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Gender-preferential intergenerational patterns in primary educational attainment: An econometric approach to a case in rural Mindanao, the Philippines



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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the factors determining children's educational attainment, focusing on gender-differential intergenerational patterns, by employing a case study from rural Mindanao. The result mainly shows, unlike general trends in developing countries, educational attainment is more favorable for girls; maternal education level is equally associated with daughters' and sons' education levels, and paternal education level is preferentially favorable to their sons. To reduce the disparity, suggestions include providing boy-specific interventions to enhance the magnitude of the father–son educational virtuous circle and comparing the magnitude of gender–equal maternal and boy-preferential paternal education influences to specify which effect is larger.

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1. Introduction

The role and significance of education in development cannot be overly emphasized. Education has long been granted a central role in international development. Simultaneously, insufficient demand for education in developing economies despite expected returns has been an issue of concern (Maholmes and King, 2012). Demand patterns can always vary not only at the individual level but also across social groups and strata. Despite the abundant literature demonstrating positive evidence regarding education and development in developing countries, it is therefore worthy of exploring why one group receives less education than others.

This study specifically focuses on intergenerational genderdifferential patterns of education as an element of the disequilibrium or inequality issues. With regard to gender and education in developing countries, international gender-focused education cooperation has specifically targeted girls' and women's education

The Philippines, the country on which this study focuses, is one such country. It received praises for its ability to achieve a

⁽Tembon and Fort, 2008; Unterhalter, 2010; Nguyen and Scripter, 2013). Certainly, the essentiality and centrality of problems with girls' and women's education cannot be overemphasized, but issues concerning boys' and men's educational attainment should not be ignored (Jha et al., 2012; Heyneman and Stern, 2015: for the Philippine case, see Miralao, 2008)¹. Regarding gender-differential issues in education, it is also important to consider intergenerational factors or parent-child relations (Alderman and King, 1998; UNICEF, 2003; Gorman-Smith et al., 2012; Bhagowati, 2014). Although quite a few countries suffer from insufficient girl's education, other countries show a pattern of gender parity inverted from the global trend of disadvantaged girls². Accordingly, perspectives looking at both genders are necessary as issues pertaining to boys' and men's education have formed the focus of the Education for All (EFA) Global Monitoring Report 2003/04.

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¹ Miralao (2008) calls this issue a "boy crisis."

² For terminological differences between gender parity and gender equality, see Chisamaya et al. (2012).

relatively high standard of educational attainment compared to other developing countries in the 1980s (Nakanishi, 1990; Tomas, 2013). Subsequently, coming into harmony with the international movement toward EFA, the country's primary education sector became a focus for expansion and improvement. Philippine primary³ education became free and compulsory in accordance with a new constitution resolved in 1986 and ratified in 1987 under the Corazon Aquino administration (Tanodra, 2003; Tomas, 2013)⁴. Traditionally, girls and women in the Philippines seem to have been educated relatively well, unlike in some other developing countries where providing girl's education has been a great challenge.

In turn, the Philippines has long suffered from poverty, prevailing images of which can be its slums or the Smoky Mountain. However, recent development studies have revealed that poverty has begun to ease, partially due to the contribution of education in poverty alleviation in rural areas (Maluccio, 1998; Estudillo et al., 2008; Estudillo et al., 2009), which are home to a sizeable percentage of poor and potential poor people. This may seem like small inroads when considering the Philippines' development and poverty issues. However, the implications and impact of these improvements are more widespread. The urban poor, seemingly a symbol of poverty in this country, are linked to the rural poor, which is one trigger for emigration from rural to urban areas. Even in the 1990s, the importance of rural development had been recognized (Nakanishi, 1991). Therefore, targeting rural areas and education is necessary (Otsuka and Sakurai, 2007) not only for improving rural areas, but also for the possible knock-on effects on urban poverty. As will be discussed in the next section, this study examines the case of rural Mindanao, a place where education is a social challenge and an area that has been relatively less examined in the literature.

