speaking; a further exploration that considered the urban experience could also look at how the dropout phenomenon differs in primarily Hispanic urban areas. More focused analysis could also be done around how Quechua ethnicity and native language factor in to school abandonment – is there a fundamental clash of values or social systems when children from Quechua communities encounter a Hispanic school?

In rural Ayacucho, indigenous children are less likely to progress through secondary school to achieve the high aspirations they, their families, and their teachers hope for them primarily because poverty, gender, and kin obligations intersect with an educational system poorly equipped to respond to such structural barriers. Attempting to take control over their lives, children in this context often migrate and work in order to mitigate some of the structural barriers they experience, though success at achieving their (and others') aspirations most often remains elusive. In a time of significant social and cultural change in the region, Quechua children negotiating the education system are at the forefront of this re-definition. Education is symbolic of progress and advancement in Peruvian culture (Crivello 2009; Benavides et. al. 2006; Leinaweaver 2008), and the question of whether or not the children of peasants will succeed in an educational system that is seeking to rapidly modernize both itself and society is central to yet broader debates about protracted inequality in Peru.

Primary Sources

Qualitative:

1. **Interviews with case study children:**

Interview ID	Child ID	Date	Pseudonym
3	1	15/08/09	Carmen
6	2	15/08/09	Alejandro
8	3	15/08/09	Beatriz
15	4	18/08/09	Natalia
21	5	22/08/09	Marta
20	6	18/08/09	Moises
25	7	01/09/09	Sergio
24	8	25/08/09	Esmeralda
28	9	01/09/09	Manuel
27	10	01/09/09	Eva
33	11	03/09/09	Diego

2. **Interviews with parents:**

Interview ID	Corresponds to Child ID No.	Date
2	1	15/08/09
5	2	14/08/09
7	3	15/08/09
14	4	18/08/09
22	5	23/08/09
17	6	18/08/09
19	7	19/08/09
23	8	23/08/09
29	9	02/09/09
32	11	02/09/09

3. **Interviews with siblings:**

Interview ID	Corresponds to Child ID No.	Date
4	1	16/08/09
9	3	15/08/09
13	4	18/08/09
10	5	17/08/09
18	6	18/08/09
26	9	01/09/09
30	10	02/09/09
31	11	02/09/09

4. **Interviews with teachers/administrators:**

Interview ID	School ID	Position	Date	Pseudonym
1	N/A	Administrator, Pedagogical Unit DREA	23/07/09	Prof. Miguel Reyes
34	1	Mathematics teacher, Communications teacher	12/07/09	Prof. Martha Chavez; Prof. Luis Benitez
11	3	Art teacher	17/08/09	Prof. Esteban Vargas
12	3	Mathematics teacher	17/08/09	Prof. Rodrigo Cruz

5. **Focus Groups:**

Focus Group ID	School ID	Student level	Method	Date
1	2	Better-performing	Aspirations drawing	14/08/09
2	2	Lesser-performing	Complete the story	14/08/09
3	3	Lesser-performing	Aspirations drawing	17/08/09
4	3	Better-performing	Complete the story	18/08/09

6. **Classroom Observations:**

Observation ID	School ID	Class Subject	Date
1	1	Communication	25/08/09
2	1	Mathematics	25/08/09
3	3	Social Sciences	31/08/09
4	3	Art	27/08/09
5	3	Adolescence	31/08/09

Quantitative:

Young Lives Round 2 survey, older cohort (Peru). Household Questionnaire and Child Questionnaire results databases. Accessed as http://www.data-archive.ac.uk/findingData/snDescription.asp?sn=5307.

Secondary Sources: Bibliography

Adato, M. 2007. Combining Survey and Ethnographic Methods to Evaluate Conditional Cash Transfer Programs. *Q2 Working Paper No. 40*. Retrieved from http://www.q squared.ca/papers40.html.

Admassie, A. 2003. Child labour and schooling in the context of a subsistence rural economy: can they be compatible? *International Journal of Educational Development* 23: 167-185.

Ainsworth, M., K. Beegle, and G. Koda. 2005. The Impact of Adult Mortality and Parental Deaths on Primary Schooling in North-Western Tanzania. *The Journal of Development Studies,* vol. 41, no. 3, 412-39.

Albornoz, Orlando. 1993. *Education and Society in Latin America*. London: Macmillan.

Alcázar, L. 2008. "Asistencia y deserción en escuelas secundarias rurales del Perú" in Benavides, M., ed. *Análisis de programas, procesos y resultados educativos en el Perú: contribuciones empíricas para el debate*. Lima: GRADE, p. 41-81.

Alcázar, L., S. Rendón, and E. Wachtenheim. 2002. Working and Studying in Rural Latin America: Critical Decisions of Adolescence. Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Development Bank.

Alderson, P. and V. Morrow. 2004. *Ethics, social research, and consulting with children and young people*. Ilford: Barnardo's.

Alexander, K.L., D.R. Entswisle, and C.S. Horsey. 1997. From First Grade Forward: Early Foundations of High School Dropout. *Sociology of Education* 70(2): 87-107.

Ames, P. 2001. ¿Libros Para Todos? Maestros y Textos Escolares en el Perú Rural. *Investigaciones Breves 14*. Lima: Consorcio de Investigación Económica y Social/Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Ames, P. 2005. 7. When access is not enough: educational exclusion of rural girls in Peru. In Aikman, S. and E. Unterhalter, eds. *Beyond Access: Transforming Policy and Practice for Gender Equality in Education,* p. 149-165. Oxford: Oxfam GB.

