# Family Structure and Education Attainment of Children in the Slums of Nairobi Abuya, B. A., Mutisya M., Ngware, M., & Oketch M.

*Abstract*: Research shows that children living with two biological parents outperform those raised in different family structures. Less work has been done on this theme in the context of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). However, recent trends in SSA show that there is growing number of children who do not live with two biological parents in the region. Using data from the African Population and Health Research Center collected in the slums of Nairobi, this paper tests the hypothesis that two parent families are most favorable to schooling outcomes in Kenya. A logistic regression model is fitted. Controlling for socio-economic variables the effect of family structure on education attainment of children persists. Children in double parent households were 1.23 times more likely to be in the right grade for age compared to children in one parent households. The study calls for strengthening single parent households for better educational outcomes of the children.

Key words: Adolescent school achievement; Childhood; Family; Education; Low income countries; African countries

Introduction

The effect of family structure on educational outcomes is a hotly debated issue (Frisco, Muller, & Frank, 2007; Heard, 2007; Sun & Li, 2011). Scholars have tended to agree that family structure has a significant effect on children's educational outcomes (Case, Lin, & McLanahan, 2001; Ermisch & Francesconi, 2001; Evenhouse & Reilly, 2004; Frisco et al., 2007; Heard, 2007; Sun & Li, 2011) and that there is a causal link between family structure and educational achievement (Frisco et al., 2007). Research continues to show that children who live with their two biological parents in a traditional family tend to outperform those who are bred in different family structures (Hofferth, 2006; McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994; Schiller, Khmelkov, & Wang, 2002). Better still, research demonstrates that children who grow up in single-parent families and children with stepparents have lower educational attainment than those who grow up with both biological parents (McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994; Schiller et al., 2002; Sun & Li, 2011). There is a growing prevalence of non-traditional family structure in Africa where children are increasingly living in single parent households, either headed by the father and mother. Single parenthood is occasioned through dissolution of families and in recent times due to parental death related to HIV infection (Monasch & Boerma, 2004). For instance, in SSA 9% of children aged 15 years do not have least one parent. In addition one in every six households have orphaned children that they are caring for. Such orphans often live in households that are femaleheaded (Monasch & Boerma, 2004). However, few empirical studies examine effects of family structure on educational attainment in Africa and fewer still explicitly investigate the intrahousehold allocation of educational resources to children (Buchmann, 2000). Much of the literature has tended to focus on developed countries, particularly in the context of the USA (Hao & Xie, 2002; Heard, 2007; McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994; Monserud & Elder Jr., 2011; Sousa & Sorensen, 2006; Sun & Li, 2011). Studies from other cultures, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa

are needed to move the discussion forward. This study seeks to add to the debate by testing the hypothesis that children living with two biological parents in Kenya will have better educational attainment than children in step or single-parent families, or children living in households without a biological parent.

# Socialization theory, family structure and educational attainment

According to socialization theory, family structure effects on educational attainment vary with the age of the child. The theory suggests that direct parental supervision of a child is related to his or her educational achievement, with supervision being more important at older ages than at younger ages. If this is true, then time spent in single parent families at an older age will have a more negative effect on attainment than such time spent at a younger age. Socialization theory therefore perceives educational attainment as a consequence of parental ability to provide children with the motivation and skills necessary for school achievement. Family disruption or non-marriage weakens the parent-child relationship and reduces the internalization of parental values and role models (Hess & Camera, 1979). Therefore, children living with only one parent are also subject to a different hierarchy than children in two parent households. This may reduce direct supervision, undermine parental control, and handicap the ability to function in institutions that are fundamentally hierarchical, such as education (Coleman, 1988).

Socialization theory emphasizes the essential role of parenting in shaping children's lives (Parcel & Menaghan, 1994). However, during school years, teachers and peers supplement the parents' role in encouraging achievement (Krein, 1986; Krein & Beller, 1988). Teachers and peers may or may not be part of a child's life during preschool years. Thus, time spent in a single parent family as a pre-schooler may be more detrimental to educational attainment (Heard, 2007) than time spent in the same type of household later in life.

## *Type of family structure and educational attainment*

Many studies have been done on the correlation of family structure and educational attainment. Boggess (1998) found that living in a mother-headed household or a stepfathermother family has a negative effect on education levels due to a decreased level of resources. The impact of family structure on educational attainment is found to vary by both the type of family structure that a child lives in and the age of the child at the time of the experience (Garasky, 1995).