2. Literature review

2.1. Girls' or Boys' favorableness in education?

In 2000, the Dakar Framework for Action declared goals of "eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality" (UNESCO, 2000: 8). This made girls' education a core concern in educational development. Goals 2 and 3 of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) issued in 2000 also focused on this issue. Since then, international gender-focused education cooperation has examined girls' and women's education, particularly in South Asia or sub-Saharan Africa where male supremacy is predominant (Kabeer, 2001; Unterhalter, 2010). The issue's centrality has been reinforced by literature revealing the significant social and individual returns from women's education (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985; Herz et al., 1991; King and Hill, 1993; Psacharopoulos, 1994).

However, despite the centrality of these issues, holistic perspectives toward not only girls but also boys are required. Yet, in the field of international education cooperation, boys' education has been less examined (Heyneman and Stern, 2015). Certainly, some literature has examined the issue holistically, such as Weaver-Hightower (2003), who deals mainly with such advanced or industrialized economies as the United States, noting

that "[...] this⁵ was the situation 'until recently.' Beginning roughly in the mid-1990s, a distinct and growing shift toward examining boys' education has occurred internationally in research on gender and schooling" (Weaver-Hightower, 2003: 472). Heyneman and Stern (2015) find that there is a male disadvantage on the basis of pedagogical output and performance data in wealthy industrial democratic counties, i.e., OECD countries, and further add that the reversed gender bias in developing countries will also be a critical issue in the field of international education development in the near future.

Despite the emerging importance of reversed-gender-related studies in developing countries, relatively few references exploring this perspective in a developing country context have been found. UNICEF (2003) showed a similar motivation for development issues. UNESCO (2006) examined the issue of boys' dropping out of school. Boys, like girls, are assigned gender roles, such as family breadwinner. Boys' issues are not simply the opposite of girls' problems, as boys' relations to parents and their expected roles vary across societies (the situation holds true for girls as well). A recent study by Jha et al. (2012) examines the boys' issue in secondary education in selected developing countries such as Jamaica, Brazil, the United Arab Emirates, Samoa, Lesotho, and Bangladesh⁶. Jha et al. (2012) open the door for and attract public concern of the reversed-gender-related issue in developing countries. In theory, intergenerational or parent-child relations in human capital investment are critical in shaping gender differentiation, as parental expectations and perceptions toward children of different genders are not identical. In addition, in parent-child relations, parenting varies by gender in the educational context (Alderman and King, 1998; Gorman-Smith et al., 2012; Bhagowati, 2014). This study will investigate intergenerational patterns of parental and child educational attainment, focusing on their interactions.

2.2. Philippines-specific literature

Educational attainment in the Philippines is seen as gradually worsening, in spite of its past effectiveness and high standards (Symaco, 2013). Philippine educational attainment has gradually stagnated (Okabe, 2013), though some have called it a "setback" rather than "stagnation" (Caoli-Rodriguez, 2007; David et al., 2009). Caoli-Rodriguez (2007) and Symaco (2013) predicted the near impossibility of achieving the MDGs concerning education by 2015. Balisacan (2003) indicated that the cohort survival rates in public primary and secondary education barely increased during the 1980s and 1990s (Balisacan, 2003: 289).

Both access to education and the educational progress of students in the Philippines seem to have faltered. David et al. (2009) mentioned the lower levels of educational attainment by boys and men compared to girls and women. Learning performance and scores on national academic achievement tests also show clear gender disparities that are unfavorable for boys. They state that empirical studies to examine the background and current situation of the lack of educational achievement by boys and men are needed. For example, if repetition and dropout rate are high, the educational system's internal efficiency may suffer, even though initial enrollments are high in each period⁷.

³ In the Philippines context, grades 1–4 are known as primary schools while grades 5–6 are known as intermediate school. However, to follow the international usage of the word, we call both as "primary education" in this paper.

⁴ For example, in the period 1986–1994, total public expenditure on education rose from 2% to 3% of GDP (Jimenez and Sawada, 2001).

⁵ The "this" in the citation, as comprehended by the author, would indicate an environment where girls' education is regarded as central or important.

⁶ The Philippines is not covered by Jha et al. (2012). For the Philippine case, see Miralao (2008). Compared with secondary level as examined in Jha et al. (2012), the gender gap existing in the early education stage such as the elementary level may be enhanced at later stages such as the secondary and tertiary levels (Yamauchi and Liu. 2013).

Liu, 2013).

⁷ In the Philippines, this problem has long been termed "out-of-school children."

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