Ames, P., V. Rojas, and T. Portugal. 2009. Starting School: Who is Prepared? Young Lives' Research on Children's Transition to First Grade in Peru. *Young Lives Working Paper No. 47*. Oxford: Young Lives.

Anderson, K.G., A. Case, and D. Lam. 2001. Causes and Consequences of Schooling Outcomes in South Africa: Evidence from Survey Data. *Social Dynamics* 27(1): 37-59.

Ansell, N. 2005. "5. Education" in N. Ansell. *Children, Youth and Development*. London: Routledge.

Ansell, N. 2002. Secondary Education Reform in Lesotho and Zimbabwe and the Needs of Rural Girls: pronouncements, policy and practice. *Comparative Education* 38(1): 91-112. 105

Ansell, N. 2004. Secondary Schooling and Rural Youth Transitions in Lesotho and Zimbabwe. *Youth Society* 36: 183-202.

Arambarú, C.E. 2009. Informe Compilatorio: El Programa JUNTOS, Resultados y Retos. Lima: Ministry of Women and Social Development. Accessed at http://www.juntos.gob.pe/boletin/eval_juntos/resultados_retos.pdf.

Arnold, C., K. Bartlett, S. Gowani, and R. Merali. 2007. Is everybody ready? Readiness, transition and continuity: Reflections and moving forward. *Working Papers in Early Childhood Development No. 41*. The Hague, Netherlands: Bernard van Leer Foundation and Aga Khan Foundation.

Baizerman, M. 1998. Rites of Passage: From Here to There, from Now to Then, Along These Roads and Paths. *Child & Youth Care Forum* 27(6): 441-445.

Balagopalan, S. 2002. Constructing Indigenous Childhoods: Colonialism, Vocational Education,
and the Working Child. *Childhood* 9(1): 19-34.

Balarin, M. and S. Cueto. 2007. The Quality of Parental Participation and Student Achievement
in Peruvian Government Schools. *Young Lives Working Paper No. 35*. Oxford: Young Lives.

Ball, S.J., ed. 1990. Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge. London: Routledge.

Bello, M. and V. Villarán. 2004. Educación, Reformas y Equidad en Los Países de Los Andes y
Cono Sur: Dos Escenarios en el Perú. *Instituto Internacional de Planeamiento de la Educación*
(International Institute for Educational Planning). UNESCO Buenos Aires.

Benavides, M. 2006. Las escuelas, la familia y el género. In P. Ames, ed. *Las Brechas Invisibles:*
Desafíos para una equidad del género en la educación. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos/Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia.

Benavides, M. 2007. Lejos (aún) de la equidad: La persistencia de las desigualdades educativas en
el Perú in *Investigación, políticas y el desarrollo en el Perú*. Lima: GRADE.

Benavides, M., I. Olivera, and M. Mena. 2006. De papás y mamás a hijos e hijas: las aspiraciones
sobre el futuro y rol de las familias en las actividades escolares en el Perú rural. In M.
Benavides, ed. Los desafíos de la escolaridad en el Perú. Estudios sobre los procesos
pedagógicos, los saberes previos y el rol de las familias. Lima: Grupo de Análisis para el
Desarrollo.

Benavides, M., H. Rodrich, and M. Mena. 2009. Niveles de acoplamiento y desacoplamiento en la relación familia – escuela en contextos rurales: el caso en una muestra de familias de
Quispicanchis, Cusco. *Revista Peruana de Investigación Educativa* 1(1): 7-30.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Bourdieu, P. and J-C. Passeron. 1998. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture (2nd edition)*. London: SAGE Publications.

Borjas, G.J. 2005. *Labour Economics*. London: McGraw-Hill Irwin.

Brannen, J. and M. O'Brien, eds. 1996. *Children in Families: Research and Policy*. London: Falmer Press.

Brennan, C. 1997. *Max Weber on Power and Social Stratification.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.

Briggs, C.L. 1986. *Learning how to ask: A sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interview in social science research.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Brock, C. and H. Lawlor. 1985. *Education in Latin America.* London: Croom Helm.

Brody, C. and Steelman, L.C. .1985. Sibling Structure and Parental Sex-typing of Children's Household Tasks. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 47: 265-273.

Bryman, A. 2008. *Social Research Methods.* Oxford: OUP.

Buchmann, C. and E. Hannum. 2001. Education and Stratification in Developing Countries: A Review of Theories and Research. *Annual Review of Sociology* 27: 77-102.

Bynner, J. 2005. Rethinking the Youth Phase of the Life-course: The Case for Emerging Adulthood? *Journal of Youth Studies* 8(4): 367-384.

Caldwell, J.C., P.H. Reddy, and P. Caldwell. 1985. Educational Transition in Rural South India. *Population and Development Review* 11(1): 29-51.

Cameron, L.A. 2000. An Analysis of the Role of Social Safety Net Scholarships in Reducing School Drop-Out During the Indonesian Economic Crisis. *UNICEF Innocenti Working Paper No. 82*. Florence, Italy: UNICEF.

Case, A. and A. Deaton. 1999. School Inputs and Educational Outcomes in South Africa. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* August 1999: 1047-1084.

Cavero, R. and R. Cavero. 2007. Retablo de Memorias: Indígenas e Indigenismo en Ayacucho. Lima: Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga.