Research indicates that growing up with only one parent is found to be related to attaining lower levels of education, becoming a parent earlier, being more likely to have premarital births, marrying earlier, and being more likely to divorce when compared to children who lived with both biological parents throughout their childhood (Astone & McLanahan, 1991; Bumpass & McLanahan, 1989; Haurin, 1992; Haveman & Wolfe, 1984; Krein, 1986). This has aroused concern among policymakers and scholars, especially in light of recent projections that half of all children born will spend some time living in a single-parent family before reaching age 18 (Bumpass, 1984). Because education is a key factor determining long-term economic success, this association between family disruption and lower educational attainment continues to raise the questions of whether the sharp increase in family instability will have lasting negative consequences on the educational attainment of the next generation.

Educational attainment is a function of a set of independent family and demographic variables: birth cohort, sex, family structure, sibship size, parental education, father's occupation, region and residence that have been traditionally linked to student achievement. Single parenthood increases educational inequality among children born in these family types especially if such families have low levels of education (McLanahan, 2004).

Scholars argue that having spent time in a single-parent family, which are typically mother headed, reduces the educational attainment of children. Overall, investment in children's human capital is reduced due to less time and resource inputs. Parents of mother-headed households are usually the sole breadwinners for the family. Therefore, more time is spent working and less time is invested in enhancing the children's learning process. As the sole breadwinner, single parents often do not have as much disposable income to spend on household resources, which reinforce education (Biblarz & Raftery, 1999; Ermisch & Francesconi, 2001). However, research shows that in dual headed households, income is often greater and two parents may be able to make more time available to spend with their children than single moms (McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994). The work of McLanahan and Sandefur (1994) is perhaps the most influential on the correlation between family structure and children's outcomes. They find that children who grow up in single-parent or stepparent families have lower educational attainment than those who grow up with both biological parents. This is reinforced by intergenerational transfer of human capital with children from parents with more education having higher education attainment. For example, a study by Ngware, Oketch, Ezeh, and Mudege (2009) in urban informal settlements of Nairobi found that children from household heads with more education have better schooling outcomes.

## Number of siblings and educational attainment

At the household level, many studies, mostly in sociology, have also found that the number of siblings exerts a negative effect on each child's educational attainments such as grade completion and test scores (Conley & Glauber, 2005). In one extensive study across various samples, Blake (1989) finds the "dilution effect": More siblings dilute a child's allocation of parental resources. Interestingly, Gomes (1984) found for a household sample from Kenya that children from a larger family are more likely to complete grades. The reason is that parents in Kenya control their eldest child's earnings and younger children benefit from this extra source of family resources. This suggests that the relationship between child quantity and quality take different forms across different cultures.

#### Family structure, resources and educational attainment

Scholars have argued that educational attainment of children is an outcome of an investment that parents make (Haveman & Wolfe, 1984). Economists argue that educational attainment varies systematically with family structure, which may be linked to the amount of resources that such a family has (Parish & Willis, 1993). Proponents of this economic perspective argue that within the household production framework, the child's educational attainment is viewed as a commodity desired by the household, which is produced with inputs of income and time of the parents (Becker, 1964). Hours spent in the labor market provide money to buy market goods and services to combine with non-market time in household production. The output is affected by parental ability to combine these resources for producing achievement (Becker, 1993). Therefore, the resources within a family are dependent on the number of people that particular family consists of and how much disposable income the family has to spend on resources. Household economics considers the family as not only a consuming unit but also as a producing unit. This theory states that a combination of time and resource inputs produce different types of commodities (Becker, 1993). In order to produce what "quality children," parents must spend time at home and devote real resources to foster an environment that

promotes and provides formal education. Educational attainment of children has been shown to be positively related to parental inputs of time, especially of the mother (Abuya, Oketch, Mutisya, Ngware, & Ciera, 2012; Bowles, 1972; Flouri & Buchanan, 2004), and to inputs of income (Bowles, 1972; Kiker & Condon, 1981). Marital dissolution and non-marriage reduce parental investment both in financial terms and in the time spent with the children. Reduced investments lower intellectual capacity and expected returns to education. Living within a stepparent family is less detrimental to educational attainment than living within a single parent family, and perhaps no less beneficial than living with both biological parents, if the time and financial resources of the stepparent are shared with the step children.