Chaudhury, N., J. Hammer, M. Kremer, K. Muralidharan, and F.H. Rogers. Missing in Action: Teacher and Health Worker Absense in Developing Countries. *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20(1): 91-116.

Christensen, P. and A. James, eds.. 2000. *Research With Children: Perspectives and Practices.* London: Falmer Press.

Connelly, R. and Z. Zheng. 2003. Determinants of school enrollment and completion of 10

to
18 year olds in China. *Economics of Education Review* 22: 379-388.

Coxshall, W. 2005. From the Peruvian Reconciliation Commission to Ethnography: Narrative,
Relatedness, and Silence. *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 28(2): 203-222.

Creswell, J.W. 2003. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches.* London:
Sage.

Crivello, G. 2009. 'Becoming somebody': Youth transitions through education and migration –
evidence from Young Lives, Peru. *Young Lives Working Paper No. 43*. Oxford: Young Lives.

Crivello, G., L. Camfield, and M. Woodhead. 2008. How Can Children Tell Us About Their
Wellbeing? Exploring the Potential of Participatory Research Approaches Within *Young*
Lives. *Social Indicators Research* 90: 51-72.

Croll, E.J. 2006. The Intergenerational Contract in the Changing Asian Family. *Oxford Development Studies* 34(4): 473-491.

Crouch, L. 2005. Disappearing schoolchildren or data misunderstandings? Dropout phenomena
in South Africa. Research Triangle Park, NC: RTI International. Accessed on February 15, 2010 at http://www.rti.org/pubs/disappearing_schoolchildren.pdf.

Cueto, S. 2004. Factores Predictivos del Rendimiento Escolar, Deserción e Ingreso a Educación
Secundaria en una Muestra de Estudiantes de Zonas Rurales del Perú. *Education Policy Análisis Archives* 12(35). Retrieved 18 May, 2009 from http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v12n35/.

Cueto, S. and M. Chinen. 2000. Impacto Educativo de un Programa de Desayunos Escolares en
Escuelas Rurales del Perú. *Documento de Trabajo #34*. Lima: GRADE.

Cueto, S., G. Guerrero, C. Sugimaru, A.M. Zevallos. 2009. Sense of belonging and transition to high schools in Peru. *International Journal of Educational Development* 2009: 1-11.

Cueto, S., G. Guerrero, J. Leon, M. De Silva, S. Huttly, M.E. Penny, C.F. Lanata, and E. Villar.
2005. Social Capital and Education Outcomes in Urban and Rural Peru. *Young Lives Working Paper No. 28*. Oxford: Young Lives UK.

Cueto, S., G. Guerrero, J. León, E. Seguin, and I. Muñoz. 2009. Explaining and overcoming marginalization in education: a focus on ethnic/language minorities in Peru. Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2010. Lima: UNESCO.

Cueto, S., G. Guerrero, J. Leon, A. Zevallos, and C. Sugimaru. 2009. Promoting Early Childhood Development through a Public Programme: Wawa Wasi in Peru. *Young Lives Working Paper No. 51*.

Cueto, S., M. Torero, J. León, and J. Deustua. 2008. Asistencia docente y redimiento escolar: el caso del programa META. *Documento de Trabajo #53*. Lima: GRADE.

Cunha, F., J.J. Heckman, L. Lochner, and D.V. Masterov. 2005. Interpreting the Evidence on Life Cycle Skill Formation. Prepared for the *Handbook of the Economics of Education*, E. Hanushek and F. Welch, eds., North Holland, 2005.

Dagenais, M., C. Montmarquette, and N. Viennot-Briot. 2001. Dropout, School Performance and Working while in School: An Econometric Model with Heterogeneous Groups. *Centre interuniversitaire de recherché en analyse des organisations* (CIRANO). Montréal: CIRANO.

Degregori, C.I. 2004. Desigualdades Persistentes y Construcción de un Pais Pluricultural. *Red Internacional de Estudios Interculturales*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Accessed February 15, 2010 at http://www.pucp.edu.pe/ridei/pdfs/Carlos%20Iván%20Degregori.pdf.

Degregori, C.I. 1990. *Que Dificil es Ser Dios: Ideología y violencia política en Sendero Luminoso*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

de Janvry, A., F. Finan, and E. Sadoulet. 2006. Can conditional cash transfer programs serve as safety nets in keeping children at school and from working when exposed to shocks? *Journal of Development Economics* 79(2): 349-373.

Dunne, M. 2007. Gender, sexuality, and schooling: Everyday life in junior secondary schools in Botswana and Ghana. *International Journal of Educational Development* 27: 499-511.

Durkheim, E. 1956. *Education and Sociology*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Duryea, S. and M. Arends-Kuenning. 2003. School Attendance, Child Labour and Local Labour Markets in Urban Brazil. *World Development* 31(7): 1165-1178.

Eckstein, Z. and K.I. Wolpin. 1999. Why Youths Drop Out of High School: The Impact of Preferences, Opportunities, and Abilities. *Econometrica* 67(6): 1295-1339.

Ellen, R.F., ed. 1984. *Ethnographic research: A guide to general conduct*. London: Academic Press.

Emerson, P.M. and A. Portela Souza. 2002. Bargaining over Sons and Daughters: Child Labor, School Attendance and Intra-Household Gender Bias in Brazil. *Vanderbilt University Department of Economics Working Paper No. 02-W13*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University.

Ersado, L. 2004. Child Labour and Schooling Decisions in Urban and Rural Areas: Comparative Evidence from Nepal, Peru, and Zimbabwe. *World Development* 33(3): 455-480.

Escobal, J. and E. Flores. 2008. An Assessment of the Young Lives Sampling Approach in Peru. *Young Lives Technical Note No. 3*. Oxford: Young Lives.

Escobal, J., J. Saavedra, and P. Suárez. Economic Shocks and Changes in School Attendance Levels and Education Expenditure in Peru. *Young Lives Working Paper No. 13*.

Fine, G.A. and K.L. Sandstrom. 1988. *Knowing Children: Participant Observation with Minors*. London: Sage.

Fischman, G.E., P. McLaren, H. Su nker, and C. Lankshear (eds). 2005. *Critical Theories, Radical Pedagogies, and Global Conflicts*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Fleisch, B. and J. Shindler. 2009. Gender repetition: school access, transitions and equity in the 'Birth-to-Twenty' cohort panel study in urban South Africa. *Comparative Education* 45(2): 265-279.

Flores-Crespo, P. 2007. Ethnicity, identity and educational achievement in Mexico. *International Journal of Educational Development* 27: 331-339.

Fondo de Cooperación para el Desarrollo Social. 2007. Mapa de Pobreza Departamental de FONCODES 2006, Con Indicadores Actualizados Con el Censo del 2007. Lima: Ministry of Women and Social Development. Accessed at http://www.foncodes.gob.pe/mapapobreza/.

Fondo de Cooperación para el Desarrollo Social. 2001. Relación de los 880 Distritos (Quintil 1 y Quintil 2). Ministry of Women and Social Development. Accessed at http://www.foncodes.gob.pe/documentos/880_q1.pdf.

Fonseca, C. 1986. Orphanages, Foundlings, and Foster Mothers: The System of Child Circulation in a Brazilian Squatter Settlement. *Anthropological Quarterly* 59(1): 15-27.

Freire, P. 1973. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Seabury Press.

Gallacher, L-A. and M. Gallagher. 2008. Methodological Immaturity in Childhood Research?:
Thinking through 'participatory methods'. *Childhood* 15(4): 499-516.

Ghartey Ampiah, J. and C. Adu-Yeboah. 2009. Mapping the incidence of school dropouts: a case
study of communities in northern Ghana. *Comparative Education* 45(2): 219-232.

Gillies, V. 2000. Young People and Family Life: Analysing and Comparing Disciplinary Discourses. *Journal of Youth Studies* 3(2): 211-228.

Giroux, H. 1983. *Theory and resistance in education: a pedagogy for the opposition.* London: Heinemann Educational.

Glick, P. and D.E. Sahn. 2000. Schooling of girls and boys in a West African country: the effects
of parental education, income, and household structure. *Economics of Education Review* 19: 63-87.

Gomes-Neto, J.B. and E.A. Hanushek. 1994. Causes and Consequences of Grade Repetition:
Evidence from Brazil. *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 43(1): 117-148.

Gordon, T. and E. Lahelma. 2003. From ethnography to life history: tracing transitions of school
students. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 6(3): 245-254.

Grant, M. and K. Hallman. 2006. Pregnancy-related School Dropout and Prior School Performance in South Africa. *Population Council Policy Research Division Working Paper No. 212.*

Graue, M.E. and D.J. Walsh. 1998. *Studying Children in Context: Theories, Methods and Ethics.* London: Sage.

Greene, J. C. 2006. Toward a methodology of mixed methods social inquiry. *Research in the Schools* 13(1): 93-99.

Grover, S. 2004. Why Won't They Listen to Us?: On Giving Power and Voice to Children Participating in Social Research. *Childhood* 11: 81-93.

Gubert, F. and A.S. Robilliard. 2006. Risk and Schooling Decisions in Rural Madagascar: a Panel
Data Analysis. *Document de Travail.* Paris: Développement institutions et analyses de long terme (DIAL).

Halsey, A.H., H. Lauder, P. Brown, A. Stuart Wells (eds). 1997. *Education: Culture, Economy,*

and Society. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Hannum, E., T. Sargent, and S. Yu. 2009. Poverty, Parental Ill Health and Access to Schooling in Rural Gansu, China. *Provincial China* 1(2): 24-60.

Hart, J. 2008. Business as Usual? The Global Political Economy of Childhood Poverty. *Young Lives Technical Note No. 13*. Oxford: Young Lives.

Hashim, I.M. 2005. Exploring the Linkages between Children's Independent Migration and Education Evidence from Ghana. *Working Paper T12*. Brighton: Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty.

Hazarika, G. and A. Bedi. 2003. Schoolings Costs and Child Work in Rural Pakistan. *Journal of Development Studies* 39(5): 29-64.

Hernandez-Zavala, M. H.A. Patrinos, C. Sakellariou. 2006. Quality of Schooling and Quality of
Schools for Indigenous Students in Guatemala, Mexico and Peru. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3982*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Hornberger, N.H. 1988. Bilingual Education and Language Maintenance: A Southern Peruvian Quechua Case. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris Publications.

Himaz, R. 2009. The Impact of Parental Death on Schooling and Subjective Well-being: Evidence from Ethiopia using Longitudinal Data. *Young Lives Working Paper No. 44*. Oxford: Young Lives.

Huber, L. (ed). 2001. Centralismo y Descentralización en Ayacucho. Lima: Instituto de Estudios
Peruanos.