There is a general consensus among scholars that that children in intact, two parent households typically do better on educational outcomes than do children in single parent and step-family households (Astone & McLanahan, 1991; Haurin, 1992; Heard, 2007; McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994; Sun & Li, 2011). With the growing prevalence of non-traditional family structure in Africa where children are increasingly living in single parent households, either headed by the father and mother (Monasch & Boerma, 2004). There is need to establish whether children living with two biological parents in the developing context—in this case Kenya would have better educational attainment than children in step or single-parent families, or children living in households without a biological parent. This study seeks to bridge this gap in the literature by seeking answers to the question: Does family structure impact on the educational attainment of children in Kenya? We test the hypothesis that children living with two biological parents in the developing country context such as Kenya would have better educational attainment than children in step or single-parent families, or children living in households without a biological parent families, or children living with two biological parents in the developing country context such as Kenya would have better educational attainment than children in step or single-parent families, or children living in households without a biological parent.

## Method

The study was carried out in two urban informal settlements of Korogocho and Viwandani in Nairobi, Kenya. This Education Research Program (ERP) study was nested within the Nairobi Urban Health and Demographic Surveillance System (NUHDSS) run by the African Population and Health Research Center (APHRC). The NUHDSS follows a population of slightly more than 60,000 people; 57% and 43% from Viwandani and Korogocho slum respectively.

## Study Design, Data Source and Sample

Data for this study comes from the Education Research Program (ERP) at the African Population and Health Research Center (APHRC). Since 2005, ERP has been collecting data on schooling, parental involvement, school and household characteristics as well as individual behavior. Schooling data contains information on enrolment, transition, dropout and progression among all the identified individuals. In the first round of data collection in 2005, individuals aged 6 years and older were asked to reconstruct their schooling history starting from 2000 to 2004. The lagged data depended on the age of the individual in each round of data collection. For instance an individual who was aged 6 years in 2005, had one year lag (2004) when the s/he was five years, while those aged 10 years in 2005 had complete information for the past 5 years. Prospective follow-up of these children and others who reached the age of five or in-migrate to the study site and who are eligible was carried annually until 2010. The prospective follow-up involved monitoring the schooling outcomes such as enrolment, transfers, progression and transition.

This study focuses on the sample of children aged 6 through 14 between 2005 and 2010. Children aged 6 to 14 were selected because the study focused on primary school going-age children and this is the official primary school going-age in Kenya. Data for the latest year when individual was in school is used since the measure of educational attainment is the right grade for age. For example an individual could have information for all the years but stopped schooling in 2007, and therefore it is the 2007 data that is used in this respect. All identified individual children are then linked to their household data.

The household data collects information on family members and their characteristics like age, gender and their education level as well as their parental survivorship for those aged below 20 years. Moreover, it consists of information on household asset ownership and characteristics. Measures of family structure and headship characteristics are constructed using this component. Information on family structure is based on whether an individual usually stays with biological parents, guardians or self. Between 2005 and 2010 about 34600 individuals aged between 5 and 24 years were included in the study with a cumulative number of about 17000 individuals aged between 6 and 14 years and enrolled in school. The paper uses data from 16538 children who were identified as being of primary school going-age, and their data was successfully linked to their household information.

# Measurement and Variables Dependent Variable

*Educational attainment*. The measure of educational attainment is the right grade for age among primary school going children. Children in the right grade for age coded as 1 and 0 otherwise.

### Independent variables

*Family structure*. This is the main independent variable. The measure of family structure distinguishes between following types of family arrangement the child lives: (1) with biological

parents, (2) single parent (either the mother or father, 3) guardian (either male or female) and (4) self (with no parents or guardians).

Area of residence: Coded as Korogocho (1) and Viwandani (2).

*Household Educational level*: Measured by the highest level of education that the household head has attained: 1=No education, 2=Primary education; 3=Secondary education, 4=Higher- (post-secondary education) and 5 = Unknown for those who education level is reported to be unknown.

*Number of siblings in a household*: This is the number of siblings within a household aged between 6 and 14 years. Note that if an individual has a sibling within this age range who does not reside in the household, the sibling is not included in the analysis.

*Household wealth index*: This is a composite measure calculated using the principle component analysis (PCA). The PCA model includes both household amenities and asset ownership variables (Filmer & Pritchett, 2001). Household amenities variables were main material of the wall, floor and roof, main source of drinking water, ownership of the dwelling unit and the main type of toilet. The assets ownership included a variety of assets ranging from ownership of a car, motor bike, and bicycle to radio, gas cooker, sewing machine, bed, mobile phone among others. The calculated score was categorized into five categories with 1 being poorest and 5 the least poor.

*School type*: Among those schooling with Nairobi, school type is coded as either private or public. Those schooling outside Nairobi are coded as such.

Gender of the household head and that of the child: Coded as female (1) and male (2).

Analytical plan

Our empirical model states that educational attainment is a function of family structure, variables representing the human capital of the parents, and other control variables.

$$S=f(I_{1.n}, X_{1.n}, E_{1.n})$$

where S is the number of years of schooling completed,  $I_{1.n}$  is a vector of family structure variables,  $X_{1.n}$  is a vector of income (goods) inputs and E is a vector of the ability and human capital of the parents and other control variables-El is mother's education, E2 is father's education, and E4 is the area of residence.

$$S_{j}=H_{ij}+X_{ij}+J+\mu_{j}$$

Where Sij represents years of schooling for individual i from family j, Fij is a vector of family structure variables, and Xij is a vector of child- and family-specific variables that are fixed (e.g. household education). In our context,  $(\sum_{j})$  is educational attainment and is measured in terms of being in the right grade at the right age—a variable which dichotomous. Therefore we employ a logit model to analyze the effect of family structure on education attainment. The advantage of using logit model is its ease in interpretation. The logit coefficients when exponentiated gives us the odds ratio. Odds ratio of more than one means that an individual is more likely to be in the right grade at the right age while that less than 1 meaning less likely to.

Analysis is done at two levels. We first estimate the correlation (bivariate associations) between family structure and educational attainment. This model is designed to test for any relationship between family structure and educational attainment. Secondly, we add control variables known to influence educational attainment. This is motivated by Biblarz and Raftery (1999) who show that the effect of family structure differs significantly given control variables included in the model. The control variables allow us to test and estimate the net effect of family structure on educational attainment.

# Results

# Descriptive Statistics for Child right Grade for right Age

Table 1a and 1b presents descriptive statistics and percentages of children with the right grade for age by different explanatory variables respectively. The results show that 63% of boys are at the right grade for age compared to 65% of girls in the sample. The mean age for being at the right grade for age is 10. Double parent households had a higher percentage of children at the right grade for age with about 68% compared to children from single parent households, those children living alone, and the children living with guardians with 61%, 58% and 56% respectively.

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range
Gender	1.49	0.5	1 - 2
Age	10.3	2.81	6-14
Lives with Who	2.14	0.92	1-4
Study site	1.42	0.49	1-2
Household head education	2.27	0.73	1-5
Wealth Index (based on assets)	3.35	1.51	1-5

Table 1a: Demographic and household characteristics: Descriptive statistics

Viwandani has more children who are at the right grade for age with about 75% compared to Korogocho with 56%. The likelihood of children being at the right age for grade is higher among those children who are members of households whose head has higher education standing at 78% compared to those children living in households whose heads are having secondary, primary and no education with 72%, 62%, and 48% respectively. Children will be at the right age for grade if

they belong to the households who are least poor with about 70% compared to 55% of children who belong to the poorest households.

Variable	Variable code	n	Right grade for Right age		
		11	No (%)	Yes (%)	P-value
Gender	Boy	8389	37.39	62.61	
	Girl	8149	34.62	65.38	0.001
Age†		16538	11.69	9.52	0.001
Lives with Who	Single parent	3466	39.27	60.73	
	Both parent	9940	32.42	67.58	
	Self	550	41.82	58.18	
	Guardian	2582	44.04	55.96	0.001
Study site	Korogocho	9483	44.37	55.63	
	Viwandani	7055	24.71	75.29	0.001
Household head	No education	1687	52.22	47.78	
Level of education	Primary	9449	37.57	62.43	
	Secondary	4942	27.6	72.4	
	Higher	104	22.12	77.88	
	Unknown	356	37.36	62.64	0.001
Wealth Index	Poorest 20%	2968	44.81	55.19	
(based on assets)	2	2438	41.51	58.49	
	3	2578	33.95	66.05	
	4	2867	35.98	64.02	
	Least poor 20%	5687	30.38	69.62	0.001