Huber, L. (ed). 2002. Consumo, cultura e identidad en el mundo globalizado: Estudios de caso
en los Andes. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Huber, L. 2008. Romper La Mano: Una interpretación cultural de la corrupción. Lima: Instituto
de Estudios Peruanos/Proética.

Hunter, N. and J. May. 2002. Poverty, Shocks and School Disruption Episodes among Adolescents in South Africa. *CSDS Working Paper No 35*. Durban, South Africa: CSDS.

Iguiñiz Echeverría, M. 2004. La Transición Democrática y los Acuerdos en Educación en el Perú. *Revista Iberoamericana de Educación* 34.

Illich, I. 1971. *Deschooling Society.* Aylesbury: Hazell Watson & Viney.

Ilon, L. and P. Mock. 1991. School Attributes, Household Characteristics, and Demand for

Schooling: A Case Study of Rural Peru. *International Review of Education* 37(4): 429-451.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática. 2007. Ayacucho: Tasa de analfabetismo por area,
según provincia, 1993 y 2007. Accessed at http://www1.inei.gob.pe/.

Invernizzi, A. 2003. Street-Working Children and Adolescents in Lima: Work as an Agent of
Socialization. *Childhood* 10(3): 319-341.

Jacoby, E., S. Cueto, and E. Pollitt. 1999. Determinants of School Performance among Quechua Children in the Peruvian Andes. *International Review of Education* 45(1): 27-43.

James, A. and A. Prout. 1990. *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood.* London: Falmer.

Jayachandran, U. 2002. Socio-Economic Determinants of School Attendance in India. *Centre for*
Development Economics Working Paper No. 103. Delhi: Delhi School of Economics.

Jeffrey, C., P. Jeffrey, and R. Jeffrey. 2008. *Degrees without Freedom? Education, Masculinities, and*
Unemployment in North India. Stanford: Stanford UP.

Johnes, G. 1993. *The Economics of Education*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Johnson, D. and F. Stewart. 2007. Editorial: Education, ethnicity and conflict. *International Journal of Educational Development* 27: 247-251.

Johnson, R. B., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. 2004. Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher* 33(7): 14-26.

Kabeer, N. 2000. Inter-Generational Contracts, Demographic Transitions and the 'Quantity
Quality' Tradeoff: Parents, Children and Investing in the Future. *Journal of International*
Development 12: 463-482.

Kabeer, N. and S. Mahmud. 2009. Imagining the Future: Children, Education, and Intergenerational Transmission of Poverty in Urban Bangladesh. *IDS Bulletin* 40(1): 10 21.

Kallaway, P. 1996. Policy Challenges for Education in the New South Africa: The Case for School Feeding in the Context of Social and Economic Reconstruction. *Transformation* 31: 1-24.

Karabel, J. and A.H. Halsey. 1977. *Power and Ideology in Education*. New York: Oxford UP.

Komulainen, S. 2007. The Ambiguity of the Child's 'Voice' in Social Research. *Childhood* 14:

11-
28.

Lauder, H., P. Brown, J. Dillabough, and A.H. Halsey (eds). 2006. *Education, Globalization & Social Change*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Lavado, P. and J. Gallegos. 2005. Schooling dropout in Peru: a framework using duration models. *Centro de Investigación de la Universidad del Pacífico.*

Lawson, D., A. McKay, and J. Okidi. 2003. Poverty Persistence and Transitions in Uganda: A
Combined Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis. *Journal of Development Studies* 42(7): 1225-1251.

Lawton, D. 1975. *Class, Culture and the Curriculum*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
Lee, J-W. and R.J. Barro. 2001. Schooling Quality in a Cross-Section of Countries. *Economica*
68(272): 465-488.

Leinaweaver, J.B. 2007a. Choosing to Move: Child agency on Peru's margins. *Childhood* 14(3): 375-392.

Leinaweaver, J.B. 2008. Improving Oneself: Young People Getting Ahead in the Peruvian Andes. *Latin American Perspectives* 35(4): 60-78.

Leinaweaver, J.B. 2007b. On Moving Children: The social implications of Andean child circulation. *American Ethnologist* 34(1): 163-180.

Levinson, B.A., D.E. Foley, and D.C. Holland, eds. 1996. *The Cultural Production of the Educated*
Person: Critical Ethnographies of Schooling and Local Practice. Albany: SUNY Press.

Levinson, B.A.U. et. al., eds. 2000. *Schooling the Symbolic Animal: Social and Cultural Dimensions of Education.* Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Levinson, D.L., P.W. Cookson, Jr, and A.R. Sadovnik (eds). 2002. *Education and Sociology An Encyclopedia.* London: Routledge Farmer.

Lewis, A. and G. Lindsay, ed. 2000. *Researching Children's Perspectives*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Lewis, V., M. Kellett, C. Robinson, S. Fraser, and S. Ding, eds. 2004. *The Reality of Research with Children and Young People*. London: Sage.

Liddell, C. and G. Rae. 2001. Predicting early grade retention: A longitudinal investigation of
primary school progress in a sample of rural South African children. *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 71: 413-428.

Lofland, J. and L.H. Lofland. *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analyses*. London: Wadsworth Publishing.

Mains, D. 2007. Neoliberal times: Progress, boredom, and shame among young men in urban
Ethiopia. *American Ethnologist* 34(4): 659-673.

May, T. 2001. *Social Research: Issues, methods and process*. Buckingham: Open UP.
McCarthy, C. 1998. *The Uses of Culture: Education and the Limits of Ethnic Affiliation*. London: Routledge.