Table 1b: Distribution of the background characteristics

† mean age is reported for each of the group

# Logistic Regression Results on the Effect of Family Structure on Grade Attainment

Table 2 presents the Logistic regression results predicting the effect of family structure on grade attainment. Univariate and multivariate models were fitted. In the multiple logistic regression model, the aim of the estimation was to observe the net impact of family structure on

grade attainment controlling for household head sex, pupil sex, household education level, study site, wealth index, number of children in the household, and school type. The univariate model presents the effect of family structure on children's grade attainment. Pupils from households with both parents were more likely (1.35 times) to be in the right grade for age compared to those living with only one parent. That is the odds of being in the right grade for age increased by 35% as compared to those living with only one parent. Those living with their guardians were less likely to be in the right grade for age (OR=0.82). That is the odds of being at the right grade for age decreased by 18% for children living with guardians. Controlling for all the other variables (household head sex, pupil sex, household education level, study site, wealth index, number of children in the household, and school type), the effect of family structure on education attainment of children persists. Children living in households with both parents were more likely (1.23 times) to be in the right grade for right age compared to those living with only one parent. That is the odds of being at the right grade for right age increased by 23% as compared to those living with only one parent.

Moreover, there are factors that are associated with the children being at the right grade for age. Household head education level was positively associated with the likelihood of a child being in the right grade for age. For instance, the children who were living in the households where the head of the household with primary education were more likely (1.43 times) to be in the right grade for age compared to those living in households where the head of the household had no education. For such a child the odds of being in the right grade for the age increased by 43%. The children who were living in the households where the head of the household has secondary level of education were more likely (1.79 times) to be in the right grade for age compared to those living in households where the head of the noisehold has

such a child the odds of being in the right grade for the right age increased by 79%. The children who were living in the households where the head of the household has higher level of education were more likely (2.06 times) to be in the right grade for age compared to those living in households where the head of the household had no education. For such a child the odds of being in the right grade for the right age increased by 106%.

In addition, the site/slum with the household where the children live was positively associated with educational attainment. The children who were living in households in Viwandani were more likely (2.05 times) to be in the right grade for right age compared to those children living in households in Korogocho. For such a child the odds of being in the right grade for the age increased by 105%. Moreover, wealth index was also significantly related to a child being at the right grade for the right age. Wealth index was divided into quintiles from the poorest (the first quintile) to the least poor (the fifth quintile). The children in the households in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quintile were more likely (1.15 times) to be in the right grade for right age compared to those children living in households in the poorest quintile. For such a child the odds of being in the right grade for age increased by 15%. Children in the households in the 4<sup>th</sup> quintile were more likely (1.11 times) to be in the right grade for age compared to those children living in households in the poorest quintile. For such a child the odds of being in the right grade for age increased by 11%. Children in the households in the 5<sup>th</sup> guintile were more likely (1.47 times) to be in the right grade for right age compared to those children living in households in the poorest quintile. For such a child the odds of being in the right grade for age increased by 47%.

The number of children in a household aged between (6-14) was significantly related to a child being at the right grade for age. Children in the households with significant number of siblings were less likely (0.83 times) to be in the right grade for right age compared to those

children living in households which do not have siblings in the (6-14) age group. For such a child the odds of being in the right grade for the right age decreases by 17%.

Finally the type of school was significantly related to educational attainment. The children who were attending public schools were less likely (0.80 times) to be in the right grade for age compared to those children attending private schools. For such a child the odds of being in the right grade for age decreased by 20%. The children who were attending schools outside Nairobi are less likely (0.86 times) to be in the right grade for age compared to those children attending private schools. For such a child the odds of being in the right grade for age decreased by 14%.