McClintock, C. 2001. Peru's Sendero Luminoso Rebellion: Origins and Trajectory in S. Eckstein.
Power and Popular Protest. London: University of California Press.

McIntosh, I. and S. Punch. 2009. 'Barter', 'Deals', 'Bribes' and 'Threats': Exploring Sibling interactions. *Childhood* 16(1): 49-65.

McLaren, P. and R. Farahmandpur. 2005. *Teaching against global capitalism and the new imperialism: a critical pedagogy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

McMahon, W.W. 1999. *Education and Development: Measuring the Social Benefits*. Oxford: OUP.
Mebrahtu, T., M. Crossley, and D. Johnson. 2000. *Globalisation, Educational Transformation and*
Societies in Transition. Oxford: Symposium Books.

Meekers, D. and G. Ahmed. 1999. Pregnancy-Related School Dropouts in Botswana. *Population*
Studies 53(2): 195-209.

Meighan, R. and I. Siraj-Blatchford. 2003. *A Sociology of Educating (4th edition)*. London: Continuum. Ministerio de Educación. 2008. La participación de los pueblos indígenas y comunidades rurales en el Proyecto de Educación en Areas Rurales – PEAR 2005-2007. Dirección Nacional de Educacion Intercultural Bilingue y Rural, Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno del Perú.

Monahan, T. 2005. *Globalization, Technological Change, and Public Education*. London: Routledge.

Montenegro, R.C. 2006. La capacitación docente en género: para construir hechos de equidad
desde las aulas. In P. Ames, ed. *Las Brechas Invisibles: Desafíos para una equidad del género en la educación*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos/Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia.

Montero, C. 2006. La exclusion educativa de las niñas del campo: ¿pasado o presente?. In P.
Ames, ed. *Las Brechas Invisibles: Desafíos para una equidad del género en la educación*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos/Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia.

Montgomery, H. 2009. *An Introduction to Childhood: Anthropological Perspectives on Children's Lives.*
Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.

Morley, S. and D. Coady. 2003. From Social Assistance to Social Development: Targeted Education Subsidies in Developing Countries. Washington: Center for Global Development.

Morrow, V. 2008. Ethical dilemmas in research with children and young people about their social environments. *Children's Geographies* 6(1): 49-61.

Morrow, V. 2009. The Ethics of Social Research with Children and Families in Young Lives:
Practical Experiences. *Young Lives Working Paper No. 53*. Oxford: Young Lives.

Morrow, V. 2001. Using qualitative methods to elicit young people's perspectives on their environments: some ideas for community health initiatives. *Health Education Research* 16(3): 255-268.

Mujica, R.M. 2006. La promoción de la equidad de género en las escuelas rurales de Quispicanchi, Cusco. In P. Ames, ed. *Las Brechas Invisibles: Desafíos para una equidad del género en la educación*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos/Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia.

Municipalidad Distrital de Vinchos. 2008. Plan de Desarrollo Distrital Concertado 2008-2020.
Vinchos, Huamanga province: Vinchos District Municipality. Obtained directly from
municipality; author's copy available for consultation.

Musgrove, F. 1979. *School and the Social Order*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
Nash, R. 1990. Bourdieu on Education and Social and Cultural Reproduction. *British Journal of*
Sociology of Education 11(4): 431-447.

Ohba, A. 2009. Does free secondary education enable the poor to gain access? A study from
rural Kenya. *CREATE Pathways to Access Research Monograph No 21*. Brighton: CREATE.

Oliart, P. 2004 ¿Para qué estudiar?: La problemática educativa de niñas y mujeres en areas rurales del Perú. In I.Schicra, ed. *Género,etnicidad y educación en América Latina*. Madrid: Ediciones Morata

Olssen, M. (ed). 2004. *Culture and Learning: Access and Opportunity in the Classroom*. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

Oré Cárdenas, E. 2001. *Ayahuanco: Bajo la Sombra del Sendero, un testimonio de parte sobre la*

violencia. Huancayo, Peru: Imprenta RIOS S.A.

Oyserman, D., D. Bybee, K. Terry, and T. Hart-Johnson. 2004. Possible selves as roadmaps.
Journal of Research in Personality 38: 130-149.

Pal, Sarmistha. 2004. Child Schooling in Peru: Evidence from a Sequential Analysis of School
Progression. *Journal of Population Economics* 17(4): 657-680.

Patrinos, H.A. and G. Psacharopoulos. 1997. Family size, schooling and child labour in Peru –
An empirical analysis. *Journal of Population Economics* 10: 387-405.

Punch, S. 2003. Childhoods in the Majority World: Miniature adults or tribal children? *Sociology*
37(2): 277-295.

Punch, S. 2007. Generational power relations in rural Bolivia. In R. Panelli, S. Punch, and E.
Robson, eds. *Global Perspectives on Rural Childhood and Youth: Young Rural Lives*, p. 151-164.
London: Routledge.

Punch, S. 2001. Household Division of Labour: Generation, Gender, Age, Birth Order and Sibling Composition. *Work, Employment & Society*. 15 (4):803-823.

Punch, S. 2002. Interviewing Strategies with Young People: the „Secret Box , Stimulus Material and Task-Based Activities. *Children and Society* 16: 45-56.

Punch, S. 2002. Research with Children: The Same or Different from Research with Adults? *Childhood* 9: 321-341.

Punch, S. 2004. The Impact of Primary Education on School-to-Work Transitions for young
People in Rural Bolivia. *Youth Society* 36: 163-182.

Punch, S. 2002. Youth Transitions and Interdependent Adult-child Relations in Rural Bolivia.
Journal of Rural Studies 18(2): 123-133.

Punch, S., S. Bell, L. Costello, and R. Panelli. 2007. Power and place for rural young people. In
R. Panelli, S. Punch, and E. Robson. *Global Perspectives on Rural Childhood and Youth: Young Rural Lives*, p. 205-218. London: Routledge.

Quortrup, J., W.A. Corsaro, M.S. Honig. 2009. *The Palgrave Handbook of Childhood Studies*. London:
Palgrave Macmillan.

Ravallion, M. and Q. Wodon. 2000. Does Child Labour Displace Schooling? Evidence on Behavioral Responses to an Enrollment Subsidy. *The Economic Journal* 110(462): C158
C175.

Rawlings, L.B. and G.M. Rubio. 2005. Evaluating the Impact of Conditional Cash Transfer Programs. *The World Bank Research Group (OUP Journals).*

Reed-Danahy, D. 1996. *Education and Identity in Rural France: the politics of schooling.* Cambridge:
Cambridge UP.

Richards, L. 2005. Handling Qualitative Data: A Practical Guide. London: Sage.

Robson, E., S. Bell, and N. Klocker. 2007. Conceptualizing agency in the lives and actions of
rural young people. In R. Panelli, S. Punch, and E. Robson. *Global Perspectives on Rural*
Childhood and Youth: Young Rural Lives, p. 135-148.

Rolleston, C. 2009. Human Capital, Poverty, Educational Access and Exclusion: The Case of
Ghana 1991-2006. *CREATE Pathways to Access Research Monograph No 22*. Brighton: CREATE.

Rolleston, C. and M. Oketch. 2008. Educational expansion in Ghana: Economic assumptions
and expectations. *International Journal of Educational Development* 28: 320-339.

Rumberger, R.W. 1987. High School Dropouts: A Review of Issues and Evidence. *Review of Educational Research* 57(2): 101-121.

Sandoval, P. 2004. Educación, ciudadanía, y violencia en el Perú: una lectura del informe de la
CVR. *Documento de Trabajo #142. Serie Anthropología*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Sanchez, A. 2008. Childhood Poverty in Peru: An Annotated Literature Review. *Young Lives Technical Note No. 8*.

Sawada, Y. and M. Lokshin. 2001. Household Schooling Decisions in Rural Pakistan. *Policy Research Working Paper 2541*. Washington: World Bank.

Schäfer, N. 2007. 'I mean, it depends on me in the end, doesn't it?': Young people's perspectives on their daily life and future prospects in rural East Germany. In R. Panelli,
S. Punch, E. Robson, eds. *Global Perspectives on Rural Childhood and Youth: Young Rural Lives*, p. 121-134. London: Routledge.

Sen, A. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor Books.

Serpell, R. 1993. *The significance of schooling: Life journeys in an African society*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Shapiro, D. and B.O. Tambeshe. 2001. Gender, poverty, family structure and investments in children's education in Kinshasa, Congo. *Economics of Education Review* 20: 359-375.

Shields, R. and J. Rappleye. 2008. Differentiation, Development, (Dis)Integration: education in Nepal's 'People's War'. *Research in Comparative and International Education*. 3(1): 91-102.

Shor, I. 1992. *Empowering education: critical teaching for social change*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Silverman, D. 2001. *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*. London: Sage.

Sime, D. 2008. Ethical and methodological issues in engaging young people living in poverty with participatory research methods. *Children's Geographies* 6(1): 63-78.

Smita. 2008. Distress Seasonal Migration and its Impact on Children's Education. *CREATE Pathways to Access Research Monograph No 28*. Brighton: Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions, and Equity (CREATE).

Stanley, B. and J.E. Sieber, eds. 1992. *Social Research on Children and Adolescents: Ethical Issues*. London: Sage.

Stephens, D. 2007. *Culture in Education and Development: Principles, Practice, and Policy*. Oxford: Symposium Books.

Strocka, C. 2008. *Unidos nos hacemos respetar: Jóvenes, identidades y violencia en Ayacucho*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos/UNICEF.

Subrahmanian, R. 2005. Gender equality in education: Definitions and measurements. *International Journal of Educational Development* 25: 395-407.

Tekola, B., C. Griffin, and L. Camfield. 2009. Using Qualitative Methods with Poor Children in Urban Ethiopia: Opportunities and Challenges. *Social Indicators Research* 90: 73-87.

Thomas, N. and C. O'Kane. 1998. The Ethics of Participatory Research with Children. *Children and Society* 12: 336-348.

Thomas, R., R. Bell, J. Holland, S. Henderson, and S. McGrellis. 2002. Critical Moments: Choice,
Chance and Opportunity in Young People's Narratives of Transition. *Sociology* 36(2):
335-354.

Tilak, J.B.G. 1987. *The Economics of Inequality in Education*. London: Sage.

Tomanovic, S. and S. Ignjatovic. 2006. The Transition of Young People in a Transitional Society:
The Case of Serbia. *Journal of Youth Studies* 9(3): 269-285.

Townsend, N., S. Madhavan, S. Tollman, M. Garenne, and K. Kahn. 2002. Children s Residence Patterns and Educational Attainment in Rural South Africa. *Population Studies* 56(2): 215-225.

Trivelli, C. 2006. "Chapter 7. Peru" in G. Hall and H.A. Patrinos, eds. *Indigenous Peoples, Poverty*
and Human Development in Latin America. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. 2010. *Chapter 2 The Dakar*
goals: monitoring progress and inequality. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. 2003. "OECD/UNESCO Study Identifies Regional Disparities in Student Performance". *UNESCO Media Services*. Accessed at http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php
URL_ID=13234&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

Unidad de Medición de la Calidad. 2005a. *Perfil Educativo de la Región Ayacucho*. Lima: Unit for the
Measurement of Educational Quality (UMC), Ministry of Education. Accessed at: http://www2.minedu.gob.pe/umc/admin/images/pregionales/Ayacucho.pdf

Unidad de Medición de la Calidad. 2005b. *Presentación de los Resultados de la Evaluación Nacional del 2004*. Lima: Unit for the Measurement of Educational Quality (UMC), Ministry of Education. Accessed at http://www2.minedu.gob.pe/umc/index2.php?v_codigo=124&v_plantilla=R.

Uprichard, E. 2008. Children as 'Beings and Becomings': Children, Childhood and Temporality.
Children & Society 22: 303-313.

Walker, M. and E. Unterhalter (eds). 2007. *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Watson, K. 2007. Language, education and ethnicity: Whose rights will prevail in an age of

globalisation? *International Journal of Educational Development* 27: 252-265.

Wells, K. 2009. *Childhood in a Global Perspective.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Willis, P. 1977. *Learning to Labour: How working class kids gets working class jobs.* Tiptree, Essex: Anchor Press.

Wils, A. 2004. Late Entrants Leave School Earlier: Evidence from Mozambique. *International Review of Education* 50(1): 17-37.

Wolf, A. 2002. *Does Education Matter? Myths about Education and Economic Growth.* London: Penguin.

Appendix 1: Young Lives Round 2 (Peru) survey variables consulted

AMBITION
BESTSCH1, BESTSCH2, BESTSCH3
BORNAFT
BORNBEF
CAG5
CEXPGRAD
CFAMSON, CFAMDTR
CFUTURJOB
CGRDLIKE
CHFUTURE
CLUSTERID
CSCUSEFUL
CSD3
CYDRPOT1, CYDRPOT2, CYDRPOT3
CXPEDU
DADLANG, MUMLANG
GRADLIKE
MUMED, DADED
MUMLITS

MUMSPK
PEPRID
PRIMUM
REGION
SEX
TMSCHMIN
TRANSSCH
TYPESITE
WORSTSC1, WORSTSC2, WORSTSC3
YDROPOT1, YDROPOT2, YDROPOT3

Appendix 2: Coding frame

Code Family 1: Child & household decisions
- CHD 1 – relationships in choice (child/parent)
- CHD 2 – relationships in choice (child/sibling)
- CHD 3 – relationships in choice (child/other)
- CHD 4 – family & community obligations
- CHD 5 – educational trajectory
- CHD 6 – parental role in educational trajectory
- CHD 7 – gender (family educational history)
- CHD 8 – gender (skill sets)
- CHD 9 – gender (educational options)

Code Family 2: Children's social and economic future
- SEF 1 – social value
- SEF 2 – aspirations (education)
- SEF 3 – aspirations (employment)
- SEF 4 – aspirations (family)

Code Family 3: Personal factors & social characteristics

- PF 1 – socio-economic status
- PF 2 – ethnicity/language
- PF 3 – gender (pregnancy/marriage)
- PF 4 – parental education
- PF 5 – children's work (extra-household)
- PF 6 – migration/circulation
- PF 7 – academic ability

Code Family 4: Environmental factors

- EF 1 – educational quality (teaching)
- EF 2 – teacher/admin attitudes (achievement)
- EF 3 – teacher/admin attitudes (aspirations)
- EF 4 – teacher/admin attitudes (families)
- EF 5 – teacher/admin attitudes (gender)
- EF 6 – children's attitudes (achievement)
- EF 7 – children's attitudes (gender)
- EF 8 – relationships (teacher/student)
- EF 9 – relationships (peer)
- EF 10 – relationships (teacher/parent)
- EF 11 – infrastructure/resources
- EF 12 – teaching style
- EF 13 – extra-academic support

Appendix 3: Further results from the National Performance Evaluation, 2004

Mathematics, National and Stratified Results (3rd grade secondary)

Performance Levels	National	National (Male)	National (Female)	State (Urban)	State (Rural)
Sufficient	6.0%	6.7%	5.2%	2.4%	0.2%
Basic	19.9%	20.0%	19.8%	16.5%	5.2%
Previous	19.0%	19.4%	18.6%	20.3%	11.3%
<Previous	55.1%	53.9%	56.4%	60.8%	83.3%

Source: Evaluación Nacional de Rendimiento 2004, UMC

Text Comprehension, National and Stratified Results (5th grade secondary)

Performance Levels	National	National (Male)	National (Female)	State (Urban)	State (Rural)
Sufficient	9.8%	8.5%	11.0%	7.6%	2.1%
Basic	45.3%	42.8%	47.6%	44.1%	24.0%
Previous	14.8%	15.6%	14.0%	16.1%	14.8%

<Previous	30.1%	33.1%	27.4%	32.2%	59.1%

Source: Evaluación Nacional de Rendimiento 2004, UMC