		Univariate Model		Multiple Model	
Predictor		B (SE B)	OR	B (SE B)	OR
Lives with Who	Single parent		1		1
	Both parent	0.30*** (0.05)	1.35	0.21*** (0.06)	1.23
	Self	-0.11 (0.10)	0.90	-0.02 (0.1)	0.98
	Guardian	-0.20*** (0.06)	0.82	-0.09 (0.06)	0.92
Household head sex	Female				1
	Male			-0.01 (0.05)	0.99
Pupil Sex	Female				1
	Male			-0.17 (0.03)	0.84
Household Education	No education				1
level	Primary Education	l		0.36*** (0.06)	1.43
	Secondary			0.58*** (0.07)	1.79
	Higher			0.72** (0.31)	2.06
	Not known			0.32** (0.13)	1.38
Study site	Korogocho				1
	Viwandani			0.72*** (0.04)	2.05
Wealth Index	Poorest 20%				1
	2			0.03 (0.06)	1.03
	3			0.14** (0.06)	1.15
	4			0.10** (0.06)	1.11
	Least poor 20%			0.38*** (0.06)	1.47
Number of children in	HH (ages 6 to 14)			-0.18 (0.02)	
School Type	Private				1
	Public school			-0.23*** (0.04)	0.80
	Outside Nairobi			-0.15*** (0.05)	0.86
Constant		0.44 (0.04)		0.21 (0.09)	
$\chi^2$		124.03		888.13	
df		3		17	
% in the right grade for right age		64.02		64.02	

Table 2: Logistic regression results on the effect of family structure on grade attainment

\*\*\*<P=0.01; \*\*<P=0.05; \*<P=0.1

## Discussion and Conclusions

The objective of this study was to establish the effect of family structure on the educational attainment of children in Kenya, in order to answer the question: Does family structure impact on the educational attainment of children in Kenya? We found that double parent households had a higher percentage of children at the right grade for age with about 68% compared to children from single parent households which were standing at 61%. We found that living in double parent households is an important predictor for children's educational attainment. In essence, the effect of family structure on education attainment of children persists, even after controlling for all the variables (household head sex, pupil sex, household education level, study site, wealth index, number of children in the household, and school type). That children living in households with both parents were more likely (1.23 times) to be in the right grade for right age compared to those living with only one parent. This confirms what other scholars (Astone & McLanahan, 1991; Bumpass & McLanahan, 1989; Cooper, 1986; Haurin, 1992; Hayeman, Wolfe, & Spaudling, 1991; Heard, 2007; Krein, 1986; McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994; Sun & Li, 2011) have found in other studies in the context of the western countries that two parent households typically do better on educational outcomes than do children in single parent and step-family households.

The finding that children in single parent households are likely to have lower the educational attainment of compared to children in households with both parents is similar to the findings of (Biblarz & Raftery, 1999; Ermisch & Francesconi, 2001; Schiller et al., 2002; Sun & Li, 2011). Therefore, we can conclude that similar to what these scholars found, single parents, and particularly mother headed households, spend more of their time working and less time is invested in enhancing the children's learning process. In addition, as the sole breadwinner, single parents often do not have as much disposable income to spend on household resources, which

reinforce education (Biblarz & Raftery, 1999; Ermisch & Francesconi, 2001). On the contrary, we conclude that dual headed households have greater resources available to their children. For instance, income may be greater, and two parents may be able to make more time available to spend with their children than single moms, a finding similar to (McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994). This also reaffirms the household production function that presupposes that the resources within a family are dependent on the number of people that particular family consists of and how much disposable income the family has to spend on resources for producing achievement (Becker, 1993).

Moreover, we found that children in the households with significant number of siblings were less likely (0.83 times) to be in the right grade for age compared to those children living in households which do not have siblings in the (6-14) age group, a finding similar to that of (Blake, 1989). This means that more siblings dilute a child's allocation of parental resources to the education of children, thereby causing the "dilution effect" (Blake, 1989). These findings are consistent with those of the study in Nairobi slums by Ngware et al. (2009) which found that a large family size reduce the probability of enrolment in primary school by 14%. The findings of this study were limited because the data covers the two sites in Nairobi. Therefore, our results may not be representative of the whole of Kenya. Moreover, future research should consider looking into the effect of family structure on educational attainment using a more cross-sectional data from several sites across Kenya. This study has significant research implications for Kenya. The study shows that in terms of the impact of families on schooling, we are at the initial stages, using cross-sectional data to determine children's schooling at a one-time point. There is unexploited research questions that would be answered using a longitudinal data if and when available in the context of sub-Saharan. This study has significant policy implications for

education of children in Kenya. That strong family relation is important for educational attainment of children in the context of the developing country like Kenya. That the government needs to find ways and means of giving subsidies to single parent households in order to strengthen their capability in terms of availing resources to invest in their children's education. This will cushion families against the vulnerabilities that single parental households bring to the children like school dropouts. Overall the study calls for developing strategies to strengthen single parent households for better educational outcomes of the children.